

“ECOMUSEUMS, CULTURAL HERITAGE, DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL TOURISM IN THE NORTH OF PORTUGAL”

-Pereiro, X. (2006): “Ecomuseums, cultural heritage, development and cultural tourism in the North of Portugal”, em Richards, G. (coord.): Cultural Tourism: Globalising the local – localising the global. New York: Haworth Press, pp. 195-213.

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Abstract

In my paper I shall analyse the role of museums and cultural heritage for the development of tourism on the border between Trás-os-Montes (the North of Portugal) and Galiza (Spain). This is a rural and urban area of special interest because of the historical and cultural relationships that unite these two regions in their cooperation in the promotion of cultural tourism. I want to analyse the ideas and visions of the development agents on the projects of cultural tourism that Galicians and Portuguese are promoting. At the same time, I shall pay special attention to the role of museums and cultural heritage in the tourist supply and demand. I shall underline the different policies of cultural tourism development in Galiza –Spain- and in Portugal. I shall interpret these local museums and cultural heritage not only as a product but also as a process, in the way that Greg Richards (2001) has used, and as a thematic narrative which is essential for the development and selling of cultural tourism as an alternative way of tourism.

I am going to analyse ethnographic examples of my recent consultancy participation with the Ecomuseum of Barroso (Portugal). The “Ecomuseu do Barroso” is a political project carried out by the Montalegre Council which began in 2001 with the cooperation of the Peneda-Gêres National Park. The Ecomuseum is situated in a mountain area of the North of Portugal, on the border with Galiza –Spain-. At the moment, the ecomuseum means an impulse for the tourism of that area. It can be said that we are observing a new cycle of production, in that the cultural resources are becoming plusvalias for tourist consumption.

From my point of view, the Ecomuseum represents a mirror and a window of the community as Rivière (1989) pointed out, but at the same time a shop window for cultural tourists. The success of this project depends on three profitability's:

1. Firstly, the economic capacity for the creation of employment and wealth.
2. Secondly, the social participation of the community in the project.
3. Thirdly, the political benefits and support of the project.

Furthermore, I am going to compare the Galician and the Portuguese visions of the cultural tourism projects. From the point of view of local development leaders, I am going to explain their understanding of cultural tourism and development. I want to interpret the

mental borders of the leaders as a serious problem for trans-national cooperation in cultural tourism.

1. THE ROLE OF MUSEUMS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT

After the Second World War the “development”¹ has oriented the world politics, but it was not a completely new concept, since it had its basis in the “idea of progress”, according to which the only model of improvement of the quality of the population’s life was the occidental model. The “development” has replaced the previous imperialist and colonialist model, and created another basic concept with which raised a dichotomy: the “underdevelopment”. This dichotomy served to characterise the situation of the “Third World” countries, with fewer capital and technological resources to explore its own resources. This model was inspired initially in the modernization theories of the decade of 1950 and 1960, which defined the development has an economic growth oriented to the market, a growth that would be enough to obtain a social distribution of wealth. Besides that, this model would have as territory the nation, it would follow as model of growth the one from the USA and the one from Europe, and it would end up being permanent once it had come to it.

After that in the 70’s, the theories of independence would change a bit the vision of the concept of development, interpreting the structural causes of inequality and of the unequal exchange between rich and poor countries, promoting a take of action from the State to end up those inequalities. It is already in the 80’s that the concept of development changes of definition and scale, turning to be endogenous, local and bearable². In the 90’s the critics towards the development increase, due essentially to the failure of plenty of its programs, and some authors start to talk about “post-development”³, characterised by the total resistance towards the plans draw by the exterior of the community and the elaboration of cultural alternatives by part of the community. Other authors state that the development is “a new version of the colonial meeting”⁴ that sees the nature as a limited good and therefore with economical value and susceptible of private possession, what made it necessary to abandon this ethnocentric concept. This way the development is an ideological speech that denies the actors and local collectives perceptions, but also a statement of power, historically anchored, that normally is “to” and not “from” or “since” the people and the diversity of the human groups.

In Europe, the development was step by step oriented to the rural world, a rural world which was experiencing a deep transformation. It is relevant to see how, connected to this rural European development, concepts like “community organization”⁵ arise, to distinguish itself from the community development applied in non-occidental contexts. If the “community development” was applicable to the countries economically dependents and underdeveloped, included in the “Third World”, to the colonies of the European countries, to define an effort to make the implied populations participate in the economical and social development plans headed from the tutor governs of the metropolis, by the contrary, the “community organization” would define the effort of organization and of resolution of its own problems from a small place (city, neighbourhood, village), and a way of making their needs and demands be listened by the competent authorities. The “community organization” was wrongly associated to the populations of the industrialised and “rich” countries as well as to the urban populations.

In this line of community organization, the rural development experienced in Europe a very important impulse after 1962, with the entrance in force of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), and also with the creation of the European Regional Economic

Development Fund's programme (FEDER) in 1974. Its purposes was to manage, together with other European institutions, the "regional equilibrium and the development of the economic and social structures" of the country members, through the so called Structural and Cohesion Funds, granted presently to Portugal, Spain and Greece. Generically in this politics we have changed from a productive model, by the time of the birth of the EU, to a "forest keeper" model, especially with the application of the Leader II Programme (1994-1999) of rural development, which granted to the rural world and its inhabitants a more environmental programme. These narratives of power were elaborated in the hegemonic urban world without taking into account the social actors and the right to diversity, and asking the farmers to stop producing and to dedicate themselves to serve the tourists and to take care of the new "garden".

The role that the museums and the cultural heritage had in these processes of development was of great importance in Europe, especially after the 70's. For instance, in England⁶ we were able to count 500 local ethnographic museums in the 80's; these represented a cultural reply to the severe industrial crisis. Another important example was the case of France, where the concept of "ecomuseum"⁷ was elaborated, connected to the politics of natural parks, to surpass the agrarian crisis of the agricultural zones.

In the Peninsula the use of the cultural heritage as a development strategy had place only later than in France and England, and only presently is being discussed and debated. It is in the Peninsula where the museums and the activation of the cultural heritage appear each time more connected to the cultural⁸ tourism and to the vanishing of the agrarian areas of an agricultural world converted each time more into urban⁹. The museums change because of the new requirements and cultural politics, and stop being predominantly places of keeping the treasures to become themselves into "chronotops" of the interpretation of the cultural heritage, while being a symbolic representation of culture for visitors.

2. THE "ECOMUSEU DO BARROSO" WHILE PROJECT OF CULTURAL TOURISM

The use of the culture and also of the cultural heritage while resources, products, experiences and more values have motivated the growth of the cultural tourism (Pereiro, 2002), that is, many cultural elements like the ecomuseums end up being converted into manufactured products for the cultural tourist consumption. This process, very highlighted by authors such as Richards (1996, 2001) or Craik (1997), has also diversified the types of tourism and of tourist.

Following this point of view we can understand the "ecomuseu do Barroso" as a process of reconversion of the rural space and of the rurality into tourist-cultural products. In this new cycle of production what is offered is an anthropological "other" ("native", "exotic", "different"...), that is, a cultural heritage that represents the symbolic of identities and an experience of acquiring cultural capital. I believe that this is an old process, but with new ways, functions and structures that enlarge and democratise the educative experience of the cultural tourism. This way the cultural tourism grows not only by the biggest tourist-cultural search of the late modernity, but also by the great addition of the cultural and patrimonial attractions (Richards, 1996: 14; Richards, 2001) rose to reconvert areas in social-economic crisis. Therefore it increases the cultural tourism but it amends also the up keeping of the natural and cultural heritage (Zeppel and Hall, 1991).

And in which context does the "ecomuseu do Barroso" fits in? In the 70's the "environment", the territory, the population and the cultural heritage start to be part of the concept of museum (Iniesta, 1994: 95-97), thus the formulation of the ecomuseum (Rivière, 1993) as mirror of the identity of the community, laboratory of inquiry,

conservatoire and school. In Portugal this new idea, promoted for the new museology, is going to be spread out a little later, connected to the politics of the natural and national parks. It will be in 1982 with the creation of the first ecomuseum in Portugal, the "Ecomuseum do Seixal" (Days, 1997: 65-70), in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. Promoted by the autarchy, this ecomuseum represents a fundamental icon of the anthropological museology of the country. Years later the ecomuseology will go up on the map of the country heading to the North of the country.

It is in the North of Portugal, as an integrant part of the Trás-os-Montes region and bordering with Galiza, where the Barroso is situated, a micro region that integrates the municipalities of Boticas and Montalegre and that it is part of the Alto Tâmega, a geographic and cultural territory that integrates the municipalities of Boticas, Chaves, Montalegre, Ribeira de Pena, Valpaços and Vila Pouca de Aguiar.

Considering the point of view of the local identity, the Alto Tâmega, a small territory of 2.922 squared kilometres, divides itself in two subunits: The Alto Tâmega - Chaves, Valpaços, Vila Pouca de Aguiar and Ribeira de Pena- and the Barroso - Montalegre and Boticas -. It is also this one the image of tourist promotion that offers the region of tourism of the Alto Tâmega and Barroso, and that in general lines matches with the basin of the Portuguese Alto Tâmega.

The demographic characterization of the Alto Tâmega presents a landscape with losses of population in the last 20 years. In particular, the Barroso loses 31.84% of its population between 1981 and 2001. It is to point out that the rhythm of this loss has decreased since 1991 and that in the Galician side the demographic emptiness is very superior to the one of the Portuguese side¹⁰.

It is in the municipality of Montalegre¹¹, that we can see the bigger line of border with the Galiza (municipalities of Calvos de Randín, Baltar and Cualedro), where the idea of the creation of the "ecomuseu do Barroso" was born. The idea of creating the "ecomuseu do Barroso"¹² appears in the 80's, but will not be taken any effect until the year 2001:

"With an investment of one thousand million escudos- Fernando Rodrigues promises an Ecomuseum.

The "Ecomuseu do Barroso", approved in the last meeting of the Town Hall, is a project of "harmonious development" in the areas of environment and heritage, from which several initiatives are part of. This is the way that the Lord Mayor of Montalegre, Fernando Rodrigues, defines it. These initiatives, many of which are still "ideas", are going to comprise an amount of approximately one thousand million escudos. However, some units that will be created are already outlined, for example, the thematic park of the Minas da Borralha, that will do to keep the heritage of those graves of wolfram, as well as all the quantity of documents related to the history of the mines, that, according to the Mayor, might be used as basis for investigators and scholars that would dedicate themselves to the subject. The creation of small poles in other places, as for example, a species of museu da raia, to portray the activity of the smuggling, or the territorial unit of Rabagão, that will dedicate to the subject of water, are also other examples of projects that are going to be created. The central nucleus of the ecomuseum will have place in the headquarters of the municipality, from the recovery of the castle towers and of some involving houses. Another of the emblematic creations of the ecomuseum will be the so-called Casa do Habitat. We are talking about a set of the ancient and most representative houses of the municipality that are going to be recovered. It will be created there a technical structure of information that will also function as a species of training school in the area of the heritage preservation. But this investment "will only make sense if it gathers the population involvement and contributes for the local economy", remembered Fernando Rodrigues, to conclude that this is a project that has to "move people". The dynamization and spreading of these ideas is being made by a team created to go through with the project." (in Diário de Trás-os-Montes, 22-06-2001)

We have to highlight that the ecomuseum is an instrument of political, social and economical profitability. Following the thesis of Mary Bouquet (2001: 1) the “boom” of the museums has to be put in correlation with the objectivity and the politicisation of the culture. Before that, it was Hugues de Varine (1993: 393) who spread in Rivière the thesis that the ecomuseum was a population’s political instrument. The politics profitability is verified in its origin, by initiative of the Town Hall¹³, which orders a study to the company Quaternaire Portugal¹⁴ and that is going to have as external consulting the great specialist in ecomuseology, the Frenchman Hugues de Varine. This strategy of giving a science view to the project is going to be present in all the implementation process. This study is going to be done by the local technician in a realistic and pragmatic form, since they are the implementers of the proposal and they are the ones having the expertise on the local constraints.

The economic profitability was also present since the beginning associated to the social and political one. The constant concern of the politician in knowing “how much does it cost?”, leads to a constant search of partners, mainly Galician, for the captation of European¹⁵ funds. The economic profitability is also intimately associated with a strategy of tourist development, as lifeguards of this rural space, for which the ecomuseum represents something, like an attraction icon for tourists and hikers. It is true that tourism has some quantitative importance but it is much more important the qualitative point of view and its contribution for the employment and the diversification of the economy in the local territory itself. The Tourism¹⁶ is more and more connected to activities such as fishing, hunting, paragliding, etc., but we cannot forget that part of the municipality of Montalegre is part of the National Park of the Peneda-Gerês, a fundamental tourist area for the municipality. Therefore, and towards this point of view the ecomuseum is considered a necessary tourist-cultural product for the social-economical development of the area.

And if we have in mind the social profitability, the ecomuseum must perform a very important social role that it is to weave the poles of the communitarian hamper, that is, the ecomuseum is to become into an institution that lies between the places, the visitors, the tourists, the school, the university and the public authority. Based on this last perspective the ecomuseum can be thought as an instrument of symbolic reproduction of the society (Iniesta, 1994: 18) that produces cultural images (Pereiro and Vilar, 2002), which convey an ideological speech of the identities.

The ecomuseum can be an instrument for or a project of the community that awakes and involves the participation of the community. In the first case the ecomuseum would follow the paradigm of the cultural democratisation (López de Ceballos and Salas Larrazábal, 1988: 25) according to which the ecomuseum would supply the population with knowledge and know-how about a legitimate cultural legacy. It would be a museum of visitors, spectators and consumers. It is what we call in Spain “cultural extension” and in Portugal “Community Extension”. In the second case the paradigm of the definition would be the one from the cultural democracy (López de Ceballos and Salas Larrazábal, 1988:

25), that is, the ecomuseum would work as an institution that involves the community as an active producer of its culture as well as of its cultural heritage. In this second paradigm, the ecomuseum is of inhabitants, producers and active and conscientious citizens of the reality in which they live in. Thus the ecomuseum would become itself into an institution that would redistribute the cultural power through anti-anomie and animation strategies.

3. THE “FESTA DA MALHADA” AND THE “ROTA DOS ARTESÃOS” AS A TOURIST-CULTURAL PRODUCT: ECOMUSEUM, COMMUNITY AND CULTURAL TOURISM

In the spring of the 2002 and after having launched a proposal of contribution to the “Ecomuseu do Barroso” that later became accepted, we started to programme our cooperation work. We were asked to cooperate in the organization of the party “festa da malhada” in the village of Paredes do Rio (parish of Covelães) and to organize the “rota dos artesãos” (craftsmen track) in the same day of the party, that would this year celebrate its second edition. The work of the field in a village of near 90 inhabitants was began during the month of July, and was leaned over on key informers chosen by the community itself as representative of a certain know-how. Our work consisted, in the beginning, in gaining the confidence of the people of the village, so that soon we could produce reflexive memories on the “traditional craft” knowledge: weaver, basket maker, winder, blacksmith, carpenter, mason, wooden shoes’ maker, baker. With time, people, especially the most aged, started to fondle our work and in a second phase we produced an audiovisual ethnography of the crafts, what constituted, with no doubt, a great event for the people of the village, but it also served as an instrument of mediation and as mirror in the application and return of the anthropologic knowledge produced. This way, we try to democratize the investigation and to deconstruct the cold and distant visions between subject and object to materialize a project of recovery of the value of the people and its knowledge as a main element of cultural heritage.

We must point out that the ritual process of staying overnights allowed us to pass from the initial distrust to the hospitality and also to surpass the “journalistic” and “neo-folklore” visions so typical as topical and reducer of life in the agricultural spaces. After a ritual time, people from the village of Paredes do Rio knew us better than they knew the engineers of the Parque Nacional da Peneda Gerês, something very significant of the distance between subject-object of development practised by some institutions (Escobar: 1995).

The “Festa da Malhada” and the “Rota dos Artesãos” was celebrated on the 10th and 11th of August 2002, under the organization of the Board of Covelães Parish and the Association of Paredes do Rio, together with the cooperation of the Parque Nacional da Peneda-Gerês and the “Ecomuseu do Barroso”. By participating in the party, the locals regained the crop and the old trashing of the rye; they celebrated its identity and auto-interpreted to familiars and visitors its way of life. It is to highlight the way the village inhabitants avoided conscientiously the simple neo-folklore vision of the event, not dressing as in the old times but like nowadays, defending the right to a worthy and hygienic cultural change. In the two days of celebration we could observe and participate in the mowing, in the “carrada da messe”, in the “emedar da messe”, in the “thrashing” and in the “rota dos artesãos”. In these activities, the participation and the involvement of the community had already been intense since some weeks before; strengthen even more by our work of field, that converted the traditionally considered “objects of research” into subjects and agents of the inquiry process. In this point, we want to criticize the emptiness of concepts such as “participation” and “community involvement” that many times is

understood as number of spectators or visitors¹⁷ and other times as simple delivery of objects to the museum.

In the "Rota dos Artesãos" the handicraft was not thought to be seen and not touched in this passive, monotonous and untouchable order like the objects of a conventional museum (García Canclini, 1989: 152); the locals and the visitors could participate in specific productive processes as to saw or to make overcoats made of straw; in the same context of production. Also, in some cases the handicraft products like bread, overcoats made of straw, miniatures of ploughs wooden, etc. had been thought to be seen and to be sold like decorative objects and of private appropriation. This commercialization of old cultural products readjusted for new markets closes new cycles of production and consumption that grant an economic complement to its producers. Besides that the consumer will connect the consumed object to the person who produced that handicraft bought in the context of production itself, therefore without the need of intermediates. This way, the consumer understands better the meaning of the handicraft, diminishes the fetish way of seeing (Guidieri, 1997) the object and its decorative simulacrum (Baudrillard, 1981: 15).

Far from the simple spontaneous creation of the people defined from a romantic vision that imagined pure communities, far also from being a simple process of conversion of memory into merchandise or simple show for tourists consumers of images that were made exotic (García Canclini, 1989), the collective participation has been fundamental in the Party "Festa da Malhada" of the "Ecomuseu do Barroso". We are conscientious that the tourist cargo capacity of a territory can be debilitated by the excess of programmed consumption, something that did not happen in the case that we mentioned, what promoted a more fluid, intense and rich communication between places and visitors, always invited for the allotment of works, knowledge's, food and memories. We think that this factor is basic to encourage an alternative tourism, based on the sociability and in the exchange of symmetrical experiences between host and guest (Smith, 1992), but also in the experience of a cultural practice remade in its context by its protagonists. The ecomuseum becomes this way into a laboratory of meanings, sociability's and emotions, and not only in a simple institution of management and administration of resources.

At the same time and through the involvement of the community the ecomuseum has become into a place of mediation and meeting between the young and the most aged of the village, between the residents in the village and the emigrants who return in the vacations time, between people from village and the city, between Portuguese and Gallegos. Equally, this space of mediation serves to renew and to recreate the limits of the community, expressing also identity tensions with other contiguous villages and populations¹⁸.

The involvement of the community served also to observe how the communities remember (Connerton1989): "I am glad that they remember the old things" (Lady, 80 years approximately, Sunday, 11-8-2002, in the thrashing) it expresses well the idea of how the ecomuseum can serve as a mnemonic-social instrument to remember collectively and also to recognize a debt towards the past. Thus, these activities promoted by the ecomuseum together with the communities are a way of paying the collective effort and also they are a symbolic use of the memory that tries to create social cohesion. The heirs of the cultural heritage complain this way its inheritance.

In its third edition, in 2003, its capital meanings have been strengthened: "remembering traditions" (man, 80 years, 9-08-2003) and to serve as communitarian

animation have been its primary objectives. Celebrated in the summer weather, the party served to strengthen the bonds of the community, not only of the residents in the village, each time less and older, but also of the people who had emigrated to the Portuguese cities or to France. The party also served to politically affirm the role of the autarchy and of the Board of the Parish towards the population of the village, its presence and ritual participation define the importance of these events for the electoral events, not only they serve to remember traditions of the past, but also to remember the present, who governs and who wants to follow governing. The visitors and the tourists, between them a group of 50 Slovenian boy scouts, had a basic importance for the success of the event, therefore to recognize the visitors, its participation, its involvement and its return year after year means to strengthen the value of the cultural activity. The tourists had chance of contact with the people of the village and its cultural practices re-invented and re-created. This is a cultural tourism practice that we teach to the visitors and that does not have a negative impact in the community because the places control their cultural resources. This year's (2003) newness was the fact that the visitors had to pay for participating in the activity. This is another expression of the processes of mercantilization towards which the culture is exposed to, so, for example, it is being debated the idea of closing the village on weekends, so that the visitors would pay to see the work of the local artisan, that in reality are farmers.

4. CULTURAL HERITAGE, TOURISM AND BEYOND BORDER DEVELOPMENT

Being the "ecomuseu do Barroso" a cultural tourism project that can only be understood if fitted in the guided global politics for the agricultural spaces, it is also certain that this project can only be understood in its beyond border context and more concretely in its relations with Galiza. With the museum cooperate, occasionally, the Galician universities as well as the Portuguese, and even museums and other institutions of the two sides of the border. The opportunities and needs for local financing motivate the launching of projects of trans-regional and trans-national cooperation and its application the programmes of European scope as the "Interreg". The new European picture is, this way, changing the life of the people who live around the each time less national borders, rebuilding trans-national and pan-European identities.

Beyond the international politics of development, the Cosmo-vision of local development agents also regulates the projects of teaching our culture to the tourists and its implementation. During our work of cooperation and advising of the "Ecomuseu do Barroso" we had the chance to participate in beyond border candidacies for support with Portuguese and Galician technician and politicians. This experience has served to think about the problems that the binomial tourism-culture brings associated. Here are some of them:

a) The first problem of the beyond border cooperation is the one of the linguistic communication, that in the Portuguese and Galician case is surpassed by the linguistic proximity between the two languages, being able to consider the Galician language as a dialect of the Portuguese. The problems get more complicated when we are dealing with non-Galician Spanish technicians that ignore the linguistic codes Galician-Portuguese, compelling the Galician and Portuguese to undertake a cultural translation for the Spaniard. The Portuguese and the Galician normally understand the Spaniard much better than the Spaniard the Galician or the Portuguese.

b) The second problem that we observe is the lack of information in cultural tourism and heritage. This limits a lot the projects and its development, because without the

capacity to interpret the ways of life of the human groups, we can hardly help to improve its conditions of life.

c) The third observed problem is the creation of equal or similar cultural products to the neighbouring municipality, without coordination of its tourist-patrimonial offers. What happens is a process of mimesis and uncritical imitation of neighbouring examples. This leads to constructing a tourist-cultural offer very similar; little differentiated and disarranged. Examples: In a beyond border candidacy for the program "Interreg III-A", the municipality of Muíños (Galiza) considered to recoup several ovens, the same thing that the neighbouring municipality of Calvos de Randín (Galiza) and of Montalegre (Portugal). In the same candidacy all Galician municipalities wanted to create an ethnographic museum, face to the Portuguese idea of "ecomuseum". The four municipalities of the mentioned candidacy (Muíños, Calvos de Randín, Baltar and Montalegre) intended to create belvederes, centres of tourist information and eatable parks.

d) The projects are normally thought as simple necessary infrastructures, but with null or weak cultural programming. The result is the creation of empty continents of content, badly used and without positive impacts on the local communities and tourists. People think that the simple architectonic recouping of an old oven is sufficient to having the tourists visiting it.

e) When we speak of cultural heritage, technicians tend to reduce it to the constructed heritage, reducing this way the communities paper as well as its needs: "We do not thank you for fixing the oven but for getting them a job" (agent of development, 40 years approximately, Montalegre, 7-10-2002).

In synthesis, the cultural tourism appears in the bordered context transmontano-Galego as a strategy development face to the demographic abandonment of the agricultural space and the difficult socio-economic reproduction, a problem shared by the two sides of the ray, though with different answers. In the Portuguese case, the "ecomuseu do Barroso" is a reply towards the emigration, the abandonment of the country and the difficult relief, that bets on the culture as a tool of integral development. The party "da malhada" in Paredes do Rio, fitted in the activities of the ecomuseum represents an experience of contact and intercultural communication between the urban world and the agricultural world, towards which a debt is recognized.

In the present case we neither destroy the local cultures nor we put the people in zoos, however alternative forms of ethical and responsible cultural tourism are assayed, that is, the cultural and patrimonial resources are not seen exclusively as something to the service of the tourism. These resources are converted into products, but cannot be consumed the same way the other type of products, because what it is in scene is the human experience and the active transmission of a lived culture.

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- RICHARDS, G. (2001): "The Development of Cultural Tourism in Europe", in Richards, G. (ed.): *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*. Oxon: Cabi, pp. 3-29.
- RIVIÈRE, G. H. (1993, or. 1989) : *La museología. Curso de museología. Textos y testimonios*. Madrid: Akal, pp. 392-395.
- SMITH, V. e outros (1992): *Anfitriones e Invitados. Antropología del Turismo*, Madrid, Endymión.
- STURTEVANT, W. (1969): *Does anthropology need museums? Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington* n.º 82, pp. 619-650.
- ZEPPEL, H. e HALL, C.M. (1991): "Selling Art and History: Cultural Heritage and Tourism", in *The Journal of Turism Studies*, vol. 2, n.º 1, pp. 29-45.

¹ It is also relevant that, by that time, namely in 1948, in the “Cambridge Conference on African Administration”, sponsored by the “British Colonial Office”, it was used by the first time the concept of “community development” instead of “mass education”. So the concept had a colonial root and it was intimacy connected to the comunitarian education and the social work with communities. See:

-Willigen, J. V. (1986): *Applied Anthropology: An Introduction*. South Hadley: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, p. 94.

About the different theories of the development see these two syntheses:

-Monreal, P. e Gimeno, J.C. (eds.)(1999): *La controversia del desarrollo. Críticas desde la antropología*. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata.

-Fernández de Larrinoa, K. (2000): *La cosecha pendiente. De la intervención económica a la infraestructura cultural y comunitaria en el medio rural*. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata.

² “A process of change in which the resources exploitation, the investments direction, the technological development orientation and the institutional changes are consequent with the present and future needs” (Report of Brundtland from the World Commission on Environment and Development: 1987). See:

-WCED (1987): *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 9.

This notion balances the relation between the environment, resources and economical development, it defines the welfare conditions at long term and defines the development has a process of collective apprenticeship distant from paternal relationships. The report made by the Prime Minister of Norway, also defines the necessary intervention instruments to carry out this notion.

³ Rahnama, M. and Bawtree, V. (eds.)(1997): *The Post-Development Reader*. London: Zed Books.

⁴ Escobar, A. (1995): *Encountering Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

⁵ The communitarian organization appeared as a concept in 1955, emphasising the notion of process.

“The communitarian organization... is a process thanks to which a community can identify its needs or goals, it gives them an order of priority, adds trust in itself and its willing to work to satisfy those needs or goals, finds the internal and/or external resources to its achievement or satisfaction, acts towards those needs or those goals and manifests attitudes and cooperation practices in the community.” (Ross, M. G.(1955): *Community Organization: Theory, Principles and Practice*. New York: Harper International, p. 40)

⁶ Walsh, K. (1992): *The representation of the past: museums and heritage in the post-modern world*. London: Rutledge. See also: Richards, G. (1996): “Introduction: Culture and Tourism in Europe”, in *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. Oxon: Cab International, pp. 3-17.

⁷ In 1971 a lunch work has place in Paris in which H. Varine, Riviere and Berge Antoine – conseilour of the environment minister Robert Poujade – were present. In September 1971 Robert Poujade enumerates the concept of “ECOMUSEUM” in the 9th ICOM conference. The conecpt is marked by the initiatives in favour of the sustained development and in harmony with the environment:

- Ecologic orientation.
- Instrument for the popular participation
- Territory regulation.
- Population conscious awareness
- Situates objects in its context, preserves local skills and knowledges, educates and make people aware of the value of the cultural heritage.

According to Lévi-Strauss, a source of the ecomuseums goes back to the last century, to the universal exhibitions of 1867 and 1889. The fundamental concern was towards the daily

reproduction and the ways of living. The difference in the XIXth century in which the perspective was the space (different human groups at the same time but in different places), nowadays the concern is the time (different societies in the same space but with different times).

- A) Time is seen in its different dimensions: Past, present and future
- B) An ecomuseum implies to interpret the different spaces that set up a landscape.
- C) It implies to have a lab where the historic and anthropological study is made, but also the specialist training and others.
- D) A conservatory institute dedicated to the cultural and natural heritage valorization
- E) A scale in which the populations would participate in the resource and protection actions, teaching them to be aware to their problems and to participate actively in their resolution.
- F) It is very important to think that the word "ecomuseum" is only a word, since all the museums can develop programs of popular participation and contribute to the community development.
- G) An ecomuseum is in narrow articulation with the ethnological heritage.

See: Riviére, G. H. (1989): La museología: curso de museología, textos y testimonio. Madrid: Akal.

⁸ About cultural tourism see the internet page of Prof. Xerardo Pereiro: www.miranda.utad.pt/~xerardo

⁹ The Prof. Xerardo Pereiro as used this concept in his doctorate thesis to refer a social hybrid archetype that defines the rural world transformation in virtue of an urbanization process that empowers that hybridism. We break this way with the false dichotomy rural/urban by being incapable of explaining the new processes. See: -Pereiro Pérez, X. (2002): Galegos de Vila. Antropoloxía dun espacio rurano. Santiago de Compostela: Sotelo Blanco (no prelo).

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Table 1: POPULATION VARIATION LIVING IN ALTO TÂMEGA (1981-2001)

Municipality	1981	1991	2001	Variation 1981-2001
Boticas	8773	7936	6411	-2362
Chaves	45883	40940	43558	-2325
Montalegre	19403	15464	12792	-6611
Ribeira de Pena	10796	8504	7406	-3390
Valpaços	26066	22586	19374	-6692
Vila Pouca de Aguiar	20121	17081	14962	-5159
Total	131042	112511	104503	(20,25%) -26539

Source: INE (National Statistic Institute)

Table 2: TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN ALTO TÂMEGA

Municipality	Square Km	N.º of municipalities	Square Km by municipality	Inhabitants by square km in 2001
Boticas	322	16	20,2	23,7
Chaves	590	50	11,8	68,2
Montalegre	806	35	23	17,8
Ribeira de Pena	218	7	31,1	37,4
Valpaços	553	31	17,8	39,4
Vila Pouca de Aguiar	433	17	25,5	38,2
Total	2922	156	18,73	35,76

Source: INE (1996)

Table 3: TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN LIMIA (GALIZA)

Municipality	Square Km	N.º of municipalities	Square Km by municipality	Inhabitants by square km in 2001
Calvos de Randín	97,97	9	10,88	12,84
Baltar	93,90	7	13,41	13,25
Cualedro	117,50	10	11,75	20,86
Os Blancos	47,40	7	6,77	26,79
Xinzo de Limia	132,30	20	6,61	74,34
Total	489,07	53	9,22	32,83

Source: Galician Statistic Institute –IGE– (2001) and own elaboration

Quadro 4: POPULATION VARIATION LIVING IN LIMIA (GALIZA)

Municipality	1981	1991	2001	Variation 1981-2001
Calvos de Randín	2074	2044	1258	-786
Baltar	4018	1867	1245	-2773
Cualedro	5642	2658	2452	-3190
Os Blancos	2216	1272	1270	-946
Xinzo de Limia	10544	9170	9836	-708
Total	24494	17011	16061	-8433 (32,42%)

Source: IGE and own elaboration.

¹¹ There is a vast literature on the Barroso, without trying to be exhaustive let's quote the following:

-DA CRUZ, B. (2000): A Loba. Vigo: Xerais.

-DIAS GUIMARÃES, R. (2002): O falar do Barroso. Montalegre: Câmara Municipal.

-LOURENÇO FONTES, A (1992): Etnografia transmontana. Vol. 1: Crenças e tradições do Barroso. Lisboa: Editorial Domingos Barreira.

-ROCHA, J. G. (coord.)(2001): Barroso e suas Histórias de Vida. Mantalegre: Câmara Municipal

-SANTOS DIAS, M. A (2002): Montalegre. Terras de Barroso. Montalegre: Câmara Municipal de Montalegre.

On the internet we can find some interesting sites: www.cm-montalegre.espigueiro.pt/

¹² We thank Dr. João Azenha for this information (anthropologist from the “ecomuseu do Barroso”) and Dr. David Teixeira (responsible for the ecomuseum management).

¹³ See www.espigueiro.pt/noticias

¹⁴ PÉREZ BABO, E. (coord.) (2001): Estudo de concepção e de programação do Ecomuseu do Barroso (inédito).

¹⁵ Since the implementation of the “Ecomuseu do Barroso” applications to the European Programme INTERREG have been prepared, one of them with the municipality of Sarria (Lugo-Galiza) subordinated to the theme of Tracks of Santiago de Compostela (See newspaper “El Progreso” de Lugo, 8-8-2002), another with Calvos de Randín, Muíños and Baltar (Ourense-Galiza), subordinated to the theme “Couto Mixto”, a kind of “Andorra” Galician-Portuguese till the ends of the XIX century. On this case see:

-GARCÍA MAÑÁ, L. M. (1988): La frontera hispano-lusa en la provincia de Ourense. Ourense: Boletín Auriense-Museo Arqueológico de Ourense.
 -GARCÍA MAÑÁ, L. M.(1996): "Apuntes sobre a evolución da fronteira Galego-Portuguesa", en Boletín do Instituto de Estudos Vigueses n.º 2, pp. 231-239.
 -GARCÍA MAÑÁ, L. M. (2000): O Couto Mixto: Unha República Esquecida. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo.

¹⁶ The visitors of the Tourism Office of Montalegre in the years 1998 and 1999 can be used as a guide orientation of the visitors and tourists source, these were the following:

	Portugal	Spain	France	United kingdom	Germany	Holand
1998	939	105	107	61	27	8
1999	1433	121	108	64	14	15

Source: Tourism Office of Montalegre

And since the tourist offer is each time more important lets see the accommodation:

	Number	Rooms	Aproximate Price/night
Hotels	1	42	55-89 euros
Ins and Guest houses	2	34	45-90 euros
Boarding houses and residencial	1	7	20-30 euros
Rural Tourism	3	23	25-80 euros
Private places	1	6	80 euros

Source: own elaboration

¹⁷ A work on the museums from the North of Portugal through a quantitative and mercantilist perspective:

-HERRERO PRIETO, L. C.; TERROSO CEPEDA, F.; FIGUEIRA, J. J., ODETE FERNANDES, P. (2001): "Diagnóstico socioeconómico y valoración del turismo cultural de museos", me Nieto González, J. R.; Serrano-Piedecabras Fernández, L. e Herrero Prieto, L. C.: El patrimonio histórico en el río Duero. Zamora: Fundación Rei Afonso Henriques.

¹⁸ The name of the Parish is Covelães, constituted by two villages, Paredes do Rio and Covelães that compete one with the other for the Board of Parish. Answering that identity tension only a few people from Covelães have participated in the trashing in Paredes do Rio.

In the weekend that followed the trashing in Paredes do Rio (2002), in the parish of the villa another trashing was organized that, according to the speech of one of the organizers it would be much more authentic since it would follow more "traditional" patterns than those from Paredes do Rio on how to use the old days clothing. This is a social mimetic process very common in the invention and fabrication of traditions.