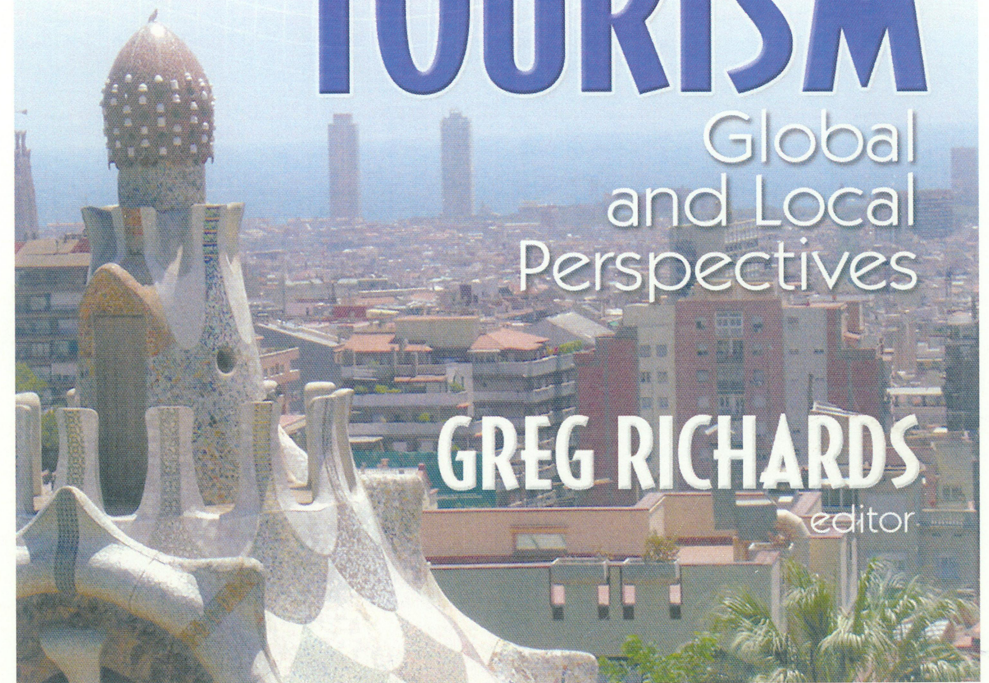ATLAS

CULTURAL TOURISM

Global
and Local
Perspectives

GREG RICHARDS
editor

Chapter 10

Ecomuseums, Cultural Heritage, Development, and Cultural Tourism in the North of Portugal

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THE DEVELOPMENT ROLE OF MUSEUMS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

After World War II, "development"[1] dominated world politics, but it was not a completely new concept, since it had its origins in the "idea of progress," according to which the only model of improvement of the quality of peoples' lives was the occidental model. "Development" has replaced the previous imperialist and colonialist model, and created another basic concept with which it formed a dichotomy: "underdevelopment." This dichotomy served to characterize the situation of the "Third World" countries, with fewer capital and technological means to exploit their own resources. This model was inspired initially by the modernization theories of the 1950s and 1960s, which defined development as economic growth oriented to the market, a growth that would be sufficient to support the social distribution of wealth. In addition, this model was based on the nation state, it followed a model of growth from the United States and Europe, and it became a permanent feature of national economies.

In the 1970s, theories of independence changed to some extent the concept of development, emphasizing the structural causes of inequality and the unequal exchange between rich and poor countries,

promoting state intervention to end these inequalities. By the 1980s the concept of development had changed definition and scale, becoming endogenous, local, and sustainable.[2] In the 1990s critical views of development increased, due essentially to the failure of many of its programs, and some authors started to talk about "postdevelopment" (Rahnema and Bawtree, 1997), characterized by total resistance to externally driven development and the proposal of cultural alternatives by the community. Other authors state that development is "a new version of the colonial system" (Escobar, 1995), which sees nature as a limited good that therefore has economic value and is susceptible to private possession, which made it necessary to abandon this ethnocentric concept. Development is therefore an ideological discourse that denies the importance of the local and the collective, but which is also a historically anchored statement of power, that flows "to" and not "from" the people and the diversity of human groups.

In Europe, development became more oriented to a rural world that was experiencing deep transformation. We can see how concepts like "community organization"[3] arose in the context of rural European development, to create a distinction with community development in non-occidental contexts. If "community development" was applicable to the economically dependent and underdeveloped countries included in the "Third World" and to the former colonies of the European countries, it was as part of an effort to make these countries participate in economic and social development plans created in the developed world. On the contrary, "community organization" indicated grassroots efforts to organize and resolve problems locally, and make their needs and demands known to the competent authorities. "Community organization" was wrongly associated with the people of the industrialized and "rich" countries as well as with urban populations.

In this line of community organization, rural development in Europe experienced a very important impulse after 1962, with the creation of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), and in 1974 with the establishment of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The purpose of the ERDF was to manage, together with other European institutions, the "regional equilibrium and the development of the economic and social structures" of the member countries, through the so-called Structural and Cohesion Funds, granted initially to Portugal, Spain, and Greece. Policies changed from a productive model, at the time of the birth of the EU, to a "conservation" model, especially with the application of the Leader II Program of rural development (1994-1999), which granted to the rural world and its inhabitants a more environmental program. These narratives of power were elaborated in the hegemonic urban world without taking into account the social actors and the right to diversity, by asking the farmers to stop producing and to dedicate themselves to serving the tourists and to taking care of the new "garden."

The role of museums and cultural heritage in these processes of development was of great importance in Europe, especially after the 1970s. For instance, in England there were 500 local ethnographic museums in the 1980s (Walsh, 1992); these represented a cultural reply to the severe industrial crisis. Another important example was the case of France, where the concept of the "ecomuseum"[4] was developed, connected to the politics of natural parks, to overcome the agrarian crisis of rural regions.

In the Iberian Peninsula the use of cultural heritage as a development strategy took place later than in France and England, and is only now being discussed and debated. Iberian museums and cultural heritage appear increasingly connected to cultural tourism and to an urbanizing agricultural world (see Pereiro Peréz, 2003, 2005). The museums change because of the new requirements and cultural politics, and stop being predominantly places of conservation to turn themselves into "chronotypes" of cultural heritage interpretation, while being a symbolic representation of culture for visitors.

THE ECOMUSEU DO BARROSO AS A CULTURAL TOURISM PROJECT

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

From this point of view we can understand the Ecomuseu do Barroso as a process of conversion of the rural space and of 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 symbolic identities and an experience of acquiring cultural capital. I believe that this is an old process, but with new means, functions, and structures that enlarge and democratize the educative experience of cultural tourism. In this way cultural tourism grows not only through the tourist search for authenticity in late modernity, but also through the growth of cultural and heritage attractions (Richards, 1996:14; Richards, 2001) built to restructure areas in socialeconomic crisis. Therefore cultural tourism increases and the conservation of the natural and cultural heritage increases at the same time (Zeppel and Hall, 1991).

In what context does the Ecomuseu do Barroso fit? In the 1970s the "environment," the territory, the population, and the cultural heritage started to be part of the museum concept (Iniesta, 1994:95-97), leading to the formulation of the ecomuseum (Riviére, 1993) as a mirror of community identity, a laboratory of inquiry, conservatory, and school. In Portugal this new idea, promoted by the new museology, was disseminated a little later, connected to the development policies of the natural and national parks. It was 1982 before the first ecomuseum, the Ecomuseum do Seixal (Dias, 1997:65-70) was opened 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 ecomuseum concept began to spread around the country.

The Barroso is situated in the north of Portugal, in the Trás-os-Montes region on the border with Galiza (Galicia, Spain). It is in a micro region that includes the municipalities of Boticas and Montalegre and forms part of the Alto Tâmega, a geographic and cultural territory that incorporates the municipalities of Boticas, Chaves, Montalegre, Ribeira de Pena, Valpaços, and Vila Pouca de Aguiar.

From the point of view of local identity, the Alto Tâmega, a small territory of 2,922 square kilometers, divides itself in two subunits: the Alto Tâmega—Chaves, Valpaços, Vila Pouca de Aguiar, and Ribeira de Pena—and the Barroso—Montalegre and Boticas. This is also the image the tourist promotion of the region offers of the Alto Tâmega and Barroso, which in general matches that of the basin of the Portuguese Alto Tâmega.

The demographic profile of the Alto Tâmega presents a landscape with losses of population in the last 20 years. In particular, the Barroso lost 31.84 percent of its population between 1981 and 2001. It should be pointed out that the pace of this loss has decreased since 1991 and that on the Galician side of the border the demographic losses are greater than on the Portuguese side (Tables 10.1 to 10.4).

TABLE 10.1. Population living in Alto Tâmega (1981-2001).

Municipality	1981	1991	2001	Variation 1981-2001
Boticas	8,773	7,936	6,411	–22,362
Chaves	45,883	40,940	43,558	–22,325
Montalegre	19,403	15,464	12,792	–26,611
Ribeira de Pena	10,796	8,504	7,406	–23,390
Valpaços	26,066	22,586	19,374	–26,692
Vila Pouca de Aguiar	20,121	17,081	14,962	–25,159
Total	131,042	112,511	104,503	–226,539 (–20.25%)

Source: INE (National Statistic Institute).

TABLE 10.2. Territorial distribution of the population in Alto Tâmega.

Municipality	Km²	No. of parishes	Km² per parish	Inhabitants per Km² 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	2,922	156	18.73	35.76

Source: INE (1996).

TABLE 10.3. Territorial distribution of the population in Limia (Galiza).

Municipality	Km²	No. of parishes	Km² per parish	Inhabitants per Km² 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 data.

TABLE 10.4. Population variation in Limia (Galiza).

Municipality	1981	1991	2001	Variation 1981-2001
Calvos de Randín	2,074	2,044	1,258	–2,786
Baltar	4,018	1,867	1,245	–22,773
Cualedro	5,642	2,658	2,452	–23,190
Os Blancos	2,216	1,272	1,270	–2,946
Xinzo de Limia	10,544	9,170	9,836	–2,708
Total	24,494	17,011	16,061	–28,433 (–232.42%)

Source: IGE and own data.

It is in the municipality of Montalegre where the idea of the creation of the Ecomuseu do Barroso was born. Montalegre has the longest border with Galiza (municipalities of Calvos de Randín, Baltar, and Cualedro). There is a considerable body of literature on the Barroso region, including Lourenço Fontes, 1992; Da Cruz, 2000; Rocha, 2001; Dias Guimarães, 2002; Santos Dias, 2002; see also www.cm-montalegre.espigueiro.pt. The idea of creating the Ecomuseu do Barroso arose in the 1980s, but was not effected until the year 2001 (Dr. João Azenha and Dr. David Teixeira, personal communication, 2003):

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 comprises several initiatives. 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 cost approximately one thousand million escudos (€5,000,000). However, some units that will be created are already outlined. For example, the thematic park of the Minas da Borralha, which will preserve the heritage of the wolfram mines, as well as all the documents related to the history of the mines, which, according to the mayor, might be used as a basis for investigators and scholars to study the subject. The creation of small poles in other places, as for example, a *museu da raia,* to portray the activity of smuggling, or the territorial unit of Rabagão, that will be dedicated to the subject of water. The central nucleus of the ecomuseum will be in the headquarters of the municipality, from the restoration of the castle towers and of some 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 restored. A technical structure of information will be created that will also function as a kind of training school in the area of heritage preservation. But this investment "will only make sense if it gathers the population involvement and contributes to the local economy," said Fernando Rodrigues, to conclude that this is a project that has to "move people." The dynamization and spreading of these ideas is being undertaken by a team created to carry out the project. (in *Diário de Trás-os-Montes,* 22-06-2001)

We have to emphasize that the ecomuseum is a political, social, and economical instrument. Following the thesis of Mary Bouquet (2001:1) the museum "boom" was related to the objectivization and the politicization of culture. Before that, it was the Frenchman Hugues de Varine (1993:393) who propagated in Rivière the thesis that the ecomuseum was a political instrument for the people. The

political dimension is verified in its origin, in an initiative of the Town Hall,[5] which commissioned a study from the company Quaternaire Portugal (Pérez Babo, 2001), who employed Hugues de Varine as external consultant. This strategy of giving a scientific view to the project will be present throughout the implementation process. This study is going to be carried out by local technicians in a realistic and pragmatic form, since they are the implementers of the proposal and they are the ones with expertise on the local context.

Economic factors were also taken into account at the beginning of the project, along with social and political dimensions. The constant concern of the politician to know "How much does it cost?" leads to a constant search for partners, mainly Galician, in order to secure European[6] funds. Economic benefits are also intimately associated with a strategy of tourist development, for which the ecomuseum represents an attraction or icon for tourists and hikers. It is true that tourism has some quantitative importance but it is much more important from the qualitative point of view and its contribution to employment and the diversification of the local economy. Tourism 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 within the National Park of the Peneda-Gerês, a fundamental tourist area for the municipality (see Tables 10.5 and 10.6). Therefore, from this point of view the ecomuseum is considered a necessary tourist-cultural product for the social-economic development of the area.

In terms of social impacts, the ecomuseum must perform a very important social role if it is to mediate 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 of as an instrument of symbolic reproduction of society (Iniesta, 1994:18) that produces cultural images (Pereiro Peréz and Vilar, 2002), which convey an ideological discourse of identities.

TABLE 10.5. Number of visitors to the tourism office of Montalegre, 1998 and 1999.

Visitor origin	Portugal	Spain	France	UK	Germany	Holland
1998	939	105	107	61	27	8
1999	1433	121	108	64	14	15

Source: Tourism Office of Montalegre.

TABLE 10.6. Tourism accommodation supply in Montalegre.

Accommodation	Establishments	Rooms	Approximate price/night
Hotels	1	42	55-89 euros
Inns and guest houses	2	34	45-90 euros
Boarding houses and residences	1	7	20-30 euros
Rural tourism	3	23	25-80 euros
Private houses	1	6	80 euros

Source: Own data.

The ecomuseum can be an instrument for or a project of the community that awakens and stimulates community participation. In the first case, the ecomuseum would follow the paradigm of cultural democratization (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 is derived from 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 belongs to the inhabitants, producers, and active and conscientious citizens of the region. Thus the ecomuseum would become an institution that would redistribute cultural power through anti-anomie and animation strategies.

THE FESTA DA MALHADA AND THE ROTA DOS ARTESÃOS: ECOMUSEUM, COMMUNITY, AND CULTURAL TOURISM

In the spring of 2002, after having successfully launched a proposal for contributing to the Ecomuseu do Barroso, we started to

program our cooperation work. We were asked to cooperate in the organization of the festival Festa da Malhada in the village of Paredes do Rio (parish of Covelães) and to organize the Rota dos Artesãos (crafts route) on the same day as the festival, which was celebrating its second edition. The fieldwork in a village of nearly ninety inhabitants began during the month of July, and was based on key informants chosen by the community itself as representative of local expertise. Our work consisted, in the beginning, of gaining the confidence of the people of the village, so that soon we could produce reflexive memories of "traditional craft" knowledge: the weaver, basket maker, blacksmith, carpenter, mason, wooden shoemaker, baker, etc. With time, people, especially the most elderly, started to appreciate our work, and in a second phase we produced an audiovisual ethnography of the crafts, which constituted, without doubt, a great event for the people of the village, but it also served as an instrument of mediation and to reflect the application and return of the anthropologic knowledge produced. In this way, we tried to democratize the research 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 overnight allowed us to overcome the initial distrust of the locals and also to surpass the "journalistic" and "neo-folklore" visions so typical as an interpretation of life in rural areas. After a time, people from the village of Paredes do Rio knew us better than they knew the engineers of the Parque Nacional da Peneda Gerês, which reveals the distance between subject-object of development practiced by some institutions (Escobar, 1995).

The Festa da Malhada and the Rota dos Artesãos were celebrated on August 10 and 11, 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 festival, the locals harvested the crops and participated in the treshing of the rye; they celebrated their identity and interpreted their culture to friends and visitors. The village inhabitants conscientiously avoided the simple neo-folklore vision of the event, not dressing as in the old times but in modern clothes, defending their right to a worthy 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 threshing, and in the rota dos artesãos. In these activities, the participation and the involvement of the community had already been intense for some weeks; strengthened even more by our fieldwork, which converted the traditional "objects of research" into subjects and agents of the inquiry process. At this point, we want to criticize the emptiness of concepts such as "participation" and "community involvement" that are often equated with the number of spectators or visitors (Herrero Prieto et al., 2001) and sometimes with the simple delivery of objects to the museum.

In the Rota dos Artesãos crafts objects were not thought of as artifacts to be seen and not touched in the passive, monotonous, and distant manner of a conventional museum (García Canclini, 1989:152); the locals and the visitors could participate in specific productive processes such as sawing or making overcoats of straw, in the original context of production. Also, in some cases the craft products, such as bread, straw overcoats, miniatures of wooden ploughs, etc. had been sold as decorative objects for private appropriation. This commercialization of old cultural products adapted for new markets creates new cycles of production and consumption that provide economic support to their producers. In addition, the consumer can connect the object to the person who produced it, and the context of production itself, without the need for intermediaries. In this way, the consumer understands better the meaning of the craft object, diminishing the fetishist way of seeing the object (Guidieri, 1997) 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 displays for tourists, or consumers of exotic images (García Canclini, 1989), collective participation has been fundamental in the Festa da Malhada festival of the Ecomuseu do Barroso. We are conscious that the tourist-carrying capacity of a territory can be debilitated by the excess of programmed consumption, something that did not happen in the case of the festival, which promoted more fluid, intense, and rich communication between local people and visitors, who were invited to participate in work, the sharing of knowledge, food, and

memories. We think that this factor is basic to encourage an alternative form of tourism, based on sociability and on the exchange of symmetrical experiences between host and guest (Smith, 1989), but also on the experience of a cultural practice re-created in its context by its protagonists. The ecomuseum becomes in this way a laboratory of meanings, sociabilities, and emotions, and not only a simple institution of management and administration of resources.

Through the involvement of the community, the ecomuseum has become a place of mediation and meeting between the young and old in the village, between residents and emigrants who return for their summer holidays, between people from the village and the city, between Portuguese and Galician people. Equally, this space of mediation serves to renew and to re-create the limits of the community, expressing also identity tensions with neighboring villages and populations.[7]

The involvement of the community also showed how the communities remember (Connerton, 1989): "It is very good that they remember the old things" (woman, about 80 years old, Sunday, 11-8-2002, participating in the threshing). This expresses well the idea that the ecomuseum can serve as a mnemonic-social instrument to aid in remembering collectively and also to recognize a debt toward the past. Thus, these activities promoted by the ecomuseum together with the communities are a way of supporting collective effort, and also they are a symbolic use of the memory that tries to create social cohesion. In this way, the heirs to the cultural heritage are involved in its maintenance.

In the third edition of the festival, in 2003, its meanings were strengthened: "Remembering traditions" (man, 80 years, 9-8-2003) and creating communitarian animation became its primary objectives. Celebrated in the summer, the festival served to strengthen the bonds of the community, not only of the residents, each time fewer and older, but also of the people who had emigrated to the Portuguese cities or to France. The festival also served to politically affirm the role of the autarchy and of the Parish Board toward the population of the village, their presence and ritual participation defining the political importance of these events, not only because they serve to remember traditions of the past, but also to remember the present, who governs and who wants to govern. The visitors and the tourists, among them a group of 50 Slovenian Boy Scouts, had a shared investment in

the success of the event, and recognizing the visitors, their participation, involvement, and return, year after year, strengthens the value of the cultural activity. The tourists had the chance to make contact with the people of the village and their reinvented and re-created cultural practices. This is a cultural tourism practice that we teach to the visitors and that does not have a negative impact on the community because the local people control their own cultural resources. The major innovation in 2003 was the fact that the visitors had to pay for participating in the festival. This is another expression of the processes of mercantilization that culture is exposed to. So, for example, the idea of closing the village at weekends is being debated, so that the visitors would pay to see the work of the local artisans, who in reality are farmers.

CULTURAL HERITAGE, TOURISM, AND CROSS-BORDER DEVELOPMENT

The Ecomuseu do Barroso is a cultural tourism project that can only be understood in the context of the global politics of rural spaces, its cross-border context, and more concretely in its relations with Galiza. The museum cooperates occasionally with Galician as well as Portuguese universities, and even museums and other institutions on both sides of the border. The opportunities and needs for local financing motivate the launching of projects of transregional and transnational cooperation through European programs such as Interreg. The new European picture is, this way, changing the life of the people who live around the decreasingly national borders, rebuilding transnational and pan-European identities.

Beyond the international politics of development, the cosmopolitan vision of local development agents also regulates projects for disseminating our culture to tourists and their implementation. During our work with the Ecomuseu do Barroso, we had the chance to participate in cross-border activities with Portuguese and Galician technicians and politicians. This experience has helped us to think about the problems associated with the binomial tourism-culture. Here are some of them:

1. The first problem of cross-border cooperation is one of linguistic communication, which in the Portuguese and Galician case is reduced by linguistic proximity, the Galician language being closely related to Portuguese. The problems get more complicated when we are dealing with non-Galician Spanish technicians who ignore the linguistic codes of Galician-Portuguese, compelling the Galicians and Portuguese to undertake cultural translation for them. The Portuguese and the Galicians normally understand the Spanish much better than the Spanish understand the Galicians or the Portuguese.

2. The second problem that we observe is the lack of training and education in cultural tourism and heritage. This limits the projects a lot, because without the capacity to interpret the ways of life of communities, we can hardly help to improve their conditions of life.

3. The third observed problem is the creation of similar cultural products in neighboring municipalities, without any coordination of supply. There is a process of mimesis and uncritical imitation of neighboring examples. This leads to very similar, undifferentiated, and disorganized tourist-cultural offer. For example, in a cross-border proposal for the program Interreg III-A, the municipality of Muíños (Galiza) proposed renovating several ovens, exactly the same activity as the neighboring municipalities of Calvos de Randín (Galiza) and Montalegre (Portugal). In the same proposal, all the Galician municipalities wanted to create an ethnographic museum, as opposed to the Portuguese idea of an "ecomuseum." The four municipalities involved (Muíños, Calvos de Randín, Baltar, and Montalegre) intended to create belvederes, centers of tourist information, and parks.

4. The projects are normally conceived of in terms of infrastructure, but with little or no cultural programming. The result is the creation of facilities empty of content, poorly used, and without positive impacts on the local communities and tourists. People think that the simple architectural restoration of an old oven is sufficient to encourage tourists to visit it.

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

In synthesis, cultural tourism appears in the cross-border context of Transmontano-Galego as a strategy of development to address the depopulation of rural areas and the difficult socioeconomic situation, problems shared by the two sides of the border, although they have different strategies for dealing with them. In the Portuguese case, the Ecomuseu do Barroso is a response to emigration—the abandonment of the countryside and the difficult terrain—that sees culture as a tool of integral development. The da Malhada festival in Paredes do Rio, in the context of the activities of the ecomuseum, represents an experience of contact and intercultural communication between the urban world and the rural world, toward which a debt is recognized.

In the present case we neither destroy the local cultures nor do we put the people in zoos; however, alternative forms of ethical and responsible cultural tourism are developed so that cultural and heritage resources are not seen exclusively as tourism resources. These resources are converted into products, but cannot be consumed the same way as other types of products, because they essentially consist of human experience and the active transmission of a lived culture.

NOTES

1. It is also relevant that the 1948 "Cambridge Conference on African Administration," sponsored by the "British Colonial Office," used the concept of "community development" instead of "mass education" for the first time. So the concept had a colonial root, and it was intimately connected to comunitarian education and social work with comunities. See Willigen, J. V. (1986:94). On the different theories of the development, see the syntheses by Monreal and Gimeno (1999) and Fernández de Larrinoa, K. (2000).

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" (WCED, 1987:9).

3. The communitarian organization appeared as a concept in 1955, emphasizing 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 willing to work to satisfy those needs or goals, finds the internal and/or external resources to its achievement or satisfaction, acts toward those needs or those goals, and manifests attitudes and cooperation practices in the community" (Ross, 1955:40).

4. In 1971 a working lunch took place in Paris in which H. Varine, Riviere, and Berge Antoine-adviser of the environment minister Robert Poujade—were present. In September 1971, Robert Poujade enumerated the concept of the "ecomuseum" in the ninth ICOM conference. The concept is marked by initiatives in favor of the sustained development and in harmony with the environment:

- Ecological orientation
- Instrument for the popular participation
- Territorial regulation
- Population conscious awareness
- Situates objects in its context, preserves local skils and knowledge, educates, and makes people aware of the value of the cultural heritage

According to Lévi-Strauss, the origin of the ecomuseums goes back to the nineteenth century, to the universal exhibitions of 1867 and 1889. The fundamental concern was toward the daily reproduction and the ways of living. In the nineteenth century the main perspective was spatial (different human groups at the same time but in different places); nowadays the main concern is with time (different societies in the same space but at different times). Ecomuseums are therefore characterized by a number of features:

- Time is seen in its different dimensions: past, present, and future.
- An ecomuseum interprets the different spaces that make up a landscape.
- It should have a lab where historic and anthropological studies are made, but also specialist training and other functions.
- A conservation institute dedicated to the valorization of cultural and natural heritage.
- 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.
- It is very important to remember that word "ecomuseum" is only a word, since all the museums can develop programs of popular participation and contribute to the community development.

An ecomuseum is closely articulated with ethnological heritage.

See Riviére (1989).

5. See www.espigueiro.pt/noticias.

6. 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 Galician-Portuguese "Andorra" till the end of the nineteenth century. On this case see García Mañá (1988; 1996; 2000).

7. The name of the parish is Covelães, constituted by two villages, Paredes do Rio and Covelães, that compete with each other for the Parish Board. As a result of this identity tension, only a few people from Covelães have participated in the threshing in Paredes do Rio.

In the weekend that followed the threshing in Paredes do Rio (2002), in the parish of the villa another threshing was organized so that, according to 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 traditional clothing. This is a social mimetic process very common in the invention and fabrication of traditions.

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