



ethnology

CATALONIAN JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY

DOSSIER

Cultural heritage in tourist contexts

**World
Heritage
Dry stone
in Catalonia
after UNESCO
recognition**

**Creating authenticity
Menstruation
in an Afro-Cuban
ritual in Barcelona**



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Nineteen articles were received for publication in this issue of the journal in the Ethnological Research and Miscellaneous sections, seventeen of which were accepted after passing a double-blind review by two expert reviewers, meaning that two articles were discarded in the review process.

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Maria Àngels Blasco i Rovira

Directorate General of Popular Culture and Cultural Associations



It gives me great pleasure to offer you these words by way of introduction to this new issue, number 44, of the *Catalonian Journal of Ethnology*, in which you will find a central dossier that addresses from different points of view, and with various cultural and territorial examples, one of the key issues today facing not only Catalan society but also the global society we are part of: tourism and its relationship with cultural heritage. In the early part of the 21st century, tourism has become one of the most powerful cultural and economic industries in the world. There is no longer anywhere on the planet that is not subject, to a greater or lesser extent, to its impact. This impact has often meant a boost to the social, economic and cultural dynamism of many places and local cultures but, in other cases, as we know, excessive tourism can undermine and impoverish culture and its collective heritage. And the reality is that cultural heritage is now totally immersed in these dynamics. You will be able to explore all these issues in the articles that make up the dossier from the broad range of perspectives and realities analysed, both in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, with some specific examples from Andalusia and Galicia, as well as the cases of Matera (Italy), Easter Island (Chile) and the Zafimaniry community (Madagascar). I encourage you to take the plunge and read them, so you have a better grasp of the role cultural heritage currently plays in its relationship with tourism and you can draw some conclusions and some ideas for improving heritage quality in contexts where there is strong tourist pressure.

The “Miscellaneous” section contains articles on a range of subjects: bullfighting festivals and their sometimes uneasy relationship with cultural heritage; an ethnographic take on the apparitions of the Virgin Mary in San Sebastián de

Garabandal (Cantabria), and the article by Roger Costa, a member of our general management staff, which analyses the heritage drive brought about by the inclusion of the dry-stone technique in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, established by the 2003 UNESCO convention, in 2018.

The “Ethnological Research” section includes two articles of great interest. The first provides a detailed introduction to one of Catalonia’s outstanding cultural manifestations: the jota dance in the Terres de l’Ebre region. It should be remembered that 2019 saw the first congress on the jota in Catalan-speaking lands. It was held in the town of Falset and organised by the Directorate General of Popular Culture and Cultural Associations, the Ramon Muntaner Institute and Falset Town Council. The second article addresses a topic to do with the cultural and religious diversity of our society: the tradition of Palo Monte, a religion of Afro-Caribbean tradition, and its presence in Catalonia today.

The “Chronicle” section includes various articles and reports, such as the ones on the Galera (Montsià) jug and bringing the dragon back to Banyoles; a chronicle on the exhibition *Building the territory. Traditional architecture and landscape in Catalonia*, and a report on the Ethnological and Intangible Heritage Observatory’s visit to the Netherlands in March 2019, to learn more about various Dutch heritage initiatives and facilities. Finally, the journal concludes with several book reviews and the one I would like to highlight is on *Entre el celler i la taverna. Un recorregut per les bodegues de barri de Barcelona*, No. 29 in the collection “Temes d’Etnologia de Catalunya”, published by the Catalan Ministry of Culture.

Happy reading. ■

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Palmira Jaquetti
Músic, poetessa, folklorista, pedagoga...
dona.

Escolta-la. Llegeix-la. Admira-la.



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CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TOURIST CONTEXTS

These days, the culture of tourist travel is very much linked to that of heritage consumption. The roots of this link can be found in the early days of tourist travel at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, when the tourist experience consisted in discovering historical remains, works of art, and cultural and natural landscapes. Tourism (which we should perhaps regard as one of the socially most important manifestations of modernity in capitalist and industrialist societies) contributed to the appreciation, in economic terms, of the legacy and cultural present of many peoples, as well as their natural surroundings and resources. The capitalisation and commercialisation of certain objects implied the idea that these resources contained *intrinsic* properties that predisposed them to tourist consumption, which is why a value hierarchy was established between those objects that could have a market interest and generate a return, and those that did not. In this sense, the phenomenon of tourism contributed to heritage “activation”, “promotion”, “categorisation” and “classification” linked to power interests, and planted a series of dominant references in our collective imagination which, in many western European destinations, have endured over the decades. Moreover, in the Catalan case, it should be added that it had a strong political dimension, as the tourist display of some cultural and natural landscapes and objects served to express identity symbols and vindicate national aspirations. All in all, throughout the first third of the 20th century, heritage was used as a factor in competitiveness and territorial prestige within the context of an emerging tourist system.

Today, in a world where leisure behaviour and spaces assert a powerful influence and enjoy social prestige, the links between tourism and heritage, undeniably historical and basically political and economic, are expanding and often lead to situations of conflict, controversy and tension, especially when tourist consumption of heritage has a damaging and negative effect on the life of local people. At the root of most problems we find a notion and use of heritage as an artefact serving the interests of tourism and, therefore, subject to the laws of market supply and demand. The effects of these relationships (sometimes markedly docile) are many and complex, so each case needs to be analysed in a specific way, avoiding generalisations and inappropriate comparisons.

The function of heritage in contemporary global contexts varies enormously and this dossier tries to reflect that. The issues and cases analysed open up debates of great interest that stem from tourist consumption of heritage in very diverse periods and places in Africa, America and Europe, where the pros and cons, opportunities and risks, benefits and losses, possibilities and problems are in constant tension. All this shows the conflictive and eminently magmatic nature of heritage in tourist contexts (Prats, 2014). The articles in this special feature raise questions, among others, about how heritage fits in with, and is used and managed in tourist contexts, which objects are chosen to be offered in the tourist markets, what narratives are spread about the place and its people, what is heritagised, who is involved in those processes, and what the repercussions are for heritage and the host society. In short, the articles we present here contribute a wealth of valuable analysis, reflection and knowledge that we hope can contribute to the work of agents and scholars who specialise in tourism, heritage and related fields, as well as arouse interest among a wider public sensitive to these issues.

One of the central ideas that appears in all these articles (sharing a constructivist perspective) is the categorisation of heritage as an object constructed by many social interactions, one of which is tourist interaction. Far from being conceived as a static, eternal and essential object, or one fatally affected by tourism, heritage is presented to us as a malleable construct that is constantly being defined: the product of a specific political economy (Del Marmol, Frigolé, Narotzky, 2010), a socio-political construct (López López, 2016) created by those in power (Prats, 1997). The understanding is that heritage “appears” to be the result of a process of incorporating value into certain elements of culture and nature which, therefore, have no inherent or universal value but rather a socially attributed one. From this perspective, expressions such as “activating” or “highlighting” heritage would presuppose the existence of a heritage value *sui generis*, of a latent *heritage condition* present in some objects or aspects of culture and nature predisposed to the *emergence* of heritage (Franquesa, 2010). A notion often associated with heritage activation is the idea of conservation as presented in authorised heritage discourses (AHD). Within this framework, notes Smith (2014), heritage is defined as material, non-renewable and fragile, and it prioritises aesthetically pleasing physical objects, sites, places and landscapes. Thus “heritage is something that is found, it has an innate value the authenticity of which speaks of a common and shared sense of human identity” (Smith, 2014: 14). In the AFP framework, therefore, heritage *contains* identity and is something that has to be preserved. Reading the articles in this dossier enables us to reflect on how and in what way the tourist system has endorsed and legitimised the categories of heritage activation and conservation and, consequently, how it ends up sustaining the dominant authorised heritage discourses. Who speaks of heritage?

Who does heritage speak of? Who does heritage speak to? We will return to these questions at the end.

Heritage does not belong to society in the strict sense, rather it is society that *belongs* to heritage. If we presuppose that heritage belongs to a certain society, we accept that its individual members can appropriate it in whatever way they like, because it is theirs and they maintain a relationship of authority. If, on the other hand, we assume that it is society which belongs to heritage, it means we understand it is precisely society’s individual members who create it, who interact and intervene in it according to their needs (and commit to preserving it in order to continue bequeathing it). According to Prats (1998),



Old house of General Gaffory (1704-1753), who led the Corsican government. Façade with traces of the shots fired by the Genovese in 1750. One of the most central and visited places in Corte (Corsega). 2018. SAIDA PALOU.

heritage is, among other things, that which socially is regarded as being worthy of conservation. Thus heritage has to be preserved so it can be transferred, not fossilised. Smith (2014) tells us it is a political negotiation of identity, place and memory, a reconstruction and negotiation of the values, memories and social and cultural meanings of a group. It is neither *own nor eternal*, it is common and changing.

The idea of change is key and critical. In tourist contexts there is an evident tension between heritage conservation (in its acceptance of legacy that is transformed and transferred) and modification (in an affect and harm sense). In fact, one of the most critical questions when it comes to exploring the relationship between tourism and heritage has to do with the transformation certain elements experience due to tourist exposure (or overexposure). The value of change acquired when found in tourist contexts can displace or cancel out their use value and original function, which is intimately bound up with the life and ways of the local community. Thus tourism can produce wear, loss or transformation in the utilitarian character of heritage, and consequently call into question its identity. Obviously, the transformations will be more pronounced depending on the number of visitors, its uses and the management systems for protecting the heritage, as well as the nature and fragility of the heritage itself. The incompatibilities often produced between tourist and local uses can have a negative impact on its use value, that is, on the meaning it has for the community. See the examples of Cordova's patios, Palma de Mallorca, Madagascar and Matera, which illustrate the transformation in heritage uses and meanings due to its overexposure and tourist orientation.

Some transformations can often be inconspicuous, difficult to see. Often changes have wide-ranging implications for the local community. And often these impacts end up being justified by *tourism-centric* discourses. The interpretive element of heritage (that which explains and is explained about heritage) is one of the aspects most likely to be affected by tourism. Misrepresentation of what is being conveyed can significantly harm the heritage object, although it might not seem so or might be difficult to grasp. Marketing strategies often suppress the conflictive and subversive elements of heritage in order to create tourist images and narratives that make it easier to attract visitors. In this sense, deleting certain

complexities and aspects regarded as inconvenient can harm the heritage object and, consequently, a people's memory. On the other hand though, we also know of experiences where great care is taken in the processes of heritage transmission and protection, and where it is tourism itself that encourages heritage conservation and dissemination. In Catalonia's case, for example, we have the sacred elements of some sanctuaries and historical memory sites in the transborder region. In heritagisation processes involving vestiges of past conflicts, opening these places up to visitors is vital for arousing memories, because it is through interaction with present perspectives that it is possible to have a dialogue with the past. In this regard, tourism can play an important role in terms of knowledge, dissemination and a critique of the historical aspects of a society. But it all depends on how tourism, heritage and memory (understood, obviously, as heritage) is managed.

Heritagisation is not the result of a neutral process, as it always obeys the interests of certain players. Consequently, the tourist orientation of heritage is not arbitrary or neutral either. It will always depend on political and economic factors. One of the basic questions when situating heritage in tourist contexts is to foresee what will be represented and related about a place, its people and its history. Heritage can evoke and create versions of history to suit the taste of visitors and tourist agents. In tourist contexts, heritage can act as an image of the place. It can be turned into a reference and even an emblem of the destination and, by means of reductionist and metonymic processes, in the eyes of a tourist, embody an identity or cultural character. The identity burden or overburden attributed to it becomes profitable in tourist terms, even though it is not representative of local society as a whole. In fact, excessive heritage *touristisation* nearly always shows this will not be culturally significant for the people it represents. The fact that heritage serves to broadcast (tourist) narratives of places is not in itself a problem, as it can turn into an opportunity for conveying and explaining sociocultural aspects of a people. However, if these narratives succumb to frivolities, superficialities and spectacles, or adulterated versions of the history and culture of the society represented, it will mean the role of heritage is reduced to a mere instrumental function. In this regard, all the situations which end up reifying its inhabitants (Lacarrière, 2005) or fossilising certain cultural practices are particularly critical. See the case of



Tourists at Iguazu Falls. Iguazu National Park (Brazil). 2009. SAIDA PALOU.

Cuzco (Peru) for the fabrication of artificial identities and the role of the community.

In tourist contexts, the density of visitors, change of uses and misrepresentation of the meanings of heritage alienate and distance local people from it. In fact, one of the most critical effects of the overexposure of heritage through tourism is precisely the disaffection of local people and loss of the relationship with *their* heritage. It never ceases to be a paradox that the increase in interest and tourist value of some heritage objects is often to the detriment of local values and interest, or that tourist sacralisation of some elements results in their trivialisation (distorting their appearance, memory and function). Likewise, the change of scale experienced by some heritage objects (when they cease to be local references and become global ones as well) is becoming one of the most pressing problems in the tourism-heritage relationship. Due to the effect of tourism, certain aspects of a society can become iconic, global refer-

ences, which requires the *adaptation* of their content so it can be interpreted beyond that society's borders. Thus, within the framework of a global (tourist) culture, tourism makes all those aspects of a local community that it considers idiosyncratic intelligible. For heritage to enter international tourist circuits, it has to undergo a certain decodification and recodification, a change of language, so it can be grasped by visitors from other, very diverse cultural areas. In many tourist contexts, what is local switches to an international language. See the cases of Barcelona and other Spanish cities in this dossier in relation to the globalisation of local references and tourist iconisation of historical heritage.

There are sociocultural contexts where the penetration of tourism may be conditioned by political questions and even terrorism. See the worrying study on Tunisia presented in this dossier. Tourism can move from conflict to festivals: see the example of Girona and the role of folk traditions.

The dossier also explores other questions, for example, the sociocultural, economic and territorial conflicts that arise when rural economies and landscapes are introduced (or the intention is to introduce them) into tourist dynamics. The role of local players and the transformation of the environment in the cases of Asturias and Peguera, in the Catalan Pre-Pyrenees (foothills) are particularly relevant in this regard. And if we are talking about tourist heritage promotion and management, the Portuguese Way of St James and Easter Island (Chile) provide very illustrative examples.

The articles included in the dossier explore the relationship between tourism and heritage and focus particularly on the sociocultural aspects of tourist contexts, adopting a critical view and a constructivist perspective. Taken together, they basically warn of the effects and contradictions involved in orienting, exposing or overexposing heritage to tourism, but they also point out the opportunities and benefits that tourism can have for heritage, the local community and visitors. Finally, whether tourism is seen as a possibility or a problem, we need to be wary of discourses that legitimise linking heritage with tourism.

To what extent can we consider that tourism sustains, uses and reproduces authorised heritage discourses? Smith (2014: 14) tells us that experts who participate in AHD assume the duty of not only safeguarding heritage but also “providing stewardship for the way heritage is communicated to and understood by non-expert communities”. In this sense, it seems obvious that tourism acts and is justified as a mechanism which helps to disseminate

heritage to a non-expert public, thus fostering its socialisation and popularisation. All of that is positive because, thanks to tourism, heritage becomes more accessible and offers visitors the opportunity to learn, to get to know and to understand various aspects of a society. However, we have to be critical of those who justify actions and types of tourist heritage consumption that do not benefit the heritage itself or the local community, or which do not transmit knowledge and values to their visitors but, instead, are clearly dictated by commercial and economic motives.

Today, many heritagisation processes are largely motivated and justified by the tourist industry which, on the one hand, associates tourist promotion of heritage with its conservation and, on the other hand, legitimises its change of use and value, even to the detriment of the uses and meanings it has for the local community. And not only that: tourism can even legitimise itself thanks to the supply of heritage. When this all happens, we can understand how tourism ends up acting as a kind of instrument and authorised discourse on heritage. According to this logic, heritage *activates, justifies and explains* heritage and, in extreme cases, places with heritage become *heritage sites of tourism*. And that is one of the most important challenges that needs to be raised: that heritage in tourist contexts never ceases to be the heritage of its community. ■

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De bona casa, bona brasa

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La masia ha estat el principal sistema d'habitatge de Catalunya des de l'edat mitjana, vinculat al paisatge i a l'aprofitament del seu entorn. Però, a més de ser el centre d'un sistema econòmic, és l'embolcall d'una família, de les seves relacions, d'un món ple de continguts i significats socials que ens explica una forma de vida que ha caracteritzat el nostre paisatge. Aquest llibre tracta els espais interiors de les masies, aquells en els que han fet vida els seus habitants i que ens mostren les transformacions en diferents etapes històriques. L'ús dels espais, l'adaptació als recursos disponibles, les relacions entre els diferents membres del grup ens donen molta informació d'altres aspectes de la masia.



Aquesta monografia és una part del resultat d'un treball d'investigació iniciat l'any 2007 i que amb el títol L'espai domèstic i el mobiliari rural al Berguedà. Estudi del mobiliari i de la relació amb el seu entorn, es realitzà en el marc del programa de l'Inventari del Patrimoni Etnològic de Catalunya (IPEC) que duu a terme el Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya.

Novetat editorial

A la venda a les llibreries i a la Llibreria en línia de la Generalitat de Catalunya.



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conservación y ganadería. Mundos (in)compatibles en Baqueira Beret, Alto Pirineo catalán" in the book, *Repensar la conservación. Naturaleza, mercado y sociedad civil* (2018) (in print). He has been awarded the J. F. Mira Prize (2015), a grant from the Ramon Muntaner Institute for Research Projects (2018) and a scholarship from the Observatory of Ethnological and Intangible Heritage for activities that promote the research, conservation and dissemination of Catalan ethnological heritage (2018).

As it was, as it is

Tourism heritage strategies in the abandoned village of Peguera (Catalan Pyrenees)

Abandonment and rubble become essential analytical components in understanding how tourism heritage processes seek, and sometimes manage, to give new market value to uninhabited locations in high mountain regions. The approval of a tourist project in 2012 in the *abandoned* village of Peguera generated conflicting positions concerning the future of this enclave. Although the project did not go ahead due to a lack of funding, its rationale, as well as the rationale of the opposition platform, *Salvem Peguera*, form part of heritage language. This article

aims to break down and understand this heritage rationale through the theoretical and analytical prism of abandonment and rubble in order to trace potential channels that make it possible to oppose certain tourism projects beyond heritage discourses.

Case study, ethnographic techniques and method: towards an ethnography of abandonment and rubble

Peguera is a small village located in the Alt Berguedà region, in the pre-Pyrenees area of central Catalonia. From an administrative point of view, its territory belongs to the municipality of Fígols, and it is located at an

Paraules clau: abandonament, runes, patrimonialització, valor, Pirineu català.

Palabras clave: abandono, runas, patrimonialización, valor, Pirineo catalán.

Keywords: abandonment, rubble, heritagisation, value, Catalan Pyrenees.

El 2012 el poble abandonat de Peguera va ser objecte d'un intent de patrimonialització turística que plantejava restaurar les seves cases en runes "tal com eren" i preservar els entorns naturals "tal com són". Aquest article analitza les lògiques patrimonialitzadores al voltant d'aquest projecte turístic a través de la multivocalitat simultània emergent i dels usos i representacions històriques dels recursos naturals de la vall de Peguera. L'abandonament i les runes es presenten com a mètode etnogràfic per desgranar la patrimonialització turística en espais deshabitats d'alta muntanya.

En 2012 el pueblo abandonado de Peguera fue objeto de un intento de patrimonialización turística que planteaba restaurar sus casas en runas "tal como eran" y preservar los entornos naturales "tal como son". Este artículo analiza las lógicas patrimonializadoras alrededor de este proyecto turístico a través de la multivocalidad simultánea emergente y de los usos y representaciones históricas de los recursos naturales del valle de Peguera. El abandono y las runas son presentados como método etnográfico para desgranar la patrimonialización turística en espacios deshabitados de alta montaña.

In 2012, a tourist heritagisation project for the abandoned hamlet of Peguera was approved. This urban plan aimed at restoring the ruined houses "as they were" and preserving the natural environs "as they are". This article analyses the heritage activation logics surrounding this tourist project through the emerging simultaneous multivocality and the historical uses and representations of Peguera valley's natural resources. Abandonment and rubble are presented as an ethnographic method to tease out tourist heritagisation processes in uninhabited high mountain areas.

altitude of 1,700 metres, between the natural spaces of Els Rasos de Peguera and Serra d'Ensija, which constitute a single PEIN (Plan for Spaces of Natural Interest). The village, made up of around 20 houses (some of which are scattered throughout the valley that bears the same name, and all of which, with the exception of one, have no roof and are in an advanced state of ruin) was built on the south-facing foot of a rocky outcrop. That is home to the centre of the village, consisting of a dozen buildings, including a church next to a cemetery.

This article focuses on the heritage discourses of and around a tourist project and an unsuccessful urban plan, the Special Urban Plan for Peguera (hereinafter, Special Plan) based on the construction of a new five-star hotel with 40 rooms, a spa and a heliport, and on the restoration of the houses in the centre of the village *as they were*. A project that generated differing positions between different stakeholders through the multiple voices linked to particular uses of those territories. These different territorial concerns constitute what I refer to as a *conflicting polyphony* towards Peguera and are expressed from specific experiences and perspectives. Multiple voices which, therefore, cannot be detached from a series of actions or from a *multifactuality*, which marked the history of the informants in relation to this location. I refer to these spatial and temporal biographies as *embedded biographies*. Based on this conflict, this case study is particularly relevant in investigating the tourism heritage processes of uninhabited rural areas in high mountain regions through the problematisation of a triad of adjectives expressed both by the tourism project and by various informants. The cataloguing of Peguera as an abandoned, empty and/or natural place serves to frame the methodology, method and theoretical framework used.

Drawing on the premise that participant observation and interviews with different informants constitute the idiosyncratic essence of any fieldwork in anthropology,

creating an ethnography for a space without people represents an ethnographic challenge. A challenge addressed through the use of three techniques (field trips involving mobile conversations (Strang, 2010), the taking of photographs (Zanotti *et al.*, 2010) and archive research focused on demographic fluctuations (Beltran, 2010)), and an analytical method that uses the abandonment and evocative materiality of the rubble as a gateway for studying the rationale and discursive strategies that support the tourism heritage of uninhabited spaces.

These three ethnographic techniques can be divided into two blocks, although this division must be understood from a purely operational perspective. While field trips through mobile conversations and the taking of photographs provide for a more phenomenological, experiential and agency-related approach to landscape transformations in a place like Peguera, archive research provides a more socio-economic and structural vision of these transformations. Both methodological blocks involve a historical and ethnographic analysis that articulates transitional heuristic models (Bell, 1976; Polanyi, 1989) and simultaneity (Vaccaro, 2006) in order to understand these transformations.

Is Peguera really an abandoned village? This question serves to address the problematisation of the triad of adjectives mentioned above. Peguera was left uninhabited in 1968. This demographic fact does not exclude the possibility and analytical potential of taking abandonment and rubble as a method and theoretical framework for the study of tourist heritage processes. On the one hand, this approach is inspired by the "dwelling perspective" contemplated by Tim Ingold (2000)¹ and in the summary created by Julian Thomas, who states that "feeling close to something is not simply a question of physical location. [...] Although people can only be in one place at any given time they *dwell* in a much larger area (2001: 173. Emphasis added).

1

Although the verb *to dwell* can be interpreted as meaning *to inhabit*, the experiential connotation beyond the mere fact of residing in a specific place exposed by Ingold has resulted in me choosing to use *to dwell*.



The Peguera Festival, the year after it was resumed (1998).

PERSONAL ARCHIVE OF JOSEP ORIOLA

The pair of opposites “occupying/abandoning”, “living/leaving” allows for a key analytical distinction when addressing the case study of Peguera. From this perspective, abandonment would be an action that requires not only physical detachment from a place, but also the breaking of social ties with it. Based on the knowledge and spatial practices towards the village of Peguera employed by the different stakeholders, including former inhabitants of the village, I believe that Peguera should be defined as an uninhabited village, rather than an abandoned village. The periodic collection of jugs of water by former residents from a spring close to the village, Font de Cal Coix; the celebration of a festival on the last Sunday of July that brings together both former residents and residents from across the region; the leasing of the valley's pastures by a shepherd, and the restoration of the chapel and roof of the Cal Gran dwelling demonstrate that social ties have been maintained with this uninhabited space.

Gastón Gordillo's work, in which the terms *abandonment*, *ruins* and *heritage* are marked by the distinction between notions of *ruins* and *rubble* constitutes the other theoretical pillar in problematising the notion of aban-

donment linked, in this case, to that of ruins. According to this author, while ruins refer to an abstract conceptualisation of space, in which the past is presented as if it had been dissociated from the present, rubble "connects with the sensual texture of real places and objects" (2014: 7). From this perspective, the concept of ruins is linked directly to that of tourism heritage as a process that generates an abstraction of space and time, dissociating first of all both analytical categories to escape them, delimit them and recombine them strategically afterwards to provide new values with these tourism heritage elements:

"Ruins are part of the abstraction of space, but an abstraction that is often ideologically erased from discourses, which present it as a spatial quality of an incalculable value, i.e., as 'heritage'. Ruins as an abstraction emphasises the preterite condition of objects. [...] The preterite condition of the past is crystallised with attempts to present the ruins as objects that are separate from the present." Ibid.: 18.

Taking these words from Gordillo as a reference, this article, through Peguera as a case study, aims to add a new analytical

category, rubble, to the dual approach, ruins and rubble, employed by this author. This category would be located between an abstraction, shifts in meaning and economic revaluation based on the transvaluation of objects and spaces that compile the tourism heritage materiality of the ruins (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998), and the loss of meaning and value(s) entailed by the undifferentiated and dismembered materiality of rubble. Therefore, the ethnographic challenge consists of being able to present the rubble of Peguera not as self-contained relics of a specific time and space or as mere stones, rocks and walls devoid of meaning, but as marks of the landscape that make it possible to draw connections between their past and present, evoking historical processes through which certain spaces and modes of using and representing natural resources have been socio-economically marginalised. These processes make it possible for us to better understand the complex reality of the present. The rubble of Peguera reflects the collapse of capitalist, industrial exploitation of natural resources in the mid-20TH century, which led to the abandonment of the village, and, at the same time, provides an explanation of the transition to a new type of capitalism, based on the tertiary exploita-

tion of these resources, in which the tourism heritage processes are erected as a central element.

The supposed abandonment of Peguera combines with the material and evocative presence of its rubble. These material remains demonstrate a mixture of natural and cultural aspects that make up the current landscape (Nogué, 2007). The rubble also illustrates the definition of the *landscape* as a palimpsest². This approach forces us to conceptualise the term *landscape* in a plural and stratified way, *laminated landscapes*, since they are made up of different spatio-temporal layers associated with both different historical times (diachronic layers) and the multiple voices, guises and actions, the simultaneous multi-vocalism and multi-factuality that constitute and offer differentiated sensations in each place at any given time (synchronic layers) (Raffles 1999; Vaccarat 2006). This conceptualisation of the Peguera landscapes allows us to analyse together two variables and domains such as space and time, on the one hand, and nature and culture, on the other, that usually appear as discreet and separate compartments that are paradoxically intertwined in heritage discourses. If "landscape is nothing

2

Joan Nogué synthesises this conceptualisation of the notion of landscape as a palimpsest in the following passage: "Landscape is both today and yesterday, present and past, and yesterday, the past [...] are the historical inheritance, continuities, continuation, overlapping strata of the remains of former landscapes. The landscape is an old palimpsest consisting of centennial layers" (2007: 20).



Water collection from the Cal Coix spring by a former resident of Peguera who resided in the nearby village of Vallcebre (2013). FERRAN PONS

more than the emergence of a time in space" (Tuan, 1977, in Jakob, 2009: 69), the inseparability of spaces and times in Peguera has been erected as an epistemological premise for the analysis of the transformations of its landscape. This premise combines with the analytical potentiality of peripatetic or field-based ethnography through mobile conversations that make it possible "to examine the way in which social relationships are spatialised and spatial relationships are socialised" (Darby, 2000: 4), and that serves to question the rationale and discursive strategies set forth in the Special Plan.

Is Peguera really an empty space? This second question is framed by the conceptualisation that space is a social production and product (Lefebvre, 2013). This approach reinforces the belonging of a historical and social approach to a seemingly empty place like Peguera. Certain socio-economic reasons resulted in gradual emigration from, and finally the abandonment of the village of Peguera. Understanding and breaking down these reasons helps to address Peguera as a process rather than as a state or quality; as a vacated space rather than an empty space. This approach also serves to question the last adjective of the aforementioned triad: Is

Peguera really a natural space? The process of abandoning a location combines with the process of naturalising its environments. In the case of Peguera, this conjugation was institutionally consolidated as part of the cataloguing of the PEIN Serra d'Ensija-Rasos de Peguera that surrounds the village and the valley of Peguera without including them as protected natural spaces. An institutional naturalisation process preceded by the reforestation of environments, linked to *greening* landscapes and the almost ubiquitous spread of a new environmental mentality; an *environmentality* that would encompass institutions, but also subjectivised in the new seizure of natural spaces (Agrawal, 2005; Roger, 2000).

Abandonment, emptiness, and nature as nouns that define a place like Peguera are synergistically conjugated through their tourism heritage intentions in the Special Plan. This project strategically uses this triad to provide Peguera with added market values as part of a process based on three distinct sequential phases: divisions, equivalences and recombinations. This process, paradoxically, is capable of absorbing antagonistic goals within the language of heritage and market by converging rationale from "keep-



Current appearance of Cal Gran, the only house that remains standing thanks to the restoration of its roof in 1997 (2013). FERRAN PONS

ing for selling" and "keeping against selling" (Franquesa, 2013).

The structure of this text will take the form of circularity over time. An ethnographic portrait, the description of the tourism project and the simultaneously emerging multi-vocalism and multi-factuality will be the first block used to describe the conflicting polyphony of the present ethnography of Peguera associated with different embedded biographies. The second block will make it possible to connect these different voices and actions in the present with the historical transitions of Peguera's landscapes. A connection made as part of a chronological journey through the different phases of the village and surroundings until peaking in its incomplete post-industrial conversion. This look into the past will eventually make it possible for us to return to the present to analyse rationale logics and heritage strategies from an economic sphere. An analysis that will conclude with the following question: how do you escape this rationale linked to the language of heritage and market when opposing certain tourist projects that employ this same rationale and language?

The conflicting polyphony of Peguera: the tourist project and the emerging voices

Arriving on the paved road that runs along the side of the village of Figols, an earth track runs off to the left and descends to a small esplanade where there is a fork in the road. Taking the path to the right, we come across one of the nerve centres of the Peguera vicinity, the Font de Cal Coix spring, where the village women would come to wash their clothes. It provides water for hikers and some of the village's former inhabitants, who still return to the spring regularly to fill bottles and take them back to their new homes. We have already passed a number of remains that pay testament to the mining past of the village and the entire valley: the rubble of Graell, an old farmhouse that served as a hostel and dining room for miners, and a sloping structure that served to transfer the

coal extracted from the surrounding mines, specifically from the mouth of the Graell mine.

If we continue along path starting next to the aforementioned spring, we come across the first remains of houses that formed part of the village of Peguera: Cal Gordo, Cal Coix, Cal Manuel, Cal Diana, Cal Peron, Cal Pubill and Cal Sec. From here, looking left, we can see much of Peguera valley. Green predominates over any other colour among the trees that grow and cover the shady face of Rasos de Peguera and the pastures of the valley. The view, however, also allows us to contemplate more tangible evidence of the humanisation of this riverside: a tower still standing that used to be the old electric generator providing the area with electricity at the start of the 20TH century, a much more modern water tank and even further down, the decaying structure of the former Cantina.

Continuing up, to the left is the white structure of the walls of the Peguera chapel and the stone walls that formed part of the primitive structure of the former church, which now define the boundary of this cemetery. At this point, looking west, we can see and imagine the path that continues up to the highest part of the valley. Roc de Peguera rises up to the right and at its foot is the centre of the village. Cal Jan, Cal Parta, Can Pons, Cal Penjorell and Cal Gran (the only house which still has a roof structure) are the most important buildings, while the houses of Cal l'Agutzil, Cal Bepu and Salamó can also be seen, in different states of collapse, spread a few metres west of the rocky outcrop.

This ethnographic portrait provides a silent and static image of Peguera. Silence, in fact, would be the environmental component that would best summarise my first sensory impression of this setting. However, walking in the vicinity of Peguera in December 2011, I learned about the existence of a tourist project and the consequent urban plan that were subject to approval. These



Panoramic view of Peguera from La Baga. In the foreground, the remains of the cemetery and the church, while at the foot of the rock are the houses that make up the centre of the village, including Cal Gran, the only one with a roof (2013). FERRAN PONS

predictions were confirmed a few months later, in March 2012, when the project submitted by a Manresa-based property developer received approval from the local authority, Fígols Municipal Council. The first impressions of silence and stillness were quickly contrasted by the knowledge of conflicting positions concerning the potential implementation of that project. The Special Plan generated a series of positions that were in disagreement concerning the past, present and future of the village and valley of Peguera. A conflicting range of voices that began to resonate faced with the possibility that tourism plan would become a reality.

The general objective of the project was to reconvert "a totally abandoned village" into a rural tourism complex (OAU, 2012: 6). At the same time, the Special Plan pursued two more specific objectives: on the one hand, to revitalise the village by reconstructing it *as it was* through the "rehabilitation, restoration and/or reconstruction of the houses in the centre", and, on the other, in view of the success of the project, preserve the current natural landscape, maintaining it

as it is: "[With regard to] the conservation of the natural environment [...] the proposed action should not damage the flora, forest mass, fauna, landscape or any other environmental characteristic of the area. [...] The maintenance and enhancement of these natural values are those that will help the proposal to succeed" (ibid.: 34; 45). The first of these objectives also included the construction of a new hotel, concerning which emphasis was placed on it being properly integrated into the current landscape as if it had always been there: "The proposed hotel [...] [shall be] built using local materials and typologies. [...] It is important that the hotel is 'born old', that placing it there is so natural it would appear to have been in that spot for many years" (ibid.: 44-45).

These two objectives are strategically articulated, linked to the processes of natural and cultural heritage. On the one hand, Peguera, described as an abandoned place, is a relevant place to implement a tourism project, while, at the same time, the centre of the village has close historical and social ties, which adds value to the proposal³. On the

3

"Peguera [...] is a veritable population hub, currently abandoned but with a very recent historical and social background." (OAU, 2012: 33)

4

"The intervention will prioritise a naturalistic, ecological path that is compatible with the natural conservation of the place and, most importantly, that does not fracture the purity of the landscape [...] [The project] aims to avoid the formation of great volumes that could break the delicate and peaceful dialogue that is sought between landscape, architecture and history." (ibid.: 2)

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"The recovery of the village of Peguera with its new uses will never achieve the impact on the environment that was historically seen during its mining phase." (ibid.: 23)

other hand, while a narrative is structured around the preservation of the current natural environment⁴, the same discourse makes references to Peguera's mining past to justify the possible degradation of the environment in the construction process⁵.

The discourse of the tourist project based on the division and subsequent recombination of the cultural domain (people's houses) and natural domain (purity of the landscape) through its restoration as they were and its preservation as it is, is the key narrative strategy to understand its means and ends. This strategy is based on the spatio-temporal condensation of Peguera's past and present, which is typical of heritage processes, enhanced by the rubble scattered throughout the valley and the categorisation of Peguera as an abandoned village.

The handling of this project by Fígols Municipal Council resulted in many people speaking out simultaneously in line with their personal experiences and actions in this area. This simultaneous multi-vocalism and multi-factuality is irrevocably linked to embedded biographies between different stakeholders and a single location. Although

the tourism project did not bear fruit, from an analytical perspective, it generated a discussion focussing on two areas: new uses and, consequently, new representations of Peguera being suggested; and, at the same time, a series of discourses on these uses and representations being articulated. This myriad of contrasting ideas about Peguera and the tourism project is reflected in the following fragments extracted from semi-structured interviews with four different informants: a member of the *Salvem Peguera* platform; the mayor of Fígols; a farmer whose flock of cows grazes in the Peguera valley, and a former inhabitant of the village who goes by that name, *El Peguera*.

In August 2011, a diverse group of people formed the *Salvem Peguera* platform with the intention of opposing the tourism project. This platform remained active until September 2012, when it became clear that the newly approved Special Plan would not prosper. The stance of this association can be summarised in the following objectives, referred to by one of its members: "The territory must be preserved *as it is*; we must fight against the commercialisation of the territory, instigated both by foreign investors and local politicians." Peguera, according



View of the Peguera valley, showing an old electricity pylon and the Cantina in an advanced state of disrepair (2013). FERRAN PONS



Old Cantina de Peguera, during visit with *El Peguera* (2013). FERRAN PONS.

to this informant, has recovered its natural condition after the different historical processes that took place during the 20TH century, with the actions of the platform described as a fight against the attempts to denaturalise Peguera.

A desire to maintain the current conditions of Peguera that is in staunch opposition with the opinion of the mayor of Figols, not only concerning this village but the entire Alt Berguedà region: "There's no future. From Berga north, there's no future." The mayor openly supported the Special Plan as a mechanism for restoring houses in the centre of Peguera as they were, and as a way of providing economic sustainability throughout the region, as the dismantling of the coal mining industry from the middle to the end of the 20TH century entailed the absence of a socio-economic future for this region. This opinion is based on the progressive population decline seen in most of its villages since the collapse of the mining sector, with Peguera serving as a prime example.

The comparison between these two voices serves to illustrate two different ways of viewing the landscape of Peguera. While the member of the platform highlighted a

return to nature, the mayor emphasised a productive use.

The only farmer present in the Peguera valley has another perspective to be considered. This farmer has leased the pastures that he defines as "the Peguera estate". When I was covering the area round the village with this informant, his words offered me a humanised perspective on the Peguera landscape: a natural, green landscape but, at the same time, productive and functional. This perspective is inextricably linked to the uses resulting from his work as a farmer. From a high point where a large part of the pastures in the area surrounding Peguera could be seen, he emphasised that much of the grass we were looking at had been replanted by him, to enhance the grazing conditions of his flock. From that same point, he also stressed a number of changes he had made to the landscape, such as building ponds, putting up fences, installing feed troughs, etc.

Finally, the voice of *El Peguera* allowed me to look towards the potential future landscapes of the village and its surroundings by taking in its present landscapes. These meetings allowed me to create bridges between the



Two of the holes located on the north side of Roc de Peguera that served to store the potatoes that each house harvested from their own vegetable gardens, leased or transferred from the surrounding area (2013).

FERRAN PONS

present and the past of the Peguera area through the footsteps, eyes and words of a person who lived and worked there, and who still maintains strong social ties with the village, to the point that he even goes by the same name of the village and is the instigator in recovering the celebration of its main festival.

El Peguera was born in Peguera in 1941 but he was not known by the name of the village until the start of the 1960s, when he and his family moved to another village in Alt Berguedà, following the closure of the last mine in Peguera, El Graell, where he worked. His social ties with these places have lasted until today, and his knowledge of these areas played an essential role in revealing the layers of meanings and old practices hidden by the village's present tumbledown appearance. This knowledge and these practices help us to understand how this land was organised, and how it was used and represented in completely different ways not many years ago.

Both these territorial apprehensions and the notion of the Peguera landscapes as a palimpsest are undoubtedly inspired by the descriptions of each corner of the village and

its surroundings, as reflected in the following fragment from my field diary:

After pointing out several "gaps", specifying to which house each corresponded, and following the marks of a path that is now invisible, but which formerly separated two fields owned by Cal Penjorell and Cal Gran, where wheat was stored, *El Peguera* wanted to show me the "Cal Jan well", hidden beneath a number of stones. There is still water at the bottom today. He demonstrated this by setting aside a stone and throwing another into the abyss, which made a splash. This water was used by the inhabitants of the village to provide livestock with drinking water. *El Peguera* mentioned a path that ran to Cal Jan and another that ran to a plot, currently hidden under the grass of "Planells de Peguera", which belonged to the church (the "priests") and was known as "the field of the priests".

26 November 2013

This brief account reflects the different contrasting voices about the present situation in Peguera and highlight the wide range of definitions used to define this location. The simultaneous range of voices, including

the Special Plan itself, describe Peguera as a tourist complex, a former mining complex, a nature reserve, an abandoned village and valley, and a farm.

The historical transitions and landscape transformations of Peguera: an incomplete post-industrial conversion

The simultaneous nature of the voices that describe Peguera in its current state in a contrasting, but conflicting way, take me on journey into its past. A look back that reveals, in part, the reasons for such a diversity of opinions, given the link with Peguera's past landscapes.

Over a period lasting approximately a century, the village of Peguera has been through different stages regarding its relationship with the landscapes that surrounded it and has become a reflection and construction of certain prisms with which to look at high-mountain rural landscapes. At the same time and inseparably, these landscapes have also been subject to changing physiognomies linked to different representations of rural territory or, in more general terms, nature. Paying special attention to the economic sector, Peguera would have made a transition

from a pre-industrial model, based on an extractive economy of the raw materials from the forest (wood) and meadows (crops and pastures) to an apparently imminent post-industrial model, based on a tertiarisation of the economy linked to the tourist use of its territories and natural resources. Between one model and the other, especially during the first three decades of the 20TH century, the village was subject to an intensive process of mining industrialisation, in which animal-drawn trains and wagons full of coal and logs extracted from the mines and forests in the surrounding area travelled through the valley via a suspended cable that passed just in front of the core of the village. This series of industrial infrastructures shaped the landscapes of the surroundings and the village itself.

This historical tour of the surroundings of Peguera has helped us to understand, on a local scale, how the representations of the same area can incite their exploitation or their protection, in the same way that, on a global scale, there have been changes in the cultural conceptions of mountain and nature, moving from a productivist, agrarian or industrial perspective, to an aesthetic-landscape outlook, produced and con-



Current appearance of Cal Jan, next to water well that the former residents used to water the village cattle. This well is still there, although it is now in disuse, covered by stones (2013). FERRAN PONS

sumed mainly in urban settings, intimately linked to environmental protection policies and the culture of leisure (Rome, 2004; Williams, 2001). In both cases, however, the natural resources of rural areas are still exploited, although as part of two different capitalist types of exploitation: primary or secondary and tertiary (Walker, 2003). This transition in rural high mountain areas of the western world began and has progressed exponentially since the final quarter of the 20TH century until today, and it has been associated with a series of cultural changes linked to the changing relationship between humans and nature (Cronon, 1996, Sivaramakrishnan and Vaccaro, 2006).

This historical approach simplifies reality but serves as a way of tracing a chronological path through the rural landscapes of Peguera. Various regions in the Pyrenees and other rural areas elsewhere have experienced similar processes (Vaccaro, 2010; Vaccaro and Beltran, 2007), although the case of Peguera is of particular interest, as, despite being erected as an example and serving as a reflection of the pre-industrialisation, industrialisation and post-industrialisation transitional model, it poses questions in two ways. First, because it is *in transition*, as its tertiarisation has not been consumed, and secondly for the simultaneous nature of the different voices that interpret the territories based on different representative practices and frameworks.

Schematically, the history of Peguera can be divided into four distinct periods: a) the pre-industrial era, from the beginning of the 14TH century, which covers the arrival of residents until the first attempts at mining at the end of the 19TH century (Serra, 1989); b) the industrial era, divided into two distinct phases: intensive coal mine exploitation from the end of the 19TH century, and in particular from 1916 until 1928, and the residual exploitation of these mineral resources until the closure of the final Peguera mine in 1962; c) the deindustrial era, which overlaps with the previous phase

and lasted until the middle of the 1990s, and during which, following constant emigration from the middle of the 1940s, the final houses in the village were abandoned in 1968. During this period, the old Cantina de Peguera served to house summer camps between 1956 to 1978, of which much of the population from Berguedà born in the middle of the 20TH century remembers something; and d) the post-industrial era, coinciding with the recovery of the village's main festival in 1997, along with a series of architectural restorations that were launched by a number of former residents, such as the remodelling of the Coix fountain and the reconstruction of the chapel in 1995, the reconstruction of the roof of the Cal Gran house in 1997, and the recovery and restoration of the Sant Miquel sculpture in 1999. At the same time as these local events, in 1992 the Catalan Government approved the Spaces of Natural Interest Act and created a network of PEIN areas. This new environmental policy represented the culmination of a "green transformation process", using the term coined by Alain Roger (2000), promoted and sustained at an institutional level. This *greening* would experience two transcendental turning points in relation to the attempt to reconvert Peguera into a heritage space aimed at tourism. Specifically, in 2003 an area of land covering 1,800 hectares encompassing Peguera, including the village houses and much of the land surrounding them, was acquired by a sheikh from the United Arab Emirates; and, in 2012, the tourist and urban planning project was approved by the Fígols Municipal Council. This post-industrial conversion was incomplete, however, as the aforementioned Special Plan was not successful due to a lack of capital to proceed with it, and the houses of Peguera and the adjacent buildings have continued their decline to this day.

The establishment of bridges between the synchronic and diachronic descriptions of the landscape of Peguera reveal the logical connections that support them. In that sense, I believe that the different representations or



Panoramic image of Peguera, featuring the remains of the pylons that carried the cable car, allowing the transportation of coal extracted from the mines throughout the Peguera valley (undated photograph; mid-20th century). PERSONAL ARCHIVE OF A RELATIVE OF EL PEGUERA

voices concerning the same area are expressed from contrasting positions, interests and practices, and that both the first (multi-voicalism) and the second (multi-factuality) correspond to different experiences, memories and previous times, experienced spatially. They are linked to different embedded biographies. This meshed approach between the synchronic and diachronic depictions of Peguera thus helps us to better understand the spatio-temporal configurations of its past and present, expressed by each of the voices that make up the conflicting polyphony described.

Tourism heritage strategies for the revaluation of an abandoned, empty and natural space

This last section is dedicated to analysing the tourism heritage processes and their economic rationality, based on the discursive strategies of both the Special Plan and the *Salvem Peguera* platform in line with the abandoned-empty-natural triad. This analysis allows us to reflect on classical ontological premises of the modern western world, based on the categorical dichotomies of nature/culture and space/time, as well as breaking down the relationships established

between both pairs of categories through the processes of tourism heritage. Finally, I also intend to emphasise the analytical value of an ethnography of the rubble and a critical approach to the notion of abandonment.

What is the logical mechanism that supports the economic revaluation of places like Peguera, as abandoned, empty and/or natural spaces? This is the central question that guides this analysis. First, I would like to stress that the response is framed in the establishment of a type of ambivalent interaction between the two pairs of categories mentioned above: nature/culture and space/time. This interaction is articulated through the processes of tourism heritage, especially in uninhabited high-mountain spaces, and that fluctuates strategically between the apparent permanent separation of each of the variables or domains, and their extrication and timely interaction.

Since the end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st century, heritage has emerged as a legitimising tool, used both to justify and to criticise urban plans in rural and urban areas (Franquesa, 2010,

Marble, 2012). Conceived as an objective fact that is disclosed, heritage is mobilised by different stakeholders for purposes that can even be antagonistic. Despite criticism of heritage-permeating essentialism, academic work has demonstrated that while conceptualised as a sociocultural process or economic strategy, heritage contains a dual inherent paradox. It is a process that ends up producing objects, i.e., it becomes an objectifying process, and at the same time, it establishes an ambivalent relationship towards the market (positive and negative) (Franquesa, 2013).

The processes of tourism heritage are articulated through the decontextualisation of both the heritage objects and the conditions and processes that lead them to this new conceptualisation (Marble, 2012). In the case of Peguera, this decontextualisation consisted of the dissociation of certain spaces and times to produce and define a new heritage landscape. Some elements from a specific moment in the past had to be restored as they were (the village houses) while others in the present (the natural environments) had to be preserved as they are today, although this preservation had to evoke a time preceding the region's mining exploitation period.

The discursive analysis of the tourist project demonstrates, however, how these space-time separations are somewhat porous, as the categories of space and time are strategically separate, but also recombined⁶. Faced with these porous separations, the focus of my analysis was on breaking the logics behind this discursive strategy based on the separation/recombination ambivalence. First, this approach to heritage strategy consists of separating and establishing discrete and clear delimitations between the domains of nature and culture. Once these two domains have been split, the second step consists of tracing different spatial and temporal equivalences for each one. Finally, the third phase of this process aims at strategically recombining the two previously separated and conjugated

components of this new space/time ontology (space-present/nature and space-past/culture) with the economic sphere through its use as heritage. In other words, the intention is to present tourism heritage as the creator of the transvaluation or economic revaluation of a place like Peguera. My interest, therefore, does not focus so much on reiterating the division or separation of the space/time and nature/culture variables, but on the subsequent recombination equivalences and processes, and on the provision of new values concerning this space. This interest is aligned with the issues raised by Bruno Latour on how or perhaps when western societies ceased to be completely modern. According to this author, "as we direct our attention simultaneously to the process of purification [division, in this case] and to the process of hybridisation [recombination], we stop being completely modern" (1993: 11). By transposing these ideas to the case study, the Special Plan shows how nature and culture are presented separately and discreetly only in the first, initial phase, while later fluctuating toward recombinations or strategic hybridisations, with equivalences in the middle of these two stages, between the two domains and between the space and time variables. Based on this analysis, it is a strategic separation relating to the transvaluation and economic revaluation of a specific space rather than an ontological division.

The analytical relevance of addressing the processes of tourism heritage as discursive strategies from this perspective lies in investigating how nature and culture, conceived as seemingly separate domains, are used as a means of justifying the economic revaluation or commercialisation of certain spaces previously conceived as abandoned, empty and/or natural. These tourism heritage processes require two essential premises: the division or abstraction of certain variables embedded in specific social contexts and the passage of an amount of time in which the tourism heritage components are framed and defined as abandoned, empty

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This process has some parallels with the processes of "purification" and "translation", and the interactions established between the two, proposed by Bruno Latour when referring to the nature/culture division and the resulting hybridisations (1993).

of meanings and values, and naturalised. This second premise focuses on the status or condition outside the capitalist market of objects and, in this case, a place like Peguera. It is a logical mechanism that, paradoxically, is defended both to achieve the protection of the patrimonial values of a space like Peguera through its economic abstraction or alienation, and to challenge or oppose commercialisation attempts, promoting an identical logical mechanism, whilst defending its inalienability. Following the economic analysis of Franquesa inspired by the works of Annete Weiner on the processes of tourism heritage (2013), an argument that, while the Special Plan strategically used the condition of the Peguera space as separate or stored for a period of time to provide it with a greater market value ("keeping for selling"), the Salvem Peguera platform also based its discourse and opposition to the tourism project on the value of Peguera as a heritage space as separate or saved from the real-estate and tourism market, while in this case pursuing an opposite objective: keeping-against-selling. However, sometimes these saved and separate spaces acquire new added economic value, specifically thanks to their "abandonment" over a certain period of time. This condition combines with the qualities of emptiness and nature.

The key point to these two antagonistic positions on the same project and place is the use of identical logics that are framed within the language of heritage. Franquesa points out that this language is usually guided by the changing interests of the market and the geography of the capital and, therefore, it must be conceived as hegemonic in two ways: "Heritage is not just one *hegemonic language* that articulates hegemonic and counter-hegemonic projects, it is also a *language of hegemony*, which frames conflicts under terms that, by camouflaging their connections with issues of broader political economy, benefit dominant groups" (2013: 347). The action mechanism for tourism heritage processes in relation to market values therefore raises the extent to which the use of the same logics, the same hegemonic language that certain tourism heritage projects oppose, is effective.

Faced with this doubt, I believe that it is relevant to question and expand on the triad of abandoned-empty-natural adjectives, as well as filling a space like Peguera with meaning and value, explaining the social ties that define the embedded biographies between certain people and this uninhabited high mountain location. Abandonment is intimately linked to the abstraction (new meaning) or dismemberment (loss of mean-



Panoramic view of the village and surroundings from Cantina. In addition to the houses in the centre of the village and the surroundings in perfect condition, you can see the division of land and the work in the fields, which contrasts with the wooded landscapes of today (undated, 1920s). PERSONAL ARCHIVE OF JOSEP ORIOLA

ing) of the space; intrinsically linked to the reconversion of rubble into ruins filled with heritage or invisible rubble. The first type of conversion is strategically presented by tourism heritage processes, which, in order to avoid the second, are often presented as a mechanism for filling and providing value to places with *no value* or that are *empty*. This is a critical approach (relational and historical) towards abandoned, empty and natural qualities with which uninhabited villages or rural high mountain areas are defined, and an ethnography of the rubble, understood as the most evocative material expression concerning the conception of

landscapes as palimpsests, which I believe is a relevant analytical tool for avoiding both types of reconversion. This tool not only serves to debate certain essentialist arguments that sustain these tourism heritage processes, but also acts purposely and allows us to move forward with the filling of values beyond the economic and heritage spheres. This ethnographic method concerning abandonment and rubble, in short, allows us to address the tourist heritage strategies corresponding to this and other projects in uninhabited high mountain areas beyond the hegemonic language of heritage and the market⁷. ■

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In 2018, a tourism project was published that seeks to reconvert an old hut that is currently in ruins, Borda Socampo, into a rural hotel in the valley of Bonabé, in the village of Alt Àneu (Pallars Sobirà). The parallels between this case and the case of Peguera, both in terms of the project itself, with the inclusion of a *spa* in the proposal, and the heritage discourses that support it, the analytical use of the notions of abandonment and rubble is evident beyond the specific case of Peguera.

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“Now, you are the tourists” Indigenous tourists and the use of Incan heritage in Cusco¹



Indigenous tourists taking pictures with non-indigenous foreign tourists at the door of the Temple of Santo Domingo, Cuzco, December 2014. BEATRIZ PÉREZ

Indigenous people as tourists

Since the beginning of the 21st century we have seen a renewal of themes and interpretative frameworks in the anthropological study of tourism in relation to indigenous peoples. The growing interest in what is known as "indigenous tourism" around the world is contextualised, on the one hand, within the framework of a global discourse prone to environmental conservation and the recognition of cultural diversity, and, on the other hand, in the reflective and post-modern shift that social sciences have been experiencing since the last century. Other factors to take into account in the case of Latin America, according to several authors (Pereiro, 2013; Valcuende del Río, Murtagh and Rummenhoeffler, 2012; Hernández-Ramírez, Pereiro, and Pinto, 2015), are the growing visibility of indigenous communities as actors in ethnically and culturally focused development and social inclusion policies (Asensio H. and Pérez Galán, 2012: 1) and the so-called "indigenous emergency" (Bengoa, 2006), which implies a new stage in the generation of ethnic awareness associated with the demand for rights at the national and international levels. New topics of interest in the study of tourism include: analysis of indigenous participation in the management of new types of tourism (Stronza, 2001 and 2005; Pérez Galán, 2008; Valcuende *et al.*, 2012), the creation of transnational

responsible tourism networks to defend indigenous rights (Pereiro and De León, 2007), the invention of new ethnic and cultural identities with indigenous reminiscences promoted through tourism (Asensio, 2012), the tourist heritage processes of indigenous cultural practices and products as a development strategy (Asensio H. and Pérez Galán, 2012; Herrera, 2013; García, 2018), and processes of indigenous and cultural self-affirmation and political resistance (Pérez Galán, 2006).

Although this shift of emphasis means recognising and influencing the analysis of the indigenous population as social actors rather than passive subjects, the role assigned to them in the tourism game always continues to be that of "hosts". Often as suppliers of typical products (crafts, food, exotic images), unskilled labour (chambermaids, prostitutes, porters, muleteers, cooks, polishers, cleaners) and, at best, as entrepreneurs who participate in the tourism business by providing accommodation, food and guidance services in the ecotourism, indigenous and community-based tourism initiatives that have proliferated in Latin America since the 1990s. In contrast, there are very few references to their role as "guests", i.e. as local tourists who consume the natural, historical, artistic and cultural heritage of their own regions.

Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) analyse the dual role of indigenous Australians

Paraules clau: turisme local, turistes indígenes, patrimoni inca, identitat, Cusco.

Términos clave: turismo local, turistas indígenas, patrimonio inca, identidad, Cusco.

Key words: local tourism, indigenous as tourists, Inca heritage, identity, Cusco.

1 I would like to thank my colleagues and friends for the comments received on the previous versions of this text, María García-Cano, Jordi Gascón and Raúl H. Asensio.

Des d'una aproximació reflexiva que prioritza l'anàlisi de la pràctica social i el paper que desenvolupa la diferència ètnica en el diàleg entre amfitrions, invitats i gestors del turisme i del patrimoni, en aquest article s'examina un programa de turisme local dirigit a la població indígena de la regió de Cusco, Perú. Per interpretar el significat cultural d'aquesta experiència turística i patrimonial per als turistes indígenes, s'indaga a propòsit dels seus interessos en aquests viatges, com es relacionen amb el patrimoni visitat i amb la producció de narratives sobre identitat regional i nacional.

Desde una aproximación reflexiva que prioriza el análisis de la práctica social y el papel que desempeña la diferencia étnica en el diálogo entre anfitriones, invitados y gestores del turismo y del patrimonio, en este artículo se examina un programa de turismo local dirigido a la población indígena de la región de Cusco, Perú. Para interpretar el significado cultural de esta experiencia turística y patrimonial para los turistas indígenas, se indaga cuáles son sus intereses en estos viajes, cómo se relacionan con el patrimonio visitado y con la producción de narrativas sobre identidad regional y nacional.

From a reflexive approach that highlights the level of social practice and the role of ethnical difference on the dialogue between hosts, guests and tourism heritage managers, in this paper we focus on a local tourism program targeted to indigenous population of Cusco Region, Peru. To elucidate the cultural meaning of this patrimonial and touristic experience for indigenous tourists, we study what their interests are on these tours, the ways they relate to the visited heritage, and about the production of regional and national identity narratives.

as guests (tourists) and as tourism agents (entrepreneurs) and ask why there is a lack of analysis in this field. The authors highlight the colonial and Eurocentric perspective (the "white gaze") that has traditionally dominated studies of indigenous people as "others", the predominant neo-liberal approach to tourism as a resource, and the under-representation of indigenous views in academia that would facilitate the construction of arguments from other places of enunciation and other epistemology. As well as these reasons, studies of domestic tourism have paid little attention to domestic tourism compared to receptive tourism and, within the latter, the so-called "social tourism", which defends the right to rest and paid holidays established in the United Nations Universal Declaration in 1948². As Muñiz (2001) points out, the history of the democratization of tourism and the enjoyment of leisure by the grassroots classes throughout the 20th century is one of the basic foundations of social tourism. However, the debate on access to leisure tourism as a right that is strongly conditioned by the existence of free time and economic resources to pay for travel has generated defenders and detractors, especially with regard to its potential political uses in countries where holidays are considered a luxury for the middle and upper classes and where the basic needs of the majority of population are not guaranteed.

Minnaert, Maitland, and Miller (2009) have investigated the beneficial effects of social tourism on the population. The authors assert that tourism increases social capital in the medium term and family capital in the short term and consequently can be an added value to social policy. Likewise, Higgins-Desbiolles (2006 and 2007) argues that it is useful in promoting social cohesion and inclusion of minority groups such as indigenous people in Australia. From a political economy perspective, Gascón (2012) criticises the advantages obtained by the World Tourism Organization (WTO), which presents itself as an international champion of social tourism, in order to promote its

inclusion in the United Nations system and benefit from the interests of tourism capital, with which the organisation has close ties.

Defined as "the set of activities that generate a tourist demand essentially characterised by its scarce economic resources, so that access to tourist leisure can only occur through the intervention of some operator agents who act to maximise the collective benefit" (Muñiz, 2001: 36), social tourism is mostly associated with developed countries and targets low-income families, young people, the elderly and people with reduced mobility. However, in the last two decades, this kind of tourism has opened up slowly and unevenly in less developed countries and the traditional beneficiary groups have been extended to include "all groups that have a different culture, have less economic means, or live in less developed regions" (ILOS, 1996)³.

In one of the few studies on social tourism in Latin America, Schenkel (2013) identifies and compares programmes in various countries. With the exception of Argentina, a pioneer in the region in implementing social tourism for workers linked to Peronism in the 1950s, in Brazil, Ecuador, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, social tourism programmes aimed at low-income populations and families, without considering the ethnic variable, emerged during the first decade of the 21st century in a favourable regional context of macroeconomic growth, democratisation, and redistributive and social policies. In addition to these programmes, other regional and municipal initiatives carried out in recent years in Mexico City (Mexico)⁴ and in Cuzco (Peru), specifically aimed at the indigenous population, are of particular interest.

To further characterise and reflect on indigenous people as tourists from an anthropological perspective, this text explores one of these programmes. Specifically, the ethnographic example comes from ⁵, a social tourism programme promoted by the Cuzco Regional Directorate of Foreign Trade and

2

According to Article 24 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay".

3

The Montreal Declaration on Social Tourism. Towards a humanist and social vision of tourism, adopted by the General Assembly of the International Social Tourism Organisation (ISTO) in 1996, is the document that contains the guidelines and attributes of social tourism at an international level.

4

The implementation of social tourism programmes dates back to 2013. In 2015, within the Inclusive Tourism programme, the Mexico City Secretary of Tourism launched the *Smiles for your city* programme. *Holidays for all*. This programme, which is still operating, is for indigenous communities, children and older adults. For more information: <<https://www.turismo.cdmx.gob.mx/comunicacion/nota/sonrisas-por-tu-ciudad-2019-un-derecho-de-todos-los-habitantes-de-la-cdmx-disfrutar-las-distintas-opciones-turisticas-y-culturales>> [Last consulted: 12 July 2019]

Tourism, aimed at indigenous people in this region in southern Peru.

Tupananchis consists of a free sightseeing tour of the monumental Inca heritage of the city of Cusco and its surroundings. The visit includes transport to and from the community, coach transport during the tour, lunch in city centre restaurants and the services of official Quechua speaking guides. In 2017, the most recent year for which up-to-date figures are available, after just over a decade of operation *Tupananchis* has taken about 20,000 indigenous tourists, male and female of all ages from mountain and the jungle communities, on tours around the historic centre of the city of Cusco and its surroundings. For many of them, this is their first and only opportunity to visit the city's heritage as tourists and not as service providers, to compare their knowledge with the guides' expert information, to take pictures and share space in monuments, restaurants and archaeological ruins with other foreign and domestic tourists, and to show off their ethnic and regional difference on the city's streets.

Using a reflective approach that prioritises social practices and the role of ethnic difference in the dialogue between hosts, guests, tourism and heritage managers, at this time we ask ourselves if there is an indigenous viewpoint ("indigenous view") that differs from non-indigenous tourism (foreign and domestic). And, if there is, what is the potential influence in the construction of this view of the colonial and post-colonial context of relationships marked by the racism, power and inequality experienced by the Peruvian indigenous population vis-a-vis hegemonic creole and mestizo society.

This investigation into the cultural significance of the indigenous tourism and heritage experience is based on two different but related levels of analysis. Firstly, in terms of the indigenous population itself, which is addressed by studying their motivation for participating in these excursions, how they relate to the heritage visited, and to what

extent these initiatives do or do not contribute to local appropriation of identity narratives and national imaginaries constructed by others. Secondly, taking a broader social and political approach, barely outlined on this occasion, the potential contribution of social tourism to an inclusive notion of citizenship, through the visibility, normalization and daily exercise of social rights of indigenous peoples (Zamosc, 2008; ECLAC, 2010 and 2015).

The data on which this research is based have been gathered using ethnographic methodology. I came across the *Tupananchis* programme in 2008 by chance while doing research on the staging of indigenous culture and the uses of intangible heritage in a set of Peruvian government-supported Community-based Rural Tourism initiatives in southern Peru (Pérez Galán, 2012). *Tupananchis* had been launched the previous year. Contrary to my initial predictions that such an initiative was unlikely to survive in a society so deeply fractured by racism and discrimination against indigenous people, in subsequent years this programme not only survived, but became discreetly established by taking advantage of a favourable political and macroeconomic situation derived from the benefits of the regional extractive economy (mainly mining and gas royalties), and the unstoppable growth of international tourism.

In 2014, as part of a new research project, I⁶ returned to Cuzco to analyse the transformations in relationships with indigenous peoples (Quechuas) and the tourism industry and the gradual recognition of diversity through public programmes and policies. To be precise, the ethnographic fieldwork for this research took place over ten week weeks between October and December that year. I participated as a guest companion in half a dozen *Tupananchis* programme tours in the city of Cuzco and its surroundings. During these tours I carried out participant observation and conducted eleven interviews, all in Spanish, while waiting for the

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From the Quechua language: "meeting" "recognising each other as equals"

6

R&D&I Modernity and indigenous peoples in Latin America, Ministry of Education and Science (HAR2011-25988)

tours and during coach and walking transfers: Six with indigenous tourists (four men and two women) from different provinces (Paucartambo, Canchis, Espinar and Calca), and the remainder with service providers (drivers, restaurant owners and employees etc.). I also had numerous shorter, informal conversations with the museum and archaeological group staff during visits and with foreign tourists we encountered during the tours. Beyond the tours, I conducted a total of seven in-depth interviews with tour guides participating in the tours and the person running this programme at the Cuzco Tourist Board headquarters.

Incas, Gringos and Tourism in Cuzco

Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Inca Empire and urban centre during the colonial era, is both a service centre and a gateway to Machu Picchu, a leading destinations for foreign and domestic incoming tourism in Latin America. In 2017, more than 3.2 million tourists arrived in the city, 1.2 million of whom were domestic, mostly from Lima, and just over two million foreign tourists, primarily from the United States, Brazil, Argentina, France, the United Kingdom, Japan and Australia (BADATUR, 2019)

Although nature tourism and other new forms of tourism have increased substantially in recent years, cultural tourism associated with the Inca monumental heritage (visits to Machu Picchu and tours of the city), are still the most popular choice among foreign and domestic visitors. In part, this is because the history of tourism in this country is inseparable from the contemporary production of "Inca Cuzco" as the cradle of Peruvianness whose origin dates back to the beginning of the 20th century.

The scientific discovery of Machu Picchu by Hiram Bingham (1911) and its publication in *National Geographic* two years later, were the first milestones in the development of this industry and at the same time in the indigenism of the time. Uriel García, Luís

Valcárcel, Abraham Guillén and Martín Chambi, and other indigenists, would take this discovery as a landmark in the construction of the nation and political nationalism based on an exalted Inca past.

In the 1940s, literature, cinema, the media, theatre, schools, archaeology, politics and tourism joined forces to defend the Inca essence of the Peruvian nation and situate it geographically and culturally in the city of Cuzco, a process that has been studied by several authors (De la Cadena, 2004; Pacheco, 2007; Gómez, 2009; Silverman, 2012). Three of the significant milestones that make a decisive contribution to projecting this image for international tourism are the celebration of the Inti Raymi since 1944, still a central aspect of local festivities today; the publication of Bingham's "The Lost City of the Incas" in 1948; and the 1954 Hollywood movie "The Secret of the Incas", with Charlton Heston.

Although the Peruvian government has been promoting international tourism by the Peruvian state since the last 1960s⁸, coinciding with the growth of mass tourism in Europe, it was not until the mid-nineties after a crisis caused by years of political violence and the cholera epidemic, that the city of Cuzco became an established international destination (Fuller, 2009). It achieved this by recreating an image of the Inca past, seasoned with esoteric and *new age* nuances that the city projects to this day (Pérez Galán, 2011).

Cuzco and Incaism, regional versions of indigenism with strong roots in the Cuzco city elite, would become the political-ideological backdrop that would proclaim Cuzco's cultural superiority the ancient capital of the Inca empire. Daniel Estrada, the city mayor at the time, would have a key role in the reinvention of Cuzco as a symbol of regional identity of the Incas and their status as a tourist attraction. Among other activities, he reinstated the former names of the streets and squares in Quechua. redesigned

7

Peru is one of the Latin American countries with the most recognisable historical-cultural heritage. It has eleven sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List, the most frequently visited of which is Machu Picchu. There are also about twenty Inca archaeological sites for tourist use in the city of Cuzco and its surroundings.

8

Although national tourism plans have been created and promoted by Peru since the creation of the Peru-UNESCO Tourist and Cultural Plan, COPESCO) in 1969, institutionalised tourism did not become established in Peruvian national policy until the second half of 1990. Among the main milestones were the creation of PROMPERU (1996) and of the Vice-Ministry of Tourism (1998); the creation of the "Master Plan of National Tourist Development of the Republic of Peru" and the creation of the Ministry of Tourism and Foreign Trade (2001), and finally, the production of the first National Strategic Plan for Tourism, PENTUR (2005), which is still the tool for developing tourism at the national level. The plan is updated every three years and contains guidelines and indicators to integrate the tourist resources and services of interest, adapted in the respective Regional Plans (PERTUR), with a ten-year horizon. However, beyond these plans, Peru still has no public tourism.

the historic centre with numerous fountains, statues and large murals extolling mythical heroes and the Inca founders of the city using a heroic and romantic aesthetic that contrasts sharply with reality of indigenous people today.

Gradually, these, and other political uses of the Inca past became part of the city's recent history of the city and trends in international tourism, establishing a tourism model that exalts part of the heritage (Inca) to the detriment of the rest (pre-Inca, colonial, republican and contemporary). This model is overwhelmingly aimed at one type of tourist only: the "gringos" as these foreigners from the first world are popularly known in the Andes - with whom the local population has an ambiguous relationship as a source of resources and, simultaneously, of conflict. On the one hand, we have conflicts derived from the heritage management and conservation that pit the former National Institute of Culture (Ministry of Culture since 2010) against the local population due to expropriation of property, the gentrification of the historical centre and their banishment to the urban periphery, and on the other hand, we have conflict with the tourism entrepreneurs (both national and foreign) for restricting the use of some places, increased crime, police controls, etc.

Local tourism in Cuzco

Under the pretext of defusing local tensions caused by the management of this resource and making the local population more active participants in the benefits of tourism, DIRCETUR- since the late 1990s Cuzco has been promoting a set of tourism programmes aimed at the local population that resume the associative experience developed in previous decades⁹. It is not necessary to specify a place of origin, ethnic-cultural affiliation, or economic situation to benefit from these programmes. The only requirement is "to be a Cusqueño" and to prove it by means of a National Identity Document. In fact, the attractions visited are identical to those offered to *gringos* but include free

entrance to the sites, the services of a professional Quechua and Spanish speaking guide, meals and transport.

This local tourism offer is made up of four programmes that have been developed during the decade since the end of the nineties:

Sightseeing walks for students consisting of guided walking tours through squares and streets of the historical centre, churches and colonial houses, museums and Saqsayhuaman archaeological park.

Youth with Culture also for students, in an area of up to 50 km from the city.

Saturdays in Cuzco for "cusqueñas" families from the city to visit the most symbolic city sites, held on Saturdays.

Tupananchis, the most recent of these, is aimed at the indigenous Cuzco population (from the mountains and jungle) of the Cuzco Region to visit the city's Inca heritage.

In 2009, this local tourism service was supported in budgetary and regulatory terms and adapted to the global rhetoric and contemporary trends in social and inclusive tourism. The enactment of the new Tourism Law (2009) which declares tourism to be of national interest under the principles of sustainability, inclusion, non-discrimination, identity and conservation on the one hand, and the publication of the second National Tourism Strategic Plan (PENTUR)¹⁰ which incorporates sustainable, social and community tourism to indigenous destinations for the first time on the other, are both key to achieving this purpose (MINCETUR, 2009). In the absence of national public policies that regulate the model of tourism development, it is up to regional governments to make this new rhetoric a reality through Regional Strategic Tourism Plans (PERTUR) and their budgetary allocations¹¹.

In this context, the group of tourism programmes for the Cuzco population promoted by DIRCETUR must now be clas-

9

The history of local tourism dates back to the 1970s as a voluntary initiative by an association of students studying tourism at the University of San Antonio Abad del Cuzco (CEATEC), in conjunction with the University, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Industry and Tourism, and ENAFER-Peru (a railway company). This initiative consisted of providing transportation, lodging and meals to groups of school children visiting the city of Cuzco on school trips. This initiative was joined by others to encourage local tourism, such as discounts on entrance to tourist attractions and the local train to Machu Picchu.

10

See note 7.

11

These programmes are funded with the "tourist ticket", a single ticket that gives access to the city's main tourist attractions. In 2014, Cuzco took 66 million Soles (about 17.6 million euros) in ticket sales to tourists. According to unofficial estimates, approximately 700,000 euros were used to finance the DIRCETUR-Cuzco Social Tourism service during that year.

sified as "social tourism". Thus, in addition to the traditional objective of reinforcing the cultural identity of the population and ensuring familiarity with the traditions and customs that motivated the pioneering programmes, at this juncture, others are taking a more prominent role, by: adding to and diversifying the range of destinations which have traditionally been highly dependent on Machupicchu and foreign tourism; strengthening the "tourist culture"¹²; and promoting social inclusion through tourism by expanding the beneficiaries of these programmes to the indigenous and rural population of Cuzco. *Tupananchis* is the one that best responds to that objective.

The *Tupananchis* programme. Segmentation, segregation and indigenisation of tourism

The bus finally arrives in Tupac Amaru Square with the tourists! [...] The passengers are from three rural communities in the district of Maranganí, province of Canchis, 150 km from the city of Cuzco [...]. There are approximately 60 men and women of all ages [...]. The passengers gradually go up to the auditorium on the second floor of the Tourism Department. With some difficulty due to the lack of space, the women sit on the chairs and put their *wawas* and heavy *llikllas* full of food and formal clothes on the floor to change. As part of the load, some women also carry mobile phones, compact digital cameras, notebooks and pens... Once seated, the lights go out. *Tupananchis Qosqota Reqsipa*¹³, a presentation about tourist culture and heritage in Cuzco is screened. Delia, the guide in charge of this group, tells them what she will be doing during the day: "Now, you are the tourists." (Excerpt from the Field Diary, Cuzco, 04.12.2014).

Tupananchis has many similarities with other social tourism programmes for families and urban students but also some differences. The most evident refers to the target popu-

lation segmented by place of residence and ethno-cultural affiliation.

The groups in this programme consist of delegations of up to 30 people that include families, schoolchildren, students on study trips and senior citizens from any of the almost 1,000 communities in the 13 provinces of Cuzco. This rural and indigenous population, mainly Quechua, which accounts for slightly more than 53% of the total population of the region (INEI, 2007), is extraordinarily heterogeneous in terms of educational level, gender, age, and geographical and cultural origin, but also in terms of other more specific factors such as communication links, the different degree of westernisation, and the greater or lesser availability of economic resources in their districts. These aspects differentiate the groups that enrol in the programme and strongly influence their interaction with the guides, the Ministry's employees and other tourists, their command of Spanish, their consumption habits and inequality in the use of cameras, cell phones, typical costumes and the general atmosphere of the activity. So much so that, in spite of repeating the tours, guides and explanations at each site visited, no two *Tupananchis* are the same.

These factors have a significant impact on the different motivations for making the trip. The most frequent ones include to see ("to see the wonders of Cuzco", "to get out of the community", "to take a break from the daily routine", "the bus trip", "the free food", "to stroll along the streets of Cuzco", and "to copy ideas for future business"), and also to be seen ("to show off your ethnic and regional identity and customs in the city of Cuzco in multiple ways": making music, eating in groups, wearing colourful costumes), in a culturally alien, ethnically segregated space, charged with symbolic violence that marginalises and excludes them historically and continuously, while idealizing the Incas of the past as a source of regional identity.

12

According to the General Law of Tourism (2009) "cultural tourism" has three components: recognising tourism as a mechanism for developing the country; welcoming tourists with kindness and cordiality; valuing, loving and protecting cultural, natural and historical heritage.

13

From the Quechua language: "Finding ourselves, while we get to know Cuzco."



In the same way as the other local tourism programmes, the beneficiaries of *Tupananchis* do not travel as individuals but as delegates of their institutions, in this case their communities, in groups of up to 30 people selected by each community in advance. Although the selection procedure and criteria vary between one community and another, preference is usually given to those who hold a position of authority in the community, either in democratic bodies (Board of Directors, Committees, Parents' Associations and Mothers' Club) or in the *wachu* or traditional office system (Pérez Galán, 2004). This means that the officials representing their communities who come to a place under foreign rule such as Cuzco, aid understanding of some cultural behaviours exhibited during these trips.

This is the case of the relatively frequent use of "typical clothing" by these tourists, despite this not being required by the programme. Rather, it is a way to stand out and express collective identity similar to that used on

other ritual and festive occasions such as Sunday civic parades and Fiestas Patrias, which are attended by supra-communal authorities, usually non-indigenous. Along with the traditional dress, sometimes *Tupananchis* tourists spontaneously perform traditional dances and music in open air esplanades usually in the archaeological ruins visited. This is the case of *Saqsayhuaman* Archaeological Park where at another time of the year Inti Raymi, a festival that evokes the internationally famous Incas is held, which has become a core episode of the city's patron saint festivities. In addition, the indigenisation of this activity is manifested through other social practices common to the Andean population that occur at every step of the journey, such as the ritual exchange of food and drink accompanied by thanking the *Pachamama* and the *Apus* or guardian spirits nearby, to the amazement of guides, employees of the Ministry of Culture and other tourists.

These behaviours trigger the openly discriminatory and racist situations that occur

Indigenous tourists at the door of DIRCETUR, Tupac Amaru Square, Cuzco (December 2014). BEATRIZ PÉREZ

during visits by some mestizo employees who are forced to serve indigenous tourists: from their expulsion from the premises on the pretext that "folklore performances" are prohibited, to other more veiled yet no less obvious reactions, such as giving priority of entry to foreign tourists queueing in the same line because the *Tupananchis* groups "are too numerous", or prohibiting them from using the toilets "because the water is not working", or forcing them to leave their bulky *qepis* at the entrance to the rooms "so as not to hinder the flow of tourists", restrictions which are not applied to non-indigenous tourists' backpacks. To counteract this situation, the Directorate of Tourism has held "training workshops on local tourism" for the employees of the Ministry of Culture who take care of these visitors.

"The communal man is still not treated well in the city of Cuzco [...]. Why don't we put them together? Because they have different characteristics in this country. For example, I can't give a "comunero" Spanish-speaking guide because he won't understand, I have to give him a Quechua-speaking guide. We also offer them the rest of the programmes as *cusqueños* [...]. Peru has a serious social segmentation, we have tremendous disparities, we have a very marked racism and because of this we deal in pragmatics and not with the discourse of integration: local citizens see that peasants can be tourists, too" (VHPC, Director of DIRCETUR-Cuzco, 2014).

It is worth mentioning the relationship between indigenous tourists and non-indigenous tourists, whose encounters are usually brief and restricted to transit or at the entrance to tourist attractions. Accustomed to seeing them as handicraft vendors, beggars or porters, most *gringos* are surprised when they meet them, and hope they will be seeing an unscheduled folklore performance. If there is any possibility for the groups to communicate (Spanish-English), brief but fruitful conversations ensue, during which each group of tourists projects its stereotypes

on the other: "What country do you come from?" "Is it very cold in there?" "Why are they so white and so tall?" [...] Meanwhile, the *gringos*, usually very pleased with this brief intercultural experience, admire their typical clothes and ask permission to take pictures of them. Sometimes it is the male indigenous tourists who take advantage of their position to take pictures with the foreign tourists with their compact cameras and cell phones.

Another characteristic derived from the cultural segmentation that makes this programme unique is that it is the only one carried out entirely in Quechua. Although the rate of bilingualism among indigenous tourists varies depends on gender, educational level, age and previous migratory experience, Quechua is the mother tongue spoken on a daily basis and as is one of the most powerful markers of cultural and class identity in the Andes. In fact, despite being the second language in terms of number of speakers in the country and being recognised as a co-official language with Spanish, it is scarcely used in government bodies. That is why it is significant that DIRCETUR makes it an absolute condition that all staff providing this service (guides, drivers, waiters and management support staff in this programme) know the local language¹⁴. We do not have sufficient data to infer that the few guides who say that they work in the native language to carry out their work are of indigenous origin - in Cuzco, some of the mestizo population, particularly adults and elderly people, speak Quechua - however, there is no doubt that there is a trend for opening up this professional sector traditionally occupied by mestizos, creoles and foreigners living in Cuzco¹⁵. Likewise, from the interviews with the *Tupananchis* guides, all of whom are mestizo and bilingual, it is clear that finding a qualified guide who speaks Quechua correctly and who has the right qualifications is no easy task. In spite of this, little social and economic value is given to the use of the indigenous language in professional environments, as can be

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The guide service for the Social Tourism programmes is a public sub-contract that DIRCETUR puts out to tender every year. As well as being fluent in Quechua, guides must have an official qualification and be registered with one of five associations of which the more than 3,500 registered guides (DIRCETUR, 2014) were members in 2014. With regard to language skills, a careful look at this record shows that almost two thirds of those registered do not include a second language, another third declare themselves to be bilingual (mastering the Spanish-English combination, but not exclusively) and approximately the remaining third include the use of a third language. Only 20 of the total say they are bilingual "Quechua-Spanish" or trilingual "Quechua-English-Spanish".

15

The diversification of productive activities in the rural area and the wider availability of resources are among the factors that have contributed to encouraging social mobility of some indigenous families who send their children to complete their secondary and higher education in Cuzco or in intermediate cities in recent years. Tourism is among the most popular courses, along with tradition management, a topic that we have addressed on other occasions (Pérez Galán, 2004).

deduced from the remuneration obtained by the guides who work in these programmes, which is about half of that received when they work with foreign tourists in English, French, Japanese, German etc.

A final aspect that makes this programme unique in relation to the indigenous condition of its participants, is the evident "institutional discretion" in which these tours take place. This attitude is evident in the discreet or separate reception of the tourist buses at the Tourist Office premises, the fact that they run on school days, and in that, despite how numerous and difficult these groups are to handle in the city with members who are constantly lagging behind to look at things, sit down for a rest, buy something sweet or a soda, the guides never carry any sound amplifier to get about in the city and the participants are given nothing to identify them as tourists. The programme is not advertised in the media or in the electoral programmes

of the candidates for mayor, beyond a few short news items in the local press to praise the Regional Government's management of tourism "for cusqueños". Yet more surprising is the lack of promotion and raising of visibility of these programmes by the Regional Directorate vis-a-vis the Ministry of Trade and Tourism. Structural violence and racism toward indigenous people and the immediate political impact of everything that affects the uses of heritage in this city seem sufficient grounds for this caution, as recognised in the interviews:

"Because you don't know much... Well, because this subject must continue to mature, and on the other hand there are a number of dangers. There are a lot of political and partisan attempts to win votes in the communities, and those communities [the politicians] are going to bring them [to Cuzco] to be ambassadors for promotions and they are going to want us to give them the full service. We want

**Indigenous tourists
on a guided tour of the
Church of Santa Domingo,
November 2014** BEATRIZ
PÉREZ



to separate technical issues from political issues, so we don't want to give them to people in power which would denaturalise the whole issue, and eventually they would say that the resources are being used for the benefit of the party, and when the party disappeared, the programme would disappear and create a different kind of labyrinth" (VHPC, Director of DIRCETUR-Cuzco, 2014).

Tourism, otherness and coloniality. Who does the Inca heritage represent?

"*Tupananchis* is aimed at peasant and Amazonian communities. We think they are the true owners of the heritage. They are the direct heirs of the Inca culture, and it is they who we bring as tourists to the city of Cuzco..."

In anthropological literature, several approaches are used to interpret the relationship of indigenous people with the past. For example, through the study of unique ways of creating one's own historicity as a feature of ethnic identity (Rappaport, 2000), or by emphasising processes of tourist and commercial standardisation and spectacularisation of archaeological heritage (Silverman, 2002, 2005 and 2006), or by analysing the relationship between political uses of archaeological discoveries and the creation of national and regional identity narratives (Asensio, 2012; García, 2018). In contrast, approaches that focus on interpreting the patterns of perception and understanding of the heritage assets that represent the essence of the nation/region are less frequent when the recipients - as in the case of the *Tupananchis* programme - are the indigenous people or other ethnic minorities traditionally excluded from the construction of that political project. For Taussig (1995: 67-8), who reflects on the significance of monumental archaeological ruins for indigenous Colombians, it is a question of a type of universalist narratives of foreign origin which he qualifies as "our chimeras" and which constitute the material expression of

the structural violence exercised in the past and present by the hegemonic society.

The Peruvian case is paradigmatic in this respect. Although the construction of the nation and of political nationalism-region-alism based on the Inca past dates back, as we pointed out, to the discovery of Machu Picchu, that discovery served to create an elitist local discourse whose current validity is inevitably mediated by the vast process of patrimonialisation and tourism of the Inca ruins in Cuzco built through the media, social networks, the Internet, cinema, school and historical fiction. All these media interact to produce a narrative that is consumed by foreign and domestic tourists and, within this group, also by indigenous people.

From this polysemic perspective, we propose to interpret the perceptions of the Inca heritage visited in the *Tupananchis* circuits. On the one hand, for the mentors of this programme for whom it is a question of the restitution of a right previously expropriated from the today's indigenous people whom he considers the bearers of an Inca identity and the legitimate heirs of that heritage, more than any other Cusqueño. And, on the other hand, for indigenous people, who like all other Peruvians are consumers of legends about giant Incas capable of moving the hills that make up the contemporary landscape, astronomical observatories converted into landing strips for aliens, and amazing Inca building techniques used in fortresses, palaces, temples and other stone monuments of imposing size and amazing cost that they observe in detail throughout these tours.

From this perspective, indigenous tourists of *Tupananchis*, like other modern tourists, come to find out whether what they know about the Incas is true, and often the expert explanation of the official guides, which in no way resembles the popular magical-esoteric narratives, proves a disappointment.

"They come eager to find out whether the Incas really made those walls and took the stone from the bedrock, 'but they have

no idea what the architecture was like! So they say that the stone was moved and cut by rubbing it, or that the aliens did it. Sometimes they don't believe what they're told. They're incredulous. That's why it is a good idea for them to go to the Inca museum, because everything is there" (DM, Tupananchis programme Guide, 2014).

But particularly because these Inca archaeological complexes are not culturally significant places to the indigenous people who visit, any more than they are for any other Peruvian. They are not part of their daily identity, nor do they come from the indigenous narratives of "their" past or from their tradition, despite what is drummed into them time and again by the managers and tour guides on these tours, by teachers, the media, the government, some anthropologists and everyone else who projects a supposed Inca identity onto them. Unlike those inhabited by their ancestors and studied on other occasions, spiritually connoted or charged with energy unlike those in which their ancestors lived (Pérez Galán, 2004)¹⁶.

Indigenous tourism and inclusive citizenship

This text is based on the need to understand the transformation of the roles played by indigenous peoples in Latin America in relation to tourism: traditionally as providers of services, products and exotic images for Western tourists; and, increasingly in recent years, as participants and promoters of indigenous tourism businesses and as consumers of leisure linked to tourism and heritage. This is the case of *Tupananchis*, the tourism programme for indigenous people run by the Cuzco Regional Directorate of Foreign Trade and Tourism (Dircetur), briefly described in this text.

In contrast to the anthropological emphasis on the study of different types of tourism and the experiences of tourists with their western, foreign, urban and middle class origins, this example highlights the multiple possibilities involved in the study of domestic tourism

and, in particular, social tourism aimed at local ethnic minorities in Latin America.

Specifically, this tourism opens a space for reflection on the marginal participation of the indigenous population in relation to the historical heritage that sustains the national narrative: how the "indigenous view" of these tourists - who are not part of the indigenous intelligentsia, and do not they have university degrees, and are not international representatives of the pan-Indianist movement - is experienced and based on a heritage that has been previously defined by other non-indigenous people; and, the extent to which social and inclusive tourism is a means to democratisation of heritage, in the sense proposed by García Canclini (1993). That is, a collective appropriation of heritage that involves all social sectors: indigenous and non-indigenous, peasants and migrants, and especially those whose identity is disrupted by the hegemonic uses of culture.

It also highlights the deeply ideological and political framework implied by tourism heritage for the local population, which is by no means a neutral or necessarily new process. As illustrated by the *Tupananchis* programme, which is formally framed in the global narratives of sustainability, inclusion and development of social tourism at the beginning of this century, but which is in practice heir to currents of Cuzco's heritage, regionalist indigenism and popular tourism initiatives that date back several decades and the struggle to impose their version of the pre-Hispanic legacy and its rightful place. So, while for the mestizo society of Cuzco, the Inca heritage supports a regionalist and national political narrative and is a symbol of social distinction that has little or nothing to do with the indigenous people of flesh and blood, for those responsible for this programme this legacy is the immediate material expression of the indigenous identity of the current population and, as such, is above all a right that must be restored to this population; while for the indigenous tourists the Inca monumental heritage represents a symbol of oppression and

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There are numerous ethnographies in the Andes that study the daily relationship between the indigenous people and the "ancients", "machus", or "gentiles" and other mythical characters from the past that inhabit the Andean geography. In the highland communities of the district of Pisac (Cuzco) where I carried out extensive ethnographic fieldwork in the 1990s, the places inhabited by "the ancients", mythical characters from the past, are the sites of choice for their cemeteries. In these it is common to find stones and bones in the shape of animals (*illas*), considered essential elements for their propitiatory rituals. These spaces have a number of qualities including a set of prohibitions and appropriate ritual treatments (Pérez Galán, 2004).

exclusion in relation to the hegemonic society of Cuzco, and also a space mediated by exotic, monumentalist and mythical criteria of a distant past and alien to their Andean identity, an identity to which I have referred on previous occasions as "authentically hybrid" (Pérez Galán, 2004).

With regard to the recognition of leisure and its relationship with tourism as a strategy to promote social inclusion, the study of this type of programme aimed at indigenous people deserves a final reflection.

Although inclusive public policies targeting vulnerable groups such as indigenous peoples have been implemented in a number of Latin American countries since the beginning of the twenty-first century (through the application of conditional income transfer and poverty reduction programmes), they have an impact on basic areas of protection such as access to health, education, housing and pensions, and the multidimensional focus on social inequality makes it possible to think of broadening the coverage to other areas that may contribute to the exercise of full citizenship by the indigenous people.

It is clear that to obtain recognition of this right it is not enough to invite a few indigenous people to board a tourist bus, have lunch in a restaurant and show them a part of the city's historical heritage. Especially when part of the funds that finance these social programmes and redistributive public policies come from income from the "extractive economy" through the payment of royalties and fees from multinational mining and gas companies that have been depriving that same population of the right to territory, health and life for more than two decades throughout Latin America¹⁷. Based on the need to establish public policies in this area, this study suggests that tourism for indigenous people, with its lights and shadows, can, under certain circumstances, contribute to the construction of a citizenship that must also be concerned with guaranteeing access to heritage as well as the right to leisure and tourism, with the non-folkloric and marginal participation of these peoples. That is, both in the management and appropriation of benefits and in the definition of and access to cultural assets by promoting their own heritage projects as citizens and consumers. ■

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Several national and international human rights organisations have denounced the escalation of violence and the assassination of environmental leaders that has taken place in the last decade in Latin America. Among the most seriously affected countries are Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Honduras and Guatemala.

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The effects of participatory mechanisms in heritage management in rural Asturias

1. Ethnographic scene¹

In a small dining room decorated with dried animal skins, we talk to Francisco, a former union leader in the mining sector, who has become an ecological farmer. With a particularly sarcastic sense of humour, he jokes about the "danger of extinction" in the Fuentes del Narcea, Degaña e Ibias Nature Park (Asturias). Statistics reveal that the population of brown bears is consolidated and will guarantee tourism for several generations, while the region's towns and villages continue to lose inhabitants at a fast and alarming pace.

According to Francisco, the migratory flows of wild animals are better planned than those of civilised animals and, therefore, he believes it would be logical for biologists rather than politicians to assume responsibility for town and country planning. For some decades now, Francisco has directed this type of criticism at the way institutions operate and is personally involved in building political alternatives. In recent years, as the chair of a property owners' association, he has led the legal process against the Principality of Asturias to repeal natural park management instruments. The main argument of their case is that when designating the protected spaces, the formulas

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for citizen participation stipulated in the current legislation were not adequately implemented. Francisco recently received a letter from the technical staff at the Rural Development Group inviting him to participate in its meetings at Cangas del Narcea. On this occasion, he has no intention of driving the long distance that separates him from the regional capital to endorse, with his presence, decisions that he believes have been taken in advance by those he calls "the same old politicians." He is willing to invest his time and energy in the demand for citizen participation but criticises its appropriation and instrumentalisation by the heritage networks in the region.

2. Research objectives, methodology, and questions

This article analyses the practices and discourses concerning "citizen participation" by local stakeholders, such as Francisco, in addition to public institutions and various sectoral interest groups (politicians, public servants, representatives of conservationist groups, landowners and farmers, workers and business owners from the tourist sector, etc.). On the one hand, we approach the narratives of the subaltern and peripheral sectors that historically have constituted the traditional object of anthropology, while also looking at the perspective of the leading sectors of heritage management, along the lines of the classical works in the English-speaking world on political elites (Marcus, 1983; Nader, 1972).

With regard to the methodology, we use various research techniques, from participant observation and semi-structured interviews to the study of regulations and textual documentation generated by organisations with responsibilities for heritage. Our intention is to examine how the participatory requirements established in the official recommendations and regulations are carried out, the conflicts between the political agendas and discourses of the different heritage stakeholders and the hybridisation of participatory processes with pre-existing socio-political inertias (co-optation, cronyism, etc.). In other words, far from addressing the alleged involvement of citizens in governance as an independent and isolated phenomenon, we investigate participatory practices in relation to the dynamics inherent in representative and administrative bodies at a municipal, county and regional level, the different sectoral or corporate representations and the specific nature of the trade union fabric. Based on this knowledge, located in the "syntax of participation" (Roura-Expósito and Alonso González, 2018) we ask ourselves whether the participatory mechanisms represent a democratising, decentralising and transparency-enhancing vector of institutions as a form of defending the official political discourse, or whether they constitute an instrument to stabilise and strengthen pre-existing power relations (Alonso *et al.*, 2018; Quintero Morón and Sánchez-Carretero, 2017; Sánchez-Carretero and Jiménez-Esquinas, 2016; Adell, *et al.*, 2015; Hertz,

Paraules clau: governança participativa, patrimoni natural, espais protegits, xarxes clientelars, neoliberalisme corporatiu.

Palabras clave: gobernanza participativa, patrimonio natural, espacios protegidos, redes clientelares, neoliberalismo corporativo.

Keywords: participatory governance, natural heritage, protected areas, cronyism, corporate neoliberalism.

L'article analitza les estratègies d'implementació de la governança participativa del patrimoni i el turisme en el medi rural del Principat d'Astúries. A través del treball de camp etnogràfic es posa de manifest que les pràctiques participatives no només legitimen la recepció i redistribució de fons europeus per part de les institucions de l'Estat espanyol, sinó que adopten configuracions allunyades de les seves lògiques inicials i consoliden les relacions de poder preexistents entre els diversos actors locals.

El artículo analiza las estrategias de implementación de la gobernanza participativa del patrimonio y el turismo en el medio rural del Principado de Asturias. A través del trabajo de campo etnográfico se pone de manifiesto que las prácticas participativas no solamente legitiman la recepción y redistribución de fondos europeos por parte de las instituciones del Estado español, sino que adoptan configuraciones alejadas de sus lógicas iniciales y consolidan las relaciones de poder preexistentes entre los diversos actores locales.

This paper analyses the roll-out of participatory governance strategies regarding heritage and tourism in rural areas in Asturias. Ethnographic fieldwork has revealed that participatory practices not only legitimise the reception and redistribution of European funds by Spanish institutions, but also take on quite different configurations from their initial logics, thus consolidating pre-existing power relations between different local actors.

2015; Cooke and Kothari, 2007; Cox, 2010; Cleaver, 1999).

In a broader sense, the article discusses forms of political management in rural areas, the scope of institutional power networks, and the extension of neoliberal governance formulas of heritage and tourism, connecting with current anthropological debates on governance, bureaucracy, and political elites (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Hoag, 2011; Marcus, 2008). In this approach to institutional intervention strategies and political interactions between sectoral groups, we identify traditional partisan and corporatist networks of the rural environment in Spain, in addition to the progressive incorporation of elements of technocratic and neoliberal governance, inherent in EU development programmes such as LEADER or PRODER. As regards ethnography, a heritage and tourist management model has emerged that hybridises corporate neoliberalism within the European framework, the institutional structures of the 1978 regime in Spain and cronyistic dynamics at a regional and local scale (Alonso González and Macías Vázquez, 2014). Through this analysis, we aim to demonstrate that participatory processes are a result of the depoliticisation of civil society, the illegitimate exercise of institutional power, and the reproduction of domination relationships between heritage stakeholders.

3. Theoretical framework

Over the past two decades, we have seen significant transformations in natural heritage management models, which are progressively abandoning *biocentric* conservation approaches and starting to value the role of local populations in the preservation of biodiversity (Berkes, 2007, Bixler *et al.*, 2015). This change has been encouraged by numerous groups of EU experts and political committees that foster participation as a "good practice", as well as by international manifestos and charters by multilateral agencies such as ICOMOS or UNESCO that incorporate it as a "recommendation" (ICOMOS, 1990; UNESCO,

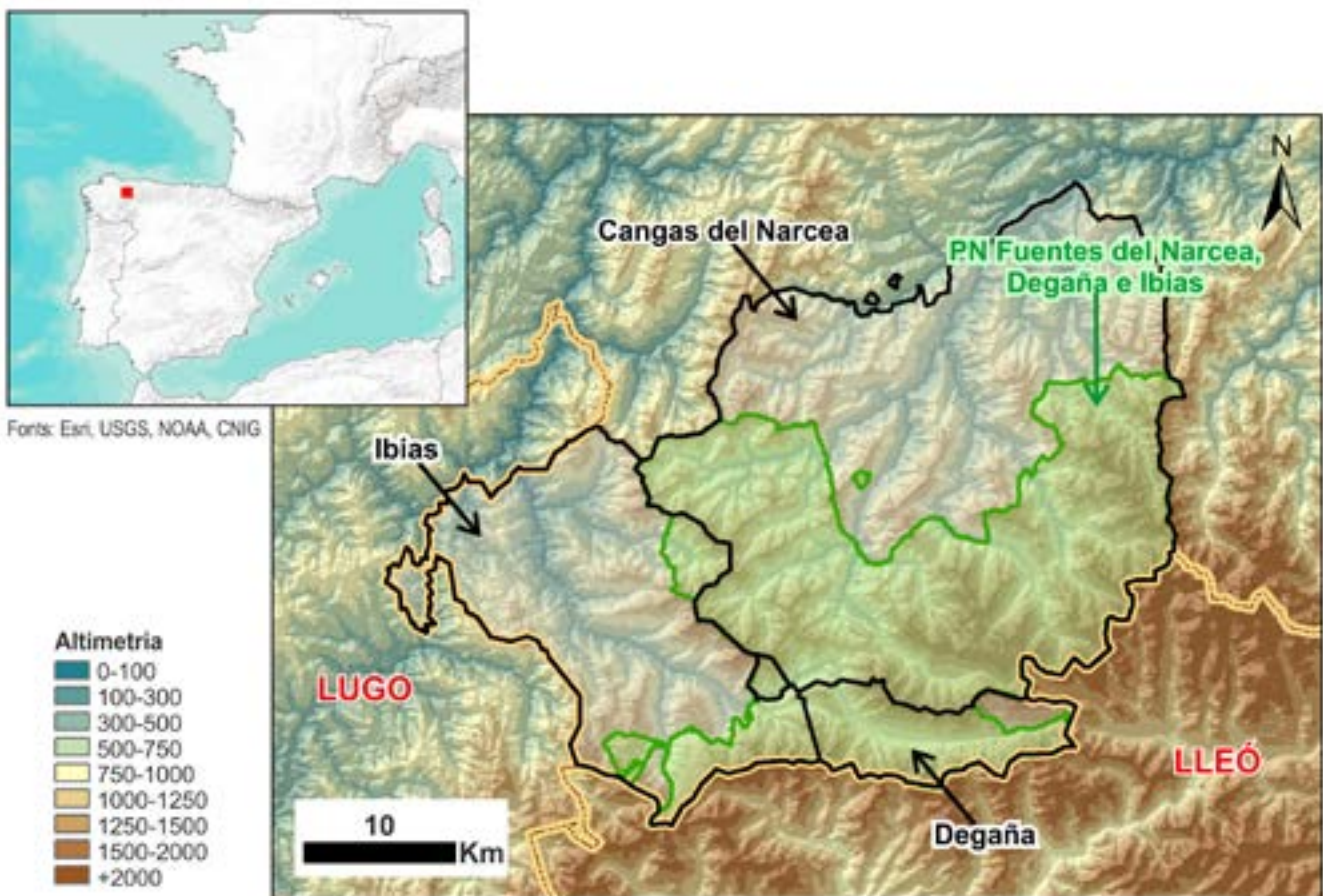
2003). As these international bodies place greater emphasis on the role of civil society, citizen participation mechanisms are being incorporated into legislation and are becoming bureaucratic pre-requisites in terms of heritage management (Cortés-Vázquez *et al.*, 2017). This style of government can be conceptualised as *participatory governance* (McNulty and Wampler, 2015), although there is no shared scholarly consensus on the meaning of terms such as *governance* (Howe, 2012) or *participation* (Hertz, 2015).

Participatory governance could be tentatively defined as a new system for bringing institutions and civil society together, in which institutions ideally share, assign or transfer certain powers over political decisions. The materialisation of this promise can be seen in significant budgetary efforts, which not only generate expectations and hopes between civil society and social movements, but also new fields of professional specialisation and a growing interest in academia. In recent decades there has been abundant disciplinary literature on "participation", presented in most cases as a beneficial political practice that should be encouraged to overcome the deficits in representative democracy. However, there is also a more critical body of literature that interprets Foucauldian participation, either as a "form of governance of neoliberalism" (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002), an "instrument of institutional domination" (Cooke and Kothari, 2007), an "anti-political machine" (Rose, 2006) or a "strategy for democratising inequality" (Lee *et al.*, 2015). At present, it is still unusual to find genealogical studies on the conditions of citizen participation or radical challenges concerning its ontological value, although more and more research laments the depoliticisation, technification and bureaucratisation of participatory processes. At the same time, disciplinary literature is dominated by applied approaches or theoretical approaches inspired by quantitative and speculative elements, which we believe must be complemented by ethnographic, empirical and qualitative contributions.

4. Ethnographic approach

Our fieldwork is focused on the south-west region of the Principality of Asturias, in an eminently rural area made up of the municipalities of Cangas del Narcea, Degaña and Ibias, with a population of 15.287 inhabitants. This population is encompassed by the Alto Narcea-Muniellos Rural Development Group's area of action and within the territorial boundaries of the Fuentes del Narcea, Degaña e Ibias Nature Park. In this section, we address the socio-economic context that

a profound productive and demographic crisis (Rodríguez Gutiérrez and Menéndez, 2005; Santos González and Redondo Vega, 2016). The primary sector is limited to a number of agricultural initiatives dedicated to the cultivation of grape vines and extensive livestock farming linked to meat production. The mining industry, which historically represented the main source of regional income, has ceased production. Consequently, regional governments are opting for a transition to a post-industrial



explains the emergence of these heritage management structures, before analysing their respective representation procedures and a number of the causes and effects of the introduction of participatory mechanisms in the rural environment of Asturias.

4.1 Socio-economic context

Statistics show that the south-west region of the Principality of Asturias has been hit by depopulation and ageing dynamics, by the decline in the primary sector and by

economy based on the tertiary sector. In this socio-economic context, most of the active population is engaged in the public sector, tourism or small-scale trade.

To address the territorial challenges of this peripheral and impoverished area, in recent decades the Asturian administration has implemented several plans for "rural development" and the "promotion of tourism." Institutional strategy to promote the region's economic conversion to the tourism sector

Location of the area subject to study. We have used the territorial boundaries of the Fuentes de Narcea, Degaña e Ibias Nature Park, in addition to the area of action of the RED Alto Narcea-Muniellos, which coincides with the municipalities of Cangas del Narcea, Degaña and Ibias (2019). AUTHOR'S COMPILATION



has involved designating protected spaces, designing advertising campaigns often featuring essentialist landscape narratives and the transformation of nature into a product of contemplative consumption (González Álvarez, 2018). As in other areas of Spain, the creation of natural parks has meant legal, economic and symbolic reclassification of the land, as well as the landscape being adapted to meet the demands of the tourist sector (Beltran and Vaccaro, 2014; Cortés-Vázquez, 2012; del Mármol, 2012; Santamarina, 2009; Valcuende del Río *et al.*, 2011; Coca Pérez, 2008).

4.2 Heritage management structures

Worthy of particular mention among these administrative initiatives are the creation of public bodies such as the Las Fuentes del Narcea, Degaña e Ibias Nature Park (hereinafter, NP) and the Alto Narcea-Muniellos Rural Development Group (hereinafter RDG). These organisations promote actions in the field of rural development and the protection of nature, almost always with a view to legitimising the notion of "natural heritage", which provides symbolic protection to institutional actions. The RDG was set up in 2000 and in 2002 the area was declared an NP². The following year, UNESCO included it in the Biosphere Reserve. These bodies have citizen participation

mechanisms in their respective governing bodies, which meet the canons stipulated by international agencies. The participatory instruments used by these management structures are in essence online surveys, discussion tables, interviews between managers and sectoral board members and public acts aimed at establishing public debates.

4.2.1 Alto Narcea-Muniellos Rural Development Group

The RDG is an institution created in 2001 to implement the European rural development plans in the area, first ERDF, and then PRODER and LEADER. Legally, the RDG is an association of associations, governed by the representatives of each entity, who serve as spokespersons for the respective corporate interests. The structure of the RDG involves multiple organisational and administrative levels, though governance is ultimately formalised through the direct participation of associations. In its founding charters and internal regulations, we can identify a clear concern for institutional openness, the democratisation of public management and interaction with the local population. In fact, its operation is governed by an assembly where 51% are representatives from associations and sectoral groups, while the remaining 49% are made up of technicians and institutional representatives³.

Like other towns in the area subject to study, Pradias (Ibias) is an example of the rural area in the Principality of Asturias affected by the exodus from the rural area (2017). DAVID GONZÁLEZ

2

Act 12/2002, of December 13, on the declaration of the Fuentes del Narcea, Degaña e Ibias Nature Park, *Official Bulletin of the Principality of Asturias* No. 298, 27 December 2002

3

To obtain further details on the organisation and operation of the institution, its territorial scope, technical team and institutional trajectory, you can consult its website: <http://www.altonarceamuniellos.org/>

The creation of this "public sphere" to represent civil society through associations reproduces the illusion of representative democracy. The various groups that make up this body appear as if they were equal, despite the socio-economic inequalities. Its projects prioritise the technical knowledge inherent in positivist sciences and reproduce bureaucratic dynamics that impose hierarchies of knowledge and a marked formalist emphasis on management. In this pragmatic context, RDG technicians are obliged to comply with the formal requirements imposed by European law, and simultaneously act as the interpreters of these international logics to continue managing their political and economic power at a local level.

"In 2002, PRODER was made up of 12 representatives in Cangas (6 public, 6 private). [...] Then, in 2006, the period ended and a new framework began, known as LEADER. We submitted our candidacy for this new programme. And Europe responded: 'OK, but now we need you to be blond with blue eyes'. Now they want to increase participation, and also ask for young people, the agricultural unions and women to be involved too. [...] And, logically, it must have an organised structure. And there must be a territorial and sectoral balance. In the previous programmes, local councils called on associations they already had relations with. [...] For example, with young people and women, we consulted the association records and sent a letter to everyone that met the criteria. With women, it worked pretty well. With young people, in the end the result was not so good. They were few and far between and most young people studied elsewhere, and... in the end we had to choose one from the Ibias board, to ensure the Ibias board was represented as well. And now, the young person has the same problem as me. They are old." (Senior RDG manager, 29 March 2016).

In this section, we address the dirigisme of the European Union, which promotes the importance of the private sector in the decision-making process, while encouraging the participation of social players traditionally

relegated from regional government (young people, women, unions, etc.). In terms of RDG management, the ideological distance between the European legislative framework and the local context is not in doubt, rather they are strategically adapted to the rural development requirements of programmes such as PRODER and LEADER, with a clear neoliberal inspiration (Mulero and Garzón, 2005). Technical staff are personally involved in the selection of associations and, to a large extent, instrumentalise these entities to meet social and geographical representation quotas. In practice, their function is to incorporate external discourses and narratives (participation, democracy, heritage, etc.) to legitimise the receipt and redistribution of international funding. This process of selecting associations is marked by secrecy, opacity and partial explanations of the official discourse, as well as rumours of cronyistic practices that involve antagonistic stakeholders in the RDG.

"Go to the office in Cangas and talk to the RDG manager, and they'll say how they help people so much... And they'll talk about participatory, representative processes and everything you want to hear. But let me tell you, I live here, and first of all, they get their relatives and friends involved, and especially people who they can control or owe them favours." (Interview with group representatives, 26 July 2016).

The RDG staff operate from the facilities of the Alto Narcea-Muniellos association, on the high street in Cangas del Narcea, in the immediate vicinity of other public buildings that represent political and symbolic power at a municipal level. These members of staff are responsible for performing tasks associated with the agreements adopted by the RDG assembly and often performing mediation activities with local and regional administrations, as well as with strategic stakeholders from the local population. A manager, whose appointment is approved by the RDG assembly, is responsible for coordinating its work. Below the manager, four workers carry out administrative tasks with contracts that are awarded by means of

public competition. Professional staff profiles are linked to disciplines such as business management, geography or administrative law. In practice, the RDG's technical staff are responsible for implementing local development projects, generally linked to promoting the tourism sector. These actions are usually defended from a marked neo-liberal stance, which highlights the value of individual entrepreneurship as a solution to the shrinking job market.

"Our association manages funds to be applied in the region, mainly for business initiatives, which is the most important area and accounts for 60% of the total. Then, a part for the public sector and another for ourselves. Our part is to work on the idea of the region, to become a tourist destination and have a tourist identity." (Senior RDG manager, 29 March 2016).

4.2.2 Fuentes del Narcea, Degaña e Ibias Nature Park

The Fuentes del Narcea, Degaña e Ibias Nature Park is also governed by a formally participatory system, although there are several differences when compared to the RDG. Structurally, affected rights holders, professionals and trade unions account for 30% of representatives on the NP Board, and conservation groups and the University of Oviedo account for 10%. However, the Board is only an advisory body to the Governing Commission, which consists solely of institutional representatives from local councils, rural parishes and technical staff of the regional administration. The Governing Commission is the body that approves the main actions and oversees the director's work. The management structure of the protected area is quite precarious and is mainly oriented towards the conservation of "heritage values" in the region. The NP is clearly designed from a tourism perspective and, in its area of influence, we can identify several enclaves that have been declared as being of ethnological interest: landscape interpretation centres, nature classrooms, visitor reception centres and so on.

It is subject to the structures of the State and public administration, which allocate technical responsibility for the everyday management of the protected area to the civil service. And its organisational chart can be reduced to a single technical position: the director/conservationist. That person is responsible for the everyday management of the protected area and their action is controlled by the NP's governing and advisory bodies, and by more senior staff in the organisational structure of the regional government. The director works from the headquarters of the regional administration in Oviedo, 90 km from Cangas del Narcea, although he makes periodic visits to the protected area. Amongst Asturian administration officials, there is a perception that the NP generates social conflict and that its management is problematic. Since its creation in 2002, it has had three different directors, including vacant periods of more than a year in which the regional government was unable to appoint any public servant to serve in this position.

During our fieldwork, we interviewed the three directors and they all emphasised that it is difficult to accommodate participatory logic with procedures which take a long time, are bureaucratic in terms of management and vertical in terms of public administration decision-making. The NP managers also expressed uncertainty about citizen participation mechanisms, because of the limits imposed by bureaucratic institutions and systems on implementing them, as well as a lack of specific training in participatory techniques and methodologies. The inclusion of participatory dynamics is considered a requirement imposed "from above" and disassociated from the logics of the local population. The absence of specific action procedures means that the success of citizen participation depends on the responsibility, style and individual disposition of each director.

"Having no funds and no staff is difficult. Remember, I have no technical staff under me. Public participation, both in the methodological and professional

fields, is carried out as best it can be. In a Nature Park, we should be able to have a structure: with an auxiliary body, an administrative team... In short... A structure that is essential to management. But here the reality is that there is only one director with a chair, a computer and limited capacity and autonomy for focusing on what his relationship with the territory should be like... So, participation is *sui generis*. Because it is not formalised in any way. Look, I'm all for personal contact and, obviously, management cannot be conceived without understanding people's concerns. But this currently depends on my good will, my willingness, even in terms of times, days... So I try to remain in close contact with all sectors, even minority sectors to get an idea... But often I can't and it's frustrating." (Director of the NP, 26 July 2016).

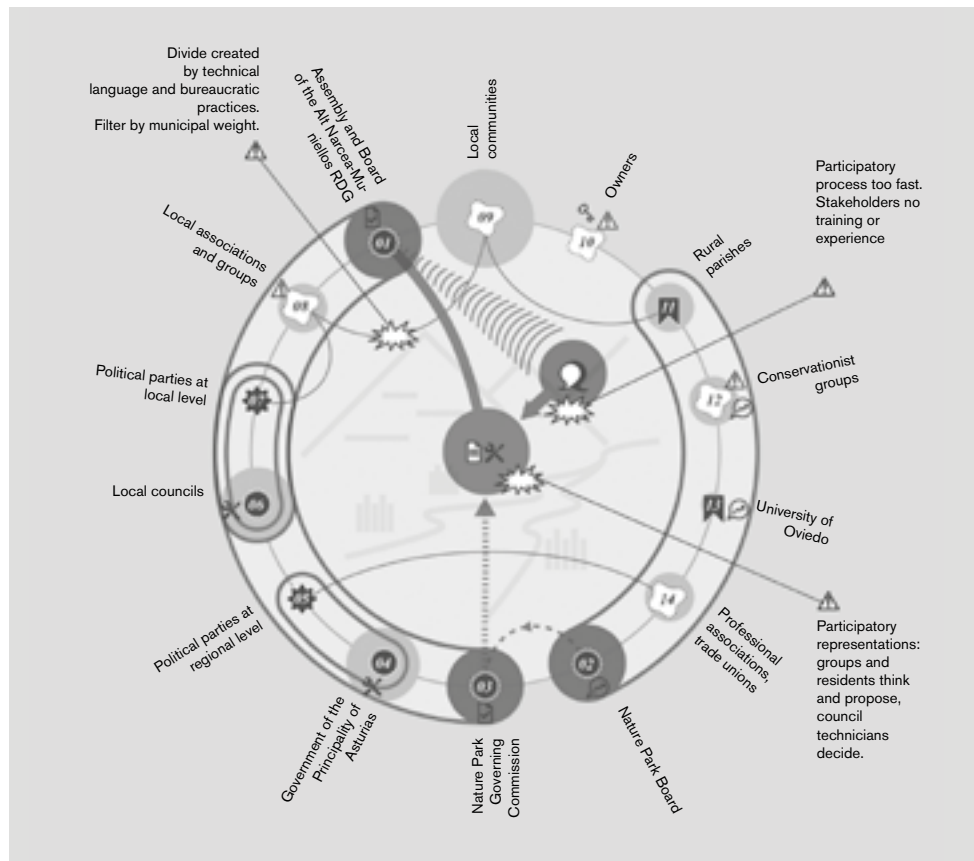
4.3. Heritage management stakeholders

In this section, we address the other stakeholders involved in heritage management from an ethnographic perspective to discuss

whether the introduction of formal "participatory" practices changes the direction of power flows in the region. Participatory processes are considered as part of the general framework of the economic, political and cultural life of the municipalities of Cangas del Narcea, Degaña and Ibias. The wide variety of views, concerns and expectations of the various heritage stakeholders shapes a complex dynamic in which areas of institutional action often overlap and intersect. We then consider the structural conditions, the interest and the political agendas of the different heritage stakeholders, exploring the heterogeneous semantics, floating meanings, and social impacts of participatory processes in the fields of heritage and tourism.

4.3.1 Local politicians

Local politicians, in particular members of the municipal governments, have a lot of scope for intervening in the bodies that channel citizen participation in the RDG and NP, through their direct representation and their ability to mediate in the selection of social or producer representatives. In practice, their



Map of stakeholders in the case study (2018). Design by Maria Massaguer and Sergi Hernández.

function is to facilitate (or hinder) certain citizen demands, through their privileged access to the media and their connections with regional political groups. The politicians' agenda is linked to partisan interests at various territorial levels, and this conditions their support for the actions of the RDG or NP administration. The perception of local stakeholders in different sectors of interest is that political positions generate a sensation of distrust, as it affects their direct control over resources and forces them to establish compensatory mechanisms to maintain their power networks.

"Europe doesn't want the public authorities or any specific interest, to represent more than 50%. There must be fewer public representatives than private representatives. And that is non-negotiable. Elected politicians do not understand this, and they don't like it much either." (Senior manager of the RDG).

However, in our interviews, politicians often appeal to the semantic field of participation and, at a rhetorical level, defend the citizen involvement in public management of the NP and the RDG. The descriptive metaphors used by politicians to refer to participation appeal to materialities of modernity with a huge social value. In particular, they tend to include participation as a communication infrastructure (path, channel, bridge), a medical formula (prescription, treatment, drug), or a work instrument (tool, mechanism, device) (Roura-Expósito, 2019). The use of these metaphors suggests that the approach of politicians to participation is procedural and pragmatic, and is often subordinated to other bureaucratic, legal or technical governance devices.

"In the preparation of the NP instruments, there was some public participation and, what's more, we believe that these participation channels are important. You are going to talk to the owners and they are going to say no. But there was public participation. I'm sure you're aware of the procedure: an index is created and a participation channel is opened

with arguments. The instrument is then drafted, which also involves public participation. Each of stakeholders who put forward their arguments is then notified... So there was all this participation and, what's more, strictly complying with the legal provisions in my view." (Mayor of a municipality inside the NP, 30 March 2016).

4.3.2 Regional politicians

At a higher territorial level, we identified the regional political parties and their representatives. Their agenda coincides, in most cases, with the agenda of the local political representatives of the corresponding parties, although disagreements arising merely from an electoral perspective at different levels have also been recognised. These stakeholders are particularly important in the study of conflicts concerning the designation of NP. The development of the regulations applicable to the NP resulted in some owners in the protected area filing a legal complaint, which most of the technical experts, managers, environmental groups and rural tourism business owners considered inappropriate. The landowners alleged that vertical imposition of the status of NP violated their right to access the land, imposed limitations and obstacles to its economic exploitation and violated the participatory procedures contemplated in the legislation. Ethnographic research demonstrates that the groups of owners behind this claim also accused political representatives of reproducing corrupt and cronyistic governance practices.

"The National Park is an idea of those enlightened politicians who have always ruled here, with the same shenanigans and corruption as always. We even filed claims in Europe, telling them 'Watch out! You'll be giving money to those climbers with no regard for public participation.' [...] But they [the politicians] didn't care about public opposition. They rushed through its publication in the BOPA [Official Gazette] and 'stuff you'. In short... Why call on those affected to look at the pros and cons for the Park? Everything here works by 'order and command', just like

Press cutting, *La Nueva España*,
13 May 2016.

La Nueva España

13/05/2016

El incierto futuro del parque natural del Suroccidente

Los propietarios de Fuentes del Narcea celebran la anulación del plan de gestión

“Es un cúmulo de despropósitos”, dicen los dueños, que confían en que el fallo se repita en los diez recursos pendientes

(...) «José María Rodríguez [propietario de terrenos dentro del PN de las Fuentes del Narcea] recalca que no están en contra del Parque Natural, sino de las restricciones de los planes de gestión. “No vemos beneficio ninguno, solamente tenemos zonas restringidas y no recibimos nada a cambio y ni siquiera nos notifican las restricciones”, se queja» (...)



José María Rodríguez, Delfino Lago y José Pablo Vicente, ayer, en Cargos del Narcea. | S. GARCÍA

it did 50 years ago.” (Interview with group representatives, 26 July 2016).

Against this backdrop, landowners began a lengthy lawsuit against the regional government of the Principality of Asturias to repeal the framework plans and documents that regulated management of the NP. This pressure resulted in a number of regional political parties assuming this claim as their own. For example, the regionalist and conservative party Foro de Asturias Ciudadano (FAC) led the amendment to Act 10/2017 on the Protection of Natural Spaces in Asturias, dated 24 November⁴. In the parliamentary process, all the political parties encouraged participation and seemed to agree on the need to involve the local population in the management of the protected area (Cortés-Vázquez, 2017). However, the lack of a definition, poor workability and lack of specification in terms of the concept of “participation” (Cornwall, 2008; Hertz, 2015; Parfitt, 2004) prevented in-depth territorial debates, programmatically speaking, and masked the antagonistic views concerning the nature heritagisation processes. As the

political advisor of a parliamentary group in the Xunta Xeneral del Principáu de Asturias pointed out, in these legislative procedures, participatory lexicon is devoid of political content and is used in an instrumental and ambivalent way.

“Appearances [by party spokespersons] are an ordeal for MPs, hours on end of listening to things that they already knew were going to be said. Because all parties have the habit of citing their technical expert for these. This is the same technical expert who has drafted the arguments for them. So it’s a dialogue between idiots where nobody listens... And the same goes for their interventions... It’s all for show. What they do is just use words that sound good in their speeches: “participation”, “democracy”, etc. But there is no real will to face the reality behind these words.” (Interview with the political adviser to a parliamentary group, 26 July 2016).

4.3.3 Representatives of conservationist groups

Ecological groups play a significant role in the debates established around the management of cultural and natural heritage. Con-

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This parliamentary process can be consulted on the Parliament of Asturias website: <http://videoteca.jgpa.es/library/items/actos-institucionales-x-legislatura-ch-comision-de-desarrollo-rural-y-recursos-naturales-2019-06-06>.

La Nueva España

14/05/2016

"Ha empeorado la vida del pueblo", dicen en Moal del parque natural de Fuentes

Los residentes aseguran que la declaración del espacio protegido echa a los jóvenes al implantar normativas restrictivas sin compensaciones

Moal (Cangas del Narcea), D. ÁLVAREZ

«El cambio ha sido malo, ahora sólo tenemos restricciones (...) sólo se aplican prohibiciones, que no se consultaron con nadie de aquí y no se ha percibido ninguna compensación», explica el alcalde del pueblo, Toño Rodríguez (...) cuando se planteó la instauración de la figura de protección se ofrecieron mejoras para el pueblo, sin embargo, no han llegado: "Y lo único que encontramos son trabas a la hora de solicitar autorizaciones para actividades como la carrera 'Puerta de Muniellos' o realizar obras"» (...)



César Álvarez, Pepe Lago, Toño Rodríguez y Javier Rodríguez señalan el monte de Muniellos. D. ÁLVAREZ

Press cutting, *La Nueva España*, 14 May 2016.

ervationist positions often conflict with the stance of local stakeholders, such as farmers, hunters and certain tourism practices that are of interest to local business owners and politicians (wildlife spotting, sports fishing, the organisation of mountain races, etc.). The visibility of conservationist groups is notorious on account of their presence on the Board of the NP, their organisational capacity and the international scope of their political connections. Faced with this defence of strict conservation of the natural environment championed by these ecological movements, some local stakeholders raise the inertia of tradition in managing the territory exemplifying the dichotomous confrontation so often observed between nature and culture (Descola, 2005).

These clashes are instrumentalised by local and regional political parties, which convert the debate into fuel for their disputes in the media. In many cases, these conflicts help to reinforce simplistic discursive frameworks that ignore the complexity of rural landscapes. Conservationist groups are often in agreement with the administration's technicians, as they share practices and discourses concerning the environment

and highly technical language linked to scientific disciplines such as biology, ecology, forestry engineering, etc. By contrast, they maintain tense, antagonist relations with certain political parties, agricultural unions and members of local communities, who accuse conservationist groups of hindering the development of productive activities linked to the primary sector. The misunderstanding, in most cases, is mutual and it is not uncommon for representatives of environmental groups to accuse the local population of reproducing bad conservation practices or practices that minimise the existence of critical groups in the NP.

"Only a few are fighting against the Park... Why doesn't the rest fight for the general interest? [...] Often, these owners do not respect the environment... And they think that because the land is theirs, they have the right to do whatever they want." (Representative of an ecological group, July 27, 2016).

4.3.4 Representatives of professional associations, employers and trade unions

The interests of the different professional groups, employers and unions are repre-

sented on the management bodies of the NP and the RDG through the spokespeople designated by the employers' associations, professional associations or unions. Normally, these groups ensure the joint interests of heterogeneous economic sectors (tourism companies, hotels, wine producers, agricultural workers, etc.) and demand the extension of "citizen participation" formulas to increase their ability to intervene and influence heritage management. The representatives of these groups establish alliances with political or technical representatives, trying to increase their representation in the regional structures that mobilise economic resources. Amongst these stakeholders, we have identified associations with significant social dynamism that represent particular interests. However, we have also identified

other "parachute", "phantom" or "front" associations, created on an *ad hoc* basis by agents who control regional reliance networks and who use them to meet the technical bureaucratic requirements of participation. This accusation is not only spread by members of groups opposed to the RDG or the NP. During the fieldwork we also documented certain cases on the ground.

"Once in Degaña, we tried to interview the secretary of one of the associations represented in the RDG. After locating her, behind the counter of one of the few local businesses, we asked her if she would have a moment to talk about the performance of the RDG. To our surprise, she stated that she did not have the security of being legally listed as a secretary of the association, that she had never attended

Press cutting, *La Nueva España*, 11 April 2017.

La Nueva España

11/04/2017

Las asociaciones agrarias claman a favor de la participación ciudadana en la gestión de los parques naturales

Respaldan la propuesta de cambio legislativo y piden un cincuenta por ciento de representación en los órganos de gestión

M. Palco | 11.04.2017 | 11:38

«Representantes de sindicatos y organizaciones agrarias han respaldado esta mañana en la Junta General del Principado la propuesta de modificación legislativa que a propuesta de Foro sugiere incluir en los órganos de gestión de los espacios naturales protegidos a los propietarios y ciudadanos afectados» (...) «no entraron en demasiados detalles sobre la fórmula de participación, que la propuesta no concreta, pero José Ramón García Alba, "Pachón", representante de UCA, abogó por que se busque un modelo que permita dar a la parte ciudadana, a propietarios y ganaderos, un cincuenta por ciento de presencia en los organismos rectores. Mercedes Cruzado, ganadera y representante de COAG, ha defendido (...) [que] los habitantes y los generadores de actividad en el campo han quedado excluidos de la gestión de los parques naturales "para evitar conflictos", en un afán de dejar fuera a la parte que más podía discrepar». [Fernando Marrón, de USAGA declaró que] «la administración yerra legislando de espaldas a los habitantes del campo. "Se legisla desde el medio urbano", ha dicho, "para conseguir algo que antes hacíamos desde el campo, para conservarlo y mantenerlo. Se excluye a los ciudadanos que viven allí y que lo conservaron". "Si realmente los parques naturales fueran la panacea", ha asegurado, "el medio rural estaría saturado", y no condenado a la matorralización y el despoblamiento» (...)

an RDG meeting, and that her organisation's general meeting had not met for many years. Visibly surprised by our questions and worried about more customers coming into the shop, she suggested that perhaps the chairperson of the entity regularly attended the RDG general meetings in Cangas del Narcea but, either way, he does not say what he does." (Field diary, 28 July 2016).

4.3.5 Landowners and farmers

The local population includes landowners and farmers who perform their activities in a structural framework of socio-economic crises, as well as several landowners within the boundaries of the NP. In general, these stakeholders are in conflict with conservationist groups and managers of the NP and RDG, although this confrontation is amplified by the media and intensified by political parties to generate a framework for mobilising votes. Farmers and landowners offer resistance to the conservationist management of the NP and the importance placed by the RDG on tourist initiatives to the detriment of "traditional" agricultural activity. The conflict between these stakeholders can be traced to antagonistic views of the environment and the right to use and harness specific territorial resources. While the NP managers and conservationist sectors consider that humanity as a whole is the depository of the protected area's heritage values, farmers and landowners look to protect their differential rights by appealing to tradition, affiliation and local belonging (Valcuende del Río *et al.*, 2011). As many ethnographies have shown, the subordinate sectors tend to highlight their historical ties with the land and incorporate moral vindications that underline the lack of institutional respect for their human dignity (Carman, 2017; Fassin, 2014; Franquesa, 2018).

"My grandfather worked this land during the 19TH century... So now some chap wants to come over from his office in Cangas or Oviedo to tell me how to do things in my own home. First, a little bit of respect. We are the ones that live here." (Chairman of a landowners association, 26 July 2016).

The interests of landowners and farmers are channelled through law firms or political parties who are familiar with current legislation in the field of protected spaces. Law firms hired by different landowner groups play a key role in lawsuits. These firms not only design the legal strategy for the lawsuits against the Principality of Asturias, but also undertake political and media actions to sway public opinion. They also assume responsibility for aligning the discourses of landowners, often introducing legal language into the local context that then become frameworks for action and political mobilisation. For example, the complaint of a lack of participation amongst farmers and landowners used in court proceedings stems from the expert and privileged knowledge of these law firms.

"Participation is a very important element in the pleas. The rulings I have handled have been repealed, *inter alia*, due to a lack of participation of the stakeholders affected by the development of the regulations and due to a failure to call for public involvement and public information. Those affected sometimes need to be informed of this, as they are not always aware of their rights in advance." (Defence lawyer representing complainants against "the expropriation" of the NP, April 15, 2016).

Landowners and farmers not only incorporate participation into their repertoire of demands to increase their political inclusion, but because at present, the language of participation is strategic in denouncing the political establishment in the legal sphere. Accordingly, the accounts of these sectors are structured to fit with the articles contained in the legal system, regardless of whether they believe in the transformative and emancipatory possibilities of participatory mechanisms.

"The claim is that there is a lack of participation because it is one of the most demonstrable factors. If only we could demonstrate misappropriation, extortion and other crimes they are more concerned

about concealing. However, by mentioning participation they made a big mistake and didn't expect us to use that opportunity. It would have been a better idea for them to fake participation, as they do in other cases. I personally would not have participated, but from a legal point of view they would have at least covered their own backs." (Chairman of a landowners association, 26 July 2016).

4.3.6 Business owners and workers in the tourism sector

Tourism represents an emerging framework of economic activity, which is particularly important for creating jobs at a time when coal mining has come to an end in the area researched. The tourism boom is one of the consequences of the leverage actions performed by the RDG, harnessing the heritage reference that the NP involves. Within the tourism sector, we can identify a wide variety of stakeholders. First of all, business

owners, who reproduce commercial and extractionist discourse about nature that is typical of the neoliberal framework, mainly concerned with maximising their profits (Tsing, 2015). For this group, the participatory mechanisms and scenarios in RDG and NP management represent opportunities for enhancing their productive activity. However, sometimes, the interests of these tourist entrepreneurs clash with the NP's conservationist interests. An example of this can be seen in the comments of the manager of the Parador Nacional de Monasterio de Corias (Cangas del Narcea):

"To me, the Biosphere Reserve... We don't care, because we never have access [...] As a hotelier, it serves no purpose as my customers can never go." (Manager of the Parador Nacional, 31 March 2016)⁵.

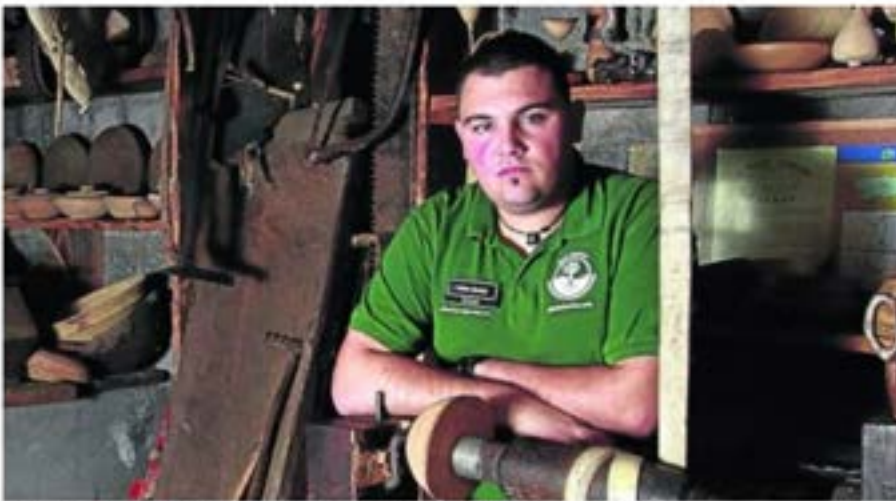
We also identified tourist stakeholders that promote what they refer to as "alternative

Press cutting, *El Comercio*, 4 December 2016.

EL COMERCIO

04/12/2016

El Suroccidente busca alternativas al carbón



Victor García, en su taller de artesanía cunqueira en Tablado (Degeña).

Turismo rural y productos agroalimentarios de calidad son dos de las vías por las que apuestan los emprendedores de la zona como propuestas de futuro

tourism" or "ecotourism" initiatives, which demonstrate a concern for environmental sustainability, the demographic viability of local communities and the transmission of the culture and identity of the social landscape. These positions intersect with the affinities and conflicts of the other stakeholders resulting from typical reliance on crofting, which characterises the productive fabric in the rural regions of Asturias (García Martínez, 2016). However, the small-scale tourism sector is usually in favour of the NP and the activities promoted by the RDG. The discourse of these stakeholders usually links entrepreneurship and keeping people in the area, and it is common for them to be critical of public institutions on account of a lack of economic investment in rural areas.

"Of course I agree that it helps to have an RDG, LEADER, or whatever they want to call it. There must be a body in place that helps and teaches people to take a risk and start their own business. In rural areas, it is imperative that this type of training is undertaken, as it makes people want to stay here. That, in the end, is what it's all about. Although it's not just about the RDG, it's about politics. Unfortunately, in that regard things are not very good. There are progressively fewer voters, so they are bothered about us less and less." (Worker in a rural tourism establishment, 28 March 2016).

5. Conclusions

The genealogical approach to governance discourses in the NP and RDG has identified successive stages for configuring participatory requirements, always mediated by the conditioning of the social structure of the territory and the conflicts generated by the extension of new forms for the political management of heritage and tourism. The study of participatory processes in the implementation of the NP and RDG has facilitated the anthropological analysis of governance formulas relating to European policies of modernising tourism and turning the rural economy into a service economy. Fieldwork demonstrates that citizen

participation mechanisms are directed by stakeholders closer to pre-existing economic and partisan powers, channelled through informal networks of political and economic control.

In the case study, we recognise the perceptions of various stakeholders in relation to participation, which vary depending on their explicit or hidden political experiences, expectations and agendas. In particular, we can see contradictions between the ideals of horizontality that guide participatory practices and their materialisation in knowledge hierarchies, as well as political readings interested in official recommendations, protocols and regulations. In this area, it must be taken into consideration that participation as a practice and discourse is presented in a particular way in the different areas of governance. In the case of the NP, the key figure for reproducing the everyday management of the protected area is the director/conservationist appointed by the regional government. In epistemological and logic terms, the three successive directors of the NP were civil servants and, specifically, biologists and engineers, with a conception of natural space closely associated with conservationist logic. The directors received no training on participatory techniques and the lack of public funding made it difficult for them to remain in contact with the local population. Beyond showing goodwill, these stakeholders do not regard participatory processes as spheres for egalitarian interaction with the sectors affected, rather as complementary fields of institutional activity subordinated to the interests of the general public.

In contrast, the structure of the RDG is a result of the technocratic governance typical of neoliberalism that is more adapted to the concepts of flexibility, entrepreneurship and participatory formulas, which, nonetheless, are channelled through local networks loyal to political parties. The RDG's budgetary and technical resources potential is much greater than that of the NP, and the knowledge of its employees is more heterogeneous, as

5 Access to Muniellos oak forest is limited to 20 people per day. To guarantee your visit, you must reserve a space several weeks in advance.

it includes areas such as business administration. For example, the RDG has funded external studies developed by experts (historians, ethnographers, etc.) on heritage aspects specific to the region. This research has justified decision-making in the field of heritage management, and has sometimes resulted in publications that are used to promote rural tourism. Consequently, the RDG is an institution with a greater capacity for intervention in terms of territorial dynamics. Ironically, county residents believe that the NP director holds greater power than the technical experts of the RDG, even though this post merely controls an infrastructure with limited economic resources within the narrow organisational constraints of the Asturian administration. These nuances warn of the need for conducting detailed ethnographic work to describe the local perceptions of heritage and tourism management. As has been detected, the affected sectors in particular direct their legal and moral demands at State structures, although the institutions with the most territorial impact are based on the premises of neoliberal development that are increasingly defined by the private sector.

Although official discourses present citizen participation as a socio-political practice that allows citizens to influence, monitor and intervene in decision-making (Parés Franzi, 2009), on the ground we have found that the effects of participatory processes are more ambivalent and contradictory, generating legal regulations, regulating people and involving new forms of power and governance (Shore and Wright, 1997). Ethnographic work has revealed that key stakeholders in heritage and tourism governance (RDG and NP managers) believe economic investment is lacking to set up more organised and systematic actions in terms of participation. The practical problems we have identified include the imposition of temporal and spatial limits on participatory processes, reducing the accessibility of the population and its transformative scope. As mentioned self-critically in the RDG

strategic document assessing the dynamics implemented:

"Participation has been the cornerstone of the entire strategy-making process. However, it is also the most complex on account of [...] time (two months, summer) and space (extensive territory, dispersed and communication difficulties) factors." (Asociación Centro de Desarrollo Alto Narcea Muniellos, 2016: 96)

Beyond the objective conditions that would make participation viable from a material perspective, we have also identified that the institutions impose a morality that seeks to detract from local forms of heritage support. For example, in the declaration of the NP, the lack of landowner participation cannot solely be attributed to the lack of funding, but also to the limited recognition of the territorial concerns of the populations affected. In the specific case of the NP, even stakeholders that are clearly in favour of the assets declaration, including public servants, conservation groups or players in the tourist sector, criticise the failure to include participatory procedures by the Asturian administration. These internal criticisms show that the sectors affected were conceptualised as recipients, rather than providing them with an active role as consultative agents, managers, or executors of heritage activation.

"The feeling is that initially, the administration didn't do things entirely the way it should have. Landowners were not duly informed, or consulted... Nor did they know how to communicate the advantages that the NP might have... Therefore, the first complaints were filed due to lack of participation and it was impossible to speak without the involvement of lawyers and judges." (Former director of the NP, 26 July 2016).

In terms of NP management, we have repeatedly identified clashes between groups, especially in the case of farmers and landowners who mostly reject the idea of the protected area. These tensions are instrumentalised by law firms and political forces which harness the dichotomous simplification of discourses

relating to heritage management. These political disputes in turn reproduce binary framing logics and consolidate seemingly irreconcilable visions of heritage between "eco-mugs" and "office people" against "chavs" and "country bumpkins". In some cases, these confrontations are resolved in the courts, or even in the Parliament of the Principality of Asturias. However, on such occasions, the hermeneutic plasticity of participation results in widespread appropriations of its meaning, which mask and obscure the in-depth heritage debates. In parliamentary speeches, participation serves as an *empty signifier* (Laclau, 1996), that specific groups with powerful interests in limiting its definitions strategically use to suit their own agenda. Ultimately, the notion of participation becomes a rhetorical and political resource used by stakeholders even from antagonistic ideological spectra, who have increasingly fewer expectations in their transformative scope.

As regards participatory processes in the RDG, ethnographic observation suggests that they are resulting in highly ritualised representations, insofar as they incorporate certain language, technologies and methodologies (such as cards and colour markers). According to certain players, these techniques, rather than stoking the debate, actually formalise and neutralise it. The RDG meetings were driven by the institution's own technical staff, who were concerned with modelling the scenario, setting the standards for intervention, and the limits of deliberations. Following an initial presentation of the objectives set out at the meeting (concerning most sectoral topics), debate among attendees were encouraged, and different strategies were put into practice to encourage public participation. However, the voices and narratives of the RDG staff predominated over other stakeholders, and although local politicians and representatives of unions and professional groups intervened, the participation of residents with agricultural or livestock interests was limited or non-existent. These *participatory*

representations actually awakened distrust and rejection among subaltern stakeholders, who considered them excessively theatrical and because they felt they were being treated as children. A number of these stakeholders also assert that RDG technical staff did not report at the time of the meetings, that online surveys had been sent selectively and that dialogue with dissenting groups was avoided. Instead, the technical staff involved in the design and implementation of participatory processes indicated limitations relating to the political culture of Spain and the traditional forms of negotiation in rural contexts.

"In Spain, we have come from a position of being under a dictatorship... Do you think the place for negotiations here is a sectoral committee? Here, things have always been resolved in the bar!" (Senior RDG manager, 29 March 2016)

Within the framework of the RDG, cultural and neighbourhood associations perform an increasingly central role in the formalisation and legitimisation of participatory governance, and are gradually acquiring more power. For example, in the RDG assembly, they hold 51% of the decision-making capacity. However, our ethnographic research highlights the lack of control over democracy and the internal transparency of some of these associations. The prominence of political representatives in their selection implies that their representation is often influenced by the interests of political parties. We also recognise the existence of "parachute", "fake" or "front" associations, created on an *ad hoc* basis to satisfy the technical and bureaucratic requirements of participatory processes. Members of these associations often reproduce partisan or business interests on a local scale and are easily co-opted by players close to regional powers.

The ethnographic approach also shows the growing distance between the different groups and their distinctive familiarity with administrative practices and technical

language. Participatory processes serve as guidelines for technical drafting protocols that often feature expert and obscure language, which only those familiar with these codes understand: political representatives, administration technical staff, environmental representatives, trade union delegates, and so on. A broad section of local communities, on the other hand, in particular older people, women and people with limited academic education, do not understand this technical or legal language, so are excluded from decision-making spaces. Against this backdrop, the will of the technical staff involved in these procedures is a key factor in encouraging (or limiting) their participation in equal conditions. The paradox is that although public participation is presented rhetorically as a strategy of political decentralisation, in practice, it is so technical, standardised and bureaucratic that it favours the exclusion of stakeholders with less power over heritage management.

Research in a rural, impoverished and stigmatised area in south-west Asturias demonstrates that public participation is progressively being included in "authorised heritage discourse" (Smith, 2006), almost always to satisfy the bureaucratic requirements of international agencies that make it possible to capture and redistribute

economic resources at a local level. Subaltern heritage stakeholders associate those promoting participatory processes with the political party networks that have historically been dominant in the region, and encourage reflection on the hybridisation between traditional forms of government in the rural environment and the dynamics of neoliberal governance in programmes such as the ERDF or LEADER. Far from reducing the distance that separates citizens from institutions, these participatory mechanisms are becoming cosmetic mechanisms to give the cronyistic networks a cloak of legitimacy.

Just like stakeholders such as Francisco asked us to do, in this article we have addressed the resilience of regional power structures and their instrumental incorporation of new practices and grammatical forms of domination such as citizen participation. However, participatory processes in the field of heritage should not only be interpreted as hegemonic procedures of the elite to recover their hold on democratic credibility, but also as possible institutional platforms for connection and response, in a global context of diminishing "popular participation" in combative unions and antagonistic social movements. ■

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Image of the Great Mosque of Sousse. The Medina of Sousse was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1988. CC BY-SA 4.0

Paraules clau: turisme, mercat para-halal, islamisme, Tunísia.

Palabras clave: turismo, mercado para-halal, islamisme, Túnez.

Keywords: tourism, *para-halal* market, Islamism, Tunisia.

When the hotel gives way to the mosque: parallel worlds and para-halal tourism in Tunisia



This article focuses on the major changes that have shaped Tunisia through the prism of tourism. This sector is of such importance in the contemporary history of the country that it can be compared against a double spatial and temporal framework, enabling us to grasp these changes as they happened in the wake of the two defining moments that punctuated its history: the double advent of independence in 1956 and the revolution in 2011. At each of these two historical turning points, tourism has found itself at the heart of economic activity, public debate and political and social controversy. Rather than following a chronological approach by going from one era to the next, I will go back and forth between these two moments, retracing the insertion of tourism in the different aspects of the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country. In line with Georges Marcus's ideas (1995), it is a question of following this sector in relation to the representations, uses, discourses and political issues surrounding it.

In doing so, I will focus on the tensions and power struggles between modernists and Islamists as manifested through the attitudes and positions adopted by both towards tourism. Caught between the pressure of two diametrically opposed political currents, tourism has experienced various forms of political instrumentalisation and religious stigmatisation. Its unique condition as a microcosm that crystallises these tensions is all the more important since it reflects the triple problematic relationship to the other, to the self and to the past, and the ambivalence that has often marked Tunisian society regarding its representations of the East and the West, of tradition and modernity, and of religion and politics. This is all the more significant as the country has been increasingly shaken, since the 2011 revolution, by the turmoil and even the machinations of a political transition torn between the followers of a democratic model and the

Atrapat entre dues corrents polítiques diametralment oposades, els islamistes per un costat i els progressistes per l'altre, el turisme ha estat objecte d'instrumentalització política i estigma religiós a Tunísia. La seva singularitat, com a microcosmos que materialitza aquestes tensions, esdevé important per què deixa constància de la triple relació problemàtica cap a l'altre, cap a un mateix i cap al passat i alhora tradueix l'ambivalència, que molt sovint ha marcat la societat tunisiana, per la imatge que té de l'Orient i l'Occident, de la tradició i la modernitat i de la religió i la política. Aquest fet és especialment rellevant per què el país està cada vegada més sacsejat, especialment d'ençà de la revolució del 2011, degut a l'agitació, i fins i tot a les accions d'una transició política que es debat entre els adeptes al model democràtic i els defensors, insidiosos i ocults, del model teocràtic. En aquest sentit, dedicaré aquest article a exposar la situació que viu el turisme a Tunísia arran d'aquesta transició, especialment em centraré en explicar les contínues maniobres del partit islamista Ennahdha per apropiarse del turisme, donat que no el poden erradicar, i convertir-lo en una mena de via que permet obrir el país al mercat *halal* o com jo l'anomeno a l'article: el mercat para-halal. També tractaré els intents d'altres corrents islamistes d'atacar el turisme perpetuant els atemptats terroristes dirigits a turistes o duent a terme campanyes d'invasió de les zones turístiques.

Atrapado entre dos corrientes políticas diametralmente opuestas, los islamistas por un lado y los progresistas por el otro, el turismo ha estado objeto de instrumentalización política y estigma religioso en Túnez. Su singularidad, como microcosmos que materializa estas tensiones, pasa a ser importante porque deja constancia de la triple relación problemática hacia el otro, hacia uno mismo y hacia el pasado y a su vez traduce la ambivalencia, que muy habitualmente ha marcado la sociedad tunecina, por la imagen que tiene del Oriente i el Occidente, de la tradición y la modernidad y de la religión y la política. Este hecho es especialmente relevante porque el país está cada vez más sacudido, especialmente desde la revolución del 2011, debido a la agitación, e incluso en las acciones de una transición política que es debate entre los adeptos al modelo democrático y los defensores, insidiosos y ocultos, del modelo teocrático. En este sentido, dedicaré este artículo a exponer la situación que vive el turismo en Túnez a raíz de esta transición, especialmente me centraré en explicar las continuas maniobras del partido islamista Ennahdha para apropiarse del turismo, dado que no lo pueden erradicar, y convertirlo en una especie de vía que permite abrir el país al mercado halal o como yo lo menciono en el artículo: el mercado para-halal. También trataré los intentos de otras corrientes islamistas de atacar el turismo perpetuando los atentados terroristas dirigidos a turistas o llevando a cabo campañas de invasión de las zonas turísticas.

Trapped between two diametrically opposite political currents—the Islamists on one side and the progressives on the other—tourism has been the object of both political instrumentalisation and religious stigma in Tunisia. Its unique circumstances, like a microcosmos that materialises these tensions, make it relevant, as it provides evidence of a triply problematic relationship: with the other, with oneself and with the past. It also serves to render the ambivalence that has all too often marked Tunisian society visible, given the image it portrays of Orient and Occident, of tradition and modernity, and of religion and politics. This is especially revealing in terms of the country's increasingly shaken state, especially following the 2011 revolution; a result of unrest and the actions surrounding the subsequent political transition, which is the subject of debate between those in favour of the democratic model and, insidious and creeping in the shadows, those that advocate theocracy. In light of this, I have chosen to devote this article to exposing the situation surrounding tourism in Tunisia as a result of this transition, making special emphasis on the unending ploys orchestrated by the Islamist party *Ennahdha* to appropriate tourism—since they cannot eradicate it—and convert it into a type of path that allows the country to open itself up to the *halal* market or, as I coin it in the article, the *para-halal* market. I will also address the attempts made by other Islamist currents to lay siege on tourism either by perpetuating terrorist attacks directed at tourists or by carrying out invasion campaigns to take over tourist areas.

defenders, albeit insidious and unavowed, of a theocratic model. With this in mind, I will first look at the status of tourism in Tunisia in the wake of this transition. I will dwell on the incessant manoeuvres of the Islamist party Ennahda to appropriate tourism, for lack of being able to eradicate it, in order to turn it into a springboard for opening up the country to the halal market. I will then study the origins of this dispute, which presides over the tensions surrounding tourism, among others, between the two political currents mentioned above. Finally, my reflection will focus on the situation that has prevailed since 2011, emphasising the attempts of other Islamist currents to attack tourism, whether by perpetuating terrorist attacks or by carrying out campaigns to invade tourist areas.

From hotel to paradise: para-halal tourism.

It would be useful to begin this section with a description of a current event, namely the opening of a so-called halal hotel, by Rached Ghannouchi, president of the Islamist Ennahda party, in the presence of a representative of the National Tourist Office, which is governed by the Tunisian State. This is the Paradise Sendra Palace Hotel, located in the tourist area Yasmine Hammamet, the flagship area of the Tunisian hotel industry. The event took place on 2 June 2018, a date that is not fortuitous as it corresponds to the 37th anniversary of the creation of Ennahda, on 2 June 1981, under the name 'Movement of Islamic Tendency'. Indeed, the anniversary ceremony of the Islamist party dominated the opening ceremony of the hotel to a certain extent, or at least relegated it to a secondary level, if the ceremonial stage is anything to go by. In fact, according to the video¹ recording of the event, which was widely reported on by the media, the ceremony begins with the arrival of Rached Ghannouchi in a large room in the hotel. Surrounded by a few people, including the young couple who own this tourist establishment, he moves towards a lounge suite in the centre of the room and gives an improvised speech, which he begins

with a tirade of psalmodies, just as he does during his Friday sermons, but this time wearing a tie and not a djellaba. He insists, in this sermon-speech, on the importance of Islamic values on the basis of which tourism should be envisaged: 'a high tourism, a tourism that rises to the level of a serious culture that is not necessarily contrary to leisure', as he wishes to qualify it. In the same vein, he emphasises, with supportive verses from the Quran, the importance of marrying Islam to modernity around the values of beauty and good taste. Then, he congratulates the young couple for having opted to invest in the private sector and states that the Islamists are going to win the day when it comes to tourism and the economy, as they did in the last municipal elections. 'We won', he is happy to mention, before repeating himself and qualifying once again by saying in passing that Tunisia won, the whole country won by holding such elections. Finally, the sheikh concludes with a smile that he is pleasantly surprised that the hotel managers remembered the anniversary of his party and prepared a ceremony for the occasion. Then we see two sturdy men carrying a large birthday cake decorated with a few candles. The sheikh, the head of the party, is then invited to blow them out, which he does without being able to hide his emotion at the very moment he takes the knife to cut the cake. In doing so, he invites the participants in the ceremony to sing 'Happy Birthday', in Arabic and then in French, to wish Ennahda a happy anniversary. But that is not all: the sheikh's blessing here is not limited to opening a new hotel or celebrating the anniversary of his party. Additionally, and above all, he announces the birth of a new tourism product in Tunisia, namely halal tourism, a new concept on the Tunisian market.

That was this first step in what could be called a halalisation or, so to speak, an islamisation of tourism, which sparked a heated debate among the public following this event. The accusations and reproaches directed at Ennahda and its leaders regarding their supposed hidden agenda of islamising

¹ See *Kapitalis* [La Gazelle, Tunisia], (3 June 2018). <<http://kapitalis.com/tunisie/2018/06/03/ghannouchi-inaugure-un-hotel-halal-a-hammamet-hotel-ou-mosquee-deguisee/>> (Last consulted: 14 May 2019)

the country by creating a parallel state thus resurfaced. According to these accusations, this parallel state takes the form of a parallel society, a parallel army and a parallel police force, and of course a parallel economy based, among other things, on parallel tourism, embodied in this case by the halal hotel industry. The two words ‘parallel’ and ‘halal’ can be combined to refer to ‘para-halal’ tourism. This neologism follows on from a reflection I developed in another piece on what I called a post-halal phenomenon, which manifests itself through the tendency of Islamist movements to apply the halal rule to practically all aspects of life (Saidi 2018). This trend leads the followers of these movements to self-marginalise, or even to live in a parallel world, especially in migratory contexts where halal has become one of the major markers of Muslim communities.

Returning to Ennahda, we must recall that this party has never been in favour of tourism, halal or otherwise. On the contrary, some of its leaders, the most contemptuous ones I would say, attack this sector harshly, as the philosopher Abu Yaareb Marzouki once did when he dared to compare tourism to disguised prostitution in a statement to the media when he was Secretary of State in the Troika government, dominated by his party in 2012 (Saidi 2017). This comparison is, moreover, very widespread among Islamists

of all tendencies. Almost all of them consider that tourism activity is infected by sin, shamelessness and debauchery. It is no coincidence that hotels, beaches and museums have been the object of the deadliest attacks to date in Tunisia. Nevertheless, Ennahda’s unspoken hostility towards tourism is not only motivated by religious reasons. Rather, it emanates from its radical, even hateful, opposition to the modernist political, economic and societal choices adopted by the post-independence State. In particular, we must think of the choices dear to their arch-enemy, Habib Bourguiba, namely the liberation of women, the modernisation of education and the opening-up to international tourism. It is these three choices that have been the most targeted by the Islamists’ insidious manoeuvres in recent years, if not direct attacks. Tourism is the example to be studied in this article.

On the origins of fundamentalist tourismophobia:

Indeed, all these attitudes of fear, rejection and hatred shown by fundamentalists towards tourism can be called ‘tourismophobia’, especially when they are translated into violent and destructive acts. However, to better understand the origins of such attitudes in the Tunisian context, we must go back in time to quickly take stock of the genesis of tourism in Tunisia, and the symbolic charge attributed to it in the wake of the



Close-up of a street in Sidi Bou Said, a coastal tourist village north-east of the city of Tunis. 2018. HABIB M'HENNI. CC BY-SA

modernisation process set in motion by the post-colonial State under a euphoric name resonating with the spirit of the time, namely the ‘Battle of Construction and Edification’. This battle, which was dear to Bourguiba, was so important that it became the label of an entire era – that of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s – during which the country embarked on a major construction campaign, in the truest sense of the word, to build what were then called ‘decent homes’. These are small houses of one or two rooms built from brick and intended to gradually replace, throughout the country, dilapidated dwellings such as huts, *gourbis* and *oukalas*, kinds of collective houses, occupied by needy families in the working class neighbourhoods of Tunis.

The image of a State-builder, to paraphrase Debray (1993: 82), embodied by a president-architect², permeates the spirit of Tunisians, whether they are poor or somewhat well-off. For both groups, owning a house, a ‘tomb of life’ as it was then called, meant deliverance from colonisation and access to the new world of independence portrayed by political discourse in the image of a new collective structure called ‘modern Tunisia’. ‘I build, therefore I am’ was the watchword and the cogito of the time. Building is to be understood here in the sense of cultivating and elevating both buildings and people. In fact, in addition to people, the State was talking about building houses, roads, schools, hospitals and clinics in small villages, as well as something very new and now presented as the concrete embodiment of a modern Tunisia under continuous construction: hotels.

Indeed, the establishment of the first hotels³ in Tunisia emerged during this same period of post-independence, when the popular craze for the construction of new houses was at its peak. In other words, the hotel, as erected in concrete and positioned on the seafront, symbolically illustrates the desire of Tunisians to free themselves from colonial subjugation and to rise to the glorious times of independence by owning a home on their own land, previously occupied by the colonists and now

promoted and promised to tourists. It also illustrates the desired image of a construction site given to the country at the time of founding the national State and affirming the collective Self. Showing the country in this form allowed the rulers of the time to create hope in the eyes of the population by presenting this project as the prelude to another one, whose scope would extend to the whole country and whose dynamics would benefit everyone. The hotel, and by extension tourism, became the harbinger of a renewed country, promising a better life for all its citizens. It thus contributed to the propaganda efforts of a young State seeking to assert itself in ways such as giving the illusion of standing upright like the hotels it builds. According to Pierre Legendre, ‘A building must not only stand upright according to the laws of physics, but it must also look like it is standing upright; it has the strength of an image. Just like the State.’ (Legendre, 1998:55)

With this in mind, it could be said that, in the case of Tunisia, the State has built hotels not only to accommodate tourists, but also to raise itself up like an upright building, in the image of the buildings it erects. This image is all the more multifaceted in that it targets Tunisians and foreigners alike. Moreover, it is doubly ‘edifying’ and ‘identifying’, to use Augé’s terms (1994: 107), i.e. it is involved both in edifying the state and the identification of the country. Ahmed Smaoui, one of the pioneers of Tunisian tourism whom I met during my field surveys in 2014 in Tunisia, supports this idea in substance. In response to my insistent question on the reasons other than the economic doxa that may have motivated the country to open up to tourist activity, he wished to point out that tourism in the case of Tunisia could be considered just like the army, the police, education or health, inasmuch as it contributed to the reconstruction of the country following independence. In addition, it has provided a showcase for the country to reveal itself to the world and to ensure that the world is aware of its achievements, whether in the field of tourism or in other areas considered the pride of the State at this crucial moment

2

Habib Bourguiba (1903-2000), the first President of the Republic, governed the country from 1956 to 1987.

3

It goes without saying that there were a few hotels built during the colonial period, but the focus here is on those built during the post-colonial period as part of the launch of the tourism sector by the post-independence State.



Start of the Ennahda party campaign in Sidi Bou Said. October 2001. CC BY-SA 2.0

in its history. The former head of the National Tunisian Tourism Office (ONTT in French) spoke of what he called ‘the philosophy of Bourguiba’ and ‘his vision of a modern State’. According to him, Bourguiba was a visionary and a strategist in the sense that he was able to bring together all the assets very early on to set in motion his project to modernise society by bringing the country politically and economically closer to Europe, its main partner: ‘Bourguiba was a man who saw far ahead, he said that in order to catch up with the developed countries it was necessary to give priority to education and liberation for women. This was part of his concept of a modern State... And tourism allows others to come to us and us to go where they live [...] He believed in tourism as a factor in Tunisia’s modernity. That’s quite a philosophy.’

The assertion that Bourguiba’s concept of the modern State is partly based on the adoption of tourism as a ‘factor of modernisation’ brings us squarely into the problem of the political use of this sector, as well as the complexity of its insertion into the process of post-colonial change. In other words, this assertion makes it possible to debate two related issues, namely tourism as one of the cornerstones of the construction of the state on the one hand, and as an idiom of these changes on

the other. In both cases, political investment into tourism, which is consubstantial with its economic investment, is rooted in Bourguiba’s modernist ‘philosophy’ and in his providential approach to power and society. In other words, like the liberation of women, the separation of religion and the State, and compulsory and free schooling of girls and boys, the adoption of tourism is in turn driven by a dual modernist and paternalistic vision of change. Above all, we must think of the obsessive desire of the father of the nation, as he was called at the time, to modernise the country, even if it meant imposing societal and economic projects from above likely to bring about this change while dramatising it through ostentatious, even spectacular, achievements and acts. Building hotels is thus of the same dramatic order as removing women’s veils in public, or even in front of television cameras, as Bourguiba did with his own hands when he met Tunisian women wearing *safsari*⁴ veils. In both cases, the aim was to show the renewal of a country in the midst of construction on the one hand, and the newly adopted societal and cultural model on the other.

Most Tunisian tourism officials with whom I spoke agree on the comparison of Bourguiba to a theatre actor, or more precisely

4

Traditional Tunisian veil worn less and less by Tunisian women. It differs from the so-called Islamic veil, which was banned at the time of Bourguiba and Ben Ali. The removal of the veil scene can be viewed in this video excerpt that resurfaced on social networks after the Revolution: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nNvswl8o-VQg>.

to a talented director, when they talk about his passion for tourism. They insist on his ability to exploit this activity as a scenic device enabling him to show, expose and exhibit what can be called his modernist 'theatre productions' (Saidi, 2006). It is, in this case, these tourist and town-planning developments which, as they developed along the coast, served Bourguiba as theatrical elements to highlight his dramaturgical approach to modernity. Ibrahim, former head of the ONTT at the time of Bourguiba and Ben Ali, describes the Tunisian leader as an exhibitionist thirsting for prestige and power, eager to show and to show himself: 'Bourguiba wanted tourism not only for economic reasons, but also due to reasons of prestige and openness. He wanted to show himself, he was an exhibitionist of modernity. He was someone who liked to show himself and show Tunisia, of course.'

According to this 'philosophy' of Bourguiba, it can be said that political investment into tourism has been envisaged in two distinct but interrelated versions. The first is the one described above. It relates to the modernist vision of Bourguiba as conveyed through the development of tourism along most Tunisian coasts. The second relates more to his so-called *Al-Infitah* or *Attafattouh* policy. These two expressions, which often recurred in Bourguiba's speeches, signify openness. We must read this as political, economic (in the sense of a liberal economy) and cultural openness to the West, and to Europe more particularly. Europe was now seen both as a partner to be favoured and as a source and model of modernisation to be followed or even copied. To this end, tourism played a decisive role in the implementation of this policy of openness, gradually anchoring itself within the territory and relatively in terms of daily lifestyles. In fact, it provided the State with fertile ground, literally and figuratively, for reshaping the country's interaction with Europe and for promoting the Western model in the eyes of Tunisians, in particular through the establishment of new urban infrastructures and the dissemina-

tion of architectural expressions that place importance on European styles. In addition, it made it possible to create an interface between Tunisians and tourists, and Westerners by extension. This interface has given this policy a specular dimension in addition to a spectacular dimension.

Mohamed Sayah, biographer of the Supreme Combatant, and one of the most devoted to his modernisation policy, looks back on his first meeting with Bourguiba, when he was a young student, returning from a student event in Uganda. He recounts how the Head of State immediately interrupted them when he and his colleagues, who had accompanied him on this trip, wanted to report on the misery and poverty in Africa: 'Better still, he warned us against comparing Tunisia with these countries, saying that Europe was our horizon, our 'balcony opposite', on the other side of the Mediterranean. He asked us to reason in comparison with Italy, Greece or France. I've kept this memory.' (Camau and Geisser, 2004). Even if it had been used in another context, the metaphor of the 'balcony opposite' brings us back to the idea of the engineering of the State and its leader. It is all the more revealing because it perfectly illustrates the spatial organisation, and by extension, the geopolitical orientation that the construction of hotels along the coast gave the country. Not only in the sense that they were generally facing this sea, with Bourguiba's 'balcony' on the other side, but also in the sense that these new buildings were themselves another 'balcony', as they stood as the façade of the country and displayed it to Europe and Europeans.

In this sense, the concentration of the tourist area on the coast also sheds more light on the policy of openness operated by Bourguiba throughout his reign and which continued largely during the reign of Ben Ali. As will be explained in the following section, this policy has been more specifically targeted by Islamists since the revolution, whether through terrorist attacks, invasions of tourist areas or corruption tactics in the hotel industry.

5

Lesser Eid, in Arabic *Eid al-Saghir*, is the name given to the feast celebrating the end of the month of fasting, Ramadan. Greater Eid, in Arabic *Eid al-Kabir*, is the name of the feast of the sacrifice of the sheep. Each of these two feasts is inaugurated by a collective prayer at the beginning of the day.

6

They also organised a preacher meeting on the beach of Hammamet, led by the Egyptian preacher Mohamed Hassan on 2 May 2013. The popularity of this preacher, who received a lot of media attention from pan-Arab religious channels, enabled the organisers to attract a large audience to all the sermons he preached during his tour of Tunisia.

Prayers and invasions to curse tourism:

In the aftermath of the revolution, Islamists of all tendencies have organised all kinds of events, most of which are similar to demonstrations of force whose primary aim is to give the impression that Tunisian society has indeed been won over to their cause and that it is therefore up to them to decide the fate of the country at this crucial moment of change. Among these events are preaching tents, collective prayers, simulations of the pilgrimage to Mecca, and preacher meetings held in honour of Wahhabi preachers from the Gulf countries and Egypt. Strange as it may seem, many of these events have been held, in addition to in large football stadiums and public squares, on famous beaches in tourist areas. Indeed, Islamists are keen to organise these activities in places that give them national and international media visibility, as well as a symbolic presence as new masters and powerful conquerors of public space.

Thus, they have targeted more specifically the two cities of Hammamet and Sousse as flagship destinations of Tunisian tourism to organise seaside prayers on the occasion of the lesser and greater Eid⁵ of 2011 and 2012⁶. The seaside preaching during the lesser Eid held in Hammamet on 18 August 2012, at the height of the tourist season, is exemplary in this respect. The conversion of the beach into an open-air sand mosque according to an arrangement 'plan' not lacking in 'originality' has received national and international media coverage. A floating minbar⁷ was set up a few metres from the shore on a platform 'held in place by sandbags'⁸, the local press reported, to prevent it from sinking or moving away from the worshippers gathered on the beach. This 'throne' was upholstered and raised like a pulpit, like a real minbar in a mosque. The imam had to use a footbridge that connected the platform to the beach to reach it. The day after this event, we could see the pictures of a bearded imam preaching from this artificial minbar in the media and on social networks.



He is standing there, with his back to the sea, facing dozens of worshippers sitting on the carpets that have covered an area of 2,000 square metres of sand, according to the organisers of this prayer, who had naturally applied the principle of separation between men and women⁹, and by extension the prohibition for non-Muslims to frequent these newly purified places.

At first glance, such controversial actions could be associated with other similar occurrences attributed to the simultaneously chaotic and euphoric post-revolutionary context. However, the radical Islamists' relentlessness against tourism, which later resulted in bloody attacks, shows in retrospect that all these events were part of a programmed and methodical strategy whose ultimate aim was to defeat the sector by proceeding in stages. In fact, at least two of

Sunset on a street in a Tunisian town. CC0 1.0

7

Throne upon which the imam stands in a mosque during Friday's sermon.

8

See *Dreuz.info* (20 August 2012). [Online] <https://www.dreuz.info/2012/08/20/tunisie-la-plage-de-hammamet-transformee-en-lieu-de-priere-interdite-aux-non-musulmans/>. [Last consulted: 14 May 2019]

9

Ibid.

them can be identified as being in solidarity with each other, the first marked by acts of symbolic violence and the second characterised by acts of physical violence. The first paved the way for the next, as it began the destabilisation of the sector through the diversion and distortion of its spaces, as well as the disfigurement of the country's image in the eyes of tourists. This approach went hand in hand with another, consisting in using the same spaces and their notoriety to rally Tunisians to their manoeuvres. In other words, the strategy of these fundamentalists was to kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand, they aimed to frighten tourists by invading tourist areas, whether by organising such events or by physically occupying beaches under the pretext of returning them to families concerned about respecting 'our cultural values', which are often invoked in their speeches. On the other hand, they wanted to impress Tunisians, especially young people from disadvantaged regions and working-class neighbourhoods, by posing as the liberators of spaces that were previously inaccessible to them because they were 'occupied' by tourists. Praying by the seaside thus comes to bless this liberation and give it substance. By the same token, it aims to purify, to 'halalise' a territory, so to speak, in this case the tourist area, desecrated by 'immoral' activities in the eyes of Islamists.

In the same vein, Ennahda took part in the 'reconquest' of the beaches and their 'halalisation', in a less offensive but spectacular way. It organised an event that claimed to call for the defence of religion under the title 'Everything but my religion', *Illā dīni* in Arabic, on 18 June 2012 on the beach of Sousse. It included prayer and recitation of the Koran, sweetened by some drawing, painting and religious calligraphy exercises. The event targeted young people and children and turned the beach of Sousse into a large prayer training camp where children learned to bow down on mats spread out on the sand, to chant their first verses of the Koran, or to sing *anachid*, or religious songs, the meaning of which they did not

understand. On another part of the beach, people wrote the word *Soubhanoullah*, Glory to God, in calligraphy on the sand over an area of a few square metres. Others carried banners bearing religious texts. Veiled girls were responsible for distributing leaflets and booklets that both promoted religion and advertised Ennahda, the party of the 'pious' and 'God-fearing', as it presented itself to Tunisians in the October 2011 Constituent Assembly elections.

Unlike the Salafi Jihadists, who seek to brutally impose the Sharia regime through the use of violence, as evidenced by the increase in terrorist acts, the Ennahda party's followers prefer to achieve the same goal through a gradual process. From this point of view, Ennahda's event on the beach of Sousse aimed rather to play on the religious and conservative sensitivities of traditional Tunisian families to rekindle their hostility to this sector or at least to encourage their support of its progressive halalisation, or even of its definitive disappearance, in its current form in any case. Let us not forget that despite the expansion of this sector and its impact on many aspects of daily life, especially on the coasts, some Tunisians, especially those from conservative circles or those newly influenced by fundamentalist currents, still see it as an attack on morality. The fear of seeing their children drop out of school to wander the beaches, get drunk in bars or lurk around hotels is always on people's minds.

By staging a prayer session on the beach, Ennahda becomes the proponent of another model of society that advocates a break with the image of the young womaniser, drunkard and philanderer in tourist areas. This is contrasted with the image of the pious, docile young man who obeys his parents and defends his religion. This image is still idealised in conservative and traditionalist circles, and corresponds, from the perspective of women, to the profile of the veiled girl who shows exemplary modesty and chastity. A model promised by Ennahda to go against the impudent woman who

transgresses social values by behaving in an immoral way, like tourists. This image of women, which Bourguiba's societal model is accused of having promoted and propagated on a society-wide scale, is universally hated by Islamists. It is such an obsession that it motivated their campaign against Bourguiba and Ben Ali's anti-veil policy, carried out in the name of 'defending chaste Tunisian women', and which today leads them to celebrate the veil by associating it exclusively with chastity. It is certainly no coincidence that the pro-Islamist philosopher Marzouki associated tourism with prostitution and dependence on the West. In doing so, the Islamists of Ennahda pose as saviours of the honour of Tunisia, of Tunisian men and women, an honour ridiculed, in their opinion, by the modernist model of society. This is all the more strategic since they target young people in particular, in order to prepare them from childhood to reject this model and to become, once they are adults, fierce defenders of the Islamist project as a whole.

Ennahda's number two, Abdelfattah Mourou, clearly explains this strategy to the Egyptian Wahhabist preacher Wajdi Ghoneim during a closed-door meeting that was filmed without his knowledge. Speaking of the 'flexibility' with which Ennahda treats its secular and modernist 'adversaries' who defy its power, he confided to the preacher that the strategy of the Islamist party is to

neglect the latter and to rally their children instead: 'We don't want them,' he says, 'we want their children, their wives and their grandchildren. Today, we have their sons and daughters in our hands and our goal is to cut them off from their parents' way of thinking¹⁰.'

By way of conclusion, I would say that tourism – and, by extension, heritage – is a favoured field for Islamists, whether radical or moderate. For the former, it is a battlefield in the truest sense of the word, as evidenced by the bloody attacks they have committed in various tourist sites. For the latter, tourism is one of the last bastions of the social model erected by Bourguiba. This is why they seem to be determined to conquer it, because they cannot destroy it. In both cases, the aim of tackling tourism remains almost the same: to wipe out the aforementioned social model and thereby cut Tunisia off from the world in order to subject it finally to their project. However, this is in no way achievable, no matter how strong they are or how much trouble it may cause. Not only because tourism is deeply rooted in Tunisia, in the historical and cultural background of the country, but also because its openness to tourism and to the West is to some extent conditioned by its geographical proximity to Europe and by the historical Mediterranean confluences in which it has always bathed. ■

10

See *Mag 14* [Ariana, Tunisia], (20 February 2012): <http://www.mag14.com/national/40-politique/348-singuliere-convivence-entre-mourou-et-wajdi-ghanim.html>. [Last consulted: 14 May 2019]

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The UNESCO effect

Tourism management or heritage management of the Patios de Córdoba?¹

Introduction

One of the most radical trends in tourism development in the last three decades is the explosion of urban tourism. According to some sources, this type of tourism represents 22 % of international tourism, and tourist flows to European cities are increasing at an annual rate of 20 % (ITB, 2018). Obviously, this increasing magnitude has an impact on tourist-receiving societies, both on their economies and on other spheres of social life. This phenomenon is especially intense in hyper-specialised urban areas that offer tourism-related services. In these scenarios, which are a growing trend, tourism transforms the place itself into an object of consumption (Fernández Salinas and Silva, 2017; Hernández-Ramírez, 2018; Mansilla, 2017, 2018).

It is common for the actors involved in the sector (business people, most polit-

ical agents, the media, etc.) to highlight the beneficial nature of what is known as cultural tourism. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) itself maintains in the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (1999) that tourism is "a factor for the enhancement and enrichment of the cultural heritage of humanity" (article 4). However, the sustained growth of visitors in the most touristified and crowded enclaves has in recent years led to debate and controversy about possible models for tourism and city development (Huete and Mantecón, 2018; Martins, 2018; Milano, 2018; Pérez-García and García-Abad, 2018).

In this work a paradigmatic tourist/heritage enclave case: the Andalusian city of Córdoba and more specifically its historic quarter is analysed. The socio-cultural and economic effects arising from this expansive logic and from city management modes are generating an interesting debate in different social and political forums on heritage and the right to the city.

1

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Paraules clau: intensitat turística, turistificació, patrimoni cultural immaterial, dret a la ciutat, efecte UNESCO.

Palabras clave: intensidad turística, turistificación, patrimonio cultural inmaterial, derecho a la ciudad, efecto UNESCO.

Keywords: tourist intensity, touristification, intangible cultural heritage, right to the city, UNESCO Effect.

In Cordoba cultural heritage has so much weight in the development of tourism that the Tourism/Heritage dyad is often considered to be inseparable: all public projects and actions on tourism take heritage as the main strategic axis. Our hypothesis is that one side of this two-way relationship (Prats, 2011) is much stronger, since "heritage management" is conceived solely as "heritage tourism management", subordinating heritage to market logic. From this viewpoint, heritage becomes an instrument, a dependent variable of tourism, which cannot be governed and managed independently of a commitment to sustained growth in the sector.

Our research will focus on the "Fiesta of the Patios of Cordoba". On 6 December 2012 this event was added to the Representative List of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity. This recognition has had a significant impact on the tourism sector itself and on local and regional authorities, who have seen the UNESCO listing as an opportunity for economic growth, and have therefore positioned the product "Patios of Cordoba" as one of the main attractions bringing visitors to the city².

This article is our first contribution on this cultural asset within a broader series analysing the relationships between cultural heritage and tourism. As the introduction to a series, it focuses particularly on contextualizing this interaction, taking into account

what we could call "the tourist footprint" in Cordoba. The research - which is ongoing - is based on in situ fieldwork, carried out so far from May to December 2018, applying two research techniques typical of social anthropology: direct and participant observation of everyday reality, and in-depth interviews with qualified informants. These qualitative techniques were complemented by a review of periodicals, research in various documentary and bibliographic sources, and the processing of statistical data, mainly from Cordoba City Council's Municipal Institute of Tourism (IMTUR).

This study presents an overview of these processes, focusing on two axes: 1) First, a diagnosis of the tourism-driven transformation of the city linked to the promotion of UNESCO-listed cultural assets, observing the sustained growth of tourist numbers and the impact this has on the city centre. 2) Second, an analysis of the controversies and actions arising in the city of Cordoba between the sectors that rely on the growth of tourism and other groups that point to the problems of mass tourism and call for heritage to be uncoupled from tourism. Based on this second axis, this work examines the set of public policies and private initiatives that in recent years have taken heritage as the main tourist resource, and at the other end of the continuum, the voices and actions of certain local sectors which propose heritage management as an identity resource linked to the right to the city.

Aquest article aprofundeix en les repercussions que generen les inscripcions de béns culturals als llistats de la UNESCO sobre les poblacions dipositàries. Partint de l'estudi de la Festa dels Patis de Còrdova, ens centrem en l'anàlisi de dos aspectes centrals: 1) la transformació turística de la ciutat, ressaltant la lògica expansiva del turisme i l'impacte que té en el centre de la ciutat; 2) les actuacions i controvèrsies que es produeixen entre els sectors que aposten pel creixement i els grups detractors de la turistificació.

Este artículo profundiza en las repercusiones que generan las inscripciones de bienes culturales en los listados de la UNESCO sobre las poblaciones depositarias. Partiendo del estudio de la Fiesta de los Patios de Córdoba, nos centramos en el análisis de dos aspectos fundamentales: 1) la transformación turística de la ciudad, ressaltando la lógica expansiva del turismo y su impacto en el centro histórico; 2) las actuaciones y controversias que se producen entre los sectores que apuestan por el crecimiento y los grupos detractores de la turistificación.

2

A detailed description of this festival, its meanings and social and symbolic functions can be found in Colmenarejo, 2018 and Manjavacas, 2018.

This paper examines in depth the repercussions of the inscriptions in UNESCO's Lists on the local society and on the bearers of heritage. Focusing the "Fiesta de los Patios de Córdoba" as case of study, we centre the analysis in two main aspects: 1) the tourist transformation of the city, highlighting the expansive logic of tourism and its impact in the historical city centre; 2) the actions and controversies between social actors that defend tourist growth and the groups detracting touristification.

The "UNESCO effect" and its paradoxes

The case of the city of Cordoba once again shows the interest of government and other social sectors in activating heritage, considered as a development resource and a "solution" to various social problems (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Quintero-Morón, 2009; Yúdice, 2002). However, various investigations point out how heritagisation, and more specifically the processes of heritagisation linked to the world heritage lists, often have unexpected effects (Foster, 2012); that they generate dispossession (Hafstein, 2009, 2018) or that they are paradoxical because they both empower and disempower local populations (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018).

One of the first paradoxes of the "UNESCO effect" is that recognition in their lists triggers or accentuates the processes of touristification of cities. This dynamic, which is spurious to the obvious objectives of safeguarding as set out in the declaration files, is in no way a unique feature of Cordoba's heritage, but is part of an overall dynamic of resignifying heritage. Within this market logic, the "UNESCO brand" has become a guarantee of "authenticity", used by public and private decision-makers as an added value to the image of the destination and a fundamental element in promotion to attract tourist flows. This article elaborates on the findings of other research on how UNESCO's "brand" is a resource to boost tourism (Bendix, 2009; Hafstein, 2009; Jiménez de Madariaga and Seño-Asencio, 2018; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Santamarina and Del Mármol, 2017; Yúdice, 2002). Thus, despite the fact that UNESCO documents and regulatory formulas warn against the exploitation of heritage, the correlation between addition to the list and the commercialisation of many of these heritage assets is undeniable (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Evans, 2001; Lixinski, 2015).

Another of the paradoxes that we consider in this text is the direct effect of heritagisation on the local populations who hold and

maintain these cultural goods. This paradox appears in how UNESCO listings often not only fail to reinforce local identities, but can disempower or dispossess the traditional bearers of heritage (Hafstein, 2018; Quintero-Morón and Sánchez-Carretero, 2017; Villaseñor and Zolla, 2012). The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage proclaims among its innovations the prominence of "communities, groups and in some cases individuals" as bearers of intangible heritage. However, de facto, power relations and the entry of various public and private institutions into the process of heritagisation produces a displacement of local populations. The analysis of UNESCO's "heritage regime" (Bendix *et al.* 2012; Hafstein, 2009) highlights the need to consider the actors of heritagisation in its multilevel and multi-sectoral dimension.

Many academics today point out the controversial and conflictive dimension of heritage (Quintero-Morón, 2009; Sánchez-Carretero, 2012), understanding heritage as a socio-political process in which there is a selection, a resemanticisation and a change of functions, and where the asymmetries of power and opposing social models are highlighted. Heritage processes are almost never unidirectional but rather dialectical and/or dialogical, since 'there are antagonistic dissensions, conflicts, narratives and uses of heritage' (Van Geert and Roigé, 2014): 10). The evidence of these debates on heritage led Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) to speak of "dissonant heritage", that is to say, of heritage assets whose valuation and interpretation generate dissent, since the sectors involved in the struggle for heritage attribute different meanings and values to the same referent or postulate other new ones that are not recognised.

In this respect, in the following pages we are interested in delving into the antagonistic positions of two social sectors that are exposed in the local arena, but which have clear connections with regional and

international dynamics: the sectors of Cordoban society that are in favour of the use of heritage mainly as a tourist resource or that understand tourism and heritage to be mutually beneficial, and those that interpret heritage as a social and identity asset and propose other models of action in urban management.

The expansive logic of tourism in Cordoba

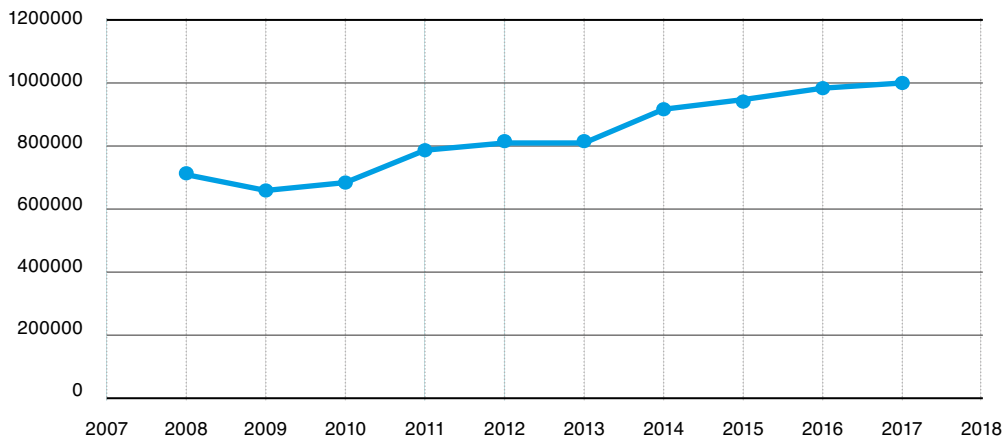
In 2017 the volume of travellers staying in hotels in the city of Cordoba exceeded one million people, specifically 1,012,580 tourists, an increase of 1.56% from 2016 and part of a trend of sustained growth (Tourist Observatory, 2017) (Graph 1). This highly symbolic and record-breaking figure was experienced as a real success by wide sectors

of Cordoban society, who regarded it as a milestone in the trend of annually increasing tourist flows.

This upward trend also appears in overnight stays in conventional hotels, which in 2017 totalled 1,616,706, an increase of 1.08% over the previous year in a sequence of increases covering the period 2008/2017.

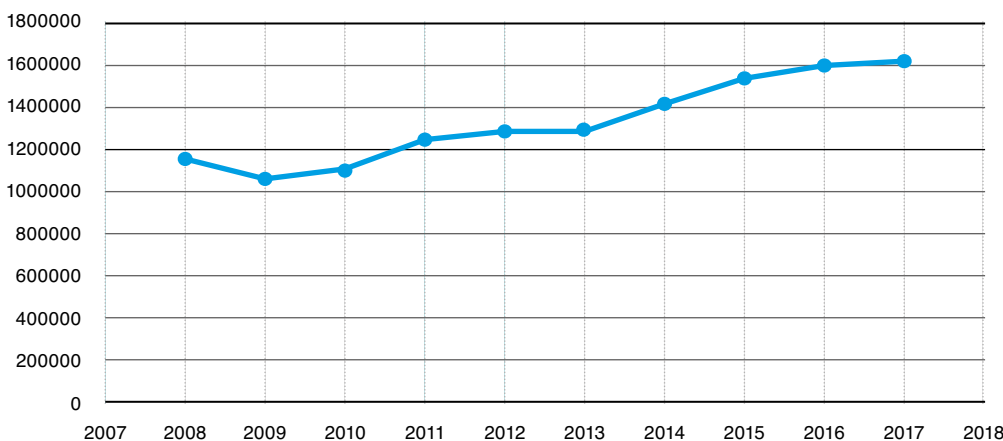
In line with this positive behaviour, the hotel capacity in the city has also experienced significant growth. As can be seen in graphs 3 and 4, in 2017 the hotel capacity of Cordoba city reached a total of 99 establishments with a supply of 6,879 beds, which in the period 2004-2017 meant a total increase of 39.44% and 39.00% respectively³.

Graph 1. Cordoba. Change in the number of tourists



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory. Municipal Tourism Institute (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original

Graph 2. Change in overnight stays in hotel establishments



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original

The upward trend of these various indicators is due to exogenous causes, such as recovery from the crisis in the sector and the consolidation of urban tourism as the second most popular form of tourism in terms of consumer preferences (Hernández-Ramírez, 2018), but also responds to local factors with international impact. One of the most notable is the UNESCO World Heritage listing of three cultural properties (the Great Mosque in 1984, the Historic Centre in 1994 and in 2018 the Caliphate city of Medina Azahara), as well as the Fiesta of the Patios as Intangible Cultural Heritage (2012). These listings have decisively strengthened the brand image of Cordoba and are one of the elements that have most influenced this upward trend, as it is the

only city in the world with four "Unesco brand" sites⁴.

Intensity and overload

What the numbers in themselves do not explain is that the presence of tourists in some neighbourhoods of the historical centre and at certain times of the year reaches levels that approach overload (overtourism), which can be seen in streets saturated with visitors congesting the uses of public spaces and even threatening the sustainability of the destination in business terms.

This qualitative assessment, which is the result of direct observation in the streets of the city centre at different times of the year, is confirmed when analysing official statistical

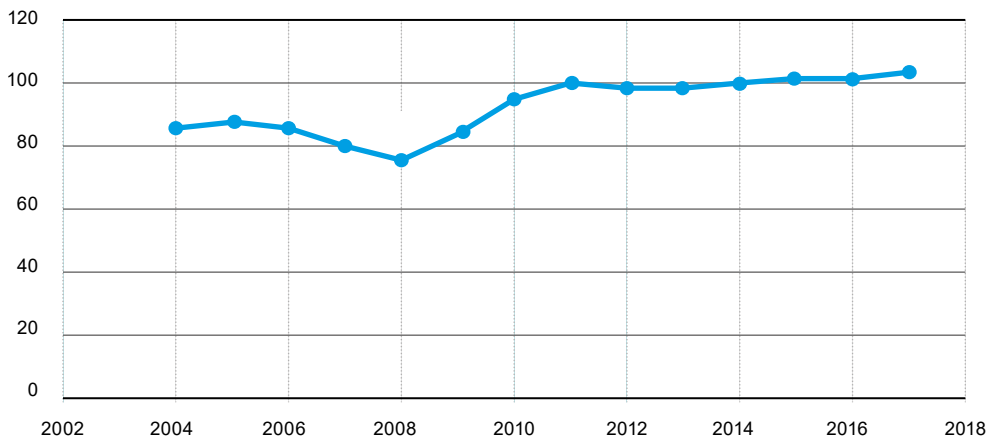
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As well as this hotel infrastructure, we must consider holiday lets. According to the Informe de Análisis de Viviendas con Fines Turísticos (VFT), a report by Espacio Común SCA, 55% of the holiday lets in Cordoba are irregular, in that they are not in the Andalusian Tourism Register (Sources: *La Vanguardia*; *ABC*; *Radio Córdoba*; *El Día de Córdoba* and *Diario de Córdoba*, 03 and 04/10/2018).

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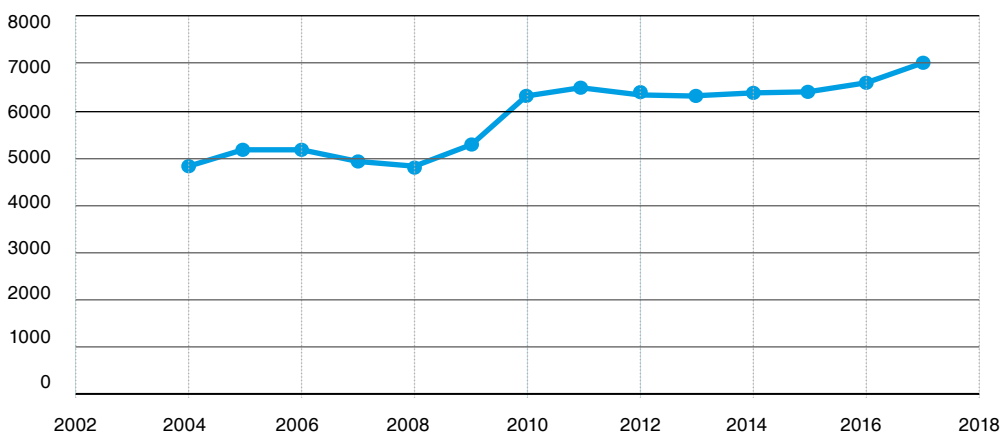
Cordoba also shares two UNESCO listings with other territories: Flamenco (2010) and the Mediterranean Diet (2013).

Graph 3. Cordoba. Change in hotel establishments



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original.

Graph 4. Cordoba. Change in hotel places



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Annual reports. Original.

data. Tourism intensity, i.e., the quotient between the number of tourists staying in regulated establishments and the number of residents, is extremely high in Cordoba, and one of the highest in all of Spain.

This ratio has increased in recent years. In the period 2013–2017 the volume of overnight tourist stays in the city grew by almost 13 % (12.28 %) while the total resident population decreased by 2 %. Furthermore, if we bear in mind that our statistical data only refer to tourists in regulated establishments, and do not include those who stay in unregulated apartments and day-trippers (tourists who do not stay overnight), the tourist-resident ratio is presumably much higher than the quotients above.

This ratio is much more intense in the limited area of the neighbourhoods in the Central District, where the visits are concentrated⁵. In this territory, the population registered in 2013 was close to 45,000 people (44,543) while tourists staying in hotels exceeded 800,000 (824,078), so the tourism intensity reached no less than 18.5 tourists per inhabitant per year⁶. This figure is truly spectacular, comparable to tourism-heavy cities such as Barcelona, where the historic quarter reached an annual ratio of twenty visitors per inhabitant in 2015 (Richards, 2016).

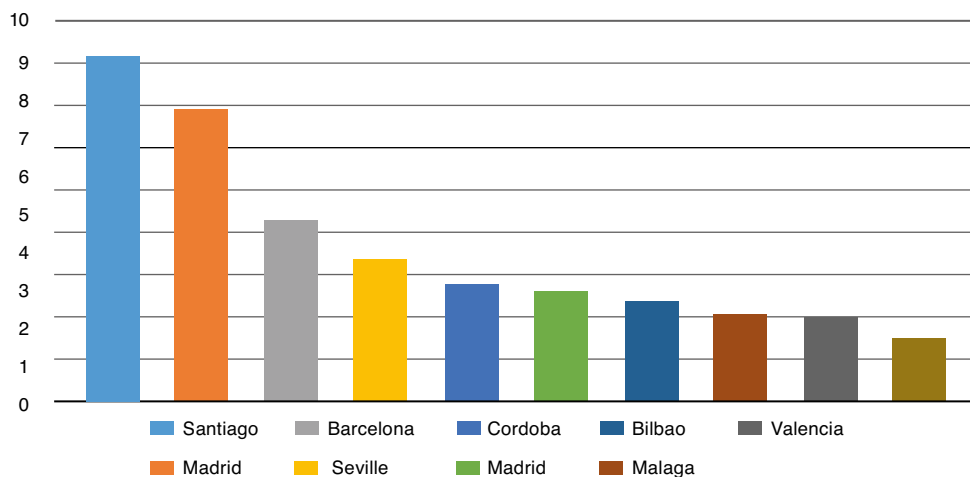


This area of Cordoba is the paradigm of the *museumised* tourist space, as its extensive cultural heritage, recognised institutionally, and the urban environment have been the

P4TRIMONIO MUNDIAL.
New promotional logo for Cordoba.

BEGOÑA ESCRIBANO SALMORAL

Graph 5. Ratio tourists/residents in the main Spanish urban destinations (2017)



Source: INE. Original

5 The Central District covers an area of 307.47 hectares, 9.95% of the city's total area.

6 The latest data on the population registered in the Districts of Cordoba are from 2013.



object of public policies and private initiatives for restoration, embellishment and adaptation. These actions are mainly due to a strategy of attracting tourist flows, which transforms this portion of the city into a profitable consumer product. This emphasis on the aestheticisation of the historic city generates two concomitant processes that are visible in Córdoba: on the one hand, it creates an enclave that is spatially segregated from the rest of the city, and on the other, it favours the hyper-specialisation of this "bubble" in the tourist sector.

The official data on tourist activity confirms this hyper-specialisation: most of the city's hotel offering is concentrated in the districts of the historical centre⁷. If we look at the bars and restaurants sub-sector, the data are unequivocal, as 53.84% of all the establishments in the city are located in this tourist area. But this concentration is much greater in the supply of accommodation, since a very significant 75.59% of the city's hotel space is located in the historical centre. As can be seen

in the following graph, the greater presence of the hotel offer in the historical centre in almost all categories is undeniable, which is very significant if we bear in mind that its area is less than 10% of the city.

This hyper-specialisation of hotels in the historic town centre is even more extreme if we consider the proliferation of holiday lets. Although the actual number is unknown, according to the report prepared by the consultancy firm Espacio Común SCA, this type of accommodation represents 64.75% of the city's total and is concentrated in the Central District.

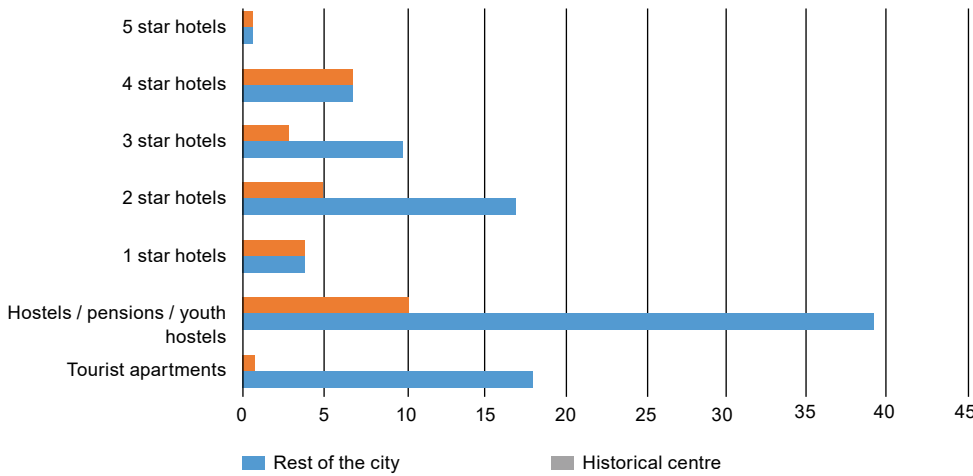
World Heritage driven tourism

Recognition by UNESCO has increased the tourist attraction of the city. In this regard, the Tourist Plan of Córdoba 2014/2016 does not hesitate to point out the importance of the Mosque, the urban landscape of the historical centre and the patios as the main tourist attractions. The text literally states that they are "the only differential resources

Streets of the touristified centre in the month of May (16/05/2018). DIARIO DE CÓRDOBA

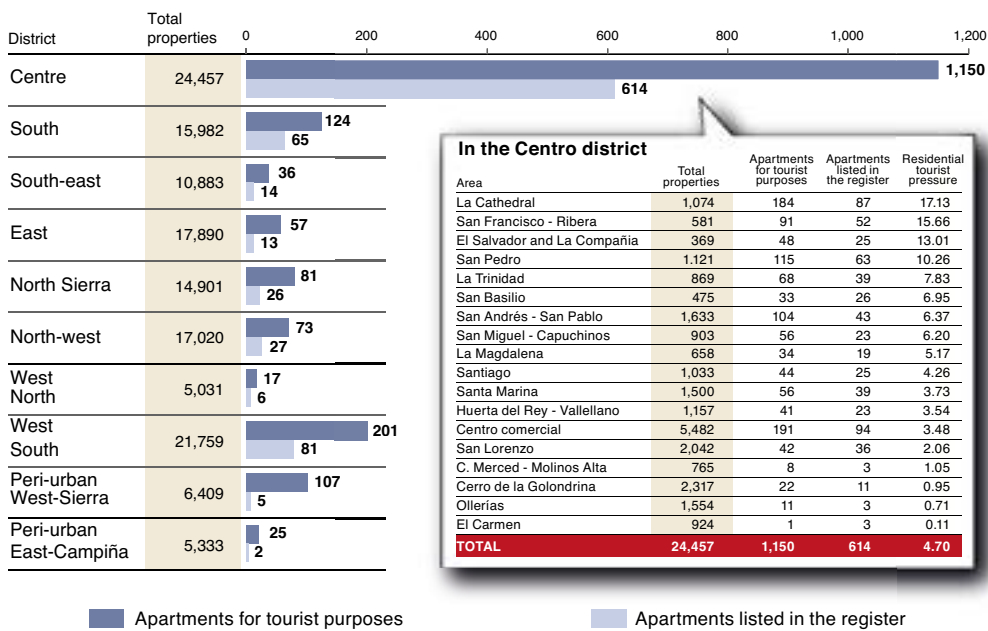
⁷ Data provided by the Observatorio Turístico de Córdoba were processed and analysed. We consider the districts corresponding to postal codes 1, 2, 3 and 4 as the historical *touristified* centre.

Graph 6. Breakdown of available accommodation, 2018



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). Original.

Graph 7. Breakdown of apartments for tourist purposes in Cordoba



Source: Diario de Córdoba, 4-10-2018.

of the city with real potential to attract tourists" (2014: 8).⁸ The subsequent Strategic Tourism Plan 2015/19 corroborates this assessment by stating that Cordoba is the "largest area in the world declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO" (2015: 54) and that "no products other than cultural products have achieved a prominent position or recognition in the tourism market" (2015: 40).

The statistical data are very clear and confirm the importance of World Herit-

age-driven tourism. Focusing on the case of the Fiesta of the Patios, it can be seen that, from its inscription on the Representative List in 2012 until 2017, the volume of tourists grew by 12.44% and that of overnight stays by 12.57%. At the same time, the city's hotel capacity also increased, both in terms of the number of establishments (5.3%) and the number of beds on offer (8.2%).

This increase in the number of tourists is more clearly evident in the month of May

⁸ The underlining is ours.

(Graph 8), and not by chance, as this is the month of the annual Fiesta of the Patios, as well as other important festive events in the "May of Cordoba"⁹.

The fact that UNESCO's recognition of the Fiesta de los Patios has driven tourism is also demonstrated by the fact that since 2012 the annual influx of visitors in the month of May has been pretty much constant, in contrast to the fluctuating trajectory characteristics of the period prior to the inscription of the Fiesta on the Representative List.

This sustained growth is generating problems of tourist saturation during the competition,

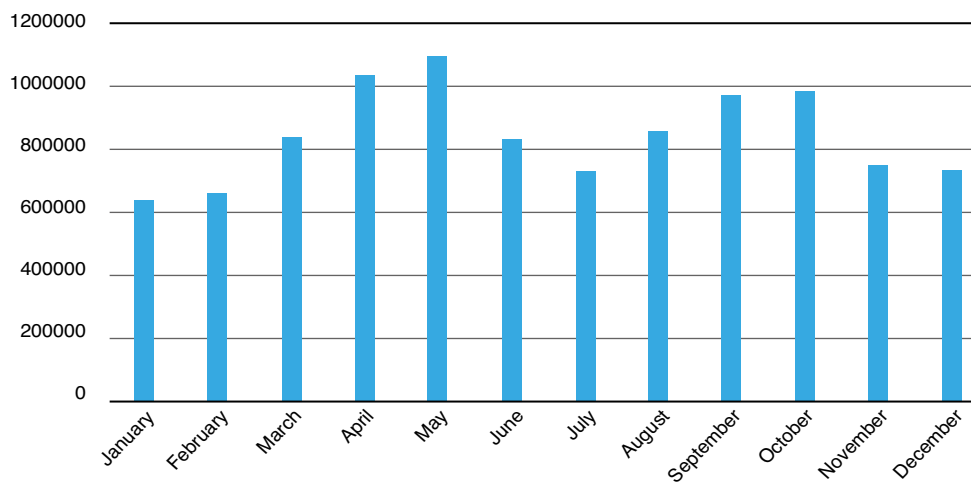
which as we will see is causing controversy among large sectors of the local population. The influx of tourists is so great that, in order to regulate these specific agglomerations, the city council itself publishes a geolocated map on the official website of the Fiesta of the Patios of Cordoba (<http://patios.cordoba.es/es/>), which generates green, yellow and red alerts to indicate in real time the level of tourist saturation.

In short, the data analysed reveal that the tourist enclave of Cordoba is characterised by three main factors: firstly, by the overload produced by tourist flows in a relatively small space; secondly, by the existence of a hyper-specialised offer that is oriented above

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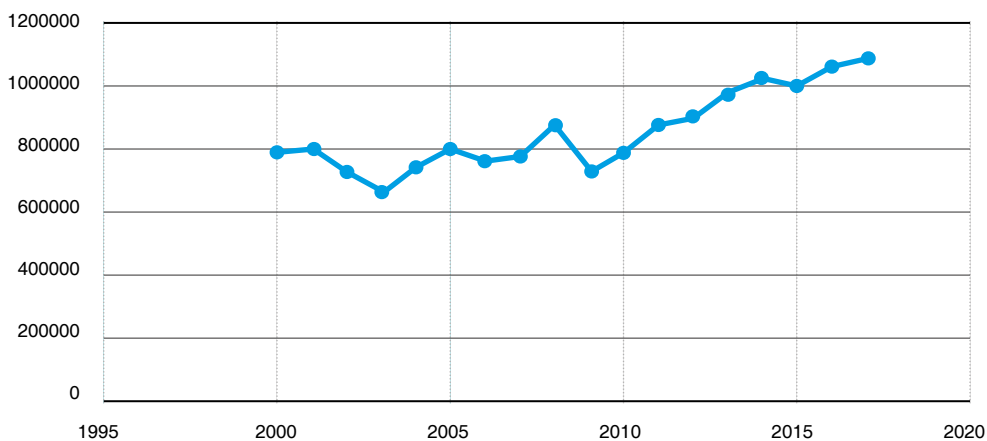
In May 2017, Cordoba received 109,554 tourists, representing 10.81% of the annual total.

Graph 8. Tourists lodged in hotel establishments by months (2017)



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). 2017 report Original

Graph 9. Change in tourists accommodated in May (2000-2017)



Source: Cordoba Tourist Observatory (IMTUR). 2017 report Original.

Table 1. Main features associated with touristification

Saturation of streets and squares
Privatisation of public spaces
Reduction in the housing stock, increase in the price of real estate and increase in tourist accommodation
Tourist gentrification. Local exodus: socio-territorial exclusion, depopulation and ageing
Decline in traditional patterns of local sociability
Socio-spatial segregation
Disappearance and/or adaptation to tourism of the traditional local commercial fabric Emergence of a tourism-oriented offering
Crisis in the traditional economic bases and economy based solely on tourism
Heritage fossilisation: alienation of the local population from heritage symbols transformed into decorations for tourist consumption
Progressive detachment of local people from traditional festive ritual activities and authenticity staged for tourists
Deactivation of the social uses of heritage and adaptation of assets to tourist consumption
Heritage and landscape dispossession
Loss of sensory heritage, environmental impact, waste generation, visual and acoustic pollution

Source: specialised bibliography. Fieldwork. Original.

all towards the conventional mass cultural tourist; and, thirdly, by the central role of cultural heritage as the cornerstone that supports and underlies the entire industry and drives tourism.

The repercussions of this imbalance, and of the transformation of the place into a setting for tourist consumption, erode lifestyles on multiple levels. For example, average property prices in the neighbourhoods where the patios are located have increased since the UNESCO listing (García del Hoyo, *et al.*, 2018).

This complex phenomenon, known as touristification, is currently being analysed by numerous social scientists in different cities (Arias-Sant, 2018; Benach and Albet, 2018; De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Delgado, 2007; Hiernaux-Nicolás and González-Gómez, 2014; Mansilla, 2018; Ríos-Llamas, 2018; Santamarina and Del Mármol, 2017). By way of summary, the different authors highlight the following factors as the main components of touristification in historic town centres (see Table 1).

Perspectives found on tourism and heritage management

In Cordoba, if we look at the specialised business sector on the one hand, and the citizens' movement with its demands on the other, we can see that the points of view on tourism and heritage management are divergent and even polarised¹⁰. The discourse of the former stresses the effects of tourism as a source of wealth creation with cascading benefits (employment, income, diversification, cosmopolitanism, etc.); for their part, various neighbourhood organisations emphasise the negative consequences of mass tourism on housing, social interaction, local commerce and, in short, on the continuity of traditional lifestyles.

Obviously, the weight of what we can call "the UNESCO effect" is very significant in Cordoba, conditioning any debate on tourism development. By the expression "UNESCO effect" we mean the set of processes triggered after an asset is added to any UNESCO World Heritage list. As noted above, these processes can vary and even be paradoxical in relation to the declared and

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As we have seen in our field work, the open debate between citizens and social agents in Cordoba is very broad and many associations, businessmen, politicians, and ordinary citizens find themselves in a grey area or have nuanced positions on the interrelationship between tourism, commercialisation and heritage, but for the sake of clarity we will leave these descriptions in the background (see also Manjavacas, 2018).

planned goals of institutions when listing a specific asset as a World Heritage Site.

In these scenarios of tourism acceleration, the basic issue is determining the load capacity that the destination in question can support. But in the case of Cordoba, other more specific issues are added to this controversy, which have to do with the dyadic relationship between "Tourism and World Heritage". In Cordoba, a recurring theme in all the forums is: "what to do with UNESCO sites", i.e. how to manage them. The Fiesta of the Patios, due to its important social roots, occupies a prominent place in these debates.

In the following pages we will go into the actions of these actors and the debate itself based on the analysis of the specific case of the Patios of Córdoba.

Initiatives for growth

From the point of view of the business community, the purpose of all tourism policy is to ensure the growth of the sector and its economic sustainability. To achieve this objective, they are committed to driving action to consolidate the upward trend through strategies of territorial expansion, diversification of activities or creation of new products, etc. This tourist-centric orientation is, in general, supported by the local authorities,

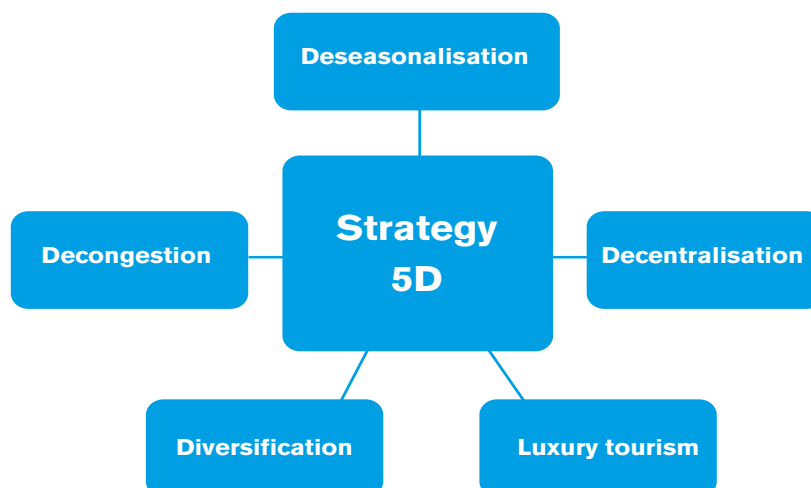
although sometimes with internal contradictions, depending on the political alignment of the groups in power.

The initiatives of local government and the Cordoban business sector coincide with those of many other tourist destinations. They are embodied in what Milano (2018) has called the *5D Strategy*, the components of which are deseasonalisation, decongestion, decentralisation, diversification and *deluxe tourism*.

This 5D approach is how business adapts to the changes experienced by the sector. It pursues the "sustainability" of tourism activity in primarily economic terms, subordinating aspects such as the safeguarding of heritage or the continuity of local ways of life to this primary objective. As a whole, the 5D strategy does not seek to mitigate tourism as a result of a critical assessment of the limits of growth, but rather aims to foster new business niches both temporally and spatially in a clearly growth-oriented logic.

Next, the activities promoted by local government and the sector itself in each of the components of the 5D Strategy in relation to the Patio Party will be presented. This set of actions instrumentalise the cultural heritage, modelling it primarily as a resource

Figure 1. Strategy 5D



Source: Milano (2018).

to serve the tourist market: the Fiesta of the Patios (the Festival) is conceived mainly as a product, which is contradictory to the spirit of the UNESCO declaration.

Deseasonalisation

Deseasonalisation refers to a set of measures to help a sector or business linked to a specific season of the year by extending its offer over a longer period. It is often defended as one of the keys to mitigating tourism pressure at certain times of the year (Milano, 2018). However, in this case, the implicit objective is to attract a greater flow of tourists in the low season and to prevent activity from being concentrated in just a few months, but without giving up the volume of visitors in the high season.

The 2014/16 Cordoba Tourist Plan is clear in this regard when it comes to the Patios: "... its influence as a tourist attraction is practically limited to the dates of the festival during the month of May... A product *must be* created, necessarily different from the festival, that is *compatible with the use of these properties as private dwell-*

ings, allowing a continuous offer throughout the year around the setting of the Cordoba patios" (2014: 10)¹¹.

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The underlining is ours.

The most notable of these new products, the Christmas in the Patios programme is an initiative of the main associations of owners of these properties, with municipal support and financing. The clear objective of the "Christmas Patios Festival" is to extend the opening of these houses to other dates of the year, with the argument that the initiative will reinforce the old tradition of neighbourhood hospitality and recover the celebration of Christmas in these sites. This recreation of the spirit of the popular fiesta and of non-commercialised hospitality is publicised in the advertising campaigns and given substantial further publicity in the media.

The city council itself designs a route through the different patios taking part in these events and organises a programme of live musical performances and a Christmas dessert cooking contest. For their part, in

Routes for Christmas in the Patios, 2015. CORDOBA CITY COUNCIL



some patios, the owners' associations are offering stew, broth and anise at popular prices within a clear mercantile logic.

Thus, the purpose of the Christmas in the Patios programme is to extend the offer of the "patios product" to the low season and is not intended, as suggested by UNESCO, as a "measure that will mitigate the possible negative effects of visitors following inscription" (UNESCO, 2010).

Decongestion

The goal of decongestion is a spatial redistribution of tourist flows. The City Council's tourism department establishes six routes every year, which are expressly designed to guide visits and exploit more efficiently all the offer of the patios product during the two weeks of the festival.

The routes are justified as an appropriate measure to organise flows and cushion overcrowding in the most saturated areas, near the most iconic monuments. However, the implicit (not openly stated) objective is the expansion of the tourist city, since the routes function to allow the activities to penetrate into more peripheral and less frequented areas. This expansive initiative is accompanied by two complementary actions: firstly, the aestheticisation of the urban environment and of the visitable patios following the pattern of the spaces that have already been museumised; and, secondly, the construction and dissemination of narratives that highlight and replicate certain evocative and idealised aspects of the culture of the patios (neighbourhood community, solidarity, hospitality, etc.), even though they may be completely alien to the contemporary populations that inhabit these patios. The result is the gradual tourist colonisation of these territories, and consequently, the expansion of the problems associated with tourism to new areas.

Diversification

As they strive to make the heritage business more competitive and economically sustainable, both the local authorities and the

business sector itself have devised a varied range of new products that diversify and expand the tourist offer represented by the patios beyond the May Festival. Among the many existing initiatives, two interesting ones stand out: "Flora, International Flower Festival" and "The Festival of the Streets".

"Flora" is a competition promoted by a major Chinese hotel company with the active participation of the city council. Its setting is a series of institutional patios ceded by the City Council. Renowned international artists create innovative and spectacular floral installations. The emphasis on aesthetics offers an interpretation that simplifies the cultural significance of the patios, as it marginalises and overshadows their traditional function as a popular neighbourhood habitat. However, according to the media and local authorities, the initiative is fully justified, given the positive tourism balance of the two festivals held so far and the considerable international impact of the event, which helps to build the image of Cordoba as the *City of Flowers*¹².

The Festival of the Streets of Cordoba is a municipal initiative that diversifies the patios product by raising the tourism value of the historic city centre, a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1994. This event underlines the uniqueness of the city's street plan - a labyrinthine network of narrow streets, alleys and culs-de-sac inherited from the medieval past of Cordoba (Qurtuba). The town council has established five routes that lead into the historic quarter and its hidden alleyways, presented as the soul of Cordoba.

Decentralisation

This means creating new products associated with the Patios that are located beyond the tourist bubble. Like the routes, and supported by them, these initiatives try to attract the flows to new territories by extending the tourist city. One of the most remarkable is the creation of the Patios of Cordoba Intangible Heritage visitors' centre in an area with great tourist potential,

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The 2018 edition attracted more than 275,000 visits, according to the event organisers.

located near important 13th-century Fernandine churches, interesting courtyards and the characteristic irregular street plan mentioned above.

Opened in 2016, this municipally-owned courtyard is a permanent exhibition space with galleries recreating how the working classes of past generations lived in the city, and especially, the history of the competition, exalting values such as non-commercialised hospitality. A patio where beauty becomes the main tourist attraction and which is defined in the media as "a perfect example of an urban oasis" (eldiario.es, 13/12/2016). The museographic design emphasises aesthetics and simplifies its references to collective lifestyles are simplified, which, moreover, remain frozen in an indeterminate and idealised time before, without taking into account the profound changes that have taken place in recent decades.

De luxe tourism

This expression designates top-end products or services of high differential value, designed to expand the market to tourist segments with high purchasing power. As a mature destination, in the city of Cordoba there are many private initiatives of this type that reinterpret and diversify the offer of the Patios product. One of the most interesting of these, and part of current gourmet trends, *GastroPatios*, consists of the transformation of a series of iconic patios into points of promotion, sale and consumption of local high quality products. Just like the food markets in the centres of some tourist cities (Crespi and Domínguez, 2016), in Cordoba the patios are transformed, without apparent contradiction, into ideal settings for marketing and tasting gourmet food and drinks. Appealing slogans like "Flavours among flowers" or "The traditional flavours of Cordoba in a unique and special environment" convey the possibility of having a unique experience.

Another "deluxe" private enterprise tourist product consists of the remodelling of old

patios and their transformation into high-end tourist accommodation. The rules of the competition prohibit these patios from participating in the festival, but this does not prevent them from appropriating the discourses on tradition and history of this type of construction, as well as aesthetic values. Staying in a hotel with a patio is offered to high income tourists as a differential value and as an opportunity to have an immersion experience in the local culture. This is why their advertising emphasises values such as silence, the sound of water in fountains, the pebbled floors, the lush interior garden, the scent of jasmine and night-blooming jessamine... and the architectural style inherited from Rome and Al-Andalus.

Initiatives for living: heritage and the right to the city

In recent decades, debates on tourism and its effects have been part of the agenda of social movements and neighbourhood associations as one of their most frequent requested subjects, with the greatest media impact (Cocola-Gant and Pardo, 2017; Milano, 2018). These groups complain of a "social malaise", which some authors call "overtourism" or the effects of tourist saturation (Milano, o.c.); for others this phenomenon is directly related to anti-gentrification movements (Cocola-Gant and Pardo, o.c.; Mansilla, 2017, 2018)¹³.

Within this general context, a series of proposals are being generated in Cordoba which, on the one hand, denounce the management of heritage as subordinate to tourism, and on the other, promote alternative formulas for living and "inhabiting heritage". A number of associations and entities are grouped here, which are small in number but have some media coverage and are in tune with a large part of Cordoban society. These associations do not take a stand against tourism, but rather emphasise that it must be made compatible with the daily life of the inhabitants of the historic centre.

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Many Spanish media outlets have been using the term *tourism phobia*, an inaccurate and, from our point of view, simplistic, exaggerated and pejorative name for the philosophy and claims of these groups. There are numerous studies of the phenomenon of the citizen movement against tourism (Cocola-Gant and Pardo, 2017; Huete and Mantecón, 2018; Mansilla, 2018; Martins, 2018; Milano, 2018; Pérez-García and García-Abad, 2018; Van Geertz, Roigé and Conget, 2014).

Social unrest in the face of tourism and the demands of a city to live

On 21 June 2018, the Forum for the Right to the City was constituted, bringing together groups, organizations, institutions and professionals. In its Manifesto, the Forum takes a position against the gentrification and exploitation of heritage for tourism, demanding the right to the city¹⁴:

"In the face of the appropriation of the common, historical and everyday heritage of our city by the leisure economy, there is a civic response against the abuses of tourism, speculative funds and the inaction of public policies at regional, national and European levels" (Manifesto, Forum for the Right to the City, Cordoba, 2018).

This movement reiterates the denunciation of what some of its associations and components have been expressing for some years now, and which the Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of the Historical Centres of Andalusia supports: the privatisation of public space, the "covert reclassification" of residential space to convert it into tertiary space (tourist accommodation), as well as the dismantling of the modes of coexistence, traditional commerce and the residential fabric. In other words, they denounce a process, characteristic of gentrification, which organises not only the transfer of land, but also a "symbolic and material appropriation of class in space" with the consequent loss of the value of the use of land that society has granted to those spaces (López-Morales, 2016: 224). Thus the old taverns, the small shops, the neglected facades, the intestate dwellings, the spontaneous uses... are reordered, sanitised, replaced, repainted, aestheticised... for the use and pleasure of the tourists and the new foreign investors.

(Re) Inhabiting heritage: patios for the 21st century

Various groups and associations are calling for and leading a re-examination of the patios, understood first and foremost as

social and identity resources. One of the most interesting is PAX-Patios de la Axerquía, a collaborative project that focuses on the rehabilitation of courtyard houses and the constitution of housing cooperatives for young people leaving home or for autonomous elderly people. The initiative addresses the problems of ageing, lack of generational renewal and depopulation of the historic centre, thus promoting the right to housing and the recovery of the sense of coexistence and solidarity in the patios as a formula for safeguarding a living heritage.

A different initiative, but in line with the above, is the Forum for Co-housing (FOCO), an initiative by the Municipal Housing Company of Cordoba (VIM-CORSA) which aims to promote housing cooperatives to facilitate access to affordable housing with the technical and economic support of local government. The goal is to revitalize the patio houses by reinforcing their use value and thus regenerating the historic centre, "acting against some of its most significant threats, such as the physical degradation of the old town centre, substandard housing, the process of gentrification, and the metastasising of the holiday let phenomenon" (Alba Doblas, Councillor for Izquierda Unida in *Diario de Córdoba* 07/16/17).

Another model of action from the patio as an identity centred on *living* (living in the house and the neighbourhood) is proposed by certain groups of patio houses led by women who defend the experience of the open patio. They are looking for a way to support their houses through activities aimed primarily at the people of Cordoba (craft or music workshops, small shows, spaces for discussion, family celebrations) in an updated recreation of the multiple uses of neighbourhood houses as a social centre.

In all these initiatives and processes, a common element can be observed: the claim of heritage as a value of use, as an element of memory, identity and coexistence, which

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The "right to the city" is a concept developed by Lefevre in his famous 1968 text (1969). We are interested here in highlighting the way it has been taken up in the 21st century by different social movements. As articulated in the World Charter for the Right to the City (Quito, 2004), it is multidimensional, integrates various rights, considers the city as an interconnected whole, and defends equality and the full exercise of citizenship (Girola and Thomasz, 2013; Hernández-Ramírez, 2018).

therefore cannot be subjected to the logic of commercialisation or live off tourism. The "right to culture" is thus expressed as a claim within the right to the city and through an alternative model that responds to the imperative of a "decreed aesthetic" (Girola and Thomasz, 2013).

All these small initiatives are weaving an interconnected web that feeds back into itself. These networks and connections described within the city and between cities have a potential amplifying effect (Milano, 2018) and facilitate negotiation with the government, social visibility and the creation of coalition narratives that counteract pro-tourism discourses. They also show the responses, modes of resistance and alternative heritagisations to a model that links heritage to commodification and to gentrification processes that are taking place in various parts of the world (De Cesari and Dimova, 2018; Díaz and Salinas, 2016; López-Morales, 2016).

Conclusions

The above analyses and descriptions lead us to conclude that the heritagisation processes linked to UNESCO listing are associated with a series of paradoxes: firstly, the relationship between heritage and tourism, and secondly, the consequences of heritage management subordinated to tourism for the local societies that are the depositories of these assets. These paradoxical consequences and the debates they generate are what we have called the "UNESCO effect".

The analysis of data regarding levels of tourist intensity and the patterns of urban modification and the social fabric shows that the historical centre of Cordoba is the paradigm of the *museumised tourist landscape*, and that heritage functions as the cornerstone on which the tourist offer in the city is built. "The UNESCO effect" in the case of Cordoba is, in the first place, a pull effect leading to a mass influx of tourists, which is one of the unforeseen consequences of an asset receiving the blessing of World Heritage

status. The data show that, in the case of Cordoba, the effect of World Heritage status has accentuated the impact of some of the components of tourism. There is an objective risk that the massive influx from this pull effect could lead to the transformation of the urban centre into a dying enclave, where slowly expiring local history and traditions are staged for crowds of tourists driven by the international prestige of the UNESCO classification (D'Eramo, 2014). It has also been shown that UNESCO listing accelerates the touristification processes, expanding them in time and space, prioritising aesthetic values as absolute values, and hiding or minimising local memories and social values.

Secondly, "the UNESCO effect" introduces a shift in the debates on the city model and tourism development, bringing the heritage issue into the political agenda and into collective concerns. The ways of interpreting heritage and its management clearly show conflicts and dissonances between different power groups and different urban groups. This is evident in Cordoba where the question of heritage has become central and has injected its specific content into local discussions on urban development and citizens' rights.

In short, in Cordoba the debate on tourism is also a discussion on heritage. In this controversy there is no consensus on the ultimate meaning of the concept of cultural heritage (economic resource vs. "place" of identity and life) and on the strategies that should be applied for appropriate heritage management. The "Fiesta of the Patios" is a case par excellence of heritage conflict. From the tourist-centric approach, heritage management is considered as one more chapter of the tourism development strategy. The whole 5D strategy shows us this subordination of heritage to the market logic that transforms the Fiesta into a tourist product. In contrast, from the perspective of citizen organisations, what prevails is an integrated conception of heritage oriented towards the continuity of traditional lifestyles in accord-

ance with 21st-century parameters. This means maintaining residential uses, rescuing the values of social interaction, solidarity, community and hospitality. Between the two positions, a large number of Cordoban people say they are looking for a middle ground; however, with the data and analysis

in hand, it seems difficult to deviate from a route already mapped out of deterioration and expropriation of the cities' tangible and intangible heritage unless forceful citizen action, legislation and budgetary development are put in place to remove heritage from its absolute commercialisation. ■

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On heritage: holiday rentals and social movements in the city of Mallorca

"Heritage makes sense when it resists the interests and business of the ruling class, not if it blatantly perpetuates them." (Lladó and Sureda, 2019)

"Monuments project on the ground a conception of the world, while the city projected, and still projects, social life (globality)." (Lefebvre, 1972 [1970]: 28)¹

The fading habit of holiday rentals

"We're trapped", exclaimed Carlos, a 23-year-old local man from the Eixample de Ciutat (also known as Palma), when entering the room where the meeting – held every fortnight by "Ciutat" for those who live in it, not those who visit – was taking place, to discuss the gentrification and tourist commodification of the city.² Carlos, a vocational training student who at that time was working as a waiter in a hotel in the city centre, explained to his companions, who made way for him, how in the last year, the owners of the apartments above and below where he lived as a tenant with

his partner had gone from having residential tenants to housing tourists. Since then, the couple, who have no assets other than their labour power, have had to deal with temporary neighbours who organise parties that last for days and confused visitors who ring their bell at all hours.

However, what most concerns Carlos is that holiday rentals have a place in the city at all, given that he believes they contribute to the increase in residential rent prices. At the moment, he and his partner are lucky and will continue to pay €500 a month because the owner knows them and likes them. But other tenants from all over the city have had to leave their neighbourhoods, either because residential lets have been switched to tourist lets or because the owners have asked for higher rents in order to "compensate" for what they miss out on earning from holiday rentals. Other factors affecting speculative dynamics and the lack of access to affordable rents are the emergence in the real estate market of public limited trading companies investing in real estate for leasing (henceforth SOCIMI) and the lack of a bold policy on social housing.

While it affects everyone, the most vulnerable population are the tenants, espe-

1

All translations are mine. They are translations from English and Spanish into Catalan. The article is written in the Balearic variety of Standard Catalan, which implies the use of verb endings, vocabulary and expressions typical of the Islands. For example: among other meanings, a *lloure* means *without subjection, without surveillance*. So, in addition to the usual dictionaries, the reader will find it useful to consult the *Catalan-Valencian-Balearic Dictionary* (<http://dcvb.iecat.net>).

2

Palma (de Mallorca) is also known locally as Ciutat (de Mallorca). For a dissertation on city's names, see Bibiloni (1979). "Ciutat per a qui l'habita", Ciutat those who live in it, is a relatively new organisation (September 2016), whose main objective is to denounce the growing touristification of the city.



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2018, with Blanco-Romero and Blázquez-Salom); "Una casa deshabitada no es en realidad una verdadera casa" (in Milà i Mansilla, *Ciudad de vacaciones*, Pol-len, 2018); "Urban tourism via the dispossession of oeuvres" (in *Focaal* 82, Winter, 2018), and "The rent gap in gentrification" (in Albet and Benach, *Global Capital and Processes of Regeneration*, Routledge, 2018).

cially retired people, people in precarious forms of employment and migrants, and single-parent families who cannot meet the rent prices demanded. For many, the authorities are failing when it comes to guaranteeing affordable housing. Some see the displacement of local residents as the disappearance of the city itself, understood as human heritage, something predicted by Màrius Verdaguer in *Ciutat esvaïda [Faded city]* (1977). Surprised by the fact that the city could change so dramatically in such a short time, in the mid 20th century Verdaguer stated that "there is a city for each individual and for each time" and, therefore, "for each individual who disappears, a city also disappears" (Verdaguer, 1977: 7).³ In the future city, he predicted, there will be "planes, trains, the big vessels of the future, and there is our imagination that gets drunk on beautiful dreams" (ibid.).

Half a century later, this futuristic drunkenness has ended in a nightmare, followed by a colossal hangover. It is in this context that different movements advocate limiting a tourist industry which in 2018 already brought 16 million visitors to the Balearic and Pityusic Islands, which measure about 5,000 square kilometres. The list of grievances is long: excessive use of water and energy resources, mass generation of waste, uncontrolled urban expansion, exploitation of a hyper-flexibilised labour force, replacement of small local businesses by large transnational corporations, destruction of neighbourhoods, saturation of public space,

exorbitant cost of private space due to the conversion of residential housing into tourist accommodation and the financialisation of the two. But some of the just over one million inhabitants of the Islands do not share this view and see an opportunity to rescue their family heritage.

After all, in addition to looking after and entertaining the tourists, the real business is in their transport and accommodation, which means that over the last six decades the tourist industry of the archipelago, which is one of the biggest attractions in the whole of Spain, has been spurred on by infrastructure development, property construction and speculation (Murray Mas, 2015). The latest episode in this process is holiday rentals, which involves the conversion of residential accommodation into tourist units thanks to digital platforms such as Airbnb. This is particularly evident in the Centre, declared an Asset of Cultural Interest, where up to August 2017, income from holiday rentals exceeded those that could be earned from residential lets by more than 350% (Yrigoy, 2018).

The threat of displacement that hangs over Carlos and his partner, and the disappearance of the living heritage represented by the city in which they live, is the consequence of turning property into a tourist and financial asset. So this article links different aspects gathered from fieldwork carried out in recent years.⁴ Here I explore how the platform capitalism of holiday rentals and the rentier class put pressure on the public administrations

Paraules clau: diferenciació de classe, integració capitalista, lloguer turístic, moviments socials, patrimoni construït.

Palabras clave: diferenciación de clase, integración capitalista, alquiler turístico, movimientos sociales, patrimonio construido.

Keywords: capitalist integration, built heritage, class differentiation, holiday rentals, social movements.

3 Màrius Verdaguer was a Menorcan scholar who mainly lived in Palma and Barcelona. His book *La ciudad desvanecida*, published in 1953, was translated into Catalan in 1977. Since the mid 1980s, this work has been one of the main literary icons of the Palma built heritage conservation groups.

4 This research is based on the commitment to link social anthropology with a wider political project (Gavin Smith 1999) and thus be able to grasp, illustrate and respond to the financialising strategy posed by holiday rentals.

Inspirat per la tesi de diferenciació de classe d'Eric Wolf i per com Henri Lefebvre desenvolupà el concepte d'integració capitalista, aquest capítol explora "l'economia col·laborativa" i la conversió de l'habitatge en allotjament turístic, via plataformes digitals. La denúncia per part d'una aliança de moviments socials d'aquesta mercantilització turística del patrimoni construït resulta en una divisió del treball singular que dona continuïtat al llegat de la lluita de classe ja existent. L'estudi d'aquest conflicte contribueix a entendre la financerització de la vida quotidiana.

Inspirado por la tesis de diferenciación de clase de Eric Wolf y por como Henri Lefebvre desarrolló el concepto de integración capitalista, este capítulo explora la "economía colaborativa" y la conversión de la vivienda en alojamiento turístico, vía plataformas digitales. La denuncia por parte de una alianza de movimientos sociales de esta mercantilització turística del patrimonio construido resulta en una división del trabajo singular que da continuidad al legado de la lucha de clase ya existente. El estudio de este conflicto contribuye a entender la financiarización de la vida cotidiana.

Inspired by Eric Wolf's thesis on class differentiation and Henri Lefebvre's conceptualisation of capitalist integration, this chapter explores the "sharing economy" and the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation via digital platforms. Such commoditisation of built heritage has been condemned by an alliance of social movements, resulting in a unique division of labour that imbues the legacy of class struggle with added continuity. The study of this conflict provides insight into the financialisation of everyday life.

to regularise the business. However, holiday rentals not only displace local residents, they also incite tenants to become organised. For that reason, I look at the forms that social movements take in Ciutat and conclude with a reflection on the class relationship that holiday rentals uphold in the current dynamics of financialisation, emphasising the polysemy of the concept of heritage and the struggle that emerges around it.

The tourist frontier: capitalist integration and class differentiation

The Business Law and Tourist Activity (DEAT) research team from the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB) explores how to regulate the collaborative economy, which it characterises as an unstoppable force spreading to all productive sectors, including tourist accommodation.⁵ The DEAT considers holiday rentals as the logical result of entrepreneurial self-management of individual assets: "[T]here is a market for everyone, [the hoteliers] no longer have the monopoly", "the market will end up regulating the supply [of tourist lets]". However, what the DEAT does not say is that it is the public authorities of the State that regulate these new types of accommodation and thus facilitate the expansion of tourism. That means capital does not function in accordance with its internal requirements, its logic or its own laws.

In that sense, Lefebvre maintained that the State integrates new sectors in which to invest in order to expand production and generate surplus (Lefebvre, 1976: 322). This is how it has been on the Islands with a succession of "tourist booms" and their decisive contribution to the restructuring of capital, expanding the tourist frontier as new types of accommodation were established (Murray Mas *et al*, 2017).⁶ This process must be understood as part of the specifically Spanish accumulation cycle based on the so-called "brick economy" (Rodríguez and López, 2011; Coq-Huelva, 2013). Through the consecutive regulation of different types of accommodation, the Spanish State has incorporated into the tourist industry several heritagised landscapes, built environments and consumer segments.

Each new type of accommodation was approved by the legislator: hotels before 1973, apartments in the 1980s, second homes owned by foreign citizens from the EU in the second half of the 1990s, agrotourism at the start of the 21st century and tourist lets in the mid 2010s. With this last type of accommodation, the "tourist booms" converge with the "waves of gentrification" (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). So holiday rentals are driving and worsening displacement (Cocola-Gant, 2016) in what is now known as the fifth-wave gentrification, defined as the consolidation of property assets as financial assets, with investment funds becoming the major property holders, the intensification of mortgage debt and the lack of affordable housing (Aalbers, 2019)

These trends have become rooted in Spain. Between 2016 and 2017 real estate and construction sector profits increased by 54% (National Commission of Markets and Competition, 2018b: 48). Janoschka *et al.* (2019) state that much of this growth ends up elsewhere, beyond the sovereign reach of the State, which at the same time encourages bank divestment (allowing SOCIMI to restructure the market) and favours the concentration of real estate assets and their management. With regard to tourist lets, in 2017 the 135,291 places on the Islands available through Airbnb were managed by 3,137 agents (16 of them managed 22%) and the 10 main marketers had their headquarters in Germany, the United Arab Emirates, the Netherlands or were not locatable (Terraferida, 2018).

Wolf also highlights the central role of the State in the integration of new sectors. He looks at how capital resolves its crises by providing new rounds of capital extraction, advancing the strategic relationship that governs the capitalist deployment of social work. He maintained that each new round involves conflicts between segments of the capitalist class, some of which are aligned with segments of other classes, including the working class (1997: 308). With regard to the working class, we need to get over the idea that it can be reduced to wage labour (or to that plus fractions of the lumpenproletariat and informal

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Interview with members of the DEAT (Ginard, 2017). Leaving aside the issue of whether or not tourist accommodation is productive, holiday rentals are an issue that has raised passions in recent years.

6

The "tourist booms" are "spacial solutions" in the sense Harvey (2006: 413-445) gives them. They reorganise the built environment through long-term fixed capital investments temporarily avoiding (and/or displacing) the overproduction crisis generated by capitalism (exhausting possibilities for profitable investment and destroying existing capital through its devaluation or underutilisation of the labour force). The state always intervenes, ensuring the conditions for profitability, credit and financing.

work), especially if we start from the idea that work is everything that one finds at the base of value creation appropriated from others, and ranges from wage labour to urban work and which, in our case, ends up being commodified in the tourist industry⁷.

Wolf's differentiation thesis shines a light on the current reconfiguration of tourist accommodation assets, as lobbying groups try to influence island politics in order to compete with hoteliers. Historically, the hoteliers have determined the tourist policy of the Islands (Amer, 2005), even exporting business assets (Buades, 2014), and always from an extremely complex class differentiation that is also incredibly unstable: bringing together wage relations, residence regimes, debt, etc. Following the body of academic work on the financialisation of homes, associated with the withdrawal of public benefits, including housing, and the growing inequality in the field of social reproduction (e.g. Lapavitsas, 2013), several authors have tried to clarify the concept of class by relating it to property and debt.

While Lemoine and Ravelli (2017) argue that the democratisation of finance (e.g. through small, well-scattered actions) leads to widespread impoverishment, Harvey states that debt always claims future income and, by extension, future labour (2018: 450-451). After all, when have social classes been clearly defined? Their readability is never explicit, especially when the relationship of value creation and appropriation that defines them is constantly changing shape. However, this variability defines how social classes occur (Kalb, 1997 and 2015), the heritage of which is nothing more than their struggle (Morell, 2010) and it is precisely when these are in motion that they are easier to grasp (Cox, 2013). I will illustrate these issues in the following sections based on the tourist commodification of housing.

However, before this, I will return briefly to the DEAT and its commitment to the entrepreneurial self-management of property, the question with which this section started. What concerns the DEAT is the pulse that marks "the collaborative economy" and that we find

straddling the holiday rental digital platforms and the ownership of these holiday rentals. It is believed to identify a market that regulates supply. Against this principle, we now take a look at how use of the comforting jargon "collaborative economy" has become established and how its use has given way to other stories that encourage asset concentration and which are located at the opposite pole to allegedly equitable reciprocity. Then, we explore how the same State administrations have ended up delivering a holiday rental regulation that lands on our streets from distant EU bureaucracies thanks to the staggered mediations of the rest of the public administrations.

The collaborative economy and EU scalar politics

On October 26, 2016, Jorge Cuneo, creator of Hundredrooms, a company which at that time compared the holiday rental offers of digital platforms, took part in the BusinessDMallorca forum organised by the newspaper *Diario de Mallorca*. It was attended by 50 entrepreneurs from the sector who were concerned about their assets because the Balearic government had just announced that it would not allow a free-for-all of tourist lets. Cuneo spoke of the new digital exchange and placed the horizon of Hundredrooms at the crossroads between "the collaborative economy" and "the global impact." He summed up the reversal that the spurious link between the "digital technology revolution" and the *adage* "another economy is possible" had undergone.

With regard to the peer to peer networks (P2P), the work of Bauwens and Lievens, now collected in a single volume (2015), is fundamental. They point out that the free cooperation of producers creates a use value that goes to a community of users, not to the market. However, for Botsman and Rogers (2011), the collaborative economy includes more than exchange. There is swapping, trading, renting and gifting. New technologies and the P2P end up coordinating all these forms of economic relationship. It is Gansky (2010) who points to the possibility of gain by introducing the concept of "mesh", which connects different nodes to

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See Morell 2016, for a theoretical consideration regarding this way of understanding the working class.

coordinate talents, goods and services. This rational optimisation ends up claiming an income and thus the use value generated becomes the exchange value.

On the other hand, different works conceptualise the collaborative economy as an epochal expression of capitalism. Thus, while Rifkin (2014) announces the collapse of the capitalist system due to its crisis of values and the erosion of the pace of growth, Sundararajan (2016) sees in the expansion of P2P "crowd-based capitalism". Sundararajan demands that we rethink the regulation of labour markets and social security. Rifkin discerns a third industrial revolution in the increase in collaborative common goods. But instead we find the erosion of the growth rate and the crisis of values, and "crony capitalism" only encourages asset concentration and the accumulation of capital of digital platforms.

Srnicek (2017) holds a view which is more in tune with the criticism of political economy when he talks about "platform capitalism". He classifies digital platforms according to the way they do business. Thus, those for tourist lets are purely rentier. They outsource everything and only maintain as their own asset "control of the platform that allows them to obtain a monopoly on lettings" (Srnicek, 2017: 76). Apart from analysing, reflecting on and speculating about the social transformation that is "the collaborative economy", academia also inspires the same State policy.

Since 2016, the European Commission (EC) has produced several reports on "the collaborative economy", including holiday rentals (e.g. Codagnone *et al*, 2016). Even the leading experts advise the EC (Sundararajan, 2017). However, the EC's primary concern is neither erosion of labour rights, social protection, access to affordable housing, nor concentration of real estate assets, but use of generated data (Martens, 2016; Easton, 2017). In addition, with the holiday rental in mind, the EC criticizes the limitation of "the collaborative economy" because it adduces that this reduces revenues and employment: "Europe should be open to embrace these new opportunities" (European Commission, 2016: 16). This sug-

gestion is consistent with the expansion plans of the European Central Bank which aims to stimulate the consumption and integration of new investment areas (Kolasa and Wesołowski, 2018). These reports are drawn up in the context of the single market where the European short-term holiday rental association, the European Holiday Home Association, lobbies to maintain the real estate assets of its members and achieve the liberalisation of the tourist accommodation market (Haar, 2018).

In Spain, the EC's support for holiday rentals spurs on the National Commission on Markets and Competition (CNMC), which disputes in the courts the regulations of autonomous regions and municipalities that aim to ensure affordable residential rentals. For the CNMC, holiday rentals constitute "a real revolution in the housing market, generating benefits for users, citizens and the economy of cities" (National Commission of Markets and Competition, 2018a: 61-62). That is why the CNMC wants to reduce heterogeneity throughout the State and avoid restrictions that prevent the "good performance" of the market (*ibid.*: 64-66).⁸ But it was the Measures for the Flexibilisation and Promotion of the Housing Rental Market Act (Official State Gazette Agency, 2013), that modified the Urban Leases Act (Official State Gazette Agency, 1994), and allowed the use of property for non-residential purposes. The CNMC has challenged the Government of the Balearic Islands. It maintains that the modification of the Regional Tourism Act (Parliament of the Balearic Islands, 2017) "limits" the marketing of holiday rentals.

In contrast, social movements note that this regulation gives holiday rentals unprecedented recognition and they denounce the lack of a budget for carrying out inspections of the current illegal supply. Officially, the Islands have set a ceiling in terms of the number of places, regardless of the type of accommodation (623,624 according to Sáenz, 2017;) and each island council has established zones for holiday rentals. In Ciutat, holiday rentals have been banned in buildings between party walls but the lack of

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Having reached this point, we must outline the distribution of powers between the different administrative levels of the Spanish state in relation to holiday rentals: residential rentals are governed by state law, tourist policy is the competence of the autonomous regions and urban development is worked on at a municipal level. In the case of the Islands, each one has a council that harmonises municipal urban development. As the capital city of the archipelago, Palma is an exception in that regard.

inspections means breaches go unchecked. Especially in the Centre, which as mentioned above, is an Asset of Cultural Interest. I will now refer to the dual role of academia and then illustrate with a specific case of abuse "the global impact" of the business. Finally I will present the main holiday rental association in the autonomous region.

On academics, fraud, financialisation and associations

The UIB does not have a single voice. There are records of various controversies. In 2016, an agency of the regional government of the time funded a study by the Department of Enterprise on residents' perceptions of holiday rentals (Garau Vadell, 2016). It was intended to legitimise a policy that, as small as it was, was permitted. Habtur, the holiday rental association on the Islands, celebrated the results since many respondents hoped that holiday rentals would generate employment, would complement an increasingly scarce income and, at the same time, contribute to maintaining family assets. Also in 2016, another government body commissioned other researchers from the same UIB department to conduct a second study on the state of the market.

In front of IB3 Televisió cameras, Groizard and Nilsson (2016) claimed that it could still grow, that holiday rentals did not displace tenants and that they spread the gains of tourism, which up to that point had been a monopoly of the hoteliers. About fifteen academics, also from the UIB, questioned the report, denouncing the impact on residential rentals and the growing gap between landlords and tenants. In another episode, in January 2017, IB3 Ràdio announced that the UIB would establish an observatory of holiday rentals led by an associate professor who, they omitted to mention, was also the vice president - now president - of Habtur. Social networks suddenly flared up and the initiative was deactivated. Other academics unmasked predatory practices.

In the spring of 2017, following complaints of Queta, a member of Ciutat for those who live in it, a group of researchers and journal-

ists discovered that three floors of a building destined for people with difficulties gaining access to housing (such as Queta) had been illegally rented out to tourists at €150 per person per night. The building was in a neighbourhood in the city centre, which had long been subjected to intense heritagisation, improvements and gentrification (Morell, 2013). With other workers in the company managing these social housing units, the head of operations offered the flats to digital tourist rental platforms. This was a profitable business since each residential rent was €450 per month. The more they delved into it, the bigger the case became. The proprietor had other buildings in the neighbourhood.

Proprietor and managers had three things in common: (1) a past as executives in the savings and pension bank that assumed 45% of the assets resulting from the neighbourhood improvements (2) their passage through the new bank that absorbed the aforementioned bank in 2010, and (3) participation in the transfer of those assets through the "bad bank", SAREB (company for the management of assets from the restructuring of the banking system). In fact, the financialisation of property and management of holiday rentals and the inability to pursue the irregularities of the sector illustrate the class relationship found in the concentration of assets by some that deprive others of access to affordable housing.

Another strategy is to access the information that city councils have on indebted property owners in order to buy their real estate assets with the support of a bank loan secured against a property. According to the information provided by several neighbourhoods in a town in Pla de Mallorca during my fieldwork, this is how the former president of Habtur built up his holiday rental assets. Joan Miralles, a civil servant and vocational training teacher at the regional Ministry of Education, obtained his doctorate in sociology with a thesis on the impact on Mallorcan culture of acquiring residences by EU foreign nationals at the end of the 1990s (the "third tourist boom"). Miralles concludes that for the Mallorcans

it would be better to rent instead of selling, as this would prevent the loss of the heritage sovereignty of the land (2004). For non-owners, he argued, there is always "the spillover economy". Accompanying this commitment to a class differentiation that shows alliances with non-rentier segments that would also take advantage of holiday rentals (restorers, local farmers, etc.), Miralles rejects the claim that this type of accommodation leads to residential rent increases.

This idea is expressed profusely as a mantra of the holiday rental association both in the media (e.g. Miralles 2017, Sagraera 2017) and in the Vacation Forum, the mecca of the island's holiday rentals, in which Habtur has been taking part since 2016. The Vacation Forum invites digital platforms, tour operators, service providers (cleaning, decoration, etc.), financial entities, advocates of the free use of private property and members of the government who try to appease the ignited spirits of the attendees who always rebuke them for "imposing" limitations. The hoteliers, true pilots of the archipelago's destination, also receive. Figures such as Miralles aspire to rival them while increasing their real estate assets: "The sooner they accept that we have come to stay, that we represent an important part of the tourist offer and that the tourist model is something we must all decide on between us, the better ... The tourist market is not [the hoteliers'], the tourist is the one who chooses, we cannot close our eyes to an obvious reality" (HOSTELTUR, 2017).⁹

While Habtur's rhetoric seems to ask for a mere supplement of income, an argument also used by Fevitur (the Spanish federation) and the European Holiday Home Association, its most prominent members have various properties and are already considered highly qualified professionals. Not for nothing, at a talk I gave in a coastal town, an entrepreneur proudly announced that his business was small, since he only managed 40 tourist rentals. Many social movements denounce the social and ecological excesses of this greed and oppose it with different mediated strategies of awareness-raising, rather than resistance. I will now talk about

these movements and how they cooperate with each other, weave a continuity with the past and thus contribute to building a unique heritage with regard to class struggle.

The division of labour between the social movements

The exclusion of holiday lets in buildings between party walls in Ciutat was a rule brought in by the then mayor (now councillor), whose political career was rooted in the fight against evictions. Despite allowing some tourist rentals, the association wanted to take him to court for perversion of justice (*Ara Balears*, 2019). While in Ciutat his party had the support of citizens opposed to holiday rentals because they understood that it would push up residential rental prices (especially in the heritagised parts of the city centre) in other places on the island, his party encouraged their contained expansion to maintain

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The hoteliers are fiercely opposed to holiday rentals but if they become established, they will invest in them in the same way as they have done in the past with other types of tourist accommodation (Magro, 2017).

For years, the city of Mallorca has been subjected to an intense internationalisation of its real estate market. MARC MORELL, 2016



family assets. Without a doubt, however, the decision of the City Council was the result of the work of social movements.¹⁰

Historically, many social movements had already opposed the tourist industry and once again organised protests. On 23 September, 2017, a month after the Tourism Act amendment, a demonstration took place under the slogan *We've got this far*. About 3,000 people demonstrated in Ciutat in the first great mobilisation against the government's tourist policy. The protesters, summoned by environmental groups, urban movements and trade unions, called for bold measures to end excessive dependence on tourism.¹¹ The 23-S platform brought together up to 52 organisations. Here I will highlight the trajectories of the main ones, not so much for their specific contribution to the demonstration, but for their specific contribution within the division of labour in mobilising against holiday rentals.

I will first present those that explicitly work to protect the environment. In 1973, the Grup Ornitològic Balear i de Defensa de la Naturalesa (GOB – Balearic Ornithological and Nature Conservation Group) was set up, and since then it has been the most important ecological organisation in the autonomous region: it has worked to protect the most sensitive areas from urban development and now works to promote active degrowth strategies. The GOB maintains that holiday rentals further deplete the scarce resources of the archipelago as well as its environmental heritage. Due to its experience, the ability of the GOB to mobilise people is probably the highest of all the groups that I mention.

Terraferida is a relatively new organisation, mostly made up of people who are part of the GOB. Not only is it based on a more incisive opposition, but in its ecological analysis it includes criticism of the economic predation model promoted by different lobbying groups for their personal gain, as well as expressing a political malaise with regard to corruption, improvisation and the accumulation of public resources by what they point to as a dominant caste. Given

the lack of official information on the subject, Terraferida has ended up specialising in offering solid quantitative data on the Islands' holiday rentals. That said, while the GOB is open to affiliations, Terraferida acts more like a closed group in this regard.

It is in Ciutat where residents' associations are stronger. The Palma Federation of Neighbourhood Associations (FAVP) resorts to neighbourhood activism dating back to the Francoist era. The FAVP maintains relations with Palma City Council by which it guides other entities through its bureaucratic labyrinth. Given the positions at the FAVP are occupied by more senior activists, there has been a recent, urgent need to incorporate younger generations from the various neighbourhoods where they have a presence. Most of these young people participated in the local replicas of 15M in 2011, which helped to break the dynamics of federations of neighbourhood associations in many of the State's cities, Ciutat included.

Holiday rentals have breathed new life into the FAVP, and have generated new allies in the call for values of use, such as Ciutat for those who live in it, to which Carlos and Queta belong. Its origins lie in the group Tot Inclòs (All Included), heir to Mallorca's libertarian tradition, which between 2014 and 2017 published an annual magazine denouncing the predatory model of tourism and recently pointed out the excesses of the tourist industry in a documentary of the same name. Ciutat for those that live in it is an intergenerational and diverse organisation, with fortnightly meetings. It organizes festive gatherings such as a lane for *trolleys* in the centre, an auction in the city's neighbourhoods, a have a dip on the most touristic beach, an occupation of an illegal holiday rental apartment, and so on.

True, these actions attract the media more than the general population. Even so, from the struggle to protect the territory to trying to ensure decommercialised cities, all these movements participate in a division of the singular task of opposing the introduction of holiday rentals. Their success lies not only

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In 2017, the municipal delegation of the mayor's party wanted to award its annual prize to Ciutat for those who live in it, who rejected it, stating that their task did not involve political patronage. The organisation insisted not only on completely eradicating holiday rentals, but also on ending the proliferation of so-called 'boutique hotels' across the city.

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Among other aspects, the protest was motivated by the growing arrival of visitors by air and sea (cruises), the boom in holiday rentals and boutique hotels, and the increase in car rentals. The precarious working conditions generated by the tourist model were also criticised, which the Kellys (hotel chambermaids) represented to perfection.

in the unique trajectories of each entity, but also in shared militants, common denominators and joint mobilisations, all coded expressions of what it means to be working class (Morell, 2016; Kalb and Mollona, 2018). In other words, there is a class convergence between the various organisations that, ultimately, deal with questions about the social reproduction of life and share a unique heritage in terms of their conditions of transformation.

Conclusion: the state of the heritage and class movement

In this article I have shown the State's role in regulating holiday rentals. Combining the integration thesis of Lefebvre and the differentiation thesis of Wolf, I have focused on how the expansion of the tourist frontier to holiday rentals has segmented the owners of accommodation resources while at the same time establishing alliances with segments of the working class, especially those that work in the transport, accommodation and tourist services sectors. In part, this has been thanks to the enthusiastic reception of "the collaborative economy" and its supposed "spillover effect." Furthermore, I have suggested that the conversion of dwellings into holiday rentals (the tension between asset accumulation and precarious living conditions) has

resulted in the denunciation of the tourist commodification of housing followed by a fruitful division of labour.

From what I have set out so far, we can affirm that holiday rentals are both a search for profits that hamper access to affordable housing, bait for the concentration of real estate assets, and the configuration of an essential area of life into a financial asset. This is no longer the financialisation of homes via mortgage debt of the early part of the 2010s (Sabaté, 2016), but rather the financialisation of tourist accommodation resources. Proof of this, Airbnb, the best-known tourist rental platform, is organising an initial public offering, a company's first sale of shares on the stock market (Schleifer, 2019). In addition, and on the rebound, the promise of an economic return offered by digital platforms encourages demand for credit to carry out improvements on real estate assets in order to place them in the tourist rental market.

The other side of these financial movements is concerned with the challenge of accessing affordable residential rentals for different types of tenants: vulnerable people such as Queta, a victim of real estate companies moved only by profit, or Carlos and his partner who have to thank the owner of their



Holiday rentals have revived local resident protest. The first mobilisation in that regard was the "carril guir" itinerary, attended by about 200 people.

MARC MORELL, 2017

home for not increasing their rent or transforming it into a tourist let. Holiday rentals reduce residential rental stock, increase the price of those that stay in the residential market, and in turn increase demand for properties as an object of investment and encourage the formation of financial assets. In the long run, residents, whether tenants or owners, are displaced.

Returning to Verdaguer's fading memories, the question is not so much what kind of city will be left when everyone disappears, but what kind of city leads us to this virulent situation. Here the question of class comes to the fore, not as a polarised simplification in fundamental strata established by the demand for tourist rentals (Valdivielso i Moranta, 2019: 14), but always as a complex class relationship of integration and differentiation in the production of these rentals. The principle governing this framework is the State's defence of private property and its free commercial use. This strategy prioritises the gains from real estate assets over the fundamental rights that have often been the result of not-so-distant social struggles and led by social movements that represent the interests of the working class.

In this sense, we find three distinct and unresolved class fronts that are related to the emergence of holiday rentals and at the same time with the problem of access to housing: (1) owners who hinder residential rentals; (2) the concentration of assets, often in the hands of investment funds; and (3) an internally differentiated accommodation association that not only makes the employment conditions of remunerated work more precarious, but which also makes the housing conditions of the general population more precarious too. With regard to social movements, as with precarious housing, the practice of being in motion with other comrades in arms is also important. Of course, despite these clear examples of class formation, organised opposition is formally mediated by ideas of territory and community.

Nevertheless, they are all movements that not only address property and tenant relations,

but also have to do with value creation and appropriation relations. Take for example Ciutat for those who live in it, which fights to combat the replacement of residential lets with holiday rentals, but which also fights for a city that its members build day after day. There is a city in struggle for each member of Ciutat and there is even a collective one. Altogether, all these movements are a lively expression of a class in movement, which tries to combat the current confusion between social reproduction (housing) and production (tourist accommodation), not to mention the circulation that threatens them whilst gathering them up (formation of financial assets).

Franquesa (2013) talks about "cultural" heritage as the combined policy of conserving and circulating in the economic realisation of built heritage in Palma city centre. This hypothesis shows how the cultural affair has ended up appropriating the contents covered by the term *asset* (family wealth, built environment and land ownership, financial assets invested in, etc.) and that end up being potential economic gains which, in one way or another, are losses for others. Not in vain, referring to "cultural" heritage, Breglia (2006) recognises its ambivalence as it also has to do with other assets, labour inheritances linked to this "cultural" heritage and legacies from generation to generation. The introductory quote from Lladó and Sureda (2019) already points to how some people amass assets from certain uses of "cultural" heritage that is still extendible to collectively produced goods.

It is as if the monument and the city that Lefebvre (1972 [1970]: 28) tried to distinguish¹², had collapsed and the social life (the globality) that the city projects became a monument and remained equally subject to the economic logic of tourism. Of course, it is not easy to subject social life to the vertical dynamics of the culture of inheritance. It is often necessary to counter them with other less tangible assets, alliances around resisters, marriages rather than heritage, where life is reproduced socially, always in motion although the reason of state. Indeed, there

is a need to critically reconsider the class issue in the effective fight against the ways in which the multiple levels of state favour financialisation whilst hindering access to affordable housing. In order to understand the current class formation we must grasp how this is expressed.

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See the second introductory quotation of the article.

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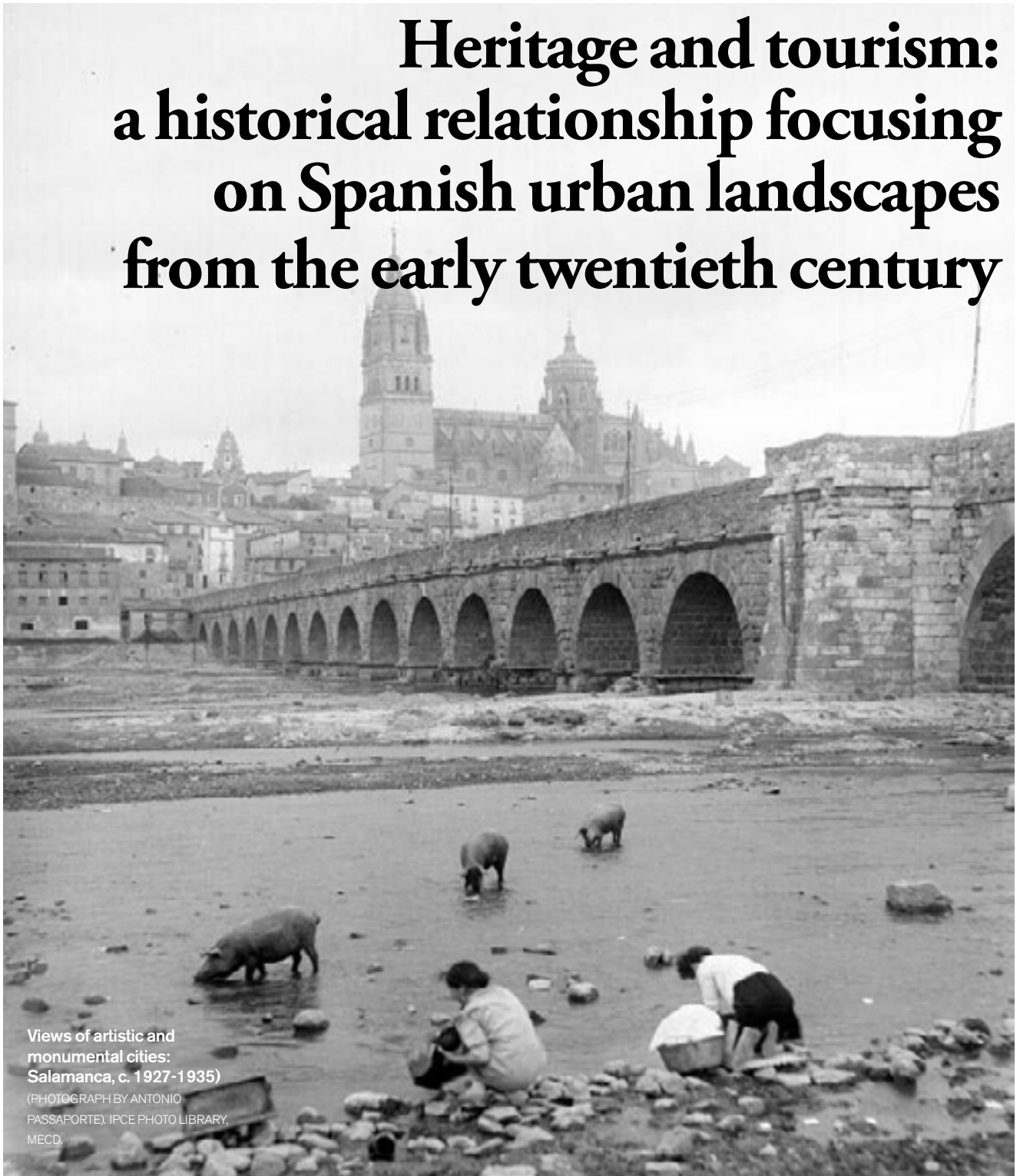
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Heritage and tourism: a historical relationship focusing on Spanish urban landscapes from the early twentieth century



Views of artistic and
monumental cities:
Salamanca, c. 1927-1935)

(PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTONIO
PASSAPORTE). IPCE PHOTO LIBRARY,
MECD.

City, heritage and tourism: the conceptual bases

In 1938, Lewis Mumford, influenced by the thinking of Patrick Geddes, published *The Culture of Cities* in the United States. In the introduction, Mumford (2018: 16) remarks:

"Cities are a product of time. They are the moulds in which men's lifetimes have cooled and congealed, giving lasting shape, by way of art, to moments that would otherwise vanish with the living and leave no means of renewal or wider participation behind them. [...] In the city, time becomes visible: buildings and monuments and public ways [...] leave an imprint upon the minds even of the ignorant or the indifferent."

Due to the diversity of temporal strata combined in it, the city has long been an appealing resource for tourism. In fact, the attraction of cities for their visitors predates considerably the mass tourism which began in the second half of the twentieth century. This attraction precedes tourism itself, since Enlightenment and Romantic travellers had already created and socially projected images and representations of cities.

Within this general context, in the process of modernisation experienced by Spain in the first decades of the twentieth century until the beginning of the Civil War (Aguado and Ramos, 2002), urban landscapes, the construction of their heritage value and their aesthetic image, became a substantial component for the tourism practices, minority and therefore elitist, that developed in the country as a whole in those years. This is also when significant changes occurred in transport, construction and urbanisation.

Therefore, based on a careful selection of case studies, this contribution analyses the relationship between the incipient heritagisation of certain urban landscapes and the tourist activity promoted in Spain by the central government during the first half of the 20th century. To do so, we investigate the processes of symbolic valuation developed in various cities and their gradually increasing importance for tourism. The argumentation is conceptually based on the cited references, but without attempting to review the international bibliography on the subject, since such a theoretical update is not the central goal of this paper.

Similarly, the methodology and sources used are implicit in the presentation of ideas, so

Paraules clau: paisatge urbà, història del turisme, imatges turístiques, ciutats històriques, turisme urbà.

Palabras clave: paisaje urbano, historia del turismo, imágenes turísticas, ciudades históricas, turismo urbano.

Keywords: urban landscape, history of tourism, tourist images, historic towns, urban tourism.

Durant les primeres dècades del segle xx, els paisatges urbans van esdevenir un component substancial de les pràctiques turístiques. En aquest article s'analitzen les relacions entre el valor simbòlic i patrimonial conferit a determinats paisatges urbans espanyols i el desenvolupament de l'activitat turística impulsat per l'Administració central, al llarg de la primera meitat del segle xx. Aquest procés va passar per varies etapes: des de l'activitat selectiva promoguda per la Comissaria Regia de Turisme (1911-1928) a partir de la recreació de paisatges monumentals i pintorescos, fins a la producció i difusió sistemàtica d'imatges urbanes efectuada pel Patronat Nacional de Turisme (1928-1938). En aquest context, es revisen també les incipients actuacions legislatives i normatives relacionades amb el patrimoni urbà.

En las primeras décadas del siglo xx, los paisajes urbanos fueron un componente sustancial de las prácticas turísticas. En este artículo se analizan las relaciones entre el valor simbólico y patrimonial otorgado a determinados paisajes urbanos españoles y el desarrollo de la actividad turística impulsado por la Administración central, a lo largo de la primera mitad del siglo xx. Este proceso pasó por varias etapas: desde la actividad selectiva promovida por la Comisaría Regia de Turismo (1911-1928) a partir de la recreación de paisajes monumentales y pintorescos, hasta la producción y difusión sistemática de imágenes urbanas efectuada por el Patronato Nacional de Turismo (1928-1938). En este contexto, se revisan además las incipientes actuaciones legislativas y normativas relacionadas con el patrimonio urbano.

Urban landscapes were an important setting for tourist practices in the first decades of the twentieth century. This paper examines the relationship between the symbolic and heritage value attributed to certain Spanish urban landscapes and the development of tourist activity encouraged by the state administration during the first half of the century. This process went through several stages; from the selective activity promoted by the Comisaría Regia de Turismo (Royal Tourism Commission) from 1911 to 1928, through the recreation of monumental and picturesque landscapes, to the systematic production and distribution of urban images made by the Patronato Nacional de Turismo (National Tourism Trust) from 1928 to 1938. Within this context, the incipient legislative measures and regulations related to urban heritage are reviewed.

no specific section has been devoted to their presentation, considering that they can be easily recognized by the reader. Nor have we been interested in establishing catalogues or typologies on a regional scale, which would be more appropriate in an art history inventory. However, all the cases chosen have been placed in their spatial and socio-cultural context. Likewise, we have taken into account the major intellectual and political currents of the time, which, however, would not all achieve equal acceptance and reflection in the practices of the government; only some would prevail.

When it comes to tackling the complex subject of landscape (Roger, 2009) and more specifically urban landscapes (Maderuelo, 2010), some disciplines, such as geography in its more classic orientations, have focused on visible and more easily recognizable forms. However, as Nogué and de San Eugenio (2017) point out, an important part of the landscape is the social and cultural representations linked to it, many of which are not explicitly "visible", but require reading or interpretation tools. In this same sense, it is possible to speak of the social construction of the landscape (Nogué, 2007), which also implies the possibility of capturing, through it, the mentality, ideas, conceptions and meanings that landscapes have for social groups, especially for those who occupy a hegemonic position and have a greater capacity to produce and disseminate discourses and images (Gil de Arriba, 2002).

From the beginning of the 20th century until the Civil War, the enhancement of cultural heritage and landscape, through interpretations committed to the ideas of the monumental and the picturesque, played an important role in the promotion of tourism in Spain (Ortega, 2014; Brandis and Rio, 2015). This is also the period when the first modern tourist offers and spaces were formed, beyond what had hitherto been spas in locations with hot springs, and the places on the coast where

sea bathing had become customary from the 1860s onward.

While initially the leading active role had been played by private agents, from the beginning of the 20th century the Spanish Government began to play a more visible role, especially with regard to the promotion of tourism and attempts to establish specific policies (Moreno, 2005). Thus, in 1905, the National Commission for the Promotion of Tourism was created¹ (González Morales, 2005), followed by the Royal Commission for Tourism in 1911².

In parallel and reproducing the European model, private initiatives continued to develop, such as the professional associations, tourism consortiums and companies intended to attract foreigners³ (Luque and Pellejero, 2019). Among the latter we should mention, because of its role, the Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros de Barcelona (SAF) (Palou, 2012: 69 ff; Blasco, 2016) created in 1908⁴ and which served as an example for other similar associations, such as those of San Sebastian, Palma de Mallorca, Madrid, Cadiz, and Valencia⁵.

Meanwhile, starting in the early 20th century, the new models of tourist guides, with practical indications, maps, illustrations and tour routes, played an important role in curating and publicising destinations. At the same time, posters, leaflets, postcards, books of photographs, stamps and cinderella stamps proliferated. They were all instruments of publicity that helped to spread certain views and perspectives, widely reiterated, from one medium to another.

Illustrated magazines also contributed to disseminating urban monumental heritage. Thus, for example, from 1915, the magazine *Blanco y Negro* had a section dedicated to "Monumental Spain" in which full-page artistic photographs were published of the cathedrals of Salamanca, Santiago, León, Ávila, Segovia, Burgos, Toledo, Tarragona and Murcia, the Mosque of Córdoba,

1

Especially oriented to the foreign public as stated in Article 1 of the decree of creation (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 07/10/1905).

2

Gaceta de Madrid, 20/06/1911.

3

Its ideas and title were inspired by the well-known book by Bartolomé Armengual (1903): *La industria de los forasteros*. Palma de Mallorca: Armengual and Muntaner.

4

Beginning in 1910 the SAF published the magazine *Barcelona Atracción*.

5

The Sociedad Valenciana de Atracción de Forasteros was created from the Círculo de Bellas Artes and would later be called Sociedad Valenciana de Fomento del Turismo y de Bellas Artes (*La Correspondencia de Valencia*, 27/04/1932). Following the Barcelona model, the Valencian company published the magazine *Valencia Atracción* in 1926.

the Alcazar of Seville, the Generalife, the Casa de las Conchas and the University of Salamanca, and the Palacio del Infantado in Guadalajara. In this way, built heritage became a tourist attraction for visitors with high purchasing power.

The recreation of monumental and picturesque landscapes to attract foreigners (1905-1927)

The promotional elements used by the National Commission and by the Royal Commission focused, on the one hand, on artistic, cultural, historical and monumental aspects and, on the other hand, on a selection of natural and landscape qualities. All of this was seasoned with popular customs and picturesque elements. Thus, Article 2 of the Royal Decree creating the Commission for Tourism established that one of its duties was to "oversee the effective conservation of and ensure the proper display of the artistic, monumental and picturesque Spain".

In this way, one of the initial plans of the Royal Commissioner, Benigno de la Vega Inclán y Flaquer, II Marquis de la Vega Inclán, was to draw up a catalogue of "artistic, monumental and picturesque Spain", which led to the publication of several provincial series

of postcards, with landscapes and city views obtained through high quality collotypes and published by Hauser y Menet.

It was hoped that this proposal to catalogue what were already considered substantial tourist resources would come to fruition with the creation of a Museum of Tourism, a project for which was published by the then Civil Governor of Madrid⁶ (*Diario Oficial de Avisos de Madrid*, 11/01/1915). In this announcement, the future museum was intended to be divided into rooms or halls, with names and contents expressing the initial improvisation, on the one hand, and the underlying concept, on the other. Indeed, the project reflected Vega Inclán's personal vision of tourism and that of Alfonso XIII himself, who supported his action. However, the customary and selective approaches of the Commissioner for Tourism had already been criticised by journalists and professionals in the sector, who favoured a much more practical and modern approach⁷.

Almost all the rooms in the planned museum were named after painters or schools of painting, although the subjects exhibited were not related to them: the Velázquez room would be devoted to religious and civil heritage

6

Eduardo Sanz y Escartín, member of the Conservative party and later Minister of Labour.

7

The previous year, referring to the *Sunny Spain Exhibition*, organized on the direct initiative of the Royal Commissioner as part of the International Tourism Exhibition held in London, ABC correspondent Juan Pujol Martínez had written (22/07/1914): "Pictures of Spanish hotels, of railway carriages, of interesting landscapes? Brochures explaining how to get to the Peninsula, the cost of the trips, the best time to make them, in the same way the British railway companies offer them in the same place? Not at all. The Spain of tambourines, or what is worse, of castanets, bagpipes, piston cornets and shawms." For his part, Tomás Trénor, at the head of the Ateneo Mercantil de Valencia, in *Memoria de la Exposiciones Regional Valenciana de 1909 y Nacional de 1910* (1912: 32), said: "in Spain there is more than just the Seville Easter processions and Feria bullfights in Betis; there is more than just the Alhambra and the Escorial and Toledo." Later, in the early 1920s, the SAF would also publish a critical view of the actions of the Royal Commission, reflected in articles in the magazine *Barcelona Atracción*.



Postcard - Bank of Spain, Madrid, c. 1896).
Postcard, Royal Commission for Tourism, artistic, monumental and picturesque Spain. HAUSER Y MENET.

buildings, including gardens and ruins; the Murillo room would be about museums, collections and royal sites (with express mention of the Royal Palace in Madrid, El Pardo, Aranjuez, Escorial, Valsaín, San Ildefonso, the Royal Alcazar of Seville, the Alhambra, Generalife and Almudaina in Mallorca). Another room, the Spanish School room, would be for libraries and archives. Three more rooms were named after Goya, El Greco and the Italian School and would present excavations, archaeological remains and caves (Numancia, Italica, Altamira, etc.). In turn, the Flemish School room would be dedicated to spas and weather stations.

The only exception to the use of pictorial references were the “mountaineering halls”, for which the official announcement cited various mountain systems or elevations (Picos de Europa, Gredos, Central Pyrenees, Guadarrama, Sierra Nevada, Pico del Teide and Gorg Blau de Mallorca)⁸, along with other landscape components such as beaches, lagoons and cliffs, also listed in a disordered and scattered manner (Cantabrian,

Tarifa, Algeciras, Sóller, Sitges, and Tarragona). Finally, the announcement concluded with what appeared to be another room in the planned museum, where information on railways, accommodation, roads and sports would be concentrated, that is, the fundamental part which would enable these tourist activities.

A building on Calle del Sacramento in Madrid⁹ was considered for the museum site, and numerous press releases, as well as the official announcement, called for the collaboration of those who wished to contribute data or materials. Later, by Royal Decree, the transfer of the museum and the Popular Library of Madrid to the Casa de Cervantes in Valladolid was considered (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 18/03/1916). However, the planned Museum of Tourism did not crystallise on this new site either, unlike another of the Royal Commissioner's aspirations, the Romantic Museum, inaugurated in Madrid in 1924, in the same building that had been the headquarters of the Commission since 1920.

8

Throughout Europe and following the model of the Alps, mountain areas were the preferred natural settings for the promotion of tourism (Nogué, 2016: 30).

9

As stated in the *General Review of Education and the Fine Arts*, 15 January 1915.

Official visit to Toledo, in front of El Greco House-Museum (21/10/1912). *La Ilustración Artística*.



Toledo.—Las misiones americanas y los ministros visitando la casa del Greco

Before his appointment as head of the Tourism Commission, Vega Inclán had worked as an antique dealer and art dealer, and was also Alfonso XIII's artistic advisor, which gave him privileged contacts (Menéndez, 2006). These included the Hispanic Society of America, founded in 1908 in New York, which, in 1909 and 1911, sponsored two famous exhibitions of Joaquín Sorolla, who would later produce fourteen large oil panels depicting Spanish regions¹⁰ for that Society.

From the point of view of urban tourism and the enhancement of certain heritage elements, the recreation of settings in the cities of Toledo, Valladolid, Seville and Granada were a significant part of the idiosyncratic actions of Vega Inclán, both before and during his role as Commissioner, becoming striking symbolic references to reinforce the influx of international tourism into Spain.

The house in Toledo believed to have been El Greco's was personally acquired by Vega Inclán in 1905, along with other buildings added in successive years, in order to pioneer the model of a house-museum. The formula for recreating historical settings was soon successful, both in terms of the rehabilitation of urban heritage and in the configuration of an attractive tourism resource¹¹. First opened in 1910, after Vega Inclán had donated it to the State, the house-museum was managed by a Board of Trustees which included Aureliano Beruete, Manuel Cossío and Joaquín Sorolla himself, a personal friend of Vega

Inclán (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 04/05/1910). The House-Museum of El Greco was soon included in the tourist guides of the time as one of the points to visit in the city of Toledo (cf. the Arco 1910 and Baedeker 1913 guides¹²). In addition, given the proximity to Madrid, it was a regular venue for official receptions.

Already as Royal Commissioner, in 1912, Vega Inclán signed the deed of purchase of a group of buildings in Valladolid to recreate another museum environment, the Cervantes House-Museum, according to the procedure tested in Toledo. In this case, the operation was supported by Archer Milton Huntington, president of the Hispanic Society, as the project involved the creation of a cultural centre and the Cervantes library (*La Correspondencia de España*, 26/10/1912).¹³

Another of the operations to recreate settings in historic centres in which Vega Inclán took part, possibly the most extensive and outstanding of his achievements in this field, was in the Santa Cruz district of Seville from 1912 to 1920. From the late 19th century, the precarious state of housing, the disorganised roads, and the need for paving, water supply and sanitation had spurred calls for urban reform and reorganisation of this part of the old town (Carrillo, 1998; Tena, 2016). Specifically, Seville City Council had been submitting requests for the transfer of part of the gardens of the Alcazar (Huerta del Retiro),

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For more on the creation of regional clichés by painters, architects and universal exhibitions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Storm (2019).

11

An article in the *Imparcial* (01/10/1906) by Francisco Alcántara, linked to the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, which in turn played an important role in the appreciation of Toledo's urban heritage (Storm, 2013: 253), defines it as "The joyful first attempt at urban restoration in Toledo". The initial idea was to create a Spanish Art Museum *La Correspondencia de España*, 06/05/1910). For the construction of the El Greco House-Museum, Vega Inclán turned to the architect Eladio Laredo y Carranza, who in 1911 also became the architect of the Commission for Tourism. For the role assigned to Toledo see also García Álvarez (2007).

12

Guía práctica de Toledo y su provincia. Madrid: Guías Arco, 1910; *Spain and Portugal, handbook for travellers*. Leipzig: Baedeker's guide books, 1913.

13

In 1905 the Valladolid lawyer Fidel Pérez Minguéz had published the book *La Casa de Cervantes en Valladolid in Madrid*, with the aim of establishing a historical foundation that would encourage the acquisition.

The start of work in the Santa Cruz district, Seville (04/02/1911) *La Hormiga de Oro*.



SEVILLA.—Aspecto del barrio de la Judería después de derribadas las murallas y torres de la Huerta del Retiro

a Royal property, for a road between the Santa Cruz district and what was then Avenida de la Industria, now Menéndez Pelayo (Nieto, 1999 and 2001: 211 ff.). This request was granted in 1911, at which time the City Council attempted to start replanning the area. This provoked opposing positions, some in favour of the project to expand the Santa Cruz neighbourhood, and others in favour of its conservation and consideration as a monumental complex. This second group was supported by the Royal Commissioner and Alfonso XIII¹⁴.

In the end, the neighbourhood was restored by the architects José Gómez Millán and Juan Talavera, according to a garden city model that fully responded to the proposals of the Commission for Tourism: "The restoration, or rather the salvation of this piece of the former Jewish Quarter is due [...] to the Marquis de la Vega Inclán, serving the royal wishes, and giving himself the spiritual pleasure of preserving as a student of Seville these beautiful spots for the ornamentation and pride of our city¹⁵."

This made the Santa Cruz district an emblem of the city of Seville and Andalusian architecture, as well as a tourist attraction.

At the same time, the Royal Commissioner was also interested in the restoration work that had been carried out since 1907 on a highly symbolic and iconic building, the Alhambra of Granada, by the architect Modesto Cendoya. Vega Inclán prepared an unfavourable report on the subject and submitted it to the Minister for Public Education and Fine Arts in 1913¹⁶. This accentuated the already existing conflict between restorers and conservationists. The situation led to the creation of a new Alhambra Board of Trustees in 1914, presided over by Guillermo Joaquín de Osma. From that moment on, the Royal Commission officially kept out of building work, focusing on promotional work and publishing the book *La Alhambra de Granada* in 1915, along with 20,000 copies of some informative brochures in English, partly distributed through the *Hispanic Society*.

However, Cendoya, who was also the municipal architect of Granada, continued to be responsible for building work in the Alhambra, and also held a position as a member of the new Board of Trustees. In 1917, commissioned by the Ministry, the architect Ricardo Velázquez Bosco drew up a new conservation plan, although Cendoya kept

14

"It is said of Seville that today distinguished personalities visited the mayor to protest that among the improvements that the municipality is trying to make is the disappearance of the Santa Cruz district, which is considered an artistic treasure. They also announced to the Mayor that they intend to set up a Defence Society, naming the King as honorary president" (*Las Provincias*, Valencia newspaper, 06/02/1911). This society was called *Sociedad Defensa de Sevilla Artística* and its actions were concentrated in 1911 (Tena, 2016).

15

José Andrés Vázquez (1920: 15). *El Barrio de Santa Cruz de Sevilla, ciudad jardín*. Madrid: Comisaría de Turismo.

16

Included in the book *La Comisaría Regia del Turismo en La Alhambra de Granada*. Madrid: Artes Gráfica Mateu, 1915: : 9 ff.



Cover and plan from the book by José Andrés Vázquez (1920). *El Barrio de Santa Cruz de Sevilla, ciudad jardín*. Madrid: Comisaría del Turismo y Cultura Artística.

his position until 1923. In this year, Lepoldo Torres Balbás was appointed architectural conservator of the Alhambra and in 1935 also of the Generalife¹⁷, where he remained until he was dismissed in August 1936. His work in that period was to give the site its current appearance (Vílchez, 1988).

In short, the actions of the Royal Commission for Tourism relating to the rehabilitation and enhancement of urban heritage focused on the choice of specific elements or, in other words, on the preferences of Vega Inclán himself, whose sensibilities were largely inherited from the earlier Romantic and Costumbrist tradition. These specific interventions were, without a doubt, significant and established guidelines for action in favour of urban heritage. However, they also highlighted the organisational and financial shortcomings of the institution as a management body and its difficulty in developing a broader vision, less mired in the nostalgic clichés which underpinned a selective image of Spanish urban landscapes.

The years of the PNT, or when the production and dissemination of tourist images of cities became institutionalised (1928-1936)

The creation of the National Tourism Board (Patronato Nacional de Turismo or PNT)¹⁸ in April 1928, reporting to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, reflected a shift in Government criteria in response to the tourism phenomenon and adaptation to the changes that had become evident in the 1920s, driven by private enterprise, tourism consortiums and professional tourism associations (Moreno, 2010).

In January 1929, when it was given a budget, the PNT began to produce a series of publications aimed at promoting tourism in the country based on a more up-to-date and effective image than that previously disseminated by the Royal Commission (Pellejero, 2002). This editorial purpose involved some of the leading writers, journalists and photographers of the time. Specifically, one of

the sections of the PNT headquarters was "Publications, advertising and press office", highlighting the importance given to this promotional activity, which reached its high point with the International Exposition of Barcelona and the Ibero-American Exposition of Seville in 1929.

However, once again, the artistic, landscape and picturesque aspects were the highlights in the promotion of different Spanish cities. Thus, one of the projected editorial collections was "Cities of Spain", in volumes of about 200 pages each, entirely consisting of high quality photographs in rotogravure¹⁹. The first volume, dedicated to Seville, was published in September 1929, with 230 plates²⁰. Later, two more were issued on Toledo and Granada.

The PNT also created a collection of eight-page brochures called "City Sheets", which were distributed free of charge. Each included seven photographs in rotogravure and a map of the corresponding city, accompanied by short texts in Spanish and other languages (French, English and German) with a brief historical and geographical overview, and information on the monumental and picturesque. The first brochures to be published were for Granada, Salamanca, Valencia and Cordoba. These were followed

17

Torrés Balbás was a close friend of Manuel de Falla, who in these years was already living in the city, in the Antequeruela Alta, very close to the site of the Alhambra.

18

R.D. of 25/04/1928 published in the *Gasetta de Madrid* of 26/04/1928.

19

The *Memoria de los trabajos realizados por el PNT desde julio de 1928 a 31 de diciembre de 1929* (1930: 56) states: "The National Tourist Board is trying to ensure that no Spanish city is without a guidebook of proven solvency, practically designed, well presented and affordable." Later (p. 57), referring to this collection, it remarks that "it can be used both for advertising, thanks to the attractive parade of diverse images, and to fix the vision of the city in its most characteristic aspects in the memory of the tourist."

20

"This book includes a total vision of every aspect of the marvellous city of the Guadalquivir, collected in its most beautiful and evocative monuments [...] It is a living book, which does not evoke Seville from an exclusively monumental or picturesque point of view, nor the Seville of tambourine and blaggard, cliché or cheap sentimentality, which pleases some, but the authentic Seville," (*Memoria*, 1930: 66-67).



View of the Lions courtyard, Alhambra, before the restoration of Torres Balbás. s.f., c. 1925-26. Madrid: Hauser y Menet.

by Santiago de Compostela, Toledo, Ronda, Alcalá de Henares, Aranjuez, El Escorial, El Pardo, Sigüenza, Segovia, La Granja, Soria, Numancia, Mérida, Girona, Valencia, Castellón de la Plana, Palma de Mallorca, Guadalajara, Murcia, Málaga, Jerez de la Frontera, Úbeda, Valladolid, Santander, San Sebastián, Vitoria, La Coruña, etc.

Another project was the series "Guide to Small Towns" for "small towns with a small perimeter and population, but truly monumental" (*Memoria*, 1930: 64). Elias Tormo was the author of the three works in this series: *Sigüenza*, *Alcalá de Henares* and *Aranjuez*. Another collection, "City Brochures", began with Madrid, with abundant photo-engravings and tour routes²¹. Similarly, fold-out sheets called "Itineraries" were produced, with photographs, sketches of routes and explanatory texts for circular tours between different cities, such as the Madrid-Seville-Madrid route via Guadalupe and Mérida, the Madrid-Toledo-Madrid route, and the Madrid-Barcelona route via Zaragoza and Lleida²². Another publishing

sample was the pocket guide *Visitas a Barcelona*, advertising coach tours with interpreter-guides, for the Compañía General de Autobuses de Barcelona, s.a. and under the auspices of the PNT²³. In addition, in 1933 the PNT reissued the work *Visita a Toledo* by Manuel Bartolomé Cossío²⁴, first published by the Royal Commission for Tourism, with added photoengravings. In 1929, at the same time that the PNT-financed Hotel Atlántico de Cádiz opened, a guide about the city was published.

A new publication proposal by the PNT was "Guías literarias de España", literary guides arranged by city. The intention was to collect texts from Spanish and foreign writers with different descriptions of leading cities. Once again, the first edition, in 1929, was on Seville.

Posters were another element advertising city tourism, made for the PNT by notable artists and publicists (Pelta, 2014). One of the first promoted both the Ibero-American Exposition in Seville and the International

21

"The brochure describes the location of Madrid, its history, the general character of the population, the monuments, museums and places worth visiting, the parks, gardens, squares, streets, festivals and the excursions that can be made from Madrid in a few hours. It constitutes, basically, a Court Guide, very brief but documented and accurate" (*Memoria*, 1930: 72-73).

22

In relation to these routes between cities, the guide by Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *España*, republished by the PNT in its first stage, after a first edition by the Royal Commission, already suggested a tour of Spain via the cities of Madrid, Salamanca, Valladolid, Zaragoza, Granada, Seville, Santiago, Santander, Barcelona, Valencia, and Palma. It was republished first in Spanish and later in French, English and German.

23

The tours included the climb up to Tibidabo, praising the views of the city; this had already been highlighted on the cover of the 1921 publication, *En Barcelona, Guía práctica de la ciudad*, by means of an illustration by Toullot.

24

Linked to the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* and, as we have said, member of the first Board of Trustees of the El Greco House-Museum.



Itineraries Madrid-Barcelona and Madrid-Seville, c. 1931) PNT. CDTE

Exposition in Barcelona, in the key year of 1929. All these city posters were published in colour and in several languages, always accompanied by a slogan or recommendation: Santander “veranead en el Sardinero”, San Sebastián “playa incomparable, deportes, ciudad cosmopolita”, Bilbao “the Abra beaches”, Valladolid “antigua capital de Castilla”, León “poema de luz y piedra, tumba de reyes”, Málaga “clima delicioso en todo tiempo” or “incomparable station d’hiver”, Huelva “cuna de América”, Seville “the city of unique charms”, “ville gracieuse et souriante”, Córdoba “cours des Caliphes”, Granada “Alhambra y Sierra Nevada”, Madrid “corte y corazón de España” or “the centre of Spain and court of its kings”, Toledo “la Imperial”, Barcelona “la capital del Mediterráneo”, Tarragona “monuments of ancient Rome” or “la ville des Scipions”, Alicante “la ville qui n’a pas d’hiver, la plage aux palmiers”, Burgos “maravilla gótica, tierra del Cid”, Cádiz “porte de l’Europe sur l’Atlantique”, Salamanca “la gloriosa ciudad del Renacimiento”, Santiago de Compostela “the pilgrims’ way”. Thus, while aspects of the climate or landscape were highlighted, the “emotions of art and history” were exalted or the “pleasant and easy modern life” was also emphasized. These last two expressions constitute the text of one of the PNT posters, under the general title of “Spain”, and summarise the touchstones of the PNT’s tourism promotion during its monarchic period, which while retaining the references and emblems already used by the

Royal Commission, adapts its discourse with a more modern and pragmatic approach.

In addition to the above publications, the PNT promoted the shooting of films and advertising screenings, a hitherto unheard of medium which was becoming increasingly widespread (Blot-Wellens and Soto, 2005). With this objective in mind, the series “Estampas españolas” began, also during the monarchic period, in collaboration with the production company información Cinematográfica Española (ICE) and with the Air Force film section taking aerial views, which were then very attractive to viewers due to their novelty. Examples of this film production are the 1929 documentaries on Ávila, Santander, Zamora and Segovia. The PNT even led the creation of the production company España Films, which worked mainly in Andalusia, for example creating a report on Seville to coincide with the 1929 Expo. At the same time, Emérita Films was created in Barcelona, which produced material for the series “Historical, artistic, monumental, picturesque and industrial Spain” with the intention of covering all of Catalonia and Aragon²⁵. In fact, the production company even organized film sessions in collaboration with various Catalan municipalities to show films about the artistic, monumental and natural beauties of Spain²⁶.

Of course, the two 1929 Expositions were a fundamental reason for the production of documentaries. This same year, the PNT

25

One of Emérita Films’ best known works is the documentary *La fabricación de gas de hulla*, on making coal gas in the Catalana de Gas factory, filmed in 1929 by Ramón de Baños.

26

Thus the report published in *La Vanguardia*, 29/11/1928, on the agreement with Tarrasa Town Council.

PNT Posters, drawings by Baldrich, Hohenleiter, Bartolozzi and Verdugo Landi.
CDTE



commissioned "Spanish Cities", about the cities with the most architectural heritage, such as Madrid with its Royal Palace, San Lorenzo del Escorial, Aranjuez, La Granja, Segovia, Toledo, Santiago de Compostela and Jerez de la Frontera; this last, being the birthplace of the military dictator Primo de Rivera. As this suggests, the places chosen for filming, several of them Royal Sites, were an undeniable plea in favour of the monarchy and the dictator.

As we have seen in the case of *Emérita Films*, there were also several initiatives independent of the PNT that produced films about cities in order to promote tourism. Thus, as early as 1923, there was a film showing a tourist route along the seafront of the city of Malaga, its harbour and gardens. From the same year, a film about Easter in Seville presents the view of the banks of the Guadalquivir from the Triana bridge, with perspectives of the Maestranza, the Giralda and the Torre del Oro. In addition, in 1925, what seems to be a more general project about "Monumental Spain" included the Alhambra in Granada.

In 1927 a documentary about Mallorca by the journalist Josep María Verger (Rubí, 2013) was financed by the Provincial Government; its first part is devoted to the city of Palma, its heritage buildings and most outstanding places. Also in 1927, a report was shot with texts in English about Santander, with a special emphasis on the summer residence of the Royal Family²⁷. Likewise, in 1928, a tourist film was made about Toledo, with views of Los Cigarrales, the Cathedral, the Alcazar and other outstanding places.

At the beginning of the Civil War, seeking international support and the pacification of the country rather than promoting tourism, the Government of the Republic financed a documentary in French, with the significant title "Voyage", directed by Enrique Gaertner²⁸ with background music by Quintín Esquembre. It was produced by the Valencian company Cifesa, created

in 1932. The documentary was made from pre-war footage, possibly compiled with the initial intention of making a film advertising the cities of Valencia (presented in the edit as the provisional capital of the Second Republic), Sagunto (as a symbol of resistance), Elche (with its attractive palm grove), Malaga and Seville (both already under the control of the rebels when the film was edited). The result shows that the attraction of landscapes and the evocation of places, widely used for tourist promotion of Spanish cities during the last years of the monarchy and during the Second Republic, were also effective in conveying political ideas, calling people to the cause and prompting emotional connections in response to the new war footing - all that was needed was to change the narrative²⁹. Thus, on the eve of the Civil War, the promotional and advertising content produced by Spain's tourism sector in Spain was among the most advanced at the time and successfully combined texts, slogans, photographs, drawings, films and even musical recordings.

Emerging legislation and regulation on urban heritage (1915-1940)

In addition to promotional and propaganda work, the legislation passed by the Spanish Government to identify, value and protect urban heritage during the first decades of the 20th century must be taken into account, which in turn is largely related to increasing tourism in urban areas.

In 1915, a law was passed on architectural and artistic monuments (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 05/03/1915), preceded in 1911 by another on artistic and scientific excavations and the conservation of ruins and antiquities (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 08/07/1911). During the Military Directory of Primo de Rivera, in August 1926, a Royal Decree-Law was approved regarding what was then called the *National Artistic-Archaeological Treasure* (what today would be understood as heritage³⁰) in which the precepts for the "classification and declaration of monuments, cities

27

According to a poster at the beginning of the film, "The presence of the Royal Family adds much to the gaiety of the resort".

28

Sometimes also known as Gärtner or Guerner.

29

Not surprisingly, in November 1936 the PNT was attached to the Ministry of Propaganda, recently created in republican Spain, and the following year it became subordinate to the Ministry of State, until its disappearance after the Civil War.

and picturesque places" were established (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 15/08/1926). This typical or traditional (and therefore picturesque) character of towns and cities is also alluded to in the second title of that Decree-Law for its potential declaration, while establishing the identification of artistic or historical buildings and picturesque places, streets, squares and neighbourhoods, by means of topographical plans, as well as the need to draw up special conservation precepts within municipal zoning, prohibiting or restricting the renovations or extensions inside protected areas.

In accordance with this 1926 Decree, three years later, a Royal Order was published for the inclusion of the old part of the city of Cordoba in the National Artistic Treasury (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 09/08/1929). In the same year, another Royal Order declared the historic centre of Granada to be an artistic city, and it also became part of the National Artistic Treasury (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 07/12/1929). In both cases, the applications were submitted by the respective local councils³¹. Acting on both examples, proposals multiplied, as reported in the press at the time, for other iconic cities: Salamanca, Burgos, Toledo, Santiago de Compostela, and Segovia; by this time there were already abundant photographic reports that would contribute to a greater dissemination of city views.

During the Second Republic, in 1933, the Law on the Protection of the National Artistic Treasury of May 24 was approved (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 25/05/1933), while Fernando de los Ríos was Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. Based on Article 45 of the 1931 Constitution, it defined the concept of artistic and historical wealth of the country or cultural treasury, in relation to "all the buildings and movable objects of artistic, archaeological, paleontological or historical interest in Spain of not less than one century of age; also those that without this antiquity possess an indisputable artistic or historical value" (Art. 1) and

established the administrative organisation responsible for their protection, namely the Directorate General for Fine Arts³², the Higher Board of the Artistic Treasury with its local delegations, the General Inspectorate of Monuments and other consultative bodies such as the Academy of Fine Arts, the Boards of Trustees of the Prado Museum and the National Library, the National Tourism Board and the National Geography Society (Art. 6)

In addition, this 1933 Law raised the possibility of applying the category of Monuments to urban and rural areas (Art. 33): streets, squares, enclaves, neighbourhoods, walls, fortresses and ruins. However, it was not until the approval of the Regulations implementing the aforementioned Law that the need for a connection with urban planning was considered (Decree of 16 April 1936, Art. 29, *Gaceta de Madrid* 17/04/1936). Specifically, Article 29 instructed the Superior Board of the Artistic Treasury to draw up a list of cities, towns and villages of an artistic, historical or picturesque nature, establishing that "the plans for internal renovation and expansion, both of the towns on this list and those not included, must be made on the basis of respect for historical and artistic monuments".

For its part, on May 16, 1934, the Decree creating the Board for the Protection of Artistic, Historical and Monumental Madrid was approved (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 19/05/1934) with jurisdiction over the entire municipal district (Art. 2), responsible for preparing reports and making decisions on any project to change the urban structure (Art. 3). Among the powers assigned to the Board were those relating to the safeguarding of views, the reform of road layouts, trees, gardens, lighting, signs and advertisements, shop fronts, public seating, modification of façades, the location of kiosks and permanent stalls, the placing or moving of monuments, and the erection or demolition of buildings. The Board was also able to maintain or restore traditional street names,

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Calderón (2011: 222) defines urban heritage "as a heterogeneous cultural work, which reflects the true personality of a people throughout the centuries of its existence and is sustained by three essential pillars: the transcendence of its material and intangible character, its cultural representativeness and the intensity of the citizen's sense of identification with the territory where he lives". This is obviously a contemporary concept, which had not yet been formed as such in the period studied, but which was already in the process of being developed.

31

In Cordoba, the city's Monuments Commission had also joined the petition.

32

Constituted on the basis of the Budget Law of 26 December 1914 and the Royal Orders of 26 January and 12 February 1915. At the time the 1933 Act was passed, the Director General of Fine Arts was Ricardo de Orueta.



Views of artistic and monumental cities: Toledo, c. 1920-36; Segovia, c. 1914-15

(PHOTOGRAPHS BY OTTO WUNDERLICH)
(PHOTOGRAPHY BY ANTONIO PASSAPORTE). IPCE PHOTO LIBRARY, MECD.

agree on the marking of areas and buildings of artistic interest and approve signs used by shops. However, in less than a month, the Decree was repealed by another one (of 31 May, *Gaceta de Madrid*, 02/06/1934), after the strong opposition expressed by the City Council on understanding that the Board's powers encroached on several of its functions. Thus, the new Decree reduced the Board's powers to advising and informing the municipal corporation. In addition, the members of the Board included the Mayor

of Madrid, who had not been included in the previous Decree.

At the beginning of the Civil War, in the same month of July 1936, the Ministry of Public Instruction created a special Board for all of Spain (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 26/07/1936) which was subsequently called the Board for the Seizure and Protection of the Artistic Treasury (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 02/08/1936) with the capacity to confiscate "works, furniture or buildings of artistic, historical or bib-

liographical interest" exposed to the danger of ruin, loss or deterioration. The rebels, supported by the German and Italian air force, carried out frequent aerial bombardments in the Republican zone: Madrid, Alcalá de Henares, Guernica, Durango, Cartagena, Alicante, Valencia, Reus, Tarragona, Lérida, Barcelona, Granollers and Figueras were some of the cities most affected. For their part, Granada and Oviedo were bombed by Republican supporters (Saavedra, 2017).

In April 1938, the Franco dictatorship in Burgos issued a Decree (BOE, 23/04/1938) establishing the Service for the Defence of the National Artistic Heritage, which would be in force until 1943. In January of that year, the National Service for Devastated Regions and Reparations had also been established.

In 1940, more than a decade after the resolutions of 1929 for the historic centres of Cordoba and Granada, Santiago de Compostela and Toledo were declared Historic-Artistic Monuments (Decree of 9 March, BOE 18/04/1940³³). The consensus choice, based on the opinion of the General Commission for the National Artistic Heritage Defence Service, was logical since, as the Decree itself points out, both cities were notable "not only for their considerable number of national monuments, but also for their characteristic urban planning, for their memory of the country's history and for their artistic manifestations". The imperial city of Toledo, formerly the Visigothic capital, and the religious city of Santiago, the apostle's tomb, were elevated to the status of monument. Two years later, the Commission for Urban Planning of the city of Toledo was created, with the aim of preserving the harmonious unity of the heritage complex and establishing a city planning scheme (BOE, 26/04/1942). As for Santiago, the first special ordinances of the Service for the Defence of the National Artistic Heritage were approved in 1951.

To sum up, during the first half of the 20th century, although at certain times, such as

with the Law of 1933 and its Regulations of 1936, legislation on urban heritage in Spain tended to evolve towards a broader vision, it was generally subordinated to economic, political and ideological interests and to urban growth itself. Most protection measures were ad hoc, unconnected and uncoordinated, depending, at least until the early 1930s, on the maintenance of the Romantic tradition, centred on the appreciation of the monumental, the Costumbrist and the picturesque. Moreover, after the Civil War, the selection and protection of certain components of the historical urban heritage was overwhelmingly used for the ideological exaltation of the Dictatorship.

Conclusions: urban heritage and tourism, and their continuous politicisation

As has been shown, the selection of urban landscapes and the appreciation of them established from the mid-nineteenth century on were essential components in the creation of images and representations of Spanish cities, which in turn were gradually associated with the promotion of tourism, especially from the early twentieth century. At the same time as certain urban landscapes were being enhanced, the concept of heritage, associated with the monumental and the picturesque, was being constructed.

In this sense, the Spanish Government of the time assumed a prominent role in promoting urban cultural tourism, by choosing places to visit and specific elements for their symbolic exhibition. Thus, from the heritage and tourism point of view, the great monumental landmarks were regarded as a dominant element of urban complexes, as were Consumerist scenarios and views, and the aesthetic recreation of the past.

At first, in the absence of a State policy and specific funding, actions were voluntary and idiosyncratic, as was the case with the interventions of Vega Inclán at the head of the Commission for Tourism, who nevertheless undertook some notable restoration work in

response to the gradual abandonment and deterioration of historic urban areas that were on the verge of succumbing to urban expansion and speculative interests in the first decades of the 20th century.

Later, the PNT used more modern means of promotion and propaganda, provided with a budget but subordinated to the ideological and economic designs of the business sectors

related to the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the main agents of the process, so that urban heritage became increasingly politicised. The brief Republican period did not succeed in reversing this trend, which had been strongly established in previous decades. After the Civil War, Franco's dictatorship made extensive use of both tourism and urban heritage for its own exclusive ideological justification. ■

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Uses of heritage for tourism and the history of tourism in Barcelona

Barcelona is a century-old global tourist destination which has defined itself within the framework of a series of particular socio-economic and political dynamics and through the influence of external and global factors. This is not in

itself unique to Barcelona, as all destinations are constructed from a combination of endogenous and exogenous factors. What is particular in the case of Barcelona is the existence of a political and ideological discourse associated with the tourist development of the city and the use of heritage as a central resource in this model. The relationship between tourism and heritage is set and defined within the framework of specific socio-political and economic relations, as the close intertwining of tourism and heritage, and between politics, economics and identity discourses, opens the door to a much needed reflection on the theoretical and academic as well as the social and institutional arena. This article aims to contribute to the critical reflection on this construct¹.

¹ The contents, analyses and reflections that are presented in this article are the result of historical-social research on tourism in Barcelona carried out over the last 15 years, whose origin is in the research of a doctoral thesis defended in 2011 at the University of Barcelona. For his support and supervision of this article, I would like to thank Dr. Llorenç Prats Canals, thesis director and omnipresent mentor of my research and its derivatives.



L'article planteja una anàlisi sociocultural, històrica i política del desenvolupament turístic de Barcelona i una reflexió crítica sobre la funció que el patrimoni cultural adquireix en aquest escenari. En un context marcat per les lògiques de consum i producció turística, determinats elements patrimonials i referents culturals es converteixen en nodes d'atracció i suport d'identitat. L'article centra el debat en la relació que s'estableix entre turisme i patrimoni, i posa de manifest que, si bé històricament s'ha produït una apropiació turística del patrimoni, no se n'ha assumit una completa gestió turística.

El artículo plantea un análisis sociocultural, histórico y político del desarrollo turístico de Barcelona y una reflexión crítica sobre la función que el patrimonio cultural adquiere en este escenario. En un contexto marcado por las lógicas de consumo y producción turística, determinados elementos patrimoniales y referentes culturales se convierten en nodos de atracción y enclaves de identidad. El artículo centra el debate en la relación que se establece entre turismo y patrimonio, y pone de manifiesto que, si bien históricamente se ha producido una apropiación turística del patrimonio, no se ha asumido una completa gestión turística.

The article proposes a sociocultural, historical and political analysis of tourism development in Barcelona and a critical reflection on the function of cultural heritage within this scenario. In a context dominated by the logics of consumption and production associated with tourism, heritage elements and cultural points of reference become attractions and a support for identity. The article focuses on debate surrounding the relationship between tourism and heritage, demonstrating that, although history provides evidence of tourism's appropriation of heritage, the management of such heritage has not been fully taken on by the tourism industry.

Nowadays tourism is totally *embedded* in the life of issuing and receiving societies, so that Barcelona, like so many other towns and cities in this globalised world, can no longer be thought of or managed outside its tourist dynamics. Over the decades, tourism has become a consubstantial element of Barcelona, in the sense that it has been inserted in its various spheres (economic, political, aesthetic, sociocultural, etc.). One of the necessary instruments that has been placed at the service of external promotion, and at the same time the internal legitimacy of tourism, is a robust body of images and stories about the city – not only in a sense of marketing, but in an ideological, discursive, semiotic and aesthetic dimension. In other words, the promotion of tourism in Barcelona has historically been accompanied by a discursive device that has served to naturalise and justify the development of this phenomenon. In fact, within the framework of the different historical contexts that occurred over the course of the 20TH century, the promotion of tourism in Barcelona has been supported by an *ideology* and city discourse.

Images intended for brand promotion and creation, the official and hegemonic narratives around tourism reinforce the coordination between tourist development, heritage activation and identity discourse, i.e. the activation of heritage resources contributes to tourist development and enables the definition of an identity-brand of a tourist city. This dynamic, as set out over the course of the text, takes on particular intensities and nuances in each historical context, although it is interesting to observe how, in some way, the instrumental character and the political and tourist use of heritage is reproduced invariably decade after decade. Thus, cultural heritage (especially that related to architecture and urbanism) acts as a context and pretext for tourist development and identity discourse and allows the evocation of images and *atmospheres* of identity. The interlinking of tourist development, heritage activation and identity discourse shows that, from an anthropological point of view, heritage is a sociopolitical construct that forms a space of conflict and always generates interpretative plurality (López, 2016).

This text will discuss to what extent the *exhibition* and *adaptation* of the heritage to the interests of tourism occurs as a result of a tourist-centred urban model, in which there is a tendency to prioritize tourist interests as opposed to other meanings and uses of heritage. Another interesting issue concerns the iconic or metonymic value generated by some heritage features in the destination, as a result of which at least three effects or situations occur: 1) the generation of centrifugal space dynamics, both service and public offerings (i.e. the emergence of saturation points inside the resource or urban environment); 2) symptoms of distancing and disaffection of population sectors toward heritage due to the temporary or continuous situations of tourist saturation and due to the production of foreign images of local identity (Prats, 2006); 3) a hierarchy of the tourist value of the various heritage resources based on their market opportunities (which have to do with quantitative rules related to the number of visits). There is another topic of special relevance and one which requires careful reflection: the idea of tourism as an *ideology* and city *structure* and heritage activation as part of this model. In the beginnings of the tourist city, and within the framework of the interests of the elites who began to promote the idea of attracting foreigners, the city had to become the product of and for tourism, to the extent that tourism was understood as a regime of value and urban prestige. Historical analysis allows reflection on the link between tourism as a city *producer* and at the same time on the city as a *tourist consumption product*.

Prats (1997) affirms that no heritage activation is neutral, in the sense that it will always be ideological and will depend on the interests and values of power. Heritage is not something natural or eternal, but a social construct that appears at the beginning of modernity as a kind of secular religion and serves to sacralise identity discourses, mainly of a national or regional nature, and also local (Prats, 2006). Accepting these premises, this article opens a critical reflection on the relationship that occurs between tourist commodification of heritage and interests

Paraules clau: turisme, patrimoni cultural, Barcelona, història, imatge.

Palabras clave: turismo, patrimonio cultural, Barcelona, historia, imagen.

Keywords: tourism, cultural heritage, Barcelona, history, image

(political, economic and sociocultural) which promote and legitimise valuation. A diachronic and relative look at each particular historical context can help us understand the malleability of the uses and meanings attributed to Barcelona's cultural heritage.

The foundations of a centennial tourist model

Barcelona's tourist orientation emerged at the beginning of the 20th century following the model of other Central European cities, mainly Italian, French and Swiss, which since the end of the 19th century seen the economic possibilities of the new industry of foreigners. At the turn of the century, a first global geography of tourist issuing and receiving countries began to take shape, while this phenomenon became a new object of government attention as a possible means of obtaining foreign currency (Vallejo-Pousada *et al.*, 2016). Some towns and cities on the peninsula started to launch a range of tourism promotion strategies, in an attempt to confront the structural and developmental problems related to the political and economic life of the country. The search for new markets and regenerationism caused the new political class and the bourgeoisie of progressive and liberal Spain to lay the foundations of an incipient international tourist market (González Morales, 2005). However, during the first decades of the 20th century tourism eventually became an incipient social activity in Spain, whose economic potential would take years to be officially recognised².

In Catalonia, and especially in Barcelona, the appearance of the tourist phenomenon coincided with a moment of renewal of the territory's historical approaches and of a consequent national awareness. The Catalan bourgeoisie presented a new architecture, and together with the linguistic recognition of Catalan, tourism seemed destined to become a movement that would benefit the construction of the city and the country (González Morales, 2003). Tourist development was associated with a discourse of a nationalist nature, which is why the promotion of a particular *version* or *split* of culture

and identity, and consequent heritage activation, would be placed at the heart of the new phenomenon of the modern age. At this initial stage, certain heritage elements in the city (vestiges of the past, monuments, urbanism and modern architecture) acquired a dual function or use value: On the one hand, they were linked to the identity and nationalist discourses of the day, and on the other they were capitalised on in market terms. The juxtaposition of heritage interpretations and functions, between economics and politics, was unprecedented in Barcelona.

Barcelona's tourist construction was part of a clearly induced and planned political project. In 1906, Barcelona's tourism promotion was institutionalised with the creation of the Commission for Attracting Foreigners and Tourists (CAFT), a municipal structure promoted by Lluís Duran i Ventosa, founding member and first secretary of the Regionalist League, and Domènec Sanllehy, monarchist, catholic and mayor of the city between 1906 and 1908³. In 1908, the Society for the Attraction of Foreigners (SAF) was created to promote tourism. It was composed of representatives of the public institutions as well as Barcelona and Catalonia's industrial world and would replace the first municipal commission on tourist promotion (which acted until 1909)⁴. At the hands of these two entities (especially the SAF), Barcelona tried to position itself at the forefront of modern tourism, promoting a process of tourist construction in which politics and economics were constantly linked (Palou Rubio, 2012).

The SAF enjoyed the economic contributions of part of the private sector, local and Catalan, which saw in tourism new possibilities for expanding their capital and relations. Tourism acquired a clearly instrumental value and condensed the longing of a whole political and economic class linked to the change of urban and economic model. The SAF acted as the power structure of the Regionalist League (Blasco, 2016) and at the same time as a means of satisfying the interests of the private agents that financed it. For the SAF, tourism became an instrument for the *construction* of the city, both at a physical and economic and

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Foreign tourism revenues represented only 0.66% of Spanish GDP in 1900 and 0.41% in 1934, figures that are below those of global growth of the Spanish economy (Vallejo-Pousada *et al.*, 2016).

3

The CAFT was set up by four councillors, two Regionalists and two Republicans: its initial promotion was due to Lluís Duran i Ventosa (1870-1954), founding member and first secretary of the League and city councillor at various periods (specifically, between 1906 and 1910 and 1916 and 1920). Duran i Ventosa held the position of Mayor of Barcelona between July to December 1917, and later was appointed Minister of Culture of the Republican Generalitat. He was adviser of Foment and vice president of the Commonwealth of Catalonia in 1914, whose origins are attributed to him (Casassas Ymbert, 1999). He also promoted the creation of a Culture Commission in Barcelona City Council in 1916, within which he championed the school construction plan and the City Theatre project; he was also a founding member of the Regionalist newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya*. The other founding members of the CAFT were Joan Rubió (also of the Regionalist League) and the Republicans Josep Rogent i Pedrosa (son of the architect Elies Rogent, architectural director of the 1888 Universal Exposition) and Santiago Valenti Camp. Carlos Pierozzini, Head of Department of Museums and Fine Arts, acted as secretary of the commission.

4

The CAFT is credited with having opened the first tourist assistance office in the basements of the City Hall, having created and disseminated the first image of the city brand (under the slogan Barcelona, winter season) and having become one of the pioneering structures in the field of tourist promotion in the country.

civic and sociocultural level. It was assumed that tourism should contribute to attracting economic, social and cultural capital, to the point that it was considered an element of prestige and an indicator of quality of life. In the imaginary of the SAF, the continued entry of outsiders increased the city's international value and competitiveness, allowing the Catalan capital to be placed on the map of large prosperous and modern cities of the time. Barcelona elites associated tourism with the values of progress, civilization and cosmopolitanism. In fact, tourism represented one of the names of modernity and capitalism and an unprecedented framework of expectations and private and collective interests. A hegemonic category was created in relation to tourism, understood as a collective good that required public and citizen work and involvement. The SAF legitimised the tourist promotion of Barcelona, defending its social, civic, patriotic and democratic value, and also attributed a civilizing nature to tourism. It was confident that the presence of visitors from other latitudes would produce, either by inertia or sociocultural osmosis, a change of urban model. The founding documents of the CAFT state this very clearly:

"And Barcelona is interested in attracting the vast contingent of travellers who go in search of better climates, or simply the consequential lure of a change of environment and horizons; and not only because of the material advantages offered by the so-called industry of foreigners, an invaluable source of wealth for many towns and cities in Switzerland, Italy and France, but even more so perhaps, for the extent to which the constant contact with people of other races, of other mentalities, of other aspirations and concepts of life must contribute to the refinement of our social existence, increasingly orienting the vigorous soul of our beloved city toward its constant elevation to the true capital of the Mediterranean " ⁵.

The enormous efforts put into developing tourism in Barcelona by the SAF gave rise to a solid tourist and urban image. This representation of the city based on 19th cen-

tury content and semiotics (especially at the beginning of the 20th century) reproduced the urban and urbanistic ideal of Barcelona's elites. Chadeaud (1987) argues that collective ways of thinking and feeling – within a framework of social relationships of domination – are essential in generating tourist spaces, so that tourist sites can be interpreted as a projection of the ideals of society itself. In that sense, it can be argued that, initially, tourism had a clearly instrumental character as it was represented as a means that would enable the construction of a new city model. The image of the tourist city became a projection and representation of the ideals of the ruling classes of Barcelona society.

The image that was created and disseminated aimed to influence both the imaginaries of potential visitors and the citizens themselves. This image followed the aesthetic rules and value systems of capitalist and modern Europe at the time, in which priority was given to technological development, urban and urbanistic expansion and the emergence of a socio-economic model dedicated to the world of services, leisure and urban consumption. An article published in *La Veu de Catalunya* in 1914, highlighted the urban-planning reform that the city was undergoing, which reproduced the model of large metropolises such as London, Cologne, Paris, Berlin or Dresden ⁶. Thus, the image and urban model promoted by the Barcelona elites had a dual character or role: on the one hand, it sought to highlight a *particular* collective identity, and on the other the identification and ascription to a *global* and fashionable narrative that needed to ensure the attraction of foreign consumers. Through heritage the aim was to *evoke, create and represent* a discourse on identity. Thus, and according to Prats (2006), one can observe how heritage activation is shaped as another element in the ideological self-construction of the community, not the expression of it.

The tourist image emitted by the Society focused on aspects related to contemporary life, art, architecture, heritage, commerce and the industrial world. The Society did not create an image *ex novo*; this was an image intrin-

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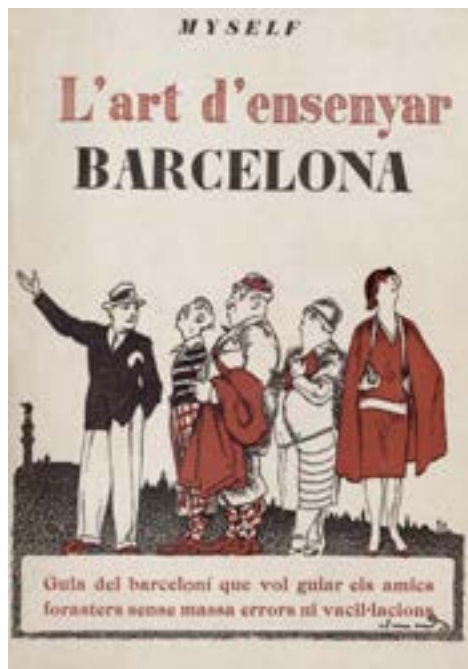
Barcelona Constitutional City Council, n. 894, Governance, File on the creation of a Municipal Commission, called "Attracting Foreigners", 1906. Municipal Administrative Archive of Barcelona.

6

The article "Gross-Barcelona–La gran urbe mediterrànea del porvenir", published in *La Veu de Catalunya* on 1 March, 1914, was reproduced in the magazine *Barcelona Atracció* in March 1914.

sically related to the values of progress of Catalan conservatism, which tried to highlight the positive references associated with modernity. As Roca (2009) points out, a linking of urban, architectural and heritage action and advertising work takes place through the creation of image and story: the idea consists in acting on the built city and on the construction of its image. In this magma of visual narrative and urban and heritage action, the tourist image takes on a significant power and a sense of *reflexivity*: it guides the foreigner, who will seek, in some way, to feel represented by the values of this imaginary, and is oriented to the local, with an interest in inducing new sociocultural and civic guidelines.

Since the end of the 19TH century, the process of monumentalisation that is practised in Barcelona has responded to clearly geopolitical purposes, since these are interventions associated with conferring a new international value on the city. This process is closely linked to the creation of internal cohesion mechanisms (Smith, 2005), necessary in a context of *national definition*. Early on, Modernista (Catalan Art Nouveau) architecture was identified as an emblem of the Barcelona landscape, and it is thanks to the Society that the Sagrada Família was positioned as a tourist icon of the city (García-Espuche, 1995). The new modern and Modernista urban architecture was presented as a symbol of prosperity and quality of life. In its publications, the SAF reviewed the value of works such as Park Güell, Hospital de Sant Pau, Hospital Clínic, the Faculty of Medicine or Model prison, among others. Interior design was also presented as the city's artistic treasure and a resource of tourist interest. It is interesting to note that it was not only the material aspect of these spaces that was highlighted, but also a discourse linked to the civic character of Barcelona's population (it was said, for example, that the bourgeoisie and workers lived in clean, comfortable and beautiful houses and that they all valued their interior life). These types of affirmations make us think that the target audience of the SAF discourse was not only the tourist or the international tourist agent, but also, and above all, the citizens of Barcelona. The



Cover of the guide *L'art d'ensenyar Barcelona*.

image they wanted to sell of Barcelona had to influence the real city, so that what was projected was not so much a reflection of reality as its ideal.

A different way of showing Barcelona, probably without the filter of a sweetened and excessively idealised image, is the one presented in the guide *L'art d'ensenyar Barcelona* [*The art of showing Barcelona*]. A guide to Barcelona that aims to guide foreign friends without too many errors or hesitation · from the author Myself (synonym of Carles Soldevila). Appearing in the 1920s, this guide moved away from the classic tourist publication of the time. It has a story format and offered practical guidance aimed at Barcelona residents, with the desire to teach them how to teach the city. In other words, the guide aimed to educate citizens in the mission of showing off Barcelona, turning them into *amateur cicerones* that had to make the city look good. Myself proposed a stroll through the city's main streets, pointing out essential elements such as the Arc de Triomf or the Sagrada Família, Passeig de Gràcia, La Pedrera, the Eixample, Pedralbes, La Rambla, the Cathedral, Santa Maria del Mar, Barceloneta, Parc de la Ciutadella, La Llotja and Montjuïc.

The SAF wove relationships and complicities with different sectors of Barcelona society,

7 published. Between 1912 and 1936, the SAF published uninterruptedly the magazine *Barcelona Atracció*, a monthly publication that acted as a platform for disseminating the actions of the union and at the same time as a direct promotion of the agents that funded it.

and proof of this is the broad spectrum of collaborators who participated in its publications, including names such as Aureli Capmany, Agustí Duran i Sampere, Josep Maria Folch i Torres, Nicolau Rubió i Tudurí, Carles Rahola, Josep Maria Sert, Joan Estel Rich, Jeroni Martorell, Cèsar Martinell, Pere Bohigas, Lola Anglada and Alexandre Cirici Pellicer (who was especially interested in the formation of a concept of cult tourism formulated from Catalan identity) ⁷. The contribution of these agents directly affected the construction of the imaginary of cultural tourism in Barcelona during the first third of the century (Vidal-Casellas, 2005). However, there was no real collaboration between the city and country's cultural and tourist agents which meant that the promotion of culture and heritage activation by the Society was limited to a purely discursive and symbolic matter. The orientation and tourist adaptation of museums and other cultural facilities was resisted, in part, and above all, due to the fact that the city's tourist-cultural narrative had not yet filtered through. On the contrary, there was another phenomenon (common to many European and American cities), which was attributed a clearly tourist-related opportunity: the organisation of international macro-events.

The Universal Exposition of 1888 had left heavy debts, although its legacy in terms of image and international projection had been savoured and mythologised over the years, especially by the well-to-do classes of Barcelona society. The organisation of a new macro-event was the opportunity to revalidate and renew the *brand image* of Barcelona (Cocola-Ghent, 2010). There are three objectives that are associated with the celebration of international events: urban restructuring and the creation of new patterns of urban consumption; attracting visitors and foreign capital; generating brand and international projection. The International Exposition held in 1929 clearly responded to these purposes and was clearly expressed by one of its promoters, Nicolau Rubió i Tudurí (an engineer linked to SAF bodies, responsible for the landscaping of many urban spaces and the construction

of the hotels in Plaça d'Espanya, and the son of Mariano Rubió, the SAF president), according to whom the true meaning of the Exposition went beyond merely holding it: "We do not make an Exposition, we make a city. I have always refused to consider the Exposition as a rootless entity, the purpose of which lies in itself" (Rubió i Tudurí, 1929, in Cocola-Ghent 2010: 173).

The 1929 Exposition was conceived by its promoters as a clearly urban, political and economic project, states Solà-Morales (1976), according to which the idea of a "Great Barcelona", of a city fit for the strong industrial and economic growth of the Principality, gave it an indisputable capital status in a wider region of influence. The urban transformations that occurred in the context of the Exposition connected, in a circular relationship and with a clear dependency, with the economic growth of the city. Barcelona expanded westward (the free trade port became the new industrial zone); the set of actions practised in the urban body revolved around a new centrality, defined by the geometric point of the Plaça d'Espanya and Montjuïc, converted into the new true epicentre of the Great Barcelona (Solà-Morales, 1976). Numerous monuments and ancient buildings were restored (such as the monuments of Columbus, Güell and Ferrer and the old Customs House); streets in the centre were also restored and improved, such as Pelai, Gran Via and Ronda de la Universitat (Navas, 1995). The new urban scenery seemed to augur a promising tourist future:

"Within a few years, if unexpected setbacks do not arise, the city of Barcelona will have perfectly linked to its character as a great emporium of industry and commerce, the beauty of a recreational, modern, cosmopolitan, elegant and in all its senses, attractive city" ⁸.

The City of Light (Caralt, 2016) was projected both inside and out. Montjuïc mountain holds a symbolic value related to military control and central power that formerly, and for two centuries, had been exercised from its peak. That is why the decision to locate the exposition centre in Montjuïc came to

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The article "La ciudad de Barcelona se transforma y se engrandece" [the city of Barcelona is transformed and enlarged] is included in issue 195 of the magazine *Barcelona Atracción* (September 1927).

symbolically represent the recovery of the mountain for the city. It became a park and garden following the precepts of garden cities linked to the ideas of hygiene, leisure and recreation (Solà-Morales, 1976), although this meant the destruction of popular spaces linked to tradition and Barcelona society.

In the old part of the city a project was carried out that would have a great significance in binomial tourism and city: the creation of a Neo-Gothic neighbourhood. The idea was put forward as an option for uniting the administrative and political functions in the heart of the city, and to give impetus to the new economic and tourist functions that were envisaged for Barcelona (Navas, 1995). The Gothic operation had in its genesis a symbolic dimension understood as a value of change, suggests Cocola-Ghent (2010), according to which the creation of the old part of the city in the medieval style, and the construction of the Poble Espanyol on Montjuïc, became a great aesthetic operation whose purpose was to transform Barcelona into a seductive space for visitors. According to Cocola-Ghent (2010), the creation of historical density and "planning of the past" emphasizes the paradox that history can always be reviewed or exhibited in different ways depending on what certain power groups decide – or even directly invent. The creation of a Gothic-style neighbourhood in the centre of the city would eventually create an urban landscape with a marked temporal stratification, in which the traces of a supposed medieval past would evoke a very specific vision of the history of Barcelona.

In the 1930s, Barcelona projected an international image that was cosmopolitan and modern. Montjuïc and Plaça d'Espanya were now a central component of tourist and urban imagery; the Eixample, the underworld of the Barri Xino, the beaches of Barceloneta, the axis of Passeig de Gràcia, the Gothic quarter under construction and the Ciutadella were the main nodes of an expanding urban destination.

In the days of the Second Republic, the Government of the Generalitat created several

administrative structures and a first and ephemeral policy for the promotion and management of national tourism. Tourist valuation of the natural and cultural heritage and its conservation constituted one of the key precepts in republican ideology. It was assumed that the tourist value of a territory corresponded to its prestige as a nation, and tourism was equated with the avant-garde and modernity. New expectations, possibilities and collaborations between agents and territories ended that fateful July of 1936, at a time when Barcelona was to hold a People's Olympics. Also pending reactivation was the Catalan Tourist Board, one of the most important organisations created by the Republican government (Palou Rubio, 2016). Tourist activity came to a dramatic halt during the Civil War; the emblematic Ritz and Colón hotels in Barcelona were seized by the CNT-FAI and the POUM respectively. Industries, transport, shops, entertainment venues, hotels, restaurants and cafés were collectivized (Miguelsanz Arnalot, 2009). In March 1937 the SAF was absorbed by the Republican Ministry of Economy and would never resume its activity again.

The Spanish Civil War and World War II constituted a crucial turning point in tourist models of issuing and receiving societies. The transformation was drastic and in some aspects, irreversible. During the first decades of the 20th century, important social and political milestones might have been achieved, which, with the entry of Fordism, would be totally undermined and forgotten. Indeed, by the 1920s the first popularisation of tourism had occurred; by the mid 1930s, some European and American countries had already passed laws introducing paid holidays (Pack, 2009), and just before World War II tourism would begin to spread internationally through tourist issuing and receiving territories in the form of flows parallel to those of trade in goods and labour currents (Vallejo Pousadas *et al.*, 2016). From the 1940s, the situation changed completely.

Tourism without culture

In 1945, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognised the right to rest and leisure, and all together led to a marked transformation of the social and cultural values of western societies. The so-called social welfare policies were created and applied, changing the lives of the new European middle class. More free time, a direct consequence of an incessant increase in productivity and the creation of a veritable economic platform, was one of the fundamental conditions and principles that helped to launch so-called mass tourism. According to the World Tourism Organisation, around 25 million international tourist trips took place in 1950, and this figure tripled in just 10 years: a total of 69 million tourists travelled around the world in 1960, and another 10 years later, in 1970, the total figure reached almost 160 million international tourists.

Barcelona was left out of the interests of these new travellers – with a general thirst for sun, beaches and an atmosphere filled with cultural clichés. After the war, some of those who had spearheaded the tourist policies of Barcelona and Catalonia went into exile and others took up new positions in the local administration.

The reconstruction of the areas affected by the war led the Franco government to reinvent monuments aimed at exalting a certain idea of the past, identifying the Iberians, the Reconquest and the Catholic Monarchs as the authentic periods in which the Spanish nation was forged (Cocola-Ghent, 2010). In fact, we are faced with a paradox: that of a country image which looked to the past in the face of a set of cultural practices related to modernity (Afinoguénova, 2010). During the period of Spanish autarky, the foundations were laid for what would be a close correlation between cultural re-heritagisation, political propaganda and tourist development, which would eventually turn tourism into an intentionally political event in Franco's Spain (Pack, 2009).

In Barcelona, the process of constructing the Gothic Quarter initiated in the context



Cover of the magazine *Barcelona Atracción* (July 1929, no. 217).

of the International Exposition of 1929 was resumed, as well as an official narrative aimed at creating a certain positive and hegemonic view of history. According to Cocola-Ghent (2010), the impetus for the revival of these works, although linked to the definitions of Catalan historiography of the beginning of the century, was the need to have a brand image of the city: in these cases, power was once again used in the restoration of style, suggests Cocola-Ghent (2010), showing that when it is necessary to reinterpret monuments, ideological meaning is superimposed on historical truth. In fact, heritage intervention in this context prioritises invention rather than conservation (Afinoguénova, 2010). Medieval history was exalted without linking it to approaches that were vindictive or associated with political Catalanism (Fabre, 2016). In fact, the strategy consisted in selecting some heritage aspects from the past with the idea of generating a city atmosphere, leading to an idea of unity and territorial cohesion, and, of course, denying the diversity of identities (Afinoguénova, 2010).

The collection of historic buildings in the Gothic Quarter, already removed from their political function, would become an important element of the tourist landscape of Francoist Barcelona, which the first tourist guides and albums of the time begin to evoke. *A few days in Barcelona, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. Practical Illustrated*

Guide is an example of this. This is a guide published by Edicions Perrier de Barcelona in the 1940s. Its stated aim was to serve as a practical handbook for any visitors who came to spend a few days in Barcelona, identified as the *Pearl of the Mediterranean* (old tourist slogan from the first third of the century). The guide speaks of geography and history, the economic and intellectual development of the city, its local festivals and of a unique atmosphere that sets it apart from the typical atmosphere of the Spanish novel, of the *patios*, gypsies, capes and *mantillas* of Seville. The Guardia Urbana (city police), *sardana* (traditional ring dance), popular festivals, ceremonies and family customs (such as marriage or funerals), meal times and opening times of the city's shops, or a walk through the busy streets, were some of the values and resources that the city aimed to offer tourists. They were advised to visit iconic landmarks such as La Rambla, the Gothic Quarter, Montjuïc, Tibidabo, Poble Espanyol, Plaça del Rei or the City History Museum, not forgetting the opportunity offered by nightlife. The guide offered a fairly detailed description of bull fights, Spain's national sport, one of the destination's main attractions, it claimed.

The Provincial Tourist Board, created by the Franco government in 1941 to promote tourism in Barcelona, acted as a political body removed from the real interests of citizens and tourism. The magazine *Barcelona Atracció*n was published again between 1945 and 1954, although it strayed from the aesthetics, content and vision the SAF gave it during the first third of the century (Palou Rubio, 2012).

The Vatican provided the regime with the possibility of organising events with an international appeal and, consequently, enabled the restoration of diplomatic relations with the countries of the capitalist world (Fabre, 2016). In that context, and a year before the United States signed a treaty with Spain on military bases and the country opened up, the 35th International Eucharistic Congress was held in Barcelona in 1952. *A priori* no tourist purpose was associated with



Inside of the magazine *Barcelona Atracció*n (July 1929, no. 217) with information regarding the arrival of tourism and the incorporation of new partners into the initiative union.

the event, although the occasion was used to open a municipal tourist information office and to make some urban changes⁹. Work on the Sagrada Família resumed, and this became one of the major settings of the event.

In the summer of 1955, the Mediterranean Games were held, which, although not organised with the primary intention of attracting tourism, became a significant antecedent to the *Porciolista* policy of internationalising and expanding the city through the celebration of macro-events. In 1957, a new political era got under way in Barcelona, led by José María de Porcioles, a character closely linked to Francoist power and the perfect archetypal Francoist mayor required for *desarrollismo* (Genovese, 2005). Barcelona restored an urban development policy that in many ways resembled the projects started at the beginning of the century. Porcioles, who had in fact been a member of Regional League, followed similar yearnings for the Barcelona of the 1960s and 1970s, which he tried to achieve by applying disrespectful methods and showing off a moral and political authority that allowed him to demolish and destroy buildings and heritage references (Genovès, 2005). Between legal gaps and a contempt for the Modernista legacy, and an obsession with everything medieval-looking (the Gothic Quarter, as an icon), the Barcelona landscape was dras-

tically transformed; turning his back on the city and tourism, there were shacks along the coast and on the physical and symbolic *margins* of a metropolitan, industrial and *provincial* city.

An official, positive image circulated through the NO-DO newsreels, which placed emphasis on urban development. One of their *leitmotifs*, explain Huertas and Fabre (1995), was the competitions organised on Montjuïc in tow with the Porciolista currency "Barcelona city of fairs and congresses" and with which an attempt was made to attract new visitors. The professional segment tried to prevail against a non-existent and discredited cultural tourism.

In the 1970s, the instability of the regime and the institutions coincided with a moment of crisis for the Fordist model in the international sphere that affected Spain. The energy crisis early in the decade meant that the predicted moderate growth became almost a utopia. In addition to the problems related to the political and economic situation, Spain's poor image abroad contributed to a drop in tourist demand. At the end of the Franco regime, Spain was boycotted as a destination due, above all, to the executions that took place in September 1975. Spanish tourist offices in various European capitals were even destroyed.

The situation was as gloomy as some urban landscapes, reflecting the country's general decline. With these words Hughes (1993: 31) evokes the Barcelona of that time: "And while the new periphery of Barcelona was immersed in chaos, the Ensache and the old centre of the city started to become a kind of dumping ground. One of the most affected areas was Las Ramblas, whose neoclassical essence disappeared completely behind cheap, flashy signs."

The Congress of Catalan Culture, held in 1978, discussed the state of tourism in Catalonia and Barcelona and the speculative and instrumental character that it had acquired over the previous decades was criticised. During the transition, at least two new capacities

were demanded in Catalonia: the power to decide and design its own policy and the creation of a new framework image associated with the values of the territory (Cals, 1974). Within the framework of the Congress and a progressive social movement, a new awareness emerged about what tourism represented, which was radically opposed to the model that has reigned during Fordism and Francoism. Catalans regarded tourism not only as a fundamental right, but above all, an opportunity to recover a collective consciousness, the affirmation of national identity and the responsibility of the Catalan people over their own territory. Recovering some of the precepts and recalling some of the tourist institutions of the Republican government, tourism at this time was understood to represent a reason for cultural and personal enrichment. It is an ideal.

Barcelona, tourist culture

The post-industrial, Francoist and Fordist city was redefined and oriented toward a new urban model in which the tertiary sector, tourism, leisure and *culture* were placed at the very heart of its landscape and functionality. In the 1980s everything began with difficulties and still without a defined strategy, and the new democratic institutions restarted work on tourism without a shared project. One of the consequences of the political tension between the local administration and the Generalitat was the lack of collaboration and strategy, so the Catalan government tried to promote various tourist promotion initiatives without its capital. In addition to all that, there was no fluent dialogue between the central government and the autonomous regions either, no doubt because, as Miguelsanz Arnalot (2009) points out, the Spanish government did not understand the scope or content of the autonomic process as regards tourism. Thus control over promoting tourism remained in the hands of the central government and the climate of relations between them and the regions remained difficult. Despite the restrictions on promotion, the Generalitat assumed that tourism could become a notable instrument for the *construction* of the country, especially its image and identity. The historical-cul-

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Diagonal opens toward the western end of the city, the little gardens and the fountain on Gran Vía were adapted, there was an acceleration in the restoration of various monuments in the Drassanes district, the Roman wall and that of Santa Madrona, the Virreina, the Palau Major, the old Hospital de la Santa Creu, Plaça Reial, Plaça Castilla, where the old military Hospital had been; in Plaça de Catalunya the Bank of Spain is erected and for the first time some of the city's shanty towns are demolished. The small Muntades aerodrome becomes El Prat Airport (Huertas; Fabre, 1995).

tural personality of Catalonia gives it the character of a nation, and this is a fact that ends up being projected onto all public interventions and other areas of social practice, and which, according to López-Palomeque (2004), explains how since the early days of the autonomous government, the Generalitat has used tourist policy as an instrument to project the idea of a nation abroad. The Generalitat promotes the creation of museums, monuments and institutions, work that according to Prats (1997) has to do with the hegemonic nationalism of the time and with the interest in *constructing* a Catalan identity for the whole country. Thus, according to Prats (1997), culture is used as a way of legitimising a nationalist project. The vindication of this Catalan identity by the Generalitat in almost spiritual or ethnic forms corresponds to a way of doing things that is very typical of the Catalan government, especially during the Pujol era according to Hughes (1993), while Barcelona City Council has a clearly more European and progressive outlook, even more modern.

In Barcelona the pace is different. In the 1980s a new urban paradigm based on regeneration came into being. "Raising the city up" (the metaphor that identifies this action) would result in such important urban reforms as the rebalancing of the outskirts, the end of shantytowns, the opening up of squares and streets in the centre of the city and the application of an initial plan of uses in Ciutat Vella, among others. It is clear that the will of the administration consisted of *recovering* (another of the verbs in use) the city. Some actions were accompanied by controversies and important public debates. Some emblematic properties in Ciutat Vella were demolished, such as one of the houses in which Picasso had lived. In fact, the main objective of the authorities was not to turn Barcelona into an outdoor museum of memories, so much as to clean the space and give it more vitality, new functionality and socio-cultural and economic uses. Morphological reforms were matched with symbolic reforms: a brothel was transformed into a bookshop, cultural spaces, museums and social facilities were created, and so on. In



Cover of the magazine *Barcelona Atracció* (1953), no. 340.

the line of constantly redefining the meaning of history, the medieval past was again used as a continuation of the political message created during the Catalan Renaissance (Cocola-Ghent, 2010). Barcelona gave continuity to the line of modernisation, which in urban terms was expressed in measures in the city's public spaces, without abandoning the empowerment of the Gothic quarter as a reference to a certain idea of the city's past and as a value and commercial resource of the landscape itself.

Preparing the city for the 1992 Olympic Games involved major morphological changes which were associated with a certain idea of a collective urban project. A city concept and value were built and the importance of heritage was incorporated into urban discourse, a process in vogue in recent decades (Alcalde *et al.*, 2012). Although Barcelona's tourist appeal did not immediately follow the Olympic Games (during the second half of the 1990s the city would be affected by a crisis and economic recession), the renewal and tourist boom that took place at the turn of the century was forceful. Thematic years were organised (such as Gaudí Year in 2002), the supply of services and resources was dispersed, the product was diversified and a new urban image was *recreated*. Hernández-Ramírez (2018) maintains that the new functionality of cities as a place of consump-

tion and consumer objects is accompanied by a profound urban and image transformation. In this sense, tourism models the city. The alliance between the private sector (or part of it) and the local authority to promote tourism resulted in a *tourist policy* based on growth and self-complacency.

Since the recovery of democracy, the urban and tourist imagery of Barcelona has focused on a specific content and semiotics, and draws heavily on international imaginaries rather than local ones. This narrative revolves around a particular body of tangible and intangible resources, the most prominent of which is Modernista architecture. Gaudí (work and figure) has become a tourist icon of destination Barcelona, instead of being an experience and backdrop of the urban landscape. The political and civic passion for urban planning in Barcelona comes from the 19TH century (Montaner, 2005), and has now become a key piece of Barcelona's tourist offer and image, as it provides a context, framework or atmosphere (MacCannell, 2005). Both the Modernista references and the new architecture and iconography come together in the generation of a new city image that is represented as modern, cosmopolitan, international and dynamic.

Image creation is always associated with purposes that are more than strictly tourist related, such as the accumulation of economic, political and cultural capital. The objectives of tourism in our times often become the main justification for promoting new monumental and iconic strategies that transform the landscape (symbolic and morphological) of large and medium-sized urban centres (Smith, 2005). Icons, after all, become resources for the competitiveness and international positioning of urban centres; a competition, states Smith (2005), less and less based on resources or on past location or reputation, and increasingly focused on images and symbolic power. In the period between 1888 and 1929 as well as today, the processes of monumentalisation and urbanisation have been closely related to the tourist sale of the city; according to Smith

(2007: 24) "in both eras, tourism and capital city ambitions complement each other". Comparative historical analysis enables us to sustain that urbanism, during these periods, is used as one of the greatest exponents or referents of urban identity that is transmitted through tourist discourses. Tourism, then, acts as an activator (Prats, 1997) and catalyst for certain heritage elements. It is a consumer and at the same time a producer of an image and global narrative of the city. The attributes of the image created and projected evoke a version of the synthesizing and annihilating Barcelona identity, which at the same time appeals to and refers to the values of otherness. It is a rhetoric that was very explicit at the beginning of the century, when the first tourism promotion organisations tried to invent a city image that connected with the interests and *spirit* of potential visitors, rather than with that of their own citizens. In tourist contexts, *culture* is produced by and for the gaze of the other (Michaud, 2003). *Tourist culture* includes all the referents that are attributed to and supposedly define a destination, which is why it is still a partial and ethnocentric interpretation of culture, in the sense that Martí (2003) gives it when this is equated only with what is considered typical of a collectivity defined according to certain criteria, eclipsing other references and cultural frameworks. For the millions of tourists visiting Barcelona each year (more than 30 million, according to official data), it is difficult to define what they *apprehend* as culture, because the variability of subjects and experiences is radically infinite and plural and the term *culture*, too porous to be able to narrow it down. However, the recognition of a series of *own cultural features* can help tourists to form an idea of the *Barcelona culture*, a construct that will be useful for elaborating travel experience, gaze and memory. Tourism is associated with a process of *cultural spectacularisation* within which the local heritage is *touristified* and certain cultural references may not connect or represent, but rather stereotype, local society. The significance that heritage can have for visitors or Barcelona citizens can vary greatly. It should be assumed that the commodification of her-

itage can lead to identity-related problems when excessive banalisation occurs. While heritage is not the identity of a community, it should not be lost from sight that its referents maintain a sacred nature for the group (Prats, 2006).

The tertiarisation of the economy, the orientation of services to the tourist offering, the creation and territorial dispersion of nodes and the centrifugation and congestion of masses in certain places in the city, the *banalisation* of some landscapes or heritage referents, the displacement of population and trade in the neighbourhoods, economic inflation and at the same time precarious employment in some strata of the tourist sectors are tensions associated with the tourism *model* that generate an inevitable social response, organised in neighbourhood networks and expressed in multiple spaces and by many agents. Faced with a dominant hegemonic discourse that for decades has placed tourism as a positive city value, nowadays some voices call into question the benefits that are supposedly derived from it. The fact is that, currently, the tourist has been *diluted* in urban dynamics and tourism has acquired a consubstantial character in the city, as it forms part of its life and with its presence it affects it and *co-defines* it. From an anthropological point of view, Barcelona *has* tourist culture, to the extent that tourism lives in (*of*) the city. Tourism is in the streets, houses, debates, criticisms, interests, politics, economics, heritage, museums, bars, universities, branding and the immeasurable urban everyday life, despite discrepancies or reluctance to face this situation. There is a social confrontation in relation to tourism that advocates, in general terms, the decrease and containment of supply and demand. Almost a decade ago, the local authority started to face up to the problem with the creation and application of tools and measures aimed at managing tourism and the tourist city, although it does not have the ability to control its growth completely, because it also depends, to a large extent, on macro and exogenous factors.

The terms with which we can analyse a destination city such as Barcelona, at present,



Panoramic view of Barcelona from Turó de la Rovira.

SAIDA PALOU.

are those of *hypermobility*, *post-tourism* and *reimage*. In this context, heritage takes on a *glocal* dimension, for although it *belongs* to or represents a community, it is immersed in the dynamics of the international market and this makes it a showcase and object of consumption. The new functions of heritage, which include tourism, demand new management guidelines. The use of heritage as a pedagogical and creative site should overcome models based on the idea of place for identity cohesion or show. Palau Güell has drafted a plan that sets a limit on visitor numbers, the Cerro de la Rovira, on the other hand, acquires a new role as a place of recreation and contemplation while displacing the historical memory and local use. Not far away, access to Park Güell has an economic cost that has resulted in restrictions on access both to tourists and local residents. The Gothic Quarter continues to be somewhere between *false historical* and *false tourist narrative*. La Rambla, under debate and in post-trauma. Some museum and cultural facilities have economic difficulties and/or a lack of visitors. Tourism is a possibility and a controversy for some heritage elements and places in Barcelona, which are immersed in an intense process of *touristification* and of *tourist appropriation*. The tourism-orientation of heritage and the city does not mean, or does not have to mean, that city and heritage succumb to the interests of tourism. ■

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Tourism in sanctuaries: the importance of custody

Preliminary aspects

The main objective of this article is to raise awareness of the importance of different forms of custody in sacred spaces such as sanctuaries in order to ensure a warm welcome for visitors and pilgrims. The article is structured in two parts. The first part consists of a series of generic reflections on the definition of a sanctuary as a sacred space and on the concept of welcome. The second part is a presentation of the study, which aims to outline the different forms of custody that have existed in Catalan sanctuaries, and what their situation is today. Taking this research as a starting point, we will reflect on what welcome means in sanc-

tuaries today, and how this impacts on the visitor experience, particularly with regard to tourism.

The methodology is based on a combination of different research methods. On the one hand, use has been made of the materials and documents prepared by the Secretariat Interdiocesà de Santuaris de Catalunya i Balears in the Pastoral de Turisme i Santuaris de la Conferència Episcopal Tarraconense (many of these unpublished, and held in archives). These contributions are complemented by a range of publications, primarily based on the anthropological perspective, by authors such as Prat (1989), Díez Taboada (1989) and Christian (1976). From the point of view of bibliographical research, it should be noted that while we find some sociological

Paraules clau: santuari, espai sagrat/profà, acolliment, custòdia, turisme religiós.

Palabras clave: santuario, espacio sagrado/profano, acogida, custodia, turismo religioso.

Keywords: sanctuary, sacred/profane space, reception, custody, religious tourism.

Els santuaris es poden considerar com la màxima expressió del que és un espai sagrat on l'acolliment dels visitants és un element clau. Les persones atribueixen diversos valors als santuaris (de culte, culturals, naturals, socials i turístics) i això motiva diferents visites amb necessitats específiques que cal tenir en compte a l'hora de gestionar-los. Molts d'aquests aspectes es concreten a través de la figura del custodi. En aquest estudi es pretén identificar les diferents formes de custòdia als santuaris catalans i com aquestes influeixen en l'acollida dels visitants i en la transmissió dels valors patrimonials, especialment els intangibles.

Los santuarios se pueden considerar como la máxima expresión de lo que es un espacio sagrado donde la acogida de los visitantes es un elemento clave. Las personas atribuyen distintos valores a los santuarios (de culto, culturales, naturales, sociales y turísticos) y este hecho motiva diferentes visitas con necesidades específicas que hay que tener en cuenta a la hora de gestionarlos. Estos aspectos se concretan a través de la figura del custodio. En este estudio se pretende identificar las diferentes formas de custodia en los santuarios catalanes y cómo estas influyen en la acogida de los visitantes y en la transmisión de los valores patrimoniales, especialmente los intangibles.

Sanctuaries may be viewed as the highest expression of sacred spaces where the reception of visitors is a key element. People bestow numerous values (cultural, natural, social and touristic) on sanctuaries, which in turn motivates different types of visits. This has led us to identify specific needs that must be taken into account when managing these spaces and which, in general, become evident through the custodian figure. This study attempts to identify the different forms of custody in Catalan sanctuaries and their influence over the reception of visitors and the transmission of heritage values, namely intangible ones.

and anthropological sources up to the 1990s, from this point onwards, studies focus on other areas related to management, tourist travel, the concept of religious tourism and pilgrimage, among others.

The sanctuaries themselves have also been a source of information (particularly those in the dioceses of Girona and Vic). Fieldwork and non-participatory observation were carried out, visits were made to some sanctuaries and in-depth interviews were conducted with some of those responsible for them. Likewise, there has been participation in some of the meetings organised by the rectors of Sanctuaries in Catalonia and

the Balearic Islands to obtain their opinions. Different sanctuaries in Catalonia were selected for carrying out this fieldwork, most of which are located in rural areas (it is worth mentioning the fact that the Church administrations do not have a published list). Cotrina and Cervera (1986) claim that only 7.23% of sanctuaries and chapels in Catalonia are located in urban environments. Table 1 shows a list of the sanctuaries studied.

What is a sanctuary?

Questions such as spirituality, or the search for the sacred, are universal phenomena of human nature that have generated renewed interest in the contemporary world (Vasconi,

Table 1. List of sanctuaries studied (2019).

Name of sanctuary	Town/city, county, diocese	Research
Sanctuary of the Sagrada Família.	Barcelona (Barcelonès), Barcelona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD del Corredor	Dosrius (Maresme), Barcelona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de Montserrat	Montserrat (Bages), Sant Feliu de Llobregat	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD de Puiggraciós	Ametlla del Vallès (Vallès Oriental), Terrassa	Visit and meeting with the community
Sanctuary of the MD del Vinyet	Sitges (Garraf), Sant Feliu de Llobregat	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD dels Àngels	Sant Martí Vell (Gironès), Girona	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of Santa Afra	Ginestar (Gironès), Girona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD del Collell	Sant Ferriol (La Garrotxa), Girona	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD del Tura	Olot (La Garrotxa), Girona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de la Font de la Salut	Sant Feliu de Pallerols (La Garrotxa), Girona	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD del Mont	Albanyà (Alt Empordà), Girona	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD de la Salut de Terrades	Terrades (Alt Empordà), Girona	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of MD del Vilar	Blanes (La Selva), Girona	Visit
Sanctuary of Rocacorba	Rocacorba (Gironès), Girona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de Bellmunt	Sant Pere de Torelló (Osona), Vic	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de Cabrera	Santa Maria de Corcó (Osona), Vic	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de la Gleva	Farmhouses of Voltregà (Osona), Vic	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD dels Munts	Sant Boi de Lluçanès (Osona), Vic	Visit
Sanctuary of MD de Puigllulla	Sant Julià de Vilatorrada (Osona), Vic	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD del Far	Susqueda (La Selva), Vic	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD del Coll	Osor (La Selva), Girona	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD de Montgrony	Gombrèn (Ripollès), Vic	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of the MD del Claustre	Solsona (Solsonès), Solsona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD Déu del Miracle	Riner (Solsonès), Solsona	Visit and interview
Sanctuary of Santa Maria de Pinós	Pinós (Solsonès), Solsona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de Queralt	Berga (Berguedà), Solsona	Visit
Sanctuary of Sant Ramon Nonat	Sant Ramon (Segarra), Solsona	Visit and meeting with the person in charge
Sant Crist de Balagué	Balagué (Noguera), Solsona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de la Misericòrdia	Reus (Baix Camp), Tarragona	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de Poblet	Vimbodí (Conca de Barberà), Tarragona	Visit and meeting with the person in charge
Sanctuary of the MD de la Fontcalda	Gandesa (Terra Alta), Tortosa	Visit
Sanctuary of the MD de Meritxell	Andorra (Andorra), Urgell	Visit and meeting with the person in charge
Sanctuary of the MD de Núria	Queralbs (Ripollès), Urgell	Visit and interview
Sanctuary de la Roca	Mont-roig (Baix Camp), Tarragona	Visit

2001). This allows us to outline the role that sanctuaries can play in contemporary society. But what is a sanctuary? A sanctuary, first and foremost, is a sacred space. Therefore, in order to define 'sanctuary', we first need to understand what a sacred space is. It is a phenomenon that has been studied from different angles but, ultimately, these perspectives share some common features.

The first theories on the sacred were developed by ethnologists and sociologists. The sociological theory of the sacred has its roots in ethnological research on *mana* and the *totem*, and the principal contributions come from the French school of sociology, represented by Durkheim, Mauss and Hubert. These authors define the sacred as a set of forces that are born of the collective consciousness and that have a decisive role in the structuring of society (Malinowski, 1948; Graburn, 1983; Durkheim, 1993; Lévi-Strauss, 2013).

Phenomenological research attempts to understand the religious through the existential context of *homo religiosus*. From this perspective, religion (and the sacred) is studied by focusing on the human being as an individual, and not as a member of society. The sacred stands in opposition to the profane, as the religious man stands in opposition to the non-religious man. The experience of the sacred is the lived experience of the transcendental and ineffable. Phenomenology tends to place less importance on the historical context of a religion, in order to grasp the essence of that religion. Nathan Söderblom (quoted in Sharpe, 1969) affirms that the concept of the sacred is the most important in religion, a concept more important even than the notion of God. Otto (1965, original 1917 edition) looks at the different forms of religious experience, and concludes that the sacred is an *a priori* category for human beings, and that this allows the spirit to perceive the numinous as an inner revelation, such as the *ganz andere*.

The historical approach to the study of religions suggests a completely different focus based on hermeneutics. Müller is considered one of the founders of the comparative history of religions. According to him, reli-

gion was born of a feeling of dependence, an intuition of divinity that, together with a feeling of weakness and a belief in some form of providence, led man to a quest for oneness with God. The divine is conceptualised as infinite, but not as the product of a religious revelation (Baptist, 2002; Severino Croatto, 2002).

Using a similar methodology, Eliade (1978) proposes a notion of the sacred understood as an absolute reality. His works show the existence of a spiritual unity within humanity. His research attempts to understand the sacred in its entirety, thanks to an integral method that is at the same time historical, phenomenological and hermeneutic. Eliade (1981) uses the term *hierophany* to indicate the revelation of an absolute reality. It is possible to describe the sacred, because it manifests itself in space and time. Although the sacred manifests itself as a reality belonging to an order other than the natural, the sacred never appears in a pure state or as itself, but through something outside of itself, through objects, myths and symbols.

The sanctuary is a sacred place by definition; because it is a hierophany, a manifestation of what is sacred, a revelation of divinity. We can clearly differentiate between the sacred and the profane; between a sacred and a profane space; a sacred and a profane time, for example. For Durkheim (1912), the sacred-profane dichotomy is the basis of religious thought. Sacred and profane represent two different ways of being in the world. In the works of Berger (1999) the sacred is that mysterious and awe-inspiring quality that is external to human beings, yet related to them.

According to Eliade (1981) there are two types of space that are likely to become sacred places. One is those places that for man are imposing and unreachable, where nature reveals its greatness and shows us the immensity of the divine: mountains, caves, jungles and forests, storms, waterfalls, rainbows, the sea, the sun and the moon, the night and the stars, and so on. Often a natural space, with its capacity to evoke the force of the divine, serves as a setting for the construction of temples.

Others are places where, regardless of their physical surroundings a certain theophany or hierophany has led to the construction of a sanctuary. In this case it is a revelation of the divine that has made them sacred (a miracle, an apparition, a healing, etc.). They may also originate from shrines, the tombs of saints, particularly those who were martyrs or hermits, or from other relics, statues or other objects that have a particular sacred significance, such as the splinters from the cross of Christ, the chalice from the last supper, etc.

Essentially, the manifestation of the sacred through symbols allows us to speak of a universal concept that is represented and symbolised in different ways, depending on the religious tradition it falls within.

"It is easier to grasp the sacred than it is to define it. We understand that neither the forbidden, nor the taboo, nor that which is separated from daily life, nor the inviolable, nor the feeling of religious reverence, are the sacred; but nonetheless we feel that they are a part of it." (Daumas, 1997:89)

In this case study, sanctuaries are also invested with these symbolisms and form a complex reality, as is the definition of *sanctuary* itself. In the literal sense, a sanctuary is a "temple in which the image or relic of a deeply venerated saint is worshipped" (Enciclopedia Catalana, n.d.). The 1983 Code of Canon Law extends this concept and also assigns sanctuaries a specific legal status. It defines a sanctuary as "a church or other sacred place often frequented by the faithful for the purpose of worship, with the approval of the ordinary" (Canon 1230).

One of the factors defining the sanctuary is that of frequent attendance by the faithful. Christian (1976) defines a sanctuary as a place where there is an image or relic that is worshipped by many; that is defined once again by the devotion of the faithful, and not by any historical or artistic characteristic inherent in a building or an institution. We could say that its nature is primarily defined by the meaning it holds for the faithful rather than for what it actually is. Rosell (1995) adds that the reason that a place is

a sanctuary lies in that it is somewhere that is frequently visited by tourists as well as by worshippers. The aim of the sanctuary is to provide pilgrims and visitors with what they expect to find there. Christian (1976) refers to localised worship, to a specific geographic frame of reference, but there are authors such as Esteve Secall and González Ruiz (2002) who highlight the universality of sanctuaries, since the essence of such places is their ability to absorb and reflect a multiplicity of religious discourses as sacred spaces.

Sanctuaries, both today and historically, transmit or represent a series of religious, cultural, social, ecological and tourist values, among others. (Aulet and Hakobyan, 2011).

First and foremost, sanctuaries are religious spaces; places of worship and prayer where people can express their devotion. Several custodians of sanctuaries state that liturgical celebrations, especially those that are most prominent on the religious calendar, are deeply felt and attended by large numbers of people. (Fig. 1) (personal communication). Other common religious practices are, or can be, performed in a sanctuary, such as reciting the rosary, the Angelus, novenas, prayers, rogations, spiritual retreats, prayers, songs dedicated to saints, the May devotions to the Virgin Mary or the Sacred Heart, and so on. All these acts end up shaping the sacred physiognomy of the sanctuary (Robles Salgado, 2001; González Cougil, 2005; Rubio *et al.*, 2008).

But sanctuaries are spaces of culture, understood in its broadest sense, and incorporate elements such as art, morality, customs, beliefs, knowledge, etc. (Tylor, 1981). In the European context, Catalonia being no exception, religious heritage forms an important part of the cultural heritage representing the traces of European art and its complex history, as well as peoples' spiritual roots. The heritage infrastructure also includes buildings, artistic objects and monuments, written texts (popular religious songs, legends, the history of the sanctuary and the location itself, books, archives, etc.), oral traditions concerning the sanctuary or chapel, audiovisual materials, films, photographs, videos, tape recordings, plays, popular religious and

liturgical customs, and so on. (Nass *et al.*, 2002; Labadi, 2003; Bech, 2006; Rome, 2010; Montalbán Arenas and Barnosell Jordà, 2014) (Fig. 2).

Sanctuaries are meeting places and, like other kinds of cultural heritage, they are elements of social cohesion that bring a community together. A sanctuary may be erected as a symbol of the identity of a people, a manifestation of human group's collective consciousness, as pointed out by sociological theories and as indicated in some of the interviews conducted. The sanctuary is both a sacred place and a place of ritual. One of the aims of these rituals is to enable the group to express and rediscover its self-defined belonging, either by marking differences between itself and those outside (separation rituals), or by bringing together the diverse and scattered members of the same human group (integration rituals) (Maldonado, 1983).

We must also take into account the fact that the sanctuary is a space of welcome that can fulfil a social function aimed at helping those most in need, and that it also functions as an integrating factor for newcomers by disseminating the culture and traditions of the community itself (Rubio Hernández, 1991; Duch, 1997; Ardèvol Piera *et al.*, 2001; Vila, 2002).

As previously mentioned, sanctuaries are a hierophany that often begins with the natural environment, which means that they frequently have an important ecological aspect (Mallarach, 2008; Mallarach, 2011; Santamaria Campos and Beltran Costa, 2014). The impression of a privileged situation is reinforced by the panoramic view that many sanctuaries offer, and the landscape that surrounds them (Prat, 1989).

Shackley (2001) introduces the concept of 'atmosphere of place', which is clearly related to the idea of a cultural landscape understood as a product of cultural evolution (Mitchell *et al.*, 2009). This term is valid in places where the natural landscape is considered to have spiritual meaning, regardless of whether or not it is complemented by built heritage. They are places where there is a meeting between the physical and the spiritual (Mal-



Blessing the palms on Palm Sunday at the Santuari de la Salut de Sant Feliu de Pallerols (2007). SILVIA AULET

lach, 2008 and 2011), and the proof is that they are profoundly moving for human beings, regardless of their religious beliefs (or lack of any such beliefs) as evidenced by the testimonies of some interviewees. For this reason, many civilizations have constructed their temples and sacred spaces on the sites of pre-existing temples from other historical times, other cultures, or even other religions (Mallarach, 2008).

Finally, as a result of all the above, sanctuaries are tourist sites that attract visitor flows motivated by very different values and interests. Nolan and Nolan (1992), in their study of pilgrimages to the different European sanctuaries, distinguished between tourist sanctuaries and non-tourist sanctuaries. Tourist sanctuaries include places such as the Chartres Cathedral, Mont Saint-Michel, Cologne Cathedral or the principal churches of Rome, places where the proportion of pilgrims in relation to visitors who are interested in art, architecture and history is difficult to determine. On the other hand, non-tourist sanctuaries are those that have few conventional tourist attractions for non-religious tourism, they have no relevant historical or artistic significance.

The distinction between tourists, pilgrims or religious tourists, among others, means that the factors that are taken into consideration in different spaces may vary. Regardless of the terminology used, all sanctuaries, to a

greater or lesser extent, receive visitors and some of those visitors are there for reasons that are not rooted in religion. They visit because they have an interest in culture, as a leisure activity, to have more contact with the natural world, to enjoy a festival, or simply out of curiosity. (Olsen and Timothy, 2006; Aulet, 2012; Raj and Griffin, 2015).

The tourist aspect of sanctuaries is undeniable, and for that reason it is necessary to manage them so that the differing needs – religious, cultural and tourist – are taken into account. And above all, that everyone needs to be met by a welcoming space.

Welcome at sanctuaries

As a sacred space, and as a sanctuary (remember that this is defined as a place to receive pilgrims), a key concept is that of welcome. According to the Rule of St Benedict:

"All outsiders who present themselves must be welcomed as Christ himself would be welcomed, since one day he will say: I was a stranger and you welcomed me. And may all be honoured, especially brothers in faith and pilgrims." (Rule of St Benedict, chapter LIII)

Welcome is a key word. Although today it is more readily linked to the welcome of children and/or immigrants, in its deepest sense it is an act of coexistence and a spiritual attitude (Torrallba, 2015). From the various documents relating to pastoral care at sanctuaries, it is clear that the spirit of welcome needs to be present throughout the sanctuary, and all of the services it provides. Aucourt (1993) understands 'welcome' to mean supporting visitors in their quest for beauty and rest. Thus the act of welcoming is not a simple activity, but is a true form of spirituality (Estradé, 1996).

In order to guarantee a true welcome, it is necessary to bear in mind what visitors to the sanctuary are looking for. This opens up a lot of different perspectives. In interviews with those responsible for sanctuaries, it was found that sanctuaries are visited by a very diverse range of people, mainly from urban areas. It is difficult to gauge the number of people who visit solely for religious reasons because the division between pilgrims, visi-



tors and tourists is a confusing and complicated one. This issue, coupled with the lack of specific studies on the subject, makes it a challenge to improve the experience of visitors and at the same time the transmission of the heritage and spiritual values of the spaces (Nolan and Nolan, 1992; Fleischer, 2000; Collins-Kreiner, 2010; Aulet, 2012).

Sanctuaries are places of silence and spirituality, spaces where people can recover peace of mind and of spirit, as well as feel the presence of the sacred within a complicated, busy life. (Carmichael, 1994; Sharpley, 2009; Mallarach, 2013). Today there is an increasing interest in the search for spirituality, as can be seen from the considerable increase in sales of religious books, the demand for spiritual retreats, and the growing number of courses focusing on self-knowledge, self-realisation, and so on. (Pigem, 1991; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Pigem, 2017).

For believers, sanctuaries offer the chance to make a pilgrimage of faith, and offer the possibility of an encounter with God. Christians visit sanctuaries for different purposes; for confession, for worship, to profess their faith, for liturgical celebrations of the mysteries of Christ or for personal or community prayer (Blackwell, 2007; Leppäkari, 2008; Ambrose, 2015). Today, among the religious motivations for visits made to Catalan sanctuaries, custodians distinguish between a wide range of motivations: cosmologi-

Gathering at the Santuari de la Salut de Sant Feliu de Pallerols. Sardana dances, which are at the same time a form of cultural expression and an element of social cohesion, take place between ceremonies.(2009). SILVIA AULET.

cal (rain, storms, etc.), biological reasons (health), psychological and sociological (peace, security), scatological (anguish about eternal salvation), socio-political (economic problems, family crises), or for evangelising reasons. (Benàssar, 1996; Bestrand Comas, 1996).

Nowadays these motivations are often combined with tourism. Visits might be made for historical or heritage reasons (as we have seen, sanctuaries hold cultural value), due to an interest in folklore (popular customs, traditions, the celebration of events), to have a drink or something to eat (where there is a café or restaurant service), as a holiday or leisure activity, or for reasons connected with the location, with environment or landscape. (Cotrina and Cervera, 1986; Burbridge, 1992; Aulet and Hakobyan, 2011; Battle, 2011).

All these aspects must be taken into account when it comes to welcoming visitors. In the literature on services, a great deal of emphasis is usually placed on the fact that tourism products are intangible, and that very often what determines whether or not the customer returns is how friendly the staff are, which may even be valued more than the building or facility itself (Baum, 2006; Xu, 2010). Even so, when talking about welcoming or hosting, we should differentiate between infrastructure and human resources (the staff and providing a more personalised welcome) (Albayrack *et al.*, 2010).

The welcome infrastructure

Infrastructures form the basis for welcome; they are all those basic elements that make possible, or facilitate, the functioning of a system. Thus, the infrastructure is a fundamental, necessary, or determining factor in subsequent development. (Navarro, 2005). Infrastructure refers to the material aspects of welcome. (Carreras Pera, 1995).

Sanctuaries must be welcoming in themselves, regardless of their history, style, artistic value, simplicity, location or environment, etc. Each one must assert its own originality, personality and function. So it is not necessary for all sanctuaries be equal in terms of the facilities they offer, each needs to adapt to

the reality of its own location. For example, a sanctuary in an area surrounded by nature may have a relaxation and picnic area that would not be possible in an urban sanctuary. The balance between simplicity and a degree of comfort is not easy to achieve (personal communication).

In reference to maintenance, "things run smoothly when the accommodation is in order and the plumbing works, the choice of souvenirs on sale is attractive, there is a space available for those who want to picnic, or a menu on offer that is not too hard on the wallet" (Carreras Pera, 1995).

When speaking of the sanctuary in terms of infrastructure, reference is made to the different spaces that comprise it, starting with the temple itself, which is the sacred space and the reason for its existence. But other aspects, such as the place where people are welcomed and popular services (pastoral space, space for ex-votos), other common services (such as accommodation, a café or a shop) as well as environmental features (gardens, a wooded area, picnic, barbecues) are also included.

The tasks to be carried out by those in charge of sanctuaries include attending to people's needs, which means spending many hours with them; taking care of the maintenance and management of the facilities and services (and in many cases of the financial aspects as well); also looking after the grounds (roads, woods, paths, parking areas), and dealing with the media and communications.

For example, to effectively carry out tasks related with communication and the provision of information, the person in charge needs to have a presence both inside and outside the sanctuary's facilities, and must deal with historical, cultural, artistic and anthropological matters. This is a task that is very clearly related to the transmission of the heritage and spiritual values of the place. Formats can be varied and presented in different languages, and if possible it is good to be able to adapt them based on the public they are aimed at (personal communication). For example, at the Lourdes centre, an international centre of pilgrimage, a



Picnic area for visitors at the Santuari del Far de Susqueda (2013).

SILVIA AULET



View of the façade of the Santuari del Far de Susqueda with the offertory chapel in the foreground (2013). SILVIA AULET

great deal of attention is paid to languages, and ceremonies are held in the same six languages as those used in tourist services (English, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch and French). Most of the documents made available to pilgrims of other cultures or nationalities are translated into their own language, which may be anything from Chinese to Polish (Bondues, 1993; Tavares and Thomas, 2007).

A personal welcome

Sanctuaries are centres of devotion and pilgrimage, which means the faithful visit them, perhaps every day, perhaps on public holidays, perhaps a few days each year. What counts is that the sanctuary has the power of attraction, and that the faithful go there with a special feeling. This is Estradé's (1996) starting point when he says that a particular aspect of every sanctuary is the virtue of welcome. The sanctuary must be particularly welcoming and therefore those in charge of sanctuaries must live the spirituality of welcome.

It is necessary to distinguish between two very different words: *receive* and *welcome*. "Welcoming" has more power and more warmth than "receiving", because it is a personal activity that comes from within. Receiving may not involve any commitment, whereas welcoming always implies an obligation. As has already been mentioned, the act of welcoming is an openness to the

other, who we recognise as having value and rights. This openness represents the gift of oneself in a gesture of sharing, in order to arrive at a unity of heart that will be expressed in a unity in other realms. This opening up cannot be forced, nor resigned, but must be benign and kind, full of zeal and interest. Neither harsh nor mawkish (Parellada, 1997; Batalla, 2002).

For example, as Aucourt (1993) says, it is important that in the celebration of the Eucharist the means are available to make participation possible for all, both tourists and residents, incorporating the tourists' own languages without impeding the participation of the local community, by handing out printed copies of the readings, or providing an introduction time before the service that will enable tourists to be fully involved.

The welcome provided in spaces of artistic or historical value cannot be limited to the provision of detailed historical or artistic information, but should highlight the religious identity and purpose of the place, with attempts being made not to disrupt the conduct of religious services, tourist visits being scheduled in accordance with the requirements of worship (Aulet and Hako-byan, 2011).

Given all that has been said so far, a very important aspect to take into account in the visitor experience is who is in charge of the welcome.

The custodians: who is in charge of the welcome?

The custody of a sanctuary may fall to several people or entities. On occasion, it may fall to an individual person or entity, the church itself being the responsibility of the chaplain or a community that may get help from others, or not, in running the sanctuary's services and facilities. When we speak of custody, we are referring to the responsibility for the management, maintenance and care of the sanctuary on a daily basis. The custodians are the guardians, or those who are in charge of sanctuaries. Based on fieldwork and documentary research, we have an idea of the different forms of custody that currently exist in Catalan sanctuaries, and so can see who is responsible for welcome.

Religious custody

Nowadays, with the exception of a few specific cases such as Montserrat, El Miracle (which is dependent on Montserrat) or Puiggraciós, religious communities have disappeared from many sanctuaries. Religious communities usually live in or near the sanctuary, and take care of it.

However, the most common situation is for the sanctuary to be administered by a priest who acts as the custodian. He is the one who looks after the sanctuary, and performs all the religious tasks connected with it. Most often he oversees other chapels within the parish as well, although in some cases he is only in charge of the sanctuary itself. The legal and pastoral role of the priest who is the custodian may vary, depending on the function of the sanctuary in question within the context of the parish and the diocese. Most frequently, the rector of the sanctuary is also the rector of the parish (he may live in the sanctuary itself or in the parish), or it may be that the sanctuary also functions as the parish, which means that it would also be the same person (in this case, he would usually live in the sanctuary). In other cases, the custodian-priest is different from the rector of the parish (and may or may not live in the sanctuary).

There are some exceptions, such as sanctuaries that are not diocesan property, or that have an essentially civil patronage but, in

general, these four types of custody are the predominant ones, and they imply that there are some juridical and pastoral nuances to study and reflect on in further studies.

In the event that the custodian-priest lives in the sanctuary (this is less and less frequent due to the current lack of priests), there are examples where, in addition to fulfilling their religious obligations, they have organised a small family business to take care of the restaurant, café, souvenir shop, accommodation and other services that the sanctuary in question provides. They often had help from families. Examples of this type of arrangement were the sanctuaries of Els Àngels, La Salut de Terrades, El Far and Montgrony. Very few of these remain (probably only El Santuari del Far), and the responsibility for the management of such services has gradually shifted to companies or organisations, who are taking over (Prat, 1989). This group of sanctuaries usually have specified opening times and offer a range of services, although these are sometimes limited.

As already pointed out by Cotrina and Cervera (1984), the lack of a custodian-priest (as well as tenants and hermits) creates a series of problems with regard to welcome, security, conservation and pastoral questions that need to be taken into account. This issue has become more apparent in recent years.

Lay custody

In addition to religious custodians, there are still some sanctuaries that have hermits, tenants, caretakers or guardians (no specific terminology has been adopted). Very often the fact that the custodian-priest does not live in the sanctuary is compensated by the existence of hermits who do indeed live there. It should be noted that the concept of "hermit" is used here to refer to the person who takes care of a chapel (and not to a someone living in solitude as a religious discipline) a term that can sometimes cause confusion. To be a "hermit", special permission from the bishopric is needed, and the concept is based on the idea of a person who advocates a lifestyle characterised by anonymity, counter-instinctual control and abstaining from excess (Sapena, 2004). In today's sanctuaries, the concept is more

similar to that transmitted by Víctor Català in his book *Solitude*, where he tells us of Mila's experience as a hermit, along with her husband, at the chapel of Sant Pons.

The system of obligations and duties is usually very varied, and ranges from holding the key and periodically arranging cleaning services, to other more complex tasks such as the conservation of buildings or making important operational decisions. In some cases managing restaurant services, accommodation, the sale of souvenirs, etc., is also involved.

Traditionally, "hermits" had a series of rights. The first was to free housing for themselves and their families at the sanctuary. The second was the right to "claim alms" throughout the sanctuary's area of influence in the name of the Virgin Mary. And finally, the right to a percentage of the proceeds from the sale of souvenirs or the possibility of offering a food service, providing meals or snacks. (Prat, 1989). This concept, in the Balearic Islands, coincides with the figure of the "donat" – lay brother or sister.

Nowadays, this formula has evolved into systems where "hermits" are responsible for managing the services offered by the sanctuary, while also helping the custodian-priest. It should also be noted that today it is companies that have taken over running these services. In such cases, the managers appointed by those companies (which are usually small family businesses) do not see themselves as either custodians or "hermits". In that sense, it is interesting to see how the activities and responsibilities of "hermits" have evolved over time.

Other supporting entities

Apart from custody of the sanctuary, and the different people whose responsibility it may be, there may be other entities or institutions that are connected with it that help to keep it running smoothly. These are often ways of integrating laypeople, who play a fundamental role in ensuring aspects such as welcome, prayer, devotion, pastoral care, financial and staff management, the conservation and restoration of historical and artistic heritage, the dissemination of

information about that heritage and the production of information sheets, as well as all sorts of other things, function effectively. (Lladó Calafat, 2002).

These institutions, which Prat (1989) calls support institutions, may have different legal statuses (workers co-operatives, confraternities, companies, charitable foundations or associations) and the priest-custodian, or other priests within the parish or the diocese, may or may not be directly involved. One of the most common is confraternities or brotherhoods (synonymous concepts). These highlight the sense of fraternal association between laypeople and reinforce the idea of social and cultural values previously mentioned. In fact, the reasons why the confraternities participate are diverse according to Mallarino, Jaramillo, Rey (2004). They may do so because they are believers and this is a way of expressing their faith, because it is a family tradition, because their friends and colleagues participate, because it is a part of local culture, out of habit because it is something that has always been done, because they want to recover their symbolic cultural roots, because they feel more free than in the parish, because they are particularly devoted to an image or a sanctuary, because they find a welcoming environment where participation is encouraged, or because it is a means of expressing religious feeling, among many others.

Confraternities are certainly the oldest groups of laypeople linked to sanctuaries, the first dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries with some examples still in existence today. Nowadays they may take charge of the organisation of events such as processions, pilgrimages and gatherings, and in many places, such as Andalusia, they may end up owning the sanctuaries or taking responsibility for them. Today the traditional model of the confraternities has evolved into associations of friends, usually groups of the faithful in which the custodians of the sanctuary (both clergymen and laymen) may be represented. These associations have similar functions to the confraternities although perhaps with a less religious character. Examples are the Association of Friends of Montserrat, the Association of Friends of the Mont

or the Association of Friends of the Mare de Déu del Far.

These days, things may also be arranged through trustees and foundations. The differences are basically of a legal nature, but the approach to the distribution of the tasks and functions corresponding to different custody-related needs, funding and the participation and involvement of different religious and lay agents, both public and private, are very similar. In general, there are few experiences of patronage in sanctuaries, although some examples can be found, as in the case of the Sanctuary of the Virgin of the Mont .

Reflections: the welcome of tourists to sanctuaries today

As we have seen, pilgrims and pilgrimages are concepts that are closely linked to that of the sanctuary. It is necessary to understand the concept of pilgrimage as a dynamic element, one that refers to the man who goes in search of the sacred. Custody of the sanctuary would also be a dynamic element (Parellada, 1997). On the other hand, the concept of sanctuary is a static one. It indicates a sacred space, which is visited and where an experience of a meeting with God takes place (the ineffable, the transcendent, the afterlife, etc.).

As we have seen, the traditional organisational structures of sanctuaries in Catalonia take various forms. The common denominator is that they are usually institutions regulated by custom and, in certain cases, are specific to the religious sphere (Shackley, 2001). Many sacred sites are (rigidly) managed by clerically dominated hierarchical structures that have worked in the same way for many years. These structures are not affected by modern management trends, with a few exceptions where peripheral activities are concerned, that is services such as accommodation, the sale of souvenirs, a bookshop and so on. This means that cooperation is required between different private agents as well as the voluntary sector, and in many cases also with agents from the public sphere. Management objectives are usually focused on pastoral or faith-based objectives, and rarely emphasise heritage

management, except in some cases where restoration work is a priority due to the state of conservation, or where heritage is a key factor in attracting visitors.

The different forms of custody are clearly related to the management objectives. Camarero Izquierdo and Garrido Samaniego (2004) speak of different management approaches (in this case to heritage). In general, they consider that public management has a social objective, as it is aimed at prioritising social benefits over economic benefits. Satisfaction of the residents also falls within these social objectives. The concept of net social benefit implies achieving maximum development with minimum social and environmental damage (Martinell, 1999; Alba Pagan, 2014). Some authors consider that religious institutions, although privately owned, share these same objectives.

Another type of management, typical of the private sector, is management based on market demand, where the aim is to maximise economic profit. This consists in identifying the needs of the visitors, and fulfilling them. When applied to sanctuaries this approach may present problems, above all when social values, and the value of welcome, are lost.

In the case of sanctuaries, the management approach includes taking into account both parameters, and understanding that the sanctuary's custodial and safekeeping mission is fundamental, but without neglecting the need to attract visitors.

Managing the diversity of visitors that we can find at sanctuaries, regardless of the volume, entails significant challenges. It is necessary to strike a balance between the need to preserve the site and the need to offer visitors a special experience. The exercise of worship must be facilitated, and the authenticity of the sites must be respected (Graburn, 1983; Blackwell, 2007; Shackley, 2001, 2002, 2006).

Often the difficulties stem from the need to balance the requirements of visitors with the characteristics of the place visited. Tourism provides income for paying salaries and maintaining churches but the price of unlimited and uncontrolled access

is the erosion of non-renewable resources (Aulet and Vidal-Casellas, 2012). Visitors often complain that overcrowding prevents them from having a spiritual experience. The faithful complain about the lack of respect and silence. So it is necessary to look for management guidelines that are suited to all the needs. The coexistence of tourists and the faithful will always be a difficult issue to resolve (Shackley, 2001).

We must be very careful with what some authors call commodification, and ensure that the excessive commercialisation of products linked to sacred places (legends, particular features, religious practices) does not result in them becoming meaningless and banal. And in terms of the concept of custody and those who develop it, it is essential to take this into account. (Cohen, 1988; Shackley, 2006; Blackwell, 2007). ■

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The CICATUR model applied to the cultural heritage of the CPIS (the Portuguese Camino de Santiago)¹

Tourist-pilgrim on the CPIS crossing Rio Corgo in Vilarinho de Samardã. Source: Xerardo Pereiro, January 2016.

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Paraules clau: CICATUR; patrimoni cultural, ruta turisticocultural, atracció turística, Interior portuguès Camí de Santiago (CPIS).

Palabras clave: CICATUR, patrimonio cultural, ruta turisticocultural, atractivo turístico, Camino Portugués Interior de Santiago (CPIS).

Keywords: CICATUR, cultural heritage, tourist-cultural route, tourist attraction, Portuguese Way Inside of Santiago de Compostela.

Introduction: They want to make everything cultural heritage now

Cultural heritage is a metacultural phenomenon, a public representation of identity (Prats, 1997; Peralta and Anico, 2006). Rather than alluding to the past it is an exercise in giving meaning to the present that implicates different agents in the process of creating significance and understanding who we are and who we want to be (Ballart and Juan, 2001; Ballart, 2002; Hernández i Martí *et al.*, 2005; Smith, 2006: 1; Silva, 2014). Heritage experiences are complex and are motivated by identity, leisure, tourism, etc. These experiences steer us toward considering cultural heritage not as a thing or an object, but rather as a social and cultural process during which acts of remembrance, selection and forgetting take place.

Cultural heritage has no inherent or innate value other than that attributed to it by society (cf. Smith, 2006: 2), which implies a more critical, open re-evaluation of how it is managed, preserved and conserved (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2001). Identifying cultural and natural elements as heritage and attributing value and meaning to them is a practice subject to debate, and to political and economic aspirations. Cultural heritage can unite or divide, create agreement

or controversy. It is like a flame that can be used to cook a delicious meal or to start a wildfire. Such an analysis must acknowledge its multidimensional nature: identification, classification, appreciation, management, interpretation, presentation, visitation and conservation are essential words when it comes to building the meaning of a heritage landmark.

And in contrast to the authorised heritage discourse of the heritage concept put forward by Laurajane Smith (2006: 4), which is dominant, specialised, aesthetic, national and monumental. Authoritative heritage discourse is based on the great national and class narratives, on technical knowledge and in aesthetic judgement (Smith, 2006: 9). But there are numerous social discourses and practices that challenge and oppose this dominant viewpoint, and redefine cultural heritage as a set of values and meanings that make it a social heritage in their cultural practices. These diverse heritage discourses include the local, regional, transnational and personal (e.g. women, ethnic minority groups, indigenous and peasant communities, working class, etc.), voices which are often alienated and absent from the dominant discourses on cultural heritage.

According to Laurajane Smith (2006: 11) there are two types of heritage practices: (a) management and conservation of heritage sites and objects; (b) management of cul-

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Aquest article pretén reflexionar sobre la relació entre el patrimoni cultural i el turisme a partir d'un estudi de cas com la patrimonialització d'una nova ruta de peregrinació turisticocultural a Santiago de Compostel·la, com ara l'interior del Camí Portuguès de Santiago de Compostel·la (CPIS) - Viseu, Castro Daire, Lamego, Régua, Santa Marta de Penaguião, Vila Real, Vila Pouca de Aguiar, Chaves, Ourense, Santiago de Compostel·la. Aquest estudi de cas, al qual hem aplicat el model d'anàlisi CICALTUR, ens permetrà il·lustrar alguns dels problemes de la selecció patrimonial en el seu valor turístic.

Este artículo tiene como objetivo reflexionar sobre la relación entre patrimonio cultural y turismo a partir de un caso de estudio como es la patrimonialización de una nueva ruta turisticocultural de peregrinación a Santiago de Compostela, como es el Camino Portugués Interior de Santiago de Compostela (CPIS) – Viseu, Castro Daire, Lamego, Régua, Santa Marta de Penaguião, Vila Real, Vila Pouca de Aguiar, Chaves, Ourense, Santiago de Compostela. Este caso de estudio, al cual hemos aplicado el modelo de análisis CICALTUR, nos permitirá ilustrar algunos de los problemas de la selección patrimonial en su puesta en valor turística.

This article aims to reflect the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism about the case study of the patrimonialization of a new tourist-cultural route of pilgrimage, as the Portuguese Way Inside of Santiago de Compostela (CPIS) - Viseu, Castro Daire, Lamego, Régua, Santa Marta de Penaguião, Vila Real, Vila Pouca de Aguiar, Chaves, Ourense, Santiago de Compostela. This case study, to which we have applied the CICALTUR analysis model, will allow us to illustrate some of the problems of heritage selection in its promotion of tourism value.

tural heritage tourism. Here we refer to the latter, beginning by stating the existence of a long-standing critical opinion of cultural heritage managers towards tourism, particularly mass tourism (cf. Pereiro and Fernandes, 2018). The focus of this critique is the idea that cultural heritage has been reduced to entertainment, consumerism and entertainment, the “Disneyfication” of tourism marketing and the interpretation of cultural heritage, while its educational role has been neglected (Smith, 2006: 33).

Beyond these critiques, cultural heritage has embraced tourism but not without evident tension and negotiation (Poria and Ashworth, 2009). These days the new functions, meanings and users of cultural heritage are also being addressed by tourism. And this could be a platform to present alternatives, divergences and dissonances rather than the dominant discourse of heritage. Tourism can also be used to stimulate debate on cultural diversity: community, gender, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and inequality.

Cultural heritage has been transformed from a national emblem of identity to a marketing tool for tourism that earns profits for businesses and communities (Richards, 2004). It has become a business card, a magnet for tourists and a mechanism for debate on the future of societies. Tourism uses cultural heritage to convert localities and territories into tourist destinations, and cultural heritage also uses tourism for self-legitimation and social and economic gain. But not all cultural heritage is beneficial to tourism, as we will see in our case study analysis.

The structure of the text is as follows: first, we briefly contextualise the CPIS, before explaining CICATUR’s case study methodology. Then we present the CICATUR model applied to the CPIS, and finally, our conclusions and final notes reflect on the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism, based on our analyses.

The Portuguese Way of St James

The Portuguese Way of St James (CPIS) is a pilgrimage route of medieval origin (cf. Cunha, 2005) which runs through the Portuguese municipalities of Viseu, Castro Daire, Lamego, Peso da Régua, Santa Marta de Penaguião, Vila Real, Vila Pouca de Aguiar and Chaves (cf. Tranoy, 1981; Portomeñe, 2007; Brochado de Almeida, C. A. and Brochado de Almeida, P. M. 2011; Almeida Fernandes, 2018), before crossing the Portuguese-Galician border at Verín and continuing on to Ourense and Santiago de Compostela along the Silver Route (Vía de la Plata or Mozarabic Way), "which starts in Seville, [...] following an ancient Roman route, later used by the Arabs" (Adrião, 2011: 10). Its total length is

Route of the Portuguese Way of St James to Santiago de Compostela.

USED WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE ASSOCIAÇÃO DE AMIGOS DO CAMINHO DE SANTIAGO DE VIANA. See <http://www.caminhosantiagooviana.pt/>



387 kilometres, 205 of which are in Portugal (Pereiro, 2017: 415). The CPIS crosses 108 parishes and is one of the five Portuguese pilgrimage routes to Santiago currently proposed by the Portuguese Ministry of Culture for listing as UNESCO World Heritage (Pereiro, 2017). This historical pilgrimage route, which is being recovered and revitalised by local municipalities, also crosses the "Alto Douro Vinhateiro", another cultural heritage asset and a UNESCO World Heritage Site in the organically evolved landscape category. This internationally recognised heritage asset is complemented by an ensemble of heritage elements recognised as cultural heritage by Portuguese heritage law, which are analysed later in our text. It features numerous examples of Jacobean cultural heritage, i.e., dedicated to the cult of St James, patron saint of Portugal before the creation of the Kingdom of Portugal in the Middle Ages, whose cult remains a prominent feature of the tangible and intangible culture of Portugal, particularly in the north of Portugal, as described by Arlindo Cunha de Magalhães (2005).

One of the idiosyncrasies of the CPIS is the fact that it is a two-way pilgrimage route, heading north toward Santiago de Compostela, marked by a yellow arrow, and southbound towards Fatima, marked by a blue arrow. The municipalities that manage this pilgrimage route represent eleven official stages in Portuguese territory for tourist-pilgrims (cf. Pereiro, 2017), each stage covering between 25 and 30 kilometres, equipped

with public hostels and services provided with the collaboration of local social agents such as volunteer firefighters.

CPIS hostels are converted from buildings such as former primary schools - abandoned because there are so few children in these low-density and largely unoccupied territories with a very elderly population. Examples of these are the hostels in Almagem, Ribolhos, Bertelo, and Parada de Aguiar (*Descrição Etnográfica do CPIS*, Xerardo Pereiro, unpublished). But in addition to the hostels, the route offers a variety of accommodation and catering options such as hotels, inns and local accommodation, identified with their basic services on our WEBSIG².

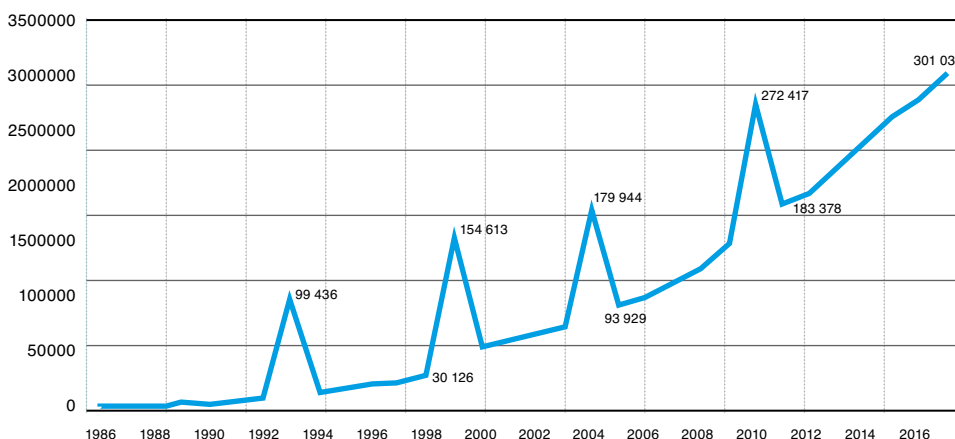
To better understand the revitalisation and heritagisation of the CPIS, these phenomena should be set in the Jacobean context of pilgrimages to Santiago which, as the graph shows (Figure 1) have grown exponentially since the mid-1980s, closely linked to the celebration of the Jacobean Holy Years (when 25 July falls on a Sunday). In 1986, around 2,491 pilgrims arrived in Santiago, a number that had risen to 277,854 by 2016 and reached 301,036 in 2017.

However, the Jacobean phenomenon of the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela has now become a global phenomenon, creating a global cultural and tourist route that involves processes of osmosis and imitation almost everywhere (cf. Pereiro, 2019).

2

http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/Default.aspx

Figure 1



Evolution of the number of pilgrims arriving in Santiago de Compostela between 1986 and 2017. PILGRIM'S OFFICE OF THE CABILDO OF THE CATHEDRAL OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas/>

These days, rather than the Camino de Santiago, we would have to say Caminos, because multiplication and diversity has led to the emergence of numerous Ways, the most popular of which are highlighted in figures 2 and 3. This is what anthropologist Peter Margry (2008) calls "caminoisation".

Based on this data (fig. 2 and 3), and also our own comparisons and comparative observation of different ways, we observe that half of these pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela travel the so-called French Way, although

from a critical anthropological perspective we would say that they are more biographical and personal than structural (cf. Prat, 2011; Pereiro, 2019). Based on our fieldwork in the CPIS and the scientific literature we can confirm that these reasons have fluctuated from a historical standpoint, and that these days they are diverse and integrated. First, there are general reasons: religious, cultural, sightseeing and spiritual. Then there are biographical-social reasons such as sociability, sports, social therapy after break-ups, encounters with nature and cultural diver-

Figure 2

Route	No. of pilgrims	%
French Way	180,738	60.04 %
Portuguese Way	59,235	19.68 %
North Way	17,836	5.92 %
Primitive Way	13,684	4.55 %
English Way	11,321	3.76 %
Via de la Plata	9,138	3.04 %
Portuguese way of the Coast	6,630 +581+116	2.43 %
Muxia-Fisterra Way	665	0.22 %
Winter Way	526+29	0.18 %
Other routes	537	0.17 %
The Portuguese Way of St James	338	0.11 %

Figure 3

Route	No. of pilgrims	%
French Way	186,199	56.88 %
Portuguese Way	67,822	20.72 %
North Way	19,040	5.82 %
Primitive Way	15,038	4.59 %
English Way	14,150	4.32 %
Via de la Plata	13,841	4.23 %
Portuguese way of the Coast	9,127	2.79 %
Muxia-Fisterra Way	1,131	0.35 %
Winter Way	703	0.21 %
Other routes	326	0.10 %
The Portuguese Way of St James	308	0.09 %

Figure 2

Distribution of pilgrims along the different Caminos de Santiago in 2017. BY THE AUTHORS, BASED ON <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas/>

Figure 3

Distribution of pilgrims along the different Caminos de Santiago in 2018. BY THE AUTHORS, BASED ON <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas/>

while their number increases, its proportion in relation to the other "ways" is gradually decreasing; in other words more and more pilgrims are choosing the other routes to Santiago, many of them motivated by their experiences of other ways (cf. Pereiro, 2019). Demand for the CPIS is still extremely low among pilgrims, because it is still largely unknown and barely publicised, although it is noteworthy that many of the pilgrims who travel to Santiago do not collect the "Compostela" at the Pilgrim's Reception Office run by the Cathedral church of the Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela, so they are not registered as pilgrims in the official statistics.

There are numerous reasons for making the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and

finding oneself, and also to bring some order to the pilgrims' lives (cf. Pereiro, 2019).

The cicatur methodology applied to the analysis of cultural heritage

The methodology used in this research was anthropological field work in a triangular multi-method articulation with documentary analysis and interviews with pilgrims, walkers, tourism officials, politicians, entrepreneurs and other social agents around the CPIS. The research began in September 2015 and was supported by national and European research funding. During the fieldwork stage we carried out an exercise in auto-anthropology by walking several stages along the Portuguese Way of the CPIS and the Via de la Plata from Verín. While

walking, we captured ethnography on the move, making an audiovisual record of the route, identifying and analysing elements such as signage, and talking to hostel workers, hotel managers, restaurateurs, tourism officials, pilgrims and local people (cf. Ingold and Vergunst, 2008).

This exploratory research gave us a qualitative and quali-quantitative understanding of the revitalisation of this pilgrimage route and the relationship between tourism and pilgrimage as a general problem (cf. Phillmore and Goodson, 2004; Gutierrez Brito, 2006, Ateljevitch, 2007; Richards and Munsters, 2010). Therefore, a fundamental element was the confrontation between auto-anthropology and the anthropology of others. But here, we focus on the application of the CICATUR model to the analysis of the cultural heritage of the CPIS and its potential relationship with tourism. The CICATUR model is a methodology for classifying and characterising cultural heritage in order to analyse its potential (Varisco *et al.*: 2014) to be included or excluded from the tourist offer of a destination. The CICATUR methodology has been promoted by the Inter-American Tourism Training Center (CICATUR) and the Organization of American States (OAS) since 1973, with the objective of linking cultural heritage with tourism and development. As we will see, the CICATUR methodology is a type of exploratory and descriptive research, which we have adapted to the territory in question and also to Portuguese cultural heritage legislation.

The techniques associated with this methodology consist of preparing inventory sheets of each cultural heritage asset of a tourist destination to assess the value and importance of cultural heritage in relation to tourism and its power of attraction, for example in the construction of a heritage tourism route. To assess the potential attractiveness of a heritage asset, its characteristics and possible interest among potential tourists are considered.

The CICATUR model applied to the analysis of the CPIS was carried out in three phases:

- 1) Identification, inventory and cataloguing heritage assets classified in the territory crossed by the CPIS, based on the information provided by the Portuguese State in the SIPA database (cf. Direção Geral do Património Cultural).
- 2) Definition of types of classified cultural heritage (e.g. civil, military, religious, archaeological, vernacular) and assessment of their attractiveness to tourists based on five categories and several types and subtypes. The result of this step was the creation of a CPIS heritage spreadsheet.
- 3) The third phase of the application of the model consisted of the hierarchisation of the heritage elements of the CPIS according to their potential attractiveness to tourists defined by the researchers in combination with the field work on the route itself.

For the first phase of the CICATUR model, we applied the following classification sheet to each cultural heritage asset on the CPIS, shown in figure 4.

This sheet (fig. 4) enabled us to analyse the situation of each classified heritage asset and its current or potential relationship to tourism, something explored in more detail in the section on the analysis of the model applied to the CPIS below. Although not dealt with in depth in this text, other factors such as accommodation and catering can be including when preparing inventory sheets (Almeida, 2006: 90), essential elements of the offer for tourists and the pilgrimage experience.

When applying the model in the second application phase we used the following CICATUR sheet, which has five different categories, as shown in figure 5.

Category 1 (natural sites) considers the landscape importance of the asset. Category 2

(museums and historical-cultural events) identifies historical sites of importance and the relevance attributed to them by social actors. Category 3 (folklore and traditional culture) addresses the traditional cultural diversity of a territory. Category 4 (contemporary technical achievements) focuses on mining, industrial, technical and scientific heritage. Category 5 (scheduled events) defines organised events and activities, for locals, visitors or both.

Based on this sheet, the cultural heritage of a territory or a tourist-cultural route can

be analysed, in this case, not only from the researcher's observations and interpretation, but also incorporating voices and perspectives of the social agents of the heritage. We do not look upon this sheet as the destination, rather as a starting point that allows us to identify existing cultural heritage assets and to analyse their social processes of construction, classification and appreciation.

Lastly, for the third phase of the CICATUR model, i.e. the tourism potential of the CPIS heritage assets, we applied the following analysis and hierarchisation sheet (figure 6).

Figure 4

Identification of the cultural asset - tourist attraction			
Location	District	Municipality	Rural
Coordinates	Type and subtype		
Property Type	Private	Public	Mixed / other
Level of tourist exploitation of the attraction	Potential		
	Active		
Basic services	Drinking water		
	Electricity		
	Other		
Secondary services	Phone/mobile phone		
	Internet		
	Other		
Access roads			
Avinguda	Carrer	Plaça	Other
Sing-posting	Yes		No
Means of access	Public	Bus	
		Taxi	
		Train/metro	
		Other	
	Private	Car	
		Bicycle	
		Other	
Distance (kilometres)	From the municipal headquarters		
	From the municipal capital		
Time (minutes)	From the municipal headquarters		
	From the municipal capital		
State of conservation	With intervention		
	Without intervention		
	Deteriorated		
Open to the public? (visits)			
Period of opening to the public	Spring		
	Summer		
	Autumn		
	Winter		
	All year round		
	The weekend		
Schedule	Morning/afternoon		
	All day		
	Which?		
Free or paid entry?			
Dissemination	Yes		
	No		
	Local		
	Regional		
	National		
	International		
Demand for asset or attraction (%) / no. of visitors			
Origin of visitors	Local		
	Regional		
	National		
	International		
Evaluation of heritage cultural assets as potential tourist attractions			
Hierarchy 3	Hierarchy 2	Hierarchy 1	Hierarchy 0

CICATUR file for cataloguing cultural heritage. CICATUR MODEL
ADAPTED FROM <https://www.mincetur.gob.pe/wp-content/uploads/documentos/turismo/consultorias/directoriosManuales/Manual-Formulacion-InventarioRecursosTuristicos-NivelNacional.pdf>

Figure 5

Categories	Type	Subtype	Categories	Type	Subtype
1. Natural places	Mountains	Mountain ranges	3. Folklore – traditional culture	Religious manifestations and popular beliefs	Religious manifestations
		Mountain ranges			Popular beliefs
		Volcanoes		Fairs and markets	
		Valleys and gorges		Music and dances	
		Plateaus		Crafts and arts	Ceramics
		Snowy areas/glaciers			Fabrics and clothing
		(...).			Metals
	Plains	Plains			Leather and skins
		Deserts			Wood
		Salt Flats		Stone	
		Highlands		Straw fabrics	
	(...).	Musical instruments			
	Valleys	Coasts		Beaches	Masks
				Cliffs	Objects of rituals
				Islets	Painting
Dunes			Imaginary		
Bays			Other		
Salt Flats			Typical dishes and drinks		
Rocks			Ethnic groups		
Hot springs			Popular and spontaneous architecture		
Other			4. Contemporary scientific or artistic technical achievements	Mining explorations	
Lakes, lagoons and estuaries				Agricultural explorations	
	Industrial explorations				
Rivers	Works of art and technique	Painting			
Waterfalls		Sculpture			
2. Historical-cultural manifestations	Museums	Ethnographic	Handicrafts		
		Archaeological	Industrial design		
		History	Architecture		
		Natural sciences	Urban achievements		
		Technology	Engineering works		
		Artistic	Scientific centres	Zoological	
	Works of art and technique	Painting		Botanical	
		Sculpture	Planetary		
		Decorative arts	Artistic	Music	
		Architecture		Theatre	
Urban achievements	Events	Film festivals			
Engineering works		(...).			
Historical / archaeological sites and ruins	Places and landmarks	Historical/National Monuments	Conventions		
		Archaeological remains	Festivals		
		Archaeological remains	Congresses		
5. Scheduled events	Festivals	Religious festivals			
		Carnivals			
		(...).			
Other	Other	(...).			

Figure 6

Varies	Factor	Score	
Quality	Exceptionality / potential attraction	10	
	Exploration of attraction	Active	5
		No	0
	State of conservation	With intervention	5
		Without intervention	0
	Environment/protected area	Yes	5
No		0	
Property	It is possible to access it	5	
	It is not possible/private	0	
30			
Support	Accessibility/transport	Distance	10
		Time	10
	Services		5
60	Association with other attractions	5	
Diffusion/meaning	Local	0	
	Regional	5	
	National	10	
	International	15	
	Demand for the asset	All year round	10
1/2 seasons of the year		0	
100			
Total		100 %	

Application of the cicatur model to the CPIS

Portuguese cultural heritage is legally classified based on Law No 107/2001³, cultural heritage can be classified into three types (immovable, movable and intangible assets), and into three categories according to a hierarchy of importance, relevance and territorial recognition:

- Assets of national interest: immovable national monuments (monuments, ensembles and sites), movable national treasures, cultural world heritage.
- Assets of public interest.
- Assets of municipal interest.

The CPIS runs through some 108 parishes that contain 122 cultural heritage assets classified according to level of interest, considering the above description, which are classified as follows (fig. 7).

Eleven heritage assets are in the process of being classified and have not been assigned to a category. The following is a description of the cultural properties classified by type and municipality.

According to Portuguese cultural heritage law, the above three categories (assets of national, public and municipal interest) can be subdivided into different types: immovable assets (monuments, ensembles and sites), movable and intangible (ethnographic and ethnological). The assets of national interest category is the most widely recognised nationally and includes the immovable national monuments, movable national treasures and UNESCO World Heritage in Portugal.

As already mentioned, the CPIS runs through 108 parishes which contain 122 classified cultural heritage assets. The CPIS runs through eight municipalities. Viseu, Lamego, Vila Real and Chaves have the most classified cultural assets and are also the most densely populated municipalities. Viseu has 30 classified assets, Lamego 21 and Vila Real 23, while Chaves has 15 (fig. 8). The city of

Figure 7

Assets of national interest	24
Assets of public interest.	80
Assets of municipal interest.	13

Evaluation of the tourist potential of the classified heritage assets of the CPIS according to the CICATUR model. AUTHOR'S COMPILATION

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<http://www.patrimoniocultural.pt/pt/patrimonio/legislacao-sobre-patrimoni/>

Cultural assets classified in the CPIS by categories according to Law 107/2001. BY THE AUTHORS, BASED ON http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/Default.aspx

Figure 8

District	Municipality	Classification										Total	
		Assets of national interest		Assets of public interest				Assets of municipal interest					
		MN	IIP	MIP	SIP	CIP	MIM	IIM	CIM	SIM	EVC		
Vila Real	Chaves	6	8									1	15
Vila Real	Vila Pouca de Aguiar	2	4	3					2				11
Vila Real	Vila Real	4	11						4			4	23
Vila Real	Santa Marta de Penaguião	4	1										5
Vila Real	Peso da Régua	1	1	1					1			3	7
Viseu	Lamego	4	12	2		1			1			1	21
Viseu	Castro Daire	1	8						1				10
Viseu	Viseu	6	14	4				1	2	1		2	30
TOTAL		24	62	11	0	1	1	11	1	0	11	122	

MN: National Monument; IIP: Public Interest Property; MIP: Monument of Public Interest; SIP: Public Interest Site; IIM: Municipal Interest Property; MIM: Monument of Municipal Interest; CIP: Ensemble of Public Interest; CIM: Ensemble of Municipal Interest; SIM: Site of Municipal Interest; EVC: In the process of being classified.

Peso da Régua and the towns of Santa Marta de Penaguião and Vila Pouca de Aguiar have fewer classified heritage assets.

The two predominant classification types are National Monuments and Public Interest Property. There are 24 heritage assets classified as National Monuments and 62 as Public Interest Property. As for heritage assets of municipal interest, these are scarce in the CPIS territory.

According to our CPIS cultural heritage database⁴, there are 507 unprotected and unclassified cultural heritage elements, and nine points of landscape and natural interest on the route, which shows how heritage selection is always a funnel and a version of culture and nature.

Another important aspect for our research is the link between classified cultural heritage and the Jacobean heritage of the CPIS, that is, the relationship between heritage and the cults of Saint James. Throughout the CPIS there are 17 Jacobean tangible assets linked to the cult to Saint James. These consist of religious heritage like churches and chapels, whose patron is Saint James. The church of Santiago de Mondrões in Vila Real is the only one which has been classified and recognised, in this case as a Public

Interest Property. We will not analyse here the intangible Jacobean cultural assets we found and gathered along the CPIS (e.g. sayings, prayers, poetry, liturgy, legends, oral narratives, festivals, rituals, etc.), but we would still remark upon the materialistic and objectifying domain of cultural heritage classification in the CPIS territory.

In addition to the classifications guided by Law 107/2001 on Portuguese cultural heritage, we have divided the CPIS cultural assets into five other types according to their function, content and referential meaning: a) religious cultural assets; b) military cultural assets; c) civil cultural assets; d) archaeological cultural assets; e) vernacular cultural assets. In figure 9 below we break down this division, with its corresponding municipal distribution.

As shown in figure 9, the types of civil cultural heritage (houses, bridges, fountains, roads, *pelourinhos*...) and religious heritage (churches, chapels, monasteries, crosses...) predominate, followed by archaeological heritage and military heritage. There is little of the heritage defined here as vernacular, which we could also call ethnological and partly intangible, while still affirming the close relationship between the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage construction.

Types of cultural heritage assets classified in the CPIS according to their function, content and meaning and their municipal distribution. BY THE AUTHORS, BASED ON http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/Default.aspx

⁴ <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=37deb265f0834e3a81ef8e0377ef4f8d>

Figure 9

Municipality	Religious heritage	Military heritage	Civil heritage	Archaeological heritage	Vernacular heritage	Total
Chaves	4	4	2	5		15
Vila Pouca de Aguiar	2	1	3	5		11
Vila Real						
Santa Marta de Penaguião	11	1	10		1	23
Peso da Régua			6	1		7
Lamego	12	1	7		1	21
Castro Daire	3	6	1			10
Viseu	7	1	14	8		30
Total	42	14	45	19	2	122

Applying the CICATUR model to the CPIS

Based on the cultural heritage classified according to Portuguese Cultural Heritage Law 107/2001, we applied the CICATUR model and divided the heritage assets into five categories, subdivided into types and subtypes according to the CICATUR model manual adapted to the CPIS⁵.

According to the CICATUR data sheet shown in figure 5 above, we can confirm that all the heritage assets classified in the CPIS fall into the "museums and cultural events" category:

We conclude that most of the cultural heritage classified in the CPIS environment consists of historical architectural and archaeological heritage, with an absence of ethnological and intangible heritage, which

suggests inequality, heritage hierarchy and a dominant institutional and legal vision (Smith, 2006).

As regards the hierarchy of classified heritage assets and their potential for tourism, i.e. the third phase of the CICATUR model, we evaluated the importance of several factors such as distance, ownership, access, state of conservation of the asset and other variables shown above in figure 6. To summarise, we conclude that in terms of the quality of the assets we have in the CPIS 58 private assets, 51 public assets, four of mixed ownership and nine undefined assets. Most of the private assets belong to the Catholic Church and many of them are out of bounds to visitors, such as the chapel of "Nossa Senhora de Saúde" (Viseu) and the *pelourinho* of Ervededo (Chaves). The fact that numerous assets are

Types of cultural heritage assets classified in the CPIS according to their function, content and meaning and their municipal distribution. AUTHOR'S COMPILATION

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<https://www.mincetur.gob.pe/wp-content/uploads/documentos/turismo/consultorias/directorios-Manuales/Manual-Formulacion-InventarioRecursosTuristicos-NivelNacional.pdf>

Classification of CPIS attractions according to the CICATUR model. AUTHOR'S COMPILATION

Figure 10

Area	Type	Subtype	Chaves	Vila Pouca de Aguiar	Vila Real	Santa Marta de Penaguião	Peso da Régua	Lamego	Castro Daire	Viseu
Museums and cultural manifestations	Museums	History					1	1	1	5
		Natural sciences			1					
	Works of art and technique	Architecture	4	5	13	3		12	2	10
		Urban achievements	2		5	2	5	4	5	13
		Engineering works								
	Historical/archaeological sites and ruins	Places and landmarks							1	3
		Historical monuments	6	1	4		1	4	1	5
	Archaeological remains	3	5						4	
Total: 122			15	11	23	5	7	21	10	30

Hierarchies of tourism potential of heritage assets according to the CICATUR model.

BY THE AUTHORS, ADAPTED FROM THE CICATUR MODEL

Figure 11

Hierarchy	Description
Hierarchy IV	Exceptional appeal and of great significance for the international tourist market, capable by itself of motivating a considerable stream of current or potential visits.
Hierarchy III	Exceptional appeal capable by itself of attracting a stream of visitors from the internal, national or domestic market, and to a lesser extent than the assets in hierarchy IV.
Hierarchy II	Heritage assets with some impressive features, able to interest visitors either from the internal market or from the external market coming to the region, or able to motivate current or potential local tourists.
Hierarchy I	Assets without sufficient merits to be considered in the previous hierarchies even though they may be included as a complementary part of the tourist experience.

private does not mean that they are closed to the public, as is the case with churches and chapels owned by the Catholic Church.

Another important piece of information is the state of repair. Only eight of the 122 assets in the CPIS are in a poor state of repair or abandoned, and the rest have been preserved or have been restored or rehabilitated. Access to these assets is important and all are easy to reach by car or on foot, but reaching some heritage properties located in rural areas along the CPIS route by public transport is more difficult. Most of these properties are only known about locally or regionally, and only some (e.g. Black Clay Pottery in Bisalhães is recognised by UNESCO as intangible world heritage for its production process, Alto Douro Vinhateiro is world heritage for its organically evolved landscape) are promoted and disseminated internationally.

In this third phase of application of the CICATUR model and after analysing 122 heritage properties classified according to the Evaluation of Tourism Potential sheet (fig. 6) explained above, we established four hierarchies of potential for tourism of

CPIS heritage assets in descending order as explained in figure 11.

Although today’s tourism market seems to support the idea that all heritage assets can be integrated into the tourism system, the CICATUR model establishes limits, hierarchies of relevance and the implicit sustainability of the heritage asset itself and its meanings. According to the CICATUR model, the higher the score of the heritage asset, the greater its attractiveness and potential for tourism to be included in routes or other tourist products and experiences. Based on the application of this model, the following are the results of the hierarchisation and tourist potential of the CPIS heritage (figure 12):

By applying the data sheet we have added seven heritage assets to hierarchy IV, namely the Roman Baths and the Roman Bridge of Trajan in the city of Chaves; the palace of Mateus in Vila Real; the Sanctuary of "Nossa Senhora dos Remédios" in Lamego, jewel of Portuguese Baroque; Lamego Cathedral; Viseu Cathedral; and the Grão Vasco Museum of Contemporary Art in Viseu.

Hierarchy and tourist potential of the CPIS classified heritage assets distributed by municipalities. AUTHOR'S COMPILATION

Figure 12

Hierarchy	Chaves	Vila Pouca de Aguiar	Vila Real	Santa Marta de Penaguião	Peso da Régua	Lamego	Castro Daire	Viseu	Total
IV	2		1			2		2	7
III	6	1	6		1	1	2	3	20
II	2	5	9		3	11	3	14	47
I	5	5	7	5	3	7	5	11	48
Total	15	11	23	5	7	21	10	30	122

These properties are classified as "national monuments" and currently attract large numbers of national and foreign visitors. They are considered exceptionally attractive and important to the international tourism market.

We have included 20 heritage assets in hierarchy three which correspond to religious buildings. We registered 47 assets in hierarchy II and 48 in hierarchy I. In our opinion, the latter seem to be of little interest to tourists because they are in a poor state of repair, isolated and inaccessible. We believe they are only able to attract local and regional tourism and that this will not change (Oliveira, 2012: 64).

Conclusions

Based on the application of the CICATUR model to the analysis of the classified heritage of the CPIS we can conclude that not all heritage assets are plausible tourism products. In the past, cultural heritage was not initially intended for tourism, but in contemporary societies, the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism has become problematic as regards its commercialisation, appreciation, interpretation and consumption. This is why it is necessary to establish models and criteria for analysing the potential of heritage assets as tourist attractions, starting from the theoretical assumption that not all heritage

elements can or should obey tourism logics. In the past, cultural heritage considered identity logics that tourism must neither underestimate nor undervalue.

As a result of the case study presented in this paper, we also conclude that additional classification, relevance and recognition of heritage assets facilitates increased potential for tourism. However, from a critical perspective, we believe that the dominant classifications of cultural heritage should be challenged and that other types of cultural heritage, which are less significant and relevant to legislators and technicians than they are to local people, should be integrated in the interests of their identity and for social and educational purposes. In other words, ethnological, intangible and ethno-anthropological heritage could be more prominent in official cultural heritage classifications. How? By increasing non-cosmetic social participation in the cultural heritage selection, definition and classification processes. And also by questioning the monumental, architectural, material and religious dominance of the hegemonic classifications of cultural heritage. This would make it possible to recognise the cultural diversity of heritage with more subtlety and offer more diversity and intercultural tourism. ■

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Making use of memories in contemporary tourist practices and patrimonialization processes

The case study of the Sassi in Matera



View of the Via D'Addozio
(Sasso Barisano), 1961.

PH. DOMENICO NOTARANGELO ARCHIVE.

Displacements

The conditions of social and ethnographic scandal in the Sassi districts of the city of Matera, in Southern Italy's Basilicata Region, had already been set in motion between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the early years of the twentieth century, the inhabitants of the city's two historic districts of cave dwellings, first occupied in Palaeolithic times, grew demographically in a disproportionate manner and were reduced to conditions of social and economic marginalization (Mirizzi, 2010).

This state of subalternity only began to be addressed as a result of political, urban, socio-cultural and economic events that have occurred after the Second World War. In particular, between 1952 and about 1973, under the National Law n. 619 and subsequent laws for the rehabilitation of historic districts, inhabitants of the Sassi were evacuated and transferred to new urban districts. These events caused almost a fracture, a watershed that marked a decisive change in the cultural and human history of the city.

In those years, Matera itself became an emblem of the backwardness of the whole of Southern Italy, a symbol in the political battle after the Second World War, a battle that has been a continuous effort of representation and self-representation, more or less in

line with the construction of official speeches (Foucault, 2004), and that persists today and now connects with the contemporary issues of heritage and tourism (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Bendix et al., 2012).

By the 1960s, the process of heritage-making had begun, and the Sassi have never ceased to be a strong and constitutive knot of urban identity, passing from "ethnographic scandal", "national shame" or problem of hygiene, health and social order, to "object of aesthetic contemplation", "national heritage to be preserved and protected" and, finally, heritage of humanity inscribed in the UNESCO Representative List (Mirizzi, 2010).

The profound changes taking place in the city, which are determined above all by the recent and massive development of tourism, can be seen as a sort of "cathartic act for the collective conscience and of nemesis for the historical conscience" (Mirizzi, 2010: 74). Among the most visible consequences of these changes is the start of a process of re-appropriation and gentrification of part of the Sassi districts.

A question of gazes... and of symbolic and discursive practices

Due to its complex and stratified historical and human events, its evocative and symbolic meanings, as well as some fortunate literary and intellectual conjunctions across the last century, the city of Matera has long been considered the capital of Italian ant-

Paraules clau:

Patrimonialización, Turismo, Records, Estereotips Narratius, Retòrica discursiva.

Palabras clave:

Patrimonialización, Turismo, Recuerdos, Estereotipos Narrativos, Retórica discursiva.

Key words: heritage-making, tourism, memories, narrative stereotypes, discursive rhetoric.

Aquesta contribució es basa en l'etnografia en curs de Matera (Itàlia) i analitza la realització de narracions, estereotips i retòrica discursiva sobre esdeveniments històrics de la ciutat que poden influir en la definició de la identitat urbana contemporània. L'objectiu principal de la investigació és reflexionar sobre alguns processos relacionats amb els períodes de desplaçament dels seus habitants des dels districtes de Sassi i la reubicació als nous suburbis urbans; als nombrosos reconeixements patrimonials i a la creació recent d'imatgeria turística que fan ús de records estereotipats i històricament descontextualitzats.

Esta contribución se basa en la etnografía en curso en Matera (Italia) y analiza la elaboración de narrativas, estereotipos y retórica discursiva sobre los acontecimientos históricos de la ciudad que pueden influir en la definición de la identidad urbana contemporánea. El objetivo principal de la investigación es reflexionar sobre algunos procesos relacionados con los períodos de desplazamiento de sus habitantes desde los Barrios Sassi y la reubicación en los nuevos suburbios urbanos; a los numerosos reconocimientos patrimoniales y a la reciente creación de imágenes turísticas que utilizan memorias estereotipadas e históricamente descontextualizadas.

This contribution draws on ongoing ethnographic studies being conducted in Matera, Italy, and analyses the foundation of narratives, stereotypes and discursive rhetoric surrounding the city's historical events that have the potential to influence the definition of the city's contemporary urban identity. The main objective of the research is to reflect on certain processes related to the periods during which inhabitants of the Sassi districts were displaced and relocated to new urban suburbs. It also addresses the city's wealth of heritage recognitions and the recent creation of a tourist imagery that makes use of stereotyped and historically decontextualised memories.

thropology, a sort of research laboratory for anthropological and social sciences. In fact, the explosion of the scandal began with the discovery of the city and its contradictions by important representatives of Italian culture militant especially after the Second World War (Levi, 2010). The research by anthropologists and scholars of social sciences have also allowed to understand in depth the living conditions of the lower classes of the Basilicata Region (Mirizzi 2010).

In line with the historical representations and evocative images that have accompanied descriptions of the city since the end of the eighteenth century (Mirizzi, 2010), Matera has for decades been the subject of a rhetoric of shame (Pontrandolfi, 2002) produced as part of a discursive construction that is ideologically oriented and nurtured by cliché and social prejudices.

It is an enduring visual paradigm, a synecdoche for the city of Matera and, indeed, of the entire Basilicata Region as a place of archaism and diversity, backward and

timeless (Faeta 2010). Sassi has become a stereotype, an emblematic image projected by intellectuals and writers, as well as by many photographers and filmmakers who have visited or worked in the region. Basilicata and Matera have become, in this sense, a place ‘out of time’, a privileged scenario for archaic, ancestral and exotic representations, in a sort of “repeated process of orientalisation” of Southern Italy (Faeta, 2010: 25).

This stereotyped narrative, photographic and cinematographic imaginary of the city of Matera, which was built *ad hoc*, has been used in the discursive construction by the central power (Foucault 2004) to designate the Sassi districts as degraded and to justify the displacements. In keeping with the usual “view of the dichotomous contrasts that govern the construction of identity”, this discourse helped to confirm and strengthen “the Italian identity, the modernity of the country, its ability to keep up with the times and to enter the list of modern Western nations” (Faeta, 2010: 27).

**Visit to the Sassi
of Matera by Prime
Minister Alcide
De Gasperi, 1952.**

PH. DOMENICO NOTARANGELO
ARCHIVE.



The Sassi as a place of city memories

The collective imagery of the Sassi and the identity of the city have thus been constructed, defined and re-defined periodically depending on the representations that have been made, resulting in a sort of 'disconnection' between these representations and the life lived by those of Sassi. A standardized narrative of the way of life and feelings of the people who had lived in the Sassi was produced, a narrative that depicts them as oppressed, miserable, in opposition to the life of the rest of the city, as if in the course of time the inhabitants of the two areas of Matera had never been a single and cohesive urban and social body.

The process of abandonment and the architectural recovery of the empty houses of the Sassi has developed in parallel with the design and construction of the new city districts. Some architectural and urban interventions designed and carried out in the city were characterized by an unusual attention to the social, spatial and housing organization. In fact, these were mainly aimed at avoiding disorientation due to the abandonment of the Sassi, facilitating resettlement in the new districts and ensuring the maintenance of the habits of life and use of spaces adapted to the conditions of rural life of the majority of the inhabitants, including the perpetuation of ritual and daily practices in modern environments.

The change, created by the emptying of the Sassi and by relocation of its inhabitants in the new neighbourhoods, have caused in many of those displaced a sort of double trauma: first, of having experienced the social degradation of the Sassi, and second, of having then left there, sometimes in a forced way¹, abandoning their houses and also habits of life and consolidated social ties. Individual traumas and discomforts were thus added to collective traumas and discomforts.

Starting in the 1960s, as mentioned above, and in the midst of the events surrounding the emptying of the houses, the process of heritage-making of the Sassi began, with the concomitant emergence of an awareness

of aesthetic and historical-artistic value of the site, but also of the landscape and of its importance as a place of identity in the history of the city. Since then, there has been an escalation of projects aimed at safeguarding, recovering and obtaining institutional recognition. Nowadays the Sassi are no longer the uninhabitable place to be ashamed of, but a useful place to build a positive image of the contemporary city. (Smith 2006).

The patrimonial logic (Palumbo, 2003; Harrison, 2013), with which the complex question of the recovery of the Sassi was addressed, has produced very different debates and visions over time; on the one hand, there were those who² proposed to safeguard them exclusively for their monumental, urban and architectural value, and on the other, there were those who stressed their imma-

1

During the interviews for my ethnographic research, conducted among the former inhabitants of the Sassi of Matera, it emerged that not all the inhabitants of the Sassi agreed to leave their homes and move to the new city districts. Often the older people refused to leave their homes, while the younger ones were better prepared for change and eager to live in more comfortable and modern conditions. Numerous testimonies tell of frictions (especially intergenerational) within families during the years

Home Interior with an elderly inhabitant in a cave of the Sassi. Late Fifties.

PH. DOMENICO NOTARANGELO ARCHIVE.



terial value (Clemente, 1995; Bortolotto, 2011), as a dense ‘place of memory’ of the city, “testimony to the ability of man to adapt psychologically, economically and socially to the environment”, and “archive of the moral and material misery of the lower classes and at the same time of the indifference of the local ruling classes” (Mirizzi 2010:72).

The patrimonial logic (Palumbo, 2003; Harrison, 2013), with which the complex question of the recovery of the Sassi was addressed, has produced very different debates and visions over time. On the one hand, there were those who proposed to safeguard the houses and other spaces exclusively for their monumental, urban and architectural value, and on the other, there were those who stressed their immaterial value (Clemente, 1995; Bortolotto, 2011), as a dense “place of memory” of the city, “testimony to the ability of man to adapt psychologically, economically and socially to the environment” and “archive of the moral and material misery of the lower classes and at the same time of the indifference of the local ruling classes” (Mirizzi 2010:72).

The touristic image-making machinery

Within the framework of the construction of local identity politics a game of conscious reversal of the image of misery and shame has been played. According to the majority of the people of Matera and Southern Italy, the Sassi are emancipated definitively from the negative stereotypes and previous stigmas, becoming, on the one hand, in “heritage of humanity” and, on the other, a seductive tourist icon expendable in the global market of cultural tourism (Appadurai, 1998; Simonica, 2006; Di Giovine, 2009).

In 1993, the Sassi were included in the UNESCO Representative List of the World Heritage Sites, as a cultural landscape indicative of the harmonious use of the environment by man. Several years before, some local intellectuals had already suggested a widespread operation of museumification of the Sassi to preserve them from degradation and abandonment to which they had been subjected after the displacement of most of

their inhabitants. A project for a demo-etnoanthropological museum of the Sassi has been proposed several times but never realized (Mirizzi, 2005). Finally, in 2014 the city was able to obtain, during a long competition between Italian cities, the title of “European Capital of Culture 2019” (ECoC), with the aim of developing a specific program of cultural events and contribute to boosting tourism.

From peasant districts, connotative of subordinate, miserable and scandalous living conditions, with all the consequent symbolic load, the Sassi have now become stately quarters; through renovation, the old houses have been transformed into commercial and reception activities³. This has resulted in a disproportionate increase in the value of buildings and rents, a new process of “abandonment” by those citizens of Matera who had decided to re-inhabit them to reverse the degradation due to abandonment, even

of displacement. In addition, there are some witnesses who say that they have not visited the old houses in the Sassi after leaving them in order to forget the poor living conditions of their families.

2

In this regard, the opinion and feeling of old residents has almost never been taken into account. Instead, some of the few current inhabitants of the Sassi have organized themselves into neighbourhood committees to discuss and agree urban planning policies.

3

The development of tourism, massive and impacting is for some people an opportunity to counteract the emigration of young people from the city. At the same time it is for many local entrepreneurs is a chance for further enrichment.



before the recognition by UNESCO, which has accelerated the processes of capitalization and gentrification.

The inhabitants of the city have had to reinvent themselves and learn to tell themselves through the eyes of others (tourists). For example, stories about the life that took

Serra Venerdi, one of the new suburban district built after the displacement of the Sassi. Late Fifties.

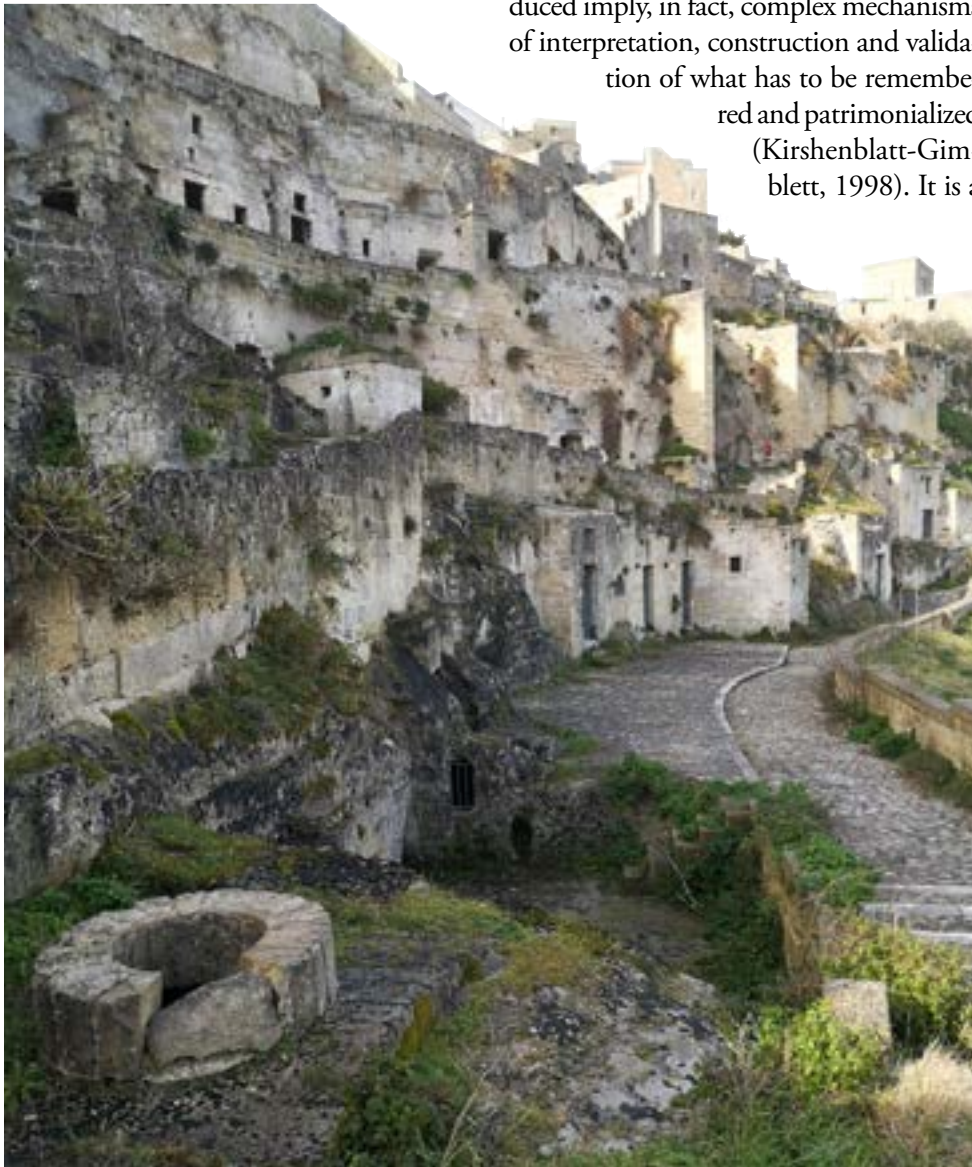
PH. DOMENICO NOTARANGELO ARCHIVE.

place in the Sassi before they were emptied, episodes about misery, exploitation or neighbourhood relations have become useful stereotypes to give colour to any pseudo-cultural project or event. Life stories have been deliberately trivialized in the collective narrative and shredded in the performance machine, without any ambition of a critical approach or self-reflection on one's own history and on the city's most recent past. The recognition of ECoC 2019 has certainly accelerated these processes.

The new city of Matera, especially after the recent successful events and the many international awards, has established a different relationship with its cultural heritage and its controversial history, and has re-designed once

again its representations, this time building selective narratives, in which there are no inevitable social conflicts, despite the fact that they exist, and no frictions within heritage arenas, although they, too, exist (Palumbo, 2003). These sweetened narratives are aimed at strengthening the imaginary for tourism (Urry, 2011; Salazar, Graburn, 2014) and enriching the new city economy.

The Sassi, as a product of peculiar and complex practices and policies of heritage-making, therefore have been deliberately objectified and essentialized to become 'collective identity marks', identities that are mostly 'imagined', 'abstract' and 'rarefied' (Palumbo, 2003). When the memory of places has to be made available to tourist imagery, the strategies and discourses produced imply, in fact, complex mechanisms of interpretation, construction and validation of what has to be remembered and patrimonialized (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). It is a



Casalnuovo District (Sasso Caveoso), the location for the ongoing project of an open air museum on peasant condition, 2019.

PH. VITA SANTORO.

process in which “hosts find themselves in the ambiguous position of actors, producers and recipients of narration and discourses about their own past” (Mancinelli, Palou Rubio, 2016: 167), and yet often what is produced and disseminated is a disordered set of stereotypes and clichés.

For its part, tourism is notoriously a heterogeneous phenomenon of movement and global circulation of people, objects, imaginaries, experiences, ideas, behaviours, identities, norms and rights able to produce both subjectivity and territoriality. As part of a network of socio-economic processes, it also contributes to the functioning and expansion of the world capitalist system, since it is able to favour rapid forms of capital accumulation. Moreover, it is a system that often reproduces social and economic inequalities and strengthens strong powers. One could say, with Nogues-Pedregal, that “tourism is another name for power”; it transforms the ownership of territories and consumes local resources, modifies the forms of social stratification, of the market and of the ways of work, as well as the distribution of wealth, “produces meanings and creates senses, destroying some of them and cancelling others” (Nogues-Pedregal, 2016: 38).

Furthermore, the holders of property rights on cultural goods and practices are almost never the legitimate beneficiaries of economic gains derived from tourism, so much so that the awareness of the lack of recognition of rights can be manifested through forms of discomfort towards the tourist presence, resulting in the phenomena of overtourism. This notion refers to the excessive growth of temporary visitor flows and the saturation of places, which subject residents to changes in lifestyle and general level of well-being, or for example to limitations in the use of public space⁴.

However, in events and urban interventions in public spaces of the city and the historical centre aimed at attracting tourists and visually representing the redeemed city, many interesting examples of human agency can be identified in which both citizens and tourists themselves show that they are, at

times, resistant and aware actors, “engaged in a relational game with profound cultural meanings” (Satta, 2009: 142).

Why would we feel ashamed?⁵

The ethnography, still in progress, in the city of Matera allows these very first reflections on the politics of identity, heritage and tourism, in particular on the ways in which memories, narratives, speeches and rhetoric relating to the salient events of recent city history have been preserved, disseminated, and sometimes strategically manipulated shaped by objectives set by individuals and groups of intellectuals with cultural, political or economic power.

The Sassi are certainly a strongly symbolic and evocative place of events that determine the life of the city and its inhabitants, a place full of a sort of “sacredness”, a place of memory that people have used to legitimize the past (whatever it is) and to reveal historical continuity (Nora, 1989). In tourist contexts, relationships with the past are constantly created and re-created in a process that materially contributes to the construction of cultural heritage, but it is a heritage to be understood as a meta-cultural product decontextualized and managed instrumentally, with little attention paid to individual and collective memories and with the overproduction of narratives and tourist imagery, which, as real cultural models (Salazar, Graburn, 2014), transform those same places of memory into tourist spaces full of decontextualised symbolic elements, the object of social practices in which commercial value takes precedence over cultural value (Nogues-Pedregal, 2019).

Identity politics, which revolve around the cultural heritage of the Sassi (as has happened elsewhere), must be considered the result of the stratification of “different narratives, sometimes even conflicting”, which are “incorporated into practices not limited to tourism” (Satta, 2009: 142). Of course, every practice of remembrance speaks to us of places, but also of individuals, lived lives, events and objects, even beyond awareness that the processes of memory enhancement

4

Reactions to these processes have sometimes been able to generate interesting social movements of protest and resistance to uncontrolled human pressure (Milano, 2018).

5

This is a rhetorical question that the elderly witnesses interviewed during my ethnographic research have often asked me. According to them, those who should have been ashamed of themselves were the politicians and hegemonic classes of the city, which allowed a large part of the local population to live in miserable and subordinate conditions. It is interesting to note that part of the cultural program produced for Matera ECoC 2019 was designed starting from the consolidated rhetoric of shame with respect to the past living conditions of the inhabitants of the Sassi Districts, sometimes in an attempt to overturn or deconstruct its meaning. Also my research activities are aimed at collecting memorial documents, oral testimonies and objects of affection of the historical inhabitants of the Sassi, useful for the realization of some exhibits for the I-DEA Project. <https://idea.matera-basilicata2019.it> [Accessed: 30 April 2019].

can be changeable and complex, changing with the needs that may gradually emerge.

Even as the new historical situation of the city of Matera sees the enhancement of cultural heritage and the phenomenon of tourism intersecting and influencing each other, the social and collective memory will always tend to be configured as an “interpretation of the past on the basis of the current interests of the social group of reference” (Dei, 2005:14).

It is clear, therefore, that heritage and tourist areas are characterized by symbolic, rhetorical and discursive practices within which

public memory and historical representations are continuously produced and re-produced, tending to generate a gap between the social and institutionalized memories and the memories of individuals who constitute the “moral community” of cities. Through the recovery and enhancement of polyphonic and dissonant memories related to the history of the city of Matera is, however, possible to activate practices of re-appropriation of the most recent past, able to generate interesting and dense connections between the cultural heritage of the Sassi, testimonies of the old inhabitants and practices of new generations engaged in tourism activities. ■

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Tourism and memory spaces in cross-border Catalonia

Here we will present a case study on the development of memory spaces in Catalan cross-border territory, analysing these as potential tourism products.

The so-called memory boom (Traverso, 2007) of the last third of the 20th century has meant that all processes related to references to the past in the present are taken into account, within a multitude of fields. In addition to strictly academic fields, where a multidisciplinary approach has been used to study memory, memory is present in a whole range of cultural industries related to literature, the arts or the cinema.

Pierre Nora (1984) developed a theory of *lieux de mémoire* as tangible and intangible sites that represent referents for national communities. This is a broad conceptual view which has made adaptation to different historical and socio-political contexts possible. Latin America, South-east Asia, Eastern Europe, and many other historical and geographical realities have few ties to each other in terms of their history. All, however, face the challenge of approaching their most recent past through the traces that have been left behind.

We understand memory spaces as those places that link processes and events of the past with the present. They are places that appeal to the public, as a critical and con-

El present article exposa de forma breu els diferents espais de memòria ubicats a la comarca de l'Alt Empordà i al departament dels Pirineus Orientals. Els diferents contextos memorials i turístics entre els estats espanyol i francès determinen els diferents recorreguts de cada territori. La història i memòria comunes entre ambdós territoris, però, aconsellen una aproximació analítica conjunta de les trajectòries dels diferents espais de memòria de l'àrea transfronterera catalana. Es tracta d'espais amb poca incidència quantitativa però amb un gran potencial cohesionador al territori, fet que fa intuir una possible reactivació patrimonial i turística en un futur.

El presente artículo expone brevemente los diferentes lugares de memoria ubicados en la comarca del Alt Empordà y el departamento de Pirineos Orientales. Los diferentes contextos memoriales y turísticos entre España y Francia determinan los diferentes recorridos de cada territorio. La historia y memoria comunes entre ambos territorios aconseja, sin embargo, una aproximación analítica conjunta de las trayectorias de los diferentes lugares de memoria del espacio catalán transfronterizo. Se trata de lugares con poca incidencia cualitativa, pero con un gran potencial cohesionador en el territorio, lo cual hace intuir una posible reactivación patrimonial y turística en el futuro.

This article offers a brief introduction to the different places of memory situated throughout L'Alt Empordà and the Eastern Pyrenees. The different memorial and tourist contexts in Spain and France have given rise to varying experiences and processes in these two regions. The history and memory shared between them, however, suggest the need to take a joint analytical approach to studying the paths of the places of memory located in the Catalan cross-border region. These places have little quantitative impact but a great potential for cohesion in the region, which points to possible reactivation of heritage and tourism in the future.

FOCUS

Paraules clau: turisme de memòria, espais de memòria, territori transfronterer.

Palabras clave: turismo de memoria, lugares de memoria, territorio transfronterizo.

Keywords: Memorial tourism, places of memory, cross-border region.

scious community that has the possibility of accessing knowledge of the useful past as a tool for the construction of the present and the future. Memory spaces are a heritage that need this relationship with society. Without retroactivity on the part of the visitor, they would probably be historical spaces located within a rigid and closed narrative reality. Thus the dialectic between tourism and heritage is key to understanding them in all their complexity.

The process of heritagisation of memory in Catalonia and Northern Catalonia

In Spain as a whole, and in Catalonia in particular, the aforementioned memory boom appeared some decades later than in the rest of Europe, with the turn-of-the-century being the point of reference for what has come to be called the process of recovering historical memory (Silva, 2011). Spanish and Catalan administrations were able to approve their respective memory laws thanks in large part to efforts made by civil society through various memory associations.

In Catalonia, this meant the creation of Memorial Democràtic in 2007, the body in charge of promoting public

memory policies in a country where heritage has always played a leading role in its initiatives. A powerful action plan implemented by the memory spaces team of the time identified, classified and set in order of importance the places that would later form a part of the so-called Network of Democratic Memory Spaces of Catalonia, the body created by legislative decree (IRP Order, 2010) with a strong focus on tourism (González, 2014, 2016).

In the context of this evaluation of memory spaces in Catalonia through the development of public policies, heritage sites located near the Pyrenean border, particularly those in the Alt Empordà region, are rapidly positioning themselves both nationally and globally as a point of reference in the field of memorial heritage and an incipient memory tourism. The so-called border and exile spaces are one of the four thematic categories into which the 'network of spaces' is divided and, along with the generic spaces of the Civil War,





Exterior view of the MUME.

MUME

is the one best known and most frequently referred to.

North of the border lies the French department of the Eastern Pyrenees, an area popularly known as Northern Catalonia, where the traces of history and memory of the most traumatic recent past are strongly present. The exodus of Spanish republicans in 1939, with the collapse of the Catalan front in the Civil War, meant the displacement of almost half a million people. Hundreds of thousands "withdrew" across the border into France where they were held in deplorable conditions.

At the time and also later, during the 1970s, a great deal of effort was put into ensuring social recognition of the memory of the two world wars and the Holocaust, but the "withdrawal" of the Spanish republicans was not a part of this process. It was not until the 1990s that, as in the Spanish case, civil society laid the foundations for beginning the process of recovering the memory of the "withdrawal", organised primarily by associations of the descendants of those who had fled into exile. Thanks to these efforts it was later possible to establish heritage projects in the memory spaces of North Catalonia. Thus, what is known in France as *tourisme*

de mémoire (Cavaignac and Deperne, 2003; Urbain, 2003; Bouliou, 2013; Da Silva and Bougon, 2013; Hertzog, 2013) gained new sites. So it is a peripheral territory in two senses, firstly because it lies on the fringes of the official narratives of the French national memory, and secondly because it offers tourists an experience that is far removed from mainstream tourism which is focused almost exclusively on camping for families and beach holidays.

Thus, as a result of memorialisation processes on both sides of the Pyrenees, "a circuit of memory tourism is beginning to emerge, based around several municipalities both in French Catalonia (Elne, Argelès-sur-Mer, Saint-Cyprien, Collioure, and Rivesaltes) and on the other side of the border (La Jonquera, Portbou, Agullana and La Vajol)" (Font *et al.*, 2016: 76).

Tourism and memorial spaces in cross-border Catalonia.

The cross-border space par excellence dedicated to memory tourism is to be found in the town of La Jonquera, in the Empordà region - the Museu Memorial de l'Exili (MUME) which opened its doors to the public in February 2008. Located on the same road along which more than 200,000

people travelled into exile in 1939, it was established in order to disseminate the history and memory of the republicans who went into exile (Font, 2009; 2013). The impact of the museum on the region as a whole has been powerful and far-reaching throughout this time. Through a series of initiatives the MUME has been able to catalyse a network that has allowed the consolidation of concrete action and projects with a broad scope. The “Withdrawal and Paths into Exile” project, which identified some twenty spaces in the Alt Empordà region that have become part of the fabric of the territory’s memory spaces, is a good example. Routes into Exile is an educational project which involves a considerable number of cross-border links between memory spaces (González, 2018), is also part of a heritage legacy rooted in the territory and available to locals and visitors.

Thanks to these two initiatives led by MUME, different places in Empordà have what is needed to attract memory tourism. One of these is Agullana, where, in addition to the signs linked to the MUME and the



Memorial Democràtic, the city council inaugurated the *Centre d'Interpretació de l'Exili Cultural Català de 1939* in 2015. It is a small museum where the visitor can learn about and reflect on the impact of war and exile on the world of culture, with the Catalan case as a point of reference. The use of Mas Perxés, a rural house in Agullana, as a refuge for many Catalan intellectuals on their way into exile at the beginning of 1939 (Serrano, 2010), justifies the existence of this heritage facility

Exterior view of the remains of the operational building at La Mina Canta. ENRS

Exterior view of the *Passatges* memorial in Portbou. MUME





Part of the interior of the Argelers Memorial. ENRS

which, together with plaques identifying the various memory spaces relating to exile in the village, makes Agullana a point of reference on the regional map of memory tourism.

A few kilometres from Agullana lies La Vajol, the last village before the French border. Here we find the *Monument a l'exili*, a bronze sculpture honouring the iconic Gracia family, as well as the vestiges of the Mina Canta, which is probably one of the tourist sites with the greatest potential in the region (Riera, 2016) thanks to the adventure narrative associated with its history. Along with the

Sant Ferran de Figueres and Peralada castles, Mina Canta was one of three places in the Empordà chosen by the Republican government as a hiding place for its treasure. A complex geographical location, as well as the local administration of La Vajol's lack of executive capacity and resources, makes it very difficult to promote this space for tourism outside the framework of its participation in various activities linked to MUME.

Still in the Empordà, on its most north-eastern side, lies the municipality of Portbou. This is a community with historical roots



Exterior view of the Elna Maternity Home. ENRS

in the worlds of railways and customs and excise, which has recently suffered a significant decline in both population and economic activity. A limited capacity to adapt to the new post-border situation following the establishment of the Schengen area means that Portbou can to some extent be considered a town in decline. Apart from this particular socio-economic situation, traces of the memory of exile as well as of those who escaped from the Second World War (Calvet, 2008) exemplified in the paradigmatic figure of Walter Benjamin, give Portbou with a unique identity. The Coll de Belitres memorial located at the border point with France evokes the memory of exile, while the *Passatges* memorial by the Israeli artist Dani Karavan inaugurated in 1994, and the information about Walter Benjamin located in various parts of the town, recall the memory of the philosopher and also of the many refugees fleeing from deportation and the Holocaust. These spaces, despite possessing enormous symbolic potential, still have a very low profile when compared to the attractions of the natural landscape of the Costa Brava south of Portbou.

Now in French territory, we find the Costa Vermella, where the beaches have been a tourist attraction for French families for decades. This is where the main internment camps were located, where the Spanish exiles

were held by the French government of the time. Places like Sant Cebrià, Argelers and Collioure are today the reminders of a memory that many still find uncomfortable.

Among the numerous places with memory spaces of outstanding interest, we find Argelers. This tourist town, where the beaches and accommodation options aimed at family tourism are the main source of income, has since 2014 been home to a museum dedicated to the history of the internment camp that was located on its beaches between 1939 and 1941. Opened in 2014, the *Memorial del Camp d'Argelers* changed its location in 2017, when it moved from Valmy Castle on the outskirts of the village to Avenue de la Libération in the centre of Argelers.

In the town of Elna you can visit the space of the former Swiss maternity home, where between 1939 and 1944 almost 600 children were born to mothers interned in the camps, a large majority of them Spanish (Castaner, 2008). It is not a museum as such, but rather a memory space that persists as a testimony to the past and receives a significant number of visitors each year.

Places like Collioure, where the tomb of Antonio Machado became one of the main attractions, or the beach at Sant Cebrià which, like Argelers, was the site of an intern-



Part of the exterior of the Ribesaltes remains. ENRS

memory policies that are at the mercy of constant strategic swings by the institutions in charge of them, make for an uncertain future. However, the cross-border aspect, in a 21st century Europe in which joint actions between different regional areas are valued

beyond the States themselves, is a strategic element that must be taken into account in order to favour the growth of memory tourism both in Catalonia and in Northern Catalonia. ■

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Zafimaniry: the invention of a tribe

A strategic resource between
tourism and heritage¹.

Ancestral homes in a Zafimaniry village,
with north-south orientation (2009).

FABIOLA MANCINELLI

Paraules clau: Zafimaniry, turisme ètnic, patrimoni immaterial, règim de valor, apropiació.

Palabras clave: Zafimaniry, turismo étnico, patrimonio inmaterial, régimen de valor, apropiación.

Keywords: Zafimaniry, ethnic tourism, intangible heritage, value regimes, appropriation.

For most Malagasies, the word *Zafimaniry* refers to a style of decorating hand-crafted objects with abstract geometric patterns. And yet *Zafimaniry* country, a mountainous area near the city of Ambositra, is home to a scattered population of around 25,000 people in remote towns and villages. Itinerant farmers converted to sedentary cultivation of rice, the members of this ethnic group are renowned for their skills as carpenters and cabinetmakers, visible in the architecture of their houses and the engravings that adorn everyday objects. Despite the lack of a formal tourism infrastructure, since the 1970s these villages have welcomed a growing number of foreign visitors attracted by a unique culture that tour operators present as "primitive" and "authentic". In 2002, the Heritage Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism set out to register this skill in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), an institutional, top-down initiative, which was successfully completed in 2008.

This brief case study, based on materials gathered during twelve months of ethnographic research in Madagascar in 2008 and 2012 (Mancinelli, 2013; 2017), is a critique of post-colonial heritagisation mechanisms that illustrates their connections with different types of appropriation and control. The invention of *Zafimaniry* as a tribe is the result of a social construction process involving a variety of actors - heritage and tourism agents - who promote *Zafimaniry* as an original, primitive culture through narra-

tives based on criteria derived from colonial ethnography. For the agents of the heritage discourse - local government officials and representatives of the international global bureaucracy - the *Zafimaniry* embody a surviving ancestor; for the tourism agents, they are the subject of nostalgia and fascination. Converging into a "fascination with primitivism" (Mancinelli, 2014), these debates introduce the *Zafimaniry* into a global value regime, converting them into a strategic resource, manageable by external agents (traders and art collectors, tour operators, the State), according to logics that refer to a western commercial rationality.

Hegemonic and logical value debates: heritage assets as strategic resources

The introduction of the notion of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (ICH) by UNESCO in 2003 marked a significant transformation in the definition of cultural heritage, expanding the monumental and archival conception of world heritage into a more procedural and anthropological realm (Bortolotto, 2008) which recognises living traditions, performative practices and their tangible expressions. This new conceptualisation opens the way for the heritagisation of "mental categories" (Bendix, 2011: 101) - a concept that summarises the definition expressed in Article 2.1 of the Convention (UNESCO, 2003) concisely - and, therefore, the activation and enhancement of local legacies and knowledge. The underlying intention is also political, since the implementation of the ICP is intended to support a European cultural "departure from colo-

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Aquest article presenta una crítica als mecanismes de patrimonialització de la UNESCO en un context postcolonial. Analitzant el cas dels *zafimaniry* de Madagascar, la investigació destaca la capacitat del patrimoni de mobilitzar dinàmiques d'apropiació i control, connectant els interessos d'esferes diverses - política, econòmica, cultural, turística - i legitimant la penetració de lògiques globocèntriques del valor en pràctiques i significats locals.

Este artículo presenta una crítica a los mecanismos de patrimonialización de la UNESCO en un contexto poscolonial. Analizando el caso de los zafimaniry de Madagascar, la investigación destaca la capacidad del patrimonio de movilizar dinámicas de apropiación y control, creando relaciones entre los intereses de distintas esferas - políticas, económicas, culturales, turísticas - y legitimando la penetración de lógicas globocéntricas del valor en prácticas y significados locales.

This article offers a critical analysis of UNESCO heritagization procedures in a postcolonial setting. Drawing on the case of the *Zafimaniry* of Madagascar, the research highlights the capacity of heritage to mobilize dynamics of appropriation and control, connecting the interests of different spheres - political, economic, cultural, touristic - and legitimizing the infusion of global regimes of value into local practices and meanings.

nialism" and to restore balance to North-South relations on the world heritage map (Maguet, 2011). On a practical level, this led, at least initially, to greater openness to applications from countries outside Europe, mainly from Africa and Asia. However, some critics argue (Nas, 2002; Amselle, 2004; van Zanten, 2004; Santamarina, 2013; Roca, 2018) that the protocols of execution of the safeguard contradict these inclusive premises, favouring instead the penetration, in local contexts, of external heritage regimes (Bendix *et al*, 2013), which impose themselves as hegemonic. UNESCO regulations and protocols produce the social institutionalisation of local legacies, while encouraging the creation of new collective and legal subjects, hastily labelled as "communities". The lists, inventories and action plans imposed by international standardised bureaucracy trigger the debate on branding and intellectual property (Bendix, 2011) and threaten to fossilise cultural practices (Smith, 2006: 11). Given these dynamics, the initiative and effective participation of the groups that hold the practices is a key factor that certainly deserves further ethnographic research.

UNESCO heritage assets become a nation's strategic symbolic resources, mobilising dynamics of appropriation and control, especially evident in their collusion with the formulation of identity discourses and the creation of tourist value. Among the intentions of the Convention, the ICP is explicitly conceived as a tool for building communities and affirming national identity (Bortolotto, 2008; Maguet, 2011). However, states' obligation to promote their candidates means that in post-colonial societies made up of different ethnic groups - such as Madagascar - this version of identity reflects the role of the dominant groups who, through their heritage, legitimise their self-affirmation tropes. From a tourism standpoint, inclusion in a UNESCO list is a real opportunity to raise the profile of a territory. Although promotion is not the primary focus of candidatures, a UNESCO label is generally associated with the promise of public and private investment



(Bendix *et al*, 2013). Therefore, with regard to handicrafts, performances, rituals and festivities, underlying strategies for creating economic value which can also be exploited by agents outside the communities are likely to be among the motivations behind these listings.

Tourism and heritage: the present of a "society of the past"

A pioneer among East African countries, Zafimaniry wood carving was presented as a candidate during presidency of Marc Ravalomanana (2002-2009), whose Madagascar Action Plan (MAP), carried out in accordance with the Millennium Development Goals, specified the development of tourism as one of the major challenges for the rapid growth of the country. As already mentioned, this is an initiative of

Detail of the main door of a traditional Zafimaniry house (2009). VINCENZO LEOMBRUNO

the Heritage Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which is unilaterally responsible for preparing the dossier and implementing the safeguarding plan. These measures aim to preserve culture in danger of "dying out". The application file presents wood carving as the emblem of the Zafimaniry culture and identity, giving it the status of "the last living testimony of the traditional way of life that characterised the Highlands of Madagascar two centuries ago" (Direction du Patrimoine Culturel, 2003). The selection of the Zafimaniry as symbolic references to represent Madagascar before the UNESCO endorses and gives global exposure to a national myth, which gives the Merina culture, the most politically and numerically influential ethnic group, a prominent position in the complex cultural mosaic that makes up the country. As a consultant from the Ministry commented in an interview: "The Zafimaniry are the holders of centuries-old wisdom that has already disappeared from other Malagasy communities [...]. It's a forgotten national identity that we wanted to remember²."

Describing the Zafimaniry as an "authentic and preserved" culture (UNESCO, 2008), heritage agents adopt a narrative drawn from the colonial ethnography of the sixties, which describes the Zafimaniry as "a forest group that preserves an unknown Malagasy aesthetic tradition" (Vérin, 1964: 1), "a fossil group, a society from the past" (Coulaud, 1973: 109), a "real laboratory for studying Madagascar's past" (Vérin, 1972: 116). The emphasis on their skills as wood carvers and their link to the origins of Madagascar create a narrative that presents them as a "race of sculptors", continuing the actions of English-speaking missionaries a few years earlier. To improve the economic conditions of the population, these missionaries promoted a furniture and ornament industry, whose products were sold to the bourgeoisie and expatriates of the capital. Within a few years, the prospect of getting hold of some "real" Zafimaniry art attracted the first groups of

people curious about this remote region, and the precursor of modern tourism.

The "society of the past" created by ethnologists and subsequently adopted by heritage agents is shaped by the notion of "endangered culture", which suggests the idea of a society that is always on the verge of disappearing due to globalisation. Very common in heritage rhetoric, this narrative is a growing part of a demand from tourists for a type of primitive ethnic tourism (Stasch, 2014; MacCarthy 2016) that requires "authentic" and supposedly "ancient" lifestyles, expressing an "imperialist nostalgia" (Rosaldo, 1989) for everything that has vanished in Western societies as a result of capitalist expansion. Bortolotto (2008) emphasises the ideological bias, which implicitly assumes that there is a pre-existing essence to defend, concealing the fact - also emphasised in the definition of intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003, art. 2.1) - that culture and tradition are not inert expressions, and that they are produced and transformed constantly. The notion of "endangered culture" is not universal, but expresses a scheme of values originating in Western taxonomies, which confer a value on the "traditional" and "primitive" that transcends time, as well as effective situations of economic exploitation and acculturation. Its adoption by the heritage administration leads to an essentialist vision of Zafimaniry ethnic identity, restricted entirely to wood carving³. With nuances, this same narrative is used by tour operators sales points, who promote social appreciation of aspects features normally associated with pre-modernity, offering a "search for a lost time" in a pre-colonial past. At the time of conducting this research, numerous tour operators were offering tours of this region. One agency based in the country's capital was touting an excursion to the town as "a trip a hundred years back in time, to a captivating, fascinating medieval world"⁴. Another operator describes the Zafimaniry as "one of the last remaining animist tribes in Madagascar", "the lost tribe"⁵. The agency manager commented in a personal message:

2

This ideological interpretation of the heritage narrative is confirmed by the only other Malagasy site included on the UNESCO world heritage list on the basis of cultural criteria: the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga, a citadel and royal necropolis related to Merina ethnicity. Their addition to the list in 2001, shortly before the Zafimaniry, demonstrates the process of constructing heritage building as a desire for affirmation by this group (Saretzky and May, 2015).

3

According to the Zafimaniry, their close links with the forest are the true foundation of their ethnic identity (Bloch, 1995; Mancinelli, 2017: 55-80).

4

<<http://www.papavelotrekking.com/randonnee-zafimaniry-grand-tour-nordou-grand-tour-sud.php>> [Last consulted: 20 May 2010].

"[The Zafimaniry] are the last remaining pure ones, the only survivors of [the] first migrations [...]". During these same years, a regional cooperation association received massive funding from the European Union's ACORDS programme to build a receptive structure - which has never been operational - and the development of a cultural ecotourism circuit. This project, in conjunction with the UNESCO action plan, was a cause for concern and suspicion among the local population, who were excluded from the decision-making process. Zafimaniry representatives describe themselves as *tompontrano mihono*, the landlords who do not know what is happening on their property. Criticising the vertical, state-run management of the UNESCO project, they lamented the waste of funds and the fact that their real situation and needs were being ignored. The UNESCO safeguarding measure that generated the most outrage among the wood carvers was the creation of a trademark registered with the Malagasy Office for Industrial Property (OMAPI), which required them to set up an association of legal owners and to pay a fee to use it. This was joined by other initiatives, such as the creation of an engravings inventory establishing 21 motifs approved as "authentic"; a training workshop on ISO quality standards; and training of local tourist guides - all indicative of a strategy to convert Zafimaniry art into an exercise in ethnomarketing (Comaroff, J. L. and Comaroff, J., 2009) through a local microenterprise project, in line with World Bank development strategies.

Concluding thoughts

This article illustrates the complexities of institutional heritagisation, tourism and development in a post-colonial context. The application of heritage regimes (Bendix *et al.*, 2013) is configured as an arena with the connective capacity (Franquesa, 2013) to form links between the interests of different areas - political, economic, cultural, tourism - legitimising the infusion (Haftsein, 2018) of normative devices and globocentric value logic into local practices



and meanings. The social construction of the Zafimaniry through heritage and tourist rhetoric makes them a living archetype of a society of the past, resignifying Western hegemonic assumptions of colonial times (Clifford, 1998) with a kind of nostalgia and fascination. Notions such as "primitive" and "pure", which have long proven analytically unsuitable, find new meaning in tourism (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994) that transfigures them into fascinating subjects.

Clearly, the inclusion of the Zafimaniry in these value schemes creates tension between exogenous representations and indigenous notions of identity and heritage. Faced with these expropriation and control process, the attitude of the Zafimaniry swings between suspicion, resistance and assimilation and warrants a deep analysis beyond the confines of this brief essay. I therefore limit myself to glimpsing it through a fragment of ethnography, by illustrating it with the building of a track for vehicles, which captures extremely well the paradox implicit in a glorification of the traditional oriented by external inten-

Fragment of an engraving (sokitra) (2009). VINCENZO LEOMBRUNO

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<http://www.fronterasdepapel.com/enero2009/pais_zafimaniry_info.htm> [Last consulted: 7 May 2013.

tions. The track would improve accessibility to one of the most touristy villages but the project was opposed by tour operators. The village chief opposed it, raising the fear of losing the benefits of tourism if his village became too "modern" and easily accessible. The pressure of the hegemonic discourse creates a paradox that pits the conservation

of supposed 'authenticity' against the quest for modernity and progress desired by the population, highlighting its implicit risks: the danger of 'museification' (MacCannell, 1984: 388; Herzfeld, 2004: 31) of living peoples. ■

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Political and economic uses of Rapa Nui National Park (Easter Island, Chile), a World Heritage Site

Introduction

This article sets out to illustrate the tensions and disputes surrounding heritage and the effects of heritagisation on communities' internal cohesion, by describing the process of transferring management of Rapa Nui National Park to an organisation that represents the local ethnic group. It also seeks to analyse the relationship between economic and political uses of identity and heritage in the case studied.

According to Roigé and Frigolé (2010), the real motivations and uses underlying heritage processes can only be understood by approaching each individual case as a historical process, using ethnological methods. For this article, this method involved participant observation, in-depth and semi-structured interviews with qualified Rapa Nui and mainland informants, as well as occasional conversations on Easter Island.

The author conducted field work between January and April 2014 as part of his doctoral research on heritage uses on Easter

Island. Then, in connection with a diagnostic study on the Vaitea complex (industrial heritage), he returned to the island five times between August 2015 and December 2016, for participant observation in heritage management during the taking of the NRNP and the transfer process. Finally, within the framework of a genealogical study of one of the Rapa Nui clans, the author returned briefly to Easter Island during January 2018 to gather opinions on the local management of the park. Simultaneously and subsequently, the author followed the process through press articles. Testimonies from Rapa Nui authorities and officials from different institutions on the island (Advisory Commission for Rapa Nui National Monuments, Technical Secretariat of Rapa Nui Heritage, Easter Island Development Commission, Rapa Nui Parliament, Hōnuī Family Council, Ma'u Henua) were used for this article. The information gathered



Tongariki sector, inside the Rapa Nui National Park (2014).

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was used to interpret the uses of heritage on Easter Island.

Theoretical approach

Cultural heritage is closely linked to the identity of groups, ethnicities and nations, as it can operate as a diacritic with respect to other groups when considered as collective heritage (Anico & Peralta, 2009). It is in the reflection on collective identity that certain elements are selected as elements of the shared heritage (Davallon, 2010).

Here, the concept of "collective identity" is understood to be a social category with which a group identifies itself and others, and to which meanings are assigned (Larraín, 2001). Groups process, rearrange and use

materials from history, geography, biology, institutions, collective memory and fantasies, religious 'revelations', etc., to shape their identities according to social determinants and cultural projects (Castells, 2001).

In the case of ethnic identities, these are built based on socially differentiating cultural signs that are validated in social interaction and enable in-group/out-group dichotomisation (Poutignat and Streiff-Fenart, 1995).

Several authors (Bourdieu, 1980; García Canclini, 1999; Arrieta, 2010; Prats, 1997; Roigé & Frigolé, 2010; Quintero, 2009) argue that some kind of dispute exists as to who defines the identity or collective heritage, its management and who benefits from

Paraules clau: identitat, etnicitat, etnoeconomia, ús del patrimoni.

Palabras clave: identidad, etnicidad, etnoeconomía, usos del patrimonio

Keywords: identity, ethnicity, ethno economy, heritage uses.

En aquest article s'analitza el traspàs de l'administració del Parc Nacional Rapa Nui (PNRN), on es concentra el patrimoni monumental de l'illa de Pasqua, a una entitat representativa de l'ètnia rapanui. Les accions sostingudes, així com els resultats assolits per la part rapanui consumeixen usos polítics i econòmics d'aquest conjunt patrimonial, com a referent identitari i font d'ingressos, en un context de recerca de major autonomia enfront de l'Estat de Xile. A partir de registre etnogràfic i revisió de premsa, s'analitza l'ús econòmic del patrimoni, considerant-ne la interacció amb l'ús polític.

En este artículo se analiza el traspaso de la administración del Parque Nacional Rapa Nui (PNRN), donde se concentra el patrimonio monumental de isla de Pascua, a una entidad representativa de la etnia rapanui. Las acciones sostenidas, así como los resultados alcanzados por la parte rapanui dan cuenta de usos políticos y económicos de dicho conjunto patrimonial, como referente identitario y fuente de ingresos, en un contexto de búsqueda de mayor autonomía frente al Estado de Chile. A partir de registro etnográfico y revisión de prensa, se analiza el uso económico del patrimonio y su interacción con el uso político.

This paper analyses the transfer of the administration of the Rapa Nui National Park (PNRN), where the monumental heritage of Easter Island is concentrated, to an entity representative of the Rapanui ethnic group. Sustained actions, as well as the results achieved by the Rapanui part, account for political and economic uses of that patrimonial set, as a reference for identity and source of income, in a context of seeking greater autonomy facing the Chile State. Based on the ethnographic record and press review, the economic use of heritage is analysed, considering its interaction with the political use.



it. There is a use of heritage to build identities, and for vindicating rights and claims is put to political use. It serves to "support myths of origin" that fuel collective pride (Quintero, 2009).

In Chile, and other countries with multicultural policies of a neoliberal nature, ethnic identities' interest in positioning themselves, their cultural features and heritage elements, is intertwined with economic expectations. For indigenous peoples and ethnic groups, cultural heritage is often the main resource available to generate income. Several authors have addressed the topic of the implementation of multicultural policies in Chile and their effects on ethnic identities – "folklorisation", commercial exploitation (e.g. Figueroa, 2008; Boccara, 2010; Antileo, 2013; Bustos, 2014).

In a context of growing global demand for things which are local and authentic (Frigolé

& Roigé, 2006; Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002), ethnicity serves to add value with "ethnic goods" (Comaroff, J. L. and Comaroff, J., 2012), which can be acquired by tourists or exported to other markets. This commodification of cultural identity and heritage may, under certain conditions, contribute to its reproduction (Van Den Berghe and Keyes, 1984; Escobar, 1995; Comaroff, J. L. and Comaroff, J., 2012).

Historical background

The Rapa Nui ethnic group almost disappeared in the second half of the 19th century as a result of the slave trade, exodus and disease (Cristino *et al.*, 1984). The annexation of Easter Island by the Chilean state was effected by an "Agreement of Wills" in 1888 in a treaty signed by the navy captain, Policarpo Toro, in representation of Chile, brokered by Catholic missionaries, in an operation that also involved transactions with private individuals claiming ownership

Ranu Raraku sector, inside Rapa Nui National Park (2014).

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rights on the island (Fischer, 2001). Towards the end of the 19th century, the Chilean State leased the island to traders who set up the “Compañía Explotadora de Isla de Pascua” and the Rapa Nui were confined to a fenced-in, guarded reserve, while the rest of the island was used as a sheep ranch (Foerster, 2012).

This condition did not change until the 1960s, with the enactment of the “Ley Pascua”, which created a better relationship between the Chilean State and the Rapa Nui people. Since then, Easter Island has become an popular tourist destination, with constant growth in visitor numbers to over 90,000 per year, whose main purpose for visiting is to experience the archaeological landscape and Rapa Nui culture (AUTOCITA, 2017).

In 1935, Easter Island National Park was created and the entire island was declared a Historic Monument. However, an institution was not commissioned yet to protect the existing heritage (Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato, 2008), it was not until the seventies that the National Forestry Corporation (CONAF), a private corporation whose main purpose is to manage Chile’s National System of Protected Wild Areas.

Dispute over the park

In 2014, several local leaders started demanding that management of the PNRN be transferred to the Rapa Nui based on three main grounds: i) poor management of archaeological heritage by CONAF; ii) leakage of the park's income into the tax coffers; and iii) the Rapa Nui's ancestral right to manage the island's territory and heritage, particularly the park, which contains its sacred sites.

Between March and August 2015, the Rapa Nui Parliament, an body with members from various Rapa Nui clans and that aspires to the island's decolonisation, kept the PNRN in place, not only to progress with the transfer of its management, but also to exert pressure regarding other demands of the Rapa Nui people: the draft Constitutional Organic Laws (LOC) for a Special Statute of Easter Island and for migration control. This takeover drew the attention of international tourism to the conflict over the park and caused economic losses for the state, which was unable to collect entrance fees. During the occupation, Rapa Nui people were allowed inside, and could bring in tourists and other guests, but other residents and even people of Rapa Nui descent who did not have the surname had difficulties entering.

Checkpoint in Vaitea sector, during the takeover of Rapa Nui National Park (2015).

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According to witness accounts from those stationed at the checkpoints during the five-month the PNRN takeover, they expected to be paid for this work. When the Rapa Nui Parliament started asking tourists to pay fees, police and court action was taken against its leaders.

Other Rapa Nui organisations lent their support when the park was taken over, until the government committed to working on the LOCs on the issues mentioned above and an Indigenous Consultation on co-management of the Park was set up, within the framework of Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization. This led to a vote in favour of joint management of the park by CONAF and an ethnic representative entity in 25 October 2015, even though the demand was for a full management transfer.

A political body, the Council of Hōnui Families, was set up for the consultation to represent the 37 family lineages that make up the Rapa Nui ethnic group. This is a traditional type of organisation that has become established over time as the main body representing all Rapa Nui clans. Later, the Ma'u Henua Polynesian Indigenous Community was created, a legal entity under Law

19,253, to sign co-administration agreement with CONAF and operate the NRNP. In February 2017, this community had 1,314 active members (García, 2017), equivalent to practically the entire adult population of Rapa Nui on Easter Island. According to its articles of association, this formal organisation is accountable to the Hōnui.

Ma'u Henua took over the co-administration of the Park in October 2016 and has taken all the funds collected from ticket sales ever since. To collect more funds, the price of the tickets was doubled, the number of sites requiring tickets increased from five to 25 and the control hours are now from 8 am to 9 pm (they were previously from 9 am to 6 pm) (García, 2017). During the first year of co-administration, the community raised almost 4 million euros (Ovalle, 2017).

In November 2017, the park was transferred to Ma'u Henua in concession for 50 years. As an indigenous community, it cannot distribute profits; however, it creates direct and indirect jobs, and profits for local suppliers of goods and services, through building reinforcement structures, adapting sites, providing public services, surveillance, etc.

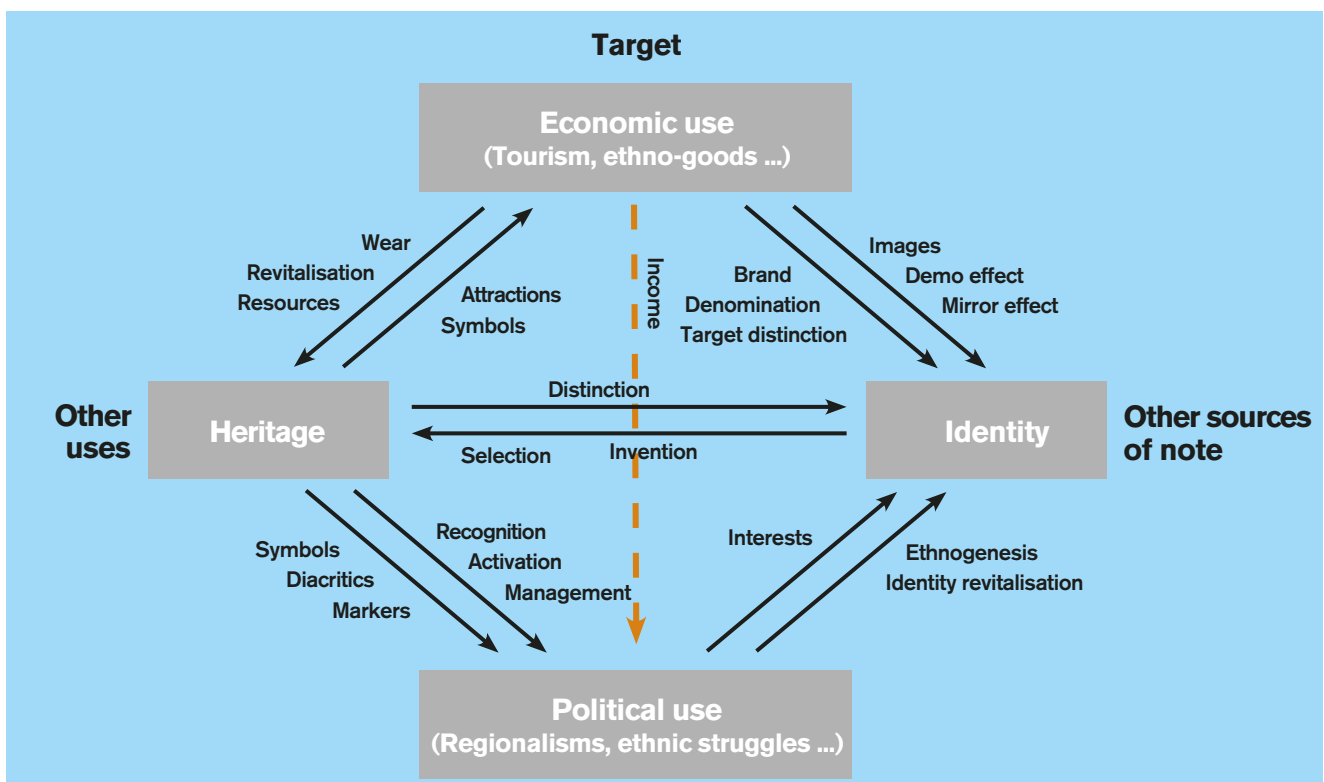
Sign showing decolonisation aspirations on Easter Island (2014). ROBERTO CONCHA

Nowadays, leaders of the Hōnui Council of Families point out that the Ma'u Henua organisation is not accountable to them, as was the mandate, regarding the use of the resources obtained from the Park and accusations of alleged misappropriation have been reported in the press (Díaz, 2019).

Conclusions

Since the signing of the partnership agreement between Ma'u Henua and CONAF, members of the Rapa Nui ethnic group have been able to manage and reap economic benefits from the area where their monumental heritage is concentrated. We agree with Bustos (2014) -who analyses ethno-genesis processes in the north of Chile- that the enterprise is a logical option within the context of neoliberal multiculturalism. The economic use of the Park is made possible through a legal entity representing the Rapa Nui ethnic group, the Ma'u Henua community. The ethnicity-business (Comaroff, J. L. and Comaroff, J., 2012) operates under the rules set by the State, which imposes its laws but also adapts to the situation.

The ancestral right and sacred bond of the ethnic group with the entire island territory and heritage there were used to justify transferring management of the Park. Once the co-administration agreement has been signed, the heritage was used for profit, but it also supported the Rapa Nui ethnic group's political project, as an overseas colony aspiring to obtaining a greater share of sovereignty, firstly, to exercise the right to manage its own heritage, and secondly, because economic success increases autonomy, providing considerable funds that can be spent at will, which is the basis of government. It can be concluded that the political and economic uses of the NRNP reinforce each other. However, rifts exist within the Rapa Nui ethnic group with respect to the park's management. First, during the transfer, when access was restricted to persons who did not fulfil certain ethnic markers; then, when suspicions arose regarding the handling of large profits from ticket sales. Here, the dispute between different Rapa Nui factions is not over their ability to be represented and made visible, but rather over the control of their assets and the revenue they generate. ■



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EL PRIORAT

Cançons i tonades de la tradició oral



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Generalitat de Catalunya
Departament de Cultura



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Festivity and Festival

A Tale of Two Models of Culture in Girona City

An offshoot of ongoing anthropological fieldwork on “the giant world” (*el món geganter*) in Catalonia, this mini case study considers the uncomfortable co-existence of two models of culture in the city of Girona: festa and festival. It begins by introducing Girona’s “culture of festa” (*cultura de la festa*), specifically annual performance of “festive imagery” (*imatgeria festiva*), and Girona, City of Festivals, a local government initiative that uses culture as an attraction. Then it marshals ethnographic evidence of tension between these models. After the case is situated comparatively in the Catalan context, attention turns to this tension’s historical and sociological underpinnings and to efforts by culture of festa

practitioners to increase government support for festive imagery performance and also to broaden local knowledge of and engagement with it.

Fieldwork on which the case study is based, ongoing from two to six months annually since 2010, is centered with Fal·lera Gironina, the “group” (*colla*) that dances Girona’s “giants” (*gegants*), “bigheads” (*capgrossos*), and other festive imagery. The research focuses on continuities and transformations in a tradition dating to the Middle Ages and on the current functioning of the association that has animated Girona’s festive figures since 1997. Fieldwork involves participating, with permission, in the life of Fal·lera Gironina, a group of some 70 people, young and old; attending practi-

1 Research is under the oversight of Brandeis University’s Institutional Review Board (Protocol #1015). *Gràcies de tot cor* to everyone of Fal·lera Gironina; gratitude to anonymous reviewers, Eliseu Carbonell, Bernat Grau Moré, Elizabeth Robertson, Karen Robertson, and Isaac Sánchez Ferrer for helpful comments on drafts; Jordi Canet, Robe Rodríguez, and Galdric Sala for generously providing photographs; and Saida Palou Rubio for inviting me to contribute a case study.

Aquest estudi de cas explora la tensió entre dos models de cultura contrastats a Girona, a partir del treball de camp amb la Fal·lera Gironina, la colla gegantera responsable de la imatgeria festiva municipal. Mentre que el model de festival de l’Ajuntament és cèntric i centrífug, dedicat a atraure turistes de fora de Girona i Catalunya, el model de festa de la cultura popular és local, centrat en la participació i la construcció del poble. En el primer es busca guany econòmic, mentre que el segon depèn de les persones que aporten el seu temps sense ànim de lucre.

El presente estudio de caso explora la tensión entre dos modelos de cultura contrastados en Girona, a partir del trabajo de campo con la Fal·lera Gironina, la agrupación responsable de la imatgeria festiva municipal. Mientras que el modelo de festival del Ayuntamiento es céntrico y centrífugo, dedicado a la atracción de turistas de fuera de Girona y Catalunya, el modelo de fiesta de la cultura popular es local, dedicado a la participación y a la construcción del pueblo. En el primero se busca el beneficio económico, mientras que el segundo depende de las personas que aportan su tiempo sin afán de lucro.

This case study explores the tension between two contrasting models of culture in Girona based on fieldwork conducted with Fal·lera Gironina, a popular culture group that performs the municipal festive imagery. The festival model of Girona City Hall pivots around the city center and strives to attract tourists from beyond Girona and Catalonia. Meanwhile, popular culture’s festa model is local, centered on community participation and community building. Whereas the former seeks economic gain, the latter depends on people collectively contributing their time without economic motivation.

ces, performances, meetings of the junta, and other activities; reading city records; and attending events related to traditional and popular culture, neighborhood association meetings, and festivals, plus short research stints in other cities (Barcelona, Berga, Olot, Reus, Solsona). Traditional ethnography is augmented with netnography on Facebook, Whatsapp, and relevant websites and by reading local press.

Festa in Girona

The earliest evidence yet found of festive imagery in Catalonia is the much-cited official reference to David with the giant and Saint Christopher with baby Jesus in Barcelona's Corpus Christi Procession of 1424 (e.g., Ardèvol i Julià 2015: 12; Carbó i Martorell 2000: 3). Girona City has a long history of festive figures: giant, dragon, and eagle are dated to 1513 (Chía 1895: 66). Its "old giants" (*gegants vells*) are among the centenarians celebrated in a 2017 catalogue published by the Government of Catalonia (Ardèvol i Julià, 2015: 186-189); the "new giants" (*gegants nous*) date to 1985. These

four figures, as well as nine "historic bigheads" (*capgrossos històrics*), which represent roles of the Middle Ages (e.g., citizen, nun) and local sites (e.g., Fountain of Pericot), are all municipal property.

For more than two decades, the city's giants and bigheads have been in the contracted and subsidized care of Fal·lera Gironina. The original agreement stipulated that Fal·lera host 20 other groups at a "Gathering of Giants" (Trobada de Gegants) annually at the close of the Fairs and Festas of Saint Narcís, the major festa in honor of the city's patron saint. At the festa's inauguration, Fal·lera parades the municipal figures to City Hall plaza, where the "Dance of Giants and Bigheads" concludes the performance (fig. 1). Also danced are Gerió, a giant representing the city's mythical founder, and Beatusaure, a dragon, both created and owned by Fal·lera. Since 2013, a number of neighborhoods have commissioned or constructed festive figures, which have joined those of the city and Fal·lera in the major festa's inaugural parade. In 2018, instead of a single route, as

Paraules clau: Catalunya, festa, festival, cultura popular, turisme.

Palabras clave: Catalunya, festa, festival, cultura popular, turisme.

Keywords: Catalonia, festa, festival, popular culture, tourism.

**Dance of Giants,
Fires (Major Festa),
Girona (26 October 2018).**

JORDI CANET



in the past, four parades started at different points and then united.

Besides giants and bigheads, Girona has a crowned eagle, prerogative of a municipality with royal privileges. It represents the city (Perpinyà Salvatella; Grau Herero 2013: 58) and, historically, greeted visiting monarchs and other dignitaries. Although the Fal·lera is not contracted to dance Girona's eagle, in recent years it has done so at the major festa; the cavalcade of the Three Kings, to welcome the visiting monarchs; and, beginning in 2017, the Corpus Christi Procession.

Girona, "City of Festivals"

In 2013, Girona proclaimed itself "City of Festivals" (*Ciutat de festivals*), which "put in relief the importance of musical events in the city," from Classical Nights to Festival of Premiers, founded to be "the referent of music made in our country" (Ajuntament de Girona, 2013). In Catalan, referent means whatever a given word denotes, but also a point of reference, the standard by which others are judged. By this act of branding, a provincial capital declared itself not merely "city of music" but "capital of music" (Ajuntament de Girona, 2013). No small claim, given that Barcelona, provincial capital and cosmopolitan city that dwarfs Girona, is also capital of Catalonia, one of Spain's autonomous regions and, many hope, soon-to-be independent European state. By 2016, 9 festivals had grown to 21 grouped under 7 categories: music, largest with 9 events; audiovisuals, with 3; interdisciplinary, with 3; visual arts, with 2; theater arts, with 2; literature, with 1; and traditional and popular culture, with 1 (Ajuntament de Girona, 2015b).

Undàrius, added in 2015, remains the last category's lone exemplar. As first described, "The festival wants to be a showcase of traditional and popular culture, very much alive in the organizations and life of the city" (Ajuntament de Girona, 2015a). From this Girona-centric focus, Undàrius turned

outwards to showcase music from Catalan- and Occitan-speaking areas. Local popular culture organizations, including Fal·lera Gironina; Diables de l'Onyar, the group that wields traditional pyrotechnics; and Marrecs, the adjacent city of Salt's human tower group (*colla castellerà*), have each performed within Undàrius. Yet Fal·lera members, even as they value Occitan music, bemoan the festival's lack of emphasis on local culture of festa and its music,

The introduction of "the brand" (*la marca*) "Girona, City of Festivals" marked the local government's commitment to "a new model of public and private collaboration in order to achieve better efficiency in cultural management and in the search for new audiences" (Ajuntament de Girona, 2013). The councilor of Tourism and Commerce remarked, "the city government's desire is that culture will become a strategic support to promote the city and, consequently, an attraction for visitors and a tool of economic reactivation" (Ajuntament de Girona, 2013). Both goals were quickly realized, as a study estimated the economic impact of the 2015 Girona, City of Festivals at 1,360,000 Euros, with 40% of attendees from outside Girona Province (Ajuntament de Girona, 2015b). Commenting on these findings, Carles Puigdemont, then Mayor of Girona and currently President of Catalonia in exile, stated, "it encourages us to continue this path, becoming a cultural point of reference in Catalonia and the south of Europe."

Tension between Festa and Festival

City Hall's annual reports on culture give scant attention to the popular and traditional. Year after year between 2011 and 2017, in volumes from just under 80 to well over 200 pages, Fal·lera Gironina and Diables de l'Onyar are mentioned almost exclusively in relation to Mas Abella, the municipal building that serves as practice, storage, and social space for both groups, among others (Ajuntament de Girona, 2011-2017).

At a 2017 debate I attended on culture, convened by the political party CUP (Candidatura d'Unitat Popular), participants lamented that most Gironans do not know of Mas Abella or where it is located. This is not surprising as no signs then pointed to it and no name was posted on it. A Fal·lera member noted it is not easily accessible via public transport and suggested a dedicated weekend bus stop. Others from Fal·lera, Diablers de l'Onyar, and other organizations complained about the municipality's neglect of their cultural space and inattention to infrastructural needs, as well as the absence of even a "room of festas open to the city," much less a "House of Festa" (Casa de la Festa).

One commented on "City Hall's absolute ignorance," and another stated, "We are invisible to City Hall; we don't appear in the promotional video" of Girona's major festa, despite Fal·lera's central role therein. In an essay published the following week, Salellas (2017), a CUP city councilor, called City Hall's "lack of will at base to project this culture and the organizations that promote it as one of the pillars of our city" its "original sin." In early 2019, after repeated requests by Fal·lera's president and others, City Hall installed an official plaque on Mas Abella's façade identifying it by name as "Space of popular and traditional culture of Girona" and listing the groups that share it.

The festival model was invoked in a 2016 debate about keeping a school library in Santa Eugènia neighborhood open after school hours. In a Facebook post, Núria Terés Bonet, who served as a city councilor for the Initiative for Catalonia Greens (ICV-EUiA, 2007-2011), wrote,

Girona, city of festivals, very centric, . . . [they] don't want to spend 16,000 Euros on [keeping] the Montfollet school library open to the neighborhood! Which is more culture?" This was a model to extend!!! . . . Where is culture in peripheral neighborhoods? We don't get even a scrap? What a misery!

In a caustic opinion piece criticizing "City Hall of Girolàndia," Albert Soler (2016), a *Diari de Girona* newspaper contributor, declared, "If you invite the entire team of Game of Thrones to dine at a 5-star restaurant, waive taxes for filming, and collaborate with failed private initiatives," it is "normal" that City Hall "not have money for trifling matters like keeping the Montfollet library open" to local residents.

Beyond how and in whose benefit municipal money is spent, another criticism, one voiced by people involved in traditional culture, is that festivals are predominantly high or elite culture. Yet another concerns tourists inundating the city, making daily life for locals difficult, especially in the "Old Quarter" (Barri Vell), where, to accommodate concerts and other events, cars are temporarily banned from certain streets, parking spaces normally reserved for residents are blocked, and packed thoroughfares make shopping and other routine tasks a trial. All these concerns have been expressed by individuals in written complaints to City Hall and in public forums, for instance, meetings of the Old Quarter's Neighborhood Association.

A cartoon in *Diari de Girona* evokes the city's efforts to attract tourists (Sala, 2017) (fig. 2). Some interpretive context is needed here. In front of the Basilica of Saint Feliu stands a replica of a medieval column, on which a carved lioness perches vertically, forepaws above, hindpaws below. Kissing her rear-end is said to ensure returning to the city. In the cartoon, "Tourism of Girona" appears above parallel panels labeled "Normal Season" (Temporada Normal) and "High Season" (Temporada Alta), each containing a lioness. The first resembles the statue. The second, according to its creator (personal communication, 10 January 2019), "'goes high'" (*va alta*), like a cat "in heat," displayed butt inviting comers, as does Girona in tourism's high season. Note that *Temporada Alta*, "High Season," is also the name of a theater festival



Cartoon in *Diari de Girona* (28 May 2017).

GALDRIC SALA

within Girona, City of Festivals. According to Fal·lera members with whom I discussed the comic, “Girona is increasingly focused on tourism rather than citizens.”

Girona City Hall’s inattention to popular and traditional culture contrasts with attention given it in other cities. For example, Barcelona’s website has a well-developed, visually impactful section devoted to popular culture, complete with descriptions and photographs of festive imagery belonging to the city as a whole and to neighborhoods, plus information on a “network of active Houses of Festa,” where figures can be seen when not performing (Ajuntament de Barcelona, n.d.). In Solsona, a small city in the foothills of the Pyrenees northwest of Barcelona famous for its Corpus Christi Procession and Carnival, the municipal government’s homepage’s tab for tourism takes visitors to a video entitled “Festa” and the city’s brand, “Solsona, a giant experience,” which includes a line drawing of the city’s giant’s face in profile (Ajuntament de Solsona, n.d.). Unlike in Girona, the Tourist Office provides information on local festive imagery, sells videos of performances and related books, and offers guided tours to the locale where giants and other figures are housed.

Reasons for and Responses to the Uneasy Conjunction of Festa and Festival

Why, unlike Barcelona and Solsona, as well as other municipalities, does Girona short shrift culture of festa? Why does City Hall not valorize it and harness it to tourism as Barcelona, Solsona, and other cities do? Local explanations for this indifference include Girona’s history as, in the words of a municipal staff member, an “absolutely religious city.” Despite festive figures’ roots in Corpus Christi, the Catholic Church has viewed them as pagan and frivolous. In early 20th century Girona, for example, the public was instructed to respect Corpus Christi’s solemnity and not toss streamers at the passing giants, and these figures were banned from the procession from the mid-1970s until their return in 2017. Someone with links to Girona’s Cathedral commented that during the 32 years socialists controlled City Hall, which ended in 2011, giants were not liked due to their association with Corpus Christi, that is, with religion. An explanation more frequently proffered is the city’s history as a business center—“Girona always acts the merchant,” I was told—and associated bourgeois valorization of culture as concerts and theater. It is no accident that

Girona's major festa is rarely referred to as that or even as a festa; instead it is routinely called Fires, meaning "fairs," markets by another name. A final underlying factor I have heard is the rivalry between Girona and Barcelona, a competition, from Girona's perspective, for prominence in culture. Through festivals, Girona officially seeks to be a referent in Catalonia and beyond of culture, not of culture of festa.

It is tempting to see the tension between festa and festival as between people and government, but that obscures the fact that people elect and constitute government, as well as the fact that public enthusiasm for culture of festa in Girona is dwarfed by that in other cities and towns in Catalonia, including Berga, Reus, Solsona, and Olot. Local explanations point to historical and sociological sources for both festa and festival in contemporary Girona and to their interdependence.

Factors and forces shaping the two models of culture in Girona City and their current uneasy conjunction are what the sociologist Howard Becker (1998: 32), following C. Everett Hughes, calls contingencies. In a city historically permeated by religion and

marked by close ties between City Hall and a powerful Cathedral, a city in which business, bourgeois culture, and measured behavior have been valorized, culture of festa presents a challenge to proper order. In light of Girona's self-definition in relation to Barcelona, the huge annual Gathering of Giants demanded of Fal·lera by Girona's City Hall can be seen as shaped, however unselfconsciously, by the first such event documented, the famous 1902 concentration of festival figures in Barcelona "intended to convert the Festas of the Mercè into the grand major festa of Catalonia" (Perpinyà Salvatella; Grau Herrero 2013: 104).

Weak City Hall acknowledgment of and support for culture of festa and weak public knowledge of and enthusiasm for festive imagery performance interlock. Fal·lera's ongoing and new activities are, in part, responses to these intertwined phenomena. Fal·lera Gironina (n.d.) developed and maintains a website on figures, complete with activities for children. In the absence of a House of Festa, group members, at their own initiative, constructed large shelves in Mas Abella to store and display bigheads and other figures and in 2018 painted silhouettes of all the festive imagery, musicians, and

**Storage Room
of Fal·lera Gironina,
Mas Abella
(18 January 2019).**

ROBE RODRIGUÉZ



“stick dancers” (*bastoners*), as in a procession or parade (fig. 3), on Persian blinds concealing stored materials.

In 2017, at its initiative, the group obtained a subsidy from City Hall for a children’s book, entitled *A Bighead Has Been Lost* (Garcia Cornellà, 2017). A second book, *The Enigmas of Beatusaure and the Witch of the Cathedral*, for older children, was illustrated by a professional artist but written by the group (Fal·lera Gironina 2019). Both aim not only to entertain but also to educate readers about Gironan culture of festa and to spark engagement with it. Additionally, Fal·lera has introduced new performances in Girona, which gather larger audiences each year, but those await discussion in a longer account of the research on which this short case study draws.

In the festival model, decision-making is concentrated among political and economic elites, and centripetal forces skip over much of the local citizenry and neighborhoods

to Catalonia and beyond. A key purpose is to pull people from elsewhere to Girona for reputational and economic gain. The festa model, in contrast, depends on people who, without pay, devote their time to performing local traditional and popular culture. Goals are to have fun, entertain, gather people together, create connections among them, and forge a sense of belonging. As those engaged in traditional culture say of this collective enterprise, which involves performers, assistants, and active spectators, “we make community” (*fem poble*), “we make the country” (*fem país*).

Girona’s practitioners of culture of festa will not renounce its place, or theirs, in culture. Tensions between these models—“culture versus popular culture,” as a member of Fal·lera put it—will likely continue in Girona City, even as tourism will likely continue to rise and culture of festa, both city-wide and neighborhood-based, will likely continue to increase in visibility and participation. ■

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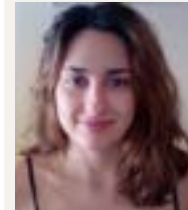
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The *correbaus* in Horta de Sant Joan (2018).

MIREIA CLUA



“Hands off our bulls!”

Bullfighting festivals in the Terres de l'Ebre and the heritage of the offended

"When I use a word", Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty "which is to be master — that's all."

(*Alice through the Looking Glass*, Lewis Carroll)

Grandfather, I want a horse. Do you have one?

—You want a horse? I'm too poor to buy you a horse. But we have the horse of pride.

(*Le cheval d'orgueil*, Pierre-Jakez Hélias)

disappearance of most of the traditional bull-fighting festivals or *correbous*, of which few remained due in part to the legal offensive at the end of the eighties, but above all, to a lack of agreement among local people on the subject. However, things are very different in one region of Catalonia that is often somewhat marginalised: the Terres de l'Ebre. Here, different types of *correbous* festivals are still held, and the number is increasing. There festivities involving bulls have not only resisted and adapted to restrictions imposed from outside, but have increased in number over the years, protected by a measure of institutional approval, and firmly sustained by a level of popular support that contrasts with the rejection that has more or less led to their disappearance in the rest of the Principality. In September 2019, Parliament urged the Catalan Government to abolish these festivals once and for all.

Heritage and conflict

In Catalonia, a new and growing sensitivity regarding our relationship with animals, and at the same time a political climate especially alert to the symbolic aspects of the historical dispute with Spain, led in 2010, to the *de facto* abolition of the conventional *corrida de toros* and the gradual

The context within which this contradiction occurs - that of a traditional festival that is disappearing, and is threatened with prohibition but that persists and is being revived in a particular area - is significant and always appears to be shaped by a form of social support that perceives festivals involving bulls as a non-negotiable part of the local identity, a

L'any 2018 es van celebrar 439 *correbous* a les Terres de l'Ebre, sis més que l'any anterior. Aquest auge resultava d'una legislació que protegia les festes amb toros tradicionals, però sobretot d'un sud ignorat i menystingut, que havia assolit un nou orgull identitari a partir de les mobilitzacions contra el Pla Hidrològic Nacional. Una de les expressions d'aquesta vindicació va ser la proposta perquè els bous fossin reconeguts per la UNESCO com a Patrimoni Cultural Immaterial de la Humanitat, una vindicació d'èxit improbable, ateses les dificultats d'aquestes festes per ser acceptades ni tan sols com a part de l'erari cultural autoritzat a Catalunya, un rebuig que es va traduir, el setembre de 2019, en la petició del Parlament de Catalunya que els *correbous* fossin definitivament suprimits. El reclam popular de l'homologació com a valor intangible d'una festa considerada com a intolerable contribueix a la discussió sobre què és i què no és inventariable com a patrimoni.

En el año 2018 se celebraron 439 *correbous* en las Terres de l'Ebre, seis más que en el año anterior. Este auge resulta de una legislación que protegía las fiestas con toros tradicionales, pero sobre todo de un sur ignorado y menospreciado, que había alcanzado un nuevo orgullo identitario a partir de las movilizaciones contra el Plan Hidrológico Nacional. Una de las expresiones de esta vindicación fue la propuesta para que los toros fueran reconocidos por la UNESCO como Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la Humanidad, una vindicación de éxito improbable habida cuenta de las dificultades de estas fiestas para ser aceptadas ni siquiera como parte del erario cultural autorizado en Cataluña, un rechazo que se tradujo, en septiembre de 2019, en la petición del Parlament de Catalunya de que los *correbous* fueran definitivamente suprimidos en Cataluña. El reclamo popular de la homologación como valor intangible de una fiesta considerada como intolerable contribuye a la discusión sobre qué es y qué no es inventariable como patrimonio.

In 2018, 439 *correbous* took place in Terres de l'Ebre, six more than in 2017. This rise is the result of legislation protecting traditional bull-related festivities, and, more importantly, of an ignored and undervalued South, with newfound pride in an identity based on mobilisations against the Spanish National Hydrological Plan. One of the expressions of this movement is the proposal to have UNESCO recognise the *correbous* as intangible cultural heritage of humanity, the success of which is improbable considering the challenges this type of festivity faces in garnering acceptance, even as part of the authorised cultural heritage of Catalonia. All in all, a popular claim for standardisation such as this contributes to the discussion about what is and what is not inventoriable as heritage.

Paraules clau: *correbous*, Terres de l'Ebre, patrimoni, identitat, festes tradicionals.

Palabras clave: *correbous*, Terres de l'Ebre, patrimonio, identidad, fiestas tradicionales.

Keywords: *correbous*, Terres de l'Ebre, heritage, identity, traditional festivities.

collective identity constituted, as always, in conditions of aggressive opposition; in this case, between the political and economic centralism of Barcelona and the hegemonic models of what it means to be Catalan that are based on festivals and customs from other parts of the country.¹ In the first phase, we will see that the adaptation of the *correbous* to legal restrictions was key, in March 1988 these restrictions introduced the prohibition of one of the most important elements of the festival - the death of the animal in public - placing it in a context of hostility in the name of the new values of animal rights, which were on their way to becoming universal and hegemonic. In the second phase, during the first two decades of the 21ST century, the context we need to keep in mind is that of the strong feeling of identity felt by people in the Delta area that arose from their opposition to the National Hydrological Plan; the defence of the *correbous* formed part of that, and thus became a social movement.

This scenario is worth examination, as it sheds light on certain problems that anthropology, and in particular critical studies of heritage (Marble, Frigolé and Narotzky, 2010), have considered when addressing the controversial dimensions of heritage dynamics, which are full of schisms, antagonisms and contradictions, dark areas far from the friendly and non-conflicting views presented from the professionalised and institutional point of view (Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). The subject invites us to reflect on what it is that leads certain cultural objects to be officially recognised as 'heritage'. Even more controversial is the question of what and why a given cultural object deserves to be designated 'Intangible Heritage', a notion that in the early 2000s burst onto the scene to become a part of the agenda in politics and cultural studies. In all cases, there is evidence of how these labels are usually applied to all kinds of politically determined projections of identity, or are used in various forms of territorial marketing, predisposed to sell at the best possible price human landscapes presented as unique (Prats, 2014). We know that what is catalogued as heritage - whether tangible or intangible - is presumed to result

from the application of allegedly expert criteria, but in effect derives, directly or indirectly, from the dictates of economic exploitation in private or symbolic hands (or both at the same time) by institutions.

We also know that the notion of heritage refers to what a generation inherits from the one that precedes it; and also to what a person or group considers to be their property, not only in the sense of possessions, but in the sense of what belongs to it, the qualities it has, what makes it special. Approaching the way this concept is used when it comes to indicating what can be officially inventoried as cultural heritage, supposedly idiosyncratic elements are often selected that are presumed to refer not only to a synthesis of the past of a particular community, but also to its collective qualities, those that must persist over time, since it is on these that both its survival and its broader attributes depend. Intangible Cultural Heritage was defined by UNESCO as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003). This definition, which could be applied to any form of cultural inertia, is in fact used to highlight, praise, protect and promote only a limited number of the things that usually fall within the category of popular and traditional culture, which, in a way that is no less vague, preceded the introduction of the concept of 'intangible culture', Article 2 of Law 2/1993 on the Promotion and Protection of Catalan Popular and Traditional Culture, understood as "everything that refers to a set of cultural activities, either tangible or intangible, such as festivals and customs, music and musical instruments, dances and performances, festive traditions, literary creations, cooking, techniques and crafts and all the other activities of a popular and traditional nature".²

The question then arises as to who designates a given cultural production as significant as an expression of a given essence, and for whom, whether it be local, regional, national

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This defence of the *correbous* as a symbolic identity-based response to the neglect of the Terres de l'Ebre is explicit. In the file on the festivals involving bulls in the inventory of the intangible cultural heritage of the Terres de l'Ebre it says: "In the Terres de l'Ebre the question of identity linked to a form of celebration is a key factor in the defence of a region with a history of interventionism in the management of both culture and natural resources that is very often perceived as exogenous. The need to establish a territorial cultural unit to defend the region against wrongs has generated a resurgence of feelings of belonging based on the defence of what is understood to be a culture that belongs specifically to the Terres de l'Ebre" [online] <<http://ipcite.cat/ipcite/content/les-festes-amb-bous>> [Last consulted: 23 July 2019].

or, in the case of UNESCO, an expression of the ethical principles that give, or should give, substance to the positive universality of the human condition. In any case, these all-encompassing definitions, updates to the old Taylorian concept of culture, are neither real nor applicable. For example, not all popular festivals - this is perhaps where the concept is most frequently applied - are classified, or could be classified, as part of an intangible cultural heritage. Not everything that a community recognises as an identifying element will have the privilege of apparently being spared from the destructive and predatory machine that is capitalist progress, even though in reality the pardon it obtains results from its potential conversion into economic surplus and a factor of symbolic legitimacy. Depending on this criterion, some festivals will be encouraged, others ignored and yet others will be persecuted as being undesirable, in the sense that they are considered not only unproductive, but harmful to the positive image of the product on the cultural authenticity market (Santamaría and Montcusí, 2015).

In the case of Catalonia, the range of objects that can be rescued in order to exemplify the values of its own identity, and therefore what today would qualify as a potential part of heritage, has been changing. The process of re-establishing a national identity that had been weakened and concealed during the long years of Franco's dictatorship resulted in a festive heritage that had been denied in many ways, undervalued because it had been converted into folklore performed by the regime's *coros y danzas*, or simply prohibited. This dynamic of the rediscovery of festivals and popular culture did not mean, however, a mere re-edition of the old references imposed by the *Renaixença*, with its predilection for traditional themes adopted from Old Catalonia. (Prats, 1989). When renewing what Joan Prat (1991) called "demarcators of symbolic identification", the elements to be highlighted came mainly from parts of the country that nineteenth-century nationalism had more or less passed by. Indeed, the *castellers*, the sound of the *gralles*, the giants and the devils - that is, the central

themes of the post-Franco festival revival - were traditions that successfully imposed their aesthetic attraction and their symbolic virtues in an area that included the regions of Garraf, Alt and Baix Penedès, Alt and Baix Camp, Conca de Barberà, Priorat and Camp de Tarragona.

This shift of the essential geographic core of the imaginary of 'Catalanness' from the counties of Girona to those of Tarragona and Penedès demonstrated how the symbols that allow a feeling of identity to be constructed by those who have the power to produce legitimate meanings "are not static categories, frozen in time and, homogeneous, but a living thing, in a constant process of recreation and transformation" that depend on "a range of different circumstances and interdependent factors, those that give precise, synchronous, contextual content" (Pujades i Comas, 1991: 647). In other words, everything that was being presented as an exhibition of true 'Catalanness' was merely the result of a manipulation that "harked back to the past, selected certain facts and chose to forget others" (ibidem: 649). However, if it was indisputable that the substance of our people was eternal and immutable and that Catalonia was a phenomenon of divine or natural origin, the selection of testimonials to these basic truths in order to create what we today call intangible heritage could shift with the times and with the changing political mood.

So far, we have talked about the criteria that make the activation of a certain cultural element relevant as intangible heritage from specific instances that, consciously or unconsciously, are in accordance with political or private interests in terms of 'the imaginary'. But the political or economic powers and the specialists who obey, knowingly or otherwise, their orders do not always have a guaranteed monopoly of the quality of heritage. As a discursive production, the official highlighting of heritage can be disregarded or ignored by subordinate social groups or regions, who demand recognition not only of who and what they consider themselves to be, but also the abuse of which they may

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Law 2/1993, of 5 March, for the promotion and protection of popular and traditional culture and cultural associations [online] <https://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa?action=ftxa&documentID=73601> [Last consulted: 10 February 2019]

consider themselves to be victims. These "intangible" materialisations that conceal or disguise the existence of all kinds of injustices or omissions may be different from, and even incompatible with, what the authorised distributors of patrimonial excellence consider to be most important. And it is then when a field like heritage, that would be deemed immune to social or political constraints, being exclusively in the hands of wise experts and expert commissions, appears to be a vehicle for all kinds of social tensions, that find a language through which they can express themselves in the process of definition of what must be protected from the passage of time and human action.

All of these issues appear to be unfolding in Catalonia in the public polemic aroused by some of the *correbous* whose defence has mobilised a significant part - probably the majority - of the populations of the Baix Ebre and Montsià regions, with the support of local authorities who have coincided in championing these festivals as a sign of identity, not only on a regional level, but also as a way of living what it means to be Catalan in their own terms, against a backdrop characterised by the process of national emancipation that has been underway in Catalonia since 2010.

The discovery of 'unacceptable' Catalonia

In 2010 the Catalan Parliament adopted two apparently contradictory - for many, blatantly contradictory - legislative resolutions. On 3 August, Law 24/2010 abolished traditional bullfights in bullrings in Catalonia.³ Shortly afterwards, on 1 October, the same authority protected the traditional Catalan *correbous* by means of another law, Law 34/2010. This apparent contradiction was interpreted as an incomprehensible and indefensible comparative grievance, simultaneously denounced by animal rights groups, environmental parties and organisations, supporters of bullfighting, and the Spanish Partido Popular Government. The response of the Catalan political parties was that they had approved the new law because the *correbous*, unlike the so-called *fiesta nacional*,

was not a 'fiesta', and the animals were not killed.⁴ They argued that the nature of festivals featuring bulls in Catalonia were more humane and less cruel, demonstrating a relationship with the animals that did not exist in Spanish bullfights.⁵ The fact that this feature was the consequence of an earlier law, 3/1988, passed almost 20 years earlier was forgotten or ignored.

The central argument for the differential treatment that made bullfights illegal, and more or less at the same time declared the *correbous* in Catalonia still legal, was that bullfights involved a great deal of blood, and culminated in the public sacrifice of a living being, whereas in contrast the Catalan *correbous* were bloodless. The aim of the Law 34/2010 was clearly defined in article 2: "traditional festivities featuring bulls that do not involve the death of the animal (*correbous*)".⁶ It is true that in Catalonia festivals involving bulls were bloodless at the time the law was passed, and continue to be so today but, the wording assumes - and public discussions on the subject also assumed - that this aspect of the Catalan *correbous* - the fact that the animals are not killed - was an intrinsic part of the tradition itself, as if the benevolence shown towards the bull was part of an ethos that was somehow specifically Catalan. At no time was it remembered - at least not in the sources consulted - that if there were no bulls being killed in Catalonia this was because of a ban that had been imposed more than 20 years earlier. This legislation had been highly contentious, but nobody seemed to remember how problematic it had been to enforce.

Article 4 of Law 3/1988 on the protection of animals, approved by the Catalan Parliament in March 1988, prohibited "the use of animals in shows, fights and other activities that may cause suffering, or where the animals may be subject to mockery or unnatural treatment, or that may offend the sensibilities of those who watch them".⁷ Sporting practices such as pigeon shooting, and also traditions such as cockfighting in Badalona, the duck-catching in Roses and San Carles de la Rápita, and the public slaughter of

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The ban was annulled in a ruling by the Spanish Constitutional Court in the autumn of 2016, but this did not lead to a revival of the celebration of events involving bulls in Catalan bullrings because towards the end spectators had been reduced to summer tourists, who entrepreneurs did not consider to be a good business proposition.

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This contradiction has been underlined from the legal perspective. See Laus (2015), Grisostolo (2017) and Ridao Martin (2017).

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An example of this positive image attributed to the Catalan festivals involving bulls compared to those held in Spain: "It must be kept in mind that the *correbous* festivities, unlike *corridas*, do not involve the death of the animal. In fact the bulls that are most appreciated are the most experienced ones - it is they who generate excitement at the end of their careers" (Vega, 2015 81).

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Law 34/2010, on the regulation of traditional festivities with bulls [online] <https://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentid=558961&language=ca_ES> [Last consulted: 22 July 2019].

pigs in Juneda, Ogassa and Vidrà were not prohibited under the terms of this law. Bullfighting in existing bullrings and *correbous* were excluded, but the wording of the time implied a misunderstanding. In point 4.2 it could be understood that the exceptions were "traditional festivals involving bulls where the animal is not killed (*correbous*)". It was clear that neither the authors of the text of this law nor the parliamentarians who approved it were aware that in Catalonia there were many places where popular festivities involving bulls did culminate in the sacrifice of the animal, and that this often took place in public. It was obvious that this lack of knowledge would lead to a series of administrative and public order issues in the places where the local festivities had not been taken into account, simply because those responsible for drafting the law could not conceive of the possibility that festive traditions in Catalonia could include practices considered to be "unbecoming of civilised countries" (Loureiro Lamas and Sánchez García, 1990)

The consequences were immediately apparent. Attempts to implement Law 3/1988 came up against serious obstacles in many parts of the country, especially in some regions - those of the Ebre - which had once again been bypassed in the festival revival that came with the advent of democracy. Alcanar, where the town council was in the hands of the Iniciativa per Catalunya party, was the first victim. Fines were imposed not only as a penalty for the celebration of the *correbous* festivities, but also due to the disturbances that ended up with two policemen adrift on a raft. There were similar problems throughout the summer of 1988 in Amposta, San Carles de la Ràpita, Deltebre and other areas in the south of the country. It is in this context that a campaign was launched in protest against the threat to local festivals, and its main slogan was very clear: *Hands off our bulls!*

The most serious incidents occurred, however, in Cardona (Padullés, 2010 and 2011), where over the course of four years after the approval of the law, the locals, with the

support of the socialist municipal authorities themselves, disobeyed orders from the government, holding their *correbous* and killing the bull at the end of it. The scene of the conflict was significant, as it highlighted the active presence at that time of a tradition of bloody festivities involving bulls in the counties of what is still called "Catalan Catalonia", such as Bages, Cerdanya, La Garrotxa, Baix Empordà and La Selva (Lanao, Tornos and Vinyoles, 1990), and especially Cardona, the last stronghold of the anti-Bourbon resistance in the War of the Spanish Succession. It should be noted that the *correbous* in Cardona was twice presided over by Jordi Pujol as President of the Generalitat de Catalunya, the second time on 11 September 1983, a year before the event was officially declared a festival of interest to tourists.

The existence of festivities involving bloodshed in the Principality represented an obstacle when it came to constructing an image of popular national culture acceptable to the political interests of its elites. The image of festivities based on cruelty and bloodshed was associated in the official imaginary with Spain and in no way reflected the virtues officially attributed to the Catalan people in terms of their willingness to engage in dialogue, their civility and moderation, in line with what was claimed to be their clearly European aspirations. These virtues were clearly incompatible with any kind of festivities involving real violence (Delgado, 1993). Popular Catalan culture needed to be presented as a culture that could be exhibited as a living testimony to a peaceful and balanced society, and good judgement as an inherent quality of the Catalan people. This is why an extensive tradition of festivals that were taking place throughout the country involving bulls - including bullfights - had to be denied (Amades, 1983 [1956]: II, 202-208 and V, 113-114; González, 1990), it was a tradition that contradicted a rejection of bullfighting that has become one of the most recurrent themes of anti-Spanish nationalism in Catalonia, not always explicitly expressed and often wrapped up in ethical considerations based on a supposed moral superiority of

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Law 3/1988 on animal protection [online] <https://portal.juridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=492668> [Last consulted: 10 February 2019].

the Catalan nation (TKac, 2014; Xifrà and Sriramesh, 2019). This is the origin of the repeated attacks on the bull-shaped advertising hoardings (they originally advertised Osborne brandy) in Bruc in 2002, 2007 and 2009, as well as the adoption of the Catalan donkey in the early 2000s as a symbol of what it meant to be Catalan.

What Law 3/1988 addressed was an expression of Catalan popular culture - what would later be called intangible culture - that was extremely uncomfortable; so much so that nobody with administrative authority over this area was called upon to intervene. The implementation of the law was tasked to the Service for the Protection of Nature, under the auspices of the General Directorate for Forestry Policy of the Ministry of the Environment, and when problems of public order arose, management was taken over by the General Directorate for Games and Entertainment of the Ministry of Governance. The Traditional Culture Division of the Ministry of Culture, then led by the late and greatly missed Antoni Anguela, was at no time consulted about such severe actions taken in its jurisdiction. At the instigation of this Department, a commission was established in defence of the Catalan *correbaus*, headed by Josep Albà, who lodged a complaint with the Catalan Ombudsman at the beginning of 1989, as did the Department of Cultural Anthropology of the University of Barcelona. Together these two bodies organised the First Symposium on Bulls and Bullfighting in Catalonia, which took place in Cardona in June 1988, and again in Olot in December of the following year. None of these meetings, held in response to a serious threat to a popular festival, took place in the areas most affected, those of the Ebre.

Terres de l'Ebre, bulls and an alternative definition of what it means to be Catalan

The repositioning of the roots of what should have been an expression of the character of the Catalan people repeated, at the time of the transition to democracy, the same biased role that the *Renaixença* had played when it came to listing the emblematic traditions of

the Catalan nation: bypassing the country's southernmost regions, regions that were not only physically located in the south of Catalonia, but also in their own 'south', in the symbolic sense attributed to the word by Mario Benedetti. It was a part of the country that was not considered to be a part of the country at all when people spoke of what was "beyond the Ebre" as something that was no longer Catalonia, as denounced by one of the main chroniclers of the Terres de l'Ebre, Artur Bladé (1991: 9). But it was not only historical, social or economic conditions that determined the marginality of the Baix Ebre, Montsià, Terra Alta and Ribera d'Ebre, but also the expressions of what Carod-Rovira (2017) had called "the other 'Catalanness'", that is, a remarkable cultural uniqueness with respect to the rest of the Principality, marked by the omnipresence of the river and its delta, the culture of rice growing, the memory of the Civil War and, in terms of festivals, the *jota*, the musical groups... and the *correbaus*.

Popular festivities involving bulls or *correbaus* - widespread around the Delta, less so in inland areas -⁸ have been a problematic issue in recent years, especially since Parliament gave the green light to Law 34/2010⁹ on 1 October, which regulates many types of traditional festival involving bulls¹⁰, almost all of them celebrated in the counties of the Ebre. The result of the vote on the protection of festivities involving bulls was 114 votes in favour - that is, the whole Parliament with the exception of 14 votes against cast by *Iniciativa per Catalunya* (12) and the Socialist party (2), with five abstentions, three of these from *Ciutadans* and two from Socialist members of parliament. This parliamentary support for the festivities involving bulls in the Ebre region encouraged a campaign, promoted by the *Agrupació de Penyes i Comissions Taurines de les Terres de l'Ebre* in November 2011, which asked UNESCO to award the *correbaus* the status of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Within a few days, several southern municipalities had also joined the initiative. First Amposta; then, Santa Barbara; then Deltebre, Masdenverge, La Galera, Sant Jaume d'Enveja...

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In Terra Alta alone, they are currently celebrated only in Horta de Sant Joan and Arnes; in the Ribera d'Ebre, they were only revived for a few years in Ascó.

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Law 34/2010, of 1 October, on the regulation of traditional festivals with bulls [online] <https://portal.juridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=558961&language=ca_ES> [Last consulted: 10 February 2019].

10

Correbaus are events involving bulls that are based on the active participation of the spectators, and in contrast to conventional bullfights, there is no separation between those taking part and the animal. Various types of event were included under the new law: "*Bous al carrer*", which consists of releasing a bull or a cow into the streets along a controlled urban route; "*bous a la plaça*", where a cow is released into a purpose-built bullring. "*Bou embolat*" which is a nocturnal event that consists of attaching flaming torches to the animal's horns and letting it loose on the streets of the town. "*Bou capllaçat*", "*ensogat*" or "*amb corda*" which is where a rope is attached to the lower part of the animal's horns and it is dragged through the streets of the town. "*Bou salvatge*" which consists of releasing a bull for the first time in an enclosed space - this could be a bullring, or a route through streets of the town that have been closed off - and what the law calls an "exhibition of skill", in which participants demonstrate their "skills" by confronting the animal.

Other localities in those counties adopted this approach locally, and at the beginning of 2012, there were about twenty whose festivities involving bulls had been declared Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The counterbalance to this euphoria were the constant protests by animal rights groups and some of the communities of the Ebre against these festivals,¹¹ leading to incidents such as the attacks on animal rights activists in Ulldecona in 2011, and Mas de Barberans in 2016. In May 2017 Parliament accepted a popular legislative initiative calling for the abolition of the *correbous*, in response to the 68% of Catalans who, according to a survey made public in March 2012, were against them.¹² In 2018, there were 13 allegations of the use of clubs or the participation of minors, three more than in the previous year, but in a predictably short period of time: by April 2013, 99% of the allegations against *correbous* had already been filed.

The new law and the objections of animal rights groups generated a new climate that was favourable to the celebration of such festivities, and many people in the Terres de l'Ebre spoke out in their defence - in April 2015, 10,000 people filled the streets of Amposta to proclaim their support for the *correbous*. The number of popular festivities involving bulls in the south of the country was not decreasing, in fact quite the opposite: it was on the increase. In 2018 a total of 439 authorised *correbous* took place, six more than in the previous year, on 207 days and in 27 towns and villages in the region.¹³ Of these, 138 bulls were *embolats*, with fire on their horns - 10% more than in the previous year - and 43 were *capllaçats* or tethered, not including the events held in Ulldecona, Camarles and Xerta. There are *correbous* in all the towns in Montsià, except Freginals, and in all those of the Baix Ebre, except Perelló and Ametlla de Mar. In some places a lost tradition has been recovered, as was the case in Ascó, where there had been no *correbous* for 25 years; in Aldover, for St George's day, or for the festival in honour of the Mare de Deu de la Cinta, in Tortosa. In other places the tradition has been introduced, as in Jesús,

Campredó or Els Reguers around Tortosa. In other locations, festivals involving bulls have been extended, as in l'Aldea, now being held at Pentecost as well as in August.¹⁴

Law 34/2010 had loopholes that infuriated the anti-bullfighting groups and helped to spread *correbous* events that go beyond what is strictly permitted by law. For example, the ambiguity in the treatment of one type of particularly detested *correbous* event, the "*bous embolats*" - when bulls have fireballs attached to their horns - because in these events suffering was clearly inflicted on the animals. This type of event had been maintained in municipalities such as Amposta, but with the new law any municipality in Catalonia where festivities involving bulls were traditional could include it in the programme, although just how traditional it really was, was doubtful. This was the case in Camarles, where four *bous embolats* events had been prohibited in 2011 during the Festes de la Segregació, but had been allowed the following year. Another incongruity was the *bous a la mar* in the town of les Cases d'Alcanar, a variation that had not been foreseen by the legislators, revealing that they had insufficient knowledge of the festivals they were required to regulate. This event was held on a regular basis and protected by law until 2016, when an animal rights group realised that a mistake had been made and made a complaint against the town council on the grounds that this was a festival based on the ill treatment of animals.

This tug-of-war between the fierce defence of a festival with deep roots in a particular region, and the persecution and discredit stemming from the anger of animal rights groups, together with the disapproval of the media and most of public opinion according to the polls, was finally resolved on 26 September 2019 when Parliament urged the Catalan government to ban *correbous* throughout Catalonia. The initiative came from the political party En Comú Podem, and was approved with 50 votes in favour and 17 against, But the majority of members of the Parliament (61) abstained. The institutional reaction was immediate. In early

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There are of course a significant number of people in the towns of the Ebre region who are in favour of banning the *correbous*, and who believe that this aspect of the region's cultural identity is one that can be dispensed with. Political organisations such as the CUP and civil society associations, such as those grouped together in the Plataforma Antitaurina de les Terres de l'Ebre and Tots Som Poble, represent this stance in the very heart of the region.

12

<<https://www.elperiodico.cat/cal/societat/20120306/gairebe-el-70-dels-catalans-opinen-que-els-correbous-no-haurien-dexistir-1500781>> [Last consulted: 21 February 2019].

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<<https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/el-nombre-de-correbous-a-les-terres-de-lebre-es-mante-al-voltant-dels-440-al-llarg-daquest-2018/>> [Last consulted: 21 February 2019].

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There is ethnographic research on the *correbous* in the Terres de l'Ebre that shows, for example, the role of community groups in the organisation of the *correbous*, or the performance of the different rituals involved. Nothing along the lines of what has been done with regard to, for example, the *Toro de la Vega* in Tordesillas (Pitt-Rivers, 1986), the *Toro de la Virgen de Grazalema* (Serrán Pagán, 1979), the *bous embolats* in Figueroles and Thales (Mira, 1976), or, in the case of the Principality, the *corre de bou* in Cardona (Delgado, 1995; Padullés, 2011). This paper should be taken as a theoretical approach to empirical research that is still pending. It focuses on actions taken at different administrative levels by those with responsibility in this area, the institutions that manage authorised heritage and the associations that have engaged in public debates on the legitimacy or - lack of it - of the *correbous*.

October of the same year, 20 mayors from the Ebre and Cardona regions from a broad range of political parties - PDeCat, ERC, PSC, Movem and Iniciativa per Catalunya -¹⁵ met to create a common front to prevent something that was inconceivable to them: the disappearance of the *correbous* in their towns and cities.

The popular culture of the offended and the humiliated

The widespread and well-publicised existence of popular festivals involving bulls in Terres de l'Ebre contradicted the supposed process of ethical modernisation within Catalan society, which was expressed in part through the rejection of festivals featuring bulls. This highlighted the precarious nature of the way the southern regions of Catalonia were accommodated within the officially sanctioned concept of what it means to be Catalan. These were other expressions of identity that had their roots in the past. This was the result of the way that the liberal nation-state developed during the 19TH century. In 1833 Spain was organised as a series of provinces, and this marked the beginning of the correspondence between borders and culture. Each administration tried to legitimise its geographical limits by a symbolic identification that aimed to bring together all sorts of cultural practices under the same umbrella, with little differentiation in order to better mark the cultural differences between a particular territory and its neighbours. Thus, the administrative divisions began to create an identity dynamic that diluted the specific culture of the Ebre when the territory was divided between Castellón, Matarranya and the Terres de l'Ebre (Collet, 2012) Catalan nationalism accepted this perspective as unquestionable, and relied on a unique ethnic representation which clearly contrasted with the others, that was linked to a new national and territorial reality accompanied by a corresponding cultural imaginary developed for this purpose. This nationalism was based on cultural elements, with the use of the Catalan language being the determining factor of belonging in modern Catalonia (Clua and Fain, and Sánchez and García, 2014). The standard model

of Catalan adopted from Pompeu Fabra's grammar only served to widen the breach with places such as the Terres de l'Ebre, where *tortosí* was considered a dialect that was not altogether Catalan.

It is worth remembering that this old issue led to the reopening, in the 1980s, of the debate about a standard model of Catalan and the proposal that the geographical varieties should be recognised (Pradilla Cardona, 2014). This demand for plurality ran up against the model of identity imposed by the Pujol Administration, that is, the way in which conservative Catalan nationalism revived and adopted as its own the levelling and centralist idea of romantic 'Catalanness' of the *Renaixença* at the end of the 20TH cen-

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The only political group that has shown itself to be hostile to the *correbous* in Terres de l'Ebre is the CUP, who presented candidates at the municipal elections held in May 2019 in five towns in the region - Flix, Alcanar, Tortosa, Deltebre and Móra d'Ebre. They won a seat on the councils of Tortosa, Alcanar and Flix, obtaining a maximum of 5.48% of the vote.



ture, a brand of nationalism that was incapable of recognising the cultural diversity that was so much needed in Spain. The speech and customs of the southern regions had no place in this project of cultural unification, being guilty of an impurity caused by their nature as a permeable border with an even deeper south, what for the Catalan nation-

Esquerra Republicana posters for Torroella de Montgrí and Amposta (2017). *El País*, 24 March 2017.

alist imaginary was the País Valencià and by extension Spain, which had already irrevocably absorbed it (Collet, 2012). Because, although it was not always explicitly stated, the bulls and the *jotas* were "Spanish" or, at least, more Spanish than they were Catalan.

The question that should be asked is why there was such a difference between the resistance of the towns of the Ebre to the legal intervention regarding the *correbous* under Law 3/88, and that of Law 34/2010. At the end of the 1980s, the context was one of perplexity for a large part of Catalan society and its own politicians - even the legislators themselves - when they discovered the existence of a part of their festive universe that was characterised by violence against animals. On that occasion, the defence of the *correbous* in the face of fines and prohibitions was fierce, but at the same time marginal, and the situation was complex, mayors in many cases not even enjoying the support of their parties; and all of this was the result of scandalised and hostile public opinion within the country.

On the other hand, the situation that arose in 2010 around the law designed to protect the *correbous*, and in the face of protests made by some of the animal-rights groups who claimed to represent the feelings of the majority of Catalans on the subject, the response was much stronger and more confident. The declaration of the *correbous* as part of an intangible cultural heritage, and the initiatives to obtain their recognition as such by UNESCO; the massive demonstrations in the streets; the spread of festivals involving bulls which were reinstated in some places and introduced in others where they had never previously been held... All this was in stark contrast to the steady disappearance of *correbous* in the rest of the country, especially in the north. In the province of Girona in 2018, the only festival that remained was the one in Vidreres,¹⁶ as Parliament, at the request of the respective town councils, removed from the list of traditional *correbous* those held in Olot, Roses and Torroella de Montgrí.¹⁷ This confirmed the symbolic division between a rich and

"civilised" North, where the remnants of unacceptable traditions were being brought to an end, and a marginal, poor and "wild" South, where those same festivals were still being held, and participation in them was increasing.¹⁸

It is very likely that one of the keys to this difference in the response to what was interpreted as a new aggression against heritage as actually lived by the people of many towns in the Ebre region, was a new situation which resulted in a heightened self-awareness among the local population born, as is often the case within a framework of conflict. This was the struggle against the National Hydrological Plan approved by the Spanish Parliament in 2001, almost 20 years ago (Boquera Margalef, 2009). The threat of the massive extraction of water from the River Ebre triggered a local response that placed all the symbolic weight on the image of the river, through metaphors that associated it with the blood of the earth and the strength and power of unity. This was echoed in an unprecedented way in public opinion, the issue going far beyond questions regarding water extraction with the focus being on a land that felt itself to be invisible and forgotten (Franquesa, 2018). From 2000 onwards there was a series of major demonstrations, for example in Tortosa, Amposta, Barcelona, and Brussels. The last of these was on 7 February 2016, when, chanting the slogan "*The Ebre without water means the death of the Delta*", 50,000 people took to the streets of the capital of the Montsià. All this took place within the framework of the process of national emancipation in Catalonia, which was reflected in the profusion of flags at each of the events involving bulls in each and every one of the towns where they were held. It has been argued that "Terres de l'Ebre" or "ebrenc" are expressions that renew the resistance against the single model of what it means to be Catalan, represented by *tortosinisme*¹⁹ within a secessionist, reactionary and anti-Catalan framework (Vidal Franquet, 2015), but the way in which the reaction against the symbolic Catalan centralism is now developing - including a vindication of events involving bulls - has been translated

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We should remember that one of the things that triggered Parliament's decision to ban *correbous* in the country was an incident in which a bull attacked spectators in the town of La Selva, in which 19 people were injured in September 2019.

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Here, the ban was the result of a campaign by the political party ERC in 2017, supported by a poster that read "Torroella de Montgrí free from *correbous*". This poster was identical to the one in Amposta used by that same party, ERC, in support of a campaign fought using the slogan "Amposta: bulls now, bulls for always."

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It is as if the contrast, expressed in the poem by Salvador Espriu *Assaig de càntic en el temple* that was sung by Ovidi Montllor, were reproduced in the heart of the country itself: "*Oh, que cansat estic de la meua / covarda, vella, tan salvatge terra, / i com m'agradaria allunyar-me'n, / nord enllà, / on diuen que la gent és neta / i noble, culta, rica, lliure, / desvetllada i feliç.*" ("Oh, how tired I am of my / cowardly, old, and oh so wild land, / and how I would like to get away, / north, / where they say that the people are clean / and noble, cultured, rich, free, / alert and happy!").

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A reminder of the arguments of *Tortosinisme*, cf. Bayerri i Raga, 1984.

not into a renunciation of 'Catalanness', but rather into its radicalisation.

In the Terres de l'Ebre, there was an identity process that, following the typology proposed by Pujades (1990), began with an instrumentalist and circumstantial logic, generating feelings of primary solidarity for the achievement of specific objectives but which, as it developed, dragged pending disputes along with it, such as all of those that had marked the Terres de l'Ebre not only as an economically and politically inferior Catalonia, but also as inferior in the symbolic sense because it was not Catalan enough. As if the presence of cultural elements alien to the mind maps of official Catalanism in that little corner of the territory were proof that in the end it deserved the contempt it received. The popular culture of the people of the Ebre was the culture of the "humiliated and offended" to which Sebastià Juan de Arbó had dedicated the best of his work (Arнау, 1980: 4).

An impossible heritage

The parliamentary protection of *correbous* in 2010 was never concerned with safeguarding something that could be classified as heritage. The legal recognition of the *correbous*, once redeemed from an original sin of violence that nobody seemed to remember, was undoubtedly the result of the majority pressure from people who, despite an extremely hostile climate, were not willing to give up their festivals, above all in the Ebre region, where defending them had become part of an identity that had been constantly undervalued. However, this legal protection was never the result of the attribution of value as heritage.

In Law 34/2010 the term *heritage* only appears in relation to the *correbous* in the introduction, referring to its importance as 'genetic heritage', and so relating it to the breeding and selection of a certain breed of animal, and not in any sense as a form of cultural or even ethnological heritage. Neither does the word *heritage* appear later in the regulations for the development and application of this law, as formalised in Decree

156/2013. In fact, as Costa and Folch (2014: 67) point out, a significant aspect is its absence; terms such as "tradition", "celebration", "protection", "spectacle" or "respect" being used, but never the word "heritage".²⁰ The regulations state that the purpose of the law is "to guarantee the rights, interests and safety of participants and spectators, as well as the protection of the animals involved in the show". In no case is there any mention of the protection, and even less of the promotion, of any heritage element. Nowhere in the text is there any consideration of the legislative framework on heritage in Catalonia. This is ignored and regulation is always focused on public order concerns - "safety", "inspections", "offences", "infringements" and "sanctions" - which is consistent with the fact that the regulation was issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

In fact, neither Law 34/2010 nor the regulations that follow on from it make any allusion whatsoever to the preservation of the festival as a tradition, much less as heritage. On the contrary, both texts insist on limiting the right to celebrate such events to those localities that can demonstrate their "traditional" nature. In this way legal action in relation to the *correbous* is aimed at avoiding their proliferation beyond the areas within the territory where they are already celebrated, and to explicitly prohibit the establishment of new festivals with bulls in other places, which implies that the legislators had confidence that such festivals would gradually disappear.

It is significant that the role of the General Directorate of Popular Culture and Cultural Associations (DGCPAC, which in 2012 replaced the Centre for the Promotion of Popular and Traditional Catalan Culture), has played no part in the legal and

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Decree 156/2013, of 9 April, approving the procedures for the implementation of Law 34/2010, of 1 October, regulating traditional festivals involving bulls [online] <https://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_file/?action=file&mode=single&document=633140&language=ca_ES> [Last consulted: 21 July 2019].

Banner for the Agrupació de Penyes i Comissions Taurines de les Terres de l'Ebre.

APCTTE (2018)



regulatory regularisation of the *correbous*. Only in the Inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Terres de l'Ebre are they included as intangible heritage. In April 2015, Lluís Puig, then director general of the DGCPAC and currently in exile, announced the beginning of a process for the incorporation of the popular festivals involving bulls in the Catalogue of Festive Heritage of Catalonia.²¹ So from 2016 a good number of the major festivals celebrated in the Ebre region were included in the list. However there was no specific mention of the *correbous*, and no suggestion that such events would be protected or promoted in any way or that they might at some point merit safeguarding. In July 2019, no celebration with *correbous* was included among the 61 festivals declared of heritage significance by the Catalan Government that in accordance with decree 389/2006²² were deemed worthy of preservation and promotion.²³

It is true that in recent years there has been a significant increase in intangible elements perceived, either locally or nationally, as cultural heritage in the different regions of Catalonia. (Costa and Folch, 2014: 66); some of these, such as the Patum de Berga or the *castellers*, have even achieved international recognition. The very nature of the concept of intangible heritage however, became the cause and effect of a set of contradictions embodied in a number of contentious issues, the case discussed here being a good example. These types of popular cultural practices, in particular those involving the presence and use of animals, highlight the conflictive dimension of intangible heritage and contribute to its ambiguity, meaning that it can be used arbitrarily in the service of different causes and projects in search of legitimacy. As has already been noted, the difficulty in fitting the *correbous* into what is considered the desired image of the country has resulted in their consideration as heritage being denied - at least obliquely so - due to the discomfort caused by the existence of practices considered undesirable even in legal terms (p. 67).

The attempt to validate the celebration of a festive event such as the *correbous* by proclaiming it a part of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity seems even less feasible. Reference has already been made to the campaign to persuade UNESCO to include festivals involving bulls in its lists, with the aim not only of affording them legal protection, but also imbuing them with moral prestige. As we have said, in November 2011 the Agrupació de Penyes i Comissions Taurines de l'Ebre supported the proposal made by the International Bullfighting Association in relation to all bullfighting events worldwide, which provided the motivation for taking a whole series of measures for the protection of a heritage that the Ebre regions recognised as their own, but that at the same time was totally incompatible with majority public opinion on the acceptability of certain cultural phenomena. As already mentioned, after this, by the end of 2012 some twenty municipalities had joined in the proposal, and had declared their festivals involving bulls to constitute intangible cultural heritage at a local level. Almost eight years later, none of the eight states involved in what has been dubbed the "UNESCO Bullfighting Project" has made any declaration of support, or taken any steps to present the candidacy for the official recognition of their bullfighting festivals, although Spain has recognised the *corrida* nationally as part of Cultural Historical Heritage under Law 18/2013²⁴. No Spanish government has declared its popular bullfighting festivals to be of cultural interest. In short: UNESCO has not to date received any proposal for any festival involving bulls (either in the Ebre or elsewhere) to be recognised as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

What is clear is that festivities involving bulls, as events based on what could be considered to be the humiliation of the animals, have no chance of being included in the list of UNESCO's intangible universal assets, or even being proposed as such by any state. In the first place because there is already a dissuasive precedent: the Italian state's renunciation, in the face of animal rights protests, of obtaining the UNESCO stamp of approval

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<<http://www.elpuntavui.cat/article/5-cultura/19-cultura/847647-cultura-popular-inicia-els-tramits-per-catalogar-les-festes-amb-bous.htm>> [Last consulted: 20 July 2019].

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Decree 389/2006, of 17 October on the festive heritage of Catalonia [online] <https://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentID=461050&language=ca_ES> [Last consulted: 22 July 2019].

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Catalogue of the festive Heritage of Catalonia [online] <<http://patrimonifestiu.cultura.gencat.cat/Cataleg-del-patrimoni-festiu-de-Catalunya>> [Last consulted: 20 July 2019]. Festivals classified as: "popular festival of cultural interest", "traditional festival of national interest", "traditional festive element of national interest", "heritage festival of national interest" and "festive heritage element of national interest" are deemed to be of significance. The list includes places where *correbous* are a part of the big annual town festival: Alcanar, Amposta, Sant Carles de la Ràpita, Campredó, Horta de Sant Joan, Deltebre, Masdenverge, Sant Jaume d'Enveja, Santa Bàrbara, La Sènia... but in all these cases the event is clearly labelled as a "*fiesta catalogada*" (listed festival).

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Law 18/2013, of 12 November, on the regulation of bullfighting as a part of cultural heritage [online] <https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2013-11837> [Last consulted: 21 July 2019].

for the Palio de Siena, because of the risk to the horses it involves (Scovazzi, 2011).²⁵ As in this case, the eventual inclusion of any such event as an element of intangible heritage by UNESCO would be in direct contradiction to the values which are widely accepted within the framework of today's post-modern and post-materialist societies, which include as a generalised norm, protection of and respect for animals (Gómez Pellón, 2017). (UNESCO, 2003). Compliance with this norm is considered essential proof for being worthy of consideration by UNESCO as part of the tolerant and enriching cultural dialogue that the organisation promotes, as stated in the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003). In this sense the *correbous* would be a perfect example of what UNESCO refers to in its report *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development* as those "cultures that may not be worthy of respect because they have proved themselves to be intolerant, exclusive, exploitative, cruel and repressive [...] that must be condemned, not supported" (UNESCO, 1995: 54).

This exception in its exercise of non-intervention on local customs reveals the paradoxes inherent in the vagueness of the concept of culture articulated and promulgated from within the authorised discourse of heritage (Nielsen, 2011). A notion instituted with conceptual clashes regarding forms of 'unacceptable diversity' (Wright, 1998; Stowkowski, 2009), which it is understood will no longer be able to represent the moral values of a 'civilised society'. The problem involved in the defence of the *correbous* has the merit of revealing precisely the contradiction inherent in a universalising project that insists on the reconciliation of supposed global human rights with the cultural rights of each human group (Stowkowski, 2009: 11). Inconsistencies which often, in the context of concrete practice, give rise to controversy and confrontation, while at the same time producing imbalances at the level of legislation and management of a heritage which is obliged to comply

with criteria that are incompatible when they are at the same time required to be testimonies to diversity as well as factors of cultural homogenisation.

In effect, UNESCO only considers worthy contributions that fit with its idealistic vision of a humanity in which social and territorial asymmetries have miraculously disappeared, and have been replaced by an idyllic mosaic of cultural snapshots, always at the service of positive universal values, in a world where inequality and conflict have been erased. And *correbous* cannot be part of this utopia, a utopia that is essentially Eurocentric and closed (Brumann, 2018). A columnist summarised this spirit, in the face of the ambitions of the city councils of the Ebre to see their festivals involving bulls - inconceivable festivities in a country like Catalonia, which, he said is "advanced and generous" - recognised as an Intangible Heritage by UNESCO: "only traditions considered inoffensive are acceptable. Those that do no harm, those that have not been invalidated by the advances of knowledge" (Solé, 2011).

Conclusions

The impossibility of making the *correbous* of the Ebre a part of our heritage beyond the local sphere, enables us to shed some light on what heritage actually consists of; something that becomes worthy of being treated in a certain way as it is isolated from all the other ways of doing things within a society, and is placed on the pedestal where those things that are admirable and exemplary sit. In the Catalan sphere, for the institutions the virtue of intangible heritage must be that of being in a position to integrate what Llorenç Prats (1996:295) called "a virtual pool", a stock of symbolic references, articulated and activated as a congruent whole at the service of a certain discourse of identity, one that it goes without saying is appropriate to the interests of its promoters. From then on, anything that did not fit with this story of a moderate and kindly *we* would be condemned to be ignored or excluded. And the *correbous* have no place in the range of symbols of which an authentically European country could

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There is indeed one cultural practice involving animals included on the UNESCO list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. As the result of a joint proposal from 18 countries on three continents, falconry has been included since 2016, recognised for its contribution to "the conservation of nature, cultural heritage and community social activities" <<https://ich.unesco.org/es/RL/la-cetreria-un-patrimonio-humano-vivo-01209#>> [Last consulted: 22 July 2019].

be proud. They could not be included in a tourist promotion brochure next to *castellers*, *sardanes*, *Montserrat* or *correfocs*.

In terms of the universal values that UNESCO requires to be embodied in the things to which it gives its blessing, it is extremely unlikely that the Catalan festivals involving bulls will find their way onto the approved list. In the first place because it states that propose candidates for inclusion on the list, and as we have already pointed out Spain has done nothing to gain recognition for bull-fighting, which is banned or contested both in a part of the country and internationally. It goes without saying that if Catalonia were to achieve independence it would be unlikely to nominate the *correbous* of the Ebro delta to be added to those festivities already included in the UNESCO lists, to sit alongside events such as the Patum, the *castellers* or the fire festivals held in the Pyrenees. But the main obstacle is that these festivities are the very antithesis of the lofty principles of peace, humanitarianism, understanding between cultures, sustainability etc. which are the foundation of the aspirations for global gov-

ernance of which UNESCO is "the cultural arm, the visionary agency and the factory of ideas" (Meskell and Brumann, 2015).

Because it runs against the desired virtues of the Catalan people, and is in no way a symbol of the model of human culture considered appropriate to the liberal project of world government, and as it can only aspire to be enshrined as intangible heritage by a handful of municipalities, the largest of which, Amposta, has fewer than 21,000 inhabitants, the *correbous* is an example of how intangible heritage can also become a political battleground. This is what happens when disputes over heritage arise in certain regions or among groups of people that assert their right to be who they believe themselves to be, and what they believe themselves to be like, and they do this by disregarding dominant moral guidelines, assuming counter-hegemonic attitudes and proposals in matters of popular culture and demonstrating that others too have the right to call heritage what they are proud of, turning their backs on what the wider society thinks or what is prescribed by norms and laws. ■

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Between the mountain and the sky

Behind the apparitions of the Virgin Mary in San Sebastián de Garabandal

Introduction

On June 18, 1961, in San Sebastián de Garabandal, a small mountain village in a narrow Cantabrian valley, four girls from very humble families, all aged eleven or twelve claimed that the Archangel Michael had appeared to them. The four girls, Mari Loli Mazón, Jacinta González, Conchita González and Mari Cruz González, began by confirming they had visions of the angel, and that after this first appearance eight more appari-

tions would follow, during which the girls would be able to see and talk to him. On 1 July 1962, he informed them that they would soon receive the visit of the Virgin Mary as Our Lady of Mount Carmel. On 2 July of the same year, the Virgin appeared to them in a grove of nine pine trees, on top of a hill above the village, a little above the “Calleja”, known today as “Los Pinos”.

As described by the four girls after the apparitions, the Virgin appears in the form of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, dressed in the original style of the advocacy with a white tunic and blue mantle, sometimes carrying



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Paraules clau: antropologia de la religió, aparicions, garabandalistes, San Sebastián de Garabandal, Mare de Déu.

Palabras clave: antropología de la religión, apariciones, garabandalistas, San Sebastián de Garabandal, Virgen María.

Keywords: anthropology of religion, apparitions, *Garabandalistas*, San Sebastián de Garabandal, Virgin Mary.



the Child or the traditional scapular she gave to St. Simon Stock (Prior General of the Carmelite Fathers of the Cambridge convent) in 1251.

This is how the apparitions of Our Lady would begin and would occur repeatedly over three more years until 18 June 1965, the day on which the messages and visions would cease. The procedure would be similar in the many ecstasies that took place during those years: the girls, like everybody else in the village, would be occupied in their everyday tasks when suddenly one of the girls would begin to feel what is popularly known as "The three calls". At that time, she would stop whatever she was

doing and in a physical state which showed signs of being possessed by some higher force, she would go into a trance. These situations occurred on many occasions with the four girls together, but on other occasions they often happen during the journey that took them somewhere in the village. These journeys sometimes involved walking forwards and sometimes backwards, on their feet or on their knees, with their heads tilted and looking at something unknown above them. According to the witnesses, despite climbing backwards or on their knees on the cobbled streets by day or night, they never appeared to be injured; also, they did not react to pain when poked or pinched.

Mass meeting of people on the occasion of the ecstasy of girls (1961-1965). AUTHOR UNKNOWN.

Aquest article s'emmarca dins de la investigació i etnografia realitzades a San Sebastián de Garabandal (Cantàbria) durant el 2018, entorn de les aparicions marianes que van tenir lloc entre els anys 1961 i 1965. El seu propòsit és tractar de respondre a diferents plantejaments sobre l'afectació que les aparicions marianes han tingut i tenen per a les persones del poble com a part de la seva representació i transmissió culturals, així com altres processos derivats.

Este artículo se enmarca dentro de la investigación y etnografía realizadas en San Sebastián de Garabandal (Cantabria) durante el 2018, en torno a las apariciones marianas que tuvieron lugar entre 1961 y 1965. El propósito de la misma es tratar de responder a distintos planteamientos sobre la afectación que las apariciones marianas han tenido y tienen para las personas del pueblo como parte de su representación y transmisión culturales, así como otros procesos derivados.

This article is the result of research and ethnographic studies carried out in Sant Sebastián de Garabandal (Cantabria, Spain) in 2018 surrounding the Marian apparitions that took place in the village between 1961 and 1965. Our goal is to provide a response to different hypotheses regarding the effects that these apparitions have had, and continue to have, on the villagers' cultural representation and transmission, as well as other derivative processes.

Another characteristic feature, according to the various testimonies of the time, is that the girls would become faster and heavier during their ecstasies, and had the ability to return objects (such as crosses and rosaries) to their owners or find them if they were hidden, and could recognise priests dressed as laymen (Zimdars-Swartz, 1991: 134). But without a doubt, one of the most significant features of the apparitions is that the Virgin spoke to the four girls, leaving them messages which they were required to spread. Two of the messages are regarded as more important because of their apocalyptic character.

Thus, between this date and July 1965, the visions and ecstasies of the girls occurred almost daily. The apparitions quickly shook the whole population of San Sebastian de Garabandal, as they also became participants and witnesses to the girls' ecstasies, prayers

and hopes, interspersed with daily life, which had been deeply altered. It is not surprising that news of the apparitions soon reached the regional and national press, since the location chosen by the Virgin was especially striking: a remote mountain village, at the top of a steep valley, with no electricity in the stone cottages, only accessible by a dirt road. Events like this had a huge impact; curiosity and devotion quickly led to the massive arrival of visitors and experts of various kinds. The Marian apparitions quickly became the dominant story in the village, which went from being a tiny hamlet lost among the mountains where nobody ever came, to an international pilgrimage destination, as it still is today.

Fifty-four years after the apparitions at San Sebastian de Garabandal, many questions continue to be raised about the religious

Chaplains surrounding the four girls during one of the ecstasies (1961-1965).

AUTHOR UNKNOWN.



events. Although there have been numerous writings and approaches, there is still a need to try to respond to different approaches to the affect that the Marian apparitions have had and have on the people of the town as part of their cultural representation and transmission. This article is based on this aim. After an early, still ongoing, research approach and an ethnographic study, the main hypothesis focuses on the analysis of the refusal by many people in the village to continue talking about the apparitions as a form of resistance to the feeling of loss and fragmentation of the community, which leads us to question the mechanisms of instrumentalisation and commodification of the apparitions as symbolic and material capital through pilgrimage, as well as other processes arising from the same marian apparitions.

Therefore, I think that beyond the speculative theories about why they happened, we should try to understand them within the society of the village of San Sebastian de Garabandal at that time, in order to analyse them today. This is important if we take into account that the context in which these apparitions occur is a key moment in order to understand how, within the framework of certain historical particularities, a change of paradigm was taking place, functioning between the micro and the macro. That is, it linked together broader social transformations, such as the Second Vatican Council, the apogee of developmental policies and the end of economic autarchy with a particular and local symbolic process. In this way, these events could be contextualized, which will allow us to then analyse them in relation to the objectives described previously.

Socio-economic context

When between the years 1960-1965 the four girls began to go into ecstasy, to have visions and to speak on one occasion with the Archangel Michael and several times with the Virgin Mary, the way of life in the village had become markedly mixed: rural and urban. It is important to clarify that

although the terms in which the apparitions occurred and their effects belong to a moment of socio-economic transformation of acute and specific characteristics, they fit into some affectations that can be shared with other similar processes in the rural areas of Cantabria in general. For this reason, I will try to give a brief overview of the socio-economic context of Cantabria based on its historiography, which will later allow me to analyse the approaches of this research with greater richness.

Thus, although we could go back a long time, I will start my analysis with the transformation towards modernity in Cantabria (constituted as a Province of Cantabria in 1778), which happened much later than in other areas of Europe, maintaining the predominance of a peasant economy "as that form of production based fundamentally on family labour and organised in small agricultural exploitations of labour-intensive technology, that use natural means of production, and that rely to varying degrees on shared assets, complementary activities and the market to assure their economic reproduction" (Domínguez Martín, 1995: 259). In the second half of the nineteenth century there was an economic boom that "was based on a view of the city of Santander as a natural port of Castilla, on the consequent colonial trade with America, and on the genesis and consolidation of an industrialisation process that developed along a Camino Real (the Reinosa and current Besaya corridor)" (Villaverde, 1998: 18). Thus, the first industrial projects in the territory took place at the end of the 19th century, coinciding with the end of the period of trade with the colonies that had made the port of Santander a prosperous place, although marked by an absolute imbalance between a prosperous minority and a majority ravaged by poverty and disease. The decline of colonial trade pushed the Cantabrian bourgeoisie to implement other forms of economic exploitation such as farming (which turned out to be more difficult to expand due to the topographical conditions of the region). By 1930 the

industrial model became the main engine of the economy. This industrial development generated urban nuclei such as Torrelavega or Los Corrales de Buelna, which were formed and expanded mainly by the arrival of workers from the surrounding rural areas who worked in the factories, causing an exodus to the cities. By the 1960s, the industrial economy was at its peak¹.

On the basis of the above, it would be wrong to think that the so-called traditional economy was purely self-sufficient subsistence farming, even in such remote areas. As I have pointed out, San Sebastian de Garabandal has certain peculiarities due to its geographical characteristics, so these socio-economic relations were mainly due to migration and administrative relations of income and purchase or sale of property. Christian (1978 [1972]: 54), who carried out an ethnographic study on the religiousness of the area, explains the permanent migratory movements of the inhabitants of the Nansa Valley where San Sebastian de Garabandal is located, from the 18th and 19th centuries, dating back to 1715 when mountain people settled in Cadiz and other areas of Andalusia, as well as the departure to what was called the New World by the emigrants later known as *Indianos*, which meant a flourishing economy for some families in the area who obtained great fortunes through the colonial project in Mexico and Guatemala. But it was a long tradition of temporary emigration that profoundly marked the economy and way of life of the peasants of the area, who came to different parts of Castilla to work in timber companies, spending long periods in the mountains and sleeping in shared barracks. Women were sent from the age of fourteen onwards to serve in the homes of larger towns. These temporary jobs outside the village took place mainly during the winter in order to maintain the annual cycle of the crops:

Each valley constitutes a municipality, and the municipalities are divided into councils, which are the administrative bodies of the respective villages. In the

Nansa Valley, the land of all the villages is used in four ways: grain fields, vegetable gardens, pasture and monte. At the bottom of the valley and in sheltered flat areas, maize is grown. This land, normally close to each village, is called the *mies* [...] Other vegetables - mainly potatoes and occasionally beans - are grown in the *mies*, but only for household consumption. Families also grow limited quantities of fruit and vegetables that require more careful attention in gardens near their homes. These gardens are often fenced in to prevent animals and children from entering. [...] Uphill from the *mieses* are private pastures that produce grass for the winter. [...] Finally, bordering the pastures, there is land unsuitable for cultivation, known as *monte* - mountain. Part of the mountainside is covered with gorse and bracken, and can be used to graze common or private flocks of sheep and goats (Christian 1978 [1975]: 20).

In this way there was a "model of adaptive behaviour that is not primarily characterised by attitudes of withdrawal, but by the establishment of a relationship -between conditioned and opportunistic- of the peasants with the market, whose ultimate purpose was none other than to preserve, as far as possible, their rural way of life" (Domínguez Martín, 1995: 162). Industrialisation and the conditions of modernity produced the need for moonlighting involving all members of the family nucleus regardless of age or gender; that is, women - who are already always responsible for some of the traditional subsistence work - and children were responsible for taking on other work to compensate for the absence of men performing their other jobs.

Even so, in San Sebastian de Garabandal, although the exodus was later than in other areas due to its isolation, from the 1960s onwards, life in the cities began to look like a better option, and younger people moved around especially looking for jobs away from livestock and agriculture. It is

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Paradoxically, it concealed a latent crisis that was rooted in the obvious imbalance of Cantabrian industry in relation to the conditions that prevailed from 1959-1960 in the Spanish economy after the "Stabilisation Plan".

important to highlight the living conditions that shaped the population of the time, and although some nuance is desirable based on this information so as not to idealise or romanticise, we must not lose sight of the fact that the apparitions appear at this time like a momentous event, a tremor that shook and accelerated exponentially the conditions of a model of life that was beginning to be increasingly invaded by modernity and capitalism. We can point out that, in this case, the aforementioned model was accelerated exponentially by events that nobody imagined. With this *grosso modo*, Garabandal was exposed to the world.

San Sebastian de Garabandal as a place of worship and a pilgrimage destination

So, to analyse how the transformation of religiosity has been taking place in the town² of San Sebastian de Garabandal and especially since the Marian apparitions, is at the same time the analysis of these other relationships. Far from being maintained in a simplified opposition of dominators and dominated inherent to a vertically structural organisation that would defend the interests of the Catholic Church, they are immersed in tensions, interests, connections and complex conflicts, which would only be subjected to a reductionist thinking if we take into account this dichotomous logic. As Christian (1981: 22) remarks, "any analysis that interprets the last two centuries of Marian visions as a clerical conspiracy to thwart social progress will, as we shall see, constitute an impoverished reading".

In this case, given the context of the relationship and ideas, the angel and the Virgin appear at the same time as the Franco dictatorship was becoming more open, and also at the same time as the Second Vatican Council in Rome. On the one hand, with the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church seems to be bowing to the trend of modernization, while at the same time new campaigns of evangelisation are being launched. The association between the apparitions in San

Sebastian de Garabandal and the openness of the church is at first quite evident. Examples of this are two of the most important messages referred to above, received by the girls and collected, communicated and revered in various parts of the world to this day:

First message:

–18 October 1961–

"There are many sacrifices to be made, much penance. We have to visit the Blessed Sacrament often. But first we have to be very good. If we don't do this, we'll be punished. The cup is already filling up, and if we don't change, we will be punished very badly."

Second message:

–18 June 1965–

"Since my message of October 18 has not been fulfilled and not much has been made known, I will tell you that this is the last one. Before the cup was filling up, now it's overflowing. Many Priests, Bishops and Cardinals are on the path of perdition and with them they bring many more souls. The Eucharist is given less and less importance. We must avoid God's wrath on us with our efforts. If you ask Him for forgiveness with a sincere soul, He will forgive you. I, your Mother, through the intercession of the Angel Michael, want to tell you to make amends. You're already on the last warning. I love you very much and I don't want your damnation. Ask us sincerely and we will give to you. You must sacrifice more, think of the Passion of Jesus."

While the first message collected by the girls and communicated to the world at Our Lady's command functions as a warning, in the second message the ultimatum to a sector of the clergy is unquestionable. The apparitions would work from this perspective as a sign of the discontent of a more traditional sector of the church, willing to show through two messages of the Virgin a criticism of the clergy. Simultaneously with

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If I refer here to the village as a whole, it is not to point it out as an abstract entity but as a collective subject, since the phenomenon of the apparitions has affected every part of it.

the action of the Church, which has not officially recognised the theophanies and the denialist scientific positions, and together with the socio-economic context described, it makes the girls - and by extension the town of San Sebastian de Garabandal - a medium with a great power of attraction.

According to many local people and others who visited the village during those years, at the beginning of the apparitions the local people themselves welcomed the people who came to see the girls' ecstasies into their homes, and even gave them lunch and dinner. As was confirmed to me during the field work, in various informal conversations, there were days when due to bad weather the rain was unceasing and the houses were overcrowded. One of those days the first message of Our Lady occurred. This story is collectively remembered as an especially long night when all the houses served as a place of shelter for people who did not know each other. Even so, tracing the process from the origins of how they were formed and in what circumstances the *Apparitionist* groups were formed around the Marian apparitions of Garabandal is an ongoing task. In their analysis of more than six thousand pilgrimage shrines in Western Europe, "Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan (Christian pilgrimage in modern Western Europe) point out that 65% of them are centred on the Mother of God. Although only a minority of these shrines have originated from an apparition, practically all the great modern pilgrimage centres have done so (e.g. La Salette, Paris, Lourdes, Knock, Fatima, Medjugorje)" (Murphy, 1992). But it is not enough to deduce the threatening consequences that these changes, together with the reform of the Second Council, could have for the sectors of the Catholic Church, inciting through the Marian apparitions a series of messages with ideological transcendence (Margry, 2009). Therefore I think it is advisable to consider the role that devotees and non-devotees had in examining *the prevailing temperature* in the people at the time and to understand the joint and indissoluble muta-

tion between the spiritual and the corporal, the symbolic and the material, as Berger defines when he points out that "immaterial cultural production has always gone hand in hand with human activity modifying the physical environment" (Berger, 1971: 19).

Transformations in space

After the years when the ecstasies of the girls occurred in different areas of the village, they gradually focused on specific areas such as the *Cuadro*, a wooden quadrilateral construction that was built during the first apparitions, when the arrival of people began to be massive, to protect the girls during the ecstasies. The *Cuadro* was guarded by some men in the village and by the Guardia Civil. In Los Pinos, a community of believers began to form who began to share a common devotion to the Virgin of Garabandal and the village as a pilgrimage destination, known today as *Garabandalistas*. Generally, the motivation of pilgrimage - especially in the Catholic religion - is "a privileged means to experience the relationship with the divine and can transform the individual and increase his or her state of well-being, thanks to the same process of searching and thanks to the energy that emanates from the sacred places" (Fedele, 2008: 221), although it is necessary to make clear that it is the social group in question that deposits and projects its experience of sacred places as radiators of that energy. But in the case of San Sebastian de Garabandal I believe that it would not be wrong to place the Virgin's announcement of a miracle to the girls as one of the turning points for the organization of these groups. If we consider the classification of pilgrimages by E. Turner and V. Turner (1978: 17) this factor would enter into the fourth description, which defines a pilgrimage born in the 19th and 20th centuries as MODERN PILGRIMAGE. This movement is characterised by its fervour and rejection of the advance of secularisation - although they make use of technologies and media such as the Internet, as well as various means of transport such as the aeroplane, they are

considered *anti-modern*. But above all I would like to emphasize what the Turners point out in these groups, and that is that they usually begin with an apparition and are sustained by their faith in miracles. Just as Zimdars-Swarts points out:

“[...] modern Marian apparitions are distinguished from previous ones by two characteristics: they are public and have a serial character. That is, multiple apparitions that occur in a sequence, sometimes over a very long period of time (for example, the apparitions in Medjugorje began in 1981 and continue to this day) and the apparitions do not occur privately, but in front of an audience. Both characteristics are conducive to the formation of a pilgrimage shrine”. (Murphy, 1992)

The hope of salvation is one of the basic pillars of this extension. Next to the miracle will come the redemption and forgiveness of all sins. An end longed for by all people who have contact and a relationship with devotion to apparitions in the village, but

which does not appear to be shared with the same perspective or expectations for the time that the wait extends.

Concurrences and tensions

As I have explained, from the beginning the apparitions raised great expectations by directly involving the people of the town and later promoting the massive arrival of visitors; both believers and experts from all kinds of fields (from medicine to ufology) and from different parts of the world.

On the one hand, the high influx of visitors also caused many of them to seek temporary or indefinite accommodation, which continues today. Christian describes how, by the year 1978, living conditions in material terms had changed a great deal since the apparitions caused a revaluation in the price of houses and land: "The situation of the town of San Sebastian is exceptional. Due to the apparitions, many outsiders - from Barcelona, Seville, France, Germany and the United States

The four girls during one of the ecstasies in the "Cuadro" (1961-1965). AUTHOR UNKNOWN.



- have bought houses and land, which has provided local people with money to renovate their houses, and in several cases to buy an apartment in the city, necessary for their permanent employment there" (Christian, 1978: 63).

Today, while the impact on the village may seem relative, given that its state of repair (for example in the care of the stone houses) still looks similar to the state it was in the 1960s, it is undeniable that the process of the pilgrimage has increased the number of visitors to Garabandal massively, which has also led to the opening of hostels and an exponential increase in the purchase of numerous properties (already noted by Christian in 78) by some pilgrims and the organisations from *apparitionist movements*, some of whom have decided to stay permanently. This need for property in the place of worship could well be a prolific problem for further research. Similarly, places of worship continue to be periodically transformed. At present, the space that constitutes the perimeter around Los Pinos is surrounded by a wooden fence, reinforcing the thinking between the sacred and the profane. There is also a recently built tarmac track that allows access to cars. Numerous figures and statues are frequently installed by groups of *Apparitionists* on the path up, along which various images constitute the *Way of the Cross*. As a result, there is a specialist market selling books, prints and photos of the different episodes of ecstasy of the four girls. This market began to emerge through street vendors and soon led to the opening of shops selling religious articles (four at present), as well as the Pilgrim's Information Centre which has a religious article shop on the ground floor of the building where it is housed.

Capital investment and profits from much of what is stated here comes from the same phenomenon, but in almost all cases the people of the village are not aware of the making of the various decisions since these come from private owners.

On the other hand, it should be understood that the nuclear morphology of the layout of the houses plays a decisive role in the overwhelming importance of the village as a unit of activity. As Christian points out, following the theories of Caro Baroja (1954) this would produce a socio-centric tendency, establishing that each village in the Nansa Valley is like a separate social world with its own culture and its own personality and style (Christian, 1978: 37). Speaking of the local in this sense constitutes the idea of a territory in which the group of people who live there know each other and share their daily lives ancestrally. In this way, the shared identity as a local in this case, is that of feeling mainly of the village and then of the region; but also the local identity is that of a collectively shared knowledge. Within this knowledge is the experience of the religious as well as the events surrounding the apparitions; an experience that has undergone a process of legitimisation through social relations (Berger, 1991: 52).

The silencing

At the time of the apparitions, the local people who witnessed them - and especially the four girls - were constantly asked about what they saw, felt, heard... There are multiple records of testimonies (both on video and in writing) and the arrival of strangers seeking to satisfy their interest by

Books in various languages exhibited in one of the religious artefacts stores.

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asking people about the street or houses is still common. Other people from outside the village strengthened their presence through intermittent, longer or permanent stays. As the siege grew, the reproduction of the speeches and narratives they had been told, increased as well. This appropriation, together with the increase in property sales to which I referred earlier, gradually generated more tension. Little by little, the transmission of these experiences has been reduced to local family circles, more and more rarely on an intergenerational basis and almost always in moments of intimacy.

These cases fit with the prototype and also with the fact that once the presence in the village of the four girls began to be less frequent due to the fact they moved house³, other people tried to take over as guides, mediators of the sacred or charismatic leaders, in many cases advocates of heterodox practices. From my fieldwork and the set of interviews conducted, I was able to perceive that this generated some discomfort in some people: their symptom was in a key element that I first perceived in isolation and after a short time I could assure that it was collective. When referring to the collective character, I do not mean that this discomfort is shared throughout the people, but partially. An attitude that makes visible a conflict that is fragmentary but which affects all the people as a phenomenon: the refusal of many people to speak directly about apparitions and everything related to them. Some examples recorded during the interviews express this feeling with allusions such as: "We are tired of questions and the only one I answer is that for me it was very beautiful and it is the best memory I have. I won't say any more." Or: "When they ask me, I always say the same: Everything is written in books. There you'll find everything already explained. The last person who came, I spoke to them because they were going on and on while I was washing the dishes, but, apart from that, I say the same to everyone: that everything is in the books. There are many lies told, it's really disappointing ...".

What in the first instance when collecting data was an obstacle I had to dodge, equating this silence with a barrier that would hinder my access to this hypothetical place where *things happen*, later became a conditioner of the transformative movement of ethnography: the step of placing the refusal to speak as an external object from which to unravel a meaning that was intended to be hidden, to hear meaning through silence. This silence is then shown not as a loss of interest or forgetting, but as an attitude of response to what they consider to be an appropriation of the discourse that is having effects on properties and on the territorial, in a reversibility that would corroborate that "power relations are also relations of resistance" (Scott, 1990: 70).

It should be noted then that the appropriation of the collective representation of the apparitions and the construction of a profitable official discourse in market terms has been circumscribed in the form of heritagisation of the phenomenon, which is favoured by the increasingly acute sense of loss of control by the local people. Within this autonomy of use of the discourse of the apparitions for various purposes, the Church tries to maintain a regulatory role in the universe of the symbolic and the material, but it can control neither the *apparitionist* groups, nor the heterodox, nor the growing disaffection of the people of the town in their various beliefs and positions, which sees the community based on social cohesion by ties of kinship and reaffirmed in inheritance through the increasingly fragmented ecclesiastical community. This point, instead of situating us in an analogy of silence as oblivion, could be formulated as a break in the very construction of a double movement of symbolic capital. The conditions of transformation of religiosity in San Sebastian de Garabandal are marked by coincidences but also by tensions over the assimilation of the testimonies of the apparitions, and consequently territorially, given the sale of properties which, together with the rural exodus and the general loss of interest in traditional religious practices, have conferred

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Although they have continued to maintain contact and visit the town, none of the four girls stayed to live in San Sebastián de Garabandal. In the 1970s, Conchita, Mari Loli and Jacinta emigrated to the USA (New York, Massachusetts and California, respectively) where they married and settled. Mari Cruz lives in Avilés (Asturias).

a partial sensation of appropriation in terms of devotions and practices in the town by the *apparitionist* movements and pilgrimage.

In summary, these issues could be understood on two levels: that of the divergence between beliefs and practices of religious life (understood differently by the Church, local people and pilgrim organisations) and the use and incorporation of the discourse of the experience of Marian apparitions (especially by outsiders) with effects on the material and the territory. But I think we should look a little more deeply at how this conflict occurs as explained above in the sense of community and social structure. If we examine it more closely, the latent suspicion is not only that of the possible economic benefits obtained through these mechanisms in a move from *emic* to *etic*⁴ (Pike 1954), but also that of a manifestation of fragmentation through the symbolic capital of collective memory as a *mnemonic*, deep knowledge of a society that is transmitted from one generation to another (Turner 2009 [1973]). So, taking into account the above, after the collective experience of the apparitions, the stories of the apparitions have gone from being stories that structure the community, to being stories of *others*. The use of symbolic capital through oral tradition, as a pillar helping to structure the community through its cultural transmission, has been put in crisis.

These convergences are also based on one of the essential forms of social structuring, cultural transmission through oral tradition. The control and the *structuring* social dynamics of the stories (describing feats, anecdotes and descriptions about the people of the village, as well as their possessions) that form the basis of the village as a community/institution begins to be lost when these stories cease to have their function, and knowledge of *what is happening* and *who has what* in the village is lost. The apparitions play a major role in this, because once the pilgrim organisations persist, the feeling of loss of control over the discourses of the experiences and testimonies and the fragmentation of

the community increases. The production of subjectivities is no longer known and public, nor is the production of properties. If at first the apparitions were able to function in a way that revitalised believers and worship, filling the village with life and light from divine grace, today one can also see certain shadows to which they have been relegated, cast by the tension between the different parties that make up this landscape.

Thus from the ethnographic process of my research we would find three layers of overlap:

- 1.) The State and the Church do not officially recognize the apparitions of San Sebastian de Garabandal⁵, which do not exist beyond the scepticism of the institutions that continue to remain on the sidelines, although certain political decisions are still influenced by high positions in the Church hierarchy (proof of this relationship is the dinner-debate on the apparitions that the former Minister of the Interior and PP deputy, Jorge Fernández Díaz, and a Servant Brother of the Home of the Mother, José Luis Saavedra, held in the Círculo Ecuéstre in Barcelona in January 2018). Similarly, the option of visiting Garabandal is offered as a curiosity on Rionansa Town Council's own website, and the Exploring Cantabria agency (50% subsidised by the Government of Cantabria), offers the option of a pilgrimage to Santo Toribio and San Sebastian de Garabandal among its *tours*.
- 2.) The people of the village whom I interviewed, and with whom I have had informal conversations, stress that they are making an exception by talking to me. When I ask them why, many say they are disillusioned by the present, alluding to the fact that hardly anyone talks about the apparitions any more, whether in everyday life or responding to people asking questions.
- 3.) And finally, this tendency not to talk about the apparitions coincides with the hypervisibility of the discourse on

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Understanding these terms here in the interpretation that Marvin Harris (1964) applied to the social sciences. In this sense, the interpretation of that which is *emic* to that which is *etic* would be to interpret that the inconvenience and refusal to speak of apparitions by native people is due to a symbolic response to a material effect of supposed economic losses.

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According to the official documents of the *The Bishop's Bulletin of Santander* between 1961 and 1970 and statements collected in newspapers such as *ABC* on March 19, 1967, all the anti-conciliar bishops of the diocese affirmed "that the supernatural nature of the cited apparitions is not mentioned". On August 26, 1961, that is, two months before the first of the apparitions occurred, Dr. Doroteo Fernández, apostolic administrator of the seat of Santander (between May 1961 and January 1962), issued a first note in which he affirmed that "any definitive judgement on the matter is premature", and later Eugenio Beitia Aldazabal, bishop of Santander (between 1962 and 1965) writes that "such phenomena lack any sign of supernatural and have an explanation of a natural nature."

them by the *apparitionist* movements and organisations, thus provoking a displacement of appropriation of the experience that is complicit in a parallel official history spread by media such as the Internet, publications, etc. worldwide and in many cases profiting from it. A large section of the people (devout and non-devout) have moved into a collective silence that functions, returning to the terms of Scott (1990), as a *dual culture*: The official culture full of dazzling euphemisms, silences and commonplaces, and the unofficial culture that has its own history [...] its own knowledge of the problems of scarcity, corruption and inequalities that, again, may be well known but need not be introduced into the public discourse".

Conclusions

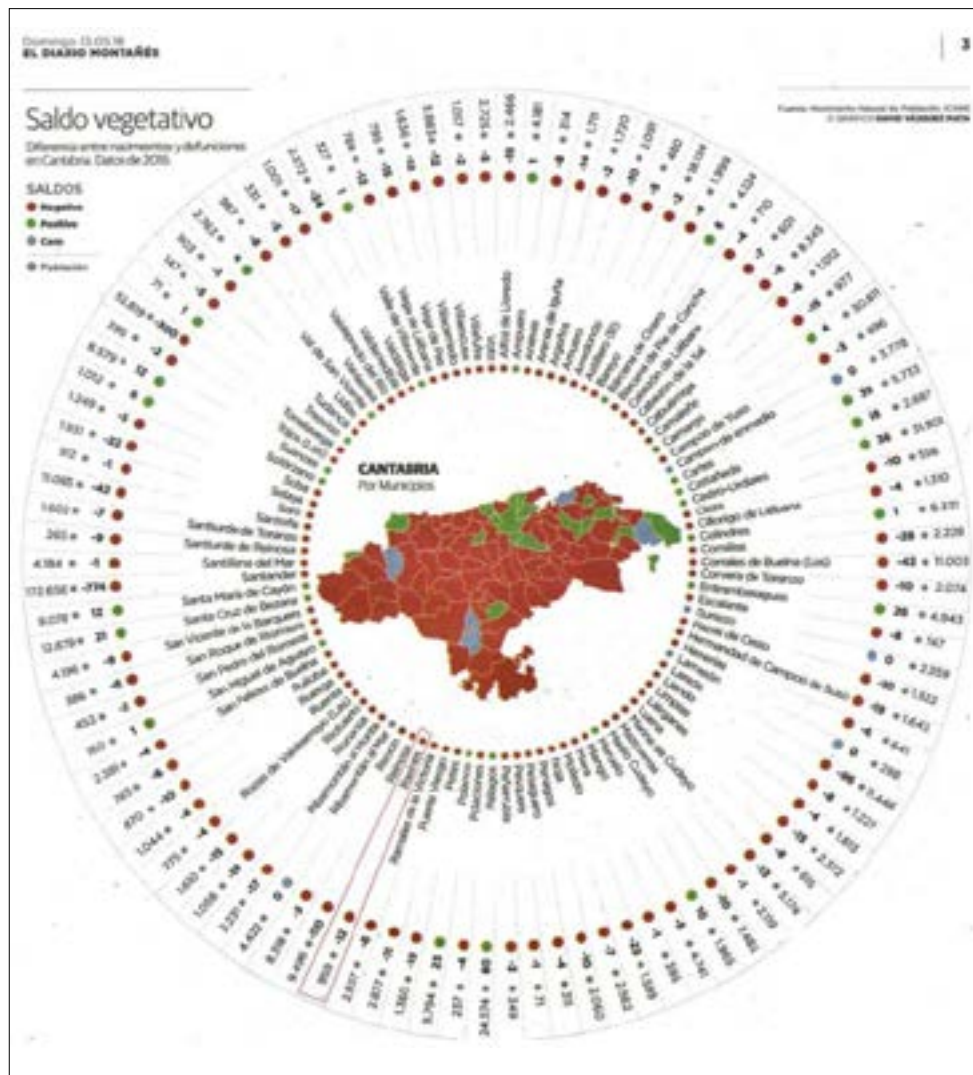
There is a fragment of the documentary *Die Donau rauf* by Peter Nestler and Zsóka Nestler where a boy of about twelve appears, kneeling somewhere on the bank of the Danube River, and absent-mindedly moving the earth in front of him. Without too much difficulty and with delicacy, he extracts human bones which he places next to him, one beside the other. Meanwhile, in the background we can hear a voice-over by another child in the school reciting various events from the Battle of Mohacs in 1526. Despite the remoteness in time and space, this fragment seems to me representative of the idea that I want to explain next. Halbwachs makes a distinction between memory and history, saying: "History is not the whole of the past, but neither is it all that remains of the past. Or, if you like, next to a written history, there is a living history that is perpetuated or renewed through time and where it is possible to find a great number of those ancient currents that had only apparently disappeared" (Halbwachs, 1968: 209).

The transformation that has taken place in San Sebastian de Garabandal starting with the religious phenomenon of the apparitions is today immersed in a delicate process, in which its present has to be read with a cer-

tain intention of disambiguating its past, according to this fragile overlap between memory and history represented in the fragment of the documentary through the two children. The witnesses to the apparitions will gradually disappear and with them their memories. Meanwhile, history is being constructed. The *silencing* that I have tried to analyse here is relevant to preserve living memory and the complexity of the formation of collective memory, not only in the obverse but also in its folds, in its reverse, and in the blind spots that also function as "frames and coordinates where we establish what happened" (Prat, 2008). A shared silence that, camouflaged as forgetfulness ("I don't remember"), also works in analogy with people who see things where others see nothing.

In San Sebastian de Garabandal, these processes, together with the intense opening to the world, the arrival of visitors and the multiple influence of new technologies, would have shaped a situation that can still be detected. As I suggest above, the present time of the place is crossed by a long journey from then until now, passing through different stages with activities around the apparitions, including the contracted tours, and the renting, buying and selling of houses by certain groups and pilgrim organisations. The specific interest in the testimonies of the visions and the constant acquisition of properties has generated a state of uncertainty about the movements and actions that occur in the village. To summarise, the changes analysed arise from a hurried modernisation set against a traditional society, entailing both the loss of community for the church as a monopoly on spirituality, and the loss of community as work, as the main axes of collective social life.

Finally, it is important to state that the current economic situation in Cantabria is one of a serious post-industrial crisis which arrived later than in other parts of Europe, presenting itself as the "definitive end of an industrial model without a future, although



Graph of natural increase in Cantabria (2016). EL DIARIO MONTAÑÉS (2018).

it was on this model that Cantabria based all its prosperity of this 20th century" (Ortega, 1986: 309). The peasantry in some rural areas such as the Nansa Valley continues to exist in a mixed economy, continuously adapting, but still refusing to abandon traditional forms of subsistence, despite the fact that depopulation makes the threat of the bankruptcy of the traditional economic system palpable. According to my fieldwork and the consultation of secondary quantitative sources such as the data treated by ICANE (Cantabrian Institute of Statistics) and INE (National Institute of Statistics), a determining factor is the depopulation that has occurred over the long term, that was already happening at quite a pace in the 1960s but which in 2018 is reaching its highest levels. At the same time, the sustainability of these places through the exploitation

of tourism is being questioned in various studies that are currently pointing towards endogenous development (Ortiz, 2006: 35). An example of this would be "a rural development plan based on the diversification of economic activity in rural areas, which deals with the marketing of rural products, crafts, fruit tree cultivation, rural tourism and small industry" (Latorre and Rodríguez, 2006: 41). During this research, all the people I spoke to during my stay in the village, regardless of their spiritual or political inclinations, felt sad and insecure about the future that is on the horizon. Whether these feelings are the insignificant condition of a small village or the concern of an entire society is a question I would like to leave open. ■

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Dry stone in Catalonia after recognition from UNESCO

The dry stone technique has been used for a wide variety of constructions, built to respond to all kinds of needs. The image shows a structure for hunting small birds, within a boundary wall in the municipality of Tàrraga. ROGER COSTA SOLÉ



While we understand “dry stone” or “dry-stack” walling as the construction technique consisting of stacking stones up without any binding material, it is not unusual to use the term to refer to constructions mainly built using this technique but which also feature other types of materials. Thus, constructions which include wooden or ceramic parts (as is the case with many roofs), or some sort of traditional binder, such as the clay used for juniper oil ovens, are also considered to be dry stone. What is commonly accepted and beyond discussion is that this family of constructions includes those with soil covering their upper part, generally shelters or huts, often bound together further by the roots of Madonna lily or sedum.

Yet we should not understand dry stone as a single technique which is exactly the same wherever it is found. Its many variants are basically conditioned by three factors: the type of stone used, the type of structure built, and local construction traditions. Thus, we find constructions made from unworked stone, stones which have been perfectly split, huts and groundwater mines with flat roofs made using large slabs (where they can be found), with barrel vaults or ogival arches, huts with corbel arches (roofs with circular layers which get smaller as they go up until

completely covering the space beneath), constructions with pillars and ribs (as in Gothic architecture) and a long list of others.

The technique is usually found in rural environments and in some areas it has been so widely used that it has had a decisive part in shaping the local landscape. A highly diverse range of constructions have been built in dry stone, mostly in connection with the traditional farming economy (huts, shelters, borders, beehives, pigeon coops etc.), the water supply (cisterns, irrigation channels, groundwater mines, wells etc.) and forestry. Nonetheless, dry stone has also been used in public works (transport networks, including roads, retaining walls, watchtowers, storm water tanks, drainage ditches¹, etc.), as well as in pre-industrial transformation infrastructure (lime kilns, brick kilns, juniper oil ovens etc.).

As the building materials are extracted from the immediate surroundings, dry stone architecture is always perfectly integrated into the landscape, and if left to fall into ruin, its constructions are reintegrated back into the terrain in a harmonious way. At the same time, with little or no preparation involving the stone, the technique is completely environment-friendly.

Its historical origin is considered to coincide with the first stable human settlements in the Middle East. It would have been used in all

En les darreres dècades, un nombre creixent d'activistes per la pedra seca a Catalunya ha realitzat nombroses accions per tal de posar aquest patrimoni en relleu, documentar-lo i preservar-lo, tant en el seu vessant material com immaterial. Recentment, la inclusió de la tècnica de la pedra seca a la Llista Representativa del Patrimoni Cultural Immaterial de la Humanitat ha propiciat una generalització de la sensibilitat vers aquest patrimoni. Aquest fet hauria d'estimular les administracions implicades a millorar les estratègies per a la seva salvaguarda, avui poc coherents i mancades de coordinació.

En las últimas décadas, un número creciente de activistas pro piedra en seco en Cataluña ha realizado numerosas acciones con el objetivo de poner este patrimonio en valor, documentarlo y preservarlo, tanto en su vertiente material como inmaterial. Recientemente, la inclusión de la técnica de la piedra en seco en la Lista Representativa del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la Humanidad ha propiciado una generalización de la sensibilidad hacia este patrimonio. Este hecho debería estimular a las administraciones implicadas a mejorar las estrategias para su salvaguarda, estrategias hoy poco coherentes y faltas de coordinación.

Over the past few decades, a growing number of pro-dry stone activists in Catalonia have taken significant measures to highlight the importance of this cultural heritage, document it and protect it, both in its tangible and intangible forms. The recent inscription of the dry stone technique in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity has encouraged even wider awareness of this instance of cultural heritage. This should push public administrations involved in protecting Catalan cultural heritage to improve safeguarding strategies, which currently lack both consistency and coordination.

Paraules clau Pedra seca, patrimoni cultural, Llista Representativa del Patrimoni Cultural Immaterial de la Humanitat, Bé Cultural d'Interès Local, polítiques de protecció patrimonial.

Palabras clave Piedra en seco, patrimonio cultural, Lista Representativa del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de la Humanidad, Bien Cultural de Interés Local, políticas de protección patrimonial.

Keywords dry stone, cultural heritage, Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, asset of local cultural interest, heritage protection policies.

1

A good example is the Estany mine (Moianès), a work of engineering mainly built in the 18th century.

periods, wherever stone was abundant and other materials such as wood were scarcer and mainly used for other purposes. Its presence is likely to have been more widespread in the past, for example in houses within urban nuclei and in funerary monuments.

Dry stone builders were usually the same peasants who would later use the constructions, although they might occasionally have had the help of professionals dedicated to this type of work, particularly with more technically complex buildings. These professionals were traditionally master builders in the main, but sometimes it was also the peasants themselves, shepherds or day labourers who acquired a very high degree of expertise in this type of work.

Dry stone in Catalonia

August Bernat sets out a plausible thesis according to which the first significant proliferation of dry stone constructions in Catalonia would have occurred with the occupation of fertile lands by peasants in all the territories making up the Comtat de la Marca, the border of which would have moved up to the Gaià river line from the 10th century onwards (Congost *et al.*, 2010: 29). However, most of the constructions that are preserved nowadays date from the 18th and 19th centuries and the early 20th century. The extension of emphyteutic contracts, which allowed many peasants to make good practical use of the land, would have prompted the cultivation of many uncultivated lands during this time, causing what has come to be called a "hunger for land", a phenomenon which also occurred in other parts of Europe (*Le village des bories: Gordes (Vaucluse)*, 2019: 6)².

Although the general characteristics of their practitioners would be those of the peasants and master builders already mentioned, casuistics could vary greatly. The most common situation was what was documented in the town of La Fatarella, where the peasant would carry out stonework tasks while at work in the fields, usually in summer,



stacking stones or doing maintenance on farming constructions (Rebés, 2001: 7). In the Cerdanya area, especially from the 19th century onwards, there is evidence of the appearance of skilled labour in these tasks that took advantage of the long winter seasons to move into other areas and offer their services to the farms as day labourers. Some of their work was related to dry stone constructions, especially borders and huts (Congost *et al.*, 2010: 43). In particularly industrialised areas around the Ter and Llobregat rivers, workers from mainly the textile industry also contributed their dry stone construction skills to erect small buildings and walls around cultivation patches (Congost *et al.*, 2010: 40).

The great territorial diversity in Catalonia has not been an obstacle to the proliferation of all kinds of dry stone constructions, in fact quite the opposite. Only in some areas is this type of architecture very scarce or null: the Ebro delta and the plains of Urgell and Vic are the main examples³. In the high mountain areas of the Pyrenees, for example, where the economy has largely been oriented to livestock, there is an abundance of all types and styles which are rarely to be found elsewhere, such as enclosures, pens, milking parlours, wolf traps etc. In the pre-Pyrenean regions there is another unique type construction which proliferates: the potato pit, a con-

The great diversity of landscapes in Catalonia has led to a proliferation of types of dry stone construction. The image shows a structure used to trap wolves in Lladorre (Pallars Sobirà). MARC GARRIGA

² In France people literally speak of a "bulimia of earth".



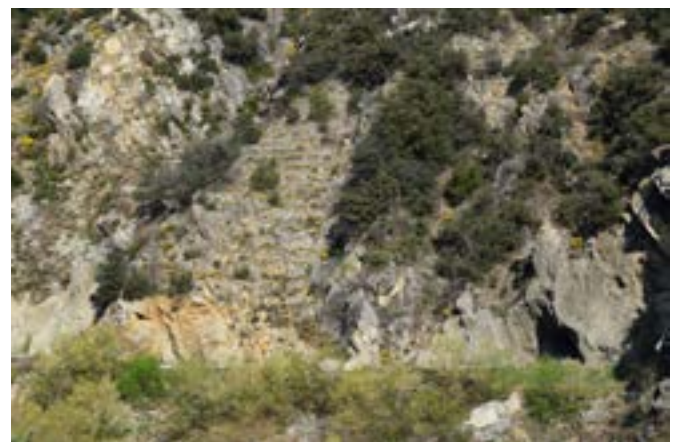
Screenshot of the 10th Dry Stone Meeting, held in Pinós (Vinalopó Mitjà), promoted by the Association for Dry Stone and Traditional Architecture.

struction similar to a hut but smaller and half buried, used to store seed potatoes at a constant temperature, above 0°C (Bargalló, Bernat, Costa i Martí, 2019). More than a thousand of these have been recorded in the counties of Alt Urgell and Solsonès alone (Pasques, 2018). In the Camp de Tarragona area we find huts of great beauty, complexity and typological diversity. At Cap de Creus, there are numerous stone landings built on slopes, while in La Garrotxa we find the only place in Catalonia with constructions made from volcanic stone. In the counties of the western plains and to the north of the Terra Alta and Ribera d'Ebre areas we typically find

huts with arches, often built with well-split stones. Here and in the rest of the particularly arid counties that make up the Terres de l'Ebre, we also find an abundance of infrastructure for the supply of groundwater and rainwater, such as waterwheels and cisterns.

The wealth of all this heritage has not been perceived as such until very recently. The first known precedent in Catalonia is in an article from 1914 on dry stone, written by Joan Rubió and entitled *Construccions de pedra en sec*. The text focuses on the construction techniques of huts and borders, and already mentions places where these types of con-

3
Wikipedra <<http://wikipedra.catpaisatge.net/>>.



Dry stone constructions are well-suited to the cultivation of complex terrains, as is the case with many mountain slopes. The construction of retaining walls has helped create terracing where crops can be cultivated, at the same time preventing the terrain from being eroded. Once they become obsolete, these same constructions blend in harmoniously with the landscape. The images show terracing in Pont de Bar (Alt Urgell) at the beginning of the 20th century and now.

PHOTOGRAPH 1: POSTCARD FROM THE VENTURA ROCA I MARTÍ COLLECTION. PHOTOGRAPH 2: CARLES GASCÓN.

structions proliferate. Much later, in 1967, M. Lluïsa Vilaseca writes about the dry stone constructions of Mont-roig del Camp in the 10th National Archaeology Congress, held in Mahon. But it was not until years later, in the 1990s and 2000s, that mostly local associations celebrating and defending this building technique began to become common. Halfway through the first decade of the 21st century, the coordinating body for dry stone organisations was set up. Prompted by the Ministry of Culture at the Government of Catalonia, this entity recently became the Association for Dry Stone and Traditional Architecture. Today the association brings together 38 local entities and three groups of architects (AADIPA, GRETA and ARPARG) and is part of the Observatory of the Ethnological and Immaterial Heritage of Catalonia. Another important civil society initiative for dry stone is Wikipedra (wikipedra.catpaisatge.net), a collaborative web space for listing and finding information on dry stone constructions in Catalonia. The project began in 2011 and currently lists more than 21,000 constructions, introduced by more than 350 different people and entities. Wikipedra is managed by the Landscape Observatory of Catalonia with the collaboration of the Drac Verd de Sitges group and the support of the Association for Dry Stone and Traditional Architecture.

The protection of dry stone on a local scale, through it being declared an asset of local cultural interest (BCIL), makes for a rather uneven casuistry (Costa, 2018: 171). On the one hand, we find municipalities which have established some sort of general protection for dry stone constructions within their municipal boundaries. Examples of these include Castellbell and El Vilar (Bages), where all vineyard huts (264) and six lime kilns have been protected; Mont-roig del Camp (Baix Camp), where all huts in the municipality have been declared as assets of local cultural interest (154); Rellinars (Vallès Occidental), where all vineyard huts (112) have also been declared as such; Cervera, where the nearly 50 huts with stone arches



identified in the municipality have been protected⁴, and Ascó, where a certain number of small stone buildings known as *catxaperes* and shelters built within margins have been declared of local interest. While these types of declarations denote a general sensitivity towards these constructions, their variety and the characteristics of the assets to be protected, located in areas far from population hubs, make it very difficult to protect them effectively⁵. On the other hand, we find 35 municipalities which have established protection for specific assets. Of particular note are those making up the subregion of La Garriga d'Empordà, which in 2014 protected a total of 103 dry stone huts in Llers (52), Vilanant (22), Avinyonet de Puigventós (14), Biure (11) and Pont de Molins (4). Also worth noting in other spots around Catalonia are the cases of Calafell (Baix Empordà), with 37 protected constructions, Amposta (12), Pont de Vilomara and Rocafort (Bages), with 11, and Tarragona (10). In contrast, some areas with a remarkable and widely documented presence of dry stone buildings have no constructions protected as assets of local interest. Cases which stand out in this respect include the areas of Alt Penedès⁶, Baix Ebre, Conca de Barberà and Terra Alta.

Of the 1,003 dry stone constructions with BCIL status in Catalonia, 886 correspond to just 10 municipalities. This disparity is the result of a number of factors that combine

Inland Catalonia has very low annual rainfall, accounting for the proliferation of rainwater collection and water supply infrastructures. The image shows a cistern and a collection point cut into the rock at Ribot, in Torrebeses, both for the use of rainwater.

MARIO URREA

4

The number of constructions comes from the data in the Catalan cultural heritage catalogue, together with the figures that appear in Wikipedra.

5

In the case of Mont-roig del Camp, the declaration of the five huts in the area of ethnological interest as an Asset of Local Cultural Interest is a particular example.

differently in each case: the perception of how much importance is given to dry stone heritage in each place, the perception of the importance of its potential role in local development, the sensitivity of urban planners in each municipality (Costa: 173), etc.

For its part, the Government of Catalonia has declared various sites where dry stone has a strong presence as assets of national cultural interest. Examples include five huts in Mont-roig del Camp, 13 sets of stone vats in Valls del Montcau, 11 constructions for the supply and exploitation of water in Torrebesses (Segrià) and some constructions within the area of ethnological interest in Les Gavarres (two icehouses and a lime kiln).

Dry stone construction as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity

In 2016, Spain's Historical Heritage Council announced that the Spanish state was set to support an international candidacy for UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (RLICHH), centring on the uses of dry stone. Catalonia responded to the call from the Ministry of Culture along with the autonomous regions of Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Aragon, Andalusia, Asturias, Galicia and Extremadura. That same year saw work begin on the candidacy, finally made up of Greece, France, Croatia, Slovenia, Italy, Switzerland and Spain, and headed by Cyprus. Inclusion on the RLICHH came on 28 November 2018, as part of the meeting of

the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage held in Mauritius (Africa).

The candidacy highlighted the diversity of solutions adopted to meet the different needs faced by dry stone builders, as well as the role played by these constructions in the landscape. This transformation can only be achieved with an in-depth knowledge of the types of stone found in the environment in question, as well as the other natural materials and the usual climate traits in each place (frequency and intensity of wind and rain, consequent risk of erosion, landslides, floods, etc.). Experience gained over time gives builders the ability to imagine spaces and adapt the shape of structures for each use, a deep empirical understanding of the environment ultimately allowing them to design different construction projects which are sometimes extremely complex. With the perseverance of the individuals involved, these factors allow the natural conditions of each site to be modelled and improved, thus converting inhospitable and apparently useless land into places suitable for agriculture and animal husbandry.

The document also stresses that nowadays the responsibility for the transmission of this technique is no longer mainly down to farmers and livestock farmers, as it was in the past, but that today's "bearers" include NGOs, associations, groups and individuals dedicated to safeguarding, promoting, dis-

6

Sant Cugat Sesgarrigues has been in possession of a technical report since 2017 for the declaration of a set of dry stone constructions in the municipality as an asset of local cultural interest, but this has not yet materialised.



Frame from the official video for the candidacy to include the dry stone technique on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO). The Catalan version, which the image is from, was by the Fundació el Solà.

seminating, studying and transmitting the technique. As mentioned above, in Catalonia most of these local cultural associations belong to the Association for Dry Stone and Traditional Architecture. There are also a number of expert professionals⁷ who earn their living partially or totally by maintaining, repairing or rebuilding dry stone constructions. This change in the prototype of the dry stone practitioner has helped women to take on a full role, going from an auxiliary role based on the transport and ordering of materials to a point where they now carry out all parts of the building process. In terms of formal education, initiatives of this type are still at an embryonic stage in Catalonia. The Institut Mollerussa, a vocational training college in the Pla d'Urgell area, included a course on natural stone during the 2018-2019 academic year. The course included the acquisition and practical application of dry stone construction knowledge⁸.

The everyday practice of this knowledge has led to the development of its own lexicon in parallel to what is typical of the world of construction and the different economic fields involved. The idea today is to safeguard this cultural heritage with initiatives as praiseworthy as the *Dry stone glossary* by the Landscape Observatory, or other more local equivalents such as the *Dry stone vocabulary* in Catí (Alt Maestrat) within the Catalan linguistic realm.

The future of dry stone

Ever since individuals and groups of enthusiasts began to underline dry stone construction as heritage a few decades ago, the heritagisation of this building technique or set of techniques has been through different stages. Over time, the generalisation of the perception of these constructions as cultural heritage worthy of attention has driven a large number of people to carry out studies and inventories, and to imagine new forms of transmission of its inherent techniques and knowledge. Its protection, particularly at a local level, presents clear disparities which urge reflection on the part of the manag-

ers of cultural heritage in Catalonia. The recent inclusion of the dry stone technique on the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity has prompted greater interest in everything that surrounds this heritage, something which will force a solution for the voices speaking out around the country for it to be preserved. One of the initiatives being studied is the drafting of a good practice document, headed by the Catalan government's Ministry of Culture and providing guidance for the different stakeholders involved in the heritagisation and preservation of these assets (private and public entities). At the same time, the process to raise public awareness of this heritage continues, the latest example being an exhibition on dry stone in Catalo-

7

The Association for the Integrated Rural Development of the North-Eastern Area of Catalonia (ADRINOC) is working to create a record of the dry stone craft in Catalonia. See: <[https:// adrinoc.cat/ca/entitat/projectes-de-cooperacio/col%C2%B7labo-raxpaisatge/registre-ofici-construc-tiu-pedra-seca-catalunya/](https://adrinoc.cat/ca/entitat/projectes-de-cooperacio/col%C2%B7labo-raxpaisatge/registre-ofici-construc-tiu-pedra-seca-catalunya/)>

8

See news in the press: <[https:// www.mollerussa.tv/alumnes-del-cicle-formatiu-de-pedra-natural-de-linstitut-mollerus-sa-restauren-una-cabana-de-volta-a-les-garrigues/](https://www.mollerussa.tv/alumnes-del-cicle-formatiu-de-pedra-natural-de-linstitut-mollerus-sa-restauren-una-cabana-de-volta-a-les-garrigues/)>



La Fatarella dry stone wall builders Pere Falsebre and Gatano Gironés, carrying out a practical activity as part of the Meeting for the Preservation of Dry Stone in the Catalan-speaking Lands (Torroella de Montgrí, 2004). The Association for Dry Stone and Traditional Architecture holds these meetings in different places in the Catalan-speaking lands every two years.

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Dancing the *jota* in Terres de l'Ebre¹

To Josep Bargalló Badia

W e are not only referring to the Mediterranean when we say that the *jota* is a musical genre shared by all the territories where Catalan is spoken. Its popularity has been well documented throughout Valencia, Aragon, the Balearic Islands and western Catalonia, at least since the 19TH CENTURY, and it even spread to other areas such as the Val d'Aran, Andorra and eastern Catalonia.²

However, the fact that the *jota* is alive and well in most parts of the Principality beyond the Terres de l'Ebre and the Priorat regions is still a surprise today, largely due to a total lack of awareness or interest. One of the reasons for this prejudice is that within Catalan society at a certain time, the genre simply did not exist. In this sense, its unquestionably Hispanic³ origin meant that, since the Renaixença, it has been ascribed pejorative connotations, being considered alien to Catalonia, and therefore lacking a supposed "ethnicity" with respect to other genres that were to become paradigms of indigenous expression, such as the *sardana*, the *contrapàs* and the *ball pla*.⁴

The markedly cool reception of the symphonic poem *La veu de les muntanyes* (1877), the work of Tortosí musician Felip Pedrell, provides a clear example of these prejudices. Contemporaries were unable to appreciate the spirit of protest in a work that was inspired by their own musical tradition in all its complexity. More specifically, it was the third part, *La festa*, that came in for criticism. The context of that historical period, the Renaixença, should be kept in mind, as it was then that the elements that would come to define the national identity were established. Excluded from the canon were those forms of tradition that were considered "Hispanic" or "orientalising", as we shall see:⁵

"Pedrell's heartfelt nationalistic proposal [...] was misunderstood at the time. Many people confused the harmonic language with the alhambresque, and there were also many, especially from the Renaixença group, who did not know how to take the eastern harmonic language." (Cortes, 1992: 69)

"The attack on Pedrell then extended to an attack on anything that 'sounded' like *moro* (Moorish), *castellà* (Spanish), or *non-Christian*

and, for some, *Jewish*, in accordance with the anti-Semitism of the time, and representing the search for a timeless essence of the homeland that needed to continue to encapsulate certain specific values." (Aiats, 2001: 29)

And what exactly was it in a given piece of music that was openly [Catalan] nationalistic that was considered unacceptable within the framework of the ideological and aesthetic prejudices of the time? As Pedrell himself pointed out: "There are those who were only capable of finding a rough Aragonese *jota* in *La Festa*" (Martí, 1992: 221; Martí, 1996: 56).

Other explicit examples of such prejudices are later documented in the work of folklorist Joan Amades:

Paraules clau: Jota, folklorisme, ball popular, dansa, etnicitat, tradició, catalanisme, associacionisme, transmissió.

Palabras clave: Jota, folklorismo, baile popular, danza, etnicidad, tradición, catalanismo, asociacionismo, transmisión.

Keywords: Jota, folklorism, popular dance, dance, ethnicity, tradition, Catalanism, associationism, transmission.



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Interview with Pepita Roca Pagà, *la de Parrillo*, connoisseur and diffuser of the style of the scenic *jota* at Jesús i Maria (December 2, 2012). JOAN-LLUÍS MONJO. SOURCE: ESPAI DE SO.

La jota és una forma musical documentada a Catalunya almenys des del segle XVIII. El seu origen indiscutiblement hispànic va fer que, des de la Renaixença, hom li haja atribuït connotacions pejoratives, en ser considerada una manifestació mancada d'una suposada "etnicitat" catalana. No obstant això, la jota s'ha convertit actualment en un referent de la cultura popular al sud de Catalunya, com a resultat, en gran mesura, d'un ressorgiment identitari. En aquest treball posem en relleu la importància i l'evolució d'aquesta manifestació en el seu vessant coreogràfic a les Terres de l'Ebre.

La jota es una forma musical documentada en Cataluña al menos desde el siglo XVIII. Su origen indiscutiblemente hispánico hizo que, desde la Renaixença, se le hayan atribuido connotaciones peyorativas al ser considerada una manifestación falta de una supuesta "etnicidad" catalana. Sin embargo la jota se ha convertido actualmente en un referente de la cultura popular del sur de Cataluña, como resultado, en gran medida, de un resurgimiento identitario. En este trabajo ponemos de relieve la importancia y la evolución de esta manifestación en su vertiente coreográfica en las Tierras del Ebro.

The *Jota* is a musical genre documented in Catalonia as far back as the eighteenth century. From the Renaissance, its unquestionably Hispanic origin caused it to be attributed with pejorative connotations, as it was considered to be lacking supposedly "Catalan" ethnicity. However the *Jota* has become a benchmark of popular culture in southern Catalonia, thanks in large part to a revival of its self-identity. In this article, we highlight the importance and evolution of the *Jota* dance in Terres de l'Ebre.

"Until very recently travelling performers or minstrels were common in the western and southern regions of the New Catalonia [...] Songs were always accompanied by the sound of the guitar, the *guitarró*, *ferrets* or *ferreguins*, the tambourine [...] Castanets were also used, sometimes made from two wooden spoons [...] The [*sic*] musical value of the songs and the accompanying music was non-existent. Almost all of them were sung coldly, with no musical emotion, and sounded like a badly-sung *jota*. It's hard to find a melody that has a bit of colour." (Amades, 1982: 195)

"The custom [les cançons de ronda] was probably widespread in L'Urgell [...] These *corrandes* are rendered in a primitive Spanish, sung to the sound of a melodic variant of the *jota*, insipid and less than mediocre, and are so rough as a whole that they have no value beyond the fact of their existence, and when we have found them during our searches for popular music we have not included them in our collection." (Amades, 2001, III: 436)

In spite of the negative considerations in Amades's work, paradoxically it is he who makes the importance of the *jota* in Catalonia clear, in its different forms: music, song and dance.

In the previous quotes, Amades refers to the *jota* in a context in which singing and music are combined, popularly known as *guitarrades*, *rondes* or *serenates*.⁶ The *jota* had social functions, and was linked with specific contexts: a combination of song and music. The musical performers were primarily men, which explains the names by which the *jota* was known in this setting: *jotes de ronda*, *de fadrins*, *de quintos*, *rondenyes*. The *jota versada* would be a derivation of the combination of song and dance.⁷ All these forms of expression have in common the musical accompaniment of a spe-

cific formation: the *rondalla*, understood as a group formed by musicians playing string, wind and percussion instruments.

Sometimes the *jota* is simply a song, for example, to accompany housework or the work in the fields (mowing, threshing, olive harvesting, etc.), or to accompany children's games.⁸

In this paper we will focus on the *jota* in the world of dance, where it is most alive today. Not for nothing has it been declared a "dance of national interest" (2010). This indicates that at this point in time it is widely accepted and growing in popularity, in contrast with the rejection that it had previously suffered as, we have seen.

We will show the different contexts in which the dance of the *jota* was expressed in a specific region, the Terres de l'Ebre. This issue will be addressed from a number of points of view, taking into account the context in which it has occurred over time, the different people involved, and other more formal aspects, such as choreography.⁹ From a diachronic perspective, we will look at the evolution the *jota* from the point at which it was a fashionable dance to when it became a folk dance. We will also discuss the current initiatives for the repopularisation of the *jota*. In conclusion, we will reflect on its present and future in southern Catalonia. These are just some initial notes of a general nature, which are intended to contribute to the contextualisation of this cultural phenomenon.

Our study is based, on the one hand, on written, graphic and audiovisual sources from various documentary collections and on available biographies, while on the other hand drawing on oral sources during field work, with interviews conducted with people from the region being studied.

Dansa or ball: a dilemma

The concepts of *dansa* and *ball* have been widely addressed by Catalan folklorists: Capmany (1930, 1944), Pujol-Amades (1936). They proposed several criteria when defining these terms, such as the same popular denomination, or the consideration of the phenomenon over time. Broadly speaking, they consider the *ball* to be something simpler, more spontaneous and of a more popular nature; whereas *dansa* would be rather more contrived and solemn, belonging in more formal settings. In short, they correspond to aesthetic criteria. Other proposals have now emerged, taking into account more far-reaching approaches, such as the sociological perspective.

In this sense, we need to consider contributions that position us within other parameters in order to better understand this dichotomy. Thus, Massa (2007: 14), echoing Catalan tradition says that:

"In Catalonia the words used to denote choreographic performances are *balland dansa*. The expression *dansa* is in a sense idealised. Thus we can talk about Catalan *dansa*, and link *dansa* with words such as "technique" and "steps", or refer to the dance of such and such a town (as the most representative dance of that particular town), etc. While the term *ballis* usually used in a more specific sense. We talk about different genres of *balls*: the *ball del rotllet*, the *ball de la sardana*, the *ball de l'espolsada*, etc. The word "ball" can refer to any of them, but this is not the case with the word "dansa" [...] [we use] the word *ball* when we refer to genres: the pavane, the *rotllet*, the *bolangera*, the polka, etc. On the other hand we use *dansa* when referring to a social event at which the dance is performed in a formal way."

It is therefore the ritual component - symbolic or formalistic - which defines the *dansa* in popular tradition, as indi-

cated by Pardo. Jesús-Maria (2001: 75-76):

"If we look at what the people consider to be a *dansa* and compare it to what is considered to be a *ball*, we find that *dansa* has a purpose that is defined within the framework of the event in which it is included. This purpose can be one of thanksgiving, worship or veneration of the divinity, of petition, of praise, of a symbolic-didactic character, or purely ornamental. On the other hand the *ball*, is only for the pleasure of the dancers, who more or less freely coordinate their movements with a certain melody or song, with an additional element of eroticism which may be more explicit or rather less so, but that is always important.

However, the boundaries between the concepts of *ball* and *dansa* continue to be blurred, as they are often used as synonyms. Moreover, in popular events, overlaps are frequent, and reality is not fixed or static. In fact, it is interesting to note the existence of a context in which dancing could have aspects of both *ball* and *dansa*. We are referring here to the concept of the *ball de plaça*, understood as the "social dance developed during the *Ancien Régime*" (Massa, 2007: 13), which is reflected in a series of manifestations

that still survive today.¹⁰ According to Massa, what makes the *ball de plaça* distinctive is the fact that social hierarchies are reflected in the act of dancing: "The *ball de plaça* developed forms of social relations in which social status was evident" (Massa, 2007: 13).

Below we present a conventional, auxiliary proposal in which the concepts of *dansa*, *ball* and *ball de plaça* referred to above are identified, based on the defining elements explained in the literature consulted.¹¹ It should be emphasised that it is essentially context that marks the difference, as the same genre, the *jota*, can be a *dansa*, a *ball* and a *ball de plaça*.

For example, it can be observed that included in what is categorised as *dansa*, there are different forms of cultural expression that are also known within our cultural context as *balls* (*ball de bastons*, *ball de gitanes*, *ball de cascavells*, etc.). In fact, in Mallorca they are called *balls de figures*. Juan (2004: 36) classifies them as *associative dances*: "Some of these dances come from ancient guild dances."

We use the term *ball* to refer exclusively to dance genres, such as the *jota*, the fandango, the *seguidilla*, the bolero, and the pasodoble, executed in an

acyclic context, unrelated to social or religious rituals.

By the concept of *ball de plaça*, we understand the social and public dance that takes place in the context of a festival. This is one of the frameworks within which the *jota* is documented. As we will see later on, several ritual elements were present in this context, which shaped the participation protocol. In our area, the *ball de coques*, was very common, featuring an auction of *coques* (a typical kind of pastry in Catalonia) The purpose of the auction was to determine participant involvement, and to finance the event. But there are many other designations, based on different distinguishing elements (occasion, costumes, choreography, participants, ritual objects), such as the *capdansada*, *capdeball*, *ball de mantons*, *ball de la roda*, *ball de Sant Antoni*, *ball de majo- rales*, *ball de la candela*, etc.

The jota in the *ball de plaça*

Today, the *jota* is often a part of the *ball de plaça*, especially in the Ebro and Priorat regions. However, it is documented much more widely in Catalonia, in other regions such as the Camp de Tarragona, Conca de Barberà, the Terres de Ponent, Pallars and La Ribagorça.¹²

Table 1

DANCE	SQUARE BALL	DANCE
Ritual and didactic purpose (show)	Ritual and recreational purpose	Recreational purpose
Cyclical form of expression, linked to a festival	Cyclical form of expression, linked to a festival	Acyclic form of expression
Fixed number of participants	Fixed number of participants, and open participation	Open participation
Ritual and uniform dress	Traditional dress and / or modern dress	Modern dress
Mandatory ritual and aesthetic elements (arches, sticks, <i>vefes</i> , costumes, etc.)	Possible use of ritual and aesthetic elements (<i>coques</i> (pastries), candles, fans, costumes, etc.)	No mandatory accessories
Execution sponsored and organised by an institution or association (guild, city council, etc.)	Execution sponsored and organised by an institution or association (brotherhood, commission, city council, neighbourhood, etc.)	Free execution
Public space	Public space	Public or private space
Closed participation, fixed number of participants	Community participation	Open participation
Organisation by roles	Hierarchy of the dance	Without hierarchy

Table 2

Tírig	La Sénia	Tortosa	Repertoire of the "xato d'aldovert"	Ascó	Cornudella de Montsant
entrance <i>passeig</i> jota bolero end	processional step <i>dansa</i> jota	<i>capdeball</i> jota <i>punxonet</i> bolero	<i>dansa</i> jota punxonet fandango (or <i>roglet</i>) jota and bolero bolero	jota	(jota) nineteenth-century dances

The first documentary data where we see evidence of the *jota* as a dance in our field of study goes back to the 18th century. It is from Calaceit, and dates from 1734 (Salvadó, 2008: 521; Blanc, 2011: 55).¹³ In this document it is mentioned together with other fashionable dances of the time, such as the *babau*, the *serení* and the *sombra*. From this we can deduce that it coexisted with different forms of music and

dance. This would indeed be the case throughout its long life.

The *ball de plaça* brought together a repertoire of different dances. In this sense, it functioned as a sort of bag of tricks where all sorts of choreographies of different origins and types could be fitted into a structure in the form of a *suíte* (Mass, 2007: 12. These would be performed in a fixed order, correspond-

ing to the chronological order in which the dances appeared. More fashionable elements were added to older features. As Massa explains, with reference to the Costa de Levant (2007: 21): "The other *balls de plaça* that as a whole have tended to be called *dansas* comprise a repertoire of dances, always ordered in the same way, which corresponds to their appearance over time."¹⁴ Musically, a proof of this amalgamation is the confirmation of the coexistence of very diverse rhythms at the same time (we will look at the choreographic aspects in the following section).¹⁵ The *jota* also became part of the square dance programme, as one more piece of its structure, at a date that is unclear.

In picture 2, there are six examples of *ball de plaça* structures from the Maestrat-Priorat area. It is clear that the *jota* is present throughout this area. However they represent different stages within the tradition,¹⁶ as we will see:

We can observe the square dance is presented in the format of a *suíte* in the first three locations. Within the graph we wanted to include the dance repertoire of the *ball de plaça* by *dolçainer* Jaume Blanch Gelabert, "*lo Xato d'Aldover*". It was very popular in Baix Ebre and Montsià regions at the end of the 19th century, and the beginning of the 20th century, at which time the *dolçaina* (an instrument rather like an oboe) and the drum were still the main musical protagonists of the *ball de plaça*.¹⁷ Once again the *suíte* structure is evident, although we do not yet know the order of execution.



Dansada de la Fatarella (Terra Alta). Example of a *ball de plaça* in the context of the Sant Blai festivities. The most characteristic ritual element is the *tortas* blessed by the church, that everyone danced with, one of which was auctioned. The protagonists are the *majorals* (2010). PHOTO AND BACKGROUND: XAVIER REBÉS

On the other hand, Ascó (Ribera d'Ebre) represents the present day, where bands have replaced the *dolçaina* and *tabal* combination.¹⁸ It can be seen that the *suite* structure has been simplified, which means that the *jota* is the only part of the *ball de plaça* remaining.

In fact it was with the arrival of music bands on the scene that a considerable change took place in the physiognomy of the *ball de plaça*.¹⁹ They would be the ones to introduce new repertoires that would eventually replace the old ones, such as those of the *dolçainer* Jaume Blanch. With the bands, the nineteenth-century versions of the *ball de plaça* as they were known spread. The *jota*, however, was not banished; quite the contrary in fact, as compositions aimed at bands became popular, drawing on a variety of sources, such as popular *jota* melodies, *zarzuelas* or *cuplés*. These pieces were then disseminated through sheet music, and

became part of the band repertoire in different places. They were identified by name (for example, *La gresca*, *Jota de los toros*, *La Lolita*, *Jota serrana*, etc.)²⁰ and it was often known who they were written by. As Massa says (2007: 34):

"Scores written by both Catalan and foreign composers. were taken up and played everywhere. The same piece could be heard in different places. [...] This was when the universalisation of social music, of consumption began to take off."

The case of Cornudella, in the Priorat region, serves to explain the disappearance of the *jota* in the *ball de plaça* at the beginning of the 20th century in a part of the territory. After a period of coexistence with nineteenth-century dances, it was finally displaced.²¹ We can deduce that the appearance of the *ball agarrat* was a reflection of the social changes taking place at the time, which affected the way dance and social rela-

tionships were understood. As we can see, innovations were to emerge at an earlier date the further north we go from the area studied. Not surprisingly, it was an area more closely linked to the major urban centres of Reus and Tarragona, and therefore more receptive to change. On the other hand, the southernmost area appeared to be more conservative, as there were older repertoires in the *ball de plaça* that survived for longer, as can still be seen today.²² Therefore the adoption of the *jota* in the *ball de plaça* can be explained as a result of its popularity in our area. At the beginning of the 20th century, however, it was already considered obsolete in a part of the area studied.

In short, this evolution was part of a more complex process involving the transition from a pre-industrial to a modern society, which affected many areas. As for the concept of *ball de plaça*, a trend towards the democratisation



Rondalla de Freginals, an example of the training of string musicians in the first third of the 20th century. FREGINALS TOWN COUNCIL

of the act of dancing can be observed, which affected how dancing was organised, as well as the music bands and repertoire. There was a change in musical tastes, with a shift towards more academic and urban models.²³

The jota in an acyclic context: the *ball de bureo*

As we have seen, the *jota* has a place within the context of the *ball de plaça*, understood as a social act that required a certain formality, and that was connected to the framework of community festivals. But it could also be part of a dance in a more playful, family oriented setting, which we call *ball de bureo* (as does Pardo, 1995: 728).²⁴ We understand a *bureo*²⁵ to be a "festive meeting of a private character where dancing is the main entertainment, together with drama or games, particularly in country farmhouses". This

is the current meaning, above all in the Maestrat, Ports and Matarranya areas. In other parts of the zone studied, the word is used in a more restricted sense.²⁶ It is in this context that the dance had a spontaneous character, and everyone could take part. No protocol was required, and neither was the presence of paid professional musicians, as in *balls de plaça* (Massa, 2007: 15). As Pardo says (1995: 724):

"It is clear that the *ball* and the *ronda*, of a more private nature and unrelated to the formality of an official festival, were accompanied by stringed instruments. It should also be noted that string players were not considered professional musicians, unlike the *dolçainers* or the members of the band, who always charged for their work."

The musicians at a *bureo* usually formed a *rondalla*, understood as a "musical ensemble formed basically by stringed instruments". The guitar was the main instrument. There was no standard format, since an indeterminate and variable number of instruments could be part of it, depending on the circumstances. Together with the strings (lute, *bandurria*, *guitarró*, violin), percussion instruments (tambourine, *ferrets*, castanets) were also important. Over time, others would be added, such as wind instruments (euphonium, clarinet, accordion).

In this context the most common dances were the *jota* and other related genres, such as the *fandango* and the *seguidilla*. It is important to emphasise that in these types of dances performed by the *rondalla*, singing was always involved. The musicians



Festes Majors a l'Ajuntament - Jotes -1968.

sometimes played a double role as both instrumentalists and singers. We are now going to take a look at the most important choreographic elements of the *jota*.

The dance was learned in an intuitive way, simply by imitation: in this context there was no concept of rehearsal, or any form of prior instruction. Participants took part freely, and on an individual basis. It was the woman who took the lead, and who chose the steps (*passos, punts, passadetes*).²⁷

The position of the dancers depended on several factors, such as the character of the dance. If we understand it as a *ball de plaça*, the dancers were distributed in two parallel rows that advanced forming a circle around the dance space, the *plaça*, in an anti-clockwise direction.²⁸ Women were on the outside, the men on the inside. Placement usually corresponded to rank. Those who led the dance were the most distinguished people. The dancers stayed with the same partner throughout the session. A dancer could sometimes take on more than one partner in the case of a *ball d'obsequis*, a "gift dance", the gifts being *coques* (a kind of traditional Catalan pastry). Musically, when the *dolçainer* was in charge of the *ball de plaça*, the *jota* was structured in two clearly differentiated parts: the bagpipe section and the drum solo section. In the first, the dancers took advantage of the tune of the song and the chorus to perform the moves, while in the second part, the interlude, they rested, advancing to the beat of the drum.²⁹ However, with the appearance of the music bands, new *jota* repertoires that altered the structure of the *ball de plaça* spread. The new compositions were *jotas* (or *walz-jotes*) in which the structure of couplets and choruses was no longer identifiable, and the role of the solo drum had disappeared.

The *jota* performed by a *rondalla* was also structured in two parts: one part was

a combination of vocals and instrumentals, and the other was solely instrumental. The instrumental and vocal parts corresponded to those performed in the *ball de plaça* by bagpipes and the *tabal*. However, within the vocals a distinction needs to be made between the song (*folia, corrandà*) and the chorus. It was possible for the chorus to be solely instrumental. In terms of choreography, the steps went with the song. These tended to be simple, turns, walks, twists, etc. During the choruses, regardless of whether or not these included vocals, the dancers usually performed a few steps to the rhythm of a waltz.

In the *bureo*, the placement of the dancers was much more diverse. There were no predetermined structures. Based on the dancing couple, there were several more complex choreographic structures for dancing the *jota*. The aims were diverse: to add variety to the performance, to adapt to the available space or number of dancers, to show off, or to encourage fun and the building of relationships between the two sexes, as changes of partner were possible. Up to now, in our research we have been able to document the following patterns:

a) *Ball de tres*, literally "Dance for three". Performed by one man and two women. It is considered a display dance. The dancers form a line. The man stays in the centre, with one of the women on each side. During the chorus, the steps they perform form something like a figure eight. Ulldecona is one of the places where this has been documented.³⁰

"They had also danced the *ball tres* [sic]: the dancers were divided into groups, each formed by one man and two women. [...] both of these dances were variants of the *jota tortosina*." (Amades, 2001: V: 488-489)

b) *La fila*, "The row". The partners form two parallel rows, and dance

facing each other. This is reminiscent of the usual positioning for the *ball de plaça*, except they do not form a circle. This is a format found in the southern part of our area of study, more specifically in the Montsià and the area around Tortosa. Apart from the positioning, there were several variations in terms of changes of partner and choreographic evolution documented in the neighbouring areas of El Maestrat and Els Ports. A graphic document from Amposta suggests the possibility of the existence of a choreographic variant that in other areas is called *ball del canut*, in which the dancers form a sort of corridor led by one of the pairs at the end during the chorus (Ramell, 2006: 31).

c) *El quadre*, "The square". This is formed by two pairs of dancers. We have photographic evidence which shows that it was possible to position the dancers in different ways.³¹

d) *Other structures*. Until now we have not had any evidence of other choreographic structures in the Terres de l'Ebre, such as *el rogle*, which were common in more conservative areas close by (Matarranya, Ports, Maestrat).³² As we will now see, it may be that the fact that the area was affected by folklorisation at an earlier time contributed to gradual disappearance of these structures.

From popular dance to folklore show

In the literature we consulted, reference is made to the *jota* as being very much alive between the end of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century. At the same time, the first references of the *jota* as a display dance appeared. The oral sources consulted in our field work provided us with sketchy data on the final stage, when the dance was already fading in importance and performances were frequently 'folklorised'. Consultation of Josep Bargalló's



Example of the *jota* at the pilgrimage to the Remei de Flix hermitage on the "Day of the Hermit". Easter Monday, 1950. Unknown author. FRANCISCO RAMÓN VISA RIBERA

audiovisual archive has provided us with relevant data on the way the *jota* was performed in both a popular and a folkloristic context. They represent the invaluable testimony of the last dancers who were familiar with the *jota* in several regions (Terres de l'Ebre, Priorat, Camp de Tarragona).

The following quotes document the presence of the *jota* as an expression of popular culture in different contexts. Different aspects are highlighted in each case, such as the way in which partners were chosen, or how the dance ended, its popularity, or how it started to lose popularity with young people, or its appearance as a festival event:

"Another town where a local celebration was held was the town of Benissanet, on the banks of the River Ebre. After dinner the young men went to the square and started dancing on their own in a showy, grotesque way until a young woman came up to dance with them. Once they had found partners and started dancing, if another man came up and said simply *llicència*, they had to give up their partners and try to find another girl to dance with. Throughout the dance, it was always the women who chose their partners. The men were not allowed to choose, or to go to look for a partner.

They danced the *tortosina* variant of the *jota*." (Amades, 2001, IV: 229)

"There's plenty of fun in that corner of the square! Listen to the song: *Esta doncella que danza / se parese á San Miguel / y el bailador que la baila / lo que está debaco d'él*. It is a dance in the local style, and like the costumes of the peasants is reminiscent of the time of the Moors. Now they're dancing to the sound of guitars, *guitarrons* and *ferrets* [...] What lively people! Like the night of Palm Sunday. The dance is over. Listen: *Aviso les doys, señores, / que no salgan á bailar, / que en esta copla y en otra / lo vamos a rematar*." (Vergés Pauli, 1923: 132-133)

"It was the night of magic and fire [Night of Sant Joan]. At midnight the young girls did the "egg yolk test" to find out what the trade of their future boyfriends would be. [...] People gathered to dance the *jota*, or the *cota*, as they called it [...] and when they went to dance the '*cota*' they took pastries made with eggs, flour and sugar, stuffed with dried figs and then fried, this was the typical '*parachota*' ('for the *jota*')." (Casanova i Giner, 1996: 37)

"And during the year there are many neighbourhoods where they dedicate a night or two to our *jota*, which really pleases those middle-aged people who remember the times when singing and dancing the *jota* used to be something that people did every Sunday and on festival days, or even a daily event. The peasants, conservative and faithful to this, the purest of traditions, and who continue to preserve it with the greatest of care for the benefit of future generations are happy too. It is a shame that like so many other things connected with our local area this has been slowly dying out, and today there are very few young people who know how to dance the *jota*." (Subirats, 1955: s. p.)

"No less striking are the impromptu dances in the square in front of the church. The strains of a joyful *jota* ring out from the many guitars, horns and bugles of the band. Five or six couples show off their panache, changing over from time to time. On this occasion it is absolutely impossible to pass through the square as it is packed with dancers and people watching them." (*El Orden*, 19 January, 1890)

We have already made reference to the fact that the disappearance of the pre-industrial model of society at the end of the 19th century brought about changes that affected the customs and attitudes of the working classes. It was the moment when the *ball agarraoor agarrrat* as they were called appeared on the scene, coinciding with the peak of popularity of the *jota*. It was a new concept of dance (ball) in which contact between the dancers was possible. We are referring, for example, to new dance fashions such as the waltz, the mazurka or the polka.³³ At first, the *solid* dance, represented above all by the *jota*, coexisted with the *agarrrat*; but gradually the balance swung towards this new form, as young people identified with the new music and new forms of dance which represented modernity.

"The fandango has died, drowned by the wave of foreign dances that has hit our streets and squares; but the joyous fandango is in the very blood of our young people, and it prevents them from assimilating the soul or even the beat of the French and American pantomime." (*El Correo de las Familias*, 1 August 1878)

Costumbrism appeared on the scene as a reaction to this transformation of the customs of the working classes in the 19th century. This movement, which originated with Romanticism, manifested itself through the visual arts and through literature and, as expected, also included popular music

and dance. It stemmed, however, from the interest that the privileged classes took in the people, but in an idealised way, rather than from an ethnographic perspective. The virtues of rural society were exalted, and presented as the depository of a true and unalterable cultural essence. In this sense, an imaginary of "popular culture" was created, which became the object of study and empowerment, and would form the basis of *folklorism*.³⁴ In this context, the objective was to prolong the life of those popular forms of expression that were in danger of extinction in order to turn them into museum pieces decontextualised from reality.

Traditional music and dance adopted a new format, one that was no longer participatory and fun, but that was becoming a spectacle with an aesthetic value that was also a source of identity.

Specifically, in the case of the *jota*, it was in Aragon where the dance became an important part of regional identity during the second half of the 19th century. At the same time, the *Renaixença* in Catalonia reinforced other expressions of popular culture that were intended to represent the vision of ethnicity that had been forged in the country. These elements came mainly from Old Catalonia. As Costa says (2011: 59):

"The *jota* fell outside this framework. It was a joyful, lively way of dancing, one that did not sit comfortably with the stereotype of the sensible, hard-working Catalan people. [...] But above all the *jota* was suspected of not being truly Catalan."³⁵

The creation of the Official Aragonese Jota Contest (1886) in Zaragoza is a good example of the process of the exaltation of the genre at this time. It was an annual competition which involved stories, understood as reworked versions of traditional tales, which had a role to play. They were performed as part of the competition in which the singer's participation was key. This was



Poster of a show that includes improvised singing, a "country-style" dance competition, with traditional dress guaranteed, and a *verbena* (1947).

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to evolve into what were called *cuadros de jota*. The dancers came to be of secondary importance, at least, in the first period. As Andrés Cester says (1986: 53, in Rubio, 2008: 57):

"A singer or two were included, and later a pair of dancers (however these were not couples who had been sought out and who had rehearsed in advance as would be the case today, but people called on by chance who had had no previous preparation or training)."

This new version of the *jota* as a folklore spectacle is also documented in



Folklore demonstration by a children's group of the Sección Femenina (Tortosa, 1964). ARCHIVE OF THE SECCIÓN FEMENINA, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORT, GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN

the Tortosa area in the last third of the 19th century, where it established deep roots, and persisted for much of the 20th century. Undoubtedly, geographical proximity to Aragon was the trigger for the revaluation of the *jota* as an expression of popular culture.³⁶ It is interesting to note that in the Tortosa press at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century there was a great deal of coverage of the events and people related to the *jota* in Aragon. The appearance of the first examples of the sung (and improvised) *jota* in our area could be seen as evidence of this phenomenon,³⁷ as could the introduction of dance competitions, as we see from their inclusion in Tortosa's main festival:

"At four o'clock in the afternoon, the event will begin, in which the following prizes will be awarded by the jury of the San Antonio guild. First prize. 40 pesetas to the couple

who are most appropriately dressed and who give the best performance of the local dance, the *jota*." (*Diario de Tortosa*, 5 September 1896)

As we see, the dance was then understood as an exhibition. The aim of the performance was to showcase the technical aspects, and to present a harmonious choreography. The "typical" dress also became a necessary requirement. It was at this time that the term "regional style" applied to this form of the *jota* took on its full meaning. The dance was no longer something natural and spontaneous, but clearly a prearranged performance. Dance moves were created or re-worked, and they had to be rehearsed beforehand so that the dancers could win a prize and gain a reputation (this is why they were popularly known as *balls de premits* - "prize dances").³⁸

Throughout the 20th century, the performance aspect would be appear in different formats: competitions, festivals and tributes, which took place particularly in the Baix Ebre and Montsià area. It must be said that the popularity of the improvised song of the *jota* eclipsed the dance. It gradually became a decorative complement to the stories that were sung by the singers. As we can see in this account:

"At that time, when Teixidor [1931-2011] began to sing, the *jotes* were very important; together with the singers and the stories, *jota* dancers were also part of the festival." (Fandos, 2005: 40)

One of the most striking innovations we can observe at this time were changes to the choreography. The steps that corresponded to the sung part ("*mudances*") were relegated to the instrumental section, while the

movements traditionally performed in the instrumental or interlude part ("*valsat*" and "*arrastrat*") were shifted to the vocal section. It is assumed that the explanation for these changes lies in the style of singing. As Bargalló explains (1994: 50):

"After each *cobla*, the instruments took up the tune again with gusto, so while the dancers danced to the instrumental part with very quick steps, snapping their fingers, during the vocal section they reduced their movements to a minimum so that the voice could be clearly heard by the spectators."

It should be assumed that the format of the song affected the dance in the sense that attention was focused on the message conveyed by the songs, rather than on the dancers. On the other hand another factor that determined changes in choreography was the irregularity of the tempo in the vocals section, as it depended on how the singer chose to improvise. The tradition has evolved in such a way that the musicians are at the service of the singer, not the dancers.

This type of performance dance persisted during the Franco dictatorship. When the competitions disappeared, the artistry of these dancers survived in several local groups that emerged at the end of the 20th century, such as those of Sant Jaume d'Enveja, Jesús i Maria, and Sant Carles de la Ràpita.

In 1942, the groups of *Coros y Danzas* of the *Sección Femenina* ("Women's Section") and the *Frente de Juventudes* ("Youth Front") were born, which prolonged this aesthetic aspect of the dance. Their influence was reflected in the creation of a series of local groups that either coexisted with, or absorbed, previous formations such as the dance groups, or were nourished by their musicians, singers and dancers. These groups were structured hierarchically across various categories, according



Video cover *Danses Tortosines* (1993) edited by the Grup Tortosí de Danses Folkloriques. This group created its own style along the lines of the staged *jota*, which has had widespread impact in the Tortosa area. BOLAÑA. SOURCE: GRUP TORTOSÍ DE DANSES FOLKLÒRIQUES.

to criteria of age and sex. This was documented in the following towns: Ametlla de Mar, Amposta, Benissanet, Bitem, Flix, Gandesa, Jesús and María, Mora de Ebro, Móra la Nova, Paüls, el Perelló, Roquetes, San Carlos del Valle, Santa Bàrbara, Tortosa and Xerta, but in most cases it was short lived.

One of the characteristics of the system was the need to appear in competitions of a provincial, regional and national nature, in which it was necessary to prepare a repertoire of dances representative of each "region". It was then that the *jota* was consolidated as a folk dance. The concept of a repertoire of pieces, identifiable with a specific geographical area or name, was disseminated. Local groups performed *ballets* (*dances*) from their respective areas. The Terres de l'Ebre, however, provided few examples of the local tradition, unlike other areas of Catalonia. These were folklorised pieces, taken out of their original context. We do however know of some from the Terres de l'Ebre, *Lo Capdeball*, the *Jota tortosina*, the *Jota fogueada* [*sic*], the *Jota de Cherta* or the *Dansades de Bot*.

In the *Coros y Danzas* competitions, moreover, these pieces had to comply with strict rules regarding duration. Thus, for example, the stage version of the Tortosa *ball de plaça* was presented to the public in a fragmentary way. It was made up of the "*capdeball*", the "*jota*", the "*punxonet*" and the "*bolero*", which all looked as if they were autonomous and unconnected pieces. With regard to choreography, a repertoire of dances was created in which the steps were chosen and fixed arbitrarily, in order to make them clearly identifiable by the dancers. Aesthetic values were also enhanced through the staging, gestures and posture of the dancers. The artistic aspect was highlighted as the dancers were required to wear "regional costumes". Although the intention was to revive what were supposedly popular dances, the result was the manipulation and adulteration of the original materials. Several factors influenced this process, such as shortcomings in the collection and faithful dissemination of the dances, or the competitive framework in which they were performed. This situation was echoed in the press

of the time, with several tradition-sensitive personalities denouncing the tampering carried out by the *Sección Femenina*.³⁹

On the other hand, the dance group movement, which was the Catalan alternative to the monopoly on folklore represented by the *Coros y Danzas*⁴⁰ arrived on the scene very late in the Terres de l'Ebre and did not take root.⁴¹ There is only evidence of two groups: The *Estel Dansaires de Paüls* and the folklore group, the Societat de Cantaires de l'Ebre Delta de Tortosa.⁴² Unfortunately, the supposed safeguarding of the choreographic heritage they claimed to dedicate themselves to was also undertaken from an aesthetic point of view.⁴³ However, the *jota* had no place in their repertoires until a later period (the 1980s), thanks mainly to the work of the folklorist Josep Bargalló.⁴⁴

The emergence of the *Grupo Tortosino de Danzas Folkloricas*, founded in 1969, consolidated the aesthetic aspect of the *jota* in the last third of the 20th century. It was the heir to the *Grupo de Coros y Danzas de Tortosa* and was a reference point for folk dance in the Terres de l'Ebre together with - although to a lesser extent - the *Grup de Danses Catalònia, de Jesús*.⁴⁵ Ramon Balagué, artistic director of the *Grupo Tortosino de Danzas Folkloricas*, explained that it was research that had legitimised the group's trajectory:

"By creating the group, my goal was limited to the revival of our dances. [...] These dances are the result of 30 years of research, always based on oral accounts, and always within local communities."⁴⁶

However, it is on the artistic side where he stood out most. The folk materials were translated into a theatrical lan-

guage,⁴⁷ following a trend that, in general terms, had already been set during the previous stage: the performance as a means of dissemination. The group's extensive trajectory allowed for an evolution towards the new tendencies that were appearing on the folklore scene in Catalonia. It has to be said that the *Grup Tortosí de Danses Folkloriques* created its own style of performing Catalan dance on stage, and achieved a high degree of artistic excellence until its disappearance. According to the testimony of the folklorist from Reus Josep Bargalló, based on statements by *jota* singer Josep Guarch nicknamed "*Lo Teixidor*", he describes what the *jota* scene was like in the 80s and 90s, when the artistic part was the sole means of expression:

"Today very few people dance the *jota*, and there are only a few groups in the *Sección Femenina* that "dance it very well", but in a somewhat fixed



Popular dance. The festive format of events such as the *Ballades al Mercat* (Ampostà) has created a new framework for popular dance and music. There is a firm commitment to participation, the aim is above all to entertain and thus go beyond the aesthetic aspect of the dance (8 April 2013). JOAN-LLUÍS MONJO. SOURCE: ESPAI DE SO

and showy way, rather than as it had previously been danced by young people in the past." (Bargalló, 1994: 194)

This artistic expression of the *Grup Tortosí de Danses Folkloriques* reached its peak in the 90s with Carme Balagué, who continued her father's work. She has been key in the training of new dancers in various dance groups over the last few years, and her expertise has made it possible for new folk groups to appear in the area, such as the *Grup de Dansa Paracota, d'Amposta*, which was greatly influenced by her.⁴⁸ However, the great contribution of Carme Balagué was developing the staging for the Saragatona group, heir to the work of the *Grup Tortosí de Danses Folkloriques*, where she had previously been the artistic director. In an explicit way, Balagué wanted to highlight the artistic side of the dance, which is translated into the language of contemporary dance, after undergoing a clear process of innovation: "[Saragatona] is innovative in terms of musical instruments and even in the costumes worn, achieving a staging that has traditional roots, but that is at the same time adapted to the trends in stage design."⁴⁹ The intention was not so much the reproduction of traditional forms, but rather a reworking for the stage, reflecting a desire to go down more contemporary paths:

"The show mixes different elements of the dances of the Terres de l'Ebre, *jotas* and *dansades*, based on traditional aspects and incorporating more modern and innovative staging options, with new ideas on interpretation and musical arrangements, revived, reinvented and even [*sic*] created by the musicians of the group."⁵⁰

A timid attempt to break with the rigidity of the precepts of staging can also be discerned in Saragatona. At some point, the audience becomes involved, as the dancers move outside their performance framework (the stage). This

is an example of the integration of the diverse reflections that were beginning to emerge in the field of dance.⁵¹

With the protest movement against the National Hydrological Plan at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, the identity of the Terres de l'Ebre was strengthened, and local forms of cultural expression, such as the *jota*, were re-evaluated. According to Guiu (2001: 73): "*La jota est donc devenue un instrument de revendication en défense de l'Ebre et en défense d'une nouvelle conception du modèle d'identité catalane*". Within this context of the re-evaluation of the *jota*, he emphasized the role of the folk group *Quico el Cèlio, El Noi i el Mut de Ferreries*, centred basically on creating a new version of traditional song.

Since then, this awareness of local traditions has meant that there has been a very clear interest in the world of storytelling and in the *versadors* of the new generation (such as El Canalero or El Teixidor). This revival has also led to a parallel concern for the *jota* as a dance, now understood in a different way: the desire was to return to the concept of dance (*ball*) as a form of entertainment open to all, and less as a show.

The current picture. Prospects for the revival of the *jota* as a folk dance (*ball*)

It was not until the beginning of the 21st century that initiatives were proposed in the Terres de l'Ebre to change the format in which dance (*ball*) was presented as a spectacle. There has been an interest in the revival of its entertainment function as an open and participative form of expression. Without a doubt, the rediscovery of the improvised *jota* has had a great influence on this trend towards manifestations of a popular nature. We live in an era in which there is a demand for local cultural activities as an expression of identity in the face of globalisation. The *jota* understood as a *ball de plaça*

(under different names), is once again a living (or revitalised) expression of popular culture, and is an extremely important element in festivals in southern Catalonia. And it is clear that the *jota*, be it as a dance or as a song, has become a key element in the identity of the Terres de l'Ebre in recent years.

Throughout the area, a series of entities dedicated to the dissemination of the *jota* have proliferated, acting as folklore groups at the same time. Their aim is to reclaim this dance through popular events, such as the *Jota Festival* in the Ribera de l'Ebre or the meetings of *jota* groups, which usually take place in the Baix Ebre, Montsià and Terra Alta areas. Despite the new open spirit of these celebrations, the display component is still evident. Ultimately, they are representations of the supposed local variations of the *jota*, where certain aesthetic elements still persist, such as, dress (regional costumes, scarves tied around the waist).

On the other hand, there are several initiatives that have focused on the *jota* as a dance, in the sense of an explicitly spontaneous, open and acyclical form of expression, which have been successful in recent times. For example, *La Jota a la Plaça* was a pioneering organisation, established in the Casal Panxampla in Tortosa. Subsequently, initiatives such as the *Ballades al Mercat* promoted by the Grup de Dansa Paracota in Amposta, or those of the Lo Fardell Patxetí association in the Ribera d'Ebre were added. In the words of representatives of the first two:

"Our perception [of the *jota*] [...] was that, although socially it was widely recognised, it was basically positioned and presented as a performance [...]. Our aim is to ensure that the *jota* can be actively and participatively present at any festival, dance or concert, and that we can once again dance it in a comfortable and natural way [...], to make it popular in the sense that people

feel that they have made it their own once again.” (Baiges, 2014: 48)

“Paracota works as a meeting space that offers the possibility to learn and dance the *jota* throughout the year. At the same time, through the participation, diffusion and organisation of meetings, popular dances, workshops and courses, Paracota brings together other groups that keep the music and dances of the region alive.” (Miralles, 2014: 39)

These associations promote meeting spaces in which the active participation of dancers is encouraged, but without a performance element. Hence traditional costumes no longer have a role to play. There is a clear desire to revive the *ball de plaça* in the town square.⁵²

In the same vein, new initiatives have recently appeared, such as the *bureos*, promoted by the Espai de So association. This is an initiative that redefines traditional practices in the framework of modernity by adopting new functionalities. This is the case of the music and dances of the *rondalles de corda*, which seemed to be destined to disappear. This is a leisure context, often centred on a popular meal, which invites those attending to actively participate. In addition to the *jota*, the repertoire broadened as other dance genres that have been common in popular tradition were revived: the fandango, the *seguidilla*, the bolero, nineteenth-century dances, etc.⁵³

Alongside this drive to popularise the genre, there has also been an interest in training. We should mention the creation of schools throughout the region that offer courses aimed at teaching song, dance, and how to play certain instruments. Here we are referring to the *Aula de la Terra* (originally *L'Aula de Música Tradicional i Popular* - AMTP - attached to the Ministry of Culture at the Generalitat de Catalunya) and to Lo Plantel, in Tortosa, as well as the Jot-

aCampus based in Poblenou del Delta. In this area, the projects coordinated by the *Espai de So de Tortosa* association should be highlighted: The Ebreca Lo Canalero School of Traditional Music of Roquetes, and the *Ebrefolk Campus de Música i Balls Populars de les Terres de l'Ebre, Matarranya i Nord Valencià* of Móra d'Ebre. The main feature of these last two initiatives is that they too are aimed at training pupils, but based on knowledge rooted in tradition. We consider this necessary in order to understand the *jota* in its maximum diversity, and in order for it to be able to develop in every sense.

Conclusions

In traditional society dance was a manifestation that was part of a system of human relations integrated into a pre-industrial way of seeing the world. It was common within the celebrations of the agricultural and liturgical calendar, which governed our ancestors' lives, and on certain public holidays or at private celebrations. It was a highly participative activity and not yet confined to any particular group. Likewise, it was understood as a playful form of expression charged with a specific meaning within the cultural framework in which it took place.

We have seen that the tradition of the *jota* as a popular dance in the Terres de l'Ebre began to wane in the last third of the 19th century, in the same way as other genres of popular dance, such as the *seguidilla*, the bolero and the fandango, had previously. One of the reasons was the emergence of new tastes and customs, linked to a social change. Young people identified with new music and a new way of understanding dance (the *agarrai*) dance triumphed. As a reaction to this demise, a folklore movement was born that was consolidated during the 20th century: the artistic side of the *jota*. By the 1940s and 1950s, the break in generational transmission was complete in the Terres de l'Ebre; in the north

of Valencia, it still remains to this day, albeit in a residual form.

Today there is a very clear commitment to the popularisation of the recreational role of the *jota* as a dance. New perspectives are emerging from different points of view. All of the above initiatives and projects are examples of an obvious interest in the revival and updating of music and dance in a festive context, as a spontaneous form of expression that is open to participation. The barrier that existed between performers and spectators in the folkloristic conception of dance began to dissolve and a break with the previous era became clear: there were other similar cases in our cultural context at the same time. For example, this is the case of the phenomenon of the *ballades* in Mallorca and the new *bureos*⁵⁴ and *aplecs* that are currently flourishing in Valencia and the Terres de l'Ebre.

In the 21st century, associationism will increasingly be the driving force behind new dynamics for understanding folk music and dance. Furthermore, it will become the depositary of tradition, and will take on the job of transmission.

Consequently, as the *jota* is a living expression of popular culture, it will always be subject to adaptation within the diverse contexts in which it occurs. At the same time, this process can be observed in different senses, such as in the forms of transmission, as we have already seen; and also in terms of choreography, since it facilitates the involvement of new dancers; at a musical level, new melodies are being created and the door is open to fusion with other types of music currently on the scene, and even to the incorporation of instruments from other traditions. ■

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NOTES

1 This article further develops the paper presented on 14 September 2013 at the 11th Conference on the Ethnology of the Terres de l'Ebre held in Móra la Nova entitled *The Ethnomusical Heritage of the Terres de l'Ebre. The jota as a dance*. The exhibition was organised by Lluís-Xavier Flores. It is part of a wider study project about the jota in Catalonia, of which some aspects have been made public (such as Flores et al. 2017, Flores, 2018, Flores s/d).

2 We find it documented, for example, in the repertoire of musical groups from the Penedès to Northern Catalonia, mainly in the form of *Jota Vals* (jota waltzes), and forming part of the *suite* of different gypsy dances in the Vallès region.

3 For example, ethnomusicologist Manzano, one of the leading scholars of the jota (1995, 2006) presents the jota as "without a doubt the most widespread dance genre throughout the Iberian Peninsula, including Portugal" (2006: 454).

4 On the prejudices of the first Catalan folklorists against the jota, see, for example, Martí (1996) and Costa (2011: 59-61).

5 On the concept of *orientalism* and its connection with popular music see Aiats (2001: 26-29).

6 See, for example, Moreira (1979 [1934]: 398-403).

7 For further understanding of the jota in the Ebre region, see Rovira (2002), Chavarría (2005) and Castellanos, Martí, Queralt, Salvadó, Vidal (2007a, 2007b).

8 As for example can be widely seen in the folkloric works of Serra and Boldú or Moreira.

9 For a better understanding of the musical aspects, we refer the reader to the extensive literature that exists on the subject. We would

highlight the study by Miguel Manzano *La jota como género musical* (1995). Also recommended is number 24 of *Caramella*, which includes a dossier dedicated to the jota in Catalan-speaking territories.

10 For information about this in Catalonia, please refer to Massa (2007). In Valencia, this typology has been studied and catalogued *balls danses* (Pardo 1994: 59-61), *balls de carrer o de plaça* (Pardo, Jesús-Maria 2001: 374-396) or *balls públics tradicionals de dolçaina* (Pitarch 1998: (50-52). Popularly the most widespread denominations are *ball de plaça* and *les danses*, entre d'altres (*ball del dolçainer*, *ball perdut*, *ball rodad*, *ball del cremaller*).

11 Pardo, Jesús-Maria (2001: 75-76; 374-376), Juan (2002), Massa (2007: 11-12).

12 For the counties of Tarragona see Bargalló (1999, 2005). For the counties of Ponent see, for example, Bosch (1997 [1907]), Vigo (1909), the missions of l'Obra del Cançoner Popular de Catalunya i Flores (in the press).

13 It should be remembered that this town in Mataranya was part of the bishopric of Tortosa until 1956.

14 The same thing happens in the counties of the centre and south of the Valencia region, where the *ball de plaça* is known as "*Les Danses*".

15 See, for example, Torrent (1994), with regard to the irregular *aksak* rhythms documented in the music of the dances of the Plaça de la Redolada dels Ports i del Maestrat.

16 It should be noted that different historical moments are represented. On the one hand there are the cases of Tirig and Ascó, which reflect the present day, in which the *ball de plaça* is alive. On the other hand, the examples of Sénia, Tortosa and Cornudella de Montsant represent the structure of the *ball de plaça* before its disappearance in the first third of the 20th century.

17 After all, the *dolçaina* (or bagpipes) and drum ensemble recalled the old minstrel ensembles, a harking back to antiquity. Today in the Baix Maestrat the figure of the *dolçainer* is popularly known as the *joglar*, "the minstrel".

18 The existence of string ensembles in the *ball de plaça* is well documented. It can be seen, for example, in notes by Francisco Nogué included in the work *Capçanes y sos encontorns* (1896), cited by Palomar (2011): 21)

- 19**
Its appearance was another example of a policy aimed at reforming customs promoted by those in power, with the aim of educating society (see, for example, Torrent, 1990): 11-12).
- 20**
An extensive collection of scores for music bands, including the *jota*, is kept in the archive of José Serra (Benissanet).
- 21**
Sources: Tírig (Seguí, 1990); La Sénia (Bargalló, 1994); Dolçainer de Aldover (Amades-Tomás, 1998 [1927]); Tortosa (Moreira, 1979 [1934]); Cornudella de Montsant (Bargalló, 1991).
- 22**
This becomes evident when comparing the current repertoire of *balls de plaça* in the southernmost area (counties of Els Ports and Maestrat). It can be seen that more archaic forms of dance still survive here.
- 23**
Regarding the evolution from early to modern social dance in Catalonia, see Masa (2007: 9-40).
- 24**
See also *Bailes de bureo de Teruel y Castellón* (Carolina Ibor, Marta Valls, Antonio Navarro) [online]. <<http://www.roldedeestudiosaragoneses.org/noticias/bailes-de-bureo-de-teruel-y-castellon-en-las-fiestas-del-pilar-de-zaragoza-181/>>. [Last consulted: 1 May, 2014].
- 25**
In Terres de l'Ebre *boreo* i *boleo* are variations that are used.
- 26**
See, for example, Flores (s/d).
- 27**
The term *mudançais* documented by Moreira (1979 [1934]) and Pardo (1995).
- 28**
Guiu (2001: 44) Includes a map proposing an extension of the *ball de plaça* choreographies.
- 29**
In Moreira's (1979 [1934]: 350-354) descriptions of the *jota* in the context of the *ball de plaça* in Tortosa, it can be seen that this order has been reversed, alongside what was happening in the *jota escènica de rondalla*. It is clear that in the latter period it was already a folkloric form of expression.
- 30**
Bargalló (1994: 136) also documents this variant in Tortosa; however, he illustrates it with the tune of a ballad.
- 31**
As suggested for example, by the image entitled "*Tortosa. Balls y cansons del País*" seen in *La Veu de Tortosa*, 40, (2/9/1900: 4).
- 32**
See, for example, Margelí (2008), Pardo (1995), Grup Ramell (2006), Flores *et al.* (2011), Ibor i Escolano (2003) and Ibor (2012).
- 33**
For the study of the different trends in fashionable dances during the 19th and 20th centuries see, for example, the work of Cort (2011).
- 34**
See Prats (1988) and Martí (1995).
- 35**
It is also worth consulting Martí (1995: 51-54).
- 36**
It is interesting to follow the evolution of the *jota* in Aragon up to the point where it became a folk genre with its own particular identity in Turón (2018).
- 37**
See, for example, Castellanos *et al.* (2010).
- 38**
Rovira (2002: 80). According to a testimony cited in this study: "I won the prize for dancing the *jota* in Sant Jaume d'Enveja. Boca de Bou sang, and they held a *ball de prèmits*, a prize was awarded for dancing the *jota*".
- 39**
"Plebiscite against false folklore", in the newspaper *Alerta*, Santander (4 January 1949).
- 40**
this associative model was a derivation of the cultural programme of the Renaixença. He was born at the beginning of the 20th century.
- 41**
In the Priorat we have evidence of at least one such grouping: "Esbart dansaire capçanenc" (Marco, 2016). Its repertoire was the classical programme of early 20th century dance groups, made up of folk pieces unique to northern Catalonia.
- 42**
Costa (2005:59). We also have evidence of the existence of an *esbart* in Móra d'Ebre in the eighties.
- 43**
One of the first works to mention it is Roma (1991).
- 44**
The aim of his research work was to catalogue traditional dances from the southern parts of Catalonia, to serve as a repertoire for dance groups, or to promote the revival of local dances. The lack of an ethnological methodology and the influence of folklorism contributed to the diffusion of an atomized vision of popular music, which differed from the reality. A clear example might be the idea that in each town there should be exclusive musical forms, representative of a people.
- 45**
Led at one time by Josep Buera i Bel.
- 46**
Information included and obtained from the video *Danses tortosines*, Grup Tortosí de Danses Folkloriques, 1993. Note the change of name to a form in Catalan.
- 47**
Sample of the choreographic reproductions of several folk pieces, recorded by this group in the video *Danses Tortosines*.
- 48**
Their characteristic style of scenic dance is revealed, for example, in the creation of several pieces of choreography, in the stylisation of body movements or in the didactics.
- 49**
Saragatona. Traditional Music and Dance Group [online]. <<http://usuaris.tinet.cat/aismael/saragatone>>. [Last consulted: 1 May, 2014].
- 50**
See previous note.
- 51**
At the second Congress of Popular and Traditional Catalan Culture (1995-1996) new initiatives emerged in the field of *esbarts*, aimed at opening up popular culture to present-day society (see AA.DD., 1996, 1997).
- 52**
Thus imitating the model of the Falset Clavellinera association, which since 1988 has been developing activities to promote the *jota* in the Priorat region [online]. <<http://www.agenda.priorat.cat/users/associació-cultural-la-clavellinera>>. [Last consulted: 1 May, 2014].
- 53**
The aim is also to revive the type of instrumental formations documented in the tradition, before the *rondalla mixta* (a combination of strings and wind instruments), became more widespread, becoming a paradigm of the *jota versada*. In this sense, the newly created *Rondalla dels Ports* represented the spirit of ancient tales *rondalles* or music produced by stringed instruments.
- 54**
Originally of a private nature. They were organised in rural areas, at events such as the slaughter of the pig, the end of the harvest, etc.

Creating authenticity: menstruation in an Afro-Cuban ritual in Barcelona



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Field study: Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona

In October 2014, a ritual took place on the outskirts of Barcelona to initiate four people into Palo Monte. According to Argyriadis (2011: 182, in Argyriadis and Capone, 2011), Palo Monte is an Afro-Caribbean religion usually considered to be of Bantu origin. It is a religion that was founded on the worship of non-anthropomorphic beings called *mpungus*, which represent the forces of nature and that are represented by the spirits of the deceased, the *nfumbis* or *muertos*. The materialisation of the dead occurs in bones, stones and dolls and is regularly fed with animal blood, eau de cologne, alcohol and other substances that allow the *nfumbis* to become strong.

Palo Monte, together with Santería or Regla de Ocha, which are two of the most widespread religious traditions among the practitioners of Afro-Cuban religions, are based on communication between human beings and the divine in order to ease the problems and contradictions of daily life. Practitioners believe in supernatural and ritual powers, spiritual mediations, divination, healing, and ultimately in human agency as

a vehicle for spiritual, psychological and physical wholeness (Murrell, 2010: 96). The ritual powers referred to, and which are the basis for dealing with the divine, are the *Orishas*, transcendent entities typical of the Yoruba tradition¹, which is where much of Afro-Cuban religion stems from (Murrell, 2010).

To access the knowledge of the secrets and foundations of these religions, an initiation is required. In the case of Palo Monte, this initiation is known as *rayamiento*, since the core of the ritual consists of cuts (or *rayas*) made on the skin of the neophyte to cause bleeding.

In the initiation ceremony that day in October, four people of different origins but all Europeans, participated as future neophytes of the religion (one of them was a woman who was menstruating), a priest who was Cuban, four menstruating women who attended the priest (two of them already initiated), all of them Europeans as well, and myself. The ritual was held on a housing estate in the municipality of Sant Cugat, in the hills of Collserola. Taking the road to La Rabassada, after ten minutes of driving around dizzying bends, you reach the turnoff that I have taken many times since I started investigating Afro-Cuban religions in

Barcelona and the peripheral area of Les Planes in April 2014.

On that October day, when my fieldwork was still in its early stages, there was what those taking part called a *rupture* and that they affirmed represented a break with religious traditions, not only those of Cuba but also those of Barcelona. This break with tradition consisted of performing the *rayamiento* in the presence of menstruating women.

The desire of the practitioners to break with a religious norm is the main subject of this article. However, along the following lines, I will discuss the concepts of *rupture* and of *tradition*. To do so, I put forward two fundamental ideas that are at the same time intrinsically linked.

On the one hand, I perceive these religious practices to be inherently synergistic, which means that their definition must be based on the *creativity* of the social actors (Espíritu Santo and Panagiotopoutulos, 2015) who participate in, produce and reproduce these religions, in the cosmological, discursive and ritual spheres, and present an extremely heterogeneous, shifting and plural religious landscape. On

Paraules clau: religions afrocubanes, creativitat, nous imaginaris culturals, autenticitat, menstruació

Palabras clave: religiones afrocubanas, creatividad, nuevos imaginarios culturales, autenticidad, menstruación

Keywords: Afro-Cuban religions, creativity, new cultural imaginaries, authenticity, menstruation

the other hand, but related to the first idea, I propose to study these religions taking as a starting point their position in a transnational arena which is undergoing a process of reconstruction, (Argyriadis and Capone, 2011) developing strategies of authenticity in order to establish themselves as legitimate. I therefore propose to interpret the search for *authenticity* as a second heuristic tool for the study of these religions in the European context. Based on the first idea, these religions can only be defined from the standpoint of their potentiality and movement, that is, from their ability to create new realities and their procedural idiosyncrasy or, drawing on Holbraad, to being *in motion* (2012); based on the second idea, I will show how these processes of the reconstruction of Afro-Cuban religious practices in Barcelona are connected to the search for legitimacy, using “*africanness*” as a point of reference, and equating it with authenticity. To reflect on this issue, I will take a specific case study, which, as I have stated above, is a *rayamiento* ritual, and even more specifically I will focus on the performance of this ritual with reference to the use and meaning ascribed to menstrual blood.

El 2014 va tenir lloc a Barcelona un ritual d'iniciació al Palo Monte en què es va qüestionar una premissa fonamental de les religions afro-cubanes: la no participació de dones menstruants en aquests cultes. La voluntat de trencar amb aquesta prohibició va propiciar l'assistència a la cerimònia de cinc dones menstruants en aquell moment. Aquest article analitza, d'una banda, la creativitat estructural dels participants de les religions afro-cubanes a Barcelona per generar una renovada mirada cap a aquestes pràctiques, que les apropa als nous imaginaris culturals, sobretot, en relació amb les configuracions de gènere i al paper de la menstruació. I, d'altra banda, analitza com les noves significacions resultants entronquen amb les lògiques de patrimonialització en què la cerca de l'autenticitat esdevé central per a la consolidació d'aquestes religions en el context europeu.

Afro-Cuban religions as a creative synergy and a transnational field

Before going into ethnographical detail, it is worth examining the first of the theoretical bases for the analysis of Afro-Cuban religiosity in Barcelona: creativity as a synergistic force.

For a thorough and careful approach to Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona, it is necessary to start from the fact that they are a heterogeneous phenomenon in the diachronic sense of the term, that is, that the definition of one of these religions implies denying that is of a particular nature, as this would make it impossible to account for the constant process of transformation that underpins it.

Thus, Afro-Cuban religions must be understood not as an objective reality that can be typified and reified, but as a reality that is socially constructed and created, in its cosmological and discursive as well as in its ritual aspects (Espírito Santo and Panagiotopoulos, 2015). In spite of the challenge that this may seem to present when conducting an anthropological analysis, the aim is to reflect what Palmié calls the *effects*

En 2014 tuvo lugar en Barcelona un ritual de iniciación al Palo Monte en el que se cuestionó una premisa fundamental de las religiones afro-cubanas: la no participación de mujeres menstruando en estos cultos. La voluntad de romper con esta prohibición propició la asistencia a la ceremonia de cinco mujeres menstruando en ese momento. Este artículo analiza, por un lado, la creatividad estructural de los participantes de las religiones afro-cubanas en Barcelona para generar una renovada mirada hacia estas prácticas, que las acerca a los nuevos imaginarios culturales, sobre todo en relación con las configuraciones de género y al papel de la menstruación. Y, por otro lado, analiza cómo estas nuevas significaciones resultantes entroncan con las lógicas de patrimonialización en las que la búsqueda de la autenticidad deviene central para la consolidación de estas religiones en el contexto europeo.

of reality (2017) - not so much what reality supposedly is, but how it is constructed, and what effects it produces. In this respect, what anthropological analysis can capture is, in the author's terms, *incomplete*, or simply a specific, historically consolidated episode, an example of a set of relationships that create a procedural field in which even the term *tradition* is not immune to these creative processes, and which therefore evokes a whole imaginary, created and produced by social actors who project a legitimised past onto an imaginary of the present.

This relational view, or what Espírito Santo and Panagiotopoulos (2015) call *relational ontology*, enables us to go beyond dichotomous approaches between social agents and more general contexts or those of a structural nature, and makes it possible to study specific historical relations that highlight agential experiences and cultural refractions and so make bipolarisation unnecessary.

To illustrate this creative synergy, Barad (2007) develops the concept of *intra-activity*, that is a force that generates new realities from a set of specific rela-

In 2014 a Palo Monte initiation rite taking place in Barcelona challenged a fundamental premise of Afro-Cuban religions: the exclusion of menstruating women from this form of worship. The will to break this rule led five women to attend a ritual falling during their menstruation period. In light of this normative rupture, our article analyses the structural creativity ingrained in the followers of Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona that allows them to generate new configurations of their practices that bring them closer to new cultural imaginaries, especially in relation to the feminine role in Afro-Cuban religions. Additionally, it looks into how these new meanings align with heritagisation logics, in which the search for authenticity becomes key to the consolidation of such religions in Europe.

tionships and interactions between social actors. This intra-activity is thus clearly related to the relational ontology proposed by Espírito Santo and Panagiotopoulos (2015); for Barad, social actors (with the meanings they produce and the practices they perform) cannot be conceived of beyond their relational sense (Barad, 2007: 33).

Thus, it is necessary to understand the Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona *in relation* to the rise of new cultural imaginaries, as Prat (2012) calls them. For the author, this term refers to what is popularly known as the New Age. These are imaginaries that, as he states, have to do with Eastern spiritualities, with natural therapies and esoteric knowledge, and that have been on the rise in the European context over the last decade. In this way, the members of Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona practice what Espírito Santo and Panagiotopoulos (2015) call *ontological craftsmanship*, that is they take elements from different religious traditions in order to create new meanings, new discourses and new practices.

To conclude this point, it should be borne in mind that if Afro-Cuban religion is conceived as a synergistic field, inherently relational, and as such a producer of new social realities, the ethnographic analysis itself is not an element that can be disregarded. In fact, in this vein, Palmié speaks of the *ethnographic interface*, that is, an ethnographic membrane that accounts for the interaction between Afro-Cuban cults and anthropology, to the point that, the author argues, much of what we could consider today to be "Afro-Cuban cults" is the result of the *Anthropology of Afro-Cuban Religion* (2013: 10). As a consequence of this interaction (and as proof of its existence), many anthropologists who have studied Afro-Cuban religions have been initiated into this cult, as has the above-mentioned Lydia Cabrera, but

this is a two-way street, as, many practitioners of these religions have also studied anthropology. And taking this one step further, irrespective of whether they have studied anthropology or not, what is undeniable, and is reflected in the ethnographic studies carried out to date, is that the social actors are fully aware of this mutual interaction, and employ discourses that also circulate in the academic sphere or in that of social analysis and that have to do with ideologies that are perhaps transversal in contemporary society, such as the discourse of heritagisation and the ethics of authenticity (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2002; Frigolé, 2014). Social actors make use of these discourses in order to legitimise their practices, and thus not only social practices, but also the production of discourses, become ethnographic material. Thus, what is termed culture is not only praxis, but also a set of textual artefacts in which religion, in this case, is also what social actors (including ethnographers) say it is (Canales, 2014; Palmié, 2013).

Apart from understanding creative synergy from a diachronic point of view, I intend to understand Afro-Cuban religions as a heterogeneous phenomenon in the synchronic realm. If I have taken as my starting point the idea that this religious practice that constitutes and is constituted by a synergistic field, that is by a field that is both in and of relationships, we must also understand this synergy and reciprocity of relationships not through their contingency in time, but through their diversity in space at a specific historical moment.

Thus, the Afro-Cuban religions are a complex, diverse and global religious field, and at the same time a transnational social field undergoing a process of reconstruction, as stated by Argyriadis and Capone (2011). One of the premises that should be made clear is that the bases of the religious dynamic itself are not established, but are constantly being negotiated, especially at

the ritual level (Karnoouh, a Argyriadis y Capone, 2011: 239), which is why Argyriadis and Capone speak of a *continuum religieux* (2011: 10). Therefore, we cannot think of the Afro-Cuban religion in Cuba or Spain, or even in Barcelona, in terms of a single cult group. It is rather that each group is defined by others, distributed in space, giving rise to a religious plurilocality or, as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim would argue, to a locative polygamy (2003: 73) and, I would add, a *locative spiritual polygamy*.

Within this plurilocality, the African continent becomes a mythical place of Yoruba traditions, and as Africa is so important at this mythical level, it becomes an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) for many people participating in these cults. Palmié speaks of a continent that, in fact, ceases to be used in discourse as a continent, becoming a *chronotope* (2013: 29), that is, a space that represents a mythical time in the narrative of heritagisation. This "reafrikanisation" (Argyriadis and Capone, 2011) is something that must be taken into account in order to understand many of the discourses that social actors produce in order to establish their practices as authentic. Thus, a link or, if you like, an equivalence between "Africanness" and "authenticity" would be established.

Authenticity strategies: Heritagising the Yoruba cult in Barcelona

Understanding the Afro-Cuban religions from a transnational and synergistic point of view, we must therefore take into account the strategies of authenticity adopted by the different practitioners of these religions in order to legitimise their practices and cosmologies.

On the broad roadmap of strategies aimed at achieving legitimacy, given the heterogeneity and variety of forms

and meanings in Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona, the prevailing discourse of authenticity is linked to the pan-Africanist movements referred to by Capone and Argyriadis (2011). This means that the authentic ritual is one that can be attributed to the way it was performed in Africa before the time of the slave trade, up to and including the present day. On the other hand, the *non-authentic* ritual is one that has been corrupted on leaving Africa, in the New World, and also in Barcelona, and that, moreover, is associated with commercial ends, so that *the oriaté*² can make money.

Thus, by way of example, one *oriaté*, Teo, told me the following in relation to what another priest, Leandro, said to neophyte, Gael:³

"What Leandro told him was a lie, that was not what the prophecy said, he was not reading it correctly. He did everything to create that terror... so that Gael would bring his mother and father to him. Do you know that Gael's father has money? Well, that's what it is, because this has cost Gael a lot of money, and it seems Leandro never has enough. I already knew it was like that, but I didn't expect that, I didn't expect him to be so keen to deceive. We live religion in very different ways."

As Frigolé (2014) points out, authenticity is a highly polysemic concept. However, the author opts for a more heuristic or analytical approach that makes it possible to define it as referring to a pristine origin. Moreover, this pristine or primary origin is related to a distinction between nature and culture; the latter being established as a stage subsequent to that of nature, which, in turn, is perceived as untouchable by man, preceding him, and as such very highly valued by social actors. So "the turn towards nature" and, above all, "the return to nature" is one of the

fundamental pillars of the ideology of authenticity.

The ideology of authenticity also refers to an ethic, expressed as such by Taylor (1994), that makes reference to the expressive individual, a child of romanticism, who emerges as a response to a supposedly widespread uniformity throughout the first half of the 20th century in Europe. This sense of differentiation was considered positive, insofar as it broke with the massification of thought, so deeply ingrained in Euro-American society between the 1930s and 1960s, and provided a renewed critical spirit (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2002: 553).

According to Boltanski and Chiapello, it was the counter-culture of the 1960s that brought about this critique of mass society, and led to the emergence of the expressive individual, in Taylor's terms an original individual with a free conscience, capable of knowing their own desires.

This ideology works alongside the political-economic system that makes it possible and reproduces it, that is, advanced capitalism as Frigolé (2006) calls it, which turns every practice and every cultural product into a commodity (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2011). Boltanski and Chiapello, in turn, refer to all those ideologies and cultural reasons that enable a material social dynamic and that establish an inherent relationship between tangible and intangible factors. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse the overlap between ideology and the economic system, an overlap that turns authenticity into a use value, and an exchange value (Frigolé, 2014: 44), that is, authenticity and the production of difference that it implies become marketable.

However, there is a paradox here which, according to Boltanski and Chiapello, has to do with "the failure to commodify the authentic" (2002: 559).

This paradox lies in the fact that what is authentic ceases to be so precisely because it is authentic; once valued as such, it will be exploited by the market, which will only place it increasingly on the outskirts of the realm of authenticity (2002: 559). If commodification causes the authentic to emerge, it also dismantles it; it grants validity and legitimacy, and thus, exchange value, but, when doing so, it progressively confers *inauthenticity*.

This paradox has led to an evolution of the ideology of authenticity. The inauthentic is not standardisation, i.e. mass production, as was the case in the 1960s and 1970s, but the reproduction of difference for commercial purposes. It is not enough then to become different, but rather it is necessary not to have (or not to appear to have) commercial objectives. What is authentic is what is not perceived as a secondary attempt to codify the authentic in order to adapt it to the market. If this secondary intention is detected, it will become something to be manipulated and will be the object of the "denunciation of the spectacle" (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2002: 568). Difference in itself is not enough, it has to be a *spontaneous* difference.

This sense of what is authentic is perceived as such by the leading social actors of the present study. Thus, one of the priests affirmed the following:

"So many sacrifices are not necessary. This is something this priest does because he's so concerned with appearances, with folklore, ostentation. It is said that the blood of an animal is enough, or to make the rupture, which can even be done just with an egg, by breaking the egg. But this way he takes on the leading role and everything becomes very grand. In addition, the one that gets paid for the animals is his wife." (31 July 2015)

Yet, it is necessary to analyse how the ideology of authenticity affects the production of the meaning of menstrual blood within the ritual that we have here, and in which the authentic is linked to that which is African as well as to a mythical time. So now we need to go deeper into ethnography.

Menstrual blood in *rayamiento*: the production of authenticity in an Afro-European ritual.

There were ten people present at the above-mentioned ritual, held in October 2014 in Les Planes: a Cuban priest, four neophytes (two men and two women), an anthropologist (myself) and four other women who helped the priest (two of them already initiated or *rayadas*) who were also menstruating, along with one of the neophytes.

The officiating *palero*, Teo, decided to perform the ceremony with the explicit presence of five menstruating women to "generate pure energy, like they do in Africa". The most interesting thing

is that this priest was fully aware that his desire to involve five menstruating women broke with the traditional patterns within Afro-Cuban religions, not only in Cuba, but also within the Afro-Cuban religions practiced in Barcelona by other priests, which I have also been able to "ethnographise" through the research I am carrying out. According to practitioners of Afro-Cuban religions who consider themselves more conservative or protective of tradition, menstruation is considered taboo. Blood (*eyebale*) is a vehicle of communication and cohabitation between the *Orishas* or Yoruba deities and the initiates. However, menstrual blood is considered "discarded blood", as stated by Roberto, an *obá mayor*. So according to the religious convention, menstruating women are not allowed to touch any sacred object, and even less assist the *oriaté* or *palero*.

He said the following:

"I am going to break with tradition today, because I do not consider it

dangerous - it can be useful, because in the end it is only energy, and I am not afraid of the energy that comes from nature, which comes from the most authentic, from the most ancient."

Moreover, Teo was not the only one present who felt that he was modifying religious forms with his own ritual praxis, other participants also showed that they were fully aware of this. For example, Miriam, one of the girls present who was in charge of helping Teo said: "You are crazy, Teo, do you really want to do the *rayamiento* with five menstruating women?" Faced with this, Teo replied: "Well, yes, we must begin to break with these dynamics that have only served to keep power in the hands of men. Women are the important ones. In fact, they always have been. In Africa things were already like that and we have to bring it back. And the more menstrual blood, the better, more energy. "



Two women and the priest preparing fruit for the *rayamiento* ritual. (2014). MARTA PONS

What was the break with the traditional religion? And what moved Teo to commit it? What I propose is to understand this break with tradition (or what Teo and the other participants in this ritual perceived as such) as an attempt to establish an *authentic* and legitimate way of observing this religion, specifically because of its references to what is original, pristine, primitive, African, and also to break with the tradition associated with Cuba, which is perceived as being androcentric⁴ and perverted. Thus, for example, one of the participants in this ritual of *rayamiento* commented:

"Menstrual blood is the purest gold that exists, which is why in Cuba, with the babalaos who can only be men and all that stuff, this sense has been lost."

Another participant added:

"If we refer to the Yoruba tradition in Africa, women had another role. Menstrual blood wasn't something dangerous, it was a part of nature that could be used to achieve better results. "

In spite of everything, this attempt to break away from tradition is a present day initiative that needs to be understood in the context of the modern logic of heritage, and furthermore, due to its link to the European context, it must be understood in terms of its interaction with more general social and religious dynamics, such as the rise of new cultural imaginaries, which have in turn contributed to the rethinking of the role of women in the religious and spiritual sphere⁵ and which have led to the idea of the *self-made woman*, that is to say, to women as empowered and active subjects who can make choices (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2003; Prado, 2012).

The argument of the participants in this ritual of *rayamiento*, an argument that I was lucky enough to discuss with them at the end of the ritual, had to

do with the fact that the Afro-Cuban religions developed in Cuba, and in part in Barcelona, were perceived as something more or less folkloric, as regressive and traditional.

It is interesting to note the double connotation and huge versatility of the term *traditional*. When tradition is appealed to as a pristine and original past, a kind of primordial state, it is regarded as something positive that must be recovered. In the case of the discourses of social actors, this sense of tradition is associated with the Afro or African imaginary. Evidently, here we have to refer to what Frigolé calls "selective tradition" (2005), since those elements of this imagined past are selected to emphasise what makes it possible to grant legitimacy to a current practice. On the other hand, the term tradition can also refer to what Bauman calls processes of *detraditionalisation* (in Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2003) that take place in contemporary society and are linked to a vision of the past as something that is retrogressive, that hinders the proper unfolding of events and that therefore must be overcome.

This is the sense that Teo and the other participants in the *rayamiento* ritual were referring to when they said that they considered the Afro-Cuban ritual performed in Cuba to be a "traditional" one. It was therefore necessary to break away from the more *traditional* Afro-Cuban religions founded in Cuba that had also been established in Barcelona with the diaspora, and to seek a religiosity that would transcend the elements considered to be central to this more traditional religion. In the specific case that we are dealing with here, the question of rethinking the role of women in this religion and the production of a particular meaning for menstrual blood which, on the one hand, through the discourses of the social actors, refers to a pristine origin of the Yoruba religion that would transport us back to an original, mythical

Africa. On the other hand, through its practices, it enables us to relate these new productions of the meaning and role of women in Afro-Cuban ritual with the rise of new cultural imaginaries, and the centrality they give to women as elective social agents and as spiritually empowered.

However, what relation do the new cultural imaginaries have with Afro-Cuban religions, or more precisely, with the production of new and groundbreaking meanings, calling upon the discourses of social actors, regarding the role of women in religion?

From the explanation that Prat suggests (2012), and as I have pointed out in previous research (Pons, 2017), it can be seen how, since the Second World War, a series of changes and deep social transformations have been taking place, and one of these will be that the full acceptance of the roles assigned to women will begin to be questioned. Some women will begin to reject the role attributed to women in the home, the triple role of obedient daughter, compliant wife and self-sacrificing mother, and there will be a movement towards a liberation that will culminate in the emergence of two models of womanhood. Woman as housewife, and the self-made woman. The latter model will involve access to paid work and an effort to achieve economic and social independence, and independence from the family. According to Prat, despite the will to be part of this group of women, many will be trapped in the more traditional ideology embodied in the first model, according to which success is to be found in the private sphere of the family. Consequently, women's experience of having to combine both models will give rise to what is known today as family reconciliation, which generates high levels of stress, anguish and overall unease, which, according to the author, may lead some women to

decide to break with certain hegemonic values embedded in the patriarchal system that subjugates them.

The will to break with these values links with the theory of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2003) on the elective character of living a life of one's own. Prat speaks of the self-made woman, and Beck, of the woman with a life of her own, that is a life in which she can decide or choose (at least, to a greater extent than a century ago) the sort of life she wants to have: the *choice* will be hers. And, women, as elective subjects, will, according to Prat, decide to take up initiatives that imply alternatives of some kind (2012: 340, 341). One of these, the new cultural imaginaries, which, in effect, mainly involve women (according to Prat and his team (2012), women make up 90% of all participants in the new cultural imaginaries in Catalonia).

The reason why I am suggesting that the relationship between the new cultural imaginaries and some Afro-Cuban religious practices such as those we are dealing with here has taken root is therefore, among other things, the importance of the role associated with women.

On the one hand, the new cultural imaginaries are based on the prevalence of a state of expanded consciousness, in reference to a reality that is not the one that is perceived or tangible, but rather one that is transcendent and, that as such, must be more readily intuited and, above all, felt. In relation to the relevance of feeling, a balanced experience is advocated, experiences that have to do with a holistic and totalising sense of life and that do not separate the sphere of reason from that of emotion, just as they do not separate the mental sphere from the physical one. On the other hand, a kind of fantastic realism is advocated, that is through the imagination, breaking with rational thought in order to know the world.

Thus the new cultural imaginaries will suggest a new way of perceiving reality, a transcendent reality, enhancing imagination, feeling, and intuition, and discarding other values associated with reason that, among other aspects, according to the worldview of the new cultural imaginaries, aims to understand the world as fragmented into parts that become intentional deviations from reality, and that avoid reaching true knowledge and thus personal liberation.

Nevertheless, according to Hanegraaff (1998), these new cultural imaginaries must be understood within a logic of *secularised esotericism*, a knowledge that is on the one hand spiritual, *disenchanted* and individualised, but which on the other hand allows us to overcome hegemonic European logics, such as dichotomous rationality or dominant values - and this is where the strength of the argument presented here lies - that are associated with the masculine gender, as affirmed by Prat, who in turn adheres to a theory put forward by Jung as early as the 19th century (2012). These values would be to think or to perceive and they would be seen as detrimental to other values traditionally associated with the feminine, such as to intuit or to feel. Thus, we observe a questioning of dominant male values and an exaltation of other values, feminine values, such as imagination or intuition.

The production of a new sense of menstrual blood in the Yoruba ritual in Barcelona and consequently of a new role for women in this spiritual sphere emerges in two different senses. On the one hand, from the progressive widespread acceptance of the new cultural imaginaries in Europe and, with these, the revaluation of the role of women as elective and central agents in the spiritual world. This revaluation has led to the decision by certain women to adhere to non-dominant religious practices within the western

world, such as Yoruba religions, and in short, has allowed some priests to reflect on a necessary reinterpretation of the role that women play within them, above all, from the point of view of menstruation, something that was observed in Teo's case, and in the *rayamiento* ritual mentioned in this article.

On the other hand, from discourses on how this new understanding of menstruation relates to a more authentic, original and pristine way of practicing the Yoruba religion, a way that leads us directly to an Africa conceived as a mythical land where the processes of generation are very different, and in which, therefore, the role of women have had much to do with religion and spiritual power. The following statement by another social actor, also present at this ritual, illustrates this very point:

"The first blood of the young girls is kept for all sorts of things. The Africans already taught us that. The thing is that in Cuba it's been perverted."

Therefore, I propose that this production of the meaning of menstrual blood in Afro-Cuban religion be understood as a way of creating a ritual that we could call *Afro-European*, since it needs to be understood *in relation* to the European context where the new cultural imaginaries have established increasingly widespread roots and have gained more spiritual followers; and, at the same time, a ritual that refers to African roots that make it the *true* and *authentic* Yoruba ritual.

Conclusions

Studying Afro-Cuban religions at present and in a diaspora context, we have to keep in mind, above all, two issues. On the one hand, the fact that these religions are a synergistic field and in a permanent state of evolution. Social actors, with their practices and their discourses, transform realities, create



The image of this menstruating woman was found on an altar in Theo's house of Theo, along with other elements the priest affirmed were related to *aché* or feminine energy, such as plant, hearts, the colour red, or the colour pink (2017). MARTA PONS

them, reproduce them, modify them, consolidate them. It is not possible to study Afro-Cuban religions as if they form a consistent whole. They can only be understood in terms of the intra-activity that Barad (2007) speaks of, and so can only be analysed on the basis of the *real effects* that they produce, as established by Palmié.

On the other hand, these effects on reality and this constant synergy also oblige us to think of Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona as a transnationalised religious field and one that will therefore *interact with* different specific contexts. Despite the contact that may have existed⁶ with religious practice in Miami or Cuba, studying Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona implies understanding them within the particular context in which

they are found, and which at the same time they themselves produce.

Therefore, at least in part we need to understand Afro-Cuban religions in Barcelona within this framework, because of their relationship with the new cultural imaginaries, their revaluation of the spiritual role of women, and their relationship with the logic of heritage and the search for authenticity. Thus, new meanings are produced concerning menstruation in the Yoruba religions, and rituals that I suggest we call *Afro-European* are created. On the one hand, this shows that these religions can only be understood in terms of their potential, of their movement and the constant creative process that shapes them, and on the other hand, that this creativity is linked to the

interest of social actors in establishing a legitimate and authentic religious practice in Europe, one that is original, but that has African roots. These roots, in effect contribute to the capacity of these religions to *modernise* themselves, and to break with practices that they consider to be traditional, backward and patriarchal, and therefore add to their capacity to connect with secularised esotericism (Hanegraaff, 1998) as expressed through the new cultural imaginaries that are becoming increasingly widespread within the Euro-American framework. ■

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NOTES

1 The Yoruba are from Nigeria and comprise a considerable number of different ethnic groups, such as the Egba, the Ketu and the Ifé. The best-known region belonging to the Yoruba is the Dahomey Kingdom which used to occupy present-day Togo and the south-western part of present-day Nigeria, although the Yoruba also had two other kingdoms: Oyo and Benin (Llorens, 2008).

2 *Santero* priest, master of ceremonies and divination.

3 It should be pointed out that none of the real names of the social actors appearing in this article have been used, in order to preserve their anonymity.

4 Throughout the present research, I have recorded statements by Cuban priests who clearly reject the presence of menstruating women in rituals. Some of these are as follows: "We can't risk it. Santería is based on energy, and the energy of the menstruating woman is very powerful. We have to concentrate on channelling the energy between the Orisha and ourselves, any distraction or dispersion of that energy can be dangerous". Another priest affirmed the following: "Women do not forgive. They have too much power. Menstrual blood is something that overwhelms, that is why there are moments when women cannot even watch, and if they are menstruating it is best that they go away".

5 In accordance with the critique presented by Fedele and Knibbe (2013), despite the fact that the so-called new spiritualities, or new spiritual imaginaries, seek to modify the power and gender relations traditionally established in conventional religion, it is necessary to critically analyse whether or not this transgressive goal is achieved. Nevertheless, what can be ascertained from the ritual proposed here is that certain practitioners have the will to reflect on and rethink the roles traditionally associated with women in these religions, which, as they claim, is always a role contingent on male knowledge and decisions.

6 As Beliso-De Jesus (2015) affirms, there are so many links between continents today because of the growth in new communication technologies which enable dialogue between people who are separated from each other by a considerable physical distance. For example, one of the people most frequently followed on YouTube by the social actors involved in this research is Carlos Valdés, a priest, a Cuban *oriaté* who lives in Miami.

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Jugs from La Galera (Montsià)

Olga Ralda

Terracotta Technique, La Galera Pottery Interpretation Centre

Introduction

La Galera's pottery (*terrissa*)¹ tradition is clearly documented from the 18th century to the present day. At its height there were five or six active workshops. Today it lives on in the hands of the only master potter in the municipality and the county, the direct heir of this 18th century tradition.²

Traditionally all these workshops produced a number of items in different shapes and for different uses (water, domestic use, construction, etc.) that were absolutely necessary for the inhabitants of La Galera and the surrounding area. The dominant products were vessels for carrying water, especially water jugs (*cànter*, or *càntir* in Eastern Catalan). That was no accident.

Although we mention the different types of La Galera jugs, we chose to focus this article on the water jug because it is one of the most representative and iconic pieces of La Galera pottery, an essential item in all homes and manufactured in large quantities. We want to record the importance of this item, of all its cultural baggage, the know-how and the history implicit in it. At times we will deal with the past, because in some ways this piece belongs to that past, and out of respect for the municipality's huge pottery tradition.

We should clarify, however, that at present only one master potter remains in the municipality to make this vessel as his forefathers did. The work is entirely artisanal. The procedure he uses was passed down to him by his predecessor, along with experience of this traditional trade. Having used the potter's wheel from a very early age next to his father (Joan Cortiella, a master potter as well, who learned from his father, Joan Cortiella Rallo, who learned from his, Joan Cortiella

Rodríguez, and so on back to the early 18th century) he now has total mastery of the technique for making the various pieces. He has added minor changes to make the job easier (such as replacing the wood oven with propane, which gives him more control over the firing temperature for the different pieces and ensures they are all exactly the same colour, which people prefer because tastes have changed markedly) but he continues to make pieces by hand, with the help of a traditional wheel, not powered by a motor or electricity. As his ancestors did, he makes the pieces in different stages: first on the wheel, then the handles if they have to be added (the handles are made and put in place after having let the piece dry a little), the spout, etc. This means the vessels are made entirely by hand and each one is different, resulting in unique pieces.

Talking about these jugs takes us back in time, to see that a thing does not need to be a great work of art to enjoy it, and appreciate the enormous wisdom involved in an apparently austere and simple piece of pottery actually brimming with influences as diverse as Greco-Roman, Iberian or Arabic.

01



Spout jug.

Vessel traditionally used for drinking water while working in the fields. The spout is designed to make drinking more practical. They were and are made in different sizes. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

02



Spout jug.

Vessel traditionally used for drinking water while working in the fields. The spout is designed to make drinking more practical. They were and are made in different sizes. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

03



Road jug or canteen.

Traditionally for drinking fresh water while travelling by cart, with a flat back. It remained still when hanging and there was no danger of it falling. It usually had a cork stopper as well. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018

The raw material

The vital element for making earthenware pottery is clay. The characteristics of this clay determine whether a pottery centre produces a certain type of piece and not another.

Clay has basic mineral components: silica, oxygen, aluminium, magnesium, iron, etc. Its structure is based on very small layers which can absorb water, and depending on the amount of water it incorporates, the clay will be more or less smooth and malleable. However, potters used to mix different types of clays to improve their properties. For example, in the towns right next to the Ebro (Ebre in Catalan), clay was mixed with mud from the river's banks, while in La Galera, in the mine itself, they mixed what they called strong and slack clay to improve its properties and thus make the pieces smoother.

In La Galera and the Terres de l'Ebre region in general, clay has many ferruginous components that make it suitable for making pieces to contain liquids, but not making pieces to be fired, as its composition will not withstand it.

La Galera jugs

Water jugs, along with the *cadup* (a vessel for taking water from norias),

were the items that the potters of La Galera produced most.

However, they made others besides this type of jug for fetching and holding: the **spout jug** (for drinking water while working in the fields) **01**, the **communal or large-mouth jug** (traditionally for taking excrement from houses to the fields) **02**, the **road jug or canteen** (traditionally for drinking fresh water while riding on a cart) **03** and the **"sulphating" jug** (traditionally used for transferring "sulphate" mixed with water to the sprayer) **04**. These were the traditional types made since the 18th century, and undoubtedly earlier than that. Then, around the 1960s, this type of earthenware fell into disuse and was replaced by cheaper materials like plastic, as people's tastes changed and living conditions improved with the appearance of running water in houses, and so on. The potters of La Galera, the only workshop that is still working today, created new types for decoration or as collectors' items: the **flower, fantasy or bride's jug** (highly

decorative) **05**, **window jug** **06** and **tower jug** (with four or five spouts like the window jug, but with water only coming out of one of them) **07** and the **castle jug** (which mimics the shape of a castle with a stopper) **08**.

All these types are still made in La Galera, both those that traditionally had a use and the purely decorative.

The water jug

History

Earthenware pottery appeared in the Neolithic period, born out of a need to store, collect and transport liquids from one place to another. People became farmers - that is, they started preparing and storing food, especially cereals, which meant they needed containers that could hold liquids. The smallest vessels were made by spreading a layer of clay in an open basket or gourd shell. When it dried, the clay could be extracted to give a kind of mould in the shape of a shallow bowl, ready to be fired and used. This would be the earliest origin of a vessel meeting one of the most basic of human needs: to contain and transport water.

04



Sulphating jug.

Traditionally for transferring "sulphate" mixed with water to the spraying machine, in order to treat trees against pests. Same shape as the communal or large-mouth jug, except that it usually acquired a bluish colour from the chemicals in the sulphate. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

05



Flower, fantasy or bride's jug .

An ornamental jug, highly decorated with plant motifs: flowers and leaves. Crowned in the centre with a removable stopper. La Galera potters mainly called it a flower jug, or occasionally a fantasy jug. Some pottery scholars call it a bride's jug because it is a type that was made by other potters, from other places, often for a groom to give to his bride. New type that arose as a result of earthenware losing its initial utilitarian function. In La Galera, as a type of jug to be manufactured for sale, they date from the 1960s, more or less. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

06



Window jug.

Ornamental but can also be used for drinking. It is a "soul" jug (there is a little tank inside called a soul) and a "trick" jug, because you can only drink from one of the four spouts. New type that arose as a result of earthenware losing its initial utilitarian function. In La Galera, as a type of jug to be manufactured for sale, they date from the 1960s, more or less. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

07



Tower jug.

Ornamental but can also be used for drinking. A trick jug because it has five spouts and you can only drink from one of them. New type that arose as a result of earthenware losing its initial utilitarian function. In La Galera, as a type of jug to be manufactured for sale, they date from the 1960s, more or less. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

08



Castle jug.

For decoration. So named due to its shape, which reminds us of a castle, smooth, without any kind of decoration, though it does have a removable stopper. New type that arose as a result of earthenware losing its initial utilitarian function. In La Galera, as a type of jug to be manufactured for sale, they date from the 1960s, more or less. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

In Catalonia, the first amphora-type pieces we find are from the late Bronze Age Agullana necropolis, which can be seen in the Barcelona Archaeological Museum. They are handmade but show the influences of a potter's wheel.

"On the Peninsula, the most immediate heirs of those immense amphorae transported round the Mediterranean by the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans are the con-

temporary jugs found in the pottery centres of the Ebro potters [...], dry farming land where water is a very precious asset because it is scarce and necessary, and often requires going a long way to look for it [...]" (Sempere, 1985: 37) **02-03**.

The importance of this vessel meant it was often depicted in art, in still-life or genre scenes. "All along the Mediterranean shore a civilisation has been



Painting by Joaquim Mir (Barcelona, 1873-1940). Oil on canvas 141 x 235 cm. Parellada-Vilella Collection, Reus: *Chatter*, 1915. Work where a woman appears with a La Galera water jug on her head. It enables us to see how the jug was traditionally carried, as well as the importance of a vessel that often appears in works of art. Taken from: <http://www.elpuntavui.cat/article/-/19-cultural/1851-el-retorn-de-mir-el-foll-del-paisatge.html#&gid=1&pid=3>

defined where water is a prized asset and it is in the artistic production of this area where that is made clear. But it is in Catalonia where we will find most artistic representations of the *cànter*, that vessel so much our own that it has become a symbol of our identity." (Arnabat. Calvo, 2003: 9).

Use

It served to go and fetch water from the source and to keep it at home when there was still no running water in houses. Usually women had the job of going to look for it and they would take one or two large jugs capable of holding 12 litres, more or less. They carried one on top of their head and the other under their arm. That way of carrying a jug on the head was typical of La Galera, Terres de l'Ebre and many other places in Catalonia, Spain and the rest of the world.

Girls used to help their mothers, half playing, to go and get water from the spring, and in La Galera the potters produced what was called a *cantrella*, a small jug that held much less than the one used by the mothers but which had the same function: collecting water from the spring to bring home.

Description

Inverted conical body, with a narrow base and broad top.

Finished off with a tall, narrow neck, a spout on the upper part of this neck, and two undulating handles on the side of the neck.

Today they are slimmer than they were traditionally, since the aesthetics are more important than the function **10-11**. Traditionally they were made in large quantities because people used them a lot, they broke and had to be replaced, so potters paid hardly any attention to their aesthetic side. Along with the *cadups* these were the pieces of pottery they produced most and

with each batch filled the enormous wood-fired oven to bake them so they could meet the great demand.

Decoration

Decoration was based on parallel and curved lines, on the neck, handles, belly and foot (sometimes) and painted with red clay (containing iron oxide)³ Potters used a special brush with a wooden handle they made themselves from mule tail hair. Traditionally, potters collected this clay rich in iron oxide. They did not have to crush the mineral because it was a sediment that they found at the bottom of the *arjups*⁴ or got from a place they knew in the same municipality, El Barranc. They stored it and when they needed to use it they mixed it with water and applied it to the unfired piece of pottery with their special brush.

The decoration of La Galera jugs was traditionally linked with other pottery centres in the Terres de l'Ebre region: Tivenys, Benissanet and Ginestar (today unfortunately all extinct) and with the decorative style of various pottery centres in Aragon: Calanda (Teruel), Tronchón (Teruel), Huesca del Común (Teruel), Huesca and Tamarite de Litera (Huesca), Traiguera and Olocau del Rey, through the influence of Traiguera (Castellón) and Priego (Cuenca).

Meaning of the decoration

With the appearance of pottery in the Neolithic period came the first decorations in which we find an abstract geometric symbolism. If we know how to interpret them, we realise that these signs are not merely simple aesthetic decorations.

They represent a magical and religious world of our ancestors which craftsmen have been handing down from generation to generation, without in most cases the authors themselves

being able to explain their meaning, but which in fact lead us to the source of the mother civilisation and which later would inspire the graphic writing that allows us to convey our own thought in a rational and understandable way to others.

According to Emili Sempere, a scholar of the world of ceramics and pottery (all kinds of pieces made of baked clay, varnished or not, exclusively utilitarian): "The conjunction of symbols represents a language in which each of these motifs contains a message, so we

find that rectilinear or zigzag strokes represent water; the triangle, fertility; the spiral refers to life, death, and return to the eternal, while the tree symbolises the science of good and evil; the circle is the solar star, as well as the annual revolution of agricultural seasons and the cycle of human life coupled with cosmic destiny; the wavy lines in different forms signify the snake, symbol of fertility, and so on [...]" (Sempere, 1982: 92).

We believe that the most remote origins of this type of decoration should be sought in the Neolithic period. Although, applied to pottery, most scholars in the ceramic world believe they should be sought in the Iberian cultures, with a resurgence in the Muslim era. In the present day, they endure in the surviving pottery centres.

The presence of the Iberians is very important in all those pottery centres that share this type of decoration. Nor should it be forgotten that the Iberians were the ones who consolidated the use of the wheel, which enabled more pieces of pottery to be produced and gave them slimness and balance, thanks to their narrow necks and large handles. Moreover, the harmonious and asymmetrical decoration with manganese brushstrokes, fine lines and a precise outline was a clear example of a more developed culture with a different artistic and social conception. All of that was transmitted to the pottery centres that concern us and which share decoration. The craftsmen do not know the reason for this type of decoration but they say "they have always done it".

The potters still working in La Galera today did, and do, six lines, while others who were active in the municipality until the 1960s did five or eight. We know that in the other centres that applied this same decoration

10



Modern jug baked in a propane oven
(in some places they are called *gàrgola* in Catalan and not *cànter*).

Today more beautiful and stylised than traditionally. Due to its baking process uniform red, in other words, all the same with no marks. Author: Noelia Domènech. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. May 2018.

11



Jug baked in a wood oven.

From the 1950s. Blackened because it is baked in a wood oven, not uniform like today's but showing traces of the flames from the fire leaving lighter and darker shadows. The decorative lines added using clay rich in iron oxide stand out with a blacker hue. Terracotta Museum Archives. La Galera Town Council. Image taken from a piece in the Ametlla de Mar Popular Ceramics Museum collection. 2014.

the number changed. In Traiguera (Castellón), for example, they have always painted seven, while in Huesca del Común (Teruel) they put two or three at the front on the belly. In this specific case, as explained by María Isabel Alvaro Zamora, a scholar of Aragonese pottery, the number of lines served to indicate the jug's capacity.

In La Galera, traditionally, this type of decoration was only applied to water jugs. Later, the only potters still working in La Galera gradually applied it to virtually all the pieces (rough, unglazed) that they made, as a kind of identity mark.

This type of decoration has undoubtedly been handed down from civilisation to civilisation, but its most remote origin should be sought in the ancient pictograms (written communication in which each sign represents an object) of the Neolithic, in which curved, wavy lines were the sign that represented water, a symbol of movement of something that flows. In short, the *symbol of life*.

This affirmation is not fanciful, because in the same way that the technique of decorating with natural pigments (iron oxide or manganese oxide) was passed on, so was the symbolism, that is, what was represented. No words were needed, everything was explained through signs, in our case, curved lines, in motion, water, source of life, of fertility, precisely the decoration applied to the jugs for going to fetch water from the spring, contain it and store it at home. Water as a source of life is an essential element for the existence of life and fertility.

Everything fits, craftsmen have been passing on the decoration and the symbols that are implicit without, in most cases, the authors themselves being able to explain their meaning.

La Galera jugs today

The decline of these jugs came with the arrival of running water in houses around the middle of the 20th century. In La Galera, however, well into the 21st century, they coexist with new technologies.

Decoration using natural pigments, which has been with us since the Neolithic period, fortunately lives on in the present, in a number of pottery centres, one of which is La Galera. Joan Cortiella Garcia, the only potter still active in La Galera and Montsià county, continues to make this vessel. Although the water jug has lost its original use, this master craftsman continues to produce them and today they are mainly bought for decoration and as a collector's item. Joan also makes many other, more contemporary and innovative pieces, as a result of the need to adapt to new times and new tastes. These coexist peacefully with the water jug, while also helping his trade to survive.

We hope that this piece of pottery will be among us for a very long time, but if not, Terracotta, the La Galera Pottery Interpretation Centre will publicise, conserve, preserve and highlight it, as well as all the cultural heritage associated with La Galera's potters. ■

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NOTES

- 1 Traditionally in La Galera the Terres de l'Ebre, they did not say *terrisser/a* nor *terrisseria* but *canterer*, *cantereria* and *cànter* (not *càntir*). These days all that has been replaced by *terrisa* and all its derivatives.
- 2 Queralt, M. C. and Ralda, O. *Terrissa i Patrimoni Etnològic. Estudi Contemporani del centre canterer de la Galera*. ACOM 96 Ralda, O. (1998). *La terrissa de la Galera. Estudi històric i etnològic per a la creació del Museu Terracota*. La Galera: La Galera. Town Council
- 3 Iron oxide or manganese oxide: these are natural pigments used since prehistory. Cave paintings were made with natural pigments, crushing the minerals to obtain the pigments and diluting them in animal fat, egg white, etc. which acted as a binder.
- 4 Aljub (arjup): a wide, shallow, square reservoir dug out of the ground and dressed in sandstone or stones, which serves to collect rainwater in the fields.

Recovering the Banyoles dragon

Guerau Palmada Auguet

Art Historian

Initial clay model of the Banyoles dragon made by the students from the Olot School of Art and Design. EASD



Introduction

A couple of years ago an interdisciplinary group of local entities, intellectuals and scholars, coordinated by the local council festival department, launched a programme to revive the traditional Banyoles festivals. Their priority was to bring back the traditional bestiary, festive figures that had disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century, but which featured in numerous historical reports testifying to their existence throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, the town had previously had a dragon, a bull and a female mule, the latter two identifiable as traditional animals in rural life. As an iconic image of the city, the priority was undoubtedly to make a new dragon, the new "Banyoles Monster" that would be the new centrepiece of the annual Sant Martíà Festival.

The dragon in popular imagination

The most iconic figure of the old and long-gone Banyoles festive bestiary was without a doubt that of the dragon. A fantastic being which was the product of human imagination, inspired by the many reptiles that exist, and to which each historical era has attributed a different symbolism between good and evil. Water and dragon form an old and legendary symbiosis. Thus, old place names have been preserved, such as "Clot del Drac" ("Dragon's Pit") in the Draga park, legends about Sant Mer and the dragon of the lake, popular sayings and even songs such as *El monstre de Banyoles*. In recent years its graphic representation has identified sports institutions too, and it has also been adopted in the name of the current municipal youth office, "Cal Drac" ("Dragon's House"). There can be no doubt that the "Clot del Drac" quarry, documented as early as the 18th cen-

tury, gave rise to the famous Banyoles dragon legend. One of the first legends was compiled by the pharmacist and historian Pere Alsius, who describes it as "a poisonous dragon with long wings and curved paws, which poisoned the crystalline waters with its foul breath." In the mid 20th century the folklorist, historian and priest Lluís G. Constans came across another version and, more recently, new reinterpretations of this famous legend have appeared.

The first historical news

The history of the Banyoles dragon as a figure depicted in its festivals is very old, stretching back over 400 years. In Banyoles festivals of old, that is, during the 17th and 18th centuries, before the town had its giants and big-headed dwarfs (*capgrossos*), it was these beasts that danced. The dragon is the oldest documented figure in the town, a winged beast that went round the streets and squares during religious and traditional festivals. It was not alone, however, dancing with two other figures: a bull and a female mule (*mulassa*).

The Corpus Christi procession is where we find the first mention of the Banyoles dragon. Corpus Christi has been one of the most important religious festivals in Catalonia since medieval times. The main act is a procession, traditionally accompanied by zoomorphic figures, which appeared as early as the 14th century, but where later giants, big-heads and hobby horses (*cavallets*) paraded. In the case of Banyoles, most of the brotherhoods took part, usually grouped into guilds and trades, such as the brotherhoods of tailors, wool weavers, linen weavers, shoemakers, wool workers, provosts or that of foreigners, in other words, French and Occitan emigrants.

It would not be until the beginning of the 1600s that the first animal figures appeared. We have a brief description of how in the 1614 Corpus Christi procession, the town councillors went to collect the canopy of the high altar at the Monastery of Sant Esteve. They also celebrated the "lights and the dragon". Due to a dispute with the abbot of the monastery, Fr. Lluís d'Alentorn, the municipal council was prohibited from attending. Although the mention is brief, this document suggests the Banyoles dragon could be 400 years old, making it one of the oldest documented but not preserved dragons in the counties of Girona, without a shadow of a doubt. There is also evidence that in 1687 the gunpowder merchant Bernat Rovira sold 48 rockets to the Town Hall for the price of 3 pounds and 12 pence so they could be placed in the dragon's mouth during the Corpus Christi procession. Years later, in the 1760 procession, the dragon, the mule (*mulassa*) and the bull performed together.

The dragon in the old festivities

The Banyoles dragon also took part in commemorations of military victories, more specifically in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). In 1710 there was a pause in the conflict in the

Girona counties and a great festival was organised from 24 to 27 October to commemorate the glorious victories of Archduke Charles of Austria. The spectacular nature of the evening festivities, paid for out of the municipal coffers, with fireworks, dances and theatrical entertainment, presaged an Austrian victory, which in the end did not happen. It was the last great act against Philip V in the town of Banyoles, a few months before it was occupied in the name of the Bourbon pretender by the royal French regiment under the Marquis of Arpajou (January 1711). The celebration was held under the stone portico arches of the Plaça Major, the main square. The carpenter Narcís Farnada, the sawyer Siscla Simon and the labourer Bartomeu were in charge of the "lights", that is, they cut the wood and placed it in iron cressets set in the corners of the square. Four musicians (probably a group of minstrels) played and 11 singers sang on the esplanade to get the people of Banyoles dancing. For three nights there were fireworks and the report describes flying rockets, string rockets and fire wheels being launched. The firework launchers were transported from Barcelona by Pere Blanch, a carter from Vilassar de Mar. A large tree reminiscent of the Maypole

Festival was placed in the centre of the square with other fixed pines and a spectacular paper balloon was raised.

The town dragon was the star of this commemorative festival, with "long rockets" placed, more than likely, in its mouth while dancing in the middle of the Main Square. Its zoomorphic body, probably made of wood and cloth, was repainted green, yellow and red for the occasion with some cloth from Ghent, while its dancer was given white cloth for his jacket and trousers. The carpenter Lluís Argelés had the job of fixing the dragon's wings. The dragon danced from Banyoles to the centre of the square as a festive symbol in favour of King Charles III and against the Bourbon king Philip V. The governor of Girona was invited to the festival and he paid for half a *quintar* (50 pounds) of gunpowder to fill the mortars for the salvoes.

The dragon also participated in Planting the Maypole, a religious festival formerly held in the Plaça Major. It was first held at the end of the 17th century but today it has completely disappeared. By contrast, the famous Planting the Maypole and Cuckold's Dance festival still survives in the neighbouring town of Cornellà del Terri, and it was declared a Traditional Festival of National Interest by the Catalan government in 1999.

In Banyoles, the "Youth Candle" brotherhood was in charge of chopping down the town's tallest tree for the Christian Feast of the Ascension. Many elements of the festival are identified in the accounts for 1673, when three shillings (*sous*) were paid "to make the Dragon dance with the Dwarf Pol", nine to "make the bull and the donkey dance", and three more "to help bring the blessed flatbread (*coca*) and to announce the flatbread". Sixteen shillings were paid for the hobby horses and a further nine for hiring the *gambals* (leather strap with bells worn by the



Hobby horses, giants and big-heads in 1913 in front of the Monastery of Sant Esteve de Banyoles, where the historical figure of the dragon had already disappeared. Author unknown. BANYOLES REGIONAL STUDIES CENTRE

dancers), and finally one pound, two shillings and six pence (*diners*) to the gunpowder merchant Bernat Rovira for a dozen and a half rockets. The square's arches were also decorated with pine branches and broom, with the arrival of spring. In 1689 the planting festival was particularly splendid, with musicians, singers and pines planted. We also know the singers were Josep Bruyats, Joan Antoni Gaurans and Fr Felip, accompanied by two boys. At that year's festival "the bull and the donkey" was sung, and again the dragon danced to the beat of a drum accompanied by a small group of musicians. A pair of *espadrilles* were also bought for its dancer. The group was probably a "three quarters" *cobla*, a group of minstrels consisting of three musicians who played four instruments: bagpipes, the *tarota* (similar to an oboe), the *flabiol* (pipe) and the *tambori* (small drum). There were also fireworks and the gunpowder merchant Narcís Cabanellas was paid "for two dozen and two rockets and for two pounds, powder for the evening of the lilies and nails to nail up the lilies and for 1 pound 6 shillings, powder for firing the mortars on Ascension Day".

At the May Festival in 1699, the dragon danced with the bull and the donkey, and once again the gunpowder merchant Narcís Cabanellas was paid 11 silver reals for "22 rockets, to shoot at the bull, the donkey and the dragon." That year they also went to look for a hobby horse in the town of Mieres (Garrotxa), who were very generous neighbours. In Banyoles, it could be the case that the three beasts had spun forming a "fire wheel" in the Plaça Major. The festive ritual in Banyoles continued with much pomp until the mid 18th century, when mysteriously there was no more news of Planting the Maypole and the Feast of the Ascension. The mystery was solved in 1770, when the Candle Brotherhood provosts said the festival had disappeared and the brotherhood was bankrupt, following the abolition

of wedding charges. It seems that economic problems prevailed over tradition.

The local council and town brotherhoods would have taken care to restore and maintain the bestiary for many years. They probably disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century, following the cruel episodes of the Peninsula War which affected the demographics and the economy of the Pla de l'Estany county and the town of Banyoles. The festival would have to wait until the late 19th century, when Banyoles had its first pair of giants, and the mid-20th century, when they were joined by new giants and big-heads.

The recovery process

Until very recently the city of Banyoles lacked a winged dragon suitable for the traditional bestiary. The traditional group of giants, small giants, big-heads and hobby horses was not accompanied by any beast. However, following the recovery of the Saint Martirià Festival in 2017, with the exploding fireworks (*tronada*) documented as early as the 17th century, it was necessary to add a new element from the old Banyoles traditions. Priority was given to restor-

ing the dragon, an emblematic figure among the festival beasts with more than 400 years of history behind it. An interdisciplinary group was formed to commission a dragon from the Olot School of Art and Design (EASD). This group comprised members of the Gàrgoles de Foc, musicians and musicologists from the Ateneu and Joventuts Musicals de Banyoles, the Annual Festival Commission and various specialists in aspects of the city's history, such as the musician Adrià Dilmé, the folklorist Àngel Vergés, the art historian Guerau Palmada and the master and musicologist Albert Massip to advise on musical processions.

Finally on Saturday 6 October, 2018, the dragon made its first public appearance outside the town hall doors to the rhythm of the drummers tasked with rhythmically marking its first steps. This new dragon was commissioned from the students and teachers of the Advanced Sculpture course at the EASD, who took charge of the design, structure, modelling, laminating and painting of the dragon figure, based on historical advice. The current Banyoles dragon is 2.80 metres long and 1.70 metres tall, with a total weight of 80 kg.



The dragon dance in the middle of the Banyoles Main Square during the Sant Martirià Festival, in 2018. LAURA BATLLES



The dragon enters Banyoles Town Hall in front of the giant Martirià and the giantess Maria. GUERAU PALMADA

One person can carry it, but it can also be adapted to go on wheels on longer routes. The colours are a reproduction of those that the monster documented in the 18th century was known to have: yellow, red and green. An effort has been made to ensure the green was the colour of the lake, as a symbol of local identity.

On 20 October, the first day of the Sant Martirià Festival, the drummer and the festival crier were given the job of waking the dragon, giants, big heads and hobby horses at the town hall. The procession (*cercavila*) stopped in the Plaça Major where the old dance of the Banyoles dragon was performed again in front of the crowd that had gathered. Then the festival continued with the second *tronada*, arranged by the master pyrotechnician from Valencia, Joan Garcia Estellés. The presentation of the new dragon concluded with the old tradition of the "Ball de Passada" played by the Cobla la Bisbal Jove youth band. To their musical accompaniment, a large procession with hobby horses, giants and the new dragon danced around the four sides of the porticoed square. Apart from the Ball de Passada, the band played *El*

magnific, by Joan Carreras Dagas; *L'airet de matinada*, a popular song; *El monstre de Banyoles*, by Toni Giménez, and *El tren pinxo de Banyoles*, another popular song. On the last day of the festival the dragon returned once more to the waters of the lake and disappeared into the darkness in Parc de la Draga.

Without a doubt, the return of the dragon to the festival more than two centuries after it was lost has been

a great milestone in the recovery of Banyoles' old folk traditions. We hope that in the coming years the Banyoles dragon, or monster, will become an iconic figure, one well-loved by all the people of the town and participants in the festival. In the coming years the project must surely continue with the recovery of two more traditional figures that have been historically documented and accompany the Banyoles dragon: the bull and the mule. ■



Detail of the Banyoles dragon's head with its characteristic horns. LAURA BATLLES

Exhibitions

Chronicle of the Exhibition

Building the Territory

Traditional architecture and landscape in Catalonia

Xavier Busquets Massuet
Catalan Ministry of Culture

One of the characteristics of the Catalan landscape is the wide range of natural and man-made elements that coexist in harmony throughout the country. From the mountainous landscapes to the coastal areas, there are a large number of architectural properties arranged according to certain needs in turn conditioned by different specificities: climatic, socio-economic, ecosystemic, cultural and political, among others. From an ethnological perspective, traditional architecture is central to understanding human processes associated with landscape anthropisation, as well as helping us visualise materially, through the built spaces, the social organisation of its inhabitants with the passage of time.

The exhibition *Building the Landscape. Traditional architecture and landscape in Catalonia*¹ is a clear reflection of a perspective that goes beyond the material contemplation of a property, since it is committed to exploring the social, productive and symbolic dynamics that take place there. An initiative of the Directorate General for Popular Culture and Cultural Associations, attached to the Catalan Ministry of Culture, it was coordinated by the Institut Ramon Muntaner, sponsored by Obra Social La Caixa, and curated



House cistern, Illa de Buda, Sant Jaume d'Enveja (Montsià). Author: Joan Nonell, 1936 (Centre Excursionista de Catalunya).

by Fabian van Geert, PhD in museology, and Ferran Estrada, PhD in social anthropology, in collaboration with the museums and other members of the Observatory of Ethnological and Intangible Heritage of Catalonia. The exhibition project is complemented by the catalogue² published by the General Directorate of Popular Culture and Cultural Associations, and written by Fabian Van Geert and Ferran Estrada.

In museographical terms, the exhibition is arranged in three parts. The first one aims to provide visitors with the necessary tools for addressing the issues that converge in traditional architecture and its impact on the landscape. A brief introduction explains a series of key concepts: what is understood by traditional architecture, representations of architecture in the collective imaginary, a timeline of popular archi-

tecture, and an outline of the interactions between communities and traditional architecture in Catalonia.

The second part, the core of the exhibition, is divided into five modules arranged to show the link between traditional architecture, the landscape and productive activities. The modules are as follows: the world of estates, high mountains, the coast, dryland farming and irrigated farming.

Each of the modules is defined by the use of four core themes, arranged efficiently to guide visitors through the constructions by establishing a link with the territory. The content of the core themes in each of the five modules emphasises the particular features of the architectural elements, contextualising the differences between the uses associated with those constructions,



Bordius, Canejan (Val d'Aran). 02: Author: Juli Soler, 1907 (Centre Excursionista de Catalunya). 03: Authors: Elisenda Managuera and Jordi Feliu, 2011.

their impact on the landscape and the socio-economic needs that derive from them.

The first theme, the lived space, shows the house from a functional perspective focused on the habitability of the domestic space: layout, uses, conditioning and socialisation, among other aspects. The second theme is the processes that give meaning to the space, ranging from urban manifestations determined by a historical context to the symbolic representations linked to the socio-economic conditions of its

inhabitants. The theme of techniques and materials tells us about the relationship between the knowledge associated with building techniques and the materials used, as well as if there is a link determined by the availability of the resources found in the area. The fourth and final theme focuses on the uses infrastructures are put to from an economic perspective, that is, how the architectural elements are distributed in the territory with the intention of maximising productivity in the exploitation of a particular



Catalogue of the exhibition 'Building the Territory. Traditional architecture and landscape in Catalonia'

resource and how this influences the morphology of the landscape.

Based on the core themes, a discourse is developed in each of the modules regarding the influence of traditional architecture in building the Catalan landscape. The world of estates module emphasizes the concept of the farming estate as a basic unit of territorial occupation. Estates are identified with vestiges of socio-economic transformations that have lasted over time. This module shows how we can see which sociocultural and economic needs have arisen in a particular territory from the architectural alterations to a estate. The high mountain module places particular emphasis on how traditional architecture has adapted to local weather conditions. Aspects such as the concentration of houses in small settlements or the spatial distribution of groups of buildings, as well as the need to establish building typologies derived from the productive activities of the area, such as animal grazing. Farm outbuildings known as *bordes* represent a building typology that arose precisely in response to a productive need, storing fodder and sheltering the flock, in areas far from human settlements, close to the pastures and fields. This module also emphasises the characteristic feature of using

certain materials in plentiful supply in the territory, such as wood, which generates an architectural knowledge linked to the building techniques associated with that material. The module on the coast shows how the work of fishermen has given rise to a type of settlement that responds to a specific task. Settlements located in bays, sheltered from the to and fro of the waves, which act as natural harbours for mooring boats, with a proliferation of auxiliary elements such as huts, lighthouses or fish exchanges. The dryland module focuses mainly on dry stone constructions: terraces, walls, huts and water tanks (*aljubs*), among others. Architectural elements that have modified the landscape by adapting it to the agricultural needs of its inhabitants, from water management in an area where it is scarce to the construction of terraces with dry stone walls to avoid rain erosion by rain and facilitate agricultural tasks. Knowledge, the art of dry stone walling, which has recently been declared Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO³. Finally, the irrigated plains module identifies the most characteristic features of this type of farming: piped water, storage ditches and field geometry, among others. The module places particular emphasis on the adobe constructions of the Urgell Plain and the huts of the Ebro delta, identity symbols of the traditional architecture in both territories.

The exhibition itinerary ends with a reflection on the new uses associated with traditional architecture, where the loss of value has been replaced by an increase in heritage value. The heritagisation of traditional elements through protection measures, such as being declared a Cultural Asset of National Interest (BCIN in Catalan) or Zone of Ethnological Interest (ZIE), marks the start of a new approach: valuing a heritage until now

almost belittled, probably because it was not seen as artistic or did not project an architectural canon contextualised in a certain historical period. Despite that, from an ethnological perspective, the heritage value associated with the knowledge, transformation and human adaptation of the territory is now being asserted. Moreover, heritage recognition of traditional architecture is opening up new avenues for admiring architectural elements as a source of income from tourism. In some cases, it is increasing the possibilities of restoring properties which had fallen into oblivion decades ago.

In conclusion, the exhibition *Building the Landscape. Traditional architecture and landscape in Catalonia* is a clear reflection of how a multitude of factors, in theory unconnected (exploita-

tion of resources, social relations and technology, among others), combine to take shape in architectural elements capable of transforming our territory into landscapes that evoke a shared imaginary. ■

NOTES

1

Link to the virtual exhibition: [https://cultura.gencat.cat/ca/departament/estructura_i_adreces/orga_nismes/dgcpt/05_documents_i_recursos/04_exposicions_itinerants/constructing-el-territori/\(05/09/19\)](https://cultura.gencat.cat/ca/departament/estructura_i_adreces/orga_nismes/dgcpt/05_documents_i_recursos/04_exposicions_itinerants/constructing-el-territori/(05/09/19))

2

Link to the exhibition catalogue: https://cultura.gencat.cat/web/content/cultura_popular/05_documents_i_recursos/04_exposicions_itinerants/Construint_territori/SD_Construint_territori.pdf (05/09/19).

3

<https://ich.unesco.org/es/RL/conocimientos-y-tecnicas-del-arte-de-construir-muros-en-stone-seca-01393?RL=01393> (05/09/2019).



Carrer de Linyola (Pla d'Urgell), with an early 19th century house built with adobe. Author: Adriana Salvat Torregrosa.

Visit by the Ethnological and Immaterial Heritage Observatory to heritage facilities in the Netherlands

Roger Costa Solé
Catalan Ministry of Culture

On 28, 29 and 30 March, 2019, a group of technicians and executives from different organisations belonging to the Ethnological and Intangible Heritage Observatory (OPEI in Catalan) visited several heritage centres in the Netherlands. The group was made up of representatives from the Valls

d'Àneu Eco-Museum, the Montseny Ethnological Museum, the Barcelona Maritime Museum, the Ramon Muntaner Institute, the Barcelona Ethnological Museum, the Cervera Regional Museum, the Sant Feliu de Guíxols History Museum and the Ter Museum, as well as a representative from the Network of Ethnology Museums. The representatives of the Government of Catalonia, which organised the visit, was headed by the Director-General of Popular Culture and Cultural Associations, attached to the Catalan Ministry of Culture, M.

Àngels Blasco, along with two technicians from the Directorate-General's Research and Protection Service. Lluís Puig, director of the Ministry of Culture's programme for developing cultural projects at an international level, also accompanied the group for two of the days. The activities programme was designed by Vanessa Barberà, a Catalan museologist residing in the Netherlands.

The first heritage institution to host the group was the Amsterdam Museum. Annemarie de Wildt, cura-



The Catalan delegation at the gates of the De Kathammer polder mill. DANIEL SOLÉ LLADÓS



Albert van der Zeijden, coordinator of the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage, presenting the NGO at the Amsterdam Museum. DANIEL SOLÉ LLADÓS



Staff from various organisations belonging to the Ethnological and Intangible Heritage Observatory during the visit to the Museum of the Mind in Haarlem. DANIEL SOLÉ LLADÓS

tor of the museum's exhibitions, briefly explained the mission and contents of the museum, housed in the city's former orphanage which took in thousands of children between 1580 and 1960. As a museum of the history of the city, it also reflects that of the whole country to a large extent. Given the composition of the visiting group, Wildt placed special emphasis on the museum's efforts to be open to social changes in the city, and especially on initiatives to attract the communities of newcomers and make them partic-

ipants in the museum, initiatives such as debates and supper clubs. She was followed by Albert van der Zeijden, the coordinator of the Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland (Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage), a UNESCO-accredited NGO that advises the Intergovernmental Committee for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The centre promotes activities aimed at preserving, managing and developing intangible cultural heritage (ICH, hereinafter) in the Netherlands,

advises public authorities on ICH, and encourages debate on the issue. It also offers communities guidance on how to protect their ICH and implements an active communication policy in order to raise awareness about the importance and value of such heritage. Its research agenda includes 1) controversies around ICH, 2) ICH and cultural "superdiversity", 3) the role of young people, 4) the relationship between material and immaterial heritage, and 5) ICH and sustainable tourism. The Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland maintains relations with the *Ensa de l'Associacionisme Cultural Català* (ENS), a confederation of associations that is also UNESCO-accredited.



Inside the De Kathammer windmill. You can see the machinery and the green roof, which has to be relaid periodically. DANIEL SOLÉ LLADÓS

The group then moved to a municipal office, where María Cuartas de Marchena, head of the Amsterdam City Council's Diversity Department (Public Policy), explained the initiatives that have been carried out in recent years by the local council. Through its "Shared History" programme the department aims to shed light on those groups and people who are related in some way with the Amsterdam municipality and have a history to explain, emphasising those parts of their history that may be painful and unknown, by means of personal testimonies so that younger



Partial view of the Zuiderzee Museum. DANIEL SOLÉ LLADÓS

people have access to it. The issues addressed are primarily World War II, colonialism / slavery and migration.

The second day began with a visit to the Het Dolhuys museum (Museum of Mind) in the city of Haarlem. It occupies an old building originally outside the city walls which housed lepers and people with other infectious diseases in the Middle Ages, and subsequently had a long history as a centre for interning people affected by mental illness. At the time of the visit, the permanent exhibition focused on the vision we had of these diseases in Western Europe in general, and in the Netherlands in particular, from the Middle Ages to the present day¹. Given it promotes an unusual building and theme in a small town, as is the case with various entities represented in the Observatory², and since it is a private museum that

depends on donations from benefactors and only occasionally on public subsidies, the discussion between the museum's technical team and representatives of the OPEI revolved around management models in general and funding models in particular for facilities with these characteristics. The exchange of impressions served to confirm the numerous similarities between the Catalan cases and that of the Het Dolhuys museum.

In the afternoon we visited the TropenMuseum, a large museum in the colonial style like the Barcelona Ethnological Museum, a member of the OPEI, originally, that has been totally reinterpreted in recent years. It is now defined as "a museum about people" that explores cultural diversity through universal phenomena such as mourning, love, festivals or conflict.

This was how the museum abandoned its geographical orientation in 2018 to focus on universal themes that connect individuals from all over the world. The new permanent exhibition is called *Things that Matter*, and issues such as migrations or identity feature prominently. The museum's new social commitment can also be seen in the long-term exhibitions *Afterlives of Slavery* and *Longing for Mecca*. The temporary exhibition *Cool Japan*, on the other hand, focused on the characteristics of today's Japanese youth cultures and the attraction they have for the West.

On Saturday 30 March the group moved 22 km north of Amsterdam to visit De Kathammer, a polder windmill³ for draining excess water from crop fields. The visit had a double purpose as, since 2017, "the tradi-

tional craft of the miller operating windmills and watermills" has been included in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity for the Netherlands. At present, there are only 11 master millers in the whole country but since the creation of the Voluntary Millers Guild in 1972, about 2,000 people have qualified to practice this profession. Among them is Roel Boulengier, who explained how De Kathammer works and the maintenance tasks carried out there.

The last visit was to the Zuiderzee Museum. This heritage facility 67 kilometres north of Amsterdam is actually a whole village that was rebuilt to recreate the lifestyles associated with the Zuiderzee, the North Sea bay that stretched about 100 kilo-

metres inland in the north-western part of the Netherlands and which became a freshwater lake with the construction of the first large dyke in 1932. All of the 140 buildings that can be seen today come from villages and sites on the banks of this old bay, and form an outdoor museum where scenes from daily life, ranging from doing the laundry to cooking food, are recreated every day. Craft activities mainly linked to the old life of the sea are also carried out in this memory space, which uses original objects rescued from oblivion or disappearing. The explanations at this site were given by Kees Hendriks, who manages the collection and who commented that the museum will not be expanded any more, in contrast to others with the same features that continue to add buildings today. ■

NOTES

1

The museum began a period of alterations and museological reformulation the day after the Catalan delegation's visit.

2

The old Trepapat agricultural machinery factory in Tàrrega, now converted into the Agricultural Mechanisation Museum, or the Pauma Museum in Mas de Barberan, are paradigmatic cases.

3

Land reclaimed from the sea and later converted into farmland.



A man dressed in traditional clothes mending various fishing nets at the Zuiderzee Museum. DANIEL SOLÉ LLADÓS

Book Reviews

Drinking to not forget

An anthropological look at the neighbourhood *bodegas* in Barcelona.

José Muñoz Albaladejo

Incipient CSIC

Fàbregas, B. (coord.), Roura-Expósito, J., Marín, A., Llobet, O. and Camps, L. (2018). *Entre el celler i la taverna. Un recorregut per les bodegues de barri de la ciutat de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Catalan Ministry of Culture

The history of taverns (*tavernes*) and wine cellars (*bodegas*) is also the history of the popular classes, the history of the awareness of those groups that belong to a place and a space that is claimed as a basic part of their identity, built on the principles of collective solidarity, fellow-feeling and mutual recognition. Despite the unstoppable advance of capitalist logics within the urban fabric, many of these places are still resisting, and do so not only as isolated elements but as elements of social cohesion and symbolic resistance. Bodegas that refuse to be subsumed under the categories that a unifying capitalism tries to impose from the outside, who refuse to lose their community essence. And yet it becomes increasingly difficult to avoid a change that is seen as being necessary, inevitable. Moreover, the consumption factor is being introduced into these spaces and forcing them to take part in the economic and urban transformations typical of our time.

The book's five chapters, four plus a conclusion, aim to analyse the social cohesion role that Barcelona's bodegas have exercised in the city, often serving as a nerve centre for neighbourhood and working-class sociability. It is a meticulous, detailed, almost perfectionist work that tries to approach these spaces from an increasingly microscopic perspective and seeks to analyse the particular characteristics of socialisation inside them. Thus, in the first chapter we are presented with the reference framework on which the entire discourse is built, while in the following chapters the fieldwork itself is outlined, beginning with an archival analysis that enables the narratives historically associated with bodegas to be reconstructed, before providing an overall view of them during the period from 2007 to 2014, coinciding with the economic crisis years. The book concludes with an ethnographic approach to the Bodega Xifré interior.

The first chapter begins with a necessary conceptual clarification: the term *bodega* is a Spanish word used here by *taverners* to refer to their own businesses (*tavernes*). That is why the book's authors decided to keep it in their discourse, as it is an emic conceptualisation that is used by people who are part of the scene that is the subject of study. This chapter also explains the methodology used during the research process, and introduces some terms that will be decisive for a better understanding of cellar dynamics. The *bode-*



gas are analysed and studied as spaces for social cohesion within the neighbourhoods, so that both concepts, that of cellar and that of neighbourhood, combine in a mutually reciprocal relationship. The social space of the cellar fulfils a symbolic and identity function in the neighbourhood of which it is part, in the same way that the neighbourhoods themselves perform those functions in the city as a whole. And, together with the cellar, alcohol appears as a vital element, with a role aimed at symbolising the desire to be together, which is exemplified by the ritual of drinking together, under the same roof, in the same space.

The aim of the following chapter is to conduct an ethno-historical tour of Barcelona's bodegas from the 19th century to the present day. An explanation based on archival work but supplemented by the journalistic chronicle

and literature. This route aims to identify the changes suffered by the bodegas in the period mentioned above, bodegas forced to adapt to the city's changing circumstances, linked to industrial and technological development and the arrival of modernity that causes cities to significantly increase their territory and population. Within this new territorial order, neighbourhoods began to assert the need to find new spaces where neighbourhood relations could be maintained, could continue to be personal rather than abstract. The bodegas would act precisely as one of these new agglutinating spaces, in many cases linked to trade union and political groups. This facilitated an ontological change of the bodegas themselves, which became one of the main local meeting places. Despite (or perhaps because of) that, they could not free themselves of a negative view linking them to leisure, vice, and the marginal classes, stereotypes that began to be incorporated not only into bourgeois accounts, but also to the political speeches and the narratives of the popular classes themselves, and which were more or less accentuated depending on where the cellar was located.

The third chapter deals with the first specific part of the fieldwork. The authors went round 200 bodegas all over Barcelona, photographed them, recorded their particular characteristics and spoke to many of their owners. That involved a huge amount of recording that takes shape in a chapter which tries to reflect the process of change that have affected bodegas in recent years, when their decline as a centre of neighbourhood trade led many to modernise. The chapter contextualises the current moment of these establishments, and does so by analysing the internal transformations of the bodegas, which adapt their forms due, in part, to the need to adapt to

the new commercial logics in order to survive, but also to the implementation of restoration regulations that limit the traditional activity of these premises, historically geared toward the sale and distribution of food and drinks and for their service. These changes affect both what bodegas can offer their locals and the social role they play in their immediate environment. In some cases, the "survival" of traditional bodegas is linked to their appropriation by the tourist industry, infusing them with a fetishistic and nostalgic look that tries to project them as "authentic" places which represent a past that no longer exists.

The last chapter, a conclusion apart, is probably the most interesting of the book, anthropologically speaking. It is there that the authors focus on the microscopic look of which they speak in the introduction, the work on the ground where an anthropologist turns their gaze towards people, towards specific events, beyond possible generalisations. In this case, it is focused on analysing Bodega Xifré, in the Parc neighbourhood, during the months before it finally closed. This is a precise work of ethnography by means of which the authors offer us a description of the cellar, its dynamics and its seed in neighbourhood struggles and as a place for recovering or maintaining the memory of the neighbourhood. All this sustained on observation, sometimes at a distance, sometimes participating, and a dialogue with Toni, the owner, playing the role of main actor in the play. At his establishment, the theories and hypotheses tested throughout the book take shape, along with the feelings, affections, fears and pessimism that hover over all the conversations compiled in this research.

In conclusion, we can say that we have a stimulating book here, which invites us

to reflect; a good tool for introducing us ethnographically to spaces which, in fact, play the role of hubs around which many neighbourhood relations in Barcelona are articulated. Moreover, it is a book which is not limited to a historical tour of transformations in the city's bodegas; it also contextualises them within the neighbourhoods of which they are part. They are places of social cohesion, spaces where local camaraderie and popular culture – football, politics, drink – are still alive but seem condemned to disappear. It is this process leading to the abyss that the book relates but it does so without getting carried away by a simplistic romanticism linked to nostalgic elements. Instead it offers constructive criticism and an ethnographic analysis that warns us about the new urban dynamics, and shows us how the disappearance of the bodegas also means the disappearance of some of the basic enclaves of neighbourhood sociability and their identity. Custodians they may be of a social and popular heritage that reflects a part of the substance of the people, their identity – without getting into discussion about the criticisms that can be levelled at all those concepts – but despite that, bodegas are places whose original form is in decline and in danger of extinction. The new urban logic, which owes its essence to the market economy, has also appropriated and assimilated them, and encouraged a transformation geared towards the capitalist consumer market. And, to survive, the bodegas are forced to change, although some still try to resist. A resistance that may now be in vain. ■

Book review: *Gaspar Lloret, mestre d'aixa i llibertari*

Badias, J.; Lloret, G. (2018). *Gaspar Lloret, mestre d'aixa i llibertari*. Lleida: Pagès Editors.

Helena Colom Montoriol

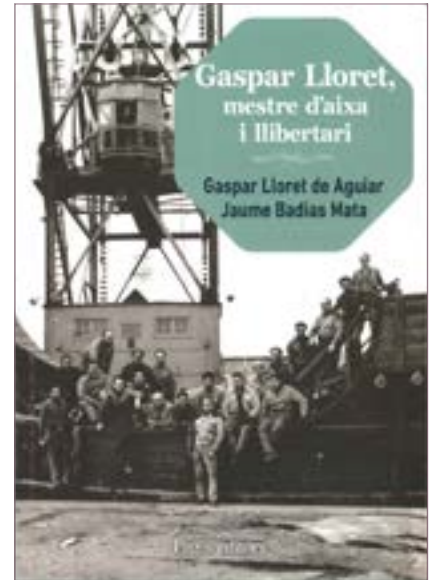
Catalan Ministry of Culture

Barcelona is a city with a long, deep-rooted tradition of anarchist movements since the middle of the 19th century, when the first anarchist ideas began to spread through the labour movement and trade unions with the aim of building emancipatory alternatives for the working class (Abelló, 2010). The struggles and improvements that the anarchist movement had been winning were interrupted by the Civil War. However, the anarchist ideology reorganised and remained alive in exile or underground in cities such as Barcelona, where the principles continued to be spread through the work of men and women who dedicated hours, effort and sacrifice to distributing anarcho-syndicalist publica-

tions and to carrying out actions that would make a notable contribution to the anti-Franco struggle.

Gaspar Lloret (Barcelona, 1934), the protagonist of the book being reviewed, is one of those people who, under the Franco regime and even today, have remained faithful to anarchist ideas, passed them on, fought for them and applied them in every aspect of their lives. Besides that, he is a well-known master shipwright, the trade of planning and building a wooden boat from start to finish, which he also taught (Badias, 2006), and he worked for more than 30 years at the shipyards in Barcelona and on the Costa Brava. He is the voice and witness of two histories which are intertwined in his life and almost indistinguishable: the history of the anarchist movement in Catalonia and the history of a trade that has practically disappeared today.

Jaume Badias, a historian and co-author of the book, presents a portrait of Lloret through his ideas and a review



Front cover of the book *Gaspar Lloret, mestre d'aixa i llibertari* (2018).

of his life alongside the changes in the Catalan libertarian and anarchist movement on the one hand and, on the other, through the time he spent at the Barcelona shipyards and other places round the country, which is also a review of the changes in a traditional trade, that of master shipwright, which had become obsolete, first, due to the lack of materials and, later, the gradual replacement of traditional knowledge by new techniques and materials. All this with postwar Barcelona and harsh Francoist repression of the anarchist movement, followed by the socio-political changes of the 1960s and 1970s that came with the arrival of democracy, as a backdrop.

Life story as a methodology

The book *Gaspar Lloret: mestre d'aixa i llibertari* is a life story narrated in the first person by the protagonist through the historian Jaume Badias. The introduction is the only part in which the narrative voice is that of Badias, the rest



Gaspar Lloret as an apprentice, in 1950. GASPAR LLORET'S PRIVATE COLLECTION

is a fluid, intimate narrative that retains Lloret's characteristic eloquence and expressiveness. He himself relates the most important facts of his life while offering opinions, ideas and reflections from the distance of the present, which enriches the narration. The footnotes are also important, because they supplement the facts and ideas described by Gaspar Lloret with bibliographic references and place them in a broader context, providing information on people, places or events referred to in his narrative. Also included are a selection of photographs, mostly from Lloret's private collection, in which he appears with relatives or in the context of his trade as a master shipwright. Thus, in little more than a hundred pages, Badias manages to compile and synthesise a whole life of work and struggle and the evolution in his anarchist ideas over more than six decades.

Using life-history as an ethnographic methodology allows one to understand a person's life as a significant example of a context, a movement, or some events. As Badias says in the introduction, it gives prominence to the role of anonymous people "turning them into sources for research, valuing their subjectivity as an angle of vision that allows us to recognise the idiosyncrasy of a community, of a defined territorial framework, or of a specific social group" (Badias and Lloret, 2018: 9).

Badias also stresses the importance of oral history as an indispensable tool for recovering anarchist ideas and ensuring they survive, as this type of work enables social subjects, invisible until fairly recently, to contribute to the construction of an alternative historical and social account to the one historiography has traditionally provided. In the case of this book, Gaspar

Lloret provides some very specific and valuable knowledge in relation to traditional shipbuilding, but above all it is interesting to understand the background of the social context and the atmosphere during those years from inside the shipyards. Testimony such as his is also of great importance if we take into account that the persecution suffered by the anarchist world under the Franco regime means there is little documentation relating to those years, as it was destroyed by the police or the anarchists themselves.

The book is arranged as a chronological journey through Gaspar Lloret's life, divided into chapters where each one focuses on a few years or a specific period in which he develops a theme and reflects on it. Always maintaining the balance of combining the core theme of the anarchist struggle with the craft of master shipwright, or other



Demonstration on 1 May, 1982, on Monjuïc. GASPAR LLORET'S PRIVATE COLLECTION



With the work team at the Cardona Shipyards, working on the replica of the *Santa Maria*. 1966. GASPAR LLORET'S PRIVATE COLLECTION

jobs he had to do at some time in his life. In addition to dealing as well with some personal issues and the connection with the wider social and political context of the day in Barcelona, Catalonia or Spain.

It begins with his childhood in the Barceloneta neighbourhood, where Gaspar Lloret was born in 1934, in a family environment close to anarchist ideas, and throughout the book he keeps referring to the importance of that environment as the basis of the libertarian thinking that will accompany him for the rest of his life. Youth is the stage he devotes most space to. He explains how, from a very young age, he began working in the Barcelona shipyards and how, in the early 1950s, he set up his own clandestine printing press to print anarchist publications that he also distributed round the city – an activity that would lead him to him being arrested and spending two years in

prison. Later, in the 1960s, he worked in various shipyards, where he always tried to improve the conditions of the workers. Although from the 1970s on work declined in the shipyards, he finally managed to create a cooperative repairing fishing boats, thus combining his trade as a master shipwright with his anarchist ideas and his ideas on organising work.

From clandestine activity to institutionalisation

After the Civil War, the anarchist movement in the interior lacked a structure but the organisation of committees, support networks and networks to distribute anarcho-sindicalist propaganda that would become the major trade unions of the following decades did not stop. Many people, such as Gaspar Lloret, also fought on the fringes of unions and committees in almost individual actions. An example of that is the printing press he set up with a comrade in 1954. They

worked on it at night after long days in the shipyards, printing and distributing texts they got from the exiles in France. For example, copies of *Solidaridad Obrera*, popularly known as "La Soli", a newspaper founded in Barcelona in 1907 which was the CNT's main paper.

Throughout the book Lloret emphasises the differences between what was done in exile during the Franco regime and the continuity of the movement underground in the interior. Such was the case of the CNT, a union that he was linked to, because the vision from exile was very different from the perception they might have in the interior with regard to the direction and objectives of the actions to be taken. Sometime he speaks with a certain tone of disenchantment of the changes that come with the arrival of democracy, or "apparent democracy", as Lloret always calls it, and which bring out the differences. The moment the CNT is legal-

ised as a union and enters traditional politics, for example, from Lloret's perspective is seen as a renunciation of the demands and objectives achieved. A disenchantment that means nowadays, as he has not for years, he no longer has any link or contact with the current CNT. In his words: "[...] I'm not a trade unionist, I'm a libertarian, an anarchist. I'm not driven by initials, I'm driven by projects and ideas" (Badias and Lloret, 2018: 140).

Anarchist at work, on the streets and at home

Gaspar Lloret is an anonymous, working-class witness, but with a life history that perfectly explains a context, changes and ideas that can be extrapolated, making the book doubly important in emphasising the first years of the Franco regime; on the one hand, to vindicate a trade that nowadays has practically disappeared and, on the other hand, to vindicate anarchist trade unionism and libertarian ideals that can be regarded as the seed of many social movements in Barcelona today.

The most important idea transmitted by Lloret's book and life is the application of ideas and convictions to all areas of life. If you are an anarchist, you are an anarchist in the movement but also in your workplace, in your family or any type of relationship you establish. Principles based on the idea of improving workers' living and working conditions but by building a decent, fairer, more egalitarian society for all as well.

This is Gaspar Lloret's testimony, a commitment to ideas more than an organisation, a union or a movement, throughout a lifetime, while also accepting the contradictions and always being critical. Ideals and a trade always linked in a double disappointment too: the anarchist ideals he has not managed to put into practice in the way he hoped and the disappearance of a traditional trade that has become obsolete. "Ideas and what I have made with my hands have defined me. I have fought hard for anarchist ideas and also for the trade

of building wooden boats, for a trade that has finally died, because now there are no master shipwrights" (Badias and Lloret, 2018: 151). ■

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Altering the stern to the *Rosa Rochet* in Roses, 1995. GASPAR LLORET'S PRIVATE COLLECTION



The heritage of war and the war for its heritage

Reviewing the work of Adela Geli Anticó:

Recórrer la Garriguella fortificada.

Desxifrant els búnquers: arquitectura i paisatge.

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The heritagisation of historical memory is a complex and difficult process in Spain, especially if we try to muse-umise or highlight spaces related to the regime of General Franco. The most recent and obvious example of this is the controversy over the dictator's remains and his funeral mausoleum, or what policy should be followed with the numerous common graves all around the

Spanish State, full of republican and Francoist victims.

Heritage recognition, as an element that shapes our past and identity, is very selective and extremely subjective. As a society we choose the elements that represent our identity, separating what we must protect from what we must forget (Munilla, 2004). All this is more complicated when we deal with episodes of war and repression, and, as Vázquez and Miralles (2018) explain very well, the province of Girona is an area that serves as an example.

The purpose of this review is twofold: first, to highlight the book by Adela Geli Anticó *Recórrer la Garriguella fortificada.*

Desxifrant els búnquers: arquitectura i paisatge published in 2016 by the Institute of Empordà Studies in collaboration with the Girona Provincial Council; second, to shed light on and promote a fragile part of our heritage that is under threat and lies forgotten among our landscapes, for its values and the nature of its construction. In 2019, coinciding with the 80th anniversary of the end of the Spanish Civil War and the beginning of the Franco regime, this task is absolutely necessary if we are not to forget the policies of that regime.

Geli Anticó's work allows us to recognise and value the heritage of war



from a "glocal" perspective, based on an international analysis of the facts and how that translates into the changes in the Alt Empordà landscapes and Garriguella in particular. It is one of the few initiatives present and known today in the area of valuing this type of heritage, which can and must serve as an example and model for future projects.

Geli Anticó, architect and member of the Territory and Architecture Section of the Institute of Empordà Studies, has focused her work on the study of traditional architecture and heritage recovery is one of her concerns.

The 20th century was a difficult period throughout Europe, and particularly in Spain after February 1939 and Franco's triumph. It marked a period of international isolation for the country, at a time when the European powers were engaged in combating fascism and its allies. Faced with the fear of international intervention, Franco decided to fortify the Pyrenees to face a possible attack by the Allied forces (Moradiellos, 2000). Although a new way of waging war now existed, and had been practised in Spain, it was decided to follow the European trends of positional warfare (Virilio, 2008) made obsolete with the emergence of aviation.

Using period documents, photographs and the testimonies of local people, and with the work of Clara (2010) as her basis, Geli Anticó analyses the landscape from a historical angle focusing on the transformation of the Garriguella landscape during the Civil War and the early Franco years.

In her book she explains how the civil and ecclesiastical reality of the municipality was conditioned by its geography, located between the Albera Massif and the Serra de Rodes, a wild landscape in the middle of an artificial

border crossing. The book also highlights how the traditional relationship between the locals and their landscape had been transformed (Roger, 2000), and how indirectly it was immersed in an international dynamic of conflict and war.

The value of this work lies in the author's reflection on the international and also national political context, how it changed the life of a small rural community in the Empordà region, how a narrative was constructed from local facts and how they were inserted into the international context, at the same time interacting with the remains of this heritage (Nogué and Puigverd, 1993).

Border defence was one of Europe's great concerns in the 20th century, and coined concepts such as war architecture, in order to protect territorial and "national" integrity. The most representative and probably best known examples are the Maginot Line in France and the Gothic Line in Italy (Truttman, 2009). The Spanish paradigm is Franco's P Line, of which the Empordà was and is a central and prominent part.

Very briefly, the author picks up the historical and social embryo of this architecture and looks for the points of contact and parallels that directly or indirectly affect the municipality. She takes as a precedent the first republican bunkers of 1937, built to defend the Catalan coast, and the first aerodromes in Catalonia. And again she highlights the post-1939 Francoist discourse faced with possible international intervention: it would mean the fortification of the Pyrenees as protection from external threats by land and sea, from a possible landing.

Geli Anticó attaches importance to the historical context, and stresses how the events of World War II with the

advance of the Allied troops precipitated the start of work on the P Line in 1944. From Portbou to the Basque Country more than 10,000 bunkers and 169 centres of resistance were built, 13% of them in Garriguella, where some 380 bunkers and five resistance centres have been identified.

Another of the book's strengths is the way in which the author lets witnesses of the time speak and evokes the process of transforming the landscape with huge contingents of soldiers suddenly appearing on the outskirts of the village, and gradually disappearing as the regime of General Franco was recognised by the international powers and the fear of an invasion faded (Moradiellos, 2018).

Apart from the historical aspects, Geli Anticó speaks of the process of integrating the ruins, which fortunately never had any use or utility, into the landscape (Hanley, 2012). First with light controls between the 1960s and 1970s and then with their marginalisation in the 1990s, when they were the target of destruction or the farmers gave them a new use. It was not until the 2000s that the recovery of these remains began in places such as Martinet in La Cerdanya and, in 2013, in Garriguella, when this work began. From a heritage perspective, therefore, it is a very recent development and should encourage us to think above all about what has been lost and what we will continue to lose if heritage dissemination policies are not forthcoming in the other P Line municipalities similar to those of Martinet, Garriguella or the Ebro (Escudè, 2011).

From a more structural and architectural standpoint, the author analyses the theoretical features of the P Line and how it runs through the Empordà, understood to mean "from Bassegoda and heading east following the Serra de Santa Magdalena, Mont Roig, Altrera,

Mala Veïna, Mont Perdut and the mountains of Cap de Creus. Offering good observation conditions, it is quite a way from the border and provided firing ranges and slopes for manoeuvres. It also required the fortification of Cap de Creus and the Bay of Roses to prevent being outflanked by enemy forces for a landing" (Geli, 2016).

She notes very clearly the characteristics of this fortification: pulling back from the Pyrenees with three different zones (advanced, entrenched or reserve). This categorisation was established according to the nature of the terrain and defensive danger in the face of an attack. All these elements condition the typology of bunkers. From a biological viewpoint they are like small organisms managed from the centres of resistance, and located strategically, which shows prior and extensive knowledge of both the territory and communications, protection, and forms of concealment and camouflage.

What is special about Garriguella is that it is a fortified hub, 6.7 kilometres long and 2.3 kilometres wide, spread over five centres of resistance (CR8. Sant Silvestre, CR9. Km8 Portbou Road, CR.10 Garriguella, CR11. Mas Comellas and CR12. Mala Veïna). With great care, the author studies and highlights the characteristics of bunker construction and territorial control, which curiously contrasts with the initial construction project and does not tally with it, as sometimes more were built, and sometimes fewer. She even gives details of the type of bunkers and comments on one particular aspect, namely the large number of machine gun bunkers compared to the rest (Geli, 2016).

Moreover, it is a very educational and well-illustrated work that enables the reader to learn more about the terms and processes relating to the definition of a bunker, or the building process they entail. In a fun and entertaining

way, the author deals with the P Line from an architectural perspective, leaving the more social aspects to one side.

War and conflict heritage does not merely consist of bunkers but other things as well, some much more fragile, due to their temporary nature, such as the airfields, vestiges of which she analyses in the case of Garriguella-Vilajuïga. Once again from an architectural perspective, she explains the site and layout of the facilities, placing special emphasis on the bunkers to see their specific features, dimensions and plan.

Finally, and by way of conclusion, the last part of the book, *Recórrer*, highlights their heritage values and offers a suggestion for new uses. Geli Anticó urges the reader to reflect on the transformative process of the Garriguella landscape, and how it has become a memorial landscape within the framework of the Europe of conflicts in the 20th century (Madruelo, 2010). She highlights how, despite the human will to naturalise this intervention, which was designed only to be activated in the event of a conflict, it has left a timeless and enduring trace in the collective imagination which, given its intrinsic and symbolic values, has ended up being despised.

This type of heritage could be regarded as uncomfortable and even obscure, consciously forgotten by the local population, who ultimately do not consider it as heritage that identifies them. A situation that has left nature to overrun it, so that it will be lost without a strong institutional policy.

The author proposes exploiting the identity traits of Garriguella, wine and its heritage, on the basis of ethnotourism from an informative and heritage appreciation perspective, which would allow it to generate a positive return and contribute to social development, both territorial and economic, which at the same time would ensure its con-

servation. On the other hand there is a danger of overexploitation and authenticity being lost. These are issues to be weighed up but always with the aim of ensuring the survival of this heritage.

Due to its fragile nature and the values intrinsically associated with the Franco regime, it would be forgotten heritage were it not for these types of projects. The lack of political will on the part of the institutions will cause a selective loss of our memory. It does not appear in the memory space records of Memorial Democràtic, despite it being a convulsive episode that is part of our past, which has conditioned the identity of the territory and its people, events that represent us and should never be forgotten, regardless of whether we like it.

The constructive simplicity of the bunkers makes conservation difficult and often means they remain hidden in the woods. They are concrete constructions made after the war in a context of extreme necessity. The materials used are not the best and, added to that, is their exposure to destruction and theft, aside from the fact they have no aesthetic value that has merited concern for their conservation.

Values are fundamental in heritage. Geli Anticó explains how these vestiges were initially seen as a symbol of conflict within the framework of a post-war period, full of fear of repression and fear of the new regime, which was imposed by force. The P Line bunkers are proof of the political and social tension of the period. The passage of time itself meant that no one cared about them and they were left abandoned, although Garriguella's residents are aware of their existence and they have ended up becoming a ruin of archaeological value.

Geli Anticó's book addresses a little-known reality, widely ignored



Perspective of one of the Garriguella bunkers. JAUME PUIGREDON

except by the locals, of a heritage that is threatened and in danger if initiatives similar to those of Martinet and Garriguella are not repeated elsewhere, which will result in their loss. All this from her professional perspective, highlighting the problems and also proposing solutions that often include citizen initiatives, which are in many cases the driving force behind these collective memory recovery projects. ■

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