# Cultural landscape and living heritage in the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato

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By
Elena Settimini
School of Museum Studies
University of Leicester

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# Abstract

**Cultural landscape and living heritage in the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato**

**Elena Settimini**

This research investigates how the concepts of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation' are articulated within legal documents and policies which manage heritage (in particular the *World Heritage Convention* and the *European Landscape Convention*) and by laypersons. The purpose is to explore the semantic differences existing between these two categories and to understand the implications for the development of participative heritage preservation and management policies within cultural landscapes. I argue that power relationships between the categories of 'experts' and 'non-experts' produce different articulations of heritage values and meanings, and consequently generate disengagement in the identification, definition and preservation of a heritage site. This discussion is developed through the analysis of an Italian case study, the UNESCO World Heritage vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, inscribed in the World Heritage List as a 'cultural landscape' since 2014. The data collection and generation have been divided into two main focuses: preliminary documentary research combined with interviews with different typologies of stakeholders (heritage professionals, local people and women wine producers). I suggest that the development of participatory methodologies based on consultation and negotiation could generate a more inclusive identification of heritage values and meanings, attentive to different ways of articulating, preserving and managing landscape. This does not mean resolving all the conflicts or achieving a general consensus, but rather providing people with capacity building tools and skills, in order to facilitate the articulation of heritage values and also to rethink - and maybe redefine - heritage markers. To conclude, I argue that the lack, or presence, of stories in the landscape has important cultural, political, social and economic consequences in the present and that the links between these factors have to be revealed in order to develop more inclusive practices.

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## List of abbreviations

AHD - Authorised Heritage Discourse

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

ELC – European Landscape Convention

ICOM - International Council of Museums

ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites

IUCN - International Union for Conservation of Nature

MIBACT – Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e del Turismo

UNECE – United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

# Preface – Landscapes of memories

I grew up listening to the fascinating memories of my grandparents' youth in the countryside: the tradition - nearly a ritual - of spending the long Winter nights in someone's home (the so-called 'veglia', i.e. the vigil), when elder people used to tell children the scaring stories about the *masche*,[1] women knitted and men fixed old tools while waiting their turn to shovel snow. I could almost hear their voices and feel the warmth of the roaring fire. However, these happy images were intertwined with sad memories, as when the harvest period finished and young men had to migrate to France in order to find a job in the factories, or the anguished years of the war. All these stories and memories were enriched with pictures of our family (Fig. 1, 2 and 3) and generated a sort of aura around these characters. Thus, despite I never lived in the countryside, I always felt an attachment to this landscape, its cultural practices and traditions.


Fig. 1: My grand-grandmother and my grand-grandfather, 1932.

[1] The *masca* was a sort of witch, a woman thought to have magic and healing powers. The popular understanding of these women was rather ambiguous: sometimes they were described as evil creatures, while other times they were perceived as positive characters.

Later on, as a museum and heritage researcher, I developed a specific interest in the 'unofficial' heritage and in unveiling alternative stories and memories that could challenge the mainstream museum narratives. In fact, my research focuses on how people articulate their heritage and identity values, as well as on understanding whether their identification and interpretation of such values could be negotiated with academic knowledge. In other words, how individual and group participation could be fostered in order to challenge – and maybe counteract – hierarchical and power dynamics within heritage management. For this reason, at the origin of this project lays the will to engage with the 'unofficial', undercurrent heritage which is often absent – or underrepresented – in heritage and museum narratives.

Fig. 2: Some members of my mother's family.

Thus, when in 2014 the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato was nominated UNESCO World Heritage Site, I decided to explore whether and in which ways my memories – which are the memories of many families living in this area – have become part of an 'outstanding' heritage site. Was the UNESCO definition of such landscape taking into account the everyday life and cultural practices? Could

the ordinary nature of this heritage be assimilated into the concept of 'extraordinary' heritage? Were local people involved in the nomination procedures as a fundamental element in the identity and meaning-making processes? Given my personal relationship with this landscape, I was willing to see local people more widely represented and engaged, but concurrently I was aware of the issues relating to participation and inclusion of laypersons in the decision-making processes.

Fig. 3: My grandfather (top row, second from right), 1928.

This, then, is where the present project starts, fueled by my desire to understand whether these memories were considered part of the 'outstanding universal value' attributed to the vineyards landscape. The overarching objective is therefore to question heritage professionals' positionality and role, and to re-locate people in a more central position within heritage management and preservation.

# Chapter One - Introduction

## 1.1. Cultural landscapes as living heritage

*In other words, landscape denotes the external world mediated through subjective human experience in a way that neither region nor an area immediately suggest. Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world.*

Denis Cosgrove [1984] 1998: 13

With these words Denis Cosgrove conveys the complex and multi-layered nature of landscape, not merely considered from geographical, environmental or even picturesque perspectives, but rather identified as the bearer of cultural signs and signifiers externally imposed. Introduced by the human geographer Carl Sauer in the 1920s – 1930s,[2] the concept of 'cultural landscape' as the manifestation of a 'subjective human experience' suggests that human performances and practices play a paramount role in the construction and definition of landscape. The influence of a subjective factor introduces the challenging question of *whose values*, *whose stories* and *meanings* contribute to moulding its interpretation. Landscape value status is determined by and depends on the dominant frameworks of a given time and place, proving to be an on-going process with important effects on the cultural, socio-economic and political spheres (Gibson 2009). In fact, recognizing and attributing value to an environment is equivalent to asserting the relevance of the culture and history associated with it (Gibson and Pendlebury 2009: 2). For this reason, many scholars (Bender 1993, 2001; Harvey and Waterton 2005; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009; Schofield, Kiddey and Lashua 2012; Taylor 2012) understand landscape as an ideological concept that 'represents a way in which certain classes

[2] 'The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural is the medium, and cultural landscape the result' (Sauer 1925: 46).

of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature' (Cosgrove [1984] 1998: 15) or with the environment they live in. Through the selection of stories, memories and values and the construction of interpretive narratives, the impact of the human factor is made evident and is directly involved in the process of landscape formation (Cosgrove 1984; Bender 2001; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009). From this perspective, cultural landscapes are both reflective and productive of identities. In fact, landscape should not be considered as a monolithic, static or neutral space which expresses intrinsic and unchangeable values and meanings. Rather, it is the result of multiple narratives, the entanglement of mainstream and alternative values and meanings which seek to emerge through power relationships that generate conflicts. Landscape is therefore a field of action in the identity-making process, where ongoing power struggles over which stories and whose values are, or should be, represented take place. Attributing identity values to landscape implies giving it heritage values as well, raising questions concerning how to identify these values, which heritage and values frameworks to use and, consequently, how to develop conservation policies and practices that support the enablement of everyday life. In order to bring out the diverse signifiers that construe the multi-layered interpretation of the landscape, it is necessary to develop a deep understanding of the ways in which different pasts have been interpreted, re-interpreted, or even forgotten, and how *a posteriori* interpretations have been validated, moulding the present. This implies pursuing a pluralization and democratisation of cultural practices based on the inclusion of different voices.

The research question that this project seeks to address is as follows:

> How is the participation of local people in the preservation and management of World Heritage listed cultural landscapes framed by heritage authorities and institutions? Do these frameworks consider how local people understand (or not) their cultural practices as 'heritage'?

Questions concerning the development of inclusive and participatory cultural policies and programmes are shared by heritage studies and museum studies. Both

fields of enquiry have been challenging the role they could play in the empowerment of socially and culturally excluded groups (Sandell 2002; Fleming 2003; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007; Gibson 2009) and both have been rethinking what some have framed as the elitist, exclusive control of experts on heritage and museum narratives (Samuel 1994; Howard 2003; Witcomb 2003; Watson 2007; Fairclough 2009; Davis 2009; Schofield 2014; Kryder-Reid, Foutz, Wood and Zimmermann 2018), advocating instead the pluralisation of representation and interpretation. Discourses of heritage identification and preservation have traditionally been driven by a process wherein experts or connoisseurs identified a narrow group of significant places and objects on the bases of 'intrinsic' and self-evident historic, monumental, artistic and aesthetic values (Fairclough 2009; Pendlebury 2009; De La Torre 2013), thus using discipline-based frameworks. The centralisation of cultural power in the hands of selected groups of experts who shared a 'common perspective based on a common set of values' (De La Torre 2013: 157) did not leave space for alternative perspectives. By deciding who is to be represented and who has the right to participate in the decision-making process concerning identity building, and by omitting minorities and communities, heritage becomes a powerful political tool of a social construction that aims to empower specific dominant elites. This is a strategy that has concrete implications on social, economic and political development (Hewison 1987; Samuel 1994; Moore and Whelan 2007; Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007; Wright [1985] 2009; Gibson 2009). Fundamental to the elaboration of this awareness has been the critical and strategic engagement of some heritage and museum studies' scholars (Bennett 1998; Smith 2006; Gibson 2008) with the Foucauldian conception of 'governmentality', concerning the relations between knowledge and power and their role in processes of governing. This relational phenomenon acknowledges that power produces knowledge and that discourse and knowledge have power and truth effects (Leclercq-Vandelannoitte 2011).

An influential approach to the analysis of the power relationships at play in the field of heritage construction has been developed by Laurajane Smith in *Uses of Heritage* (2006). Here, Smith theorises the existence of an Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), arguing that it is the very 'governing' – the frameworks, instruments, policies and programmes – of heritage management which actually

produces heritage. The AHD is based on the position that ideas about heritage are often developed and controlled by elite actors through formal mechanisms of protection such as listing, in ways which are said to override 'subaltern' concepts of heritage, including those which might arise from the community. Nevertheless, the existence of dominant, institutional heritage discourses does not mean that other forms of heritage do not continue to develop outside the recognized frameworks and mechanisms, or that these are never recognised (Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy 2009). As argued by John Pendlebury et al. (2009), the AHD should not be seen exclusively as inflexible and monolithic. In truth, the accepted narrative of a place can 'develop from dialogue including powerful and articulated local voices, rather than being simply an external elite imposition' (Gibson and Pendlebury 2009: 10). The challenging objective for heritage management is therefore to construe the different voices at play within a heritage site and to develop methodologies that enable dialogues and then elaborate the outcomes into practice. As a reaction challenging the power relationships denounced through the AHD theory, many scholars (Winter 2012; Harrison 2013; Witcomb and Buckley 2013) formulated an approach termed 'critical heritage studies' with the objective of reinforcing the idea that a broadening of heritage analysis is needed. The founding principle of these studies is that heritage is not only a material object, rather it 'does' things in societies and has tangible effects at socio-economic and political levels. For this reason, merely acknowledging the multivocal nature of values and cultural meanings that heritage places and practices may have is not sufficient. The ultimate objective of heritage studies should be to ask questions regarding subjectivities and positionalities that are (or are not) reflected in legitimized and institutionalized heritage. What is required is exploring new participatory, inclusive methods able to outline the concrete and real effects that specific heritage discourses have on the everyday (Gibson 2009) and their ideological significance.

A vital testimony of human presence, landscape is recognized and protected by international, national and local documents as a fundamental element of heritage (UNESCO 1994c; *European Landscape Convention* 2000) and as an important factor in the elaboration of local culture and in identity-making processes. The validation of landscape as cultural heritage presents new challenges, but also opportunities for the heritage sector. In fact, landscape plays a dual role as an integral part of the

cultural heritage, which has to be preserved for its values, and as a 'living' site, where individuals and groups live and work. These intertwined characteristics generate complex questions related to the coexistence of preservation practices and the enablement of everyday life, as well as to ways of negotiating values and meanings in order to develop a sustainable management strategy that enhances the safeguarding of local traditions along with the production of new heritage. An answer to these questions could be found through a deeper analysis which examines whether the identification and preservation processes validated through international and national documents capture how landscape is understood by individuals and groups living within it.

The intention to unpack and problematise the definition of cultural participation in the context of living heritages lies at the heart of this research. I argue that the development of methodologies based on consultation and negotiation could generate a more inclusive identification of heritage values and meanings, attentive to different ways of articulating, preserving and managing landscape. This does not mean resolving all the conflicts or achieving a general consensus, but rather providing people with capacity building tools and skills, in order to facilitate the articulation of heritage values and also to rethink and maybe redefine heritage markers. To conclude, I argue that the lack, or presence, of stories in the landscape has important cultural, political, social and economic consequences in the present and that the links between these factors have to be revealed in order to develop more inclusive practices.

## 1.2. Aims of the research and contribution to knowledge

This study explores the activation of everyday cultural participation within cultural landscapes through a discourse analysis methodology. By everyday participation I understand the set of practices, processes and relationships that develop outside the realms of state-supported cultural activities (Miles and Gibson 2016: 151) and which people value as expressions of heritage, identity and belonging.

The aim of the research is to investigate the semantic differences between the discourses used within formal and legal documents and policies and laypersons' language, with the purpose of understanding the implications of these communicative differences for the development of participative preservation and

management policies within cultural landscapes. I argue that power relationships between the two categories of 'experts' and 'non-experts' produce different articulations of heritage values and meanings, and consequently could generate disengagement in the identification, definition and preservation of a heritage site. Within a living heritage, it is evident that the lack of inclusive practices that support the creation of manifold forms of representation have consequences beyond the cultural sector, impacting on social, economic and political spheres. This discussion is developed through the analysis of an Italian case study, the UNESCO World Heritage vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, inscribed in the World Heritage List as a 'cultural landscape' since 2014.

The category of 'vineyard landscape' represents an interesting case within the UNESCO general framework of 'cultural landscape', to such an extent that in 2001 the Hungarian authorities, in co-operation with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, organised a *World Heritage Thematic Expert Meeting on Vineyard Cultural Landscapes* in Tokai. This conference recognised the importance of vineyard cultural landscapes as 'a form of the organically evolved and living cultural landscape' (UNESCO 2001b: 5) and because 'it is a specific type of agricultural landscape represented by its entire production and land-use system' (*ibidem*: 5). Vineyard cultures are the result of human work and the interaction between people and their environment, representing the embodiment of tangible and intangible elements. The wine production is not only a cultural artefact that includes cultural activities such as traditions, practices and rituals; it is also an economic resource that allows social growing if sustainably managed. On the one hand, the international formal recognition of these sites as bearers of 'outstanding universal value' positions them within a series of traditional conservation frameworks based on criteria of 'authenticity' and 'integrity' (*Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* 1977). On the other hand, conservation practices have to be aware of the fluidity and changes that places where people live their everyday life continuously undertake, and thus of the daily practical issues those people face. Hence, the case-study chosen for this research is a rich resource to explore how cultural participation can have effects on social, economic and political spheres.

By undertaking this research, I intend to pursue the following research objectives:

1. To investigate how international, national and local heritage policies articulate the participation of individuals and groups in the identification, preservation and management of their heritage;
2. To explore how the concepts of 'living' and 'vernacular' heritage are framed and valued by formal documents which characterise cultural landscapes;
3. To understand how different individuals and groups living in a World Heritage listed cultural landscape articulate their understandings of heritage value in relation to their everyday life.

In order to achieve these objectives, the data collection and generation have been divided into two main focuses: preliminary documentary research combined with interviews with different typologies of stakeholders. The research has been organised through three main phases. First, I undertook a review of the policy and legal conventions developed by international and supranational cultural organisations, as well as by national and local authorities, in order to understand the contemporary discursive framing of 'cultural landscape' and its values, and to identify the recommendations for its management, in particular inclusive forms of participation (chapter four). Secondly, I interviewed people living and working in the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato to investigate how they articulate their understanding of landscape, which heritage values they attribute to it and whether they think they are actively engaged by local authorities in the decision-making processes concerning the definition and preservation of heritage (chapter five). Thirdly, I interviewed women wine producers to explore to what extent the heritage of this group, which has traditionally been omitted by a male-centred interpretation of the wine culture, is represented in the mainstream narrative of the vineyard landscape and how the lack, or presence, of women in cultural interpretation could be connected to issues concerning the social and economic spheres (chapter six).

To answer these questions, I critically engage with Foucault's concept of power/knowledge (1978) and with Smith's AHD theory (2006). I investigate international, supranational, national and local documents and policies through discourse analysis, in order to explore how formal heritage discourses define

'landscape', 'living heritage' and 'participation'. The inclusion of diverse understandings of values, the concept of pluralisation of meanings and that of legitimisation of multiple and conflicting points of views are concepts that dominate the current heritage and cultural discourses (Gibson and Pendlebury 2009). Finding ways of enabling individuals and groups to explore the complex nature of their cultural past and identity in the present should become a core question for authorities and institutions. This issue is particularly complex for the UNESCO World Heritage List, in that the declaration of 'outstanding universal value' risks reinforcing the distinction between 'high' and 'low', 'official' and 'unofficial' culture (De La Torre 2013), and causing the use of sites 'as a means of economic and tourism development, generating tensions over the "ownership" of heritage between local communities and claims of universality' (Pendlebury 2009: 146). The category of 'cultural landscape', introduced in 1992 by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, is defined as a place 'where human interaction with natural systems has, over a long time, formed a distinctive landscape. These interactions arise from, and cause, cultural values to develop' (Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009: 5) and they are 'illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal' (*Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* 1994: 13).

This last sentence explicitly recognises that cultural elements are inextricably intertwined with socio-economic factors, raising questions regarding how these everyday values could and should be identified, validated and managed. In particular, the criterion of 'outstanding universal value' which drives the UNESCO World Heritage List emerges as a status value which tends to support an idea of heritage conceived on the base of frameworks developed by heritage professionals. For example, in chapter five, section three, I discuss how the heritage discourses used in the *Executive Summary* and in the *Management Plan* (2014) of the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato identify heritage by giving emphasis to aesthetic, historical, artistic and monumental values, while people living and working within the site consider local lifestyle, traditions and memories as relevant heritage and identity values. In fact, the analysis of the interviews demonstrates that

family and communities' memories are perceived as more meaningful than national narratives, and that working-class stories have a deeper impact than those of the aristocratic families in the definition of the local identity.

This sense of memory and identity is still under-represented in legal and formal documents. In fact, despite UNESCO encouraging a wider representation of cultural diversity (*Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* 2001), the use of specific criteria and discourses seems to contradict this advocacy. This is the case with the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan*. Here, the landscape has been regarded under the lens of traditional aesthetic and historical values and validated according to these frameworks. The result is that the definition and interpretation of this World Heritage site focuses on the landmarks of dominant groups. A bias that, as noted by Barbara Bender, generates a romanticised and sanitised vision 'emphasizing local colour rather than the socio-economic conditions that generate both wealth and poverty, people's pain or their resistance' (2002: 141). While formal recognitions often fail to mention less attractive stories, memories of struggles and conflicts are relevant for my interviewees as they are testimony to the objectives reached by individuals and groups and they are examples that inspire changes in the present (chapter six, section four). As Smith, Shackel and Campbell argue through the discussion of working-class heritage, working class people and communities can express their capacity for self-expression and they re-interpret and rework contemporary identity through the 'senses of place and tradition' (2011: 1). For many people, landscapes are 'important in their own right by providing a beacon for a sense of belonging, a link with the past and a symbol of permanence' (Davis 2009: 5) and if they can have important meanings for visitors, for the 'externals', their significance might be even greater for individuals and groups living and working within it. Landscapes can be perceived as heritage for the people living within them and they should be also viewed as a daily performance, as one of the ways in which people 'define themselves and engage socially through place with other people' (Fairclough 2009a: 32). It is through their dwelling in the landscape that they do what Smith defines as 'heritage work' (2006: 1), that is, they renew, cement, create or modify identity meanings and values through practices and relationships. Places are cultural products because they are not only created by people but also frame people's lives. These reflections raise a question: to what

extent are the 'exceptional' values identified by heritage professionals representative of different local communities? A fundamental aspect of this research is to understand how the local population articulates their everyday experience of the landscape in comparison with the image proposed by cultural institutions and authorities. As argued by Graham Fairclough, despite heritage being traditionally validated through official recognitions – and it still is most of the time, not all heritage needs designation, as 'the inherited aspects of a place are valued by the local community (…) before, and irrespective, of its designated status' (2009a: 38).

Complementary to the UNESCO's approach is the *European Convention of Landscape* (2000). This convention introduces a revolutionary idea of landscape, by affirming that it has to be recognized 'in the urban area and in the countryside, in the degraded territories, as well as in those of high quality, in the areas considered exceptional as in those of the everyday life' (Preamble). This definition subverts the dominant representation of the landscape as part of a territory characterised by aesthetic and historical exceptional values, and accords dignity to social and cultural values that are relevant to local communities, shining a light on the rights of individuals and groups to own their heritage. Another foundation stone in the definition of the right of people and communities to participate in their heritage is the Council of Europe's *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (2005). Through Article 1, the Convention identifies 'democratic individual and collective rights to enjoy, use and appreciate cultural heritage', providing an opportunity to facilitate the responsible exercise of these rights. Such an innovative approach recognizes the potential inclusivity of cultural heritage and the heritage contribution to identity and social cohesion, also acknowledging that people can benefit from the use of heritage both individually and collectively. Nevertheless, the aforementioned documents implicitly assume that people want to be engaged in the identification and management of heritage without problematising the methods. Are individuals and groups willing to participate in the management of a heritage which has not been recognised through their values and meanings? If their heritage is not represented, why should they participate? What kind of participation would they desire? Are traditional methods and strategies suitable to identify and preserve the meanings and values relevant for different groups? As emerges in the analysis of the interviews with local people (chapter five) and women wine producers

(chapter six), the participatory policies and programmes proposed by local authorities are not actively engaging individuals or groups. Despite most of the interviewees declaring the will to be more involved in the definition of what their heritage is and how to preserve it, the rather 'top-down' approach used by local authorities is discouraging participation. These outcomes reflect Steve Watson and Emma Waterton's argument that participatory policies introduced with an uncritical and unexamined view of heritage, could tend to generate an 'equally uncritical, and thus unproblematic, view of a community's engagement with it' (2010: 3).

The link between cultural participation and social and economic development is specifically discussed through the analysis of the interviews with women wine producers (chapter six). The data generated is compared with the objective of achieving gender equality declared in UNESCO documents. The wine culture has been traditionally characterised by a male-driven society, where the role of women was undervalued and omitted from mainstream narratives: a gendered bias which is common in other forms of heritage as well (Smith 2008; Gibson 2009). I argue that by investigating whether and to what extent women are included in the decision-making process of heritage identification and interpretation it is possible to reveal socio-economic inequalities and understand how these are developed and sustained (Smith et al. 2011: 2). The role of heritage professionals should be to unveil these inequalities and to discuss them in order to challenge dominant perspectives. As suggested by Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2007), uncovering hidden injustices could open a path that leads to some form of justice and reconciliation within communities. Through the discussion of the data generated during the fieldwork I suggest that a deep reconsideration of the values that define which heritage should be preserved, why and who has the authority to make that decision is desirable. This entails that the acknowledgment of a cultural landscape should not be exclusively determined by an external, professional or academic judgment on the basis of universal values, but should rather be the result of shared awareness within the local population.

The original contribution to knowledge of this thesis is that it directly compares the heritage discourses used in legal documents with local people's articulation of heritage values and meanings. Despite the languages used by these

two realms - the 'academic/expert knowledge' and 'laypersons' understanding' - have been largely explored, most of the analysis have been done separately and a similar type of comparison is rarely presented. By closely examining the different meanings attributed to the keywords of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation', I provide a framework within which binaries such as government officials versus local people, the tangible versus the intangible heritage, national versus local heritage are deconstructed and critically discussed. In fact, if on the one hand the results of the research underline the existence of power relationships behind the definition of heritage; on the other hand, they demonstrate that through alternative cultural practices local people create spaces where they express identity values and could tackle cultural underrepresentation or misrepresentation. In this sense, cultural participation is not merely a tool to understand the past, but a resource to shape and improve the present and the future.

## 1.3. Thesis structure

The introductory chapter has clarified the rationale driving this PhD thesis, explaining the research question and its objectives, anticipating the theoretical frameworks and methods that guided the fieldwork. In the following I will describe how this discussion will proceed through the structure of the thesis.

In chapter two, I critically engage with key literatures used to develop the intellectual framework that guided the data collection and analysis. Through this literature review, I explain the constructivist ontological and epistemological perspectives underpinning the theoretical and analytical frameworks, which I applied in the definition of my research design. I position my project within contemporary debates about cultural landscape, living heritage and participatory decision-making processes in heritage management and preservation. The purpose of this chapter is to identify the main issues that arise when legitimised heritage discursive framings come into contact with a 'living' cultural landscape and its local population, that is, the individuals and groups living and working within it. The first section of this chapter analyses the ontological shift that led from an understanding of heritage as a set of intrinsic values, with a prevailing emphasis on materiality, to an idea of heritage as an active, on-going process (Fairclough 2009) that could promote social change (Samuel 1994). In the second section, I focus on the key

concept of 'landscape' construed as an integral part of heritage, and I investigate the cultural shift that led to the official acknowledgment of this new category within international documents, as well as the implications in terms of preservation and management. The last section discusses how the concept of 'participation' is defined in international and national cultural heritage policies and documents, introducing the discussion concerning how 'everyday life' - a relatively recent sociological term (Bennett and Watson 2002: x) - is articulated in the context of heritage and landscape studies.

Having defined the ontological and epistemological frameworks that inform and guide my research, in chapter three I describe the overall methodology, clarifying the specific research design, and the methods of data generation and analysis that I use to address the research question identified for this thesis. The premise of my discussion is that both heritage and landscape are socially and culturally constructed, and they are the mirror of the present rather than a simple manifestation of the past. This implies that values and meanings are continuously created and recreated through experience, generating multiple interpretations of the social reality in which people act. A focus on discourse and power/knowledge is particularly relevant to the study of heritage and landscape as products, and contributors to relational forms of power and knowledge. The use of a discourse analysis methodology has turned out to be useful in identifying, problematising and unpacking the constitutive discursive field of heritage (Waterton, Smith and Campbell 2006: 351). This identification allows one to examine how discourse works in practice to maintain 'the intellectual frameworks that govern practice and regulate the boundaries between the communities of authority and other community interests' (*ibidem*: 351). Understanding this process is nodal to any attempts at developing inclusive heritage policies and practices that do more than simply assimilate participation in the last steps of heritage building. Hence, a critical approach would encourage engaging in communication with individuals and groups who are dialogically open to criticism and self-reflection. Consequently, the methodology used in this research aims to investigate how a specific discourse acts to create and shape the various representations of heritage and to detect the particular ways of talking, understanding and interpreting cultural heritage and

landscape used by local people and official actors, and to unpack the struggle of meaning that is taking place.

In sections 3.3 and 3.4 I explain why and how the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been useful for exploring and discussing the outcomes of my fieldwork. In section 3.6 I discuss the choice of the World Heritage Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato as a case study and my decision to focus on two of the six core zones, 'Langa of Barolo' and 'Canelli and Asti Spumante', as a means to understand how two areas with very different cultural and economic backgrounds have constructed their identity through the definition of their heritage. The vineyard landscape represents a meaningful example of a living landscape, where cultural, natural, social and economic values need to be negotiated between professionals and laypersons, in order to find a balance which enables the development of preservation and management policies that could support both tangible and intangible heritage conservation as well as economic, cultural and technological development.

Chapters four to six constitute the section of the thesis where I explore the data collected during the documentary research and through the interviews conducted in the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato. The analysis concerns three core actors: legal documents and frameworks, people living and working in the heritage site and women wine producers. Using the perspective of these actors, I discuss three key concepts explored in the literature review: 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation'. Drawing on the AHD theory, I investigate how subjectivities and positionalities are expressed and reinforced through discourses by the groups identified, in order to understand the main discrepancies and whether these contribute to inhibiting cultural diversity. The aim of these chapters is to argue that alternative heritages are produced outside the formal frameworks of heritage validation and that there is a link between cultural participation and socio-economic representation. Understanding how heritage discourses are used differently is a means to unpack the conceptual disjunction that exists between academic, political and popular attempts to articulate, validate and negotiate heritage and landscape values and meanings. The aim of a Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA) applied to different groups of actors is to show how these semantic variances are at the very origin of power relationships which

impede the development of 'hybrid forums' (Callon, Lascoumes and Barthe 2011) and the 'parity of participation' (Fraser 2003).

In chapter four, I investigate how the key concepts of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation' are articulated within international, supranational and local documents, as well as in policy frameworks. As the case-study chosen for this research is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, I particularly focus on how UNESCO defines heritage values and how participation is perceived during the different phases of the nomination process of a World Heritage site, from identification to management. I compare the UNESCO documents with the documents produced at a supranational level by the Council of Europe. The ELC (2000) is the only international instrument that specifically addresses landscape as an issue, an essential feature of human surroundings, that contributes to the formation of local cultures and that is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity. I conclude the chapter by investigating how international documents have – or have not – influenced the Italian legislation, in particular the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio* (*Code of Cultural Goods and Landscape* 2004), as well as the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* (2014) of the vineyard landscape.

Given the general principles and the heritage discourses emerging from the discourse analysis of legal and formal international, national and local documents, chapter five and six focus on how laypersons articulate their understanding of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation'. The aim of these two chapters is to pinpoint the discursive differences in the articulation of the values and meanings attributed to these three key concepts, to unpack the heritage values identified and how they relate to the aforementioned documents. Drawing on the widely accepted epistemology that conceives heritage as socially and culturally constructed, the argument of these chapters is that expressions of power relationships could emerge from heritage discourses and practices and that landscape becomes the locus of contrasting values.

In chapter four, I identify participation as a key concept shared by all the documents analysed. Emphasis is given to the democratic value of bottom-up actions that have positive outcomes for the communities in terms of social and economic development. Nevertheless, what is still not clarified is who these

communities are and how they are provided with the instruments to become active actors in heritage management and preservation. The understanding of landscape as a part of territory as perceived by people (*European Convention of Landscape* 2000) would suggest that groups and individuals should be protagonists from the first phases of the decision-making process. Instead, participation is mostly considered a set of educational activities aiming to make people aware of the relevance of their landscape. Could this rather paternalistic approach towards 'non-experts' be inverted?

As UNESCO cultural landscapes are also living places made of traditions, beliefs and lifestyles where people conduct their everyday life, I explore whether the UNESCO definition of the heritage values of this landscape coincides with what people consider as heritage. Understanding some of the meanings attached to particular ways of talking about heritage and whose interests those words serve is crucial to unlock and explore potentially divergent interests operating at a heritage site, as well as to investigate power relationships more broadly.

Through the analysis of the interviews with the people living and working within the vineyard landscape, in chapter five I seek to unlock how processes of heritagisation are experienced and negotiated at a local level. The World Heritage Site status has charged this vineyard landscape with 'outstanding universal value', but at the same time the universality of exceptional heritage has to coexist with the dynamic nature of the landscape and with the everyday life of the people who live and work in it. The focus on extraordinary values risks constructing heritage around an apparent consensus that privileges just some actors, whose voices and stories enliven the prestige of the wine production of this cultural landscape, underrepresenting other memories and practices from the identity- and meaning-making processes (Samuel 1976; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009; Pendlebury 2009; Smith et al. 2011). Through the analysis of the data collected during the interviewees I discuss the fields of power within which heritage operates. I explore the power relationship that lies behind the discursive differences in the articulation of the values and meanings attributed to heritage, landscape and participation. In particular, what emerges from the analysis of national frameworks and local policies is a dichotomy between the action of the State and the action of social groups operating at local level; between a heritage made of cultural and landscape goods

identified and certified at central level on the base of norms and regulations, and a heritage locally defined in a more open way. I argue that the development of cultural and economic policies able to balance conservation needs and the continuity of everyday life depends on the capacity to empower citizens in the decision-making process. This local empowerment implies a rethinking of the roles of heritage professionals within the terrains of competing interests.

Chapter six explores the role that power relationships play in the heritage identification, definition and interpretation, as well as in the identity-making process, viewed through the lens of gender and analysing the specific group of women wine producers. The underpinning argument is that heritage is often gendered in that it tells a predominantly male-centred story, promoting a masculine vision of the past and present (Smith 2008; Gibson 2009). The bias towards certain values and meanings implies that some voices are marginalized or omitted from established narratives, some memories are passed down and others erased, limiting the possibility of meaning-making processes. Considering a living heritage, could the omission from heritage identification, representation and interpretation affect social and economic sectors, and *vice versa*? Given the male-oriented construction of identity in the wine production sector, I decided to give voice to women so to understand the extent to which they are represented in the actual heritage definition and interpretation of the vineyard landscape. In sections two and three I investigate how women's cultural representation and participation is positioned within international heritage policies and documents (UNESCO and World Heritage List) and within local documents (*Executive Summary* and *Management Plan*). The discursive analysis of the language used in these documents makes explicit that despite the attempts to change embedded gender dynamics, there persists a clear difficulty in actively intervening in the modification of internationally recognised documents. Nevertheless, I argue that gendered discourses and the limited cultural representation of women do not correspond to a lack of heritage and identity meaning making. The data generated through the interviews with four women wine producers living and working in the core zones of Barolo and Canelli, prove that women construct their alternative heritage and values which have been produced, reproduced and transmitted (section four). The consequence is that despite these women being eager to actively contribute to the local identity and heritage-building

process, they do not necessarily want to be engaged in formal cultural practices, as they perform their heritage and empower their role through their work and everyday life. A recent survey presented by the *National Association Women of Wine* (2016) shows the persistence of gender inequality in the wine sector, both at social and economic levels. Thus, the analysis presented in this chapter strengthens the argument that the omission of a group from the identification and interpretation of heritage can have implications for the development of social, political and even economic factors.

The concluding chapter brings together the findings of my research and considers its broader implications for the rethinking of the relationship between academics, heritage and museum practitioners, and laypersons in the perspective of a heritage management able to take account of economic, social and cultural development.

# Chapter Two - Literature Review

## 2.1. Introduction

In chapter two, I critically engage with key literature used to develop the intellectual framework that guided the data collection and analysis. Through this literature review, I clarify the ontological and epistemological perspectives underpinning the theoretical and analytical frameworks, which I applied in the definition of my research design. In particular, I position my project within contemporary debates about cultural landscape, living heritage and participatory decision-making processes in heritage management and preservation. The research uses three key concepts - 'heritage', 'cultural landscape' and 'participation' - which are analysed across chapter four, chapter five and chapter six, through the perspectives of three different groups: 1) official international, supranational and national documents, 2) local population and 3) women wine producers. How the investigation of these three categories has been developed is described in detail in the methodological chapter (chapter three).

The research question that this project seeks to address is as follows:

> How is the participation of local people in the preservation and management of World Heritage listed cultural landscapes framed by heritage authorities and institutions? Do these frameworks consider how local people understand (or not) their cultural practices as 'heritage'?

To answer this question, I pursue the following research objectives:

1. To investigate how international, national and local heritage policies articulate the participation of individuals and groups in the identification, preservation and management of their heritage;
2. To explore how the concepts of 'living heritage' and 'vernacular' are framed and valued by formal documents which characterise cultural landscapes;
3. To understand how different individuals and groups living in a World Heritage listed cultural landscape articulate their understandings of heritage value in relation to their everyday life.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the 'heritage' concept. The core argument is that there has been an ontological shift in our understanding of heritage from an interpretation of heritage as a set of intrinsic, material values to an idea of heritage as an active, on-going process (Fairclough 2009) that can promote social change and action (Samuel 1994; Byrne 2008). Here I introduce the argument of Smith (2006) that there is an 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD), a discourse which, she argues, is the construction of dominant groups, as professional elites (2006: 4), and which omits or excludes alternative systems of heritage value. Smith claims that the AHD is a static, regressive discourse embedded in official documents, such as conventions and charters (*ibidem*: 87). However, for Pendlebury (2013) the analysis of current international documents and policies demonstrates that authorised heritage structures are also open to new ideas, such as multiculturalism and gender equality, which are often integrated as inclusive elements. Nonetheless, we might query the extent to which theoretical and ethical principles endorsing a multivocal representation are applied in practice, and on whose terms.

In the second section, I investigate the key concept of 'landscape', explaining the common values and meanings that often overlap with those of heritage. As stated by David Harvey (2013: 152), 'the two often fit nicely together, tagged as being cultural and/or natural; tangible and/or intangible; personal and/or collective, and especially national; as mutual reference points within popular, policy and scientific narratives'. I draw together theories pertaining to the definition of 'landscape', in order to discuss the differences which lie between landscape as a space of power relationships (Cosgrove 1984) and landscape as a space of lived experiences (Ingold 1993). Both interpretations are necessary to have a wider understanding of landscape values and meanings, and of how cultural participation of individuals and groups could be planned. In this section I introduce the international documents that acknowledge heritage values to landscape, namely the UNESCO *World Heritage Convention* (in particular through the 1994 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* and its subsequent versions) and the *European Landscape Convention* (hereafter ELC, 2000), to discuss the implications of an alternative approach to landscapes in terms of preservation and management.

Section three considers how the concept of 'participation' is framed in formal heritage documents and policies, introducing the discussion concerning 'everyday life' values. Despite the participation of laypersons in decision-making processes having been recognized and advocated by various international documents,[3] how to activate the participation of different individuals and groups in decisional procedures still presents unclear methodologies and practices. The development of a 'hybrid model' (Callon et al. 2011) would encourage experts, laypersons and institutions to collaborate by sharing knowledge, skills, rights and responsibilities, and by negotiating values and meanings. However, how could the professional's scientific knowledge be combined with people's ordinary knowledge? Which participants are given relational capacities to act? As noted by Waterton and Smith (2010) the majority of participatory projects considered as 'community based' tend to do things *for* communities, rather than *with* them. The authority of expertise assessment is still predominant and risks generating tensions between experts and laypersons in the definition of what is heritage, consequently inhibiting participation (Roe 2013; Schofield 2014).

Documents such as the *European Landscape Convention* (2000) and the *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (2005) emphasise the 'ordinary' and the 'local', attributing value to the 'everyday' and mundane heritage, identifying it as a potential resource in the identity-making processes. In this perspective, to acknowledge value and relevance to the everyday practices means to recognise the spaces of action of laypersons, as well as to understand how, in practical terms, cultural, social, economic and political elements interact and influence each other. Understanding how people articulate their heritage values is thus the first nodal step in the construction of inclusive policies and programmes.

## 2.2. Heritage

### 2.2.1. The ontological shift: from 'heritage' as a set of intrinsic values to 'heritage' as an active process

[3] *Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters* 1998; *European Landscape Convention* 2000; *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* 2003; *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* 2017.

The current, dominant theoretical framework in heritage studies considers the ways in which heritage has been defined, understood and preserved in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a 'modern' product of Western culture, underpinned by a set of philosophies concerning the construction and acknowledgment of the relationship between the past and the present (Lowenthal 1985; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; Vecco 2011; Harrison 2013). In this context, the adjective 'modern' is not used to indicate a more or less recent phase of time, but rather used as a 'politically charged' keyword related to ideas of nation, progress and development (Morris and Sakai 2013). The origins of what we now term 'heritage' can be retraced in the mindset that marked the end of the eighteenth century: the Enlightenment, or the so-called 'Age of Reason'. It is in this period, with the French Revolution playing a catalyst role in the process, that the concept of a European territorial state was shaped, and consequent nationalist political forms developed (Graham et al. 2000; Harrison 2013).

Synchronic, and instrumental, to the rise of nation-states was the development of specific representations of the past, designated as 'national heritage', whose aim was to support, legitimate and consolidate national identification. In fact, the role of national heritage was to contribute to the 'conceptualization of a political state that is also the homeland of a single, homogeneous people', with heritage being conceived as 'a primary instrument in the "discovery" or creation and subsequent nurturing of a national identity' (Graham et al. 2000: 11). Heritage was understood as something inherited from the past and was perceived as the bearer of important memory values that contributed in the identity-making process (Vecco 20011). For this reason, it was – and it still is - considered a moral duty to preserve it for the coming generations, who would be depositary of this inheritance and would construct their sense of national belonging on it. Thus, the creation of rigidly defined nation-states, supported by the representation of a homogeneous and consensual national heritage, needed ideologies to be fixed through a political use of the material heritage. At the same time, the national heritage was a tool for 'absorbing or neutralizing potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions' (Graham et al. 2000: 11) and, consequently, it asserted the 'nation' over communities defined by different socio-cultural relations, national values over local values. This instrumentalist view

of the development of heritage in Western countries claims that the predominant approach to heritage has been based on a process wherein experts or connoisseurs identified what was regarded as the best examples of art, monuments and historic buildings, suitable for representing the glorious past of dominant groups. Following this prescription 'politicians and decision makers then put in place mechanisms for protection alongside various forms of state funding for restoration and conservation, whether direct in terms of state ownership or through grants paid to owners' (Fairclough 2009a: 38).

Discussing principles of heritage conservation and preservation, Pendlebury (2009) and De La Torre (2013) point out that the recognition of cultural heritage has for a long time been relegated to a narrow group of significant places and objects that were preserved on the basis of a conservation ethos because of their 'intrinsic' and self-evident historic and aesthetic values. The selection of what had to be preserved, and who had the right to make such decisions, tended to ignore other knowledge processes, implying that alternative ways of constructing heritage were not recognised. The unquestionable opinion of the 'experts' created a sacred aura of reverence and attachment to groups of selected objects, places and practices that were thought to connect with or exemplify the past. As argued by Tim Winter, this approach to heritage consolidated a scientific materialism of heritage conservation that oriented the knowledge practices providing 'the epistemological and intellectual foundations for the transnational cultural agencies that would emerge in the aftermath of the Second World War' (2012: 537), as UNESCO and its World Heritage List.

As will be discussed in chapter four, section 2.1, the emphasis on material aspects connected to exceptional monumental, historical or artistic values, especially concerning Western countries, contributed to supporting a division between a discipline-driven 'high', 'official' heritage and a local values-driven 'low', 'unofficial' heritage. At a legal and formal level, such a binary distinction has only recently been questioned through the introduction of documents and conventions, such as the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List* (1994), the *Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (2001) and the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003).

The national heritage discourse described at the beginning of this section evidently conceived heritage as playing a crucial role in the empowerment of specific social and political classes, positioning the construction of heritage in the present rather than in the past. Despite certain memories, traditions and stories being omitted, when not intentionally excluded and erased, from heritage-building processes, this alternative heritage remained and survived in a variety of forms including practices, performances and oral traditions. Influenced by Marxist theories, Antonio Gramsci, the Italian philosopher and politician persecuted by the Fascist regime, addressed the relationship between culture and power, defining it as 'cultural hegemony' (*Prison Notebooks* 1929-1935), a relationship understood as an instrument to create the precondition for a complex system of control (Carlucci 2013: 181). Gramsci argued that cultural relations are based on power relations implicitly constructed through an action of discourse, which has the effect of generating consensus and keeping the population in a state of ignorance, a state that would prevent them from intervening in the socio-cultural space, and consequently, from changing their own world (Gerrattana 1975, Q15, §10: 1765). He argued for the importance of empowering society and providing people with the necessary tools to generate creative power and 'make culture' anew as an instrument to promote critical thinking.

One of the most influential scholars to argue for the democratic potential of heritage was Raphael Samuel. In his major text, *Theatres of Memory* (1994), he theorised that the social practices connected to heritage could be seen as possible ways of promoting social change, describing heritage as a social process, able to produce diversity and foster multiculturalism in society, anticipating the debate that has developed in the last two decades (Harvey 2001; Dicks 2004; Smith 2006; Byrne 2008; Harrison 2013). Samuel was concerned with a rethinking of history, conceived as dynamic, engaged, useful 'memory work' that ought to be open to all and, consequently, to a multiplicity of sources. For Samuel this entailed gathering different voices and engaging with plural, quotidian and local heritages, including working and middle-class stories (1976, 1994).

Locating heritage as a social and cultural process implies that heritage is *not* primarily about the *past*, but about our relationship with the *present* and the *future* (Walsh 1992; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Boholm 1997; Lowenthal 2005; Smith

2006; Harvey 2001; Graham and Howard 2008; Harrison 2013) and, using Marcel Mauss' words ([1938] 1985: 22), it is formulated 'only for us, amongst us'. As discussed by Brian Graham, Gregory J. Ashworth and John E. Tunbridge (2000: 17):

> heritage is that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social. The worth attributed to these artefacts rests less in their intrinsic merit than in a complex array of contemporary values, demands and even moralities. As such, heritage can be visualised as a resource.

An upstream temporal framework has been proposed by David Harvey (2001) who suggests establishing a longer historical narrative to contextualise the long-term evolution of heritage as a *process*. By broadening the 'presentness' that characterises most scholars' understanding of the heritage phenomenon (Lowenthal 1985, 1998; Kendrik, Straw and McCrone 1990; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2005), Harvey aims to demonstrate that heritage has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences and that every society has had a relationship with its past. As he argues:

> it is through understanding the meaning and nature of what people tell each other about their past; about what they forget, remember, memorialise and/or fake, that heritage studies can engage with academic debates beyond the confines of present-centred cultural, leisure or tourism studies (2001: 320).

By considering heritage as a historically contingent and embedded phenomenon we can engage with debates about the production of identity, power and authority throughout society in different periods of time. Harvey's vision has been influenced by Pierre Nora's theory of memory. In *Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-1992), the French historian introduces the distinction between elite, institutionalised memories and the memory of ordinary people, embedded in traditions and habits of everyday life, the so-called 'traditional memory'. Harvey applies this theory to heritage and proposes to see heritage sites 'as forming one link in a chain of popular memory'

(2001: 326), rather than a modern knowledge construction. This implies that heritage studies should explore production and consumption within a pre-modern arena and understand heritage as a process 'related to human action and agency, and as an instrument of cultural power in whatever period of time one chooses to examine' (*ibidem*: 327). Thus, heritage is not understood as a physical artefact or record, but rather as a cultural process, whose developments and changes occurred gradually, tentatively and in a discontinuous way, and most importantly 'inseparable from the ingrained ritual associated with practices of everyday life' (*ibidem*: 336). Furthermore, Harvey suggests acknowledging and affirming the existence of a broader and deeper array of heritage phenomena, which involve a bigger range and number of people. Pondering Samuel, Harvey and Nora's considerations, it is possible to understand how heritage values and meanings evolve, how they are constructed and re-constructed by people outside the traditional heritage frameworks (Fairclough 2009a: 38), providing people with a source for identity-making.

What emerges from these theories is that heritage should be considered as a social phenomenon, created through lived experience, where cultural, historical or social values are currently and historically constructed. Influenced by such cultural revisionism, the academic community started to adopt a critical position, recognising the need to establish a more democratic approach to heritage. This entailed the development of a wider understanding of culture able to include diverse categories, such as the working-class material culture (Samuel 1994) and indigenous material culture, which had previously been omitted, when not excluded, from consideration as heritage (Winter 2012: 532). This generated an approach to the heritage phenomenon that was aware of its different ideological underpinnings (Lowenthal 1985; Hewison 1987; Samuel 1994). Amongst these ideologies is the acknowledgment that the various changes occurred as a result of globalisation have also influenced the development of a broader consideration of heritage as a social, economic and political phenomenon. The interweaving of these elements led to the emergence of 'heritage studies' as an interdisciplinary field of academic study (Harrison 2013: 3).

### 2.2.2. The Authorised Heritage Discourse

A milestone reference in the discussion of heritage as a social process and value-based practice is *The Uses of Heritage* (2006) by Smith. In this text, Smith discusses the question of who defines and controls heritage, introducing the theory of the AHD, identified as a dominant Western, professional discourse used to validate what is - or is not - heritage, framing and constraining heritage practises. The AHD, Smith argues, emerged 'from nineteenth century debates in western European architectural and archaeological scholarship about the need to protect material culture that scholars deemed to be of innate and inheritable value' (2015: 135). In order to reach a consensual understanding of heritage, this discourse deploys two fundamental principles: the first is the indisputable authority of expertise to decide what to preserve from the past and how; the second is the emphasis on the fabric aspect of heritage and its innate values, on its 'non-renewable and fragile' (*ibidem*: 135) nature, rather than on practices or the intangible relationship between people and things (Harrison 2013: 111).

According to Smith, the implications of this framework are that the construction of heritage tends to exclude the general public, the so-defined 'non-experts', from having an active role in heritage definition and preservation. As she claims, bureaucratisation and professionalization entail that individuals and groups can engage only passively in the heritage decision-making process, often merely in the final steps of it. In this perspective, the AHD promotes a rather static idea of the preservation of the values, embodied as a fundamental tool in the construction of national or group identities, seeking to avoid potentially conflictual readings of the past. By doing so, the AHD works to sustain and privilege particular values, which are used to regulate heritage practices and norms in terms of discourse. The critical remarks on this discourse therefore reflect concerns about identity, nationhood and the creation of social cohesion.

As argued by Smith, the AHD underpins national and international documents concerning the management and preservation of cultural heritage and expresses itself through the categorisation of objects, buildings and landscapes and the creation of lists that represent the canon of heritage. A categorisation of heritage and the creation of lists are the core methodology used by the UNESCO World Heritage List. This methodology has often been a target for critics because of its lack

of representativeness, despite many attempts to broaden the definition of heritage and democratise cultural access over the last decades. In fact, the introduction of the principle of 'outstanding universal value' (*World Heritage Convention* 1972, Article 1), defined through various criteria by heritage professionals, not only excluded the acknowledgment of cultural values as perceived by local communities but emphasised a Western-centric definition of heritage at a global level.

Informed by the AHD theory, Rodney Harrison (2013) recognises two types of heritage: the *official heritage* and the *unofficial heritage*. He defines the first as the 'set of professional practices that are authorized by the state and motivated by some form of legislation or written charter' (*ibidem*: 14). In this definition it is possible to recognise the mechanisms of national and international documents relating to the conservation and management of those objects, buildings and landscapes which are valued for aesthetic, historical, scientific, social or recreational reasons and safeguarded through legislative protection. This heritage is separated and clearly distinct from the 'everyday' (*ibidem*: 14) and could be identified just by 'experts' and professionals. The second type, the *unofficial heritage*, is constituted by a 'broad range of practices that are represented using the language of heritage, but are not recognized by official forms of legislation' (*ibidem*: 15). In other words, these are the objects, buildings, landscapes or practices that despite being meaningful for individuals or groups tend to be omitted from the mainstream narrative of the official heritage category. However, this reading of the heritage discourse assumes that the AHD is static, self-referential and regressive, allowing little recognition of the influence of the external forces that might shape conservation values (Pendlebury 2013). As a national – but also international – discourse that aims to create consensus, the AHD is also capable of adopting new ideas, such as multiculturalism, gender equality and inclusion. As discussed by Pendlebury, 'whilst it might serve the purposes of a particular elite, this may be less at the expense of suppressing subaltern heritage as in competition for control over the built environment with other elite interests' (*ibidem*: 715).

The questioning of cultural ownership and of who is traditionally empowered to be heard about heritage values and meanings has led to a consequent rethinking of who is required to be engaged and why in the definition and representation of these values (Sandell 2002; Watson 2007; Golding 2014; Schofield

2014). Over the last two decades, heritage practitioners have been considering mechanisms to ensure different voices to enter the heritage identification and management, in particular exploring participatory approaches towards local heritage and community planning (Clark 2001; Byrne 2008; Pendlebury et al. 2009; Schofield 2014). Marginalising the role of people in the interpretation of the 'big history', excluding the local or individual stories, has generated a heritage presented through a narrow lens that often avoids complex reflections and interpretations. By analysing the power relationships that constitute the heritage phenomenon, Emma Waterton and Steve Watson suggest that there is a need to understand the 'representational role of heritage objects and, consequently, the cultural work they do in constructing meaning' (2013: 551). The most recent international cultural policies call into question the political nexus of heritage, as a discourse of the social world, heralding a 'community turn' and inclusivity in heritage and cultural practices, although a professional approach and a political status quo still prevails most of the time. Many scholars have been working on case studies with an evident conflict between the official and unofficial heritage (Gibson 2009), in particular concerning indigenous cultures and the clash between the Western understandings of heritage with 'other' cultures, especially challenging in the creation of an inclusive World Heritage List. Less attention is given to contexts where this friction is apparently non-existent, as within the same national culture. Could the definition of heritage used by professionals be so strongly affirmed and reinforced that laypersons slowly and inevitably lose their own understanding and ability to articulate what their heritage is? Does this risk convincing people that what they think heritage is, is not heritage because it is not officially recognised as heritage? Moreover, what is also interesting is to understand to what extent people take notice of the AHD. The intent of my research is to investigate if this division is perceived by people and how it could influence people's articulation of their own heritage.

### 2.2.3. The UNESCO World Heritage List

Since the late 1950s, UNESCO has provided the dominant intellectual and policy framework for international understandings and debates about the nature and value of heritage. On November 16, 1972 the UNESCO General Conference adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*

(hereafter *World Heritage Convention*) with the aim to identify and preserve cultural and natural heritage of 'outstanding universal value' (Article 1) and to provide heritage management guidelines to the State members involved. This convention, as argued by Smith (2015: 133), 'has not simply influenced management practices; it has defined the ways in which heritage as a cultural phenomenon has been understood'. The World Heritage List is the most well-known, but also the most criticised, outcome of the World Heritage Convention and an operational tool that has changed and has been implemented since its first appearance, following the debates developed within heritage studies. Due to the increasing importance attributed to social values in determining the heritage significance (Labadi 2007; Byrne 2008) and the acknowledgment that the same heritage object could be interpreted and attributed different values by different stakeholders and members of society (Ashworth et al. 2007), the World Heritage Committee had to face the challenging question of representativeness. What was evident when reviewing the list of designated World Heritage Sites was the unbalance between Western/European sites and non-Western sites (UNESCO 1994a and 1994b). Whose heritage values was the World Heritage List representing? As discussed by various academics (Graham et al. 2000; Ashworth et al. 2007; Cleere 2011), the idea of a World Heritage List composed of a set of places bearing 'outstanding universal value' is inconsistent when countries with monumental architectural traditions were represented to the detriment of countries with different understandings of heritage, primarily non-monumental cultures. The World Heritage List was embodying the values of an elite, omitting a large number of alternative heritages, from indigenous heritage to working-class heritage. In his analysis of UNESCO and cultural diversity, Mikka Pyykkönen (2012: 546) states that the final Convention text is:

> a consensus, trying to serve as many stakeholders' interests as possible, but still chiefly serving the interests of actors and countries which have been successful in building coalitions for their stands in the process of constructing the Convention.

In order to overcome these cultural biases, multifarious attempts were made to enhance the participation of non-Western states and their cultural producers, civil society organisations (CSOs), and cultural and social minorities (as the industrial and the working-class heritages) within the spheres of national and international cultural policies, in particular through the *Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List* (1994) and the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003).

The original expectation of the World Heritage List was to overcome national boundaries in order to catalogue and record heritage sites of 'outstanding universal values' for the purposes of collective international interest and cooperation, with a view to undermine the homogenisation process caused by globalisation. Nevertheless, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) argues, the list is itself a product of globalisation, driven by a series of economic and political transformations in which cultural tourism has come to dominate aspects of the world economy. Concerns about the exploitation of heritage for touristic purposes have been raised since the end of the 1980s, when visiting and experiencing heritage sites became a regular practice for wealthy contemporary global societies. In the English context, this topic has been largely discussed by Patrick Wright (1985), Robert Hewison (1987) and Kevin Walsh (1992) who provided a critical reading of the heritagisation phenomenon and its implications for the development of a creative heritage. In *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a climate of decline* (1987), Hewison coined the definition 'heritage industry' to describe what he considered to be the sanitization and commercialization of the version of the past produced as heritage in the UK. He argued that the rise of heritage as a form of popular entertainment distracted people from developing an interest in contemporary and critical culture, providing them instead with a view of culture that was finished and complete, and deeply-rooted in the past. The heritage industry was producing a re-imagined version of heritage as a utopia in opposition to the problems of the contemporary world (Harrison 2013: 99), forgetting that 'what matters is not the past, but our relationship with it' (Hewison 1987: 43). Following Hewison's concerns for a heritage that was becoming sterile, Walsh in *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World* (1992) used the term 'heritagisation' to refer to the process by which objects and places are transformed

from functional 'things' into objects of display and exhibition, analysing how heritage sites and museums were becoming tourist spaces.

In the years after 1972, governments, local businesses and interest groups would increasingly see World Heritage listing as an opportunity for revitalizing and contributing to national, regional and local economies (Ryan and Silvanto 2009, 2010). The World Heritage nomination started to be perceived as a mark of distinction, a guarantee of a site's value as a visitable destination, and governments started taking advantage of this symbol of wealth and status as an economic catalyst (Labadi and Long 2010). The late twentieth century saw a heritage 'boom' (Hewison 1987; Walsh 1992; Lowenthal 1998; Dicks 2004), a growing popular interest in heritage in general, and in the idea of World Heritage more particularly (Di Giovine 2009), which led to many governments utilising World Heritage status as a powerful way of advertising sites for tourism. World Heritage came to be used as a 'brand' in marketing destinations to international tourists, with the interest in economic benefits overcoming the original cultural and social objectives of the list. This economic development was more interested in a fabric-centric heritage, rather than spiritual connections with the heritage or in discussing conflictual heritage representations and interpretations connected to power relationships. The growth in local tourism has direct economic ramifications for individuals and groups, and the heritage and museum sectors have become key revenue generators, creating an economically driven desire to maintain static stereotypical forms of 'culture' for tourist consumption (Harrison 2013: 83).

J.P. Singh (2011: 104) argues that the humanitarian and democratic dimensions heralded by UNESCO conventions and policies are an apparent surface for other objectives such as the development of cultural industries and markets and the mechanisms that regulate them. According to him, the great humanitarian justifications legitimise other, more market-oriented objectives, such as developing countries' access to global markets and funds for supporting economic development. Taking the critical debate to the extreme, Marco D'Eramo introduced the term 'Unescocide' (2014) to describe the effects of mass tourism on World Heritage sites. The 'heritage industry' generated through the World Heritage List nomination and status has often caused a friction between local and universal values, between the 'communities with radically different ideas about the nature of

heritage, its relationship with contemporary life, and the appropriate manner in which it should be managed' (Harrison 2012: 89) and the UNESCO policies. In chapter five, section 3.2, I discuss in detail which heritage elements and values people living and working in the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato consider relevant in comparison to the key elements of the World Heritage nomination.

### 2.2.4. The dialogical model and the connectivity ontology: reorienting heritage towards contemporary social, political, economic and environmental concerns

What emerges from the above discussion is that the heritagisation process of a site could not be considered inclusive and representative without engagement with those who have interests – not exclusively economic but also socio-cultural – in the site itself. How should the traditional decision-making process be rethought in order to pursue inclusive methodologies and practices?

In *Acting in an Uncertain World: An Essay on Technical Democracy* (2011) Michel Callon, Pierre Lescoumes and Yannick Barthe introduce the model of the 'hybrid forum', conceived as a dialogical procedure. This model, applied to the heritage arena, suggests the creation of dialogical spaces of discussion where experts, non-experts, ordinary citizens and politicians come together to discuss in a democratic decision-making process. The objective is to undermine the antagonistic bureaucratic divide between laypersons and professionals. As Harrison comments (2013: 225):

> the hybrid forum provides a new set of instruments for heritage decision-making based on a model of heritage as inherently dialogical, and has important implications for the future of heritage as more open, inclusive, representative and creative.

The idea of the hybrid forum is proposed and developed in *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2012) by Harrison, who suggests the use of a new relational or dialogical model for the understanding of heritage. The model sees heritage 'as emerging from the relationship between a range of human and non-human actors

and their environments' (2012: 204). His aim is to broaden the connections of this heritage dialogue to a context made of environmental, political and social issues. This relational model is based on the connection between objects, places and practices that are integral to our understanding of the heritage and that recognise the 'interconnectedness of people, things and their environments in relation to heritage' (*ibidem*: 113). Harrison's ontological turn towards connectivity has been inspired by the work of a series of scholars, in particular Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2004), who suggests using indigenous and non-Western ontologies as an alternative to Western philosophies in understanding the nature of 'being in the world'. At the base of this ontology is the idea that humans and non-humans are linked by chains of *connectivity* that work together to keep the past alive in the present for the future. The consideration of heritage as something that is produced in the relationship between a series of human and non-human actors, 'who work together to keep the past alive in the present and to collectively build a common world' (*ibidem*: 220), has two main implications. The first is that this dialogical model 'describes the ways in which most people think about and experience heritage as a quality of lived experience in the contemporary world' (*ibidem*: 226). The second is that it encourages us to consider the relationship between heritage and other social, political and environmental issues.

The connectivity ontology is closely connected with the *actor-network theory* (ANT) developed by Bruno Latour and Michel Callon. The ANT argues that every social act is the result of an intricate network of relations in which both human and non-human actors (*actants*) interact in the creation of meanings. Through the ANT the two French sociologists provide a situational and embodied perspective on social action, with a focus on the interactions of both human and non-human participants or 'actants' in the creation of meaning, implying that both humans and non- human objects have the potential to 'act' and have agency. Although this theory was originally developed to understand the social and physical interdependencies that create meaning in science and technology, it can also be applied to the heritage context (Harrison 2013). Emma Waterton and Steve Watson suggest that 'actor networks can now be understood as any array of individuals, groups, objects, artefacts and intangibles that combine to make a field of activity around their conjunctions' and 'interests from a heritage point of view comes from the variety

and heterogeneity afforded to actants, which combine to create the network that is knowable as heritage, or heritage tourism, or a museum' (2013: 553).

If applied to the processes involved in developing the World Heritage List, this ontology helps to understand some deep controversies concerning the categorisation of heritage and the new relational models have the potential to challenge the existing principles outright rather than simply reorganise them through new categories. One of the major pitfalls of the *World Heritage Convention* was the application of the traditional Western division between culture and nature. In *We Have Never Been Modern* (1993), Latour summarises this way of thinking as the introduction of a philosophical 'Great Divide' between humans and non-humans, nature and culture, and mind and matter rooted in the Cartesian dualism that suggested that the mind is a non-physical substance that is separate from the body. By understanding heritage emerging from the relationship between people, objects, places and practices, the new 'dialogical' model overcomes the distinction or priorities between what is natural and what is cultural, what is tangible and what is intangible, and would eliminate the existing, subtle heritage hierarchy.

The connectivity ontology could also be used to unlock the issue concerning the active engagement of individuals and groups in the decision-making processes and in the management procedures, a right promoted by various international policies (*Aarhus Convention* 1998; *Burra Charter* 1979, 1999; *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* 2005) but which the State members struggle to put in practice. Indeed, if we assume that all heritage is co-produced, 'then we are all simultaneously producers and consumers of heritage' (Harrison 2013: 229), we have rights and we have duties. Using Jacques Rancière's words, we become *emancipated spectators*, 'blurring the boundary between those who act and those who look, between individuals and a collective body' (2011: 19). In fact, the ANT theory and the connectivity ontology pushed researchers both inside and outside of the heritage field 'to think through the ways in which more elusory everyday practices and processes intersect with the cultural world' (Waterton and Watson 2013: 554).

However, the 'hybrid forum' risk taking for granted that people want to participate in it. But is this always true? Do people want to participate? And if so, do they have the necessary tools and access to capacity-building? Also, do the

participation strategies developed by heritage professionals consider alternative ways to participate which are possibly more suitable for the different needs of the different groups involved? I will seek to answer these questions in chapter five, through the analysis of the data I extrapolated from the interviews to people living in the vineyard landscape.

## 2.3. Cultural Landscapes

### 2.3.1. The evolving meaning of 'landscape'

I opened chapter one with Cosgrove's definition of landscape as a 'way of seeing the world' to introduce the discussion concerning the emergence of competing definitions around this complex term. 'Landscape' is a debatable concept, 'which generations of scholars from various academic disciplines have sought to theorize, define and understand' (Wylie 2013: 57) in an attempt to unpack its multi-layered and multivocal nature. In this section, I investigate how 'landscape' has been interpreted and defined, focusing on the ontological parallels between heritage and landscape studies, 'with their epistemological, ideological and methodological twists and turns progressing amid a common, broad, and interdisciplinary intellectual space' (Harvey 2013: 152). The understanding of these two concepts as dynamic processes and the common increasing engagement with social theory (Graham et al. 2000; Harvey 2001, 2013; Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Ashworth et al. 2007) challenges the relationship between heritage and landscape, questioning the division of these entities. The cultural meanings and values attributed to them often overlap (Harvey 2013), to an extent that John Schofield describes as 'landscape is heritage, heritage is landscape' (2014). Drawing on this perspective, I investigate how international and supranational documents and conventions, in particular the UNESCO World Heritage List and the *European Landscape Convention*, identify and interpret 'landscape' as part of heritage, and what the implications are in terms of preservation and management.

In Western societies the concept of 'landscape' has traditionally been associated with an aesthetic and artistic discourse and perceived as something beautiful and also simple to understand, in the sense that everyone would be capable of appreciating it. The origins of this vision can be traced back to Plato, who in his *Timeo* (about 360 BC.) asserts that beautiful things are difficult to understand,

while the landscape seems to challenge this argument. This interpretation became particularly common at the end of the eighteenth century with the invention of the *panorama*, developing the idea of landscape as an 'optical show' (D'Angelo 2010: 67). Such a simplistic, and constraining, understanding of landscape as something visually appealing has since the end of the nineteenth century been questioned by geographers who introduced a more articulated approach to landscape, conceived as the natural environment shaped by human interaction. The path that led to the definition of 'cultural landscape' started with the writings of English, French and German geographers and related disciplines in the context of the search for identity by nation states (such as *Landscape* by Philip Gilbert Hamerton in 1885 and the manuals from Sigfried Passarge in the 1920s). The term was introduced in the 1920s-1930s by Professor Carl Sauer and developed at the Berkeley School of Human Geographers. In *The Morphology of Landscape* (1925), Sauer sought to demonstrate that nature does not create culture, rather culture working with and on nature creates ways-of-life. He considered human impact on the landscape to be a manifestation of culture, affirming that 'the cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural is the medium, and cultural landscape the result' (1925: 46). Therefore, he argued, in order to understand culture a geographer might learn to 'read' the landscape. This approach implies that landscape is a testimony, an expression of the human presence and should consequently be considered as part of the heritage and an element in identity-making processes.

The acknowledgment of landscape as a bearer of identity values and meanings raises questions concerning who determines and controls them. Cosgrove (1984) and Bender (2001) observed that landscapes are not 'neutral' spaces, but rather ideological concepts that 'represent a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature' (Cosgrove [1984] 1998: 15). Their interpretation is the result of selected stories and memories, becoming a text of dominant groups, 'the interpretative narratives that they weave, to further their activities in the present-future' (Bender 2001: 4). Thus, the idea of landscape cannot be reduced to an immediate and simple suggestion of a region or area, but it rather denotes the external world mediated through subjective human experience. As stated by Cosgrove, it is not 'merely the

world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world' ([1984] 1998: 13). What emerges from these considerations is that cultural landscapes are 'signifiers of the culture of those who have made them' (*ibidem*: 8). Consequently, dominant groups attempt to determine the limits of meaning for everyone else by attributing universal values to their own cultural expressions through traditions, texts, monuments, pictures and landscapes. The impact of the human factor is evident: it is deeply involved in the process of landscape formation, which proves to be an on-going process based on economic, social, political and cultural factors, and on a selection of memories, generating a rational landscape. Because of its complex nature, made of relationships and attempts of empowerment, landscape should not be simply considered as a collection of memoirs of the ancestral past, but rather as the result of the political map of the present. Understanding landscapes as largely symbolic entities that can be interpreted as texts that interact with social, economic and political institutions and can be regarded as practices that produce meanings, enables us to analyse landscape through the same processual framework described in section two. Despite the majority of cultural geographers endorsing and supporting the argument that landscape representations and practices need to also be understood in terms of cultural hierarchies and processes of exclusion, the definition of landscape as a 'cultural image' (Berger 1972; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988) presents some critical elements and limits. To focus on landscapes as symbolic entities and texts means to understand them as a representation that tends to express and reinforce the values of elitist dominant groups. However, such reading risks neglecting the complexity of images and a polyvocality of interpretation reflective of a wide array of social differences.

Stephen Daniels (1992) points out the whole range of economic, political, social and cultural issues that are encoded and negotiated through landscape discourse. If on the one hand, dominant interpretations could be detected through the reading of the landscape iconography; on the other hand, a single landscape can be viewed simultaneously in a variety of ways, demonstrating that hegemonic interpretations are always open to subversion. Therefore, the emergence of dominant visions does not impede the development of other alternative expressions of identity and belonging. How are these alternative narratives produced? Where do

they manifest themselves? Cosgrove's analysis of landscape as the reflection of power relationships has been criticized 'as being unduly narrow, not least because it fails to address issues such as gender, sexuality and race' (Graham et al. 2000: 32). As noted by John Wylie (2013: 60), 'the difficulty with this understanding of landscape was most definitely *not* the critical politics of culture and identity it advocated', rather the missing 'sense of landscape as a lived-in world' (*ibidem*: 60). This neglected aspect has been clearly defined by Tim Ingold in *The Temporality of Landscape* (1993). According to Ingold, the understanding of landscape as a space of power relations where dominant groups impose their iconographies, misses a sense of landscape as a lived-in world, as 'a material and sensuous world of everyday rhythms, patterns and performances in which "landscape" and "life" reciprocally shape each other – and in which, in fact, "landscape" and "life" cannot be meaningfully separated out from one another as discrete entities' (Wylie 2013: 60). This sense of landscape is underpinned by what Ingold refers to as 'the dwelling perspective', derived from a phenomenological approach to human beings. The conceptual framework developed by Ingold is based on the assumption that 'it is through being inhabited that the world becomes a meaningful environment' (Ingold 2000: 173). And if the word 'landscape' describes 'the everyday project of dwelling in the world', then it can also be defined as 'the world as it is known to those who dwell therein' (*ibidem*: 191). In summary:

> landscape […] is not the totality that you or anyone else can look *at*, it is rather the world *in which* we stand […] and it is within the context of this attentive involvement in landscape that the human imagination gets to work in fashioning ideas about it (*ibidem*: 207).

From this perspective, Ingold argues, human meaning and sense-making arises from the 'relational contexts of the perceiver's involvement in the world' (1993: 51), and not from a separate exercise of mentally reflecting upon one's activities and practices. As noted by Wylie (2013: 60), this implies that 'it is through our ongoing, lifelong practices of dwelling *in* and *with* the world […] that our understanding of ourselves and the world is shaped. And the name given to such practices of dwelling is: landscape'. The 'dwelling perspective' can be easily contextualised in the heritage

literature, showing debts to authors as Samuel (1976, 1994) and his championing of everyday experiences. In an important article on local and oral history, Samuel recognizes the value of local historians using different materials, including memory, to draw up 'fresh maps, in which people are as prominent as places' (1976: 199).

Thus, the conceptual platform proposed by Ingold, with landscape being understood as a bodily practice of dwelling and inhabitation, together with Samuel's theories, provides a challenging framework for the analysis of the role landscape plays in the identity-making process. In fact, both approaches could be applied to the questioning of international documents such as the UNESCO *World Heritage List* and the ELC, and the rise of local and personal values over global and universal, as well as national values. As argued by David Atkinson (2008), the focus on the local culture and values is part of a process of democratization, in terms of representations, as it produces a shift from the 'great stories' to more common, ordinary and everyday experiences. He affirms that a reconceptualization of heritage that moves landscape away from national and privileged narratives towards more local and personal perspectives 'steers attention away from high-profile heritage sites towards the less spectacular, quotidian and mundane places where social memory is produced and mobilised' (2008: 382). Drawing on these conceptual frameworks, and through the analysis of the interviews, in chapter five, sections 3.2 and 3.3, I explore how people living within the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato articulate their understandings of landscape, seeking to unpack in which ways it differs from that in formally recognized documents and policies.

### 2.3.2. The UNESCO category of 'cultural landscape'

In section 2.3 I outlined the controversial aspects embedded in the UNESCO World Heritage List and the deep questioning of representativeness which encourages a continuous modifying, implementing and adapting of the *World Heritage Convention* through the *Operational Guidelines*. The purpose of this on-going assessment is to include an increasing cultural diversity, as well as to address current socio-cultural issues. One of the objectives is to shift from a prevailing approach which values the 'extraordinary' and the monumental elements of heritage to one which promotes the representation of other cultural values, for example working-class and gender

perspectives. The implication is that solely material-driven preservation practices should be complemented by an approach that also celebrates intangible heritage, social values and meanings. In this context, a paramount objective is to overcome the division between 'nature' and 'culture', seeking to find a balance between cultural and natural heritage and to enhance the combined works of human beings and nature. Issues concerning the intrinsic link between people and their natural environment have also been debated within the nature conservationists' circle.

In 1988, during a General Assembly in Costa Rica, the IUCN (*International Union for Conservation of Nature*, also Advisory Body for the World Heritage Committee) recognized that landscapes which have been altered materially by human activities can be of great value, because they often include species and ecosystems that are dependent on such activities. Moreover, the preservation of both elements was considered as a positive impact on local economy, in particular through the development of tourism and related activities (Philips 1998: 32). In 1994 this approach was formally recognised and introduced in the IUCN Guidelines.[4] A further prompt to this debate came from the UN *Conference on Environment and Development* in Rio de Janeiro (1992), the first 'Earth Summit' to stress the cultural, economic and social causes of environmental deterioration. The post-Rio process paved the way for a new way of thinking about human beings and their environment, linking culture and nature with a vision of sustainable development. It emphasised the need to look for approaches to environmental management which embrace all these considerations. Landscape diversity was recognized as a resource being impacted on by economic, social and cultural globalization processes and technological advances with a homogenizing effect (Mitchell et al. 2009: 28).

The debate was thus mature when in 1992 the *World Heritage Convention* implemented the list with the category of 'cultural landscape', becoming the first international legal instrument to recognize and protect landscape as an integral part of the heritage. It may be argued that the very notion of landscape is highly cultural,

[4] 'An area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area' (IUCN 1994: 22).

and it may seem redundant to speak about 'cultural landscapes'. Nevertheless, the descriptive term 'cultural' has been added to express the human interaction with the environment and the presence of tangible and intangible cultural values in the landscape (*ibidem*: 17). The aim of this evolution has been 'to create linkages between nature and culture, people and places, intangible and tangible heritage' (Fowler 2003: 8), also amplifying the respect for underrepresented groups, in all their diversity and uniqueness, promoting 'innovative approaches and dialogues, respecting the environment and diverse cultural identities' (*ibidem*: 8). The major changes taking place in the interpretation of this global conservation instrument have been an opening towards cultures in regions other than Europe, a recognition of the non-monumental character of the heritage of cultural landscapes, and an acknowledgment of the links between cultural and biological diversity, specifically with sustainable land-use (Mitchell et al. 2009: 3). Francesco Bandarin, previous Assistant Director General of UNESCO, has claimed that the innovation of this category lies both at conceptual and operational levels, mainly because on-site conservation allows 'a greater understanding and recognition of traditional custodianship and customary land tenure as valid forms of protection for World Heritage, making an important contribution to sustainable development and community involvement' (cit. in Fowler 2003: 8). The World Heritage 'cultural landscape' is divided into three categories:

1) *clearly defined landscape*, designed and created intentionally by man;
2) *organically evolved landscape*, this category has two subcategories: relict (or fossil) landscape, where the evolutionary process came to an end, but its significant distinguishing feature are still visible in material form; and continuing landscape that retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in process;
3) *associative cultural landscape*, introduced by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent (UNESCO 2017a, Annexe III: 81).

In addition to 'outstanding universal value' all the properties ought to satisfy the condition of 'integrity'. In the specific context of cultural landscape, integrity is 'the

extent to which the layered historic evidence, meanings and relationships between elements remains intact and can be interpreted in the landscape' (Mitchell et al. 2009: 22). What is required is not simply the integrity of nature itself, but also the integrity of the communities' relationship with nature. This relationship has to be sustainable as well, so as to ensure that the capacity of natural and cultural resources required to meet human needs into the future is not diminished. What constitutes sustainability in the maintenance of World Heritage cultural landscapes is a limited change, provided that the overall character and significance of the resource is maintained. The *World Heritage Convention* requires that monitoring sustainability, in all its forms, needs to be embedded in the total management framework (*ibidem*: 28). Effectively managing change is directly linked to sustaining the authenticity and integrity of the World Heritage over time.

As part of the heritage, cultural landscape has been regarded through the same lens of aesthetic and historical values and validated according to these criteria. These sites, however, are for many local people 'important in their own right by providing a beacon for a sense of belonging, a link with the past and a symbol of permanence' (Davis 2009: 5). This implies that the acknowledgment of the cultural significance of a landscape could not be exclusively determined by an external judgment on the basis of universal values but should rather be the result of a shared awareness within local communities. Despite the evident attempts to widen the representativeness of the World Heritage List, the selection of heritage sites on the basis of 'outstanding universal values' still presents a top-down approach to heritage processes. As argued by Harvey, 'what is required is an approach that places ordinary people's feelings towards a delineated World Heritage Site at the centre of interpretation' (2013: 161). This entails developing a more fluid sense of heritage, one that can be attentive to wider policy ambition, but which also can resonate with the people who live, and are part of, the landscape.

### 2.3.3. European Landscape Convention: widening the idea of landscape

The international heritage policy developed by UNESCO has a direct influence on the development of national and regional heritage policies. In the case of cultural landscapes, the Council of Europe's ELC (2000) owes much to the concept of 'cultural landscapes' proposed by UNESCO and to theoretical debates concerning its

definition. The ELC initiated a Europe-wide system of protection, management and planning for European landscapes and international cooperation on landscape issues, by validating the theory that the landscape has a role in the elaboration of local cultures. This suggests that its preservation is not exclusively related to exceptional values, but rather to social and cultural values relevant to the people who live in it, thus focusing on the rights of individuals and groups to own their heritage. The novelty of this conceptualisation, which distinguishes the ELC from the *World Heritage Convention*, is that it does not merely emphasise the harmonious coexistence of natural and historical, biological and cultural elements within the landscape, but – and above all - it recognises the landscape as an identity resource and one of the factors that contribute to the identity building process (D'Angelo 2010: 43). As it is widely discussed in chapter four, section 3.1, this convention considers every part of the landscape as a bearer of social and cultural meanings: the areas of particular beauty, the landscapes of everyday life as well as those degraded.

The origins of the ELC can be traced back to 1995, when the European Environment Agency presented the dossier *Environment in Europe*, with a specific focus on landscape, demanding the European Council to elaborate a convention about rural landscapes. One year later the European Environment Ministers adopted the *Pan-European Biological and Landscape Diversity Strategy*. The measures proposed for landscapes were intended to:

> prevent the further deterioration of the landscapes' associated cultural and geological heritage in Europe, and to preserve their beauty and identity. To correct the lack of integrated perception of landscapes as a unique mosaic of cultural, natural and geological features and to establish a better public and policy-making awareness and more suitable protection status through Europe (1996: 40).

The initial workshops for the writing of the ELC represented an important space and moment for a debate that started a process of approach and sharing amongst European countries, where the multiple interpretations of landscape and expressions of different cultures had to find contact points and compromises. For

this reason, the ELC should be considered as the expression of a common European project, whose nodal point is represented by a new and vast idea of landscape. Thus, this convention is the only international instrument that addresses 'landscape' as an issue: it recognizes that landscape is an essential feature of human surroundings, that it contributes to the formation of local cultures and that it is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity. It aims to encourage public authorities to adopt policies and measures at local, regional, national and international levels for protecting, managing and planning landscapes throughout Europe, supporting the idea that all landscapes are able to determine the quality of people's living.

Accepting the theory that landscape – no matter its qualitative characters - is the result of human actions and of the experiences and engagement of different people with the world around them means that people need to be actively involved in the preservation and management of their own landscape. The main objective of the ELC is therefore to provide a suitable tool for a social, political and legal approach to the landscape and to offer European citizens a system of international legal guarantees able to answer their questions about landscape and the environmental context. By affirming that landscape 'means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (Article 1 a), this document emphasises the involvement of individuals and groups in building the perception of their everyday context and the encouragement of citizens to take active part in the decision procedures that concern landscape at a local level, claiming that the idea of landscape can be approached in a participative and democratic way (Priore 2008: 41).

In this context, the dominating line of thought is that preservation depends upon the engagement of people, and therefore places where people co-exist with nature are worthy of special attention (Philips 1998: 32). Article 5 recognises landscape as 'an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity', claiming that the landscape is a key element of individual and social-being and that its protection, management and planning entail rights and responsibilities for everyone. The ELC has become the international legal reference of a political project that aims to share and strengthen a new approach to the issues concerning

the landscape and the promotion of the landscape quality by engaging people in the most relevant public decisions and implementing procedures.

Undoubtedly the *World Heritage Convention* has a different role than the European document and refers only to places of 'outstanding universal value', while the ELC does not solely consider landscape through the lens of the 'exceptional'. In fact, the latter underlines the cultural significance of the entire landscape as people's space of action, through Ingold's 'dwelling perspective', in any case worthy of the action of safeguarding, management or rescue - in the case of a degraded landscape. By attributing value to this last category of landscape, the ELC acknowledges that social and identity values developed by local communities are relevant and far from being insignificant despite the lack of legal recognition. Consequently, it is for them that landscape has to be preserved and participation becomes a nodal element in landscape planning. In this context, heritage is not a luxury and as such an approach to preservation entails rights and responsibilities for everyone (Mitchell et al. 2009: 29).

## 2.4. Participation

### 2.4.1. Landscape and participation

What emerges from sections two and three is that the need to broaden and democratise the heritage base is increasingly being recognised within policy frameworks. However, international and supranational policy frameworks, despite an explicit attempt to encourage the engagement of individuals and groups in the assessment of social and cultural significance through direct participation in decision-making processes, do not define how to actively involve them and what kind of resources and tools could be used in this process. Over the last two decades, projects of local listing and community planning have been developed with the aim to tackle traditional conservation planning and materialistic approaches to heritage and to identify possible mechanisms for the inclusion of social meanings and relational resources. Such alternative forms of designation seek to recognise buildings and spaces which are considered cultural markers at a local level (Schofield 2009), in particular for migrant communities (Gardn'er 2004), working class (Pendlebury et al. 2009) or from a gendered perspective (Stefano 2018). As outlined by James Gard'ner, 'without recognising what different communities value

within the environment, the built heritage of these groups will continue to be ignored or only recognised as part of our common heritage by chance' (2004: 89). Thus, a fundamental moment in the definition of participatory practices should be to understand which the groups connected with the landscape are, how do they articulate heritage and identity values and how do they engage with the landscape. Such analysis requires heritage professionals to be aware of coexisting values' assessments, as well as potential interests in conflict. In doing so, inclusive designation processes could be considered as suitable mechanisms to unveil power relations and social injustices and to unpack the reasons of possible omission in heritage interpretation and representation. As noted by Maggie Roe (2013: 335), 'there is an assumption that through the interaction with landscape, ways of more sustainable and democratic living can be learned and achieved'. Indeed, landscape, being the space and place of people's action and activities, can be used to analyse implicit or explicit power relationship and to challenge socio-cultural inequalities.

Discussing the politics of recognition within her theory of social justice, Nancy Fraser (2003) introduces the concept of 'parity of participation', which 'requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers' (2003: 36). As Fraser argues, the process to reach this parity is nevertheless complex and impeded by three kinds of obstacles: economic maldistribution, cultural misrecognition and political injustices of representation. The consequence is that some people are included in the dominant groups who lead the decision-making process, while others are separated from them by a 'glass ceiling' (Bryant 1984) that limits their social and cultural progress. This is valid also for heritage as a social phenomenon. Waterton and Smith argue that 'through the institutionalisation of the trope 'community', a range of people suffer from status inequality and are thus unable to interact on terms of parity in heritage matters' (2010b: 10). These people are not only underestimated by cultural authorities concerning the expression of heritage meanings, but they are often unaware of the resources necessary to articulate and to participate in heritage projects. Even if the need to share power is recognised and encouraged at a theoretical level, in the practical realm many professionals within the heritage sector seem reluctant to acknowledge the agency of individuals and groups, and to allow them the status to participate on a par. Although the idea of participation has entered the heritage

discourse, laypersons often continue to be involved only in the final steps of a heritage process. This dominant approach seems to reinforce their subordination and affirm the status of expertise, rendering communities 'as much as their heritage, as *subject to* management and preservation' (*ibidem*: 11), rather than as actors with their own agency. Waterton and Smith have criticised how heritage studies have interpreted the notion of 'community', denouncing a widespread, ill-conceived and unhelpful paradigm that too often presents communities as a romantic and unproblematic group of people sharing values, ideas and beliefs. This simplistic vision, which does not take into account all the frictions within the same community and amongst communities, impedes rather than promoting the development of inclusive and participatory cultural policies. As suggested by Waterton and Smith, it is essential to promote a 'politically engaged and critical conceptualisation; one that engages with social relationships in all their messiness, taking account of action, process, power and change' (*ibidem*: 5). What emerges in the analysis of the debate concerning people's engagement is that the heritage sector has been fostering a multitude of community-based projects, which have been managed more as inquiries into the nature of heritage rather than as practices that enable the understanding of how communities articulate their heritage and cultural values. This means that 'community based' projects still tend to do things *for* communities, with a paternalistic vision that assumes a professional-layperson hierarchy, rather than *with* them.

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein theorised the 'ladder of participation' to discuss what she considered the rhetoric of participation and to problematise citizens' power in determining political and economic processes. As she argued, 'participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy – a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone (…) however this consensus is reduced when participation means distribution of power' (1969: 216). Arnstein introduced the idea of a ladder of eight rungs through which evaluate the levels of participation: from 'non-participation' to 'citizen control', that is when 'usually excluded individuals and groups 'obtain the majority of decision-making seats or full managerial power' (*ibidem*: 217). In the higher levels of participation, the usually omitted participants acquire the sources and tools to directly govern a program (or an institution) and are 'in full charge of policy and

managerial aspects' and are 'able to negotiate the conditions under which "outsiders" may change them' (*ibidem*: 216). This framework can be interestingly applied to understand participation in heritage planning and to explore whether decision-making processes have been designed so to ensure the development of a collaboration able to engage dispersed communities and to decentralise power.

### 2.4.2. The agency of 'making' heritage: the power relationships between 'experts' and 'non-experts'

The prerequisite to creating a 'hybrid forum' (Callon et al. 2011) which aims to develop inclusive planning based on more participation and collaboration between professionals, policy-makers and the public, is to understand how different groups articulate their understanding of heritage and landscape. Indeed, by unpacking the agency and needs of the different groups involved in this process it would be possible to better valorise their capacity building. Despite the fact that partnership working is encouraged by international documents and policies, it has not been clarified how empirical and normative knowledge could be integrated. How could the professional's scientific knowledge be combined with people's ordinary knowledge? As noted by Roe (2013: 345), the main issue is due to the 'differences in values and priorities between the researcher and the researched', which has often determined tensions between experts and laypersons, especially in terms of power relationships and power balance. This conflict risks causing a considerable sense of knowledge deficit, 'which can be described as a *participation inhibitor*' (*ibidem*: 348, emphasis in original). As Schofield argues (2014):

> stakeholders other than authoritative, elected or appointed heritage experts often feel unconfident and unqualified to articulate views on the heritage they value, perhaps because they are not familiar with the professional language of heritage, or are wary of expressing personally held views in the context of rational or 'scientific' enquiry.

The lack of a participative identification and management of heritage has often created friction between experts and non-experts, as well as between local actors and global processes, generating what Anna Tsing has defined 'zones of awkward

engagement' (2005). The frictions between different actors also led to the development of the concept of 'representativeness', which Harrison has described as the skill to make heritage values representative of diverse members of society – not only those in positions of authority - by being flexible and able to change with time (2013: 197). This network of 'actors' requires one to 'consider agency not as an individual act of will, but as something that is distributed across collectives' (*ibidem*: 32) and implies that 'agency is thus contingent and emergent within social collectives, involving both human and non-human actors, and taking many different forms' (*ibidem*: 32). Framing heritage within an interpretation and production of the past in the present leads to questioning and rethinking the hierarchy of who and what practices are involved in the process of 'making' heritage, who the 'actors' with agencies are and how these agencies could co-exist.

The concept of the 'actor-network theory' (ANT), described in section 2.4, helps in constructing a framework that focuses on agency, allowing for heritage to be seen as the result of the interaction of various agents that inevitably create conflicting visions of heritage. Besides, it allows a more realistic and sophisticated exploration of the way in which heritage is utilized and produced by diverse groups and individuals who make appeals to it. By analysing the relations of domination-exclusion between agencies, interpreting behaviours of resistance or recalcitrance, Callon (2005: 3-5) has discussed the existence of different agencies that include both humans, non-humans (that is, the technologies they employ) and the world surrounding them. In this context, Latour (2005) notes that all parts of the collective are potentially involved in the distribution and redistribution of agency. Asymmetries between agencies may be considerable, and certain arrangements of collectives may be capable of deploying particular forms of agency strategically while others have less capacity for free will. To explain the composition of a network within the heritage context, Harrison used Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari ([1988] 2004) definition of 'assemblage' (*agencement*), applied in the sociological field to refer to a series of heterogeneous groupings in which grouping itself can be distinguished as a whole, independent from the sum of its parts. These groupings are both social and cultural, and they are mixed, so that they can represent a unifying group not only amongst humans, but also between culture and nature. The agencement model could, for example, be used to describe heritage and landscape,

as the result of human groups (people living in the landscape, visitors, experts) as well as non-human groups (spaces, practices). The most important implication of using this model is the flattening of the existing hierarchy of relationships, which separates matter and mind, nature and culture, humans and non-humans. Using Harrison's words, 'this focuses our attention on the ways in which things and people are involved in complex, interconnected webs of relationships across time and space, rather than seeing objects and ideas about them as somehow separate from one another' (2012: 35).

### 2.4.3. The Faro Convention and the 'New Heritage' theory

The UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) for the first time declared that 'everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits' (Article 27). Since then, 'participation' has become a driving principle in international documents and policies that support people's active engagement throughout the decision-making process, from heritage identification to management.[5] A foundation stone in the definition of the right of individuals and groups to access and participate in their heritage is the Council of Europe's *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (hereafter *Faro Convention*) signed in 2005. This convention defines cultural heritage as:

> a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time (Article 2).

This definition draws together the most challenging issues introduced in this literature review. Heritage is understood as a resource identified by the people who relate to it, overcoming the concept of 'ownership'. Recalling the ELC definition of

[5] *Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters* 1998; *European Landscape Convention* 2000; *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* 2003; *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* 2017.

landscape, the *Faro Convention* includes 'all aspects of the environment', avoiding any distinction between extraordinary and ordinary heritage values and meanings. Finally, heritage is seen from a processual perspective, referring to values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions which are 'constantly evolving' and 'not stuck at a particular point in time' (Schofield 2014: 5). Article 1 identifies 'democratic individual and collective rights to enjoy, use and appreciate cultural heritage', providing the opportunity to facilitate a responsible exercise of these rights. Thus, this document recognises that everyone in society has the right to participate in the heritage of their choice. Challenging the AHD, it strongly affirms that 'people have their own views of heritage and will no longer simply accept the official view' (*ibidem*: 7). Such an approach recognizes the potential inclusivity of cultural heritage and the heritage contribution to identity and social cohesion, also acknowledging that people can benefit from the use of heritage both individually and collectively. The wider definition of heritage, and the related principles, 'can […] form the basis for a new approach to heritage and engagement with it' (*ibidem*: 5) and suggests revisiting the objectives of heritage management. In these terms, preservation is not the unique aim, but so is sustainability, conceived as a cultural phenomenon, 'not merely a process for environmental protection or green issues but one that speaks directly to the relationship of people with the world' (Fairclough 2009b: 125).

The democratic approach emphasised in the *Faro Convention* demonstrably fits the concept of landscape introduced by the ELC: 'both are unifying concepts, because they bring together previously separate features of the world into a stronger whole and both sit at the interface between people's perception of the world and the world itself' (Fairclough 2009a: 30). The ELC and the *Faro Convention* propose a more plural aspect of heritage management, with new insights into the relationship between professionals and laypersons, giving voice to the pressure for expanding the canon coming from 'non-experts' but highly engaged groups. This does not aim to underestimate or devalue the role of heritage professionals; it rather concerns the role of authority – how it is used, where it comes from (Fairclough 2009: 38). The ground-breaking element of these conventions has been to recognise the value of the 'local' and the 'ordinary', particularly in the context of greater democratic participation and the embedding of heritage values into social attitudes

(*ibidem*: 30). However, despite the normative recognition of these principles appearing explicit and clear, at a practical level there is still uncertainty about who the groups involved are and which methodologies should be used to integrate participation in decision-making processes (chapter four).

Watson and Waterton argue that the delicate opportunity of engaging communities, if introduced with an uncritical and unexamined view of heritage, could tend to generate an 'equally uncritical, and thus unproblematic, view of a community's engagement with it' (2010: 3). As they discuss, the paradox is that, even that which has already been labelled as 'public heritage' lacks a real community engagement, because there is no distinct role for the 'public' within the management process (with some notable exceptions as the Heritage Lottery Fund, Maeer 2017). Instead, this role is found at the very end of the development, in the form of educational or informational criteria.

Given this perspective, a fundamental issue is to understand how to establish 'transparent, inclusive and fair relationships with all communities' (Watson 2007: 2). What heritage really offers is to be one of the most potent ways in which 'people connect themselves to their past, imbue the present with their memories and create high quality places that are distinguished from one another by their history as much as by any other single factor' (Fairclough 2009a: 29). Within this context, landscape plays a double role both as an integral part of the cultural heritage and as a 'living' site. These intertwined characteristics generate complex questions relating to the coexistence between preservation needs and everyday life, as well as to the negotiation of values in order to develop a sustainable management that enhances the safeguarding of local traditions along with the production of new heritage. A new generation of heritage professionals and practitioners is proactively addressing the stewardship of cultural property, its representation and interpretation, convinced that, using Raymond Williams' words, 'culture can never be reduced to its artefacts while it is being lived'([1958] 1960: 343), despite this being what museums have tended to do for a long period (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 165).

Through his theory of the 'new heritage' Fairclough elucidates the need to develop a new approach to heritage conservation, suggesting that heritage should be used in a creative way, through preservation practices that enhance development and change, rather than relying on traditional fabric-based conservation practices.

As it will be broadly discussed in chapter four, section 4.3.2, Fairclough suggests that the management of heritage should be more forthright in developing cultural policies that seek to put people 'at the centre, not on the periphery of the debate and of decision making' (Fairclough 2009a: 37). He notes that the ELC, together with other international documents such as the *Faro Convention*, legitimizes the 'new heritage', which implies conservation policies and philosophies that overtake traditional heritage discourses.

### 2.4.4. Valuing everyday life

The rethinking of policy rationales and frameworks that characterised the beginning of the twenty-first century, in particular with the ELC and the *Faro Convention*, emphasises the need for a forthright engagement with the everyday life, both as a form of knowledge and a set of practices, in order to reframe cultural policies in an attempt to level out power relationships. Thus, the 'everyday' began to be considered as an important tool in helping realise the cultural potential of both individuals and groups as well as in developing inclusive identity-making processes. The articulation of everyday values entails that cultural policies should replace top-down approaches to participation with bottom-up methodologies able to actively engage people. In fact, by understanding the everyday life values of different groups - not only the dominant ones - it is possible to unfold aspects of wider social life, making sociologists 'think about society not as a set of structural arrangements but as a moving and dynamic entity that has a rhythm and a temporality' (Back 2015: 820).

The concept of 'everyday life' is a relatively recent phenomenon, which appeared in social thinking in the 1920s and emerged as a sociological area of research after the Second World War (Bennett and Watson 2002: x), both as a type of experience and as a field of analysis. The sociology of everyday life has been defined by Bennett and Watson (2002: ix) as 'an area of inquiry in which the study of the forms of social behaviour and social interaction that take place within everyday social settings and the analysis of more general social processes and relationships meet and intermesh'. In their reconstruction of the development of the concept of 'everyday life', Bennett and Watson clarify that the early philosophical uses of the term were rather negative. In fact, the 'everyday' was considered 'a devalued term compared with

other ways of living which aspired to a higher, more authentic form of experience (*ibidem*: xiv), and therefore understood in terms of routine or banality. Indeed, in Western culture, the term 'everyday life' has been traditionally associated with the daily life of 'ordinary people', of the working and middle classes, as a way to distinguish them from the 'daily lives of the members of powerful social elites or classes' (*ibidem*: x). It is not the objective of this literature review to retrace the development of the 'everyday' as a sociological term. However, it is useful to cite some of the scholars who contributed in its revaluation, in order to understand how these thoughts have influenced cultural and heritage studies.

A founding text in cultural studies is the *Critique of Everyday Life* (1947) by Henri Lefebvre. In his analysis of modern capitalism, the French sociologist and philosopher critiques the triviality of the quotidian experience of the working classes, claiming that it nonetheless remains the only source of resistance and change. As he argues, 'there was a power concealed in everyday life's apparent banality, a depth beneath its triviality, something extraordinary in its very ordinariness' ([1968] 1971: 37). In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), Michel de Certeau argues that it is within the spaces and places of everyday life that power is routinely resisted and contested, stating that resistance is not manifested exclusively through forms of explicit political activity, but rather expressed through the routines of everyday cultural practices. Everyday spaces are the places where different stories overlap and are entwined. Addressing specifically the question of city planning, where institutions of power are considered as 'producers' and individuals as 'consumers', de Certeau encourages those in charge of city planning and management to acknowledge the multiple and ephemeral fragments of memories that form the histories of contemporary places (de Certeau 1998). An important prompt to the process that led to valuing everyday values came from the new social movements, which aimed to give voice to oppressed groups who have been silenced for a long time, such as the feminist and black movements. This approach has shone a light on alternative understandings of the power relations of the everyday, suggesting new ways of living the everyday in a more democratic way, and challenging the boundaries of knowledge (Bennett and Watson 2002).

By engaging with the spaces and places of everyday life, these thinkers have contributed to challenging the traditional notions of heritage and histories. In the

heritage discourse, in particular the AHD, everyday life has been largely conceived as an aspect of heritage that is not recognized as listable, mainly for the 'absence of uncertainty, risk, a perception of threat, or the need to compete for attention with other interests that are perceived to be detrimental to them' (Harrison 2013: 18). Everyday life has been referred to as 'custom' or 'traditions': 'a set of repetitive, entrenched, sometimes ritualized practices that link the values, beliefs and memories of communities in the present with those of the past' (*ibidem*: 18).

One of the most influential thinkers in cultural studies, for his argument in favour of valuing the everyday, was Raymond Williams, who in his important works *Culture is Ordinary* (1958) and *Culture and Society (1780-1950)* (1958) argued for a redrawing of the cultural landscape by bringing it into dialogue with the quotidian and thus reconsidering the boundaries of what we mean by culture. This recognition of everyday life has led to a concentration on the lived experience. By reorienting the attention towards everyday life, Williams suggests that a democratic turn in cultural policies is possible. In these terms, attributing value to everyday life could be interpreted as 'a part of the democratization of political and cultural life' (Bennett and Watson 2002: xiii).

However, traditions and the quotidian aspects of culture are rarely intended as part of the 'official' heritage. In some contexts, this lack of representativeness has conflicted with a model of heritage that emphasises the outstanding, remarkable aspects of heritage. This is a friction that has often concerned the reliability of the World Heritage List, and which has led to the introduction of the category of intangible heritage (*Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* 2003), as well as the development of an attentiveness to what is easily discarded as unimportant (Goffman 1959). Heralding the importance of alternative forms of knowledge has meant declaring the need to safeguard the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills that individuals and groups recognize as part of their cultural heritage. As suggested by Jill Ebrey:

> it is perhaps only through a proper research engagement with everyday participation, that we can fully understand the impact on individuals and communities, of financial capitalism and globalisation, of austerity or,

more positively, the ways in which diverse populations "rub along together" in the convivial everyday'(2016: 159).

Understanding everyday life is therefore a way to understand how, in practical terms, cultural, social, economic and political elements interact and influence each other.

Nevertheless, if heritage professionals intend to take account of everyday values, they have to be aware of how people articulate their heritage value. This understanding entails working on the language used to define meanings and values. Indeed, Les Back affirms that one of the most challenging issues faced by professionals in understanding everyday life as part of heritage is that 'the way we write about everyday life can seem absurdly inaccessible to the very people who inhabit it. Instead, we need to find ways to write about everyday life that are open, recognisable and legible to those who live it' (2015: 834). I discuss this point in some depth in chapter five, by emphasising the semantic differences between heritage professionals and laypersons.

## 2.5. Authenticity

### 2.5.1 Authenticity and the World Heritage List

A core concept in the UNESCO preservation and management discourse is 'authenticity', a fundamental prerequisite for a World Heritage Site nomination, which has to be 'sustained or enhanced over time' (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraph 96) through a framework of monitoring processes. The process of certification and accreditation of authenticity is generally conferred on authoritative individuals recognised as 'experts' or who have institutionalised positions, such as ICCROM and IUCN at international level, and government authorities at national and local levels. The rationale of this approach to authentication is that heritage authorities have the power to confirm or certify a site, object or event as 'original', 'genuine', 'real' or 'trustworthy' based on scientific knowledge (Selwyn 1996: 26), with 'very little participation from the public and little reference to or acknowledgment of their emotional engagement with heritage objects' (Zhu 2015: 603). Such approach is based on a materialistic perspective, which legitimates expertise authority as it understands authenticity as an 'objective and measurable attribute inherent in the

material fabric, form and function of artefacts and monuments' (Jones 2010: 182). The legitimization of heritage authenticity becomes a tool to create consensus as well as a power relation with 'non-experts' and local people, who are mainly excluded from this process. Erik Cohen and Scott A. Cohen (2012) define this power as 'cool authentication'. The concentration of decisional authority in the hands of a few professionals has been understood as an imposition of the 'concept of authenticity on local heritage practices in the process of nomination, conservation and management' (Zhu 2015: 594), raising attention to the effects of heritage on local traditions, cultural practices and daily life. The rise of postmodernism, poststructuralism and constructivism has destabilised the idea that there is an actual, true, genuine or essentialist identification of authenticity (Reisinger and Steiner 2006). Over the last two decades, the framing of authenticity as an 'objective' and scientific data has been challenged and recent academic writing has explored the complexity of authenticity and its cultural construction (Lowenthal 1992, 1995; Smith 2006; Jones 2010). Several new approaches in sociological and anthropological theories have emerged, converting the focus from scientific to humanistic perspectives (Wang 1999; Jones 2010, 2013; Zhu 2015).

In the context of the World Heritage List, authenticity denotes the verification of information sources about relevant values, which means 'that they are truthful and that the site is a genuine and authentic representation of what it claims to be' (Mitchell et al. 2009: 25). Connected to the concept of authenticity is the definition of 'sustainability'. What constitutes sustainability in the maintenance of World Heritage cultural landscapes is a limited change, provided that the overall character and significance of the resource is maintained. The *World Heritage Convention* entails that monitoring sustainability, in all its forms, needs to be embedded in the total management framework (*ibidem*: 28). Effectively managing change is directly linked to sustaining the authenticity and integrity of the World Heritage over time. The *Operational Guidelines* claim that:

> the ability to understand the value attributed to the heritage depends on the degree to which information sources about this value may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent

> characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning as accumulated over time, are the requisite bases for assessing all aspects of authenticity (2017, Paragraph 80).

The *Ethics and Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2015a) suggests that safeguarding policies and practices should respect the dynamic and living nature of cultural intangible heritage and authenticity should not create concerns and obstacles. Nonetheless, the UNESCO articulation of authenticity raises some challenging questions: if heritage and landscapes are contextual and constructed phenomena, how could authenticity be identified and preserved over time? Drawing on Jones' claim that it is 'the networks of relationships between people, places and things that appear to be central' (Jones 2010: 181) in how people experience and negotiate authenticity, I explore how local people construct their idea of authenticity and in which ways this differs – or not – from the definitions provided in formal documents.

### 2.5.2 The Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention

What emerges from the UNESCO conservation principles is that the idea of 'authenticity' is an influential factor in the determination of identification, preservation and management processes, but at the same time it is a concept deeply rooted in Western conservation theories. The bias towards a Western, material-centric approach to conservation has been demonstrated to be non-inclusive of other cultures and alternative knowledge systems (UNESCO 1994a). The creation of a World Heritage List which aims to be culturally inclusive and representative of a collective memory of humanity, thus, necessitated a reformulation of the definition of 'authenticity'. The topic was the focus of discussion by a number of experts from UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM who met at the *Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention* (1994) in Nara, Japan, and formulated the *Nara Document on Authenticity*. The objective of the conference, declared in the 'Preamble', was:

> to challenge conventional thinking in the conservation field, and debate ways and means of broadening our horizons to bring greater respect for cultural and heritage diversity to conservation practice (ICOMOS 1994).

On this occasion, it was recognized that the test of authenticity should not be limited to the material aspects, rather it should comprise the use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, language and other forms of intangible heritage, and spirit and feeling that characterise a cultural heritage site. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage and their meanings, is a requisite basis for assessing authenticity. Pendlebury states that 'it is perhaps no coincidence that the Nara Document was drawn up in Japan, where a quite different tradition exists' (2009: 25). In fact, in various Eastern cultures, such as the Japanese culture, authenticity rests not in the material fabric but in the continuation of the building tradition and techniques and in sustaining the continuing use (Larkham 1996). This implies that authenticity has to be put in relation to the concept of 'continuity' and 'community'. An important premise of the Nara Convention is that 'the responsibility for cultural heritage and the management are, first and foremost, in the hands of the cultural community that generated it, and to which it is relevant' (Article 8). Thus, values are the expression of a 'heritage community' and the conservation of cultural heritage is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage (Article 9). This means recognising that 'responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently, to that which cares for it' (Article 8). Being responsible for the heritage implies a direct and active engagement of local communities in the decision-making process of preservation practices and requires their expectations to be respected. Moreover, to relativize the concept of authenticity is a method to understand it as the product of diverse, culturally specific regimes of meaning and value.

## 2.6 Conclusions

This research sits within a multidisciplinary body of work that seeks to challenge readings of heritage and landscape, addressing them as processual phenomena

underpinned by power relationships. Positioning the thesis in this way enables me to unpack and examine in detail the complex relations between heritage participation and socio-economic impact. As discussed throughout the chapter, an analysis of the groups engaged in the identification, interpretation, preservation and management of heritage sites unveils social injustice and discrimination. I argue that the analysis of the heritage discourses used both by experts and laypersons, implemented with a focus on individual lives enables the emergence of cultural, social and political questions regarding the construction of landscape. If on the one hand, landscapes should be interpreted as the spaces where power relations and conflicts take place (Cosgrove 1984; Bender 2001) and hence are the expression of dominant groups; on the other hand, it is through the everyday lived experience that traditions, ways of life and beliefs, are continuously constructed and re-constructed. Both understandings are necessary in order to discuss the potential democratic effects of participation within landscapes and the macro socio-economic and political implications it could have. In the next chapter I explain the methodology used to investigate the gaps that emerged from this literature review and the methods I used to analyse the data collected during the fieldwork.

# Chapter Three - Methodology

## 3.1. Introduction

Having described the theoretical framework and the key concepts that inform and guide this research, I now turn my attention to its overall methodology, clarifying the research design, and the methods of data generation and analysis I use to address the research questions identified for this thesis. My research project has been constructed on the premise that heritage and, more specifically, landscapes - as elaborations of artefacts, practices or ideas of the past - constitute a part of, and are used in, ongoing political, economic, social and cultural processes traversing local, national and global scales. This understanding requires the use of an interdisciplinary theoretical approach drawing on theories from different disciplines including heritage studies, cultural studies, museum studies, cultural geography and sociology, in order to contextualize and problematize the topic in a wider academic debate.

What emerges from the literature review is an increasing awareness of the importance of heritage in the construction of individuals' and groups' identities, and the consequent inclusion of different voices in the definition of who can participate and contribute effectively in heritage and identity making processes. While international cultural and political institutions, such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe, encourage the development of policies and practices that enable individuals and groups to actively participate in the definition, preservation and management of their heritage, engaging different stakeholders and social actors at a national and local level proves to be complex. Despite raising awareness concerning the need to directly involve people in the heritage building process, those who have access to heritage still struggle to develop creative, participative policies which promote people's engagement in all the stages of the process. In fact, the process of heritage definition, interpretation and management often continues to reveal a lack of participation, with specific voices sounding louder than others, especially when these voices belong to political and cultural 'experts' who use a specific discourse to empower specific elites or groups. The methodology used in this research aims to understand how discourse 'acts to constitute and mould the various representations of heritage' (Waterton et al. 2006: 339) and to sustain power relationships.

In the next section I problematize this topic using the power/knowledge theory developed by Michel Foucault and his insights concerning power as a relational phenomenon. In sections 3.3 and 3.4 I elucidate why the use of the critical discourse analysis approach fits my research – and more broadly heritage studies - and how I applied it to the data analysis. The qualitative research design described in section 3.5 positions my research within a constructivist theoretical paradigm. In sections 3.6 and 3.7 I clarify why the case study method has been used for the discussion of my argument, explaining how the analysis of the World Heritage vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato is suitable to discuss the ecosystem of a living heritage site where everyday values have to coexist with 'outstanding universal values'. Section 3.8 explains in detail how data have been collected and generated. To conclude, in section 3.9 I define the method I used to analyse my data and draw the conclusions.

## 3.2. Power and Knowledge

In chapter two I discussed how heritage has played - and still plays - a central role in providing images or illusions of a consensual and undisputable 'truth', with dominant perspectives driving how heritage is articulated and valued. Scholars such as Smith (2006) argue that it is through the use of discourse, and in particular through the AHD, that certain truths are constructed and prevail, while others remain without social effectivity or recognition. But how are these power relations created and sustained? According to Foucault, truth is not to be emancipated from power and ought to be understood as 'a thing of this world' (1980: 131), and consequently as a dynamic and fluid concept. His power/knowledge theory posits that power produces knowledge, and discourse and knowledge have power and truth effects (Leclercq-Vandelannoitte 2011). The design of this research has been influenced by Foucauldian theories in two ways: firstly, the interest in the relational forms of power; secondly, the interest in the links between discourse, knowledge and power, hence how knowledge is shaped**.** Having these two objectives in mind, the research required drawing on multiple perspectives, both from heritage professionals and practitioners, as well as laypersons.

As this thesis focuses on the analysis of power relationships, the first idea that has been influential to the research design is the definition of power, how it is

created and supported. Foucault argues that 'power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere' ([1976] 1978: 93). Thus, his understanding of power is not limited to a hierarchically, fixed structure. On the contrary, his view states that power 'is not possessed by a dominant agent, nor located in that agent's relations to those dominated but is instead distributed throughout complex social networks' (Rouse 2005: 109). This distribution of power includes agents but also instruments of power, such as buildings, documents and tools, and the practices and rituals through which it is deployed (*ibidem*: 109). The strength of Foucault's concept of power is that it 'suggests ways of studying the detailed dialogue of policymaking and its implementation in order to understand the manifest practices of resistance, collaboration or co-operation' (Hewitt 2009: 6). Foucault argues that an understanding of power that simply equates it with the control of state apparatuses is reductive. Furthermore, Foucault's conception of power is radically different to theories that conceive power as repressive in some essential way. Rather, Foucault considers power as diffuse, as implied in every relation and interaction. It is not a matter of who has more power and who less:

> Power […] is not that which makes the difference between those who exclusively possesses and retain it, and those who do not have it and submit to it […] power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation […] individuals […] are always in a position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power […] The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is the effect, it is the element of its articulation (Foucault 1980: 98).

In other words, power is 'the effect of social relations rather than something an actor can "have", "hold" or "keep in reserve"' (Lawrence 2008: 174).

The ways in which official documents and policies, or the AHD, have been shaped by external social movements (participation, acknowledgment of indigenous ways of knowledge, gender equality), modifying their discourses in order to become more inclusive, suggests developing an analysis in terms proposed by Foucault's conception of the relations between knowledge and power. This

entails understanding that the AHD is not static, but open and flexible to external influences. Consequently, to build the relationship between experts and non-experts, but also between national and local heritage, merely through a conflictual, hierarchical perspective would mean limiting the opportunities to understand how heritage is constructed and power relationships sustained.

The second concept is that of 'discourse'. As explained by Foucault:

> there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse (Foucault 1980: 93).

In its Foucauldian usage, discourse (or more precisely, the discursive formation):

> is a mode of organization of knowledge in relation to material institutions, and is thus not primarily a linguistic concept. Rather it has to do with practices and configurations of power often rooted in organizations which both control and are structured by distinct disciplinary knowledges (Frow 2005: 93).

Following Foucault's understanding of discourse, this implies that discursive formations are heterogeneous. They are not merely made up of languages in use ('statements') but also of 'the material practices and structures which determine whether and how they will be repeated across different social fields, their effects, the speech positions they will make possible, and the objects and truths which they will designate and endow with a certain reality' (*ibidem*: 93). If on the one hand Foucault's works offers interesting insights into how heritage definition, interpretation and management can construct the illusion of participation and engagement of individuals and groups in decision-making processes, while mechanisms of power/hegemony are maintained (see also Arnstein 1969); on the other it provides a source to explore how omitted heritages and narratives develop even without an official recognition.

## 3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to understand how power relations are constructed, diffused and supported it is fundamental to investigate how discourses operate in various contexts. Informed by the Foucauldian theory that language intervenes in 'social or political issues, problems and controversies' (Gee 2011: 9) in the world, I understand that written words, texts, documents and records are meaningful constituents of the social world. In other words, language – or discourse – is both produced and producer of social relations. I therefore decided to use discourse analysis techniques that involve interrogating communications, in order to gain new insights by revealing patterns and hidden rules on how language is used, and narratives created (Hewitt 2009). Discourse analysis was developed as a method for socio-linguistic inquiries (Currie 1952; Dittmar 1997), focusing on elements of conflict and change as indicators of power relations and it concerns itself with the way different components of policy processes 'produce effects that have meaning and consequences for us' (Rose 1996: 38). In the context of a wider understanding of language, the discourse analysis evolved into a 'critical discourse analysis' (CDA), with the aim of bringing language and society closer (Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 1997). This method is characterised by a strong interdisciplinary orientation and social engagement, attempting 'to connect linguistics with sociology, philosophy, history, political science, psychology, literary studies, anthropology, pedagogy and geography' (Reisigl 2013: 69).

The 'critical' adjective refers to discourse analysis in the sense that its project is not merely to detect social problems, but rather to 'actively attempt to unpack and reveal instances of apparent "inevitability"' (Waterton, Smith and Campbell 2006: 343). This entails that analysis is not merely a 'descriptive' action. As clarified by Reisigl (2013), the CDA approaches address concepts of critique on ethical principles and norms in an active way, proposing possible solutions to overcoming social problems and injustices. Such approaches 'are socio-politically engaged and very often application oriented – in the sense that their social critique aims at social change towards improvements. They make claims of emancipation and criticize various forms of discursively constituted power abuse and hegemonic social structures that lead to injustice and social discrimination' (*ibidem*: 75). CDA challenges dominant discourses that are presented as unproblematic and which

have been constructed in order to create consensus, unveiling social forces and discrimination, examining how power is 'expressed, constituted and legitimised by the use of language' (Waterton et al 2006: 343). Thus, discourse analysis 'is no longer just seen as a method of language analysis, but conceived of as a multidimensional project incorporating theory, methods, methodology, and empirically based research practices that yield concrete social applications' (Reisigl 2013: 69). What emerges is that the theoretical conceptions of 'discourse' in CDA are by no means homogeneous. However, they present common points: the discourse is understood as socially constructed as well as constructive, emphasis is given to the action-related quality of a discourse, to its situatedness and context dependence (*ibidem* 2013).

Norman Fairclough (2009: 167-182) proposes a CDA methodology that includes four main research stages:

1. Focus upon a social wrong in its semiotic aspect. That is, identify a research topic that relates to a social issue and 'that can productively be approached in a transdisciplinary way with a particular focus on dialectical relations between semiotic and other moments' (Reisigl 2013: 85).
2. Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong. This means analysing dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements, between orders of discourse and other elements of social practices.
3. Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong.
4. Identify possible ways to pass the obstacles. This last stage makes explicit the will of CDA to move from a negative to a positive critique and to have an impact on social relations by proposing solutions.

Drawing on Fairclough's scheme, I identified the 'social wrong' in the problematic definition of cultural participation in the context of listed living heritages. The obstacle I approach concerns the nature of tensions when calls for greater inclusion and plurality are placed within a context dominated by the established and authoritative discourse of the experts. Finally, I suggest that a possible way to design participatory decision-making processes is to counteract a binary division between professionals and authorities and laypersons by 'remixing' their roles. In the context of public policies, as heritage policies are, discourse analysis is valuable mainly because it provides a way of understanding the dynamics of policy decisions and

exercise of control over policy processes (Hewitt 2009). Using the semiotic/linguistic issues that emerges from the literature review, I identified the coding categories to explore the contrasts that emerge when laypersons' local heritage discourses are confronted with professional, formal heritage discourses based on extraordinary values. Actually, the CDA provides a method that 'allows the analyst to perform an interlocutory role in the dialogues between texts and social interactions in its oscillations between the close and detailed inspection of texts and an engagement with broader social issues' (Waterton et al 2006: 339).

The first category I identified is 'heritage'. I explored how this concept is articulated within legal documents, which values are attributed to it and how their 'authenticity' is determined. The data analysis concerning the interviews to local people and government officials introduced the concepts of 'traditions' and 'lifestyles'. The second category is 'landscape', which I analysed through a constructivist approach, thus as bearer of power relationship, as well as through a phenomenological approach, as the product of 'everyday practice' and 'living the space'. What emerges from the comparison of professional and laypersons discourses is that the detected differences constitute a major hindrance to the development of participatory decision-making processes concerning the identification, preservation and management of heritage. Thus, the last coding category I analysed is 'participation' and the meanings that are attributed to it: 'active participation', 'participation in a dialogue' or simple 'information'.

## 3.4. The use of Critical Discourse Analysis in Heritage Studies

The use of a discourse analysis methodology has turned out to be efficient in identifying, problematizing and unpacking the constitutive discursive field of heritage (Waterton et al 2006: 351). This identification allows an examination of how discourse works in practice to maintain 'the intellectual frameworks that govern practice and regulate the boundaries between the communities of authority and other community interests' (*ibidem*: 351). Understanding this process is nodal to any attempts at developing inclusive heritage policies and practices that do more than simply assimilate participation in the last steps of heritage building. Hence, a critical approach encourages engaging in communication with communities that are dialogically open to criticism and self-reflection.

As argued by Waterton et al., CDA has demonstrated its methodological utility in heritage studies as 'the way we talk, write and otherwise represent heritage both constitutes and is constituted by the operation of a dominant discourse' (*ibidem*: 339). Through the analysis of the discursive construction of heritage, it is possible to 'reveal competing and conflicting discourses and the power relations that underpin the power/knowledge relations between expertise and community interests' (*ibidem*: 339). Thus, CDA provides a method of understanding the discourse in terms of how heritage is both abstractly understood and practically managed, that is, of unpacking how language actually operates. More specifically, CDA is valuable when tackling the ways particular understandings of heritage have been 'naturalised and fed into policy, allowing specific meanings and values to dominate as inevitable' (*ibidem*: 346).

In the last two decades, the challenge of an uncritical acceptance of a dominant or 'authorised' approach to heritage has inspired various academics (Sandell 2002; Smith 2006; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009; Waterton 2010) to consider that 'the ways by which we create, discuss, talk about and assess heritage issues do matter' (Waterton et al 2006: 342), in order to detect which voices were unheard and how this dominant discourse was maintained. What today is known as 'critical heritage studies' first appeared in the 1960s and developed in the 1980s as a consequence of the 'heritage boom' (Winter 2012: 532), calling on social sciences and humanities to 'become more critical not only in their scientific investigations, but also from the point of view of their societal utility and their role in representing democratic values' (Sonkoly and Vahtikari 2018: 10). This critical approach was developed in particular in the United Kingdom, where many scholars (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Lowenthal 1985; Hewison 1987) began to express their concerns about the social, political and economic (mis)uses of heritage in society. Their contestation aimed to generate awareness of the political and economic exploitation of heritage, raising criticisms towards the 'invention of traditions' by governments to convey neo-patriotic nationalism (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), the permeating post-industrial 'heritage society' as a middle-class nostalgia (Hewison 1987) and heritage as a false history (Lowenthal 1985). In the last twenty years, much of the work produced by critical heritage studies has been 'criticising professional practice and organisations like UNESCO, amongst others' (Winter 2012: 533). Nevertheless,

Tim Winter argues that what critical heritage studies should do today is to better understand the:

> ways in which heritage now has a stake in, and can act as a positive enabler for, the complex, multi-vector challenges that face us today, such as cultural and environmental sustainability, economic inequalities, conflict resolution, social cohesion and the future of cities, to name a few (*ibidem*: 533).

In the context of landscape this approach requires developing heritage governance and preservation that are not strictly linked to traditionally Western heritage discourses, as well as considering post-western perspectives (*ibidem*: 542). Critical heritage studies require heritage professionals and practitioners, that is, those with access to forms of expert knowledge who work to promote the preservation of heritage, to account for their studies to today's regional and global transformations by developing post-western understandings of culture, history and heritage and the socio-political forces that actualise them (*ibidem*: 532). This shift cannot be complete without the engagement of different stakeholders and without the acknowledgment of alternative systems of knowledge being 'officially' or 'unofficially' recognized.

## 3.5. Qualitative research design

The ontological and epistemological positions described in the previous chapter situate this research within a constructivist theoretical paradigm. This implies that meanings are understood as being constructed and continuously reconstructed through experience, generating multiple interpretations that create the social reality in which people act. Given this perspective, it is fundamental 'to understand these meanings and the contextual factors that influence, determine and affect the interpretations reached by different individuals' (Flowers 2009: 3) and, consequently, to consider multiple realities (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). This approach conveys the idea that all knowledge is relative to the knower. It implies that interpretivist researchers have to consider different points of view in order to understand how others make sense of, draw meanings from and create their

realities, and then interpret these experiences in the context of the researchers' academic experience (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). Hence, this research can be described as inductive or theory building.

The focus of the researcher is on understanding the meanings and interpretations of 'social actors' and to understand their world from their point of view, which is highly contextual and not widely generalizable (Saunders, Lewis and Thornill 2007). Therefore, this research belongs to the interpretative, qualitative side of human sciences and requires the application of a qualitative research strategy. As argued by Jennifer Mason (2002), qualitative research is an exploratory approach to inquiry that is grounded in an epistemological position that rejects positivism. It embodies a view of social reality as constantly shifting and can be conceived as an investigative process where the researcher enters a social reality and gradually makes sense of social phenomena (Creswell 2008).

Following Marteen Hajer's (2006) suggestions that there are steps which could be universally applied in a qualitative research, I divided my research into six principal components:

| **RESEARCH DESIGN** | |
|---|---|
| **Research Steps** | **Data Collection and Generation** |
| Interviews with key players to construct the shifts in recognition of alternative perspectives | • Interview with Roberto Cerrato, director of the local UNESCO Association<br>• Interview with Sergio Bobbio, first promoter of the UNESCO nomination process<br>• Interviews to forty people living and working in the vineyard landscape<br>• Interviews to four women wine producers |
| Identification of sites of argumentation | • Review of international supranational and local policies and legal conventions<br>• Identification of the values and meanings attributed to the categories of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation' |

| | |
|---|---|
| Analysis of the positioning effects to show how people, institutions or nation-states position themselves in the interplay | • Identification of the values attributed to everyday practice, intangible heritage and participation |
| Identification of key incidents to understand the discursive dynamics and the outcome | • Comparison of the data emerged from the interviews with the heritage discourses expressed in legal frameworks and documents<br>• Analysis of the gender dynamics within cultural practices |
| Analysis of practices in particular cases of argumentation, by going back to the data to see if meaning of what is said can be related to the practices in which it was said | • Identification of the levels/methods of participation proposed, applied or required |
| Interpretation of the data reached from the account of the discursive structures and practices | • Proposal to develop a participatory planning which overcome the binary distinctions between experts/non-experts, national/local and tangible/intangible heritage |

My research design was developed in accordance with the University of Leicester Research Code of Conduct (2016). As the study involved human participants, it was subjected to the University's ethics review process and received approval in 2016 (Appendix 1).

## 3.6. Research strategy: the case study method

The starting point of a research project based on CDA is the awareness of a social and political problem that possesses linguistic aspects. Another common element is the situatedness of the discourse, which requires researching and gathering contextual information. Reigel suggests that the research should therefore proceed:

> with detailed case studies that are chiefly qualitative, but can also be partly quantitative in their character. This stage operates on the macro-,

> meso- and micro-level of linguistic analysis as well as on the level of context. This step comes to an overall interpretation of the single results of analysis and takes into account the social, historical and political context of the analysed discursive data (2013: 86).

This entails that a qualitative study requires the researcher to narrow the focus of the study to specific questions which form the backbone of the research design (Mason 2002).

In this thesis, the development of the research questions has been influenced by the selection of a qualitative approach and by the specific strategy of inquiry for this project, that is, the *case study* method. Restricting the study to one or a few cases enables the researcher to look deeply into them in order to gain unique insights (Yin 2009; Reigel 2013). It does not only explore the outcomes of a certain phenomenon but also the process that led to those outcomes. By studying relationships and processes in great detail within a setting, the researcher who applies a case study method is able to explore the complexity of a given situation and disentangle the workings of the relationships and processes within the social setting under investigation.

The use of a case study methodology has enabled this research to undertake in-depth analysis of a heritage site ecosystem, working on different levels of discourses in order to detect the explicit or implicit power relationships at play. In fact, by exploring a UNESCO World Heritage site I could develop a discursive analysis that begins from a macro-level of international, formal frameworks and policies,[6] continues with a meso-level of national and regional documents (as the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* of the heritage site investigated) and concludes with the analysis of the micro-level of local population.

## 3.7. Case study: The Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato

### 3.7.1. The historical, geo-political and socio-economic backgrounds

[6] Such as the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972), the *European Landscape Convention* (2000), the UNESCO *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (2017).

In the 'Preface' I elucidated how the choice of this case study has been influenced by my personal relationship with the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato. However, this World Heritage site is also an example of a living landscape, where cultural, natural, social and economic values are deeply intertwined and need to be negotiated between professionals and laypersons.

The Vineyard Landscape is a wide and complex area, both from a geographical and a cultural point of view. It is located in the southern part of Piedmont, between the Po River in the north and the Ligurian Pennines in the south 'across a wide region of hills, framed by shallow valleys' (ICOMOS 2014: 308) (Fig. 4).


Fig. 4. *The Piedmont Region* (yellow line) *and the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato* (blue line) © UNESCO 2014

The historical presence of vines, which has been attested since the Neolithic Age, has deeply moulded the socio-cultural development of the region, intertwining with important geo-political changes. Pollen findings dating from the fourth millennium B.C. and the ninth century B.C., as well as 'remains of marly-sandy soils adhering to the fossils of wild vine' (*Executive Summary* 2014: 270) confirm a gradual domestication of the vine in this area and are evidences of a process of selection and hybridization of wild-type strains (from seventh to fifth century B.C.). During the Iron Age, due to wide demographic mobility phenomena, indigenous populations entered into contact with the Celts and the Etruscans, gaining experience of winegrowing. Between the fifth and the third century B.C., an incipient spread of viticulture seems to be witnessed by archaeological findings such as wine sickles found inside the funerary objects (*ibidem*: 271): wine consumption was slowly being integrated in the food habits of local people.

Given its strategic position – between the access to the sea and the mountain passes – Piedmont became part of the vast and complex system of *viae pubblicae*, a network of roads established during the Roman Age to connect the furthest provinces with Rome, centre of the Empire. The increasing mobility contributed in giving new strength to the circulation of wine, which became a beverage of wide consumption, and more generally to the winemaking culture of the area (*ibidem*: 273). With the collapse of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.) this region was for a long period troubled by a series of raids which caused a deep crisis in the late imperial administrative system and in the pre-existing territorial balance. The information regarding this period are scarce, but what is known is that the Langhe-Roero and Monferrato region was subject to different political destinies.

It is thus in the Early Middle Ages that some of the landscape characteristics that still distinguish the different areas of this region can be retraced. In this period, the Monferrato area became subject to the episcopal power which widely contributed to its agricultural development, in particular of winegrowing, and it could be affirmed that 'the origin of the great winemaking season of the territory owns a great tribute to the vast clearance operations, plowing and cultivation of land practiced by the monasteries' (*ibidem*: 274). Interestingly, bishops played a major role in the creation of vineyards and some documents attribute to them the title of 'pater vinearum', i.e. 'father of vines' (*ibidem*: 274). The landscape started to be

connotated by the presence of areas planted with vines, divided into medium-large and small plots, alternated to crops, with forest areas and natural vegetation. At the same time, in the Langhe area, noble families and landowners were building fortified structures, exploiting the natural defense provided by the hilly character of this territory (*ibidem*: 275).

In the general framework of economic and demographic recovery that affected Europe from the thirteenth century, three crucial phenomena occurred in Piedmont:

- the assertion of the ecclesiastical system focused on bishoprics and parishes;
- the assertion of a feudal system with many branches focused on castles;
- the assertion of Municipalities with consequent birth of the urban model known as 'villanova', i.e. 'new town'.

The coexistence of these three powers - religious, aristocratic and civil – had consequences on the development of the geo-political framework and the socio-cultural structure which generated the complexity of the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato. In fact, 'new trade, new organization of land property based on new forms of contracts and new rules for the regulation of trade and cultivation of the vine were created' (*ibidem*: 276). The Church was not only a spiritual reference but also a source of socio-economic support for the communities living mainly of agriculture. Simultaneously, numerous noble families of urban extraction invested their capitals on winegrowing and built castles to defend their properties. These buildings became 'economic and administrative fulcrums of large portion of land, as real farms' (ibidem: 278). Such phenomenon is particularly evident in the area of the Langhe-Roero due to the strong presence of aristocratic families connected to the powerful House of Savoy. The binomial castle-vineyard became a feature of the landscape, with high symbolic and identity values for the medieval communities. As it will be discussed in chapter five, such values are still strongly perceived by present communities. A territorial reorganisation was supported by the municipalities, with the birth of the so-called *villenove* ('new towns'). These urban structures were defined by a regular checkboard plan and by the presence of the *via magistra* ('main street'), where the business and civilian functions of the town took place (*ibidem*: 279). It is thus in the late Middle Ages that the 'landscape of power' - which can still be detected today - is shaped: the churches

and monasteries as a symbol of religious power, the castles dominating the villages as symbol of feudal power and the 'villenove' as symbol of civic power.

During the Modern Age, the geo-political situation is characterized by struggles between rival dynasties for the expansion of territorial powers, which will end in 1631 with the peace treaties of Cherasco and the consequent control of the House of Savoy over most of the lands of Monferrato and Roero (*ibidem*: 281). A further socio-economic change contributed to create the distinctive vineyard landscape: the diffusion of sharecropping type of contracts which divided large plots in smaller plots. Through these contracts:

> the landowner gave the vineyard plot and the house with the adjoining outhouses, in exchange of half of the wine there produced; the farmer was also responsible for plowing and planting, for the removal of woods from forests, the breeding of animals, and routine maintenance (*ibidem*: 283).

The amount of wine produced in these rural farms was mainly aimed to satisfy the personal needs of the farmer's family. The real wine production was entrusted in the hands of noble families who, after the political balance was restored, restructured the basements of their castles to make them more suitable for wine making and storage (*ibidem*: 285), facilitating the development of a modern production of wine.

In the eighteenth century, the House of Savoy acquired the entire Monferrato and confirmed its control over most of the Langhe and Roero, establishing a unitary system of government that initiated a period of political and economic stability. The nineteenth century can be considered the 'Golden Age' of wine production in Piedmont and the moment that signed the consecration of its wines at an international level. The century opened with important socio-political changes which had evident consequences on the landscape. In particular, with the suppression of the religious orders under the Napoleonic law and the end of ecclesiastical privileges, the large estates historically linked to the clergy were sold and divided into small plots of land, leaving plenty of space to initiative of farmers involved in direct management of the funds (*ibidem*: 290). The strong links of the

most important aristocratic families with France facilitated the introduction of modern viticulture. A key actor on this scene was Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, who in his family estate (which is now one of the core zones of the World Heritage site) experimented new techniques with French and Italian oenologists. In 1851 he was appointed Minister of Agriculture, Trade and Finance and became a promoter of a real agrarian reform, with significant impact on winemaking. Besides, Cavour was a fundamental character in the diplomatic events that led to the unification of Italy (1861) under the guidance of the House of Savoy. In the general context of the Italian industrialization process, winemaking played an important role since the early nineteenth century with the 'specialization and characterization of the production in the presence of rationalization systems of the manufacturing facilities, in the use of stable workforce, in the application of innovative technologies for the processing of grapes and goods' (*ibidem*: 295).

The years between the First and the Second World Wars were marked by a deep economic crisis which affected the production and export of wines, with consequences on the working class and the peasants who were obliged to divide the properties and to sell them to richer producers. As emphasised in the *Executive Summary*, 'during the Second World War winemaking managed to survive thanks to the hard and continuous work of peasant families' (*ibidem*: 302). The postwar period was marked by a slow but relentless economic recovery. In the 1960s, the development of a systematic and legal recognition of wine denominations marked the separation between the quality production from the low one. In 1992, the Law 164/1992 introduced the DOC (Denomination of Controlled Origin) pyramid, a hierarchy settled between the different denominations, thus supporting the close relationship between the wine and the anthropic environment of production. This law was revised in 2010 (DL 61/2010) with the aim to preserve and promote the high quality and recognition of wines through proper coordination strategies, administrative simplification and transparency of the sector. Piedmont was one of the first regions to develop a regional legislation dedicated to wine production, increasing the productive specialization and protecting the typical vines.

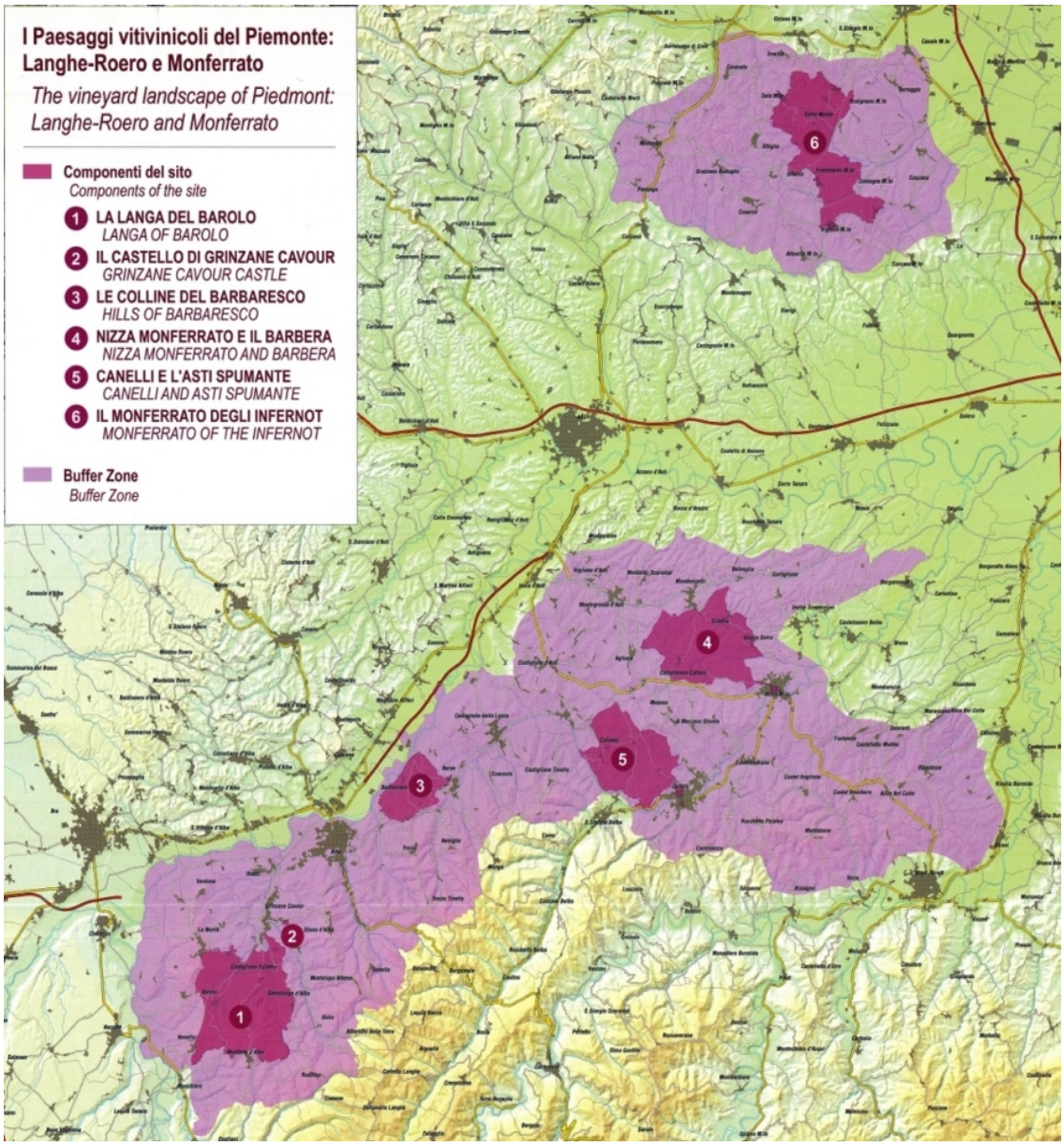


Fig. 5: *Map identifying the core zones and the buffer zones* © UNESCO 2014

### 3.7.2. The six 'core zones'

The site is divided into six core zones, five distinct winegrowing areas and a castle: 'Langa of Barolo' (Fig. 6), 'Castle of Grinzane Cavour' (Fig. 7), 'Hills of Barbaresco' (Fig. 8), 'Nizza Monferrato and Barbera' (Fig. 9), 'Canelli and Asti Spumante' (Fig. 10), 'Monferrato of the Infernot' (Fig. 11). These components are a selection of the emblematic areas representing the unique and exceptional Piedmont's vineyard landscape (ICOMOS 2014; *Executive Summary* 2014; Buzio and Re 2016: 191). Drawing on the description provided by the *Executive Summary*, it is possible to summarize the characteristics of the six core zones as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Langa of Barolo (Component 1)** | **Wine production:**<br>• Vineyards mainly cultivated with the Nebbiolo grape variety, used to make the red wine named 'Barolo'<br>• One of the first grape varieties to be mentioned by name in written documentation from the Middle Ages (mid thirteenth century), while the geographical name 'Barolo' was first mention by the end of the eighteenth century<br>• Wines of consolidated international prestige<br>**Socio-cultural and political background:**<br>• Winegrowing estates of historic foundation belonging to the Piedmontese aristocracy intersecting with the power of the Royal House of Savoy<br>• Close connection between the local aristocratic power and the construction of fortified structures<br>• Medieval villages characterized by the imposing presence of a castle around which the urban fabric was built up. |
| **Castle of Grinzane Cavour (Component 2)** | **Wine production:**<br>• Since 1967, the castle hosts the 'Enoteca Regionale Piemontese Cavour', the first regional wine shop in Piedmont<br>• Since 1993, a vineyard of conservation of the Piedmont germplasm was started on the lands belonging to the castle. The collection is one of the rarest in Europe and contains over six hundred varieties.<br>**Socio-cultural and political background:**<br>• Built as a defensive structure in the Middle Ages, it became a manor around the fifteenth century and an important wine estate in the nineteenth century;<br>• Home to Camillo Benso Count of Cavour, key figure in the events that led to the |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Unification of Italy and who dedicated his life to testing new vinification techniques<br>• Leading historical role in the development of Piedmontese and Italian oenology<br>• Symbol of the link between the history of wine and the history of Italy<br>• Since 2003, it hosts the 'Museum of the Langhe' dedicated to the history of civilization and traditions of the Langhe |
| **Hills of Barbaresco (Component 3)** | **Wine production:**<br>• Vineyards mainly cultivated with the Nebbiolo grape-variety, used to make the red wine called 'Barbaresco'<br>• The oldest bottle reports on the label the words 'Barbaresco 1870'. However, the characteristics that we can still find today in Barbaresco date back to a careful quality improvement which began in 1894, when the enologist Domizio Cavazza started the dry winemaking technique. In that year, he bought the castle of Barbaresco with the annexed vineyards and convinced nine winemakers to establish the 'Wine Cooperative of Barbaresco' to produce wine made from Nebbiolo<br>**Socio-cultural and political background:**<br>• Medieval villages of Barbaresco and Neive (twelfth century)<br>• During the seventeenth century the interest in the cultivation of the vine gradually led nobles and bourgeois to buy lands in Barbaresco, changing the local landscape and beginning to make systematic use of the countryside outside the medieval village;<br>• Division of the land in small properties<br>• By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the vineyard occupied nearly the half of the cultivable area of Barbaresco |

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| **Nizza Monferrato e Barbera (Component 4)** | **Wine production:**<br>• Vineyard cultivated with the Barbera grape-variety, used to make the wine of the same name<br>• Piedmont's most exported wine<br>• The fame and dissemination of this grape variety in Piedmont since the sixteenth century suggest a very ancient cultivation – first explicitly mentioned in 1514<br>• Largest grape variety in the region<br>• In the early years of the twentieth century, Barbera was the undisputed star of the everyday table of Italians, qualifying it as a wine of good quality, accessible to all families<br>**Socio-cultural and political background:**<br>• Nizza Monferrato, identified as the 'capital' of Barbera, is an exceptional example of a Medieval new town (*villanova*) with a consolidated commercial tradition<br>• Due to the strong economic interests which, for centuries, related to this territory the history of this area has been marked by struggles between France, Spain and the Duchy of Savoy, in particular for the succession of Monferrato<br>• In 1955 some farmers gathered in a cooperative and founded the 'Cooperative Wine Cellar of Nizza Monferrato', in order to improve the conditions of hard and uncertain work and enhance, protect and promote the wines from Nizza |
| **Canelli and Asti Spumante (Component 5)** | **Wine production:**<br>• Vineyard cultivated mainly with the Moscato bianco grape-variety, used to make the aromatic sparkling wine (*spumante*) known as 'Asti'<br>• Italy's most exported white wine |

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| | • The oldest documents that refer to the cultivation of Moscato in Piedmont date from the early 1300s<br>• The first occasions where sweet flavorful wines were produced from Moscato bianco, the ancestors of today's Piedmontese Spumante, were described in 1606<br>• In the 1800s an innovative production technique for sweet wines made from Moscato Bianco was invented<br>• Impressive winemaking spaces known as 'underground cathedrals'<br>• Known for *crutin*, a vernacular architecture used for domestic storage of bottles (built during the 1700s and 1800s)<br>**Socio-cultural and political background:**<br>• History of the spread of the Moscato Bianco grape variety, of the technological innovations that led to the production of Spumante (sparkling wine) and the history of the first sparkling wine industries<br>• During the sixteenth century, when the ownership of the area passed to the House of Savoy, the fate of winemaking became inextricably linked with that of the monarchy |
| **Monferrato of the Infernot (Component 6)** | **Wine production:**<br>• This component is not defined by a specific wine production, rather by the presence of the *Infernot*, small underground rooms dug into *Cantone* stone and used for the domestic storage of bottles<br>• Characterised by a special geological formation, the so-called Cantone sandstone<br>**Socio-cultural and political background:** |

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| | • This vernacular architecture is an outstanding witness to the popular knowledge<br>• We first come across the term *infernot* in sources dating back to between the late Middle Ages and the modern age as a vulgar synonym of 'crutin'<br>• The selection of the area is based on old towns of major historical-architectural interest, with a significant presence of *Infernot*, traditionally connected to wine production and in excellent condition |

More precisely, the vineyard landscape is a serial site. The *Guidelines for the Preparation of Serial Nominations to the World Heritage List* define a serial site as:

> any nomination which consists of two or more unconnected areas. A single World Heritage nomination may contain a series of cultural and/or natural properties in different geographical locations, provided that they are related because they belong to: (i) the same historic-cultural group; (ii) the same type of property which is characteristic of the geographical zone; or (iii) the same geological, geomorphological formation, the same biogeographic province, or the same ecosystem type.

Fig. 6: *Langa of Barolo*. Available at: www.paesaggivitivinicoli.it/patrimonio/la-langa-del-barolo (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

Fig. 7: *Castle of Grinzane Cavour*. Available at: www.paesaggivitivinicoli.it/patrimonio/il-castello-di-grinzane-cavour/ (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

Fig. 8: *Hills of Barbaresco*. Available at: www.paesaggivitivinicoli.it/patrimonio/le-colline-del-barbaresco/ (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

Fig. 9: *Nizza Monferrato and Barbera*. Available at: www.paesaggivitivinicoli.it/patrimonio/nizza-monferrato-e-il-barbera/ (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

Fig. 10: *Canelli and Asti Spumante. Contratto wine celllars.* Available at: www.paesaggivitivinicoli.it/patrimonio/canelli-e-lasti-spumante/ (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

Fig. 11: *Monferrato of the Infernot*. Available at: www.paesaggivitivinicoli.it/patrimonio/il-monferrato-degli-infernot/ (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

In order to ensure an effective preservation of the nominated property and to avoid a marked distinction between protected and non-protected areas, the *Operational Guidelines* (2017) establish that 'whenever necessary for the proper protection of the property, an adequate *buffer zone* should be provided' (2017, Paragraph 103). A buffer zone 'should include the immediate setting of the nominated property, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the property and its protection' (Paragraph 104). The vineyard landscape's core zones are surrounded by two buffer zones (Fig. 4) in which the urban and landscape planning have to follow precise laws that aim to preserve the entire serial site. The borders of the core and buffer zones are determined by geo-political parameters:

> the boundary of the property's component parts is established primarily based on physical and clearly recognizable elements, such as roads and streams. However, since it is cultural landscape, in certain cases we used boundaries which are less evident, but which are better suited to the concept of "landscape": contour lines to include peculiar hilly features, crests, valley floors, etc… in other cases we based our decision on regulation boundaries – such as protected areas – or administration boundaries – such as Municipality borders (*Executive Summary*: 6).

A division based on geographical and administrative criteria implies that cultural practices and identity values are underrepresented within the nomination process. In some cases, two adjoining villages could result in one belonging to a World Heritage core or buffer zone while the other is excluded. Such mapping is not necessarily inclusive of what is considered representative at a local level and risk generating conflicts between national authorities and local governments officials and people, especially when the motivations that underpin the decisions are not explained nor shared. It would be necessary to analyse whether and in which ways such legal division has affected people's perception of the World Heritage nomination. Due to my limited resources, this aspect has not been addressed in the research and I preferred to focus on the core zones. However, it would be a

challenging question to raise in future assessments of the relationship between core and buffer zones and excluded areas.

Given the wide territorial extent of the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato,[7] the interviews were limited to two of the six core zones, the 'Langa of Barolo' and the 'Canelli and Asti Spumante', in order to understand how two areas with different historical, cultural and economic backgrounds have constructed their identity through the definition of their heritage. The comparison between these two sites is an opportunity to reflect on heritage discourse, as well as on the key concept of 'authenticity' through the analysis of how local inhabitants perceive the implications of having become a World Heritage site.

The 'Langa of Barolo' has a strong historical, cultural and economic identity as its past has been linked to powerful aristocratic families who produced one of the most well-known Italian wines, the Barolo, as well as to national characters who played an important role in the unification process of the nation. In this case these dominant groups deeply moulded the landscape as well as its interpretation.

The 'Canelli and Asti Spumante' has a different historical and social background. In the early twentieth century, the technical development and evolution of winemaking signed the beginning of the modern industry and Canelli became a prestigious economic and productive centre. Here 'in 1902 the cellar workers' guild was founded in order to intervene and be represented in all disputes of a financial and personal nature or those regarding in-house regulations' (*ibidem*: 350). Thus, the working-class heritage should be more evident. The motivation to include this area in my research analysis was driven by the fact that this core zone represents a useful example for the discussion of power relations between national authorities and local governments and people. In fact, the idea of proposing the vineyard landscape for the UNESCO nomination drew on a suggestion made by Sergio Bobbio, previous officer at the Tourism Department of the Canelli Municipality (Buzio and Re 2016: 204). During our interview (Appendix 4), he retraced the different moments which led to the candidacy of the vineyard landscape for the World Heritage Tentative List. As Bobbio explained, the original

[7] The six core zones occupy a surface area of 10,789 ha, while the buffer zones cover 76,249 ha. The overall property has a population of 51.695, and the buffer zones have a combined population of 251,945 inhabitants (*Executive Summary* 2014)

project was significantly different from the actual nomination. In fact, it aimed to promote just Canelli and its historical 'underground cathedrals' (Fig. 10), which are considered one of the major examples for wine cellar architecture in Piedmont, and indeed in Italy. Because of their private nature and their everyday use, these spaces have not been visited by people – or at least only occasionally - for many decades, maintaining their 'working space' nature. In the early 2000s the then Municipality decided to organize a special event by opening these cellars to public access. The success was immense. Such a positive response proved that the 'underground cathedrals' were not merely an extraordinary architectural example, but they also represented the testimony of local story and memories – especially of a specific working class - as well as of identity and a culture. The potential nomination of this area to the World Heritage Tentative List was supported by the Piedmont Region. At the same time, the province of Cuneo (where the 'Langhe of Barolo' is located) also proposed to the Minister of the Cultural Goods and Activities the official recognition for the local vineyard landscape. Thus, it was from the synergy of these two different manifestations of interest that the first territorial configuration emerged and was extended to other areas for the final nomination in 2014, in order to create a serial site.

As this research involves a single case study, it provides limited capacity for generalisation and transferability of findings. In fact, to transfer the research approach to other contexts (for example, to other World Heritage cultural landscapes, or other listed landscapes) could lead to different conclusions. Unlike quantitative studies, the objective of qualitative studies is not to demonstrate generalizability, but rather to employ some form of analytic generalisation (Kvale 1996; Brinkmann 2013). However, as this research involved the study of a unique or exemplar case, it represents the scenario in which Robert Yin (2003) advocates for a single – rather than multiple – case study design. The aim of my study has been to problematise and understand the dynamics within a specific context, obtaining contextual information and using the outcomes to provoke a reflection, and then suggest developing similar (but contextualised) method of analysis.

## 3.8. Data sources and data collection

This study has been mainly driven by a constructivist standpoint which, given the

subjective nature of its paradigm and the emphasis on language, is associated with qualitative data gathering techniques (Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008). I divided the data collection process in two main parts. This included desk research concerning international heritage policy documents, and secondly interviews conducted on the heritage site selected as a case study. These data collection methods are inherently intertwined, as they provide different types of data which together create a wider understanding of the context and inform each other by generating new points of view.

Due to the situatedness of my research design, interviews have been a central instrument of data collection in the understanding of how individuals and groups articulate what heritage and landscape are, not only whether they have been engaged in decision-making processes, but also if they want to be engaged. The added value of the interviews is to provide data on motivational, qualitative and societal aspects of heritage identification, interpretation, participation and management that can scarcely be obtained in other ways, for example through quantitative methods. The two data sources I used are therefore texts and the testimony of people. The latter were divided into three groups: heritage professionals, laypersons and women wine producers. Through the analysis of official documents and interviews with heritage practitioners, I was able to investigate the discourse framing used by heritage professionals. Interviews with local people enabled me to explore how laypersons articulate their understanding of heritage and landscape, and how they position themselves in relation to heritage professionals. To limit my investigation to a binary relation between experts and laypersons, as well as not taking into account the fact that local government officials are also 'local people' with a personal involvement in the landscape, would have restrained the understanding power relations within the heritage site. Interviews with women wine producers were a tool to investigate how a group could be omitted or underrepresented by a heritage discourse. Thus, to generate data, I considered a multiplicity of viewpoints, conducting qualitative interviews in tandem with critical CDA of texts, documents and spoken words. The different types of data sources have been used as follows.

### 3.8.1. Documents

I started my investigation with desk research, in order to construct a chronology and a reading of how ideas and practices evolved in the last decades. I collected and analysed documents concerning heritage and landscape produced by UNESCO (*Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* 1972; *Operational Guidelines* 2017) and by the Council of Europe (*European Landscape Convention* 2000), as well as at a national and local level (the Italian *Code of Cultural Goods and Landscape* 2004; the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* of the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato 2014) to 'identify story lines and metaphors, and the site of discursive struggle' (Schneider 2013). In order to investigate how participation is understood, I enriched the research with other more specific documents.[8]

The analysis focused on two milestone international documents: the UNESCO *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972) and the *European Convention on Landscape* (2000). The UNESCO *World Heritage Convention* is the first legal instrument to recognize 'cultural landscapes' as a category of heritage; the *European Landscape Convention* is the first international document entirely dedicated to 'landscape'. I do not approach documents as objective accounts of a state of affairs (Bryman 2008), but rather as a construction written by certain individuals for specific purposes and a specific audience (Yin 2003). Following this analysis of the international framework, I investigated the documents specifically concerning the management of the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, namely the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* (2014). The objective was to understand whether the principles and discourses used by international documents and conventions have been absorbed at a more local level, and if so, to what extent. My original intention was to analyse the documents produced during the nomination process - more specifically those concerning the meetings with citizens and mayors – and to examine how

[8] *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List* 1994, *Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters* 1998, *Declaration on Cultural Diversity* 2001, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* 2003, *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* 2005, *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions* 2005.

meetings were designed and planned so to understand whether different actors were given a role in the decision-making process. However, the limited access to this documentation would have provided partial or incomplete data that would risk generating a misrepresentation of the context.

The analysis of the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* has been specifically useful in the identification of power relations, in particular those concerning a gendered approach to heritage. As I argue in chapter six, despite gender equality being an objective and a priority by UNESCO (*Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* 1979; *Medium-Term Strategy* 2008-2013 and 2014-2021), in the case of the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato women's voices have been largely omitted from the representation and main narrative of the site as well as from the decision-making processes. As I argue, this lack of cultural representation could have implications at socio-economic levels.

The use of CDA enabled me to understand how specific actors - such as heritage professionals, local population and women - construct an argument, and how this argument fits into wider social practices. This methodology has been important in questioning 'how dialogue takes place, and how power relations produce dominant discourses and marginalise others' (Hewitt 2009: 13), in policy making processes and in applying intertextuality, the analysis of implicit or explicit dialogues that exist between one text and others (Waterton et al 2006; Reigel 2013). Framing a text in relation to other texts implies making a choice and outlines a sense of what is being excluded and insulated against, and what is being worked into the interaction. Certain discursive framings of heritage are recurrent across these international texts, and together they work to construct what appears to be a cohesive and consensual approach to heritage and its management. In my case, the discourse analysis of documents helped understanding which role individuals and groups are expected to play in the identification, preservation and management of heritage and whether there are clear suggestions on how to exercise the right to own and enjoy heritage, but also if there are specific guidelines.

### 3.8.2. Interviews

The qualitative interview represents a suitable method to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009: 3). I collected data through a series of semi-structured, one-to-one and face-to-face interviews, as a meaningful way to generate qualitative data is 'to talk interactively with people, to ask them questions, to listen to them, to gain access to their accounts and articulations' (Mason 2012: 63). As explained by Svend Brinkmann, 'compared to structured interviews, semi-structured interviews can make better use of the knowledge-producing potentials of dialogues by allowing much more leeway for following up on whatever angles are deemed important by the interviewee' (2013: 21). Moreover, this type of interview gives the researcher a chance to become more visible and to be considered as a 'knowledge-producing participant in the process itself' (*ibidem*: 21), a role that could not be played with pre-set, structured interviews. Finally, I carried out individual interviews, rather than group interviews, as it was easier to lead the conversation in a direction that was useful in relation to my research interest (*ibidem*: 27).

To explore people's individual and collective understandings and perceptions, I adopted an interpretative approach that, according to Norman Blaikie, is 'concerned with understanding the social world people have produced and which they reproduce through their continuing activities' (2009: 115). An essential issue I had to consider before undertaking the interviews was how to present myself to the interviewees, because as Andrea Fontana and James Frey observe, 'after one's presentational self is "cast" it leaves a profound impression on the respondents and has great influence on the success (or failure) of the study' (1994: 367). Actually, I noticed differences while approaching the three groups of interviewees. During my conversation with heritage practitioners, I was regarded as a researcher, a representative of academia, which consequently allowed the interviewees to build a peer relationship with me, based on hypothetically shared values and ideas. With laypersons I tried to present myself as a 'learner', as a researcher whose aim was to unravel their feelings and their needs in order to understand how to rethink cultural policies in a more representative and engaging perspective. Despite this attempt, most interviewees – at least during the first

minutes of the interviews – appeared inhibited by my status as an academic researcher. Their answers were often preceded by statements such as 'I don't know, this is not my stuff', 'I don't know if I am going to give you the right answer', 'I hope I didn't say anything stupid' (see chapter five, section three). This type of reaction confirms what has been discussed in chapter two (Roe 2013; Schofield 2014) concerning how the semantic differences between professional discourses and layperson discourses can hinder participation.

This semantic and human distance seemed to fade with women wine producers. In fact, with them I was able to develop a closer relationship as a female researcher, sensitive to the nodal issue of the lack of representation of women in this context. For the interviews with heritage professionals and with the women wine producers, the interviewees were given an 'Information Sheet for Participants' (Appendix 2) and were asked to sign a 'Research Consent Form' (Appendix 3). All gave me permission to use their words in connection with their real names and institution affiliation.

3.8.2.i Heritage professionals and practitioners:

As the objective of this research is to detect explicit or implicit power relations within a heritage site, the first category of interviewees I approached was that of heritage professionals and practitioners. In May and October 2017, I conducted two semi-structured in-depth interviews (each about one hour long) with Roberto Cerrato, site-manager and director of the local UNESCO Association (*Associazione per il Patrimonio dei Paesaggi Vitivinicoli di Langhe-Roero e Monferrato*), and with Sergio Bobbio, previous official of the Tourism Department at the Canelli Municipality and first promoter of the UNESCO nomination process. The aim of these interviews was to produce and collect the data that would enable me to understand how, at a local level, professional and formal discourses frame the ideas of heritage management and preservation. What drove the discussion with these interviewees was my interest in understanding whether the participatory principles supported by international documents and policies were absorbed at a local level and to what extent they have been put into practice. Hence, I focused on the role given to laypersons not only in and during the decision-making process, but also after the UNESCO World Heritage status has been obtained. Through these

interviews I was able to investigate how the nomination process has been managed and which actors have been involved in the identification of heritage values and meanings within the vineyard landscape.

The questions discussed were as follows:

- Could you describe the motivations that led to proposing the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato to the UNESCO World Heritage status?
- Could you retrace the steps of the nomination process?
- Have there been participatory projects in the preservation of the cultural landscape before the UNESCO nomination? If so, when did they start, how long did they last, which groups did they involve and what have been the outcomes?
- At which stages of the UNESCO candidacy have local people/stakeholders been involved? How have they been involved in the decision-making process?
- Which local places/traditions/stories are understood by local people to be representative and distinctive of their heritage? Do the cultural values mentioned in the UNESCO nomination correspond with local people own sense of its heritage?
- Which are the groups that did not actively participate? Who would you like to be more involved in the preservation of this heritage in the future?

The interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. From the analysis of the nomination process, as described by Cerrato and Bobbio, I was able to generate data on three important issues: first, how and which heritage values are attributed to the vineyard landscape; second, whose values are recognized, and consequently, who has a role in the identification, interpretation, preservation and management of heritage values.

I aimed to conduct interviews with the mayors of the municipalities which are part of the core zones in the listed landscape. These would have added useful data towards understanding the levels of engagement of local authorities in the candidacy and nomination decision-making processes and how – and if – they developed participatory cultural projects in their towns. Having this perspective would have enriched the research giving a complete reading of the ecosystem

analysed. Unfortunately, none of the mayors I contacted accepted the interview invitation and, consequently, I was not able to secure this data nor to apply an actor-network methodology.

3.8.2.ii Individuals living in the heritage site:

Between July and September 2017, I conducted forty interviews in total, twenty in 'Langa of Barolo' and twenty in 'Canelli and Asti Spumante'. I limited the number of interviews following Kvale's (1996) and Birkmann's (2013) argument that interview studies tend to have around fifteen participants, a number that makes possible a practical handling of the data. In fact, the aim of a qualitative research is not to gain a statistical representativeness, rather 'the chance to look in detail at how selected people experience the world' (Birkman 2013: 53).

As the aim of my research is to analyse the contextual factors that influence, determine and affect the interpretations reached by different individuals involved in this cultural landscape, in order to understand their world from their point of view, I visited the villages belonging to each site component and directly approached people living and working there in their everyday context (such as cafés and shops). When possible, I tried to find an insider, an active member of the village or a well-known person willing to be an informant and to act as a guide. Before starting any interview, the interviewees were informed about the topics of my research and assured of their right to privacy and the anonymity of the interviews. For the analysis of the data in chapter five I refer to the interviews with fictitious names.

Instead of audio recording the interviews, I took notes while the interviewees were talking. This method reduced interviewees' feeling of an academic, professional hierarchy between them and me, a power relationship that my position as researcher inevitably created. Moreover, I could also note their reactions and behaviours, both during and after the interview. In fact, what people are thinking and feeling, as well as how they communicate, verbally and non-verbally, are considered important factors in the analysis of interviews (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson 2008). I audio recorded just one interview in Canelli, as I had the chance to have three interviewees together. In this case, to merely take notes would have impeded capturing all the information. The questions discussed with the

interviewees were the following:

- What do you think is your heritage? What is important to preserve or to represent? And why?
- What would you like people to know about your heritage? What do you feel is the 'authentic' heritage of this area?
- Do you ever visit local museums? Ecomuseums? Do you find 'your' stories there?
- Do you feel part of or engaged in the interpretation and management of your heritage? Would you like to be more engaged?
- In what ways have women's lives changed in the last decades (memories about their mothers, grandmothers, aunts…)?

Each interview lasted about ten to fifteen minutes and was anonymous. Despite the short time I spent with the interviewees, I tried to create a relationship of trust with them, conducting the interviews as 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess 1984: 102), trying to make it clear that I was interested in understanding what they thought heritage is, rather than what they are expected to think about heritage. As museums have traditionally been conceived as trusted keepers of heritage and spaces of action for heritage professionals, I was also interested in understanding how people perceive them in a fluid and constantly changing context such as the landscape, whether as potential spaces of engagement and identity building or as touristic attractions focused on the past rather than on current issues. The last point discussed related to the role of women in this rural society, both in the past and in the present, in order to have a wider context for positioning the outcomes from the interviews with women wine producers. In fact, the data collected provided an interesting perspective on how a group is perceived and how it perceives itself. More specifically, I wanted to detect the presence (or not) of essentialism, that is, 'the tendency in conventional wisdom to attribute gender differences to some natural biological difference between men and women' (Ekinsmyth 2011: 64), and of gendered roles in a traditionally patriarchal society.

Finally, I decided to introduce as a meaningful source also the recalcitrant respondents, the individuals who preferred not to take part in the interview. The explanations they gave for their decision for not wanting to answer my questions have been important in understanding to what extent the perception of the

existence of a power relationship between an international cultural institution and individuals could influence the building of participatory practices. It is also a way to introduce the question of active participation. Do people really want to participate in cultural practices? And how could participation be activated? Given this relationship, developing policies in a context where individuals are scarcely aware of their role or feel inadequate and incompetent would be complex. In fact, I am interested in what people wanted to say but also about what they did not want to say, as a way of expressing disappointments and conflict.

3.8.2.iii Women wine producers:

Reducing my analysis to a general understanding of 'local people', as a monolithic 'cultural community' (*Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* 2003) or 'heritage community' (*Nara Document on Authenticity* 1994; *Faro Convention* 2005) would be dangerous. In fact, this would ignore 'the diversity of experiences and aspirations of its members' and may 'result in putting in place "participatory" structures that favour certain community members' interests over others' (Blake 2018: 212). Thus, I decided to elucidate the many layers of meaning that a heritage place could acquire by using gender as a mode of enquiry, serving as a critical perspective on the representation of the past. The analysis of the variety of heritage values attributed to the vineyard landscape could have been conducted addressing other marginalised groups, as migrant workers. In the last few decades, the majority of agricultural producers has been employing migrant workers, mainly coming from Eastern European countries, who have become an integral part of the local population (Borri 2019). Despite their relevant presence, these workers are never mentioned in the World Heritage documents concerning the vineyard landscape. Due to limited time and resources, it would have been difficult to get in contact with all these different communities and to build a trustful relationship with them. Given the importance of this topic, future researches should address how migration have influenced - both in the past and in the present - the local culture, whether and to what extent migrant workers are contributing in moulding cultural practice, how do they intend cultural participation and representation and how do they articulate heritage and identity values in the context of their new home.

Considering that the wine sector has traditionally been dominated by men, I focus on women wine producers, analysing them as an underrepresented group. Moreover, gender equality represents one of the most challenging objectives in contemporary society and has become a priority for UNESCO (*Medium-Term Strategy* 2008-2013 and 2014-2021), which considers it 'an essential part of the equation for more inclusive and sustainable development' (Bokova 2014). However, in various World Heritage sites women are still marginalised, both in the identification and interpretation of the past and in contemporary cultural practices (Labadi 2007).

In October 2017 I interviewed four women wine producers, two in each site. The interviews were semi-structured and in-depth, lasting about one hour each. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. The objective was to understand to what extent women feel themselves integrated in a culturally male sector and whether women feel represented and engaged in the cultural interpretation and representation of landscape.

- Have you been engaged in the definition of what is heritage in this area during the designation process of the World Heritage site?
- If yes, to what extent? Do you feel you need to be more engaged in the decision of what should be preserved and represented (that is, not only in an initial phase but as an ongoing process)?
- If no, how do you think wine producers should be engaged in the preservation as well as in the interpretation of the site?
- Do you feel that the cultural, social, economic role of women is well represented in the narrative of the local heritage (exhibitions, museums, festivals)?
- Do you think that the World Heritage designation could become an effective tool to fight the 'glass ceiling' (as part of a sustainable development)?
- Which type of partnerships and projects do you think could help in empowering women within the context of the heritage of wine production?

The aim was to the collect data to discuss how and whether women are represented in the narrative of the vineyard landscape and if their heritage values and meanings

are interpreted. What I argue is that the representation of a group in legal and official documents as well as in the narrative of the site is a means to recognise and legitimise its values. Not representing a group at a cultural level could therefore have significant implications at socio-economic and political levels.

## 3.9. Data analysis

Data analysis consists of examining, categorizing and testing the evidence generated to address the research questions and the initial positions of the study (Yin 2003). A CDA requires the analyst to 'enter a more conscious and deliberate process of analysis in order to penetrate the complex layering of linguistic, rhetorical and semantic devices' (Waterton et al. 2006: 344), revealing elements of resistance or conflict in situations that at a first glance could appear unproblematic. Thus, the data collection and analysis enables the researcher to identify a framework within which to work in order to find possible solutions for the critical elements emerged through the research. The objective of a discourse analysis is not solely to demonstrate what people think or believe, but rather to understand 'how specific actors construct an argument, and how this argument fits into wider social practices' (Schneider 2013). As stated by Florian Schneider, 'no amount of discourse analysis can provide adequate evidence of what goes on in people's heads' (2013), as meanings are contextually constructed and change through different experiences.

The analysis of the data was undertaken in an inductive thematic manner. I initially used Nvivo qualitative data analysis software to acquire familiarity with the data and to start identifying recurrent themes. However, as the analysis progressed, I realised that the software was not suitable to represent the richness and complexity of the information. I therefore returned to the word files of the interview transcripts and found them more useful as I could visualize, next to the interview texts, ideas about their meaning and how this might relate to other issues I had detected while transcribing the interviews. Given this perspective, I analysed all the interviews using a coding frame which focused on the three key concepts mentioned in chapter two: 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation'. The definitions of 'heritage' and 'landscape' presented overlapping meanings and values, to an extent that in some cases they corresponded. Even the interpretation of 'participation' is complex, as interviewees attributed different degrees of 'participation'.

| Heritage | Landscape | Participation |
|---|---|---|
| Landscape | Vineyards | Be actively engaged |
| Traditions | Castles/monuments | Be informed |
| Lifestyle | Villages | Dialogue |
| Intangible elements | Lifestyle | Decision-making |
| Food/local products | Museums | No need to be engaged |
| History | Authenticity | |
| Museums | | |
| Authenticity | | |

How these concepts are articulated by different actors reveals the existence of contrasting understandings, which entails power relations as well as social issues. In fact, the data analysis was used to support the argument that the omission of individuals or groups from cultural participation could have socio-economic implications. This finding was particularly evident in the analysis of the interviews with the 'women wine producers' group (chapter six).

I compared the outcomes of the two main actors, the heritage professionals and the laypersons, to discuss the existence of hegemonic discourses and power relationships. With these premises, international and national policies heralding the promotion of shared and participative management of heritage sites/cultural landscapes are grounded in a structural gap that would impede an engaging heritage-building and heritage preservation process. In her pivotal work, Smith (2006) affirms that any attempts at engaging with community or stakeholder groups must take into account the power relations that underlie the dominant heritage discourse. These relations may inadvertently (or not) work to discourage the inclusive participation of those groups whose understandings of the nature of heritage are excluded from that discourse.

Understanding how heritage is defined by heritage professionals and laypersons has been the keystone on which I built the data coding. This first step was necessary to unlock the power relations that underline the dominant heritage discourse, and which create a distinction between 'official heritage' and 'unofficial heritage'. In particular, what emerged from the interviews with local people was a

bias towards intangible heritage, with some uncertainties concerning the definition of everyday values (dialects, for example) as heritage.

In the context of a World Heritage Site, it has been fundamental to understand how the role and objectives of UNESCO were perceived and whether the aims and implications of being a World Heritage Site have been clearly explained. If professionals take for granted that laypersons are aware of the mission, role and objectives of a World Heritage site, they will inevitably build a process which is poorly constructed from the start. This issue is closely connected to the level of participation in the entire nomination process and in the development of preservation policies and practices. Given the fluid nature of cultural landscapes as 'living' heritage, it is unavoidable to engage people in its social, economic and cultural development, as local people should be the first to benefit from the opportunities generated by the enlisted landscape. Rights and duties relating to the World Heritage site have to be explained, discussed and assimilated through a participatory process. As part of a larger society, women wine producers have played a meaningful role in my attempt to tackle issues of underrepresentation within heritage sites, questioning how heritage identification, interpretation and representation could be a powerful tool to give voice to groups whose stories have been omitted – or even excluded – from mainstream narratives.

An interesting reflection that arose from the analysis of the three key concepts concerns the principle of 'authenticity', which represents a basic requirement in the nomination of a World Heritage site. This turned out to be one of the most difficult concepts to explain, both for heritage professionals and laypersons. It also opened an interesting reflection on the issues of tourism development and gentrification. This last phenomenon started to become a focal point within heritage preservation debates from the 1990s onwards, after the so-called 'heritage boom', raising concerns about the transformation of the urban landscape under the conditions of late capitalism (Zukin 1991; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Winter 2012). In the context of the World Heritage List, this issue is becoming central, involving a questioning of the real motivations of nation states to nominate candidate sites for the List, which appear to be more politically and economically driven rather than culturally oriented.

The main limit of this research, as for most of qualitative research, is that 'the

spoken and written word has always a residue of ambiguity no matter how carefully we word the question and report or code the answers' (Fontana and Frey 1994: 361). Undertaking research based on discourse analysis requires the researcher to have both an 'internal' as well as an 'external' perspective of the topic it problematizes. Discourse analysis not only conveys the need to recognise the rules of formation and to understand the patterns of power relations. In fact, interpreting the research material requires an 'appreciation of embedded norms of social practices gained through being "inside" the discursive field' (Hewitt 2009). As argued by Hewitt (2009), it also challenges the researcher to gain a view of the problem from the 'outside' in order to recognize the hidden assumptions and practices that form the rules of discourse formation. Marjan Hidding, Barrie Needham and Johan Wisserhof describe this process arguing that 'each of us – academics, policy makers, politicians – tends to think within a discourse. But we do not need to be imprisoned within it. Moreover, being made aware of what we have been taking for granted […] can be liberating, academically and politically' (2000: 129).

Therefore, reflexivity becomes a fundamental step in the development of the research as the researchers should explicitly consider their relationship with the field of research. My approach to heritage and landscape management has been deeply influenced by the museum studies discourse concerning participation and the relationship between museum professionals and visitors, and in particular by the theories introduced by the so-called New Museology. This movement, first named by Peter Vergo (1989), brought together an interdisciplinary group of scholars and museum practitioners whose aim was to destabilise what was thought of as 'museum studies' and in the process open up how museum work was thought about. They argued that the 'old museology' was 'too much about museum methods and too little about the purpose of museums' (Vergo 1989: 3). Like the scholars currently promoting critical heritage studies, the 'new museology' wanted to move away from questions concerning techniques and methodologies towards an analysis of the ideological functions of museums in order to challenge those functions and attempt to change them. Using the same approach, I seek with my research to challenge the current heritage policies and practices relating to enlisted sites and to directly communicate with 'non-experts'.

# Chapter Four - Cultural participation and official heritage discourses and policies

## 4.1. Introduction

In the next three chapters I discuss the outcomes of my research fieldwork, exploring the semantic differences between the discourses used by heritage professionals and practitioners, and laypersons' language. Understanding how heritage discourses are used differently is a means to unpack the conceptual disjunctions that exist between academic, political and popular attempts to value, articulate and negotiate heritage and landscape. Thus, the aim of a critical discourse analysis applied to different groups of actors is to investigate how the two key concepts of 'heritage' and 'landscape' are valued by different groups, and the implications for the development of participatory decision-making processes. This analysis will help us think through the preservation and management of cultural landscapes and how related policies and programmes might be best designed to ensure wider public representation and participation.

In this chapter I investigate how international, national and local policies frame the participation of individuals and groups in the identification, preservation and management of their heritage. The overarching objective is to explore how official discourses position and articulate the key concepts of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation'. Firstly, I explore how and what discourses are implicit and explicit in the various uses of the term 'landscape' as it is construed in international documents, seeking to understand which heritage values are attributed to it. Secondly, I explore how the concept of 'living heritage' is framed and valued. This definition is particularly challenging when applied to landscape, as landscapes are by their very nature ever-changing: they are the spaces of everyday life and they are moulded by cultural, economic, social and political factors. In the context of landscape, which is considered a continuously evolving living heritage whose meanings are constantly constructed and re-constructed by the different groups living within it, the decisions about what to preserve, how to preserve it and what to develop provoke questions concerning the value to whom, and at what cost (Palmer 2009). Finally, I analyse how 'participation' is framed in policy documents,

seeking to understand how the role of the public is framed - simply as spectators or consumers of heritage landscapes or as actively responsible and owners of the landscape and the heritage therein.

The chapter is divided into four sections, which analyse the international, supranational, national and regional policies concerning landscape as part of the cultural heritage. Each section focuses on how the key concepts of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation' have been articulated and interpreted. The first section explores the *World Heritage Convention* (1972) and the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (2017), in order to understand the values attributed to 'cultural landscape' and how participation is conceived during the different phases of the nomination process of a World Heritage site, from identification to management. As discussed in chapter two, section three, landscapes are also constituted by intangible values, therefore I use the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) to examine how these values are defined, seeking to understand whether everyday life values are part of it.

In the second section I compare the *World Heritage Convention* and the *Operational Guidelines* with the documents produced at a supranational level by the Council of Europe. The ELC acknowledges landscape's contribution to the formation of local cultures and conceives it as a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, therefore contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity. At a European level, cultural participation has been advocated by the *Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters* (1998) and by the *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (2005), both supporting the active engagement of individuals and groups in their cultural heritage.

The third section of the chapter analyses the extent to which the international and supranational documents discussed in sections two and three have influenced and shaped Italian national preservation policies. I investigate the national legal framework for heritage and landscape management and conservation, the *Code of Cultural Goods and of Landscape* (2004) and the most recent *Rapporto sullo Stato delle Politiche per il Paesaggio* (*Report on the Policies for Landscape* 2017) to examine the extent to which Italian legislation has been receptive of the

international debates and how these legal instruments are used to shape the understanding of landscape. At a regional level, landscape is managed through a *Piano Paesaggistico Regionale* (*Regional Landscape Plan*), a document developed by local administrations in concert with the Ministry of Cultural Goods and Activities.

In the final section, I discuss the UNESCO reports concerning the nomination of the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato: the *Advisory Body Evaluation* (2014), the *Executive Summary* (2014) - an important document which includes essential information extracted from the main text of the nomination - and the *Management Plan* (2014).

## 4.2. Landscape in the UNESCO World Heritage List

### 4.2.1. World Heritage Cultural Landscapes and the 'Outstanding Universal Value'

In 1992, the World Heritage Committee adopted the category of 'cultural landscapes' as part of the strategy to broaden the scope of World Heritage listings, with the aim of being more inclusive and representative. This additional category of property is defined in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (2017) as follows:

> cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the 'combined works of nature and man' designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by the natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal (Paragraph 47).[9]

The chief characteristic of landscapes belonging to this category is that they are 'diverse, particularly dynamic and always challenging' (Ramsey 2015: 649). Their identification, preservation and management raise complex issues concerning

[9] IUCN, one of UNESCO's advisory bodies specifically concerned about natural factors, defines landscape as an 'area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural values, and often with high biological diversity' (Philips 2002: 9).

potential conflicts that could be generated by questions of ownership and preservation. In fact, the mention of social, economic and cultural forces and the reference to the evolution of the society over time, position landscapes as testimonials of ways of life as well as repositories of collective memories and traditions, habits and customs. The relationships between these different forces are particularly relevant in the context of the subcategory of 'continuing landscape', which is characterised by 'an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress' (UNESCO 2017a, Annex III: 81). The prominence given to the 'active social role' and to the 'traditional way of life' challenges established, material-centred conservation principles and opens questions concerning how to balance the fluidity – and the consequent changing nature – of both landscape and groups living within it with a static conception of heritage.

As for cultural and natural sites, a basic prerequisite for cultural landscapes in order to obtain World Heritage status is to be the expression of an 'outstanding universal value' from historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view (UNESCO 1972, Article 1). This conveys that World Heritage sites have to be bearers of exceptional cultural and/or natural significance and relevance, so as to transcend national boundaries and to be of 'common importance for present and future generations of all humanity', requiring 'the permanent protection of this heritage' (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraph 49). The intention of the *World Heritage Convention*, it is claimed, is not to 'ensure the protection of all properties of great interest, importance or value, but only for a selected list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint' (Article 52). Thus, in order to be enlisted as a World Heritage site, a cultural landscape should not merely prove to be the result of an interaction between human and natural factors, rather it has to be 'an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change' (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraph 77).

Concurrently, cultural landscapes are 'directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance' (*ibidem*, Paragraph 77). Implicitly, this

definition asserts that cultural landscapes are determined by both tangible and intangible aspects. Intangible values have been recognized by the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003), as 'practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills handed down from generation to generation' (UNESCO 2003a, Article 2). Despite this convention placing emphasis on the interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage, the World Heritage frameworks are still based on a clear distinction between tangible and intangible values. Notwithstanding the creation of a dedicated *Representative List*, intangible heritage is still not part of the World Heritage list. This distinction raises the question whether this divisive framing causes a different perception between tangible and intangible values, with the former being considered more worthy of preservation than the latter. More specifically, in the context of cultural landscapes a marked distinction between tangible and intangible values may provoke bias towards material aspects as well as a misunderstanding of what intangible heritage is. As I discuss in chapter five, section three, individuals or groups could assume that their intangible heritage (for example, their dialect) is not considered as relevant and worthy of preservation by official documents and listings. What could also be questioned is if it is possible to disjoin tangible and intangible values, or if they are different aspects of the same heritage/landscape. Is there heritage that is merely tangible or merely intangible?

Two critical elements emerge from a discourse analysis of the *Operational Guidelines*. The first is that UNESCO explicitly classifies heritage using a hierarchical paradigm, a list of the best sites based on 'extraordinary' values which are abstractly defined as relevant for humanity. Secondly, the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological values mentioned are established and assessed by academic disciplines. Even though UNESCO documents support public participation in the phases of the decision-making processes, the 'outstanding universal value' discourse implicitly suggests that 'heritage' and 'landscape' have to be identified and valued through professional and academic frameworks, and that only experts are able to identify heritages valuable for all of humanity, despite their national and/or regional relevance. This approach becomes problematic when applied to the sub-

category of 'continuing landscapes', where heritage values are intertwined with everyday life.

The adjectives used to describe a cultural landscape suitable for being listed are 'important', 'unique or at least exceptional', 'outstanding', 'superlative', and the site has to be a 'masterpiece' of 'exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic value' (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraph 77). The importance of the 'outstanding universal value' is reiterated in Paragraph 4:

> The cultural and natural heritage is among the priceless and irreplaceable assets, not only of each nation, but for humanity as a whole. The loss, through deterioration or disappearance, of any of these most prized assets constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the peoples of the world.

Once again, the use of adjectives such as 'priceless', 'irreplaceable', 'most prized' and 'impoverishment', interestingly connected to an economic lexicon, positions World Heritage sites as more valuable than other heritages. Moreover, the use of words such as 'loss', 'deterioration' and 'disappearance' suggests the idea that heritage has to be preserved as it exists at a given and precise time. This understanding of conservation has been challenged in the past by authors such as Lowenthal, who expressed his critique of an approach in which 'heritage is held to fossilize, to preclude ambivalence, to tolerate no doubts' (1998: 88), as well as by Hewison (1987) who outlined the way 'fevered nostalgia precludes present action' (*ibidem*: 88). In fact, such an understanding of conservation risks generating conflicts concerning the development of both the site and the groups living within it. As noted by Aplin, to expect that the relationship between natural and human factors could remain largely unchanged into the future may turn out to be as 'something that may not be "natural", but, rather an artificial or bureaucratic restriction on cultural evolution and development' (2007: 431). By remaining devoted to a value assessment which is still discipline-driven and professionally defined, the *Operational Guidelines* risk undermining the importance attributed to social and cultural values by local communities. Thus, who should identify and classify everyday values, memories and beliefs? The World Heritage's understanding and

listing of heritage recalls the AHD, as discussed in chapter two, section 2.2.2, and generates specific questions concerning who has the authority to define what to preserve and how.

During our interview, Roberto Cerrato, site-manager of the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, made an interesting point by affirming that 'you have to walk this land to understand its values. Someone coming from miles away will never be able to understand it' (Appendix 4). This statement raises two important considerations. Firstly, by emphasising that the creation of values is deeply connected to dwelling and experiencing the spaces in the everyday life, Cerrato suggests that engagement with and consultation of local people should be nodal practices in heritage planning and management. Here, heritage becomes more about meanings and values than material artefacts (Graham 2002: 1004). Secondly, it problematises a strict interpretation of the AHD which risks essentialising the binary division between government officials and laypersons. In this case, the role of Cerrato as local government official is influenced by his belonging to this region and by the close relationship he has with the communities. What can be assumed is that a mere 'official/non-official divide' flattens and oversimplifies a reality which is often much more complex.

Heritage and landscape are therefore conceived as bearers of identity values and meanings, made up not only of the resident communities, but of a much broader society of users. This implies that, in the representation of a heritage site, it is crucial to assign a recognised image to the locations, in order to consolidate the local identity and to engage people in heritage planning, preservation and management.

### 4.2.2. Preserving and managing a 'continuing' heritage

As argued in the previous section, the definition of 'continuing landscape', as a place that 'retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress' (UNESCO 2017a, Annexe III: 81), shares the processual and vernacular nature with the concept of intangible cultural heritage. The latter is identified in the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) 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 recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (Art. 2).

The value of 'continuity' is embedded in both definitions and suggests that heritage is transmitted by imitation (of the past), practice and living experience. In other words, preservation practices should not be limited to safeguarding material aspects, but rather be an instrument for social enhancement. Preservation of living heritage requires managing in the perspective of being 'a significant contribution to sustainable development', both ecologically and culturally, to the quality of life of the communities concerned (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraphs 6 and 119). Thus, preservation practices are expected to ensure continuity between the past, present and future by also enabling creative changes of the landscape, to achieve sustainable development based on a balanced relationship between social needs, economic activities and the environment.

Nevertheless, associating protection, safeguarding and management practices to expertise and technical capacities risks causing a widespread reaction amongst laypersons who may feel dispossessed of their everyday life, which they could understand as heritage or not. This suggests that an active participation of the communities and stakeholders is fundamental to creating the suitable, shared conditions to the sustainable protection, conservation, management of the World Heritage site, especially from a perspective that sees people responsible for the continuous care of the heritage through traditional or established means (Wijesuriya 2018: 43). In this sense, change is embraced as a part of continuity of the heritage place, rather than something to be mitigated or kept to a minimum. As noted by Aplin, 'landscape, like cultures and societies, do, after all, tend to evolve over time' (2007: 432). Thus, preservation of landscape values and local

development become two important features in the management of a cultural landscape, although conciliating them has proved to create some tensions, especially regarding the negotiation between cultural/natural values and economic values. What would be expected is a range of economic and social strategies which may not necessarily impair the heritage interests (Fowler 2003: 56). In fact, if on some occasions people 'may appreciate protection of their culture and lifestyle, and be positive about limitations on intrusion by the modern' (Aplin 2007: 432), in other contexts local people do not necessarily wish to maintain traditional ways of life. As discussed by Jones et al. 'conflict can arise as a result of changing perceptions over time regarding what are considered valuable historic landscapes on the one hand and what are considered desirable new features of the landscape on the other' (2007: 209). Constraining people to being involved in a traditional way of life could risk impeding their access to the 'advantages of modern developments' (Aplin 2007: 432), so one may ask whether it would be ethically correct to limit their desire to change 'so that the broader global community could benefit from protection of World Heritage values' (*ibidem*: 438). Thus, a challenging question that arises is, to what extent has UNESCO the right to inhibit, or even prevent, normal economic and technological development of these landscapes? Another related question is how much of the twenty first century should be permitted to intrude on these landscapes of outstanding universal significance before their values are compromised and meanings changed.

### 4.2.3. Framing participation as a human right

Participation represents an important element throughout the entire process of a World Heritage Site candidacy, starting from the identification and definition of the site itself, with the requirement that nominations should be prepared in collaboration with and the full approval of local communities (UNESCO 2017a, Annex III). Paragraph 64 of the *Operational Guidelines* affirms that the State members 'are encouraged to prepare their Tentative List with the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, NGOs and other interested parties and partners'. The participation of local communities and indigenous people in the nomination process is reiterated in Paragraph 123, which states that a shared management 'is

essential to enable them to have a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the property'. Thus, State members 'are encouraged to prepare nominations with the widest possible participation of stakeholders' (Paragraph 123) by also organising public consultations and hearings.

On the one hand, this participatory discourse recognises that local communities, individuals and groups are aware of the relevance of their heritage/landscape and therefore have to be included in the decision-making process; on the other hand, a bias towards a central, professional management of heritage can still be detected.

The discourse analysis of the *Operational Guidelines* reveals how power relationships still underlie the dominant heritage discourse, establishing professional and academic authority while limiting and discouraging the potential participation of other actors.

How discourse can operate in sustaining dominant authority and in marginalising those groups whose understanding of heritage does not correspond with its 'official' definition has been explored by Waterton et al. (2006) through the analysis of the *The Burra Charter: the Australia ICOMOS charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (1979, revised 1999). This ICOMOS document is driven by the idea that a more equitable dialogue is needed in order to include underrepresented groups in heritage management processes. Its original purpose is to broaden 'the conception of cultural significance to include not only fabric but also use, associations and meanings. The revised charter also encourages the co-existence of cultural values, particularly when they are in conflict' (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004: 4).

The Burra Charter has therefore become 'a reference point in promoting inclusion in heritage conservation' (Waterton et al. 2006: 340). Notwithstanding the attempt to incorporate principles of community inclusion, participation and consultation, the discourse used in the document is ambiguous and contributes to make the charter largely unsuccessful (*ibidem*: 342). For Waterton et al. the discourse analysis of the charter reveals claims of inevitability, in the sense that 'a particular understanding of heritage has been naturalized and fed into policy, allowing specific meanings and values to dominate as inevitable' (*ibidem*: 346). This authoritative discourse legitimizes the role of experts in the definition process of what is heritage, limiting the potential commitment or involvement of alternative

voices and, consequently, inhibiting a dialogical relationship. As Waterton et al. argue:

> what is at issue is the tension that emerges when calls for greater inclusion and plurality are placed within a context already dominated by the firmly established and authoritative discourse of the expert. The paradox [...] revolves around attempting to loosen controls and create equitable dialogue, but doing so through a discourse that is by its very nature dialogically restricted (*ibidem*: 346).

Similarly to the case of the Burra Charter, the discourse analysis of the *Operational Guidelines* suggests that safeguarding the right to participate and access heritage is not mandatory and local communities are mentioned after site managers and local authorities. Even if this could appear as a negligible detail - as local communities are introduced in any case - the priority accorded to political forces risks supporting the critics moved to the rationale of World Heritage sites. Do site managers, local authorities and local communities have the same motivation and expectations from a World Heritage nomination? Despite Irina Bokova, previously Director-General of UNESCO, stating that the concept of outstanding universal value 'has meaning only if it is embedded in a local ecology, in harmony with local communities, with biological and cultural as well as linguistic diversity' (2012: ix) and that 'World Heritage carries local meaning, but its stakes are global' (*ibidem*: ix) there are undeniably potential political attractions to World Heritage Site status which do not necessarily take account of local communities' understandings and needs. As argued by Pendlebury, even though the intention of UNESCO and of its advisory body ICOMOS is to look for 'outstanding universal value' in a 'dispassionate and scholarly way across the globe, in practice nominations come forward from national governments, which may have a range of rather different motivations' (2009: 146). Consequently, in some cases the heritage presented as meaningful and worthy to enter the World Heritage List is that of a dominant group, with more attention paid to potential economic and political outcomes, rather than to cultural and identity values (Pendlebury 2009; Di Giovine 2009; Singh 2011; D'Eramo 2014).

The propulsive role of people is amongst the principles declared in the UNESCO document *Ethics and Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2015a), a set of overarching aspirational principles that are widely accepted as constituting good practices and which aim to ensure the viability of intangible cultural heritage, thereby recognizing its contribution to peace and sustainable development. The underpinning rationale of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* is that communities, groups and individuals who contribute to creating, maintaining and transmitting intangible heritage 'have to be involved actively in its management' (UNESCO 2003a, Article 15). What clearly emerges is that 'each community, groups and individual should assess the value of its own intangible cultural heritage and this intangible cultural heritage should not be subject to external judgments of value or worth' (UNESCO 2015a, Ethical Principle 6). Therefore, the right to actively contribute to their heritage is reinforced by the right to identify and define heritage through a decision-making process based on 'collaboration, dialogue, negotiation and consultation' (*ibidem*, Ethical Principle 4). In stating that 'communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity' (UNESCO 2003a, Preamble), the Convention implicitly affirms that competence is not necessarily connected with academic or professional expertise. This approach suggests a network of relationships between different stakeholders and local authorities, a dialogical procedure that recalls the model of the 'hybrid forum' described by Callon et al. (2011) and which has been promoted by the Burra Charter as well. As discussed in chapter two, section 2.4, this model, when applied to the heritage sector, advocates the creation of a dialogical arena where experts, non-experts, ordinary citizens and politicians come together to discuss and negotiate through an inclusive and engaging decision-making process, which seeks to bridge the antagonistic bureaucratic divide between laypersons and experts (Waterton et al. 2006; Harrison 2013: 225). The question remains, do these different actors have the necessary tools to actively participate? Do their voices have the same relevance? Do people want to be engaged? Or at least, do they want to participate using methods that are imposed by professionals and institutional authorities? The activation of a

hybrid forum demands the questioning of which methods could be used to reach the 'parity of participation' (Fraser 2008). Drawing on Fraser's theorisation, Waterton and Smith (2010) note that a range of people are excluded in terms of parity in heritage matters through the institutionalisation of the trope 'community'. What is at stake is that some people are included within those groups entitled to make decisions about what is (or is not) heritage, while others are omitted. In this sense, landscapes can become conflictual spaces as 'conflicts frequently arise over whose landscape values are taken in consideration' (Jones et al. 2007: 209).

## 4.3. The Council of Europe and the democratic approach to landscape

### 4.3.1. Landscape: an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere

While the World Heritage status is based on a system of designating the 'outstanding universal value', the ELC definition of landscape goes further in drawing on the democratic values underpinning the Council of Europe's rationale. This international organisation was established in 1949 to defend human rights and democracy during the building of post-war Europe. Nowadays, the major tasks in the Council of Europe include developing a European agreement for social and judicial praxis, working for a European identity and human rights, and providing knowledge in areas that consider human rights, local democracy, education, culture, and environment (Jones et al 2007: 208). Despite the ELC specifically focussing on the European context, its understanding of landscape can be applied to an international scale and its analysis helps problematizing the *World Heritage Convention*'s issues identified in the previous section. It is important to remember that these two international conventions are both formally and substantively different and that the ELC can be regarded as complementary to the UNESCO Convention (Council of Europe 2000b, Paragraph 33). In fact, the former is an instrument that the Council of Europe introduced with the purpose of achieving a greater unity between European countries, in order to safeguard and realise 'the ideals and principles which are their common heritage' (2000a, Preamble). The merit of the ELC is to have validated the innovative theory according to which the landscape has a role in the elaboration of local cultures. Consequently, its

preservation is not related to exceptional aesthetic, historical or monumental values, but rather to social and cultural values relevant to local communities. The framing of landscape through social values aims to legitimate the rights of individuals and groups to own their heritage as an essential part of their identity, as well as declaring their responsibility in management processes. In its 'Preamble' the ELC claims that the landscape is:

> an important part of the quality of life of people everywhere: in urban areas and in the countryside, in degraded areas as well as in areas of high quality, in areas recognized as being of outstanding beauty as well as everyday areas.

The nodal point of the ELC develops around Article 1, which defines landscape as an area 'as perceived by people'. This definition conveys that landscape is not regarded 'as a neutral material object, but as an expression of the interrelationship between people and their physical surroundings' (Jones et al. 2007: 209). Thus, landscape is not simply a collection of material artefacts identified and valued through expertise, but it 'is concerned with the immaterial meanings and values people attach to their material surroundings' (*ibidem*: 209). The relevance of landscape at local level is reiterated in Article 5, where landscape is described as 'an essential component of people's surrounding', as the expression of local identities. Consequently, landscape values rest on the everyday as well as on the degraded landscapes (Article 2), which are both bearers of values for individuals and groups living within it. The ELC implies that account should be taken of people's attachment to their physical surroundings in previously neglected areas as well, such as for example suburbs, industrial areas, working-class landscapes, and even degraded landscapes. The novelty of this conceptualisation is that it does not merely underline the harmonious coexistence of natural and historical, biological and cultural elements within the landscape, but – and above all - it recognises the landscape as an identity resource and one of the factors that contributes to the community identity building (D'Angelo 2010: 43). This is a principle which positions the ELC on a divergent level compared to the *World Heritage Convention*. A first evident difference is that the ELC does not mention the adjective 'cultural', as it covers all landscapes, which are by their very

nature bearers of cultural values. The ELC aims to avoid, or rather to resolve, the issues related to a World Heritage List approach which is perceived as elitist and making artificial distinctions based on specific features regarded as indicative of an exceptional landscape.

The 'Preamble' states that the ELC is 'concerned to achieve sustainable development based on a balanced and harmonious relationship between social needs, economic activities and the environment', being 'aware that the landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and that is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity'. If the ELC insists on the participatory approach, it is to better juridically translate the specificity of landscape and to regulate power relationships. Policies that engage only experts and administrators produce a landscape imposed on people, creating a landscape that mainly reflects dominant groups and elite values (Bender 1993, 2001). In fact, as emphasised in the *Explanatory Report* (2000b), 'official landscape activities can no longer be allowed to be an exclusive field of study or action monopolised by specialist scientific and technical bodies' (Paragraph 22). The democratisation of decision-making processes expresses a collective and individual appropriation of all landscapes, which requires a direct participation of everyone throughout all the decisional moments (Prieur 2002) for their transformation, evolution and preservation. Howard (2007: 211) notes that the inclusivity of the ELC has many correspondences within the broader heritage movement, and several trends can be seen to all point in a similar direction: the conservation of the ordinary rather than concentrating exclusively on the extraordinary and the grand; the moves to the local, to the private and to intangible heritage; the acknowledgment that 'insiders' have different understandings of heritage which do not necessarily correspond with experts' perspectives.

However, broadening the understanding of landscape raises complex and challenging questions concerning the preservation and management of this heritage. Firstly, the ELC's definition of landscape implies that 'nearly all landscapes are special in some way to someone, although not always consciously expressed' (*ibidem*: 209). If all landscapes are worthy and relevant, how could preservation practices be sustainable at economic and social levels? How could preservation

principles be balanced with the changing nature of the landscape and of the groups living within it? Secondly, by affirming that a landscape has to be identified 'as perceived by people' conveys that the views of all groups should be considered – not just the views of academic or political elites - as different actors who directly or indirectly construct and re-construct the landscape and contribute to the development of cultural, social and economic meanings. The implication of this interpretation of landscape is that people are at the heart of meaning-making processes and that preservation and management operations 'indeed require them to be there' (Philips 2002: 5). Nevertheless, the intention to develop a participatory and dialogue-based approach has to take in consideration the potential conflicts and competing views and interests that emerge when values and meanings attached to landscapes by different groups are negotiated.

### 4.3.2. The European Landscape Convention and the 'New Heritage' approach

The expansion of the notion of landscape introduced by the ELC entails that landscapes are bearers of overlapping tangible and intangible values. Such an identification reveals connections and similarities with the understanding of intangible values expressed in the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003). The implication of recognizing intangible and everyday values within landscapes is the need to develop alternative preservation methodologies, which are complementary of the practices used for cultural and natural heritage.

As introduced in chapter two, section 4.3, the ELC and the *Faro Convention* (2005) are legitimizing new ways of considering heritage, which involve conservation policies and philosophies that overtake the traditional heritage and conservation discourses. An interesting approach that could be used to resolve issues concerning preservation of living heritage is the so called 'new heritage' approach introduced by Fairclough (2009). According to Fairclough, there are mainly two separate ways of using the word 'heritage': on the one hand, it can be used descriptively 'to signify those objects that we worry about preserving'; on the other hand, it can have an active sense, 'almost as if it was a verb' (*ibidem*: 29), describing the process of looking after and exploiting those objects. This last approach understands heritage both as object and action, not merely as the things

that we inherit and that we would like to pass to future generations, but also as 'the process by which we understand, contextualise (physically and intellectually), perceive, manage, modify, destroy and transform the inherited world' (*ibidem*: 29). Fairclough names this concept 'new heritage', endorsing the view that the objective of preservation is not necessarily a mere conservation practice aiming at 'fixing' objects and places as they are when the heritagisation process begins, but rather it should focus on the management of change. In other words, the 'new heritage' promotes the use of the past in the present and its renewal into the future. Accordingly, this use might involve traditional preservation, or it might not. In this context, the question to ask is not the typical one of what the price of heritage is, rather 'what is the price of not looking after and sensibly using heritage' (*ibidem*: 36). In order to answer this, it is necessary to negotiate meanings and values with people, raising awareness about the relevance of landscape, not only in a short but, more importantly, in a long-term vision.

The principles underpinning the ELC and the *Faro Convention* can be contextualised in a wider international debate concerning the inclusion of intangible social values and their preservation, more specifically expressed in two documents: the *Burra Charter* (1979, 1999) and the *Krakow Charter* (2000). In section 2.5 of this chapter I introduced the ICOMOS Burra Charter, explaining the role it played in legitimizing the participation of people in decision-making process, particularly those that have strong associations with a place. Article 12 claims that:

> Conservation, interpretation and management of a place should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has special associations and meanings, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place (ICOMOS 1999).

By recognizing the social value of cultural significance, the charter introduces the idea of 'change' in the conservation processes and claims that:

> change may be necessary to retain cultural significance, but is undesirable where it reduces cultural significance. The amount of change

> to a place should be guided by the cultural significance of the place and its appropriate interpretation (*ibidem*, Article 15.1).

The scientific community of restoration professionals also contributed to the debate concerning landscape's safeguarding through the Krakow Charter in the same year as the ELC was signed. One of the objectives of this document was to generate awareness towards conservation not only of the single monument or of a historic site but also of the non-built part of territory. This entails recognizing the value of landscape as cultural heritage, as testimony of the extended interaction between human beings, nature and physical environment, and the evolutionary relationship of society and individuals with their own environment, integrating it even with intangible values.

As noted in the previous section, by affirming that all landscapes relevant for local communities are worthy of preservation, the ELC raises questions about the economic and social sustainability of a similar system. The rationale of this document does not suggest that all the landscapes are bearers of the same values, but that each category will require a different action: *protection* for the high quality sites that need action to 'conserve and maintain the significant or characteristic features of a landscape, justified by its heritage value derived from its natural configuration and/or from human activity'; ordinary *management* for the everyday life spaces in order 'to ensure the regular upkeep of a landscape, so as to guide and harmonise changes which are brought about by social, economic and environmental processes'; and *planning* action for the degraded areas, which require 'strong forward-looking action to enhance, restore or create landscapes' (Article 1). Most landscapes need a combination of these actions, meaning that the ELC 'does not aim to preserve or 'freeze' the landscape at a particular point in its lengthy evolution' (Déjeant-Pons 2006: 369). The emphasis is rather on 'the importance of guiding and harmonising landscape changes' (Jones et al. 2007: 209). However, finding a balance between heritage protection, social inclusion and development appears to be very complex. For this reason, it is important to emphasise the connections between lifestyle and landscape, with the latter understood also as a daily performance through which people define themselves and engage socially 'through place with other people' (Fairclough 2009: 33). By doing so the landscape becomes relevant for

individuals and for communities as the locus where identity values are constructed through relational phenomena which also intervene in the social, economic and political spheres.

### 4.3.3. Participation: developing an active role in the decision-making process

By emphasising landscapes as a democratic matter, the ELC suggests that rights and responsibilities are for everyone, both public authorities and citizens, and encourages a bottom-up approach to the management, protection and planning of landscapes. This means that local communities are expected to play an active role in the development of landscapes and to enjoy high quality landscapes, because living in a sustainable space is a key element of individual and social well-being, both in the present and in the future. The aim of the ELC is to propose a rethinking of the relationship between heritage professionals and institutions - who traditionally have held the power to take decisions concerning heritage - and local communities and authorities. In fact, individuals and groups have often been excluded from decision-making processes concerning their heritage, sometimes through an implicit process while others in a subtler and 'consensual' way. The ELC's *Explanatory Report* (2000b) affirms that:

> if people are given an active role in decision-making on landscape, they are more likely to identify with the areas and towns where they spend their working and leisure time. If they have more influence on their surroundings, they will be able to reinforce local and regional identity and distinctiveness, and this will bring rewards in terms of individual, social and cultural fulfilment. This in turn may help to promote the sustainable development of the area concerned, as the quality of landscape has an important bearing on the success of economic and social initiatives, whether public or private (Paragraph 24).

In the case of the ELC, participation is not solely encouraged, but rather recommended to become operative through national law. Article 5 elucidates that State members undertake 'to recognise landscapes in law as an essential component

of people's surroundings, an expression of diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity' and they 'establish procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies'. Moreover, as described in the *Explanatory Report*, the ELC 'establishes the general legal principles which should serve as a basis for adopting national landscape policies and establishing international cooperation in such matters' and 'public authorities have a duty to define the general framework for ensuring' the quality of the landscape (2000b, Paragraph A: 52).

The main objective of the ELC is therefore to provide suitable tools for a social, political and legal approach to landscape and to offer European citizens a system of international legal guarantees able to answer their questions about landscape and the environmental context. This document accentuates the involvement of communities in building the perception of their everyday context and on the encouragement of citizens to take active part in the decision procedures that concern landscape at a local level, claiming that the idea of landscape can be approached in a participative and democratic way (Priore 2008: 41). The dominant line of thought is that conservation depends upon the engagement of people, and therefore places where people co-exist with nature are worthy of special attention (Philips 1998: 32). Active participation is required from the identification and assessment phases onwards, as each member State undertakes 'to assess the landscapes thus identified, taking into account the particular values assigned to them by the interested parties and population concerned' (Article 6 C) and 'to define the landscape quality objectives for the landscapes identified and assessed, after public consultation' (Article 6 D). In contrast to the *World Heritage Convention*, in the ELC the general public plays a prominent role by being positioned before both local and regional authorities and other interested groups. This structural composition foregrounds the importance of people in the decision-making process and their primary role in all the management phases. As explained by Priore (2008), the ELC has become the international legal reference of a political project that aims to share and strengthen a new approach to the issues concerning landscape and the promotion of landscape quality by engaging people in the most relevant public decision and implementing procedures.

### 4.3.4 The Aarhus Convention and the Faro Convention: the propulsive role of communities

The recent focus on democracy and justice in the landscape became part of a structured debate in the 1990s. Public participation in environmental decision making was recognized as a right in 1998 under the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) through the *Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters* (hereafter *Aarhus Convention*). This milestone document has played an important role in inspiring the ELC to promote participation, both in the conception of policies and in the realisation of landscape policies. In the *Aarhus Convention*, the right of individuals and groups to participate in public procedures is recognized from the beginning of the process, that is when all the options and solutions are still possible, in order to ensure that people exercise a certain influence. Crucially, the outcomes have to be taken in consideration from the decisional phase. Drawing on the *Aarhus Convention*, the ELC divides public participation into three moments (Articles 6-8): 1) participation in decisions of specific activities, 2) participation concerning plans, programmes and policies relating to the environment, and 3) participation during the preparation of executive regulations and/or generally applicable legally binding normative instruments.

In 2005, another far-reaching international document, the *Faro Convention*, contributed to widening the democratic approach to heritage, by identifying individual and collective rights to enjoy, use and appreciate cultural heritage, enhancing the responsible exercise of these rights (Article 1). This democratic approach to heritage turns out to be demonstrably suitable for the concept of landscape introduced by the ELC: both are unifying concepts, because they bring together previously separate features of the world into a stronger whole and both sit at the interface between people's perception of the world and the world itself. The ELC and the *Faro Convention* propose a wider democratic aspect of heritage management, with new insights into the relationship between experts and local communities, giving voice to the pressure for expanding the canon coming from highly engaged, non-expert groups. The innovative contribution of these Council of Europe's conventions has been to recognise the value of the local and the ordinary, particularly in the context of greater democratic participation and on the embedding

of heritage values in social attitudes. Nevertheless, even if the *Faro Convention* defines a 'heritage community' as a group of 'people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish (…) to sustain and transmit to future generations' (Article 2), seeking to be more focused, it does not completely resolve the question of engaging potentially omitted groups as it considers a social ensemble whose physiognomy is still ambiguous.

## 4.4. The concept of Landscape in the Italian legislation

### 4.4.1. The definition of landscape values within the Code of the Cultural and Landscape Goods

In sections two and three I have contextualized the key words of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation' at international and supranational levels. The following section explores how the Italian national legislation and the Piedmont regional legislation have elaborated these concepts. In fact, analysing the laws of a country is fundamental, as they are a mirror of the mainstream mind-set of the society, of the changes at social, cultural and political level, of the attention attributed to certain values and of the ways they are understood and perceived. However, as D'Angelo explains, laws are also 'powerful tools to create a desirable reality' (2010: 134).

The understanding of landscape as an integral part of the cultural heritage is rooted in the Italian legislation since the twentieth century, with the first national law for the preservation of landscape being introduced in 1905 (Law n. 411/1905). The relevance of landscape in the creation of a national identity has been sanctioned in the main legal framework, the Italian Constitution, in 1948. Article 9 declares that 'the Republic promotes the development of culture and of scientific and technical research. It safeguards the natural landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation'.

The combination of 'natural landscape' with the 'historical and artistic heritage' is meaningful, not only because it puts them on the same level, but also because it reiterates their interconnection (D'Angelo 2010: 136). However, the division between the natural and cultural elements is still deeply remarked. Moreover, landscape and heritage are described as a national product, as a sphere that includes a well-defined national identity, without explicitly considering other

levels of identity, such as local identities and cultures. The Italian Constitution creates the basis for the *Code of the Cultural and Landscape Goods*, the set of laws that governs the preservation and management of the Italian heritage, promulgated in 2004. Before analysing the contents of this code, it is necessary to do a semantic specification in order to have a clear understanding of the object of preservation policies and practices. In fact, the Code is directed towards cultural and landscape 'goods', rather than 'heritage', as there is a legal distinction between 'cultural good' and 'cultural heritage'. The cultural and landscape goods have a precise juridical value, which corresponds to specific preservation and management practices established by the Ministry for the Cultural Goods and Activities and applied at the local level by the Regions and the local authorities; while 'heritage' is a more inclusive concept, which collect both cultural goods and landscapes.

Compared with previous Italian heritage documents and laws, the novelty of the Code is to integrate landscape in the concept of heritage. In fact, through the implementation of Article 131, the Code concludes the epoch of landscape as a 'natural beauty' (as expressed in Law 1497, 1939) and opens to the idea of landscape as the interrelation between human beings and the natural environment.

In 2006 and 2008, this legal framework was modified, by elaborating and introducing the principles expressed in the ELC, reinforcing the concept of landscape as an 'identity expression' (Article 131), and enriching previous definitions that focused on artistic and historical values (D'Angelo 2010: 151). As analysed by Priore (2008: 47), in the Italian legal framework the historical lack of distinction between the concept of 'Landscape' and 'landscapes', as places effectively perceived, has determined the interpretation of the term 'Landscape' and its prevailing use in the normative dispositions relating to it. In some cases, the confusion consequently led to the exclusion of vast areas of the national territories from any policy or public intervention that aimed to safeguard its landscape values.

The arguments raised by the ELC opened a national debate about the preservation and management of landscape and introduced a new vision of territorial planning and programming that focuses on sustainable safeguard and development (Venini 2008: 9). Article 131 of the Code clearly reflects the influence of the ELC in the definition of landscape as a 'part of territory which is an expression of identity and whose character derives from the action of natural and human

factors and their interactions' (Article 131.1). This article also engages public administrations in promoting and sustaining 'knowledge, information and formation, redevelopment and use of landscape and, where possible, the creation of new landscape values coherent and integrated' (Article 131.5). Nevertheless, contradictions in terms and a legacy from the historical understanding of landscape still emerge from the value discourse used in the Code. Firstly, the Code declares that its aim is to safeguard the aspects and characters which constitute 'the *material and visible* representation of *national* identity, as expression of cultural values' (Article 131.2). In other words, landscape preservation practices ought to recognize, preserve and recover cultural values that are a visible and tangible representation of the national identity.

The emphasis on a material-centric approach to preservation explicitly reinforces a discourse which focuses on objects, on visible elements (and therefore on the expertise authority) rather than on intangible heritage as traditions, memories, beliefs and life-styles. Consequently, living heritage is not considered in the Code, because of its intangible nature of 'non-things' (Tucci 2013: 184). Nevertheless, since 2007, when the Italian government signed the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage* and the *Convention for the protection and promotion of cultural diversities*, the Code has been implemented with article 7-bis, which states that the expressions of collective identity are eligible to preservation practices when represented by tangible testimonies. Reconnecting intangible heritage to tangible heritage preservation methods presents three main issues. The first is that by applying the same preservation methods to two different aspects of heritage does not respect or enhance their characteristics. In other words, an unreflexive heritagisation of intangible elements risks hindering its development and continuity. Secondly, intangible heritage is often representative of local communities and groups, thus, omitting it from preservation policies could represent the exclusion of local heritage that is relevant for local communities. Thirdly, a similar approach positions cultural and landscape goods as representative of a precise national identity rather than of local identities and tends to create an 'official' heritage which is worthier than an 'unofficial' heritage. Given this perspective, D'Angelo (2010: 150) questions how landscapes can represent a 'national identity'. If it is clear that the landscape is part of the local identities, it is

less understandable how landscape could constitute a manifestation of national identity, given the fact that the 'Italian Landscape' does not exist as an entity, but it is rather a variety of different landscapes, each one with its own individuality (*ibidem*: 150).

This last issue is reiterated in Article 136, which declares 'the object of these dispositions are landscapes and architectures of *remarkable public interest*', a definition that echoes the UNESCO 'outstanding universal value' and which is bearer of the same problematics. The absence of intangible, living heritage and the emphasis on 'remarkable public interest' prerequisite risk underestimating local heritage. It is thus necessary to question whether this excellence parameter is inclusive of heritage that is relevant for different groups and for minority or underrepresented groups, or if it is an instrument to create a consensual but excluding understanding of heritage and landscape.

### 4.4.2. Participation in the 'remarkable public interest' identification-process

As has been discussed throughout the chapter, cultural participation is currently understood as a human right and as a means of strengthening democracy through shared knowledge, becoming a key concept in the definition of preservation and management policies. The active engagement of groups and individuals in a participative, bottom-up decision-making process aiming to raise awareness and responsibility has been acknowledged also by the Italian government and included in the Code. In the previous section I analysed how landscape entered the legal framework as a 'common good', becoming one of the elements that should require a wider responsibility for those who live and work and consequently modify the territory (Venti 2008: 314). After having discussed the fact that the identification of landscape goods is still driven by aesthetic, cultural, historical and geological values (with no mention to social value) which determine how they will be preserved through landscape plans, this section focusses on how participation is articulated within the Code, exploring the process of acknowledgment of 'remarkable public interest'.

The proposal for the declaration of 'remarkable public interest' begins with the single Regions instituting specific commissions which are in charge of identifying potential landscape goods (Article 137). These commissions are

constituted of five members of the peripheral offices of the Ministry of Cultural Goods and Activities and by no more than four other members who should be landscape professionals, and who are proposed by universities, or stakeholders' associations. Once the proposal is accepted by the commission, it is published in national newspapers in order to be presented to a wider audience. At this point, local authorities, other stakeholders' associations and groups have the opportunity to present observations and documents to the Region, which subsequently decides about the declaration of 'remarkable public interest' (Article 139). If, on the one hand, this process attempts to develop a more inclusive decision-making process that engages all the actors required to take agency and responsibility in the preservation of landscape; on the other hand, the hierarchical and bureaucratic structure of the State is implicitly proposed again. Do people have the suitable instruments to enter and participate in this complex system? Do they want to be engaged? Does this procedure take into account how people engage with their heritage?

The power relationship between experts and laypersons clearly emerges from the analysis of the composition of the commission, where governmental representatives and experts have to be in larger number. This numerical imbalance implies that they benefit from an explicit majority and that they have a privileged position in a power relationship with other actors. In addition, this structure engages stakeholders' groups only marginally by including them in the process when heritage and landscape values have already been identified. The use of a general and neutral 'interested subjects' (Article 139.5) to define who the stakeholders are does not overcome the challenge of creating an inclusive decision-making process which is conscious of manifold layers of meanings and values. This is especially true when the conservation practices ignore what is relevant to them. How could individuals, marginalised groups and local communities become part of the decision-making process if their absence is not perceived as a missing element? How could they be actively engaged if what they value is not recognized by the Code? If their heritages are intangible or are not bearers of 'remarkable public interest', how could they be preserved by the Code?

### 4.4.3. The Regional Landscape Plans

At a regional level, landscape plans are the legal instruments that guide the management and preservation of landscape. These plans are the result of complex negotiations which require a discussion between different institutions and the participation of stakeholders. The merit of this legal framework is that it is based on a bottom-up approach that seeks to collect requests coming from local actors and to negotiate them with preservation needs. In the context of the realization of regional landscape plans, Local Landscape Observatories play an important role as 'facilitators' by fostering the connection between population and local administration. In fact, these observatories can participate in the management process in order to collect people's perceptions, promoting and supporting active processes of landscape management in a capillary way, with the aim of promoting their territory, developing actions of analysis, documentation, awareness-raising and active participation (MIBACT 2017: 462). Each observatory has its own autonomy in the internal structure and organization, with some having been developed from pre-existent local associations or ecomuseums, which are expressions of the tangible and intangible local culture; some having a highly qualified scientific committee, while others having activated collaborations with universities.

The Regional Landscape Plan of Piedmont (the Region that hosts the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato) has become operative in 2017, after a long procedure of institutional debates which started in 2006. As elucidated in the explanatory report of this regional landscape plan, the long period of preparation was a result of the will to ensure the wider participation of the stakeholders, in order to produce a complete, inclusive and efficient tool (Regione Piemonte 2017: 3). Echoing the principles of the ELC, the Regional Landscape Plan of Piedmont declares that the preservation of landscape and cultural heritage plays a paramount role in the identity-building process of the region. Therefore, its objective is not limited to preserving 'areas of exceptional prestige and beauty' (*ibidem*: 3). Rather, it involves the entire regional territory, including the 'landscape of the everyday, which represents the contexts of life and work of the people who contribute to determining its quality' (*ibidem*: 3). One of the strategies of the plan is to integrate the preservation of the landscape and its environmental, cultural and

historical values, with the development of economic activities (*ibidem*: 6). This entails a will to balance preservation with everyday life, taking into account the local communities' desire to improve and change over time. As heralded in the ELC, the management of a landscape should not merely aim to preserve the exceptional values as they are at a given moment, but rather enhance their development, in a perspective of change as well.

What emerges from the analysis of national frameworks and local policies is a dichotomy between the action of the State and the action of social groups operating at local level; between a heritage made of cultural and landscape goods identified and certified at central level based on norms and regulation, and a heritage locally defined in a more open way (Tucci 2013: 187).

### 4.4.4. The Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato: the ideal of a 'scenic' rural and vineyard landscape

The nomination of the serial property of the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato as a World Heritage Site and its related documents reflect some of the questions observed in the analysis of the *World Heritage Convention* and the *Operational Guidelines*. The site fulfils the required criteria because of its outstanding 'harmony, and the balance between the aesthetic qualities of its landscapes, the architectural and historical diversity of the built elements associated with the wine production activities and an authentic and ancient art of winemaking' (ICOMOS 2014: 307). This landscape is valued because of aesthetic, architectural and historical qualities and its authenticity is defined through continuity. Limited relevance is given to social values, and traditions are comprised in a less clear and vague 'wine production activities', while its present cultural value struggles to emerge.

The site satisfies criterion iii in that it bears 'a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living, or which has disappeared' (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraph 77), by expressing an 'extraordinary result of a "wine tradition" that has evolved and has been passed down from ancient times until today and constitutes the basis for the area's social and economic structure' (UNESCO 2014c: 364). The *Executive Summary* defines this cultural tradition through the following elements:

- cultivation and winemaking expertise and techniques that are based on a thorough understanding of the grape varieties cultivated there over many years and their ability to adapt to particular environmental conditions;
- a wealth of knowledge that continues to evolve through constant efforts to improve the production cycle while maintaining traditional methods;
- the layout of the landscape, a palimpsest of places where grape growing and winemaking take place, places featuring vineyards, divided up into small plots created in the Middle Ages by feudal land division;
- winemaking companies founded many years ago and tied to the fortunes of aristocratic dynasties or the vision of forward-thinking entrepreneurs;
- vernacular architecture, which meets the needs of the production cycle, and commercial urban centres, once important merchant trading centres of the late Middle Ages which today are export capitals of Piedmont's fine wines (*ibidem*: 364).

Thus, this vineyard landscape provides an outstanding living testimony to winegrowing and winemaking traditions which stem from a long history and that have been continuously improved and adapted up to the present day. As declared in this description, it is the expression of ancient dominant elites and of skilled entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, this is a superficial vision of the landscape which does not take into consideration the working classes, all those farmers who have cultivated – and still do – the vineyards, nor the local traditions, the lifestyles, the social values. This definition focuses on the international prestige of the wines produced here and the successful economic development, but it does not mention the struggles that led to this actual condition. What emerges is a rather sanitized interpretation of the landscape, aiming to create consensus by emphasising the positive qualities of the site, while avoiding insights on past and modern issues, such as the industrialization boom that in the 1960s and 1970s 'had an adverse impact on landscape quality' (ICOMOS 2014: 313), as well as the renovation and modernization of winegrowing and winemaking operations. As noted by the

ICOMOS *Advisory Body Evaluation*, 'this phenomenon is also affecting the buffer zones, where industrial and commercial buildings have appeared, which are sometimes quite visible, particularly along roads' (*ibidem*: 313).

The everyday expressions of people living and working within the site are recognized, but are apparently limited to language and literature, with the 'survival in local dialects of place names and terms that remind us of winegrowing activity' (*ibidem*: 66). This site also respects criterion v, as it is considered as bearer of 'an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use, which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change' (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraph 77). More specifically it is an:

> extraordinary example of the interaction between society and the environment, a constant relationship that has gone on for two thousand years. Over the centuries, vineyards, settlements and social forms of life learned to integrate, creating a living landscape where every transformation is the result of Man's determination to make the most of form, content and function for the purposes of grape growing and winemaking (…) a production cycle evolved which both respected traditions and expertly took advantage of the resources supplied by an environment that had specialised in grape production for centuries (…) (UNESCO 2014c: 369).

A considerable emphasis is given to the 'extraordinary' as well as to historic and aesthetic values, implicitly stating that what is less aesthetically appreciable or historically recognized is less relevant in the representation of the site. Despite aesthetic, architectural, historical values having been clearly identified and defined, what is lacking is a reference to social values and to a wider understanding of traditions and individuals' or groups' stories. In fact, the bias towards tangible heritage has been noted during the ICOMOS technical evaluation mission that took place from September 9th to 13th 2013. In the evaluation document it is remarked that even though 'the conditions of authenticity of the vineyard's vernacular architecture are satisfactory' and the components of the site are 'authentic in

material terms (…) it is necessary to better highlight the intangible social elements which constitute an essential value of the property and its management (farmers, companies and workers, winegrowing and winemaking trade organization, transmission of expertise and know-how, popular traditions, etc.)' (ICOMOS 2014: 312).

Recognizing that professional practices are part of a living tradition and a continuation of ancient expertise, ICOMOS recommended 'that the intangible social elements that contribute to authenticity should be given more prominence' (*ibidem*: 312). The evaluation also recommended paying 'greater attention to the social values that make an important contribution to the management and conservation of the property: winegrowers, companies and workers, winegrowing and wine making trade organisations, the transmission of expertise and know-how, popular traditions, etc.)' (*ibidem*: 319). However, giving relevance to intangible and social values entails a wider involvement of the local communities and the development of solid participatory practices able to engage individuals and groups in decision-making processes. For this reason, the ICOMOS rapporteur emphasised the need 'to ensure better coordination between the projects put forward by different communities and to consolidate them financially. Many of the projects seem not to have got beyond the stage of intentions, taking the form of studies, without any real commitments being made' (*ibidem*: 317). As I will discuss in chapter five, despite the right to participate being a core principle in the nomination process which has been reiterated in the ICOMOS evaluation, the majority of the interviewees declared that they have not been engaged.

As has been argued in section 2.5, the emphasis on the extraordinary inevitably risks influencing how State members understand the nomination and which values they privilege, in an attempt to satisfy requirements that do not necessarily coincide with the needs of local people. To what extent could this interpretation influence the preservation decisions and the management practices? Is this 'outstanding universal value' discourse able to empower people, to make them aware of the role they should play in the decision-making process? Or does it reinforce a dominant power relationship between professionals and laypersons?

## 4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored international, supranational, national and regional documents in order to understand how heritage and landscape values have been articulated, because 'values influence decisions about what to protect or preserve, and the way we present our past and manage our present' (Palmer 2009: 7). Two main points arise from the analyses of the UNESCO documents, the Council of Europe conventions and the Italian Code of the Cultural and Landscape Goods.

The first is the struggle to balance tangible and intangible heritage, generating conflicts in the definition of preservation practices. What emerges from the analysis of the *World Heritage Convention* and *Operational Guidelines* is the predominance of a material-centred preservation discourse, while intangible values - which represent a constitutive part in the definition of landscape and that relate to everyday life - are often understood as disconnected from tangible values. For Gibson (2009: 74), the main challenge in the representation and preservation of intangible values is the attempt 'to give primacy to social and cultural value (…) despite the rhetoric to the contrary, social and cultural value are still not widely accepted in actual practice as definitive categories of value in their own right'.

This discourse tends to divide heritage into two categories: a national (or universal) heritage that is preserved and managed through official policies, and a local heritage which is safeguarded through a more fluid methodology. The 'official' heritage is valued through a set of tangible values which are discipline-driven and intangible values are recognised only when they are expressed through materiality (see the Code). Intangible heritage, with its everyday life dimension, is important in the context of local communities, where memories, traditions, beliefs and perceptions become relevant despite their intangibility. This strict connection between heritage and tangible, unchanging values raises the question whether intangible values and everyday life could be considered as heritage, or if the process of 'heritagisation' transforms them in something different.

The second point relates to the definition of participation in heritage and landscape as a human right. Participation in landscape policies and planning is a key issue shared by all the documents analysed. There is a growing recognition that ordinary people and not just experts should be involved in planning processes (Selman 2006; Schofield 2014). Emphasis is given to the democratic value of

bottom-up actions that have positive outcomes for individuals and groups in terms of social and economic development. Nevertheless, what is still not elucidated is how local communities are defined and how they are provided with the suitable instruments to become active actors in heritage management and preservation. When developing inclusive and participatory policies, it should be recognised that 'local communities are not homogenous but reflect local constellations of power and influence' (Jones et al. 2007: 209). Given this, it is paramount to understand who the dominant groups are and how to engage groups that have been omitted from decisional-making processes. This is a challenging task if the same dominant groups are in charge of identifying heritage and landscape values (as is the case for the World Heritage listing or in the Italian Code) or if there is no acknowledgment of the existence of alternative systems of value. How could all the actors having a role in the creation of landscape be engaged? An understanding of landscape determined by people's perception would suggest that groups and individuals should be protagonists from the first phases of the decision-making process. Instead, participation is mostly perceived as a set of educational activities designed to make people aware of the relevance of their landscape. Could this rather paternalistic approach towards 'non-experts' be inverted? As noted by Olwig, the 'approach to bridging the interface between the expert and the public lies in educating the public to understand the perception of the expert, for whom landscape is constructed' (2007: 214). He suggests that a complementary approach 'might be one in which the experts learned to learn from the landscape perceptions of the general polity, for whom the social and political landscape might be the primary stuff of landscape' (*ibidem*: 214). Thus, how could groups and individuals explain to heritage professionals and local authorities what is valuable for them?

In the next chapter I will focus on how people articulate their ideas about heritage, landscape and participation in order to outline the differences with the heritage discourses, seeking to unpack the heritage values expressed and how they relate with the documents investigated in this chapter.

# Chapter Five - Understanding local people's perception of heritage, landscape and participation

## 5.1. Introduction

*I prefer to look for the heart of places*
*there, where the people who make*
*these places live*
(Mauro: Appendix 5)

In the previous chapter I analysed how international, supranational and national legal documents and conventions, such as the *World Heritage Convention* (1972), the World Heritage *Operational Guidelines* (2017), the ELC (2000) and the Italian *Code of Cultural Goods and Landscape* (2004) frame the key concepts of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation'. The discussion left multifarious open questions concerning how the human right of individuals and groups to participate in their heritage can be integrated in the management practices of a cultural landscape, as well as how to preserve landscape without limiting or inhibiting its development and change. Despite UNESCO documents and the Italian national legislation describing participation as a relatively unproblematic objective, a semantic analysis of the heritage discourses they use reveals a rather discipline- and material-driven approach to heritage. Does this identification of heritage coincide with the understanding people themselves have of their heritage? If not, how do these differences affect people's engagement? A further point of discussion is whether individuals and groups *want* to be engaged and on which terms.

In the first section of this chapter, I analyse the interviews focusing on how local people articulate their understanding of heritage and landscape. The World Heritage Site status has charged this cultural landscape with 'outstanding universal value', which the *Executive Summary* (2014) expresses through its emphasis on monumental, artistic and historical value. In Samuel's words, 'the workplace is lovingly reconstructed but the workers themselves can remain mere shadows, dwarfed by the physical setting' (Samuel 1976: 195). What emerges from the interviews is that local people have constructed their heritage on a different

value system, mainly based on everyday experiences, practices and memories and that they are able to create and re-create their heritage outside official frameworks. A different understanding of heritage and landscape implies the need to rethink the value attributed to 'authenticity'. This issue is discussed in the second section. What I extrapolated from the data is that local people define authenticity through experience rather than through material values. Authenticity lies in the relationship people built with the landscape through everyday practices, traditions and lifestyles. The third section of the chapter focuses on the concept of 'participation', demonstrating that local people have not been engaged in the decision-making processes concerning the identification and definition of the World Heritage site. Even though attempts to involve individuals and groups have been made by local authorities, the outcomes have not been relevant to the development of more equitable dialogue between a range of stakeholders nor in a perspective of power-sharing. In this section I question whether local people are aware of the possibility of being actively engaged and whether they are equipped with the right tools to participate in the decision-making process. And if so, whether they agree to using the tools provided by professionals and institutions. I conclude the chapter by outlining the role local people attribute to museums in the interpretation and representation of the vineyard landscapes. Perceived as traditional and trustworthy institutions for the preservation of heritage, museums have been largely mentioned as suitable spaces where traditions and oral history could be bequeathed to young generations. Interestingly, interviewees also attributed to museums the mission of social cohesion building, especially between local people and local authorities.

## 5.2. The Core zones

In chapter three, section 3.7, I described the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, explaining that it is a serial site constituted by six core zones and two buffer zones (Fig. 5). As I clarified, given the wide extension of this cultural landscape, the interviews were conducted in two core zones: the 'Langa of Barolo' and 'Canelli and Asti Spumante'.

The 'Langa of Barolo' is the core area for the production of the internationally renowned Barolo wine (Fig. 6). The *Executive Summary* describes it as:

> emblematic of the social, technological and manufacturing systems involved in making Barolo wine (…). This is where the winemaking companies founded by the House of Savoy are located, as well as the estates of the Falletti family, Marquis of Barolo, who were the first to carry out experiments on the vinification of what became the 'king of wines and the wine of kings'. The component is also notable for the presence of fine hilltop towns featuring many medieval castles, a notable feature of the skyline. Barolo's Wine Museum is the biggest winemaking museum in the entire area and one of the most important on an international scale (UNESCO 2014c: 380).

The international prestige of this area is not only due to its 'extremely celebrated expertise associated with its red wine' (ICOMOS 2014: 308), rather it is explicitly linked to a long, aristocratic tradition which earned it the title of ambassador of the Royal House of Savoy in many European courts. The landscape is now principally characterised by monoculture and the vineyards occupy the hills, interspersed with villages and castles of Medieval origins. The juxtaposition of vineyards and castles contributed to constructing the typical panorama of this area, which is enriched by vernacular architecture, in particular by the 'large number of ciabots, and isolated farms, some of which are very old and whose architecture is outstanding' (*ibidem*: 308).

Fig. 12: *Barolo and the Falletti Castle*. Available at: www.paesaggivitivinicoli.it/patrimonio/la-langa-del-barolo (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

The 'Canelli and Asti Spumante' area (Fig. 10) represents the excellence of the production of the Asti Spumante wine, resulting from the processing of the *Moscato bianco* grape variety. This is a territory where:

> the vine undisputedly dominates and characterizes the landscape thanks to its neat, geometric and well cared rows disposed on the slopes of the hills shaped over the centuries by the work of men and where major technological innovations have started the history of great Italian sparkling wines (UNESCO 2014c: 214).

The built heritage of the town of Canelli is related to housing and winemaking activities and is particularly renowned for its 'underground cathedrals', immense spaces for the wine storage which have been dug in the hills of the town (Fig. 13). At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were more than fifty bottling companies having underground cellars (Buzio and Re 2016: 204). Today only four wine producers (Gancia, Coppo, Contratto and Bosca) still use this exemplary vernacular architecture as storage spaces, but one century ago the hill of Canelli was crossed by kilometres of underground cellars that are now abandoned. The

proximity of the vineyards to the spaces dedicated to wine production is therefore the distinctive attribute of this site, where the link and interaction between landscape and human activities reveals an explicit manifestation of the 'combined works of nature and of man' (*World Heritage Convention* 1972, article 1).

Fig. 13: *Bosca wine cellars in Canelli* © Bosca Winery

While the 'Langa of Barolo' is characterised by a 'landscape of power' which has been defined since the Middle Ages by the local aristocracy, the Canelli area is the expression of a pre-industrial society and of the middle- and working-classes.

As said in chapter four, the official articulation of this World Heritage site is set out in the *Executive Summary* and *Management Plan*, two documents which run over one thousand pages. Whilst there is an overall statement of significance and a detailed background history, these documents are principally an extended version of 'old-style' listing document focusing on technical description of winegrowing and production, containing relatively little interpretative material on what it is about this landscape that warrants the World Heritage status. There is no mention to how individuals and groups value their heritage and which are the cultural meanings

attributed to it. Therefore, in the next section I explore how local people in these two core zones articulate the key concept of 'heritage' and 'landscape'.

## 5.3. Interviews with local people

### 5.3.1. Introduction

Between July and September 2017, I conducted interviews with forty people living and working in the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato (Appendix 5). Twenty interviews were made in the towns of Barolo and La Morra within the 'Langa of Barolo' core zone; and twenty in the town of Canelli, the most important centre in the 'Canelli and Asti Spumante' core zone. Using the data collected from interviews with local people, I argue that developing participatory practices requires two fundamental prerequisites: the first is to explore how laypersons articulate their understanding of 'heritage' and 'landscape'; the second is to analyse the terms in which they conceive participation. The questions I discussed with the interviewees were the following:

1. What do you think is your heritage? What is important to preserve or to represent? And why?

2. What would you like people to know about your heritage? What do you feel is the 'authentic' heritage of this area?

3. Do you ever visit local museums? Ecomuseums? Do you find your stories there?

4. Have you been engaged in the decision-making processes during the nomination of the World Heritage site? Would you like to be more engaged in its management and preservation?

5. In which ways have women's lives changed in the last decades (memories about their mothers, grandmothers, aunts…)?

The data generated from the interviews are used to discuss the capacity of local

people to present their own histories and heritage, questioning the dominant ways of conceptualising the history and the heritage of their landscape and challenging the authority of experts' opinion. In this chapter I focus on questions 1 to 4, while the outcomes of question 5 will be used in chapter six, which specifically discusses the research with a group of women wine producers.

### 5.3.2. Defining heritage and landscape: everyday life and ordinary values

Developing participatory practices entails a negotiation of heritage meanings and values amongst the different actors involved in the identification, preservation and management of a heritage site. The underpinning rationale of a 'hybrid forum' model (Callon et al. 2011) is that ideas have to be discussed in a democratic way, enabling individuals and groups to access their heritage. A basic condition for enhancing participation is to understand how heritage is perceived by the different actors and how values and meanings are articulated. Previous studies on how people understand and define heritage have demonstrated that laypersons and local populations (Samuel 1976; Griffiths 1987; Smith et al. 2011), or 'insiders', (Howard 2007) have the capacity for self-expression and developing specific ways in which they draw on the past to create the senses of place and tradition. For example, through a survey made in the Australian town of Beechworth, Tom Griffiths (1987) revealed that local populations tend to view heritage things differently from heritage experts and they consider unexpected things to be heritage. What emerged from Griffith's survey is that local people's attitude to the heritage buildings conserved in their community was quite different to the conservators' view, and they were interested in preserving another range of things altogether. If on the one hand this consideration is valuable in order to challenge a hierarchical set of values applied to heritage identification; on the other hand, it is fundamental to consider that in this case both heritage professionals and government officials are 'local people' as well. Thus, it has been necessary to be critical towards a binary division between 'experts' and 'non-experts', which risk reinforcing a hierarchical understanding of relationships rather than overcoming such binary structures.

As argued by Howard (2007: 212), 'insider heritage is much more concerned with sites (*lieux de mémoire*, Nora 1989), with activities and with people than is national or outsider heritage'. He points out that insider heritage is closely related

to private heritage and more concerned with intangible heritage. The coexistence of diverse understandings of heritage – and landscape in the heritage field – risks generating misunderstandings between local people and experts, as well as contrasts in the identification and definition of what heritage is and whose heritage is taken into account. Following these reflections, the analysis of the interviews aims to explore whose heritage the World Heritage status of the vineyard landscape is valuing and preserving, and whose heritage is omitted. Thus, the first question interviewees were asked was:

*What do you think is your heritage? What is important to preserve or to represent? And why?*

All the interviews started with a short introduction of my research topic, during which I sought to create a dialogue to discuss how local people articulate their understanding of local heritage, and the values and meanings they attribute to it. I did not reveal to the interviewees that I have a personal relationship with the landscape, as I did not want to influence their answers and I was interested in understanding whether clarifying my positionality in a second moment would change their behaviour. Despite having explicitly stated that I was interested in people's perceptions and not in their knowledge of the UNESCO World Heritage Site status, I received many refusals to participate in interviews. The motivations given by the individuals who rejected taking part in the discussion were unclear, and most of them simply claimed 'I don't know anything about UNESCO' or 'UNESCO heritage is not my business', demonstrating discomfort in approaching this subject. As these people reacted in quite an annoyed way, I decided not to force them to explain their reasons in more detail. Nevertheless, it would have been interesting to further explore the causes of this conflictual approach to talking about their heritage. Rather than being a negative reaction to the concept of 'heritage' in itself, it seems to be the result of a friction with the World Heritage Site nomination, because of the recurrent mention to the UNESCO status, even though I elucidated that this was not the main subject of the interview. Only one person, a storekeeper in the Barolo core zone, explained that his refusal was due to the fact that the economic situation did not change for him after the nomination, and he did not see neither economic nor cultural development. In this case, the reference to economic issues and the explicit

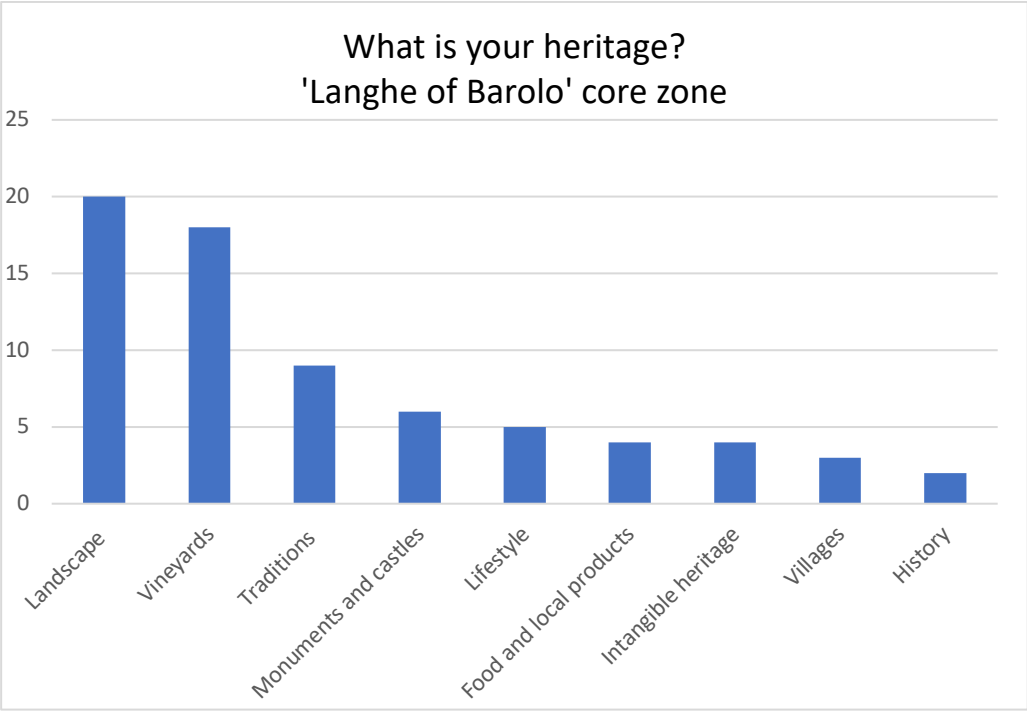
expectations from the World Heritage status support the argument that the UNESCO nomination is often perceived more as an economic driver rather than a tool for socio-cultural development (Di Giovine 2009; Singh 2011; Harrison 2012; D'Eramo 2014).

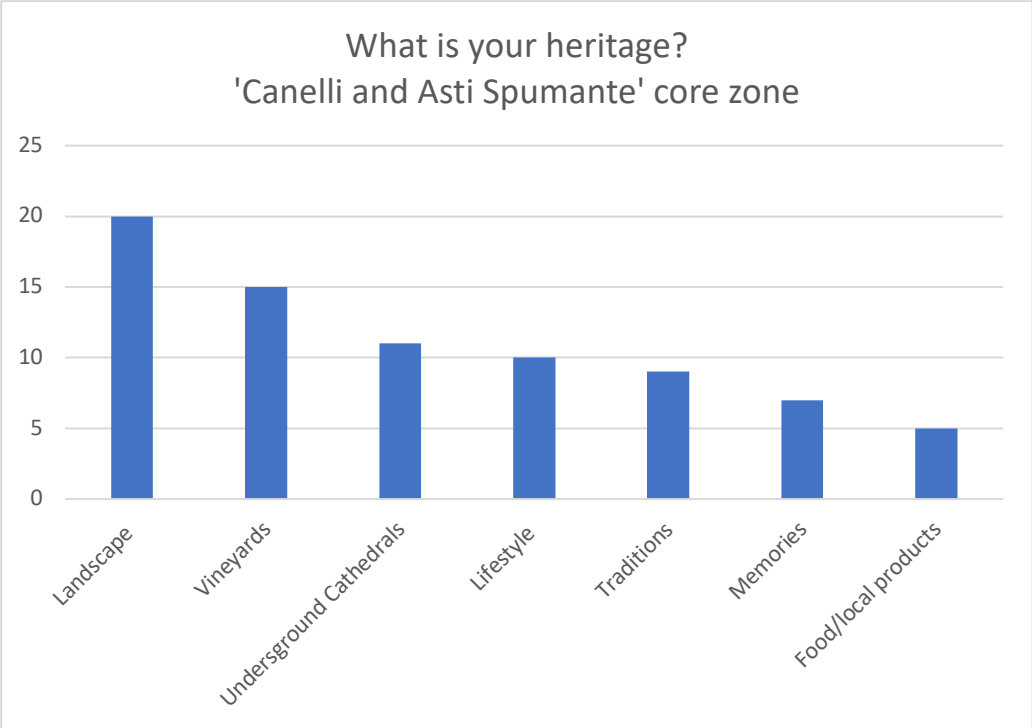
A similar conflictual relationship with the World Heritage nomination emerged from the people who accepted the invitation to take part in the interviews, and who struggled to articulate the identification of heritage and the definition of heritage values, an uncertainty that could be explained by manifold factors. At a conceptual level, as was discussed in chapter four, section 4.1, the Italian heritage discourse used in official and legal documents is still dominated by the concept of 'cultural goods' as material objects or buildings bearing particular historic, monumental and artistic values, rather than 'heritage' as a phenomenon inclusive of both tangible and intangible, extraordinary and ordinary values. Consequently, the prevailing understanding of officially recognised heritage is based on historic, monumental and artistic values with scarce references to intangible values or personal meanings. This approach implies scaffolding a hierarchical understanding of heritage values, with heritage professionals having the authority to identify and define what should be preserved and promoted, while local values systems are relegated to the background.

The other reason for discomfort could be explained by the perception of a power relation with the interviewer. Interviewees could have been intimidated by the request to discuss their answers with a heritage professional or an academic. In fact, most of them started or ended their thoughts with sentences that manifested hesitancy or the fear of lacking specific knowledge, for example 'I don't know, this is not my stuff', 'I don't know if I am going to give you the right answer', 'I hope I didn't say anything stupid'. What emerged was a sense of knowledge deficit in terms of authority and a feeling of being unconfident and unqualified to articulate heritage meanings (Roe 2013; Schofield 2014). This type of reaction inevitably creates a tacit scale of hierarchy, a power relation between the interviewer and the interviewee, which risks undermining the outcomes of the enquiry. In fact, the first description given by the interviewees tended to repeat the World Heritage definition of the vineyard landscape, while after further reflection most of the interviewees were able to express a more personal, and also critical, articulation of their

understanding. Thus, the first impression was that the interviewees perceived the hierarchy of values and roles of an AHD, identified as a dominant professional discourse that validates and defines what heritage is or is not, framing and constraining heritage practices. However, when I explained my personal relationship with the landscape most of the interviewees demonstrated to be more comfortable and shared their personal opinions about the management of the site. This demonstrates that in the context of a heritage site, essentialising the relationship between 'experts' and 'non-experts' through a mere official/non-official divide is not representative of a much more complex reality.

The evident lack of familiarity in the articulation of heritage values and its identification was also striking, considering that the UNESCO World Heritage Site nomination is a recent event, achieved in 2014. The *Operational Guidelines* encourage the active engagement of local people and communities during the decision-making process as well as in the management process (UNESCO 2017a, Paragraph 12, 40, 64). Nevertheless, the evident initial discomfort in engaging with heritage issues could be read as a sign that, in this case, local people are not used to articulating their understanding of heritage meanings and to negotiating values, suggesting that they have probably not been involved in the decision-making process.






The first element which emerged from the discussion of what heritage is, is that all the interviewees identified it with the landscape, with the concepts of 'heritage' and 'landscape' overlapping. However, the definition of what constitutes the landscape was not homogenous. In the Barolo core zone eighteen interviewees out of twenty stated that the landscape is defined by the vineyards, with six of them added the 'monuments and castles' and only three interviewees mentioning the little villages dotting the landscape. Thus, 30% of the interviewees considered the 'landscape of power' which started developing in the Middle Ages as a symbol around which to construct the local identity. In Canelli eleven interviewees (50%) mentioned the 'underground cathedrals', emphasising the working-class heritage of this area. While the *Executive Summary* focuses on the architectural values of these spaces, the interviewees remembered the everyday working practices linked to this type of wine storage.

If the first general definition of local heritage reiterates the UNESCO definition of the vineyard landscape and shares an apparently consensual understanding of heritage, two other relevant aspects emerged from a deeper discussion with the interviewees: traditions (nine interviewees, 45% in 'Langa of Barolo'; nine interviewees, 45% in 'Canelli and Asti Spumante') and lifestyle (five interviewees, 25% in 'Langa of Barolo; ten interviewees, 50% in 'Canelli and Asti

Spumante'), positioning heritage in a present dimension. The word 'traditions' was used to indicate wine festivals and fairs, connected to the seasonality of the wine production (in particular the harvest period), or to celebrate specific artisan knowledge and techniques, as the festival of tractors or the *barrique* race.[10] 'Lifestyle' was referred to agricultural practices (such as the fact that handmade harvest is still practiced here) and knowledge (for example, the deep knowledge of the vineyard seasonality) as well as a more general rural life characterised by a deeper social cohesion. 'Traditions' and 'lifestyle' are often attributed the same meanings and are bearers of 'ordinary' values connected with daily, practical activities of the wine production. Everyday practices and the living experience thus represents about 70% of the heritage values in Barolo and 95% in Canelli.

It is not surprising that such local cultural and social values are regarded as being menaced by external factors, such as industrialisation and non-local investors. For example, as Claudio (forty-five-year-old man, public officer in La Morra) claimed, 'the beauty of harvest does not exist anymore'. In this case, the aesthetic value does not concern material aspects, rather it is used to describe the quality of the social relationships, of the seasonal rituals, the songs, the participation of the entire village during the harvest. As Francesca (twenty-five-year-old girl working in the La Morra town winery) said 'many people are now interested in these vineyards. But they are investors, not producers. They just want to make money; they do not care about the landscape, about the tradition', and Franco (seventy-year-old retiree in Barolo) complained 'the landscape has been modified. We should have maintained the forest, but now there are just vineyards, even in the areas which are not suitable for wine growing'. Their feeling was that everyday practices, attentive of the rhythms of nature, have been replaced by new wine growing techniques and economic values that just aim to exploit the landscape and produce expensive wines. Similarly, Marco (fifty-five-year-old man working in a local factory) observed that 'the farmers' lifestyle disappeared with the advent of great producers'. Actually,

[10] The barrique or barrel race is a tradition that dates back to the nineteenth century, when the bottle-maker's craft was widespread in the Nizza Monferrato territory (one of the core zones): the younger workers would deliver the barrels by rolling them along the street, competing to arrive first to the customer (UNESCO 2014c: 197)

external investors are seen as a threat not only to the 'authentic' wine production and lifestyle, but also to the identity of these places.

While the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* of the site focus on the material preservation of the landscape, local people expressed a particular interest in the safeguarding of intangible values. Despite a distinction between tangible and intangible heritage was expressed only by four people, what I could understand is that the interviewees were aware that legal documents have introduced two different understandings of heritage. They interpreted such division as a way to distinguish a highly valued material heritage from an everyday heritage which is bearer of less important values. In fact, Lorenzo (thirty-five-year-old man, B&B owner near Barolo) stated 'traditions are part of our heritage, in particular our dialect. We shouldn't lose our dialect', but he added 'I am not sure that UNESCO is interested in this'. In this case, language was used as an act to declare the local identity and demonstrate that local heritage is produced and preserved by local people even outside the traditional framework of 'official heritage'. Even if there is not a real conflict between heritage authorities and local people, the intangible and living heritage is used as a space of autonomy in which to act and perform local identity, despite the word 'identity' was never explicitly used. It is probably not a coincidence that most of the interviewees used dialectal terms, especially after they realised I could understand it as my family is original of this area.

While international, national and local documents, as well as research projects conducted to assess the impact of the UNESCO nomination (Buzio and Re 2016; Siti 2016), emphasise the extraordinary and unique 'outstanding universal value' of this World Heritage vineyard landscape, local people rarely mentioned this parameter and they focused rather on the ordinary aspects of their everyday life. In fact, despite all of them declaring the importance of the landscape, only one interviewee in Barolo used the adjective 'unique' to describe the vineyard landscape.

The heritagisation process of a living landscape could have interesting impacts on how local people perceive the places they live in. A thoughtful description of this process was given by Carlo (forty-five-year-old teacher) in Canelli who, discussing the landscape, argued that:

> its preservation should not be sacral, you cannot put it under a spotlight or a display case. The landscape is something you walk through, that you mould and modify. I agree that it is difficult to make people understand that it has a value (…) but here no one ever said that these hills are like the Dome of Milan or the Gulf of Naples and so it is difficult to think that I am important as the Mona Lisa by Leonardo. I mean, I am walking on something that is a common good, something that humanity is giving attention to.

In these few words, the interviewee was able to gather some of the most challenging issues concerning the preservation of the vineyard landscape and the enabling of its development. The first element I extrapolated from the analysis of this interview is that the process of heritagisation is perceived as a process through which an object, a building or a place is dispossessed of its original meanings and given new ones. Words such as 'spotlight' and 'display case' compare heritagisation to museumification; while the adjective 'sacral' disconnects heritage from the everyday life and local culture. A similar outcome emerged from a survey conducted by Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, Jeremy W. Foutz, Elisabeth Wood and Larry J. Zimmerman (2018) on how Native American tribes articulate and understand the value of their heritage sites. When asked what 'heritage' meant to him, an interviewee responded that 'if one labels things as "heritage", it makes those things abstract and easier to write off as a novelty' (Kryder-Reid et al. 2018: 756).

The vineyard landscape is compared to an art masterpiece (the Mona Lisa) and to a monumental and historical building (the Dome of Milan), which are fundamentally different from a living landscape. The comparison with the Gulf of Naples is more meaningful, considered only through its visual and aesthetic values ('picturesque'), as if it was a simple panorama and not a living landscape as it is. In what sense is this seascape different from the vineyard landscape? Why is the Gulf of Naples, which besides is not a World Heritage Site, considered to be heritage while the vineyard landscapes are 'something different'? Who is he referring to when saying 'no one ever said that these hills are like the Dome of Milan or the Gulf of Naples'? This sentence seems to imply that an object, a building or a place becomes 'heritage' following the decision of a group of professionals and thus

heritage is an external imposition and a cultural construction. Moreover, by affirming that people have to understand the value of the landscape he implicitly suggests that they are not aware of its value.

The interviews collected in Canelli had very similar outcomes. However, while in Barolo the historical background which led to the construction of a 'landscape of power' still influences how heritage is identified, in Canelli the 'ordinary' working-class values occupies a wider part in the definition of heritage. As explained in the previous section, the 'underground cathedrals' represent a distinctive architecture and wine storage system which are symbols of the industrialisation process of the area. The fact that only half of the interviewees mentioned these architectures could mislead the interpretation of the data. Actually, these underground wine storages have been closed to the public for a long period, due to their working nature. It is only recently that visitors were admitted in these spaces and could learn about how and why wine was (and still is) stored using this technique. In other words, the 'underground cathedrals' were the heritage of a single and limited community.

What I extrapolate from the interviews is that my interviewees value intangible heritage highly and demonstrated that they have the 'capacity for self-expression' (Smith et al. 2011: 1) and that, by drawing on the past, they create and re-create a sense of place and tradition in novel ways. As Samuel (1994) argues, experts are not the only ones who attribute heritage values onto things, because people do it continuously through their everyday life experiences and practices.

### 5.3.3. Interpretation of the past: memories rather than history

The bias towards everyday values expressed by local people could also be retraced in the differing relevance attributed to memories and history. In the *Executive Summary* the description of the listed vineyard landscape puts specific emphasis on historical values. The 'outstanding universal value' is associated with the millennial history of the wine production and the renowned quality of its wines is legitimated by the words of famous ancient writers and historians. As remarked in the historical contextualisation:

> Vine pollen has been found within the area of the property dating from the fifth century BCE. This was a period when Piedmont was a place of contact and trade between the Etruscans and the Celts (…) During the Roman Empire, Pliny the Elder mentions the Piedmont region as being one of the most favourable for growing vines in ancient Italy; Strabo mentions its barrels (UNESCO 2014c: 309).

However, it is the more recent history which plays a dominant role in the main narration of the site. The history of the nineteenth century is intertwined with important aristocratic families and with the members of the Royal House of Savoy. The most celebrated character is Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour (1810-1861), who in his castle in Grinzane Cavour 'held the first winemaking experiments linked to creating quality for what were to become Piedmont's finest red wines' (*ibidem*: 150). The castle and the surrounding vineyards constitute one of the core zones and the name 'Cavour' was added to the original name of the village in 1916, in an attempt to link the identity of the place to the prestige of its most important citizen. Another eminent figure in the history of this area has been Carlo Alberto of Savoy (1798-1849), King of Sardinia and Prince of Piedmont, who contributed to the diffusion of the Barolo wine which, given his interest, was known as 'the king of wines and the wine of kings'. The Count and the Prince not only shared the same winemaking consultant and passion for wine, but they both played a paramount role in the long and complex process that led to the creation of a constitutional monarchy (1848) and the unification of Italy (1861). In 1848 Carlo Alberto of Savoy signed the constitution of the Kingdom of Sardinia, which was maintained until the end of the monarchy in 1948; while Camillo Benso of Cavour was named Minister of Agriculture and then was the first Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Italy.

While historical values are emphasised throughout the *Executive Summary* and are therefore used as a tool to legitimate the importance of the serial site in a national perspective, scarce attention is given to the stories and roles played by farmers and working classes in the development of this area. The heritage of the working classes, in its many and diverse forms, is not celebrated, rather it is relegated to the background and represented through a bucolic perspective of the 'good old times'. Nevertheless, in both the core zones analysed, interviewees barely

mentioned the glorious past of these noble families and even if many included castles in the definition of the landscape, this was related to monumental values of the buildings rather than to historical values. Interestingly, 'history' was cited only twice in Barolo, the core zone where the national history is strictly intertwined with local characters. The data analysis reveals that most of the interviewees framed their memories in a time dimension which was limited to their lives and to their families' lives. In the Canelli core zone, seven interviewees identified local memories as part of the heritage. Actually, during the interviews with Carlo and Marco they told me the story of the town through the memories of their families, which are still recent and have consequences for their present. This personal and local dimension of the memory is confirmed by the tendency to consider elderly people as the holders of the knowledge, skills, traditions and stories that should be preserved and perpetuated. In particular, this approach emerged when talking about the role of museums and their mainstream narrative. Beatrice (about fifty-five-year-old woman, shop owner in Barolo) stated that 'museums should engage citizens more widely, especially elderly people who could recount how this place was in the past and hand down stories and traditions'; Caterina (fifty-year-old women, shop owner in Barolo) affirmed that 'museums should collect the stories of local people, even because elderly people who can tell us about traditions are fewer and fewer'. In this case, people themselves are described as and become a 'living heritage'. As Howard states, 'people connect with people' (2009: 61), and personal stories become a tool to understand the past and the present in a more powerful way than national history and heritage could provide. As has been explained in chapter two, section 2.1, the value of people's memories in the construction of local and oral history has been discussed and recognised by Samuel, who understood its pivotal role in drawing up 'fresh maps, in which people are as prominent as places' (1976: 199).

The interviewees sought to express that what is experienced in everyday practices 'is as likely to be as significant in our understanding and creation of history as the reading of books and archives' (Kean, Martin and Morgan 2000: 15). Daniele (about sixty-year-old, public officer in La Morra) explained his emotional connection with the vineyard landscapes by stating 'I was born here. You know, you grow fond of places', and Franco (about seventy-year-old retiree living near La Morra) confessed 'even if I travelled a lot and I have seen many places in Italy, I am

in love with the place I was born in'. Emotions, as well as personal and local practices, therefore, are key factors in the construction of the past, as they are the expression of a sense of belonging to one place. As noted by Kuusisto (1999: 15), 'places constitute significant sites which have been invested with meaning often representing the heritage of a particular individual, group or community'. The words used by the interviewees support Creswell's theory (2004) that places are locations with which people connect, either physically or emotionally, and 'are bound up in notions of belonging (or not belonging), ownership and consequently identity' (McDowell 2008: 38). As Rose suggests (1995: 81):

> one way in which identity is connected to a particular place is by a feeling that you belong to that place. It is a place that you feel comfortable, or at home, because part of how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place.

While negative or mundane stories are often avoided in the national and mainstream history used to promote the World Heritage sites, the sense of belonging expressed by local people is not necessarily scaffolded on memories of success. Despite the emotional connection with their landscapes, interviewees also recalled difficult moments linked to migration, economic crisis and also environmental issues, sacrifices that paved the way to a present that, at least apparently, is richer in opportunities. For example, Paolo (about fifty-year-old man working in a wine shop in Canelli) told me how in the 1960s many farmers used various pesticides to preserve and improve their crops, with negative consequences on the quality of live and land. He explained, 'my grand-parents had a farm in San Marzano… they died of cancer… there was a consortium that provided pesticides and for twenty years they used a massive amount of chemical products… my grand-parents paid with their life'. Carlo told me about his grandfather: 'he went to New York in the 1920s, there was a migration phenomenon because there was a dire poverty'. Thus, memories become a tool to create new futures able to overcome inequalities and injustices: they encourage people to act and to improve their everyday life and develop a sustainable future. In this sense, they are considered a source of identity values for young and future generations.

What emerges from the data collected is that the consensual and unproblematic presentation of the site supported by the *Executive Summary* fails to capture the complexity of this cultural landscape. As discussed in chapter two, section 3.1, many researchers (Cosgrove 1985; Anderson and Gale 1992; Bender 1993, 2001; Foote 1998; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009) have elucidated how cultural landscapes are made of layers of signs and symbols that populations engage with and, at time, contest. Using McDowell's words:

> these layers stem from changing economic, political, cultural and demographic factors affecting a particular society and are testament to diverse histories and geographies, and as such they can be peeled away to reveal the cultural aspirations and struggles of society. Landscape then, like society, is in a constant mode of flux, as it consistently develops and mutates (2008: 39).

The attempt to give a partial and selective vision of the past has been contextualised in the problematization of the use of the World Heritage Site status, which is often exploited by governments to promote tourism, regeneration and economic development (Graham 2002; Pendlebury 2009; Singh 2011; D'Eramo 2014). As noted by David Atkinson, when heritage becomes an economic resource and a catalyst, its interpretation tends to:

> focus on the positive, the distinctive and the heroic, while eliding the unpopular, the dirty and unsavoury. The danger is that those elements excluded from official heritage narratives are thereafter denied any place in social memory (2008: 384).

While the heritagisation process of the vineyard landscape tends to privilege the symbols of political or economic powers, such as historical palaces and characters as well as ancient religious buildings or the 'underground cathedrals', local people's memories are less bonded to places and sites of memory (or *lieux de mémoire*, Nora 1997). How the mainstream narrative of the past has been constructed represents

a space of friction between central cultural authorities and local people, opposing history to personal memories.

Moreover, by omitting local and personal narratives, the actual interpretation of the vineyard landscape is constraining 'the effectiveness of other forms of representing heritage and identity' (Graham and Howard 2008: 8). By giving space to personal and local memories in the interpretation of the past, the interviewees presented an alternative practice to imposed orthodoxy and officially sanctioned versions of historical reality. They challenged expertise and authorities, as this approach to the past presume sharing power and introduce new perspectives in the making sense of the past in the present (Frisch 1990: xxiii). What emerges from this section and from the previous one is that local people are able to present their own histories and heritage. Using Smith et al.'s words, they 'question dominant ways of conceptualising the history and heritage of the working class, and challenge or sidestep the authority of expert opinion' (2011: 7).

### 5.3.4. Heritage as a tool for creating 'otherness'

After conducting the forty interviews with local people, I found a notable homogeneity in attributing positive values to heritage in both the core zones. Nevertheless, a challenging perspective emerged during the interview to Carlo in Canelli, who took a critical approach to the definition of 'heritage', suggesting that heritage could also be seen as a cultural and political tool to create social division and 'otherness' at different social and cultural levels. As he claimed: 'there is a local heritage, but it is immediately turned into populism; it is a tool to reassert supremacy'. The scale of cultural and identity distinction begins at a local level. As the interviewee explained, every village in this area has its own dialect, which is slightly different from the ones of other villages. Thus, dialects are used to mark the origins of an individual. As Carlo clarified, when you use your dialect in another village 'you immediately feel as a "forësté" [a foreigner], because you say three words and they look at you as they were thinking "you are not from here"'. If on the one hand, language is used as a tool to produce identity, on the other it also creates territoriality and is used as a communication boundary that includes the members of a group, excluding those who are not part of this group. The local dialects are envisaged as identity markers and 'are used to construct narratives of inclusion and

exclusion that define communities and the ways in which these latter are rendered specific and differentiated' (Graham and Howard 2008: 3).

In this case, the aim of affirming identity and belonging to a community assumes a negative connotation, reiterated by behaviours that sometimes, at least in the past, gave rise to acts of violence. As remembered by Carlo, 'when we went to dance to Calamandrana [another village between Nizza and Canelli] we always ended up fighting with the boys from Nizza' and 'every time we went to play football in Nizza [a small town near Canelli] we had a fight with the local boys'. If the violent expression of rivalry between different villages has disappeared in the last few decades, it is still present and is manifested in the inability – or lack of will – to collaborate in the development of shared preservation and management of the cultural landscape. Many interviewees lamented the absence of cohesion amongst the various villages within the serial site. Paolo claimed, 'everyone thinks about its own interest' and accused local authorities of not having a common vision for the development of the site. As he said, it would be useful if the mayors could organise cultural events, in particular wine festivals so that they do not overlap each other: 'let's try to organise an event. There are five areas, let's try to do something one week here, the next there… but no, if we plan an event, we do it all at the same time, so that people don't know where to go'.

The use of cultural differences as a marker of belonging, or not belonging, to a community and as a tool of creation of power relations with 'external' groups, emerges more clearly with internal and external migrants. This aspect became more apparent while discussing the migration from Southern Italy that characterised the 1960s. During those years, the economic 'boom' and the industrialisation process generated deep changes at a social level, due to the strong development of the car industry. As remembered by Paolo and Carlo, the area of Canelli underwent an 'upsetting immigration' when a significant number of workers moved from Southern Italy to Piedmont in order to be employed by local industries. Carlo recalled that 'here, they came from everywhere' and he added 'but we have a particular feeling with Piazza Armerina [a small Sicilian town] and the third-generation are now integrated. Others do not feel part of the cultural heritage of this territory'. What emerges from these words is that local people felt menaced by such social change and they used culture as a tool to reinforce their identity and, at the

same time, to exclude the 'others'. As argued by Graham and Howard, 'identity is about sameness and group membership' (2008: 3) and consequently elements of difference are considered as a menace to the stability and continuity of an identity and to the heritage. Local people created a cultural capital made of habits, traditions, beliefs, lifestyles and languages that was not accessible to the Italian migrants and that could be assimilated only with the partial annihilation of their original culture. For example, the use of dialect as a tool to create difference is mentioned in the survey conducted by Nuto Revelli in the 1980's. In his book *L'Anello Forte* (*The Strong Ring* 1985) he transcribed the interviews with women from Southern Italy who arrived in the Langhe area through arranged marriages with local farmers. These women described their feeling of exclusion when local people talked to them in dialect - despite knowing their origins - without even trying to communicate in Italian. The only alternative they had was to completely abandon their traditions, or to preserve them by creating small communities. In this perspective, as claimed by Carlo, heritage could also be interpreted as a way to 'reassert supremacy' and he justified this reaction with the lack of social cohesion, explaining that 'people need to feel reassured'.

The same cultural exclusion has been exercised with the contemporary migration phenomenon, with workers coming from Eastern Europe and with refugees from Africa. In a discussion concerning how different actors are represented in the narratives of the places they inhabit, Keld Buciek and Kristine Juul (2008) explore the difficulties and potentials encountered when trying to unlock the heritage of excluded or marginal groups, drawing on examples from Sweden, Germany and Denmark. What they demonstrate is:

> how immigrant cultivators, workers, ethnic groups remain almost invisible, overlaid by the master narrative at play in the specific situations, being the national narrative or the like (2008: 121)

Moreover, they explain that:

> despite the fact that immigrants form a relatively large share of the population of most Western European countries, and hence contribute

> in a substantial manner to their economic and cultural development, these groups leave only very limited imprints on the official branding of heritage sites of these countries (*ibidem*: 105).

The outcomes of these interviews have been meaningful as they make explicit the need to problematize the idea of 'heritage community' expressed in the *Faro Convention*, defined as consisting 'of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations' (Article 2). The interpretation given by the interviewees in Canelli opens a discussion about the positive attributes associated with an uncritical understanding of 'community'. To what extent could a community or a group be inclusive? Policies that give voice to a group *tout-court*, without analysing the distinctions created internally, risk supporting – or even encouraging – the exclusion of other groups considered as 'minorities' – which they often are not. The *Executive Summary* does not mention the cultural diversity that characterises the actual local populations (and that has also characterised their past), presenting a single narrative devoid of social and cultural layers, and contrasts. As discussed in chapter two, section 2.1, the situated construction of heritage implies that dominant groups often tend to omit minorities or other groups considered as 'different', such as working-class or women. Lowenthal (1998) argues that heritage always brings conflict with it: it invokes inclusion and exclusion, a division into 'us and them'. Heritage is elitist and splits the world into above and below, into global and local and, as demonstrated by these testimonies, within the local dimensions itself. The ideas shared by this interviewee recall the interpretation of heritage as a political act. Graham et al. note that 'identity' and 'otherness' are closely related and, according to them, both concepts are necessary to understand how 'the creation of any heritage actively or potentially disinherits or excludes those who do not subscribe to, or are embraced within, the terms of meaning defining that heritage' (2000: 24).

What emerges is that the ownership of discourses of past and present, that are 'important elements in present-day struggles over identity and belonging' (Buciek and Juuk 2008: 105), is not limited to the power relationship between professionals or local authorities and local people, between global or national values

and local values, rather it involves the relationship between different groups or communities.

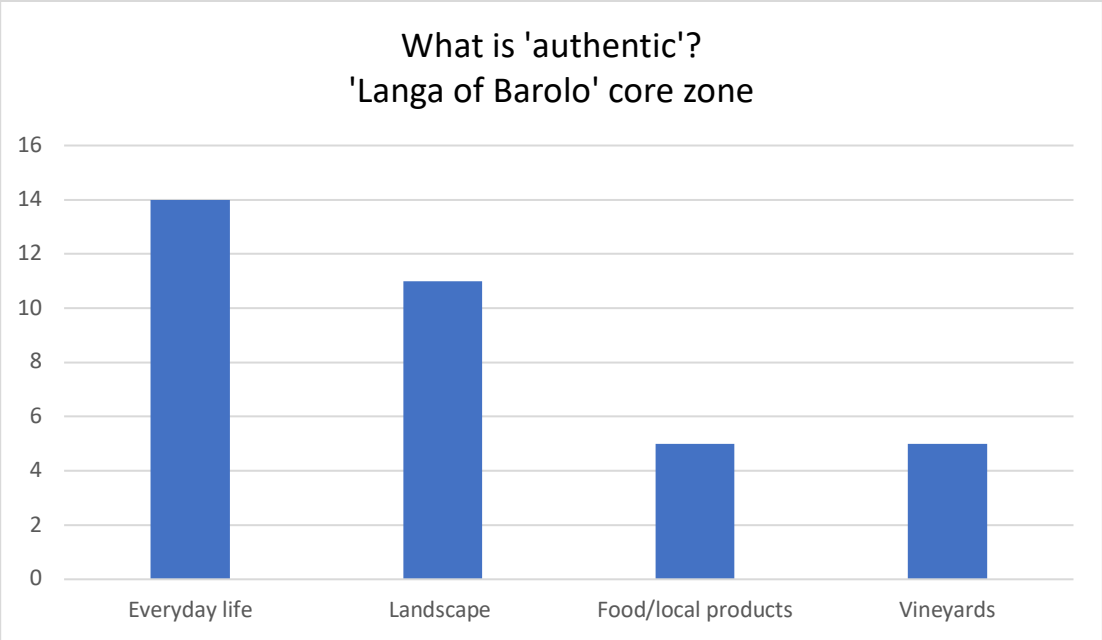
### 5.3.5 Authenticity

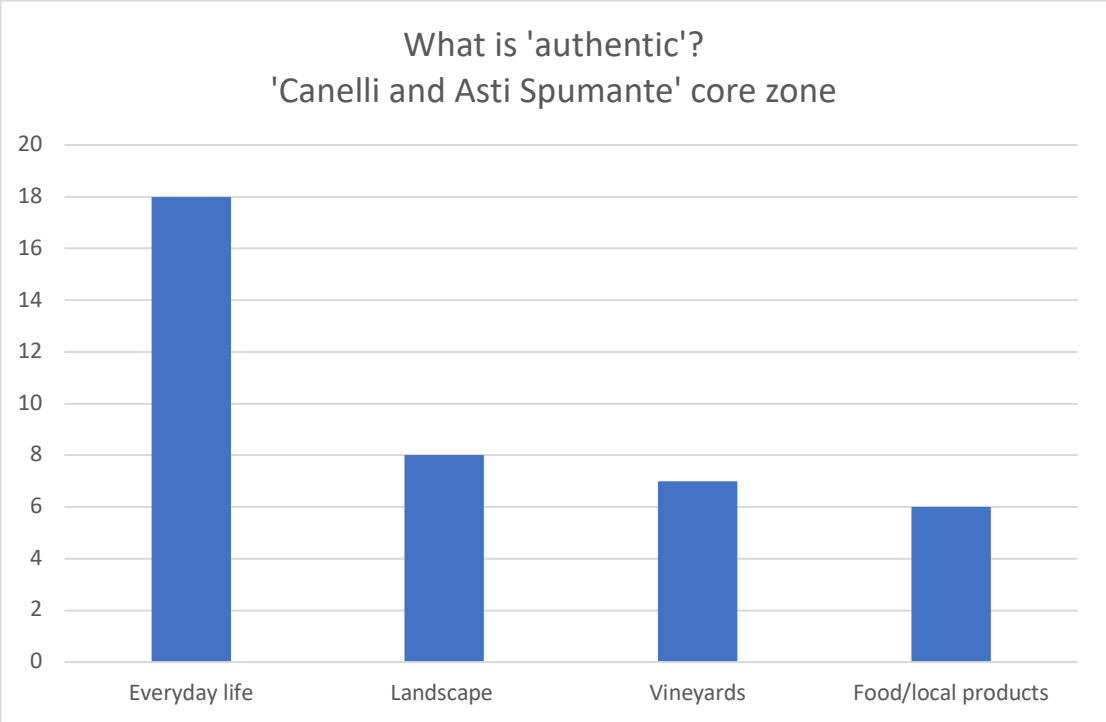
Authenticity values play a pivotal role in the World Heritage List's inscription procedures, as well as in the definition of preservation practices and in the restoration planning of cultural heritage. According to the World Heritage List, the authenticity of the Langhe-Roero and Monferrato vineyard landscape has been justified by:

> the use of the soils, the built structures and the social organisation of all the stages of the winemaking process, from tending and harvesting the grapes to vinification, [which] are an expression of continuity of ancient practices and expertise to form authentic ensembles in each component of the serial property (https:// whc.unesco.org/en/list/1390).

Thus, authenticity values lie in the continuity of practices embedded in a harmonious landscape. However, continuity also requires change, which is not always conflict-free, as the landscape is a dynamic space moulded and modified by human and non-human factors. Cultural practices are present-centred and influenced by social, economic, political, cultural and environmental variables that determine them. In the context of the vineyard landscape, the use of soil and the social organization are both evolving practices, strongly linked to the daily life and needs of local people. Defining what 'authentic' is in a changing landscape becomes very slippery and complex, questioning to what extent could change and continuity coexist in order to maintain authenticity. Which and whose authenticity does the World Heritage refer to? As has been argued in the previous section, local people create their heritage outside legally recognised frameworks, and this entails that authenticity values also have to be challenged. Traditionally, experts are required for purposes of authentication (Howard 2009: 56), but do they take account of what authentic is for local people? Do they consider in which ways local people construct meanings of authenticity? During the interviews, I discussed with local people what was authentic for them, asking:

*What would you like people to know about your heritage? What do you feel is the 'authentic' heritage of this area?*




Even in this case, the outcomes of the interviews in the two core zones were similar. In the 'Langa of Barolo' core zone 70% of the interviews associated authenticity to everyday life and practices, while the vineyards represented only 25% of the

answers; in Canelli 90% of the interviewees claimed authenticity is defined by everyday practices.

What I understand is that authenticity is defined by a local dimension and is associated to belonging and identity. In fact, most of the interviewees were of the opinion that their landscape was still authentic as economic activities were managed by local people. As Francesca suggested, 'it would be better to always find local people in the wine cellars' and 'it would be better if the wine production was always in the hands of local people. They are producers, not investors'. These sentences suggest that local people think to have a deeper knowledge of their territory, of the productive as well as the social practices and that their connection with the landscape is characterised by a personal, emotional dimension that enable local producers to take care of the vineyards in a more responsible and sustainable way than external investors who are perceived as interested exclusively in the exploitation of the land. Authenticity appears as a social process, contextually constructed and shaped, assuming different connotations and meanings. As argued by Torgrim Sneve Guttormsen and Knut Fageraas (2011: 453), the post-modern authenticity discourse is more concerned with authenticity as:

> a concept centred on the locality, and local people in particular. Consequently, the structuring condition for the production of practical heritage knowledge is an understanding of authenticity as something that is adaptable to the community and the local population's practical needs.

In the case of the vineyard landscape, local people construct authenticity through their everyday practices, through the continuity and implementation of traditional knowledge. This continuity is nevertheless driven by change and should not be limited to a superficial definition of 'ancient practices' but should take the challenges of the present into account. As emphasised by the *Executive Summary*, the origins of wine production in this area dates back to the Etruscans and the techniques and practices have evolved significantly across the centuries. The 'golden age' of wine production is perceived to be in the nineteenth century, with important and noble producers such as Camillo Benso Count of Cavour and the Falletti of Barolo family.

Since then practices and techniques have changed, and are still changing as the social, economic and environmental factors are evolving. Is the authenticity of the landscape based on fixed values or on the ability to change? These questions imply that attributing values of authenticity to 'ancient practices' becomes an ambiguous aim and requires the development of preservation policies attentive to the needs of local producers.

According to most of the interviewees, what does threaten the authenticity of the landscape are external factors such as the massive production of wine by important investors and the changes that the landscape is undergoing (or could undergo in the future) in order to satisfy the increasing market demand for high quality wines, as well as a mass tourism development. These elements are both connected with a loss of identity: the identity of small wine producers and the identity of local practices and traditions. In the last few decades, the prestigious quality of this territory has attracted many investors, and this has had a strong impact on the economic and social life of local people. As Marco (about fifty-year-old man working in a factory near Barolo) complained, 'the farmers' lifestyle disappeared with the advent of great producers'. An exemplary case is a controversial architecture built in *Cannubi*, one of the most ancient and refined areas of wine production near Barolo. Here, a private investor bought some land and created her wine cellar, called *Astemia Pentita* (the *Repented Teetotal*) (Fig. 14). This woman, who is the owner of a leading industry in the production of gelatin and of a famous design brand, decided to invest in wine production, despite, as she admitted, never having been interested in this sector before. As she explained during an interview to a local newspaper in 2015, she just recently became passionate for wine and therefore decided to bring together her two passions: wine and design. Discussing the building that hosts the wine cellar, she said 'I wanted a wine cellar that was different from the usual ones and I asked him [the architect] to bring me a project that did not exist, to think about a solution that was new and that could be a strong architectural sign' (Fiori 2015).


Fig. 14. *Astemia Pentita winery*. Available at: www.astemiapentita.it/it/index.php (Accessed: 9th May 2019)

The project of the new architecture was given to Gianni Arnaudo, who designed two huge wine boxes of wine, superimposed: a 'pop' wine cellar conceived as a 'macro sculpture laying amongst the vineyards' (*ibidem*). The architect explained his decision by stating that this landscape 'is a wonderful place to make experiments that concern modernity' (*ibidem*), citing other 'wine cathedrals' in Italy and around the world realized by 'archistars' such as Jean Nouvel, Frank Gehry, Mario Botta, Arnaldo Pomodoro, Santiago Calatrava and Renzo Piano. Despite this project having been acclaimed by the artistic sector, and also welcomed by the Venice Biennale, it received a more critical response from local people. One of the strongest voices against this architecture is Maria Teresa Mascarello**,** whose family is an intransigent defender of these hills:

> I am more and more astounded and disconsolate. We are a UNESCO heritage site since less than one year and we are celebrating by unwrapping this umpteenth slash at the entrance of Barolo, the town which is symbol of the wine. Once there was an old farmstead, now there are two quadrilaterals that they want us to see as a work of art [...] The worst thing is that I do not see anyone opposing to this: there is a predominant disarming and disgusting conformism. Barolo is destined

> […] to lose its soul of agricultural village. If this is the future of the Langa, it is better to call for help (*ibidem*).

The case of the *Astemia Pentinta* is particularly striking when compared to the suggestions presented in the *Advisory Body Evaluation* (2014). In fact, ICOMOS considers that one of the main threats to this vineyard landscape is 'the development of inappropriate modern winegrowing or commercial buildings that are not in keeping with the values of the traditional buildings' (2014: 314). Could the architecture of this wine cellar be considered appropriate for the vineyard landscape? Who is authorised to define and decide what is 'inappropriate'?

Three interviewees in Barolo harshly criticized the impact of the *Astemia Pentita* on the landscape, and this case was also mentioned by Carlo and Paolo in Canelli. Firstly, because they thought it is not integrated into the vineyard landscape and thus creates a too strong contrast with the surrounding natural and agricultural dimensions as well as with the traditional architectures. Paolo affirmed that, 'it is good to modify the landscape, especially if the aim is to improve it. For example, by disguising old ugly industrial warehouses. But not as that one in Barolo did, with non-sense'. Moreover, the rationale beyond this project is not connected with the local identity, rather it is the result of a private investor who has no relation with the vineyard landscape nor with the wine producers. Secondly, the interviewees lamented that while local people have to follow strict rules, wealthy entrepreneurs can apparently avoid such restrictions, giving them the impression that 'if you have money you can do whatever you want' (Roberta, Massimo and Giovanni, a family who owns a shop where they sell their food products in Barolo).

In the previous subsection I discussed how heritage is used to create distinction amongst the different areas of the vineyard landscape. In the case of the *Astemia Pentita*, however, heritage apparently played a unifying role in the definition of landscape values. In fact, even interviewees in Canelli expressed their disagreement referring to the investor as 'that one of the gelatins… that one made such a non-sense thing' (Paolo).

Another potential threat to authenticity is attributed to the commodification and gentrification of the vineyard landscape. In particular, this relates to the daily practices. As Francesca said:

> UNESCO should not give the idea that you are in a film, on a movie set. Many tourists come here and they think to be able to see the "authentic" harvest, where people use their feet to stomp on the grapes, or they expect to see images as in the film "A Good Year"'.

Using a constructionist approach to the analysis of the Norwegian mining town of Røros, enlisted as a World Heritage Site, Guttormsen and Fageraas explore how in heritagisation processes the idealisation of places tend to distance them 'from historic reality (that is the town as it really was, afflicted by industrial pollution and poverty)' (2011: 448). The removal of an objective reality could be found even in the presentation of the present life of the vineyard landscape. The words of the interviewee support the theory of authenticity as a social construction: heritage sites 'appear authentic not because they are inherently authentic but because they are constructed as such in terms of points of view, beliefs, perspectives or powers' (Wang 1999: 351).

The perception is that an alternative idea of 'authenticity' has been constructed through the World Heritage nomination which has been imposed on local people. Indeed, the village of Barolo has based its economy on wine and most of the activities are linked to the wine selling and its related products. However, the inhabitants are now expressing a doubt about the economic policies focused on the wine production and they have started fearing that this could generate a negative monoculture system that would menace the authenticity of the landscape. Giovanna (sixty-year-old, shop owner) recognized that 'the Langhe are not as they used to be. Once it was not only vineyards, there were also other types of crops'. Valentina, a wine-seller in Barolo, challenged the emphasis given to the wine production saying that 'to focus exclusively on the wine could be dangerous, because you risk going towards monoculture. Even tourists are starting to lament this'. Even though it would be interesting to have a fine-grained understanding concerning the level of awareness of tourists and to explore whether they are indeed bothered by the thematic gentrification of this village, it seems that many citizens are feeling dispossessed of their living spaces and practices. In fact, Franco expressed his sorrow over the many changes that the landscape has suffered over the last forty

years, in particular with the industrialization process and the boom production of wines. He declared that the landscape is not authentic anymore, saying 'at this point, the landscape has been modified. They should have kept the woods, now there are only vineyards'. Conversely, Alessandro - a young man from the same area - was satisfied as he affirmed that 'the landscape is still authentic', meaning that the authenticity lays in a very local management of the tourism, as many bed and breakfasts and restaurants are owned by local families, who are very willing to talk about the territory with the tourists. Interestingly, authenticity was never associated to the 'harmonious' and 'scenic' landscape. On the contrary, many of the interviewees expressed a will to preserve their landscape without changing it to satisfy particular aesthetic expectations. As Beatrice affirmed, 'it is not good to modify the landscape, not even to make it more beautiful' and 'our landscape should not be altered to satisfy the tourists' demands'. This understanding of authenticity is shared by the site manager Roberto Cerrato who affirmed that:

> It is not easy to explain [what authenticity is]. In the UNESCO recommendations this is the most sensitive element […] To define the authenticity of the vineyard landscape is the most difficult part, you cannot transfer it in two words. You have to step on the landscape in order to make it authentic. Authentic is what you find in something that maybe is ugly but that passes knowledge or skills to you. It is what we want to become in the future (May 2017).

The data collected illustrate that authenticity is not merely defined through material conservation, rather it is also determined by direct experience of values and practices. The outcomes therefore support the concept of 'existential authenticity' introduced by Wang (1999), who suggests a distinction between the authenticity of an object and the authenticity of an experience.

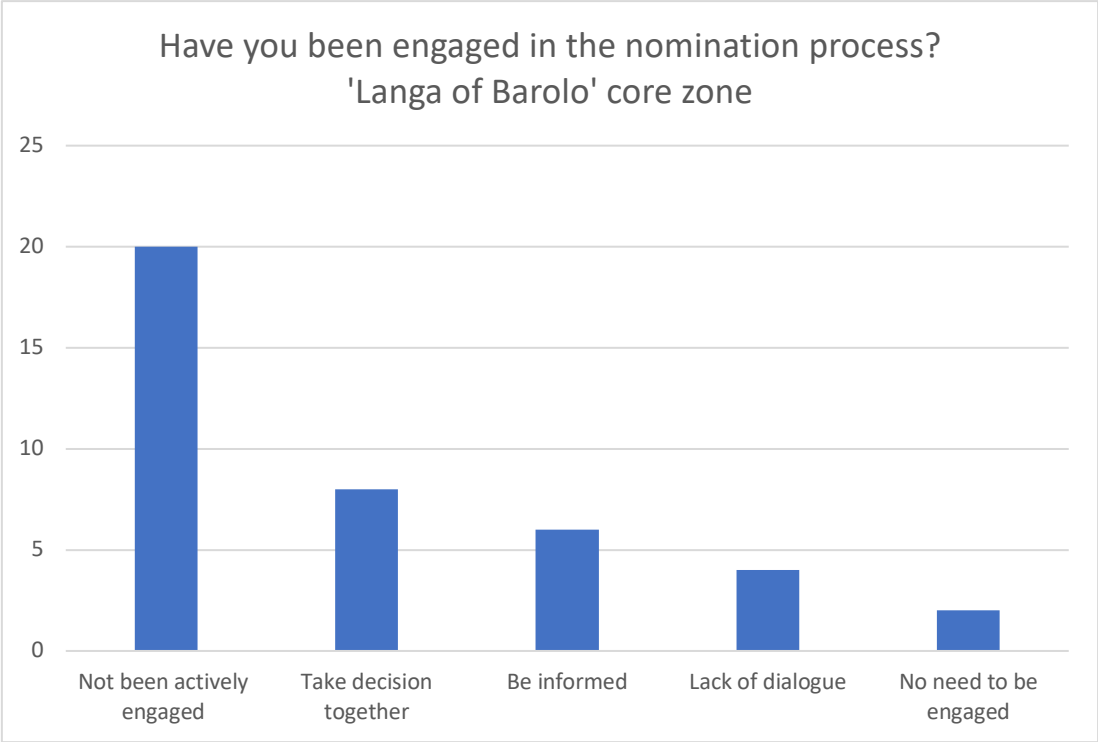
## 5.4. Participation

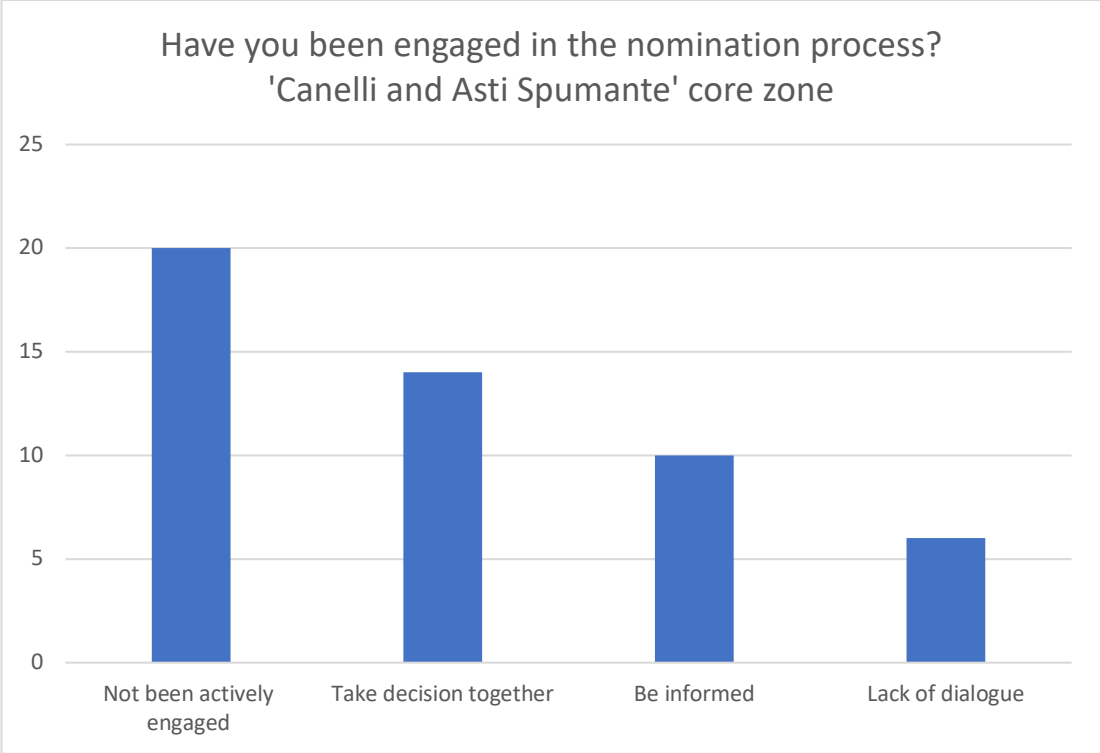
*We have to start together*

(Valentina, Appendix 5)

In chapter four I discussed how democratic participation in heritage is a key concept shared by international and supranational documents and policies. What emerged from the analysis of the UNESCO documents and of the ELC is the tendency of actual heritage discourses to emphasise the relevance of bottom-up practices, by promoting and supporting the involvement of individuals and groups in decision-making processes concerning the identification, preservation and management of heritage. This 'people-centred' approach is valued for the potential positive outcomes it has for individuals and groups in terms of social, cultural and economic development. Despite cultural participation becoming an imperative in international and supranational agendas, how to design participatory heritage listing and management plans remains a controversial subject. Participation is often taken for granted, conceived as a good practice that governments and local authorities could automatically apply in different contexts and introduce in national and local laws. Moreover, it is presented as a practice that individuals and groups consensually accept, as it is understood from a professional perspective. In spite of being developed as a bottom-up practice, participation risks echoing top-down practices when heritage professionals or authorities impose it on people. It is therefore important to question whether individuals and groups really want to participate in decision-making processes. And if so, on which and whose terms. Given this perspective, I explored how local people understand participation. Thus, I conclude this chapter by analysing the responses to the last question of the interview, that is:

*Have you been engaged in the decision-making processes during the nomination of the World Heritage site? Would you like to be more engaged in its management and preservation?*




Given the UNESCO World Heritage status of the vineyard landscape, all the interviewees associated participation with the nomination process and the actual management of the site, focusing on the implications and impact this recognition has on their everyday life at social and economic levels. All the interviewees declared

that they do not feel engaged by local authorities in the management of their heritage and stated that they have not been involved in the decision-making process of the UNESCO World Heritage nomination either. The levels of participation they desire are different: eight interviewees in Barolo (40%) and fourteen in Canelli (70%) declared that 'decisions should be taken together'; six interviewees in Barolo (30%) and ten in Canelli (50%) are interested in simply being 'informed about the decisions' taken, four interviewees in Barolo (20%) and six in Canelli (35%) expressed the will to be involved 'in a dialogue'. Only two interviewees in Barolo claimed that there is no need to be engaged. The overall impression is that the interviewees perceive local authorities as disinterested in their opinions, to a point where they suppose they are not even informed about the decisions made. Most of them address 'participation' as what Arnstein has defined 'Informing' (level three) and 'Consultation' (level four), as laypersons have the right to be heard and to have a voice but 'they lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the powerful' (Arnstein 1969: 217). As Emma (about fifty-five-year-old woman, B&B ownernear Barolo) said, 'there is no dialogue with the institutions' and Lorenzo (about thirty-five-year-old man who owns a B&B near La Morra), 'we have not been involved in the decision-making process, it would be better to be more informed'. The majority of the interviewees declared their will to be more engaged and to have the opportunity to negotiate decisions with the local authorities before these are eventually approved. In this case, the level of participation can be associated with the idea of 'Partnership' (level six) and 'Delegated power' (level seven), when laypersons are enabled to negotiate and engage with 'traditional powerholders' (*ibidem*: 217). Participation is also understood as a way to create social cohesion. Valentina, discussing about how decisions concerning the management of the site should be taken, claimed: 'we have to start together, it is necessary to involve the citizens since the initial phases'. Beatrice stated that in order to foster responsibility, 'citizens should be involved because this would encourage them to be more responsible in the preservation of the landscape'.

The lack of a shared vision and of common objectives is not only an issue between local authorities and inhabitants, rather it concerns the communication amongst local authorities: 'we need more collaboration amongst the different villages, everyone tends to do their things on their own. The same happens with

cultural institutions' (Emma), 'every mayor has his/her own theories. It is difficult to make everyone agree on something' (Daniele) and 'there is an evident organizational lack, there is no relations amongst the various authorities. The political sphere is stuck' (Claudio).

Not having engaged different actors in the decision-making process has consequences for the understanding and acceptance of UNESCO guidelines as well. In fact, the majority of the preoccupations expressed by the interviewees concerned the economic and social development of the vineyard landscape. In particular, many of them were afraid of the limitations imposed by the UNESCO World Heritage status. Actually, they equated it with a strict preservation approach which they thought were limiting their daily life, not only regarding the techniques of wine production but also in practical things such as the maintenance of their houses, thus as an impediment to improving the landscape. However, these reservations were largely based on misunderstandings of the implications of the listing, often fuelled by rumours. Most of the interviewees admitted that they do not really know which are the implications of being in a World Heritage Site and complained that 'we found out we were part of the UNESCO but no one told us' (Marco) and 'they (local authorities) should explain which the limitations are' (Giovanna). A failing communication and the scarce involvement of people during the nomination process often generate a misunderstanding of the implications of a listing (Pendlebury et al. 2009: 194), which in this case was equated with a strict preservation and, consequently, perceived as an impediment to developing the area.

Participation in the decision-making process is understood in terms of consultation with local people, who consider themselves as the custodians of this landscape, given the knowledge that they construct by dwelling these places. Discussing the UNESCO limitations and guidelines, five interviewees in Barolo lamented the fact that technical decisions about the range of colours to be used in painting the façades of the houses in the historical centre were taken by a non-local architect (Architect Richetti, *Piano del Colore del Centro Storico di Barolo* 2011). As Valentina claimed, 'decisions about the preservation of the buildings should be taken by local people', and Francesca proposed, 'politics and policies should be made by someone local who could guarantee a more active participation'. Aware of this tension, during our interview Roberto Cerrato explained that:

> UNESCO only establishes recommendations (…) the guidelines of the Piedmont Region do not want to stop the development. We need rules, otherwise we would end up living in a 'far West' situation, where the single producer takes decisions for his/her own vineyard, with implications for the entire landscape, menacing the landscape and its entire beauty. The guidelines do not hinder the will to grow. God forbid! It is only necessary to explain them. You can do everything; you just have to follow some rules (Appendix 4).

Nevertheless, he admitted, 'there has been a defect of shape' when some of the main towns have proceeded without engaging local people, but also without communicating the decisions taken, and he justified this behaviour by saying 'maybe they should have done one or two more meetings in order to share with them these things. But the Region was so forward about concluding the process that they took some premature steps' (*ibidem*). Even when decisions are shared, they are not always sufficiently explained. As Daniele stated, 'we need rules, for sure, but they have to be shared. It is necessary to explain the decisions taken, with a non-technical language that everyone could understand'. The use of technical language is perceived as a tool for creating a power relationship.

Only two interviewees in Barolo stated that they did not feel the need to be involved, as the management of the cultural heritage is a duty of local authorities. One of them explicitly affirmed that 'local authorities are in charge of this, if you need anything you just have to knock at their door, and they will listen to you' (Franca, about forty-five-year-old woman, public officer). At the opposite end of the scale of confidence in the institutions, Marco declared that he felt afraid of talking with local authorities, especially to express a different opinion that could be in conflict with the mainstream ideas, because he was afraid of retaliations: 'sometimes I would like to discuss with them the things I don't like. But then I am afraid that if I say something that annoys them, they will consider me as a trouble-maker and will take revenge'.

If on the one hand, the majority of the interviewees agreed on the need to enhance participatory practices; on the other hand, most of them declared that they could not be actively engaged, as this would require too much time. Five

interviewees, despite desiring a wider and more active engagement, explicitly admitted that they would not have time to pro-actively participate. Alessandro, (about thirty-five-year-old man, B&B owner near Canelli) explained 'personally, I don't know if they did anything to engage the citizens. On the one hand, I would like to be engaged and informed, but on the other hand, I have no time to do it'. Franco questioned the will of people to participate, admitting that 'local administrations did not explain exactly the implications of the World Heritage status, but even when there are meetings people do not go'.

From the analysis of the programs proposed during and after the nomination process, I could understand that despite public meetings having been organised to discuss – or rather to present - various aspects relating to the preservation and management of the vineyard landscape, these have been designed following the traditional method in which the 'experts' and authorities are reunited in their spaces of action (as the Municipality or other administrative offices) and people – other professionals or citizens – go and listen to them. This type of organization is representative of hierarchical power relations, as it assumes that decisions will be taken and accepted despite the presence, or absence, of other actors, without the need of a debate. Arnstein would position this model of participation in the lowest rungs of her ladder, which she defines 'manipulation' and 'therapy' as 'their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants' (Arnstein 1969: 217).

In the context of a 'living heritage', where local groups have to balance daily needs and priorities, it is paramount to rethink the participative practices. In the vineyard landscapes, for example, there are different variables that should be taken into account. First of all, the geography of the landscape and the distribution of the vineyards, which most of the time are far from the villages. For instance, to participate in meetings which are organized during the week, during working hours and in the main centres means that very few people could attend. Wine producers would not be able to attend – and probably would not be interested – as this would involve leaving their vineyards or cellars and suspending their work to take part to meetings where their ideas will probably not be heard.

During our interview Sergio Bobbio explained that when the UNESCO project was taking shape 'we used to go and talk to the wine producers instead of organizing meetings, because we knew they wouldn't come' (Appendix 4). And he went on to explain that:

> when the local administration realized the importance of the project, they continued it without consulting the territory nor us […] And above all, they totally ignored the territory, they did not do anything, just prestigious meetings. They organize public events, but we used to go and meet them at home. If I say to fifty wine producers to meet up for a conference on the landscape, they would not come (*ibidem*).

Approaching wine producers in this way means that the first attempts to create a World Heritage site were informed by the relevance and agency of building a peer relationship, an approach which attempted to remix the positionalities of citizens and planners. As discussed by Gibson (2009: 77):

> activities defined as 'public consultation' most commonly took the form of public meetings, meetings with local specialist groups such as historical societies and meetings with individual members of the community, known to be experts. Such activities are unlikely to encourage participation by the general public or a representative understanding of cultural significance.

The lack of participation is not merely a perception of local people. Indeed, Bobbio stated that the original project - that was limited to the 'underground cathedrals' in Canelli - was more people-centred, but when the Region understood the potential of the site, the project passed to the local authorities with the omission of other actors. From this moment, he claimed, the management of the nomination process assumed a hierarchical arrangement. Actually, as declared by Cerrato, 'we were the representatives chosen by the politics, we coordinated everything with the regional and local technical offices' (*ibidem*). When discussing the nomination process, Cerrato clarified the complex relationship between the local UNESCO Association

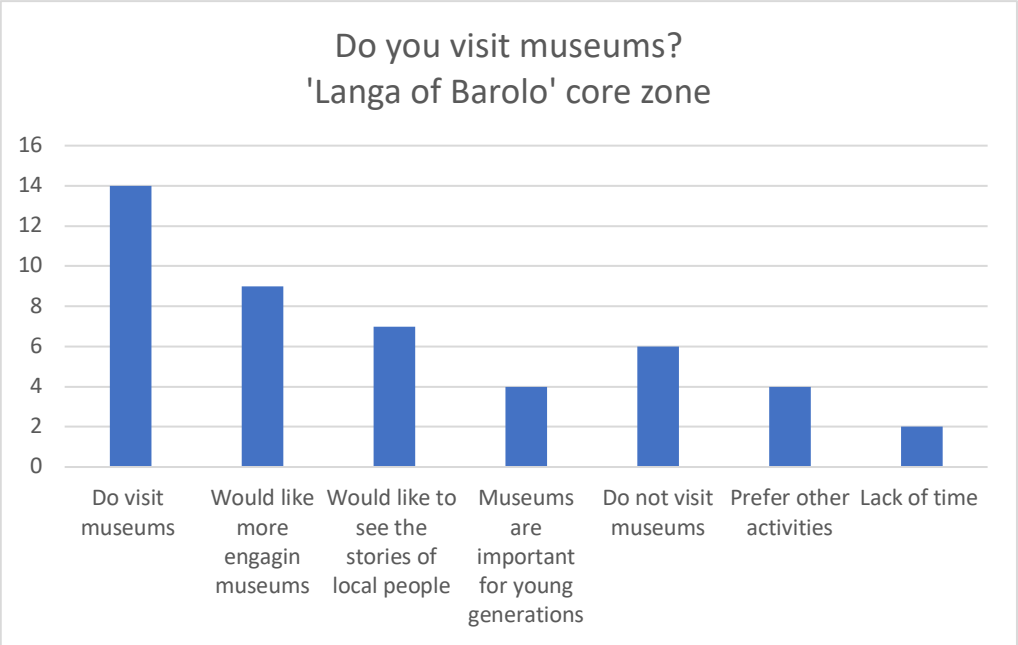
and the local mayors, some of whom over the years sent official communications to the Region, manifesting their disagreement with becoming part of the World Heritage Site. What emerges from this interview is that the actors of the nomination process where mainly the Minister of Cultural Goods and Activities, the Piedmont Region, the local UNESCO association and local authorities.

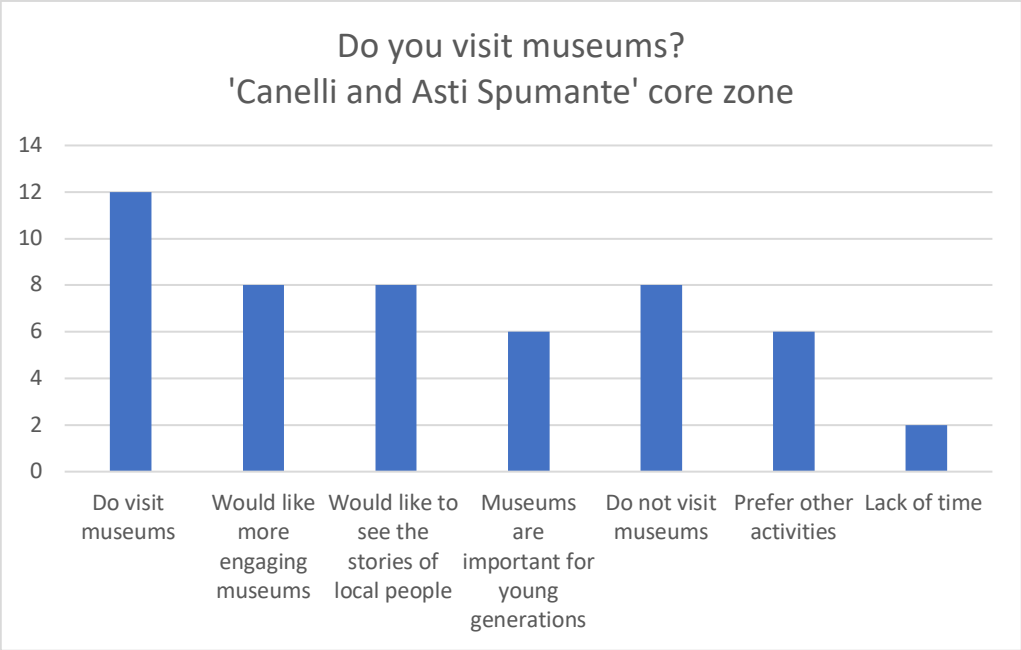
To conclude, it is interesting to note that none of the interviewees mentioned the participatory project of the Piedmont Region, '*Dopo l'UNESCO, agisco!*' (After UNESCO, I Act!), whose aim is to engage citizens in doing something to improve the village or the area they live in through small development projects (such as the restoration of bus stops or the creation of cultural spaces within disused buildings). This project, started in 2015, is presented as a competition between the villages and towns belonging to the World Heritage site, and therefore it has been extensively communicated in the last few years. Canelli won the first prize in November 2017, but none of the interviewees commented on this project. The number of interviewees is limited and not sufficient to enable an exact analysis of the effective engagement of people in impromptu projects. However, it would be useful to further unpack the mechanisms of participation used in the process, in order to understand which individuals or group were not engaged, and why. Watson and Waterton affirm that participatory policies introduced with an uncritical and unexamined view of heritage, could tend to generate an 'equally uncritical, and thus unproblematic, view of a community's engagement with it' (2010: 3). As they argue, the paradox is that, even what has already been labelled as 'public heritage' lacks a real community engagement, because there is no distinct role for the 'public' within the management process.

## 5.5. Museums and cultural participation

In the discussion concerning heritage, twenty-six interviewees mentioned museums. However, as I presented myself as a PhD student from a 'School of Museum Studies', my position might have influenced how the interviewees responded. The role of museum in the definition and representation of heritage values has been deepened through the question:

*Do you ever visit local museums? Ecomuseums? Do you find your stories there?*




Despite having recognised that museums are part of the local heritage, six people in 'Langa of Barolo' (30%) and eight in Canelli (40%) declared that they do not visit museums. Four of these 'non-visitors' motivated this with the lack of free time, while ten interviewees claimed they do not visit museums because they are not interested in them and that they prefer other types of activities. The rest of the interviewees affirmed that they visit museums as they are part of the vineyard landscape.

Two main insights emerge from the analysis of the interviews. The first is that museums are attributed with a fundamental educational role. In fact, four interviewees in Langa of Barolo (20%) and six in Canelli (30%) explained that they visit museums with their children or grandchildren, because they want them to know about the local history, the traditions and lives of farmers and winegrowers. Museums are perceived as places where local memories could be preserved and where cultural capital is passed to young generations. The second outcome is that interviewees thought that museums should integrate local memories and testimonies in their main narratives. Five interviewees explicitly criticized the WiMu (the Wine Museum in Barolo) because they find its interactive and spectacularized exhibition too distant from the authenticity of their landscape. Francesca expressed her disappointment claiming 'I don't like the WiMu, it is too touristic, there is nothing there that talks about me. But I really like the castles of Serralunga and Grinzane because there you can see the connections with our territory', while Monica (about thirty-five-year-old woman working in a wine cellar in Canelli) affirmed that 'this museum talks about the wine, not about our landscape. It could be anywhere in the world, it could be in New York, and it would be the same'. Conversely, both Francesca and Alessandro said that they really appreciated the visit to the Castle of Serralunga 'because the guide explained the links between the castle and the landscape'. Five interviewees said they visit museums as 'they are important because they explain how life in the countryside was in the past' (Mirella, about eighty-year-old retiree living in Canelli) and seven interviewees suggested that museums should not be limited to exhibiting objects, but rather give more space to elderly people's memories in their narratives. As discussed in section 3.3, memories are valued as identity bearers and they are more relevant than the national history in the understanding of the vineyard landscapes.

Implicit in these answers is the will to be more engaged in the meaning-making and narratives' construction of museums. In fact, nine of the interviewees in Langa of Barolo and eight in Canelli (about 50% of the interviewees) who visit museums said that they would like more engaging museums: 'it would be interesting to see a wider engagement, museums could collect people's stories. Even because elderly people who could tell us about the traditions are becoming fewer and fewer' (Caterina). Valentina, despite having said that she does not visit

museums, suggested that museums could engage citizens, 'in particular old people who could tell how this landscape was once and hand down stories and traditions'. Drawing on her statement, it could be possible to suppose that some people do not visit the local museums because of this lack of engagement and representation. By claiming that museums should tell their stories, local people demonstrate an awareness of the importance of the everyday practices through which they construct their identity and belonging, becoming important cultural markers. They do not consider the so-called 'unofficial' heritage less valuable than the 'official' one. Therefore, their interest does not focus exclusively on the past, rather past is conceived as a tool for better understanding the present. As Carla (about forty-five-year-old woman working in a local shop) suggested, 'museums should talk about the present'. As Lorenzo stated, 'we have to safeguard the past, which is often a personal past, but we should not denigrate the present, what is modern'. Interestingly, the interviewees applied the traditional, familiar techniques of passing down heritage (as telling stories, memories, know-hows to new generations) to a cultural institution which has well-established discipline-driven practices. In this sense, people were actively rethinking the role of museums by conveying alternative cultural markers and heritage meanings.

Museums are also understood as authoritative cultural institutions that should have a stronger role and impact on the definition of cultural policies. As two interviewees stated, 'museums are not involved in developing policies, they could engage citizens, but they are not doing it. They don't talk to each other' (Claudio) and 'museums could be a social glue' (Lorenzo). Focusing on the UNESCO nomination, what emerges is that its objectives have not been explained. Franco lamented that 'museums do not explain what the UNESCO is and does' and Lorenzo confirmed that 'there is no explanation of what UNESCO is'. Therefore, when visitors enter a museum, they will not find a connection between it and the surrounding landscape.

Given these perspectives, a fundamental issue for museums is to understand how to establish 'transparent, inclusive and fair relationships with all communities' (Watson 2007: 2). The evident self-awareness demonstrated by the interviewees suggests that a paternalistic approach to local people should be replaced by new forms of negotiation and shared constructions of the museum narratives. It is

possible to transfer Sheila Watson's argument concerning the relationship between museums and visitors to the landscape and local communities: 'what museums gain from questioning the truth by asking for the visitors' involvement and opinions is to reveal more complex truths, if indeed there are absolute truths to be found' (*ibidem*: 2). Back argues that one of the most challenging issues faced by professionals in the understanding of everyday life as part of heritage is that 'the way we write about everyday life can seem absurdly inaccessible to the very people who inhabit it. Rather, we need to find ways to write about everyday life that are open, recognisable and legible to those who live it' (2015: 834). The questions that museum professionals have to consider are therefore similar to the ones that heritage professionals face in the management of their connection with local communities: how can the museum actively engage communities and to what extent can a community enter the organizational process; and eventually, how do museums and heritage organisations, programmes and projects manage power interests of the different stakeholders? Within this context, landscape plays a double role both as an integral part of the cultural heritage and as a 'living' site.

## 5.6. Conclusion

The way interviewees talk about what makes the vineyard landscape different and special was rich and complex. They expressed their understanding of heritage through qualities such as issues of time and attachment to place and community. The first outcome of this data analysis is that the relevance given to everyday and intangible values and to memories demonstrates that an alternative way of defining what is considered as 'heritage' exists. This implies that people have the ability of self-expression and are able to create their heritage, to interpret and reinterpret contemporary identity through the 'senses of place and tradition' (Smith et al. 2011: 1). As argued by Bennett et al. (2009), working class people – or in the case of the vineyard landscape, local people - see community, family and local historical memory as fundamental resources in the identity making processes. In particular, for many people landscapes are 'important in their own right by providing a beacon for a sense of belonging, a link with the past and a symbol of permanence' (Davis 2009: 5). Landscape is heritage for the people living within it and they should be also viewed as a daily performance, as one of the ways in which people define

themselves and engage socially through place with other people (Fairclough 2009: 32). Following this argument, the second finding of this analysis is in relation to the need to rethink preservation and management practices, introducing a different value assessment which recognises the role of intangible heritage. As suggested by Howard (2009: 61), this entails understanding that we will have to engage with experiences as much as with objects, with living memory as much as with history. Thus, the future of heritage is connected to the capacity of professionals to challenge their role in the preservation of heritage and to create spaces where to negotiate values and meanings with different individuals and groups. This means to rethink the relationship between 'experts' and 'non-experts', or rather between different typologies of expertise which are not necessarily defined through academic disciplines. As discussed in section 3.2, the dominant role of experts in the definition of heritage and in its authentication is still strongly perceived by individuals and groups, generating conflictual relationships within the terrains of competing interests. This element is particularly challenging in the context of a World Heritage site, which by definition is 'universal'. Who is this 'universal heritage' representing? Could it be considered 'universal' when the people who created it and who continue to rework meaning and values are not engaged nor represented?

The rethinking of the relationship between experts and non-experts leads to the third outcome, which concerns the active participation in decision-making processes. What emerges from the interviews is that citizens have not been given the necessary tools to exercise their right to make decisions about their heritage. This lack of access is not limited to the cultural sector, rather it involves everyday socio-economic realms. Hence, I argue that the development of cultural and economic policies able to balance conservation needs and the continuity of everyday life depends on the capacity to empower citizens in the decision-making process.

In the next chapter I explore the role that power relationships play in the heritage definition and interpretation of a specific group, women wine producers. As it has been discussed here, the bias towards certain values and practices implies the inclusion or exclusion of some groups. In this case, given the male-oriented identity construction in the wine production sector, I decided to give voice to women, in order to understand the extent to which they are represented in the actual definition and presentation of the vineyard landscape.

# Chapter Six - Women wine producers: giving voice to 'other' perspectives

## 6.1. Introduction

In chapter five I discussed how heritage values attributed to the vineyard landscape by the *Executive Summary* and *Management Plan* do not necessarily coincide with the values' and meanings' assessment expressed by individuals and groups living within this World Heritage site. My argument is that, although the omission of some stories and memories does not impede local people and communities in creating their heritage, the lack of their representation in the interpretation of this cultural landscape has implications on the development of socio-economic policies and on the everyday. In other words, when a group is not represented in cultural processes, it risks losing a role in the decision-making processes as well. In fact, being quoted in a document or represented within a narrative is important as it gives a high degree of authority and legitimization.

As has been discussed in chapter two, section 2.1, the definition of heritage is often influenced by socio-cultural and professional biases that frame heritage in dominant perspectives which tend to exclude alternative sets of values. This implies that some voices will be marginalized or omitted from established narratives, some memories will be passed down and others erased limiting the possibility of meaning-making processes. Amongst the groups that have been traditionally omitted from decision-making processes are women. Many heritage scholars (Edensor and Kothari 1994; Lowenthal 1998; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; Meskell 2001; Labadi 2007; Smith 2008; Gibson 2009) argue that heritage is gendered, in that 'it is too often "masculine", and tells a predominantly male-centred story, promoting a masculine […] vision of the past and present' (Smith 2008: 159). As claimed by Graham et al. (2000: 45), women 'have been largely invisible and misrepresented in the archives of history' and both tangible and intangible heritage has been often selected from a perspective of 'heritage masculinization' (Edensor and Kothari 1994). If there is evidence that in the past men have monopolized the transmission of history (Lowenthal 1998: 48), it is also true that women actively challenge the patriarchal and unrepresentative nature of many representations of

culture and heritage – both through professional commitment and in everyday practices.

In the last two decades, World Heritage policies and programmes have recognized that women have been largely omitted from the construction of cultural identities and from official and national discourses on heritage. Efforts have been made to relocate these themes and subjects from a marginal to a more central position within heritage discourses (*Stockholm Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development* 1998, *Gender and Intangible Cultural Heritage* 2003). Indeed, how to achieve gender equality has become a priority and strategies have been developed in order to empower women and girls through their participation in cultural heritage (UNESCO *Medium-Term Strategy* 2008, UNESCO *Priority Gender Equality Action Plan 2014-2021*).

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the heritage discourses used in international and national documents to understand the power dynamics that drive some cultural practices and to compare them with the perception women have of their contribution in the identity and heritage-building process. As stated by Smith 'the way people think and talk about, and understand, things and social practices, such as heritage, both reflects and helps to constitute those practices' (2008: 160). The use of a gender-neutral language which takes for granted that women are included is the first method to exclude women from the main narration and it is not less dangerous than an explicitly masculine language. Discourses have the power to frame the way people think about social realities and they also contribute to validating them; thus it is vital to understand to what extent they have been used to define identities.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, I contextualise the international debate on women's participation and representation in heritage. Following a chronological order that starts with the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, I investigate the process that led UNESCO to emphasize the right of women and girls to access, participate in and contribute to heritage. Since 2008, the aim of achieving gender equality in cultural participation has been declared as one of the priorities in the UNESCO's *Medium-Term Strategy* and one of the objectives of *United Nations Millennium Development Goals* (2015). Nevertheless,

documents such as the *World Heritage Convention* (1972), the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) and the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions* (2005) still use a male-centred language that marginalizes women's roles and contributions. In more detail, I analyse how the World Heritage List, the most important UNESCO cultural program, has (or has not) been implemented through its *Operational Guidelines* and UNESCO recommendations with an inclusive language.

The second section focuses on the documents relating to my case study, the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato. Given the insights in relation to the international documents, I explore whether the language used in the *Executive Summary* and *Management Plan* of this World Heritage Site implicitly or explicitly includes (or excludes) women's heritage. These documents identify the heritage values of the vineyard landscapes and fix the standards and objectives for its preservation and management. Investigating the heritage discourses used by the local authorities and heritage professionals who contributed to their drafting enables us to understand if UNESCO recommendations have been considered and applied, as well as to detect the potential gaps that risk affecting the development of socio-cultural inclusive practices.

In the third section, I analyse the interviews conducted with four women wine producers living and working in the core zones of Barolo and Canelli. Through the analysis of the data collected during the interviews, I discuss how these women define 'heritage' and 'participation', and to what extent they feel represented by actual cultural policies. Further data will be added using the report of the National Association *Donne del Vino* (*Women of Wine*). In a recent survey (2016) concerning the situation of women working in the wine sector, what emerged is that despite the fact that women can now access both professional training and high career positions, their role is often still questioned and not fully recognized. This section is reinforced by a reflection on a fundamental book for the empowerment process of women in this area, *L'anello forte* (*The strong ring*, 1985) by Nuto Revelli. Considered as a kind of 'Bildungsroman' for at least two generations of women, this text did not find space in the mainstream narration of the cultural aspects of the vineyard landscape proposed by the *Executive Summary*.

To conclude, this chapter questions whether the heritage discourses used in

UNESCO and local documents are effective in recognising women in their everyday life through inclusive policies of heritage management and participation, as well as challenging the current concept of 'outstanding universal value' and 'authenticity'.

## 6.2. UNESCO documents and women's empowerment through cultural and heritage representation

### 6.2.1. Introduction

The discussions elaborated in chapter four and chapter five raised questions regarding the level of inclusivity and participation in decisional procedures concerning heritage identification, representation, preservation and management and the power relations underpinning them, which determine who has – or has not - the right to define what heritage is and how to preserve it. The international documents explored conceive cultural heritage as a tool to promote and strengthen participation in identity-making processes, both at national and local level, raising questions concerning whose voices are privileged in the identification, definition and management of heritage and whose stories are omitted or marginalized.

In chapter five I analysed the key concept of 'participation' through the generic lens of 'local people', 'local community' or 'groups'. This is a general framework used in most official and legal documents, which reveals scarce attention in explaining what exactly these definitions refer to. Within the heritage discourses, the division in categories of identity is often based on generic and unproblematized concepts of ethnicity (as indigenous people or minorities) and gender. The naturalisation of general categories inevitably causes participative processes in the identification of cultural heritage to be undermined by existing bias within local, national and international heritage discourses. In particular, as discussed by Smith, the categories of identity constructed by 'the identifiers "man" and "woman" are rarely questioned in authorized accounts of heritage, and as such are continually recreated and reinforced' (Smith 2008: 160). Excluding women through the use of a gender-neutral language, which implies that women have the same set of values as men, or through the use of a male-centred language, could lead to the legitimation of discriminating cultural practices (De Vido 2017). Consequently, to understand how the role of women is represented in the mainstream narrative of a heritage site and of gender equality in value assessment has two objectives. The first is to develop

the participation and empowerment of women in the process of heritage recognition and identity-making and through this to protect women and girls against discrimination on the basis of gender. Thus, the aim of this section is to explore to what extent women's inclusion and participation in the definition of cultural and heritage values and meanings have been promoted and encouraged within UNESCO documents, exploring gender dynamics and how they affect the interpretation of heritage.

### 6.2.2. UNESCO and Gender Equality

A chronological reconstruction of the awareness raising process concerning women's exclusion from cultural heritage representation could begin with the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly. This document, which defines what constitutes discrimination against women, requests Member States to commit themselves to integrating legal systems and developing measures able to eradicate social and cultural models based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes, and the consequent maintaining of stereotyped gendered roles. In this definition of discrimination, exclusion from the cultural field is understood as a tool to impede equal access to and equal opportunities in public life. Nevertheless, it was only in 1998, that the *Stockholm Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development* recommended States to 'give recognition to women's achievements in culture and development' and to 'ensure their participation in the formulation and implementation of cultural policies at all levels' (Point 8), affirming that 'cultural policies must respect gender equality, fully recognizing women's parity of rights and freedom to expression and ensuring their access to decision-making' (Point 8). This action plan could therefore be considered the beginning of a long journey, which is still active today, to recognize the role of women in the heritage and identity-making process (Moghadam and Bagheritari 2007: 10).

However, a critical discourse analysis of most UNESCO documents reveals an absence of any reference to gender equality. The UNESCO *Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001) is an example. In Article 4 the need to recognize the 'rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples' is declared, explicitly defining cultural diversity merely on an ethnic basis and using the generic

meaning of 'minorities'. As women could not be considered a minority, the result is that the document makes no mention of their rights to representation and participation and does not denounce gendered power relations affecting the understandings of 'culture'. As argued by Valentine Moghadam and Manilee Bagheritari, this declaration presents cultural rights and group rights in a 'gender-blind fashion without recognition of the challenges faced by diverse groups of women within their own cultural group' (2007: 16). To avoid this challenge risks supporting and reinforcing unequal roles for women and men, as well as legitimating the preservation of discriminatory cultural practices.

Among the UNESCO Conventions, an indirect reference to gender is included in the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions* (2005). According to Article 7:

> parties shall endeavour to create in their territory an environment which encourages individuals and social groups: (a) to create, produce, disseminate, distribute and have access to their own cultural expressions, paying due attention to the special circumstances and needs of women as well as various social groups, including persons belonging to minorities and indigenous peoples (UNESCO 2005).

If on the one hand this document recognises women as bearers of a different set of cultural and identity values; on the other hand, women are not depicted as 'actors of change' (De Vido 2017: 453). Instead of acknowledging the autonomous and nodal role that women play in the creation and transmission of culture and heritage, this convention presents them as a vulnerable group, a minority with special needs and a 'women's issue'. As stated by Smith, the gender question 'all too often gets treated as what women have – a women's problem – as if men have no gender' (Smith 2008: 159). This approach to gender discrimination does not integrate women into the decision-making process as bearers of specific identities and heritage values, rather it adds them to a mainstream narrative, which is arguably going to be challenged or contested.

The central role of women is omitted even in the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003). However, despite these

examples, it would be incorrect to claim that UNESCO is not sensitive to the challenges posed by the promotion of women's rights in the heritage identification, preservation and management processes. In fact, in 2003 UNESCO held an expert meeting on *Gender and Intangible Cultural Heritage*, concerning how gender dynamics affect intangible cultural heritage and its safeguarding. The outcomes of the final report pointed out that the central women's contribution to the preservation of intangible heritage is too often overlooked in the re-telling. A large part of national and local identity is formed through intangible cultural expressions (habits, beliefs, practices) that are often kept and passed to future generations by women, who during this process 'also recreate and transform culture' (Firas: 103). Considering this, women actively contribute not only to passing down cultural heritage; rather, they mould it, imprinting their values and perspectives through a process were meanings are recognized and negotiated, and then either accepted, rejected and/or contested.

The recent report on the *Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard-setting Work of the Culture Sector* (2013) by the Internal Oversight Service, which analysed the working methods of cultural conventions, stressed the position of many stakeholders according to which an in-depth debate about gender equality and intangible cultural heritage had not yet happened (UNESCO 2013a, Paragraph 78). In particular, the report declared that working mechanisms of the 2003 Convention 'have been quite gender blind' (*ibidem*). The use of a gender-neutral language is not the expression of an approach to culture driven by an awareness of gender imbalance; it rather risks making documents vulnerable to manipulation or dismissal of women's participation and rights (Shortliffe 2016). As a consequence, in 2014, a draft paragraph concerning gender equality was proposed for the *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* and eventually endorsed in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the States Parties in June 2016. Paragraph 181 is of extreme interest and it reads as follows:

> State Parties shall endeavour to foster the contributions of intangible cultural heritage and its safeguarding to greater gender equality and to eliminating gender-based discrimination while recognizing that

> communities and groups pass on their values, norms and expectations related to gender through intangible cultural heritage and it is, therefore, a privileged context in which group and community members' gender identities are shaped (UNESCO 2016).

The acknowledgment of women's rights emerging from these reports and directives has to be contextualised in a wider framework. Since 2008, the UNESCO's *Medium-Term Strategy* has identified 'Gender Equality' as one of its two global priorities – together with Africa - declaring its commitment to 'making a positive and lasting contribution to women's empowerment and gender equality around the world' (*What UNESCO does for Gender Equality*). These strategic vision documents and programmatic framework have been confirmed for the period 2014-2021 (UNESCO 2014a). In order to reach this objective, UNESCO is developing coordinated actions in its five major programmes: education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, culture, and communication and information. For the purposes of this research, the analysis of the UNESCO documents focuses on the commitment specifically concerning the cultural aspect. As has been discussed in chapter four, section 4.2.5, participation represents an important element throughout the entire process of a World Heritage Site candidacy, and this element is reiterated in the actions of the *Medium-Term Strategy*:

> Ensuring that women and men equally enjoy the right to access, participate in and contribute to cultural life is a guiding principle for UNESCO's work on Culture. The international Cultural Conventions promote the inclusion of all community members in their implementation at the international, national and local levels, encouraging women and men to benefit equally from heritage and creativity (www.en.unesco.org/genderequality/actions).

Despite declaring to be a global reference for innovation and leadership in Gender Equality, what emerges from a CDA is that official documents continue to use a language which denotes a rather male-centred heritage discourse, which does not uncover power relations and gender dynamics of discrimination embedded in some traditional cultural practices. A wider opening up to gender issues can be observed

in recommendations and operational guidelines. Nevertheless, directly changing the language of official and legal documents would have a stronger impact and would declare the agency in contrasting the male biases that characterises the AHD.

### 6.2.3. World Heritage and Gender Equality

Similar omissions in the definition of women's representation and participation could be retraced in the documents specifically concerning the World Heritage List, in which key concepts such as 'outstanding universal value', 'authenticity' and 'integrity', if uncritically accepted and applied, risk preserving and protecting a hierarchy of values based on a dominant gender identity.

The first challenging element in this discussion is the definition of 'universal' in the expression 'outstanding universal value'. In some properties, the heritage values attributed through the nomination files by national or local authorities and heritage professionals may not be recognised by all people or by all communities. The selected set of values could have relevance or not, it could be accepted or contested, following a plurality of identities and meaning-making processes. As far as cultural property is concerned, the term 'universal' must be interpreted as referring to a property which is particularly representative of the culture it is part of. However, its interpretations may vary, and they could also be affected by gender discrimination, in the sense that 'they may reflect power relations within a given culture or society' (Rössler, Cameron and Selfslagh 2017: 6).

As emerges from the analysis of the documents, gender balance and agency in the achievements of both men and women were not part of the early World Heritage discourse. A gender driven language is used in the first World Heritage document, the *World Heritage Convention* (1972). Article 1 describes 'cultural heritage' as divided into three categories: 'monuments', 'groups of buildings' and 'sites'. The latter are defined as the 'works of *man* or the combined works of nature and *man*' (UNESCO 1972). Using the word 'man' with a meaning of general understanding of humanity, this definition does not mention the role of women and implicitly excludes them from the heritage building process and from meaning-making process. The recognition that the original values' framework for the identification of cultural and natural heritage was failing in being comprehensive led to the adoption, in 1994, of the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and*

*Credible World Heritage List*. The aim of this strategy was to overcome the bias towards 'European, historic towns and religious monuments, Christianity, historical period and "elitist" architecture' (UNESCO 1994a), which was revealed by an analysis of the World Heritage List conducted by ICOMOS between 1987 and 1993. This report argued that living and traditional cultures were underrepresented and the World Heritage List was recreating a hierarchy of values (UNESCO 1994b). Nevertheless, the new strategy did not take into consideration the direct link between gender imbalance and site evaluations, avoiding the issue of an internal cultural plurality which has been erased. This raises some thorny issues: could a heritage site be considered of 'universal value' if it does not take account of different interpretations? To what extent should the World Heritage List protect the 'authenticity' of practices and traditions which are an obstacle for women against participating in cultural activities and to achieve empowerment? As noted by Moghadam and Bagheritari, women's rights activists have long argued that 'in order to end women's subordination and discrimination, there must be agreement that "culture" is not a valid justification for gender inequality' (2017: 9).

Another fundamental document in this debate is the *Operational Guidelines* (2017) which, besides the text of the *World Heritage Convention*, are the main tool of the World Heritage List. The Convention's criteria are regularly revised by the World Heritage Committee to reflect the evolution of the World Heritage concept itself. Nevertheless, in its 2017 version, Article 47 still defines 'cultural landscapes' as cultural properties that represent the 'combined works of nature and of *man*', as designated in Article 1 of the *World Heritage Convention*. This male-centred perspective is particularly disruptive as in the majority of cultural landscapes women and men play different roles both in the preservation and use of these places (Rössler et al. 2017: 10). Exploring the ways women are omitted from heritage representation enables us not only to understand the implications and effects at socio-economic and political levels, but also, to reflect on how the introduction of their representation could impact politics. In order to achieve gender equality, many properties have begun to develop specific interpretive programmes that 'offer opportunities to highlight the contribution of women to the history and development of World Heritage sites' (*ibidem*: 10).

The omission of women from World Heritage List documents has been discussed in the UNESCO *Priority Gender Equality Action Plan (2014-2021)*, which, amongst various measures, requires Member States and the governing bodies of UNESCO regulatory instruments 'to establish gender-sensitive, gender-responsive and gender-transformative policies and practices in the field of heritage' (UNESCO 2014b, Paragraph 43: 38). In this sense, the UN *Millennium Development Goals* (2015) are particularly relevant for the cultural sector in that, by giving high priority to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women, they have provided heritage professionals with 'a clear framework for exploring gender studies in cultural heritage' (Vinson 2007: 4). Following the principles suggested by this strategic document, gender equality has become a nodal element in social development and has been introduced in the *Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention*. At Point 23, this policy document requires State Members to:

> i. ensure respect for gender equality throughout the full cycle of World Heritage processes, particularly in the preparation and content of nomination dossiers;
> ii. ensure social and economic opportunities for both women and men in and around World Heritage properties;
> iii. ensure equal and respectful consultation, full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership and representation of both women and men within activities for the conservation and management of World Heritage properties;
> iv. when or where relevant, ensure that gender-rooted traditional practices within World Heritage properties, for example in relation to access or participation in management mechanisms, have received the full consent of all groups within the local communities through transparent consultation processes that fully respects gender equality (UNESCO 2015b: 8)

In this sense a World Heritage nomination is intended as an instrument that supports and encourages Member States to dismantle gender stereotypes and to consider women a strong element in the social development of a nation.

Even in the case of the World Heritage List, what emerges is that despite the attempts to change embedded gender dynamics, a clear difficulty in actively intervening in the modification of internationally recognized documents persists. While in some cases the violation of women's rights and the hierarchical structure of cultural practices are explicit, and thus somehow easier to detect and contest, in many other cases discrimination and limitation to access cultural life, 'lie in a difficult grey area' in which 'identifying the degree of harm to individuals can be extremely problematic and the thorny question is raised of who should make such determinations' (UNESCO 2014e: 53). Policies which do not take into account women's participation in the definition of the heritage would not be able to uncover the underground dynamics and would fail to provide women with capacity-building tools.

An example of this is the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, where women have slowly become autonomous and independent at social and economic levels, accessing both professional training and high career positions. At the same time, as will be analysed in the next section, they have been omitted both from the identification and interpretation of heritage and from management participative practices.

## 6.3. Executive Summary and Management Plan of the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato

### 6.3.1. Introduction

Given the context illustrated in the previous section, it would be understandable to expect that recent documents relating to World Heritage sites should be more attentive to ensure the active engagement of diverse cultural groups, which in this specific case would be women. In this section, therefore, I examine whether heritage discourses have been used in the *Executive Summary* and in the *Management Plan* to include – or not – women's representation and to foster their participation in decision-making processes. As outlined during the conference *UNESCO's soft power today. Fostering Women's Empowerment and Leadership,* 'stereotypes and

unconscious bias continue to create a mental barrier that impedes gender equality' (UNESCOb 2017: 114) also in the recognition of heritage and identity processes.

### 6.3.2. Women's inclusion in the *Executive Summary*

The vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato was nominated as a World Heritage Site as it fulfils two important criteria: it represents an outstanding example of human interaction with the environment and it is bearer of the exceptional value of a living cultural tradition. These characteristics are synthesised in the *Executive Summary* as follows:

> Over the centuries, vineyards, settlements and social forms of life learned to integrate, creating a living landscape where every transformation is the result of Man's determination to make the most of form, content and function for the purposes of grape growing and winemaking (2014c: 9)

The word 'Man', with a capital letter, refers to a general understanding of humankind, which is expected to comprise both men and women. This use is widespread and common in Italian language and culture – and rarely contested, but it is bearer of implicit meanings of gender categorization and a tool for the creation of tacit power relations based on the superiority of men over women. Excluding women from the main framework of this landscape means to implicitly declare that they did not play a role in the creation and development of heritage and identity values, thus legitimating their absence from decisional phases.

In the *Executive Summary*, the heritage site is described as the result of the 'synergies between Man and environment' (*ibidem*: 9) and of 'Man's determination to make the most of form, content and function for the purposes of grape growing and wine making' (*ibidem*: 10). The vineyard landscape is the place where 'Man has been able to integrate a modern and diverse wine distribution network which has preserved a high aesthetic quality' (*ibidem*: 9). The connection between 'Man and Nature' is repeated throughout the document, thus building heritage values on a monolithic concept of the human factor that does not contemplate the existence of different identities. Consequently, the general picture that emerges from this

framework is that of a 'wine culture' which is the result of man's will. The use of this male-oriented language conveys the idea that women do not have their own cultural approach to heritage and identity, nor their own values' system. In other words, and in terms of cultural property, this language does not consider the possibility for different perspectives to be heard and contributes to generating power relations based on a gender bias that supports the superiority of male values in the identity-making process. Women's cultural relations with the landscape are filtered through men's experience and, consequently, they are not expected to have a voice in the identification and interpretation processes. In fact, the *Executive Summary* affirms that 'the transmission of knowledge and experience [is handed down] from father to son' (*ibidem*: 65), reiterating the idea that winegrowing and wine production is dominated by men's expertise. The use of a gender-neutral language, despite this latter being potentially problematic as well, is not considered either. Women are only mentioned once in connection to winegrowing, in a section describing the traditional grape harvest:

> the whole family is involved in harvesting the grapes: the men carry the heavy loads, the women, with their small hands, can reach the bunches hidden among the dense foliage, the children work on the lowest canes and the elderly supervise operations (*ibidem*: 63)

The discourse used is sexist. Harvest is presented through a bucolic and harmonious vision based on gendered roles and stereotypes, which describes women as physically unsuitable for the work in the vineyard, as a mere auxiliary presence during a limited period of the year, thus insinuating that women only have a marginal role in the tradition of the vineyard culture. This perception is reinforced as women are never mentioned in the description of skilled roles, as experts or oenologists, and in power positions, as wine producers or landowners. Despite their participation in the wine culture having been widely recognized (Revelli 1985; National Association *Donne del Vino* 2016; and the outcomes of the interviews analysed in the next section), both in the past and in the present, the *Executive Summary* utilises a patriarchal model based on a dominant male identity position, where women are not included.

Presenting the range of expertise and traditional practices relating to vine and wine, which are the backbone of identity definition, as a prerogative of a male dominant group generates serious issues in the identification of what is 'authentic'. Over the last thirty years women have achieved remarkable accomplishments becoming wine producers and cellar owners. They create, develop and maintain their heritage which they transmit to young generations. What I question is therefore whether the 'outstanding universal value' of the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, as presented in the *Executive Summary*, is representative of female identity and if preserving a male-centred – and anachronistic – interpretation of the vineyard landscape can have implications for power relations between the genders.

### 6.3.3. Management Plan's standards and objectives

The use of a male-centred language and the definition of heritage values through a dominant perspective inevitably influences the standards and objectives established in the *Management Plan*, the main 'instrument of coordination for the management of such a complex picture' (UNESCO 2014d: 6). By synthetizing the heritage and identity values identified in the *Executive Summary*, this document is intended as a methodological reference in terms of 'active protection of the landscape, strategic programming of directions, and as a basis for the government and concentration board of the property, but also as an operative monitoring instrument' (*ibidem*: 7). Given the content and the formal gaps observed through the discourse analysis of the *Executive Summary*, it is challenging to explore to what extent women have been considered in the development of inclusive policies and programmes and whether women's empowerment has been promoted through the definition of active participation in the heritage, as required by UNESCO recommendations. As the *Management Plan* is a direct result of the *Executive Summary*, it is predictable that the document does not incorporate women's empowerment components in the proposed planning processes, polices and strategies, leaving unattended the UNESCO's suggestions to develop methodologies that challenge gender discriminations, as well as UN goals for gender equality. The thorny issue at hand is that the national and local authorities involved in the management of the World Heritage Site do not perceive women's omission as the result of a power relation which needs to be eradicated, or women's empowerment

as an objective for a sustainable social development. On the contrary, the *Management Plan* is presented as a 'UNESCO site management model that can be considered one of the most innovative' (*ibidem*: 7). Moreover, the heritage professionals and the local authorities who contributed to compiling the *Management Plan* affirm that the standards and objectives established are the outcomes of a long bottom-up process of negotiation which engaged different stakeholders. They claim that 'over the years, all the actors throughout the territory have been involved and have shared the ideas and objectives that are at the basis of the candidature' (*ibidem*: 6). Nevertheless, it is not clear who these stakeholders are, and, as evidenced from the analysis of the interviews in chapter five, the decision-making processes have not been perceived as inclusive in the way described in official documents.

Amongst the objectives of the *Management Plan* is the development of direct participation of the 'local community' in the preservation of the site (*ibidem*: 79). However, this 'local community' (always defined using the singular) is conceived as a monolithic entity, devoid of any cultural shade, and approached with an uncritical method. This implies that there is no understanding of the different groups that constitute the landscape, or indeed of their interests and needs. As explained, the aim of representation and participation is to develop social inclusion, understood as 'full integration and participation of disadvantaged groups in working activities, leisure activities, cultural enrichment activities which are of interest to the community' (*ibidem*: 116). What is not explained is who these disadvantaged groups are, on which basis they are considered 'disadvantaged' (just economic or even socio-cultural?) and how they could be engaged in decision-making processes – should they want to. From the perspective of the omission of women, this definition of participation and the attempt at integration are not relevant and effective for a group that is not considered 'disadvantaged', but is formally excluded in any case. In fact, the *Management Plan* does not introduce any programme or policy aiming at the wider inclusion of women, suggesting that other strategies should be developed, and other actors should be involved if women want to be integrated in the heritage discourse of the vineyard landscape.

What emerges from the analysis of both the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* is a conceptual gap between the definition of the cultural

differences which have to be considered for the development of policies and programmes able to empower women. The question raised is whether this unbalanced representation within documents mirrors a more widely spread social and cultural exclusion. If this is the case, are women aware of this misrepresentation? Or is male bias so dominant in the wine culture as to be accepted and not contested? If so, how could female representation be activated, and capacity-building developed? If it is true that these documents do not apply the recommendations suggested in the *Medium-Term Strategy* (UNESCO 2014a) nor those of the *Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 2015b), it is worth remembering that the accepted nomination file is a revision of an earlier submitted proposal presented by the Italian government in January 2011. This first version received a 'deferral' judgment by the World Heritage Committee in June 2012 (UNESCO 2012b) and had to be modified in order to satisfy all the criteria. The *Advisory Body Evaluation* (ICOMOS 2014) provided a series of indications and recommendations, but there is no mention of the evident gap in the inclusion of different cultural perspectives, and no reference to the exclusion of women from the interpretation and representation of this site. This demonstrates that gender imbalance struggles to be recognised, and that the power relations of gendered cultural dynamics are difficult to eradicate.

### 6.3.4. Women in the history and traditions of the vineyard landscapes

Exclusion is not only determined by the use of a specific language, but also by the choice of stories that are included in the mainstream narrative of a place and the voices that are heard. Therefore, levels of recognition concerning individuals or groups' participation in politics could be understood through the analysis of the mainstream historical narratives. In fact, the only historical female character mentioned in the *Executive Summary* for her merits in the improvement of the wine production is Juliette Colbert, Marchioness of Barolo. Her character is remembered because:

> the decisive chapter in the history of Barolo and its homonymous wine was written with the last generation of the Falletti, the Marchioness

> Juliette Colbert of Malèvrier. A woman of great culture and a benefactress, she was responsible for the creation of the original productive core of the *Azienda Marchesi of Barolo*, still active today, where she introduced oenological innovations into wine production that made the Barolo a wine for ageing of exceptional and internationally recognized quality (2014c: 310).

These few lines celebrate the important role played by Juliette Colbert in the introduction of a new vinification phase which contributed to making the Barolo wine a product of excellence, internationally appreciated (*ibidem*: 126). Unexpectedly for the society of the nineteenth century, Juliette was able to enter a world dominated by men, made up of famous wine producers and illustrious oenologists, and to gain their trust. At the time, the highest positions of this sector were open only to men, as expertise and professional training were not accessible to women. Even from a cultural perspective, drinking wine – especially in public – was not considered a proper activity for women.

Despite having affirmed the key role played by the Marchioness, in the section *History and Development. General History* the long list of famous entrepreneurs and oenologists does not mention any woman, and even Juliette Colbert disappears from the mainstream narrative only to reappear in the section dedicated to the local history of Barolo. Her presence in this story seems to be a mere addition, rather than a real integration of women's cultural contribution. In fact, she is presented as part of the local history of Barolo, but she is not perceived as crucial enough to be introduced in the general history of this area. In the description of the Ratti Museum, a museum dedicated to the wine production chain located in the small village of La Morra, near Barolo, Juliette Colbert is cited in the list of the 'illustrious men who have contributed to the history of winegrowing' (*ibidem*: 144), associated with the name of her husband, and her female identity is not even recognized. Revealingly, there is no reference to how her female perspective influenced - or not - her approach to wine production and landscape. Did she merely use a male approach, or did her cultural background and gender identity emerge in the management of the vineyard? More relevance is given to her charity activities, the typical activities of a respectable aristocratic woman of the

nineteenth century, which satisfy the traditional gendered roles. This ambiguous interpretation and the reticence to celebrate her as a woman engaged in wine development is not limited to the *Executive Summary*, but it is evident also in the Wine Museum hosted in the Falletti's family castle in Barolo. The narration of the museum is developed around the history of wine, with a focused exhibition dedicated to Juliette Colbert. The representation of her contribution to the development of innovative wine production practices is marginalised, while her role as benefactress is widely described and celebrated, recreating the traditional gendered roles which understand aristocratic women as properly engaged in charitable activities. Nevertheless, her belonging to the aristocracy guaranteed her a certain visibility and the possibility to play a part in the creation of local heritage and identity.

In contrast, women workers, belonging to lower classes, are excluded from the mainstream narrative of the vineyard landscape and are apparently absent both from public life as well as from family memories and local traditions. This lack of representation opens another level of discrimination within the generic group of 'women', determined by class: Juliette could find a place in the mainstream narrative because of her aristocratic background, while working-class women' stories have been omitted. As noted by feminist historians since the 1970s, omission from history is not only based on gender, but is also influenced by socio-economic factors (Gluck 1977). In a panel titled *Half the Population – Women in Victoria*, in *The Story of Victoria* exhibition at the Museum of Victoria in 1985, Elizabeth Willis states:

> Women have mostly been left out of history. Their participation in the past has been ignored. They have been hidden from view. Yet women are central to the past – to the making of history. Not only are the 'famous' women part of our history, but also the vast numbers of those who worked in the home and in the paid workforce. The relationship between public and private life, paid and unpaid work, has not been recognised (cit. in Cramer and Witcomb 2018: 1).

Describing the memories collected by winegrower's families, the *Executive Summary* claims that local people 'jealously conserve the tools used by their fathers

in their homes, displaying them proudly in memory of their origins and long-standing family traditions' (2014c: 65). Women are not only excluded from the historical narrative, but as workers have been disinherited of their local and families' memories. Women' memories and values rapidly disappear from the representation of the rural lives narrated in the Bersano Museums, which preserve the objects that the wine producer Arturo Bersano started to collect in the 1950s. This collection represents 'the most sorrowful and together the most joyous evidence of peasant-oenological civilization' (*ibidem*: 198). As the *Executive Summary* notes, these museums contain the 'true spirit of its creator, that is, to condense and tell the stories of the earth, the slowly and simple evolution of its men, slices of different ages though similar in their common spirit' (*ibidem*: 198). Once again, men are conceived of as the main characters in this story and the actors who have shaped this landscape, both physically and culturally. However, 'between logs, kegs and agricultural carts you feel the gaze of the farmers, the changing of seasons, the women's songs, the suffering, the relationship between man and his land' (*ibidem*: 198). Here, women seem to have reconquered a small place in the story, but still limited in their relevance in the preservation and creation of cultural practices. Another element that contributes to excluding and forgetting women is the limited number of pictures depicting women within the *Executive Summary*. In fact, twenty out of thirty-one images represent men working in the vineyards or in wine cellars (nearly 65%), while women appear only in eleven pictures (35%). More striking is the fact that there are no images of famous women and the six images of local characters all represent men.

This analysis raises a challenging question: why has the *Executive Summary* largely omitted women from the narration of this cultural landscape? Using Mary Anne Staniszewski words 'what is omitted from the past reveals as much about a culture as what is recorded as history and circulate as collective memory' (1998: xxi). The narration used in the *Executive Summary* is the result of local authorities and heritage professionals' decisions and selection, but to what extent does it mirror the narration of local people and, more specifically, their engagement with the stories that contributed to women's empowerment?

## 6.4. Interviews with Women Wine Producers in Langhe-Roero and Monferrato

### 6.4.1. Introduction

*Nobody would know these stories if it wasn't for old women like me*

*(*Giovanna Rivetti, Appendix 6*)*

In October 2017, I conducted interviews with four women wine producers, two in the 'Langa of Barolo' core zone and two in the 'Canelli and Asti Spumante' core zone: Chiara Boschis (Azienda Agricola E. Pira e Figli, Barolo), Anna Abbona (Marchesi di Barolo, Barolo), Giovanna Rivetti (Contratto, Canelli), Laura Cavalleris (Bosca, Canelli).

- Chiara Boschis is well-known in the wine sector, as she was the only female member of the so-called 'Barolo Boys', a group of small wine producers who between the 1980's and 1990's radically changed the way of producing the Barolo wine, contributing to making it famous at an international level (Fig. 15). Chiara was the first woman of her generation to run a vineyard in Barolo.


Fig. 15: *Barolo Boys*. Accessible at: http://www.baroloboysthemovie.com/ (Accessed: 25th May 2019)

- Anna Abbona is the owner of the historical wine cellars 'Marchesi di Barolo' established by the Marchioness Juliette Colbert. Anna's family purchased the vineyard from the Falletti Barolo family at the beginning of the twentieth century (Fig. 16).


Fig. 16: Anna Abbona and her family in their wine cellars 'Marchesi di Barolo'. Accessible at: https://www.marchesibarolo.com/cantina-marchesi-di-barolo/marchesi-di-barolo-oggi (Accessed: 22nd November 2019)

- Giovanna Rivetti, together with her brothers, is the current owner of the Contratto winery, a historical cellar in Canelli (Fig. 17). She has been working in the wine sector for more than forty years.


Fig. 17: Giovanna Rivetti. Accessible at: http://www.la-spinetta.com/images/giovanna%20rivetti.png (Accessed: 25th May 2019)

- Laura Cavalleris is export manager for Bosca, a family-run winery which has been producing wine since 1831. Laura is not the only woman playing an important role in the winery, as the two Bosca sisters (Fig. 18) are the current owners together with their brother. Both Contratto and Bosca belong to the World Heritage site for their 'underground cathedrals'.

Fig. 18: The Bosca sisters. Accessible at: http://www.saporidelpiemonte.net/blog/riconoscimento-alla-bosca-di-canelli-asti-un-premio-come-migliore-azienda-al-femminile-dellanno/ (Accessed: 25th May 2019)

The aim of these interviews was to understand if, and to what extent, women wine producers had been included in the decisional phases of the nomination process, whether their understanding of heritage values and meanings was taken into consideration and the possible aspects that could be developed or improved through more attentive cultural policies and programmes. The framework I used to analyse to outcomes is based on the key concepts of 'heritage identification', 'representation' and 'participation'. An interesting concept which I extrapolated from these interviews is that of 'imitation', as all the interviewees understand their everyday practices and works as an example for the future generations and as a source to foster gender equality, both within the wine culture and in other sectors. Given the specificity of this topic, I decided to approach it using leading questions in order to obtain precise information which could be important in relation to the research project. The questions we discussed are the following:

1. Have you been engaged in the definition of what is heritage in this area during the designation process of the World Heritage site?

2. If yes, to what extent? Do you feel you need to be more engaged in the decision of what should be preserved and represented (that is, not only in an initial phase but as an ongoing process)?

3. If no, how do you think wine producers should be engaged in the preservation as well as in the interpretation of the site?

4. Do you feel that the cultural, social, economic role of women is well represented in the narrative of the local heritage (exhibitions, museums, festivals)?

5. Do you think that the World Heritage designation could become an effective tool to fight the "glass ceiling" (as part of a sustainable development)?

6. Which type of partnerships and projects do you think could help in empowering women within the context of the heritage of wine production?

As has been previously argued, in some cases gender discrimination could lie in a grey zone and be naturalised through cultural practices, thus making it difficult to clearly reveal power relations. The data generated from the interviews are a tool that can be used to discuss if these women wine producers perceive – or not – gendered dynamics within the vineyard landscape, whether they counteract potential discrimination, and which are the main challenges in activating their participation to the development of cultural programmes and policies.

### 6.4.2. Women Wine Producers

The first question I discussed with my interviewees was:

*Have you been engaged in the definition of what is heritage in this area during the designation process of the World Heritage site?*

As discussed in section two, UNESCO encourages State Members to include female perspectives and cultural diversities in the interpretation and management of World Heritage Sites, promoting the development of participatory strategies able to challenge male-centred socio-cultural practices. The omission of women's representations from the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* demonstrates that these recommendations have not been incorporated or

transposed into local policies. Thus, my first question focused on understanding whether women wine producers, who I approach as stakeholders, have been included in the nomination process and if their perspectives were considered during the decision-making process and identification of heritage values.

> Not personally, but I knew that they were working on it. I do not know who they consulted. Anyway, it is thanks to wine producers who work on quality – as I do – that the heritage of the Langa has been preserved.
>
> Chiara Boschis

> We are proud of this recognition and we like to think that we contributed to this mention (…) We are thus satisfied of the way the vineyards and this region are represented by the UNESCO World Heritage site.
>
> Anna Abbona

The other two interviewees also confirmed that they had not been directly engaged in the identification of heritage values and that their opinions concerning what represents women's identity, culture and heritage had not been taken into consideration. These words strengthen the impression that women have not been considered as stakeholders *per se*. This neutrality could be interpreted as a sign of gender equality or as an attempt to overcome power relations, but it also demonstrates that female perspectives, women's will to become protagonists of their future and the future of this landscape, and the strategies they use to empower their roles have not been taken into account. As I further explore in this section, women wine producers are actively seeking to better define their professional and socio-cultural roles within the wine sector through their quotidian work, practices and experiences. Such engagement is recognised and valued by the interviewees, who all supported women's empowerment and the need – and right - for them to access relevant and decisional positions. As Daniele affirms, 'in the past women used to work both in the vineyard and at home, but now they play relevant roles. They entered the sector as "wife of" or "daughter of" but they are becoming independent and they construct their path on their own. And this is a very positive thing' and Franco said, 'women are becoming better wine producers than men'.

Nevertheless, the women I interviewed are more aware that the path for a real gender equality is still long:'women's situation still has to improve. Our landscape is too male-centred; maybe cultural projects could help' (Emma).

A first analysis of the answers reveals that women wine producers are not worried by this lack of cultural representativeness, as they did not overtly complain. Rather, they are proud of the work they have done over the last decades and they are satisfied by their position, independent of the official recognition that should come from both local authorities and UNESCO documents. These women are deeply aware of their role in the definition of this landscape. Chiara strongly declared, 'it is thanks to wine producers who work on quality – as I do – that the heritage of the Langa has been preserved'. They are conscious of the great innovations they brought to their cellars and they grew up in family's estates where fathers taught them the knowledge of winegrowing and skills of wine producing. As Giovanna remembers:

> My parents taught me to work on the quality of the vineyard and the wine. My father had this tradition, this passion for the wine, but even my mother. My mother and my father have always encouraged us, they have always told us 'go ahead, you are able to do it'. Even during the difficult moments… sometimes my mum told my dad 'but are we sending this girl in the vineyard alone?' and my dad 'don't worry, she knows what to do'.

The image that emerges from these interviews is that of families who have seen the role of the woman as integral in the vineyard landscape. Thus, an image which contradicts the words of the *Executive Summary*, where women are largely omitted, and the knowledge and skills are presented as passed down on the basis of an exclusive 'father and son' relationship. Women's representation in the vineyard landscape turns out to be ambivalent. On the one hand, within some open-minded families, especially in the context of wine producers and cellar owners, they appear as having the same, or at least similar, rights as men. On the other hand, the mainstream narratives and the heritage discourses avoid mentioning the innovation they brought to this culture and also their commitment in safeguarding and preserving it.

The second question aimed to understand whether these women want to be engaged – or not – in heritage practices.

*If yes, do you feel you need to be more engaged in the decision of what should be preserved and represented? If no, how do you think wine producers should be engaged in the preservation as well as in the interpretation of the site?*

As emerges from the analysis of the previous answers, these women are aware of the role they play at local level and despite the lack of official recognition and representation they continue to remember and share their own heritage. In fact, they did not express a particular regret over not having been included in the nomination process.

> Actually, [the landscape] has improved in the last thirty years through the work done to arrive where we are today. I continue to do my job in a serious and steady way, to fight my battle for a clean agriculture (I have an organic certification) and to fly the flag of my Langa, both in Italy and abroad.
>
> Chiara Boschis

> We are confident that UNESCO did and is still doing a wide and accurate research, but we are always available, as deep connoisseur of our lands, to an eventual dialogue.
>
> Anna Abbona

All four wine producers are conscious of the important role they play within their family companies. In this case, the situation is even overturned. Instead of answering the question 'how could UNESCO help you', they offer their knowledge to UNESCO for a better management of the vineyard landscape. This perspective is particularly interesting, as one of UNESCO's objectives, as well as of the *Executive Summary* and *Management Plan*, is to generate awareness in the population. Apparently, women are more aware of their relevance than the local authorities and documents which should be responsible for their empowerment. The last two

questions, explicitly challenging the exclusion of women from cultural representation of the heritage site, aimed to stimulate a deeper insight and help in making issues concerning male-female power relations more evident.

*Do you feel that the cultural, social, economic role of women is well represented in the narrative of the local heritage (exhibitions, museums, festivals)?*

> If not represented, it is achieved in the daily work of many women that today are at the front row of many farms in Langa. And do not forget that we are 'the strong ring'!
>
> Chiara Boschis

> Our cellar was born from the dream of a great woman, Juliet Colbert, so we have always felt the 'female' part of our job. Nevertheless, we are confident that in Italy they are working in the right direction so that women could play important roles, a reality that it is already consolidated in the wine sector.
>
> Anna Abbona

> The two sisters of the family have always taken part in the promotion of the family cellars. Since they were two little girls, they spend their weekends guiding visitors in the cellars… because we always wanted them to be open to the public.
>
> Laura Cavallaris

What emerges is that the role of women is much stronger than the way it is represented in the official documents and in mainstream narratives. As described by Chiara, women's active participation in the creation of wine culture is evident in the everyday performances and she cites Nuto Revelli's book *The Strong Ring* (1985), the most important literary work about the paramount role of women in this vineyard landscape. This book, which will be analysed in the next section, has become a milestone, a reference for women and it has often been cited during the interviews. Even in the case of Anna, the reference to Juliette Colbert is a sign of the

powerful influence female models can have on new generations, not only in the wine sector, but also in other fields that have traditionally excluded or marginalized women. Despite the pride they take in being a nodal element in the actual story of the vineyard landscape, they seem not to be bothered that heritage discourses are excluding them and that their stories do not have a place in the mainstream narration of the heritage site. But could lack of cultural representation be influenced by a wider socio-economic context?

The limitation of the interviews is that these women belong to open-minded contexts which have contributed to supporting their empowerment and helped them achieve gender equality. Different levels of discrimination could emerge from a wider survey, as the one promoted in 2016 by the non-profit national association *Le Donne del Vino* (*Women of Wine*). This association was founded in 1988 with the aim of supporting the wine culture from a woman's perspective and promoting the role of women in the entire wine production chain. Today, *Le Donne del Vino* has about seven hundred members who are mainly wine producers, restaurateurs, cellar owners, sommeliers and journalists.

In 2016, the association conducted a national survey concerning the condition of women working in the oenological sector, in order to understand to what extent they were integrated and the level of gender equality achieved. Despite the survey's national character and the fact that it does not provide specific information about the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, its outcomes are a meaningful resource for exploring the inclusion of women – or exclusion – in cultural representation and generating useful insights which could help to better understand which objectives cultural policies and programmes should prioritize.

The general picture depicted by this report is that the average woman has higher education, often paid less than her male colleagues and still faces expressions of sexism. During the press conference for the presentation of the report, the then president of the association, Donatella Cinelli Colombini, explained that the data collected evidenced some socio-cultural improvements such as the high educational level of most members, but also reveals some unexpected situations, such as a level of sexism which was higher than expected (*Donne del Vino* 2016: 1). If nowadays women can access expertise more easily and reach high career positions than in the

past, such as owners or co-owners within the wine cellars where they work, a critical analysis of the data generated demonstrates that a tendency to frame women in gendered roles is still persistent.

As professionals, their acknowledgement changes depending on their work situation. Independent wine producers and cellar owners declared that they are paid the same as their male colleagues (*ibidem*: 7). Almost all the cellar owners (96%) affirmed that they pay the same salary to both male and female workers (*ibidem*: 7). For the same reason, it is not surprising that the question about sexist behaviours obtained 85% of negative answers (*ibidem*: 7). Nevertheless, some of the interviewees admitted that women continue to struggle to prove their worth within family companies where they are co-owners with men. If expertise, as outlined before, is more accessible, it is also true that many wine producers work in family companies and are often primarily perceived as 'daughter of' and 'wife of', rather than being recognised for their own merits.

Drawing of these data and on the programme's goals expressed in the UNESCO's *Medium-Term Strategy* (2014), should the authorities and professionals managing this World Heritage site be asked to actively contribute in overcoming social and economic injustices through a gender inclusive representation of the landscape? I discussed this point by enquiring:

*Do you think that the World Heritage designation could become an effective tool to fight the 'glass ceiling' (as part of a sustainable development)?*

> The fact that a woman still has to struggle to reach power position is unacceptable, especially nowadays. For this reason, in our cellar we seek to enhance the female presence, both as family and as farm. It would be fantastic if the UNESCO World Heritage would do the same in the rest of the world, not celebrating women *a priori*, rather helping in the education that men and women could reach the same achievements.
>
> Anna Abbona

> I will tell you something: things don't change. This is just a façade, and it shouldn't be like this. [In this sector] women mainly work in

> communication, in hosting… but it doesn't mean they are active…this is something else. If I can be sincere with you, I see very few women in the vineyards. And I go all over these hills! My niece started with me five years ago, despite she studied for something completely different. And we needed someone… she likes it…
>
> Giovanna Rivetti

This question was able to provide some challenging insights into the condition of women and gender imbalance, two points that struggled to emerge from the previous discussion. In particular, Giovanna claimed that this participation in the wine sector is still superficial and that stereotypes are still strongly perceived. Through her words she confirmed that women risk being simply added through marginal roles, rather than being integrated into the management of this landscape. Anna also admitted that gender equality has not been achieved and she trusts UNESCO, through the action of the World Heritage status, to play a part in the empowerment of women. What is meaningful is that all these women perceive themselves and the work they do as a model that should be followed and they openly declare their agency in supporting gender equality. For example, Anna's cellar enhances female presence and Giovanna is teaching her niece how to work in the vineyards.

A positive piece of information generated by the 2016 report is that 82% of the interviewees declared to have been inspired by other women and used them as models (*Donne del Vino* 2016: 1). The importance of role models in changing cultural norms was recently pointed out during the *UNESCO's Soft Power Today: Fostering Women's Empowerment and Leadership* conference (2017). On this occasion, the importance of mentors and role models for women and girls in breaking gender stereotypes was mentioned as a tool to generate awareness and encourage change. Indeed, from an early age, 'girls learn that they are not expected by society to undertake some specific trainings or roles, which are traditionally reserved to boys' (UNESCO 2017b: IX). This mental obstacle is the cause of female under-representation in certain areas and it is therefore important to break these barriers and inspire girls, but also boys, to challenge cultural stereotypes. As stated during the UNESCO conference, 'female models play a key role in illustrating what women

have achieved and can achieve' (*ibidem*: IX) and can encourage women leadership in the next generations.

As I understand the cultural underrepresentation of women as part of a complex socio-economic situation, I concluded the interviews with the following question:

*Which type of partnerships and projects do you think could help in empowering women within the context of the heritage of wine production?*

> By helping families with primary services as pre-schools and sport and educational centres, which has always been a sore subject in Italy. Women need efficient services in order to be able to work easily without having to renounce to our being women when they do not have help from the family itself, grandparents for examples.
>
> Chiara Boschis

> Unfortunately, in Italy there are not equal rights for men and women. It could appear so on paper, but not in real life. To eradicate an atavistic concept so rooted (…) it would be necessary to start from education by teaching children that there is no difference between girls and boys, women and men and that they both could be whatever they want in the future. We would like to start from the school and tell the new generations that equality is an achievement and not an obstacle. And we would take the example of what has been happening, for many generations, in our cellar, a place which bears witness of how the female role in the history of wine is valuated even thanks to the job and commitment of a great woman, Juliette Colbert.
>
> Anna Abbona

None of the wine producers mentioned UNESCO or local authorities as tools able to enhance their empowerment. The only cultural institution mentioned was the school, perceived as a safe space where models could be passed down and children taught gender equality as an opportunity.

As emerged from Chiara's words, women are still conceived as first responsible for family management. A commitment which is hardly compatible with the work demands in the wine sector. These everyday challenges that women have to continuously face demonstrate that actual local (and national) policies and programmes are failing in empowering women. The outcomes of these interviews are interesting as they point out how cultural omission is related to socio-economic discrimination. As argued by Isabelle Vinson, 'the inclusion of art and culture in international development agendas offers a major opportunity to re-appraise the role that women play in contemporary societies and hence to fine-tune development policies' (2007: 5). To be omitted from the narrative of the landscape and from the identification and interpretation of heritage values is strictly intertwined with being excluded from decisions concerning the management and economic development of a heritage site. For this reason, when drafting documents, policies and programmes, local authorities and heritage professionals should consider the consequences that the choice of including or excluding stories and memories has on the everyday life of a group.

In the case of this vineyard landscape, gender imbalance lies in a grey zone, in the sense that an explicit conflict is absent, but at the same time it is implicitly expressed, with women manifesting satisfaction in their achievements. Nevertheless, a latent perception of discriminating practices, if not in their own context then at least in other people experiences, could be detected through an analysis of the interviewees' words. These women show their ability to produce cultural and identity values and to be aware of their role despite it not being officially recognised. They manifest their agency through their everyday practices and experiences. If on the one hand, their participation in the definition of heritage values should not be forced; it is also true, that the representation of their values could be a powerful generator of awareness-raising. In fact, in order to achieve a more diverse representation and interpretation it is necessary to secure a more diverse participation. In this sense, cultural representation of women in the interpretation of the vineyard landscape is important because of the larger macro power effects it has: being mentioned in the main narrative is a means to legitimize a wider relevance in the management and preservation of the site.

### 6.4.3. Nuto Revelli

A milestone in the process that led to a wider recognition of the role of women in the vineyard landscape and in the wine culture is the book *L'anello forte* (*The strong ring*) by Nuto Revelli, published in 1985. In this text, which represented a reference point for at least two generations, the writer gives voice to the peasant women who have traditionally been omitted from the representation of the history of this landscape. For six years (1985, *Introduction* eBook), Revelli travelled across the region and interviewed hundreds of women. The objective of his research was to give a voice to the peasant woman, poor or not, so that she could eventually write her story (*ibidem*, *Introduction* eBook). In particular, he was interested in understanding the network of heavy material and symbolic constraints in which women were imprisoned and in unpacking the expression of a female individuality that, in many cultural and social contexts but especially in the peasant culture, struggled to define itself. The complexity of his research was also due to the historical period he analysed, the decades that preceded and followed the Second World War, characterized by a traumatic, chaotic and sudden socio-cultural change from a peasant society into an industrial society.

The origins of the book are connected with Revelli's literary experience of other previous works, in particular *L'ultimo fronte* (*The last front*, 1971) and *Il mondo dei vinti* (*The losers' world*, 1980): a social commitment to giving voice to those soldiers who had been forgotten and erased from the national history. In order to preserve these memories, he interviewed survivors and collected thousands of letters that were sent from the front. These correspondences were a direct and rich testimony, a heritage of the peasant culture through a bottom-up perspective of history. However, it was during this research that Revelli realised the existence of another category which had been omitted from the mainstream, national narrative: women. In fact, women have traditionally been marginalised from stories of war, stories that see men out in front. The understanding of the masculine history as the only one worth telling has also been noted by Graham et al. who described how conventional stereotypes of gender often promote national heritage through the lens of 'war and its ethos of [masculine] glory and sacrifice, while women are relegated to a domestic role' and considered as 'the keepers of the hearth' (2000: 25).

Revelli soon understood that women (mothers, sisters, daughters or wives), who preserved the letters and the memories of the soldiers, were the depositaries of an immense intangible cultural heritage and he defined them as 'my precious interlocutors' (1985, *Introduction* eBook). It is therefore during the writing of these two books that Revelli developed a special sensitivity towards women's situation in relation to history and the performance of gendered power relations they were part of. As he states, cultural constraints take for granted that the man is the one expected to tell the stories. Women were not allowed to take part in the discussion and this dominant male presence was even reinforced physically: the man sat at the table with the interviewer; in the meantime, the woman stood in a corner of the room 'as the kitchen's space did not belong to her' (*ibidem*, *Introduction* eBook). Despite the author being eager to listen to women's perspectives and attempting to engage both voices and to compare them, activating participation turned out to be extremely difficult, as 'the woman was stingy of words because she respected the tradition, because she wanted or have to make her husband credible […] but she listened to everything and she judged everything' (*ibidem*, *Introduction* eBook). Unlocking power relations, and thus questioning the traditional patriarchal system at the base of the peasant society, was not possible within a discussion where the couple was together, as the husband would not have permitted his wife, or other female members of the family, to express their thoughts. This description recalls the words written by Susan Armitage, who explains that 'the very act of focusing on women and asking them to "speak for themselves" is a challenge to traditional male-centred history' (1983: 4). For this reason, Revelli decided to dedicate a research project focused exclusively on women, in order to give them the space they were never allowed to occupy. The use of oral history as a methodology for capturing the more intimate aspects of everyday lives and for documenting women's lives is an approach that was favoured by feminist historians from the 1970s. They recognised 'the unique potential of oral history, the ability to move beyond the written record – which reflects the experiences of more privileged women, usually white and educated – to document the lives of all kinds of women' (Gluck 1977: 4). Revelli's interviews reveal the image of a woman who had suffered, but who was alive and enriched by an internal strength, which was expressed through an enthusiasm – or at least trust – about the future. This was a projection to the future which was bearer

of signs of autonomy and release from a sense of inferiority that had oppressed the women their entire life. This enthusiasm manifested itself through a peculiar transmission from mother to daughter of a heritage made from the desire of rebellion against a given condition and the capacity to change it, as soon as the conditions were suitable (1985, *Introduction* eBook).

During my interviews with them, three women wine producers and five women (that is 33% of the women I interviewed) cited Revelli and his collection of oral histories. The book can be considered as tool in the validation of women's empowerment, as the author provided new generations with a powerful image of the woman, no longer passively relegated to gendered roles, but rather aware of her situation and willing to change it. In the afterword of the 1998 edition, Anna Rossi-Doria – daughter of the politician Manlio Rossi-Doria, who was Revelli's close friend - described how the centrality of the female character emerges from these stories. Using her words, 'the evidence collected by Revelli shows how the family and the peasant society, crossed by migrations and wars, owe to these women their continuity and their survival' (*ibidem*, *Afterward* eBook). The merit of Revelli has been to present women as conscious actors of the story they lived and to provide young women with models, challenging a male-centred society that was rarely contested.

Despite the *Executive Summary* citing many local writers and intellectuals for their important contribution to the narration of the vineyard landscape's memories and culture, Revelli is never mentioned. The relevance that this author had – and still has – not only in generating awareness about the role of women, but also of the memories, meanings and values of the peasant culture, has not been recognized. Why does the *Executive Summary* not celebrate this author, despite his fundamental restitution of the local culture and identity? Why did local authorities and heritage professionals decide not to include this book, despite its importance for women? This case raises yet again the question of who has the right to decide what could or could not be included as part of heritage. As Revelli declares in the *Introduction*, his interest in the oral and social history, and its 'bottom-up' movement, was born to address the 'deafness' of the academic culture, becoming a potential tool for meaning-making. Is this deafness still characterizing the approach to women's culture? Could the choices made throughout official documents be considered as an

attempt to limit the participation of 'non-experts' and of a group which is alternative to the dominant cultural framework?

## 6.5. Conclusion

Understanding and working with concepts of 'heritage', 'landscape' and 'participation' by using a gender perspective as an analytical tool is a way to explore how the world is experienced by individuals and groups. Despite being frequently reduced to a secondary status, rather than being considered as a 'subject in its own right' (Wilson 2018: 3), gender should be used as a mode of critique for the modern era so to challenge socio-cultural issues and prompt a dynamic and reforming cultural agenda. The data I extrapolated from the documents and the interviews reveal the persistence of a dominant male driven construction and interpretation of heritage and the need to rethink strategies and policies for the empowerment of women. In the context of participatory practices, the research on issues concerning the connections between heritage and gender is useful to disclose the 'complex relationships between a person's sense of heritage, place and identity and the social and political networks within which they sit' (Smith 2008: 173). Actually, gender can address more than the process of identity formation (Wilson 2018: 9). What I understood from the interviews to women wine producers is that both identity and heritage are performed as a means of establishing networks of power, capital authority and as a process of resistance. Most importantly, heritage – an intangible heritage made of experiences and everyday practices – is conceived as their contribution to develop a more sustainable present and future. It is from this still peripheral position that women can act to challenge established norms. As claimed by Wilson, 'it is the importance of being liminal that must be vaunted to oppose the tyranny of "normal"; this is undertaken not just for those who are cast aside from what is defined by tradition, creed or custom as "regular" but also to liberate those who are weighed down under those same definitions' (Wilson 2018: 7).

The analysis of the UNESCO documents suggests a need to rethink the concept of 'universal value' and 'authenticity' in the definition of a World Heritage Site. The current debates concerning the development of inclusive practices outline that preservation and management policies should take place 'within a framework that assures that people of both genders have appropriate access to their heritage

and benefit from its presence' (Kassem 2016: 54). How could a World Heritage property have 'universal value' if it does not integrate all the voices within it? And if a heritage is based on discriminatory cultural practices, should UNESCO support the preservation of their 'authenticity'?

Without a critical approach to these issues, the risk is that women are just superficially added to, rather than integrated into, the identification processes of identity and meaning-making. The aim of developing inclusive approaches is to offer mutual benefits both to the site itself and to the entire community and 'the inclusion of yet excluded community members should be seen as an opportunity to enhance the preservation of World Heritage properties, rather than a burden' (*ibidem*: 54). Nevertheless, the engagement of underrepresented groups should not be considered as an unproblematic process. Often, the exclusion is so rooted and naturalised in the local culture that raising awareness and activating participation could turn out to be a challenging objective. As has emerged from the analysis of the *Executive Summary*, this document was not able to identify the actual socio-economic questions relating to gender which could influence the cultural development of the site. At the same time, the data generated by the interviews with women wine producers suggest that their personal objectives and achievements are not contextualised in a wider vision of gender equality. In other words, the lack of engagement and participation in cultural practices and activities is not perceived as an exclusion from the everyday life of the vineyard landscape, because these women already have their place within this site. The identification of values seems to lead to the construction of two different heritages: the one created by local authorities and heritage professionals through official documents, and the local heritage built through daily cultural and socio-economic practices. Using Blake's words, 'a better awareness of gender and other diversities within communities can help in the design of participatory approaches that respond better to the wishes of all community members' (Blake 2018: 212).

# Chapter Seven – Conclusion

## 7.1. Framing cultural participation as a human right

This thesis has argued for the need to explore new participatory and inclusive methods in the context of the identification of the concrete and real effects that specific heritage discourses have on the everyday and their ideological significance. The aim has been to critically address 'participation' in order to understand the power relationships at play within a UNESCO cultural landscape and reflect on how future cultural policies which could commit with sustainable preservation and management practices could be developed. The outcomes of my research demonstrate that the idea that heritage places may have 'social significance' is still weakly developed in listing processes and that the meanings attributed by ordinary people and local communities are often underrepresented. As remarked by Clark (2001: 65), 'the basis of heritage protection is the weight given in law and in government planning policy to a series of different types of heritage asset (listed monuments and buildings)', which risk omitting the feelings, memories, sense of belonging and values that people attach to their heritage. This research has revealed a lack of engagement in the identification, definition and preservation processes in the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, suggesting that the actual readings of heritage and landscape values should be more widely challenged in order to tackle existing social injustice, discrimination and power relationships.

The data analysis demonstrate that both UNESCO documents and the Council of Europe's conventions articulate the participation of individuals and groups in cultural processes as a human right. An active participation in the identity-making processes – at supranational, national and local levels - is considered a powerful tool to exercise the right to be represented in the social, political and economic sectors. The rationale underpinning these documents is that the recognition, or misrecognition, of identity claims by marginalised groups has direct consequences for those groups' inclusion or exclusion in policy negotiations. Using Labadi's words, 'being quoted in a document is important as it gives a high degree of authority and legitimization' (2007: 163). Thus, the acknowledgment of an identity does not solely relate to the cultural aspect, rather it is part of a mechanism which aims to redress the experiences and material repercussions of injustices that being a member of a particular identity group may have entailed.

Recently, the European Commission also reiterated the need to develop policies that democratise access to and enhance the protection of diverse cultural heritages in Europe. The *Innovation in Cultural Heritage – For an integrated European Research Policy* states that:

> the protected heritage unit is defined in a continuous time (sustainability, resilience, management of change, etc.), in a continuous territory (determined by spatial categories, which imply belonging and community-based perception such as places of cultural heritage and cultural/urban landscapes) and by the perception of its local community, which is the custodian of the survival of cultural diversity, and consequently, of heritage values (Sonkoly and Vahtikari 2018).

Both UNESCO and the Council of Europe encourage State members to promote participation at all levels and to introduce it in their national legal frameworks and policies. As explained by the ELC's *Explanatory Report*:

> if people are given an active role in decision-making on landscape, they are more likely to identify with the areas and towns where they spend their working and leisure time (…). This in turn may help to promote the sustainable development of the area concerned, as the quality of landscape has an important bearing on the success of economic and social initiatives, whether public or private (2000b, Paragraph 24).

Thus, the aim of widening representation and participation should be to overcome inequalities and social injustices. However, I argue that there are three main issues which risk limiting, if not impeding, the exercise of this right. The first issue concerns the use of the 'outstanding universal value' criterion in the identification of World Heritage sites, which appears as a rather rhetorical device designed to give legitimacy to World Heritage listing. As largely discussed in chapter four, this standard is determined by a discipline-driven approach to heritage based on the assemblage of objective things. Which representations of the past, whose heritage and cultural values and which cultural diversity does the 'outstanding universal

value' legitimise? In the case of the vineyard landscape analysed, this definition do not take account of how local population and different groups living within the landscape construct their heritage and of the heritage and identity values they attribute to spaces, objects and memories. Policies that engage only experts and administrators inevitably produce heritage values which are imposed on people, creating a landscape that mainly reflects dominant groups and élite values (Bender 1993, 2001). The ambiguity of this benchmark lies in the fact that something of universal value tends to be perceived as devoid of dissonance and without socio-political conflicts. As a consequence, such an apparently consensual understanding flattens the multivocal nature of heritage and identity. Nevertheless, by accepting the ontological framing that sees heritage as a social construction, we have to be aware that all heritage is dissonant (Lowenthal 1985; Wright 1985; Graham et al. 2000; Smith 2006) because no heritage site, place or intangible event can be universally or uniformly valued or perceived to have the same meaning for all cultures and peoples. Thus, the question that arises is whether a site that explicitly omits some groups from the identification and interpretation processes should be considered of 'universal' value.

The second issue relates to the activation of participation and is a direct consequence of a misrecognition or omission of cultural diversity within a landscape. If the definition of heritage proposed by legal and formal documents does not reflect nor share the understanding of local population, or different groups, how can participation be activated? If individuals and groups do not feel represented by the mainstream narrative how can they be eager to participate in the decision-making process concerning a heritage that they do not consider representative? What I deduced from the data analysis is that participation is closely connected to representation. The conclusion of chapter five and six is that local people's stories, as well as women's stories, have not been represented in the main narrative of the vineyard landscape and that these groups have not been adequately engaged in participatory decision-making processes concerning their heritage preservation and management.

The third aspect I discuss is the fact that the ways in which individuals and groups could participate remains a controversial subject. The international and national documents and frameworks explored often present participation as an

unproblematic method, which is almost taken for granted. In fact, participation is considered a good practice that governments and local authorities could automatically apply in different contexts and introduce into national and local laws. Moreover, it is presented as a practice that individuals and groups consensually accept, as it is understood from a professional perspective. In spite of being developed as a bottom-up practice, participation risks echoing top-down practices when heritage professionals or authorities impose it on people. It is therefore important to question whether individuals and groups really want to participate in decision-making processes and explore why potential participatory projects are not engaging people.

## 7.2. Valuing and preserving the everyday and intangible heritage

In the analysis of cultural documents and policies, the nodal point to challenge is whose heritage values and whose interests are considered and represented. Research with 'non-expert' communities has revealed that public or communities' understanding of the concept of 'heritage' does not necessarily share the core definitions offered by the professional and legal heritage discourses (Samuel 1976; Griffiths 1987; Howard 2007; Bennett et al. 2009). Thus, one of the objectives of this research has been to understand where these semantic differences lie and how they affect the creation, maintaining or subversion of power relationships which are at play in a potential participatory decision-making process. In order to achieve this aim, I explored how different individuals and groups living in a World Heritage listed cultural landscape articulate their understandings of heritage values.

Previous studies of how people perceive and define their heritage have demonstrated that laypersons and local populations (Samuel 1976; Griffiths 1987; Bennett et al. 2009; Smith et al 2011), or the so-called 'insiders', (Howard 2007) have the capacity for self-expression and for developing specific ways in which they draw on the past to create the senses of place and tradition. As stated by Graham and Howard, 'values are placed upon artefacts or activities by people who, when they view heritage, do so through a whole series of lenses, personal history, and the strange lens known as "insideness"' (2008: 2). Drawing on Nora's notion of *lieux de mémoire* (1984-1992), Howard argues that 'insider heritage is much more concerned with sites, with activities and with people than is national or outsider

heritage' (2007: 212). He asserts that 'insider' heritage is closely related to private heritage and more concerned with intangible heritage than with tangible, nationally recognised forms of heritage.

Following this line of reasoning, in chapter five I analyse the interviews conducted with the local population of the vineyard landscape and I extrapolate data which indicate that a dichotomy exists between a heritage identified and certified at central level on the basis of norms and regulation, and a heritage locally defined in a more open way. While the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* of the vineyard landscape emphasise historic, artistic and monumental values, the outcomes of my data analysis demonstrate that local populations give a particular relevance to their everyday practices, traditions and memories. Heritage and identity values are therefore embodied through daily performances which enable individuals and groups to perpetuate their traditions, beliefs and sense of belonging. A point that clearly emerges from the interviews with women wine producers is that this performance is also understood as a source of change and empowerment. Through their daily action and work, as well as through the passing down of memories and stories, women have been able to improve their social and economic situation and to achieve their objectives. Nevertheless, the construction of this heritage has not been recognised by legal documents and it is not represented in the dominant narrative of the vineyard landscape. Despite this misrepresentation, women are aware of the pivotal role they play in moulding the world they live in and it is possibly for this reason that they do not manifest the need of any external, formal recognition. The 'everyday' has become the space of action for these women, because it is through the commitment to their work and their example that they shape the cultural landscape, passing down fundamental messages of identity development to young and future generations. In fact, the data generated by the interviews suggest that the lack of engagement and participation in cultural practices and activities is not perceived as an exclusion from the everyday life of the vineyard landscape. During the interviews, women wine producers did not express a particular interest in being engaged and involved in the decision-making processes concerning the management and preservation of the heritage site. At least, not in the terms proposed by heritage practitioners. However, the women I interviewed have prestigious roles within well-established activities and they have

visibility. The results could have been different if I had interviewed less-privileged women who would could desire to be represented and to have a voice. In this sense, the cultural representation of women in the interpretation of the vineyard landscape is important because of its larger macro power effects: being mentioned in the main narrative is a means of legitimizing a wider relevance in the management and preservation of the site.

The data generated through the interviews suggest that professional heritage discourses risk being the cause of a potential disengagement of individuals and groups. Why should laypersons be motivated to participate in a definition of heritage which does not take into account their perspectives? Considering the concept of 'universal' value, could a heritage be identified as 'universal' when some groups are omitted from its interpretation? In this case, the lack of representation in the mainstream narrative of the landscape could be interpreted as a mirror of gender socio-political bias, and consequently as a form of social injustice.

Two interesting insights emerge from the analysis of the interviews. The first confirms that alternative ways of defining what is considered 'heritage' exist and should be more widely considered. The dichotomy between a national (or 'universal') heritage that is preserved and managed through legal documents and formal policies and a local heritage which is safeguarded through a more fluid methodology is often referred to as a division between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage. The first is valued through a set of tangible values which are discipline-driven, the second is mainly defined as the field of experience of the individuals and communities. Such a division is ambiguous as it is not representative of how individual, local or communal heritage is validated. MacDowell notes that, 'unofficial memory is often seen as binary opposite to national or official memory, but it remains a somewhat unambiguous and dangerous term. If official memory is linked to national memory, then unofficial must be equally applicable to anything that is not state-structured' (2008: 41). As she elucidates, this assumption is not true. An important point which has been made on numerous occasions throughout this research is that many groups and individuals consider their heritage just as valid as legally sanctioned and recognized forms of remembering. Consequently, legal frameworks should establish approaches and methodologies which equate intangible and tangible values. Ideally, this Cartesian division – still embedded in

UNESCO discourse through the creation of two different lists defined by the *World Heritage Convention* (1972) and the *Intangible Heritage Convention* (2003) – should be overcome in favour of a holistic understanding of heritage. What emerges from the discourse analysis of these two documents is the struggle to balance tangible and intangible heritage, which generates conflicts in the definition of preservation practices. In both the *World Heritage Convention* and the *Operational Guidelines*, the predominance of a material-centred preservation rhetoric is evident, while intangible values - which represent a constitutive part in the definition of landscape, and which relate to everyday life - are often understood as disconnected from tangible values.

As I discuss in chapter five, the material-bias expressed in the *Executive Summary* does not consider the intangible and ordinary values that people attribute to landscape and which define their understanding of cultural significance. By mentioning traditions and lifestyles, the interviewees demonstrate that intangible heritage, with its everyday life dimension, is relevant in the context of local communities. This entails a need to find ways of safeguarding not just material objects in the landscape, but also the livelihoods, cultural activities and ways of life of those who live in and use this material framework. It is critical to introduce an approach that incorporates a new concept of heritage and landscape which finds synergy with the concept of 'intangible heritage' (Smith 2006; Robertson 2012; Smith et al. 2011). In fact, this implies that 'to some extent this takes landscape out of the hands of academic disciplines and returns it to the local population – and presumably to other visiting populations' (Howard 2007: 212).

The future of heritage preservation depends on the capacity of professionals to challenge their role and to discuss with other groups. In other words, this means developing a wider negotiation able to understand the conflictual relationships within the terrains of competing interests. The identification of values seems to lead to the construction of two different heritages: one created by local authorities and heritage professionals through official documents, and the other built through daily cultural and socio-economic practices of local heritage. How could these two entities be linked and generate the awareness that they influence each other? However, this is a process that will require time, as the dominant role of experts in the definition of heritage and in its authentication is still strongly perceived by individuals and

groups.

## 7.3. The concept of 'authenticity'

In the construction of heritage and landscape discourses, 'authenticity' is revealed as playing a pivotal role in the definition of dominant positions and to have implicit power effects. Authenticity, together with integrity, is a compulsory pre-requisite in the World Heritage nomination process. Despite UNESCO conventions encouraging State members to engage different groups in the decision-making process concerning the nomination of a heritage site, the power to authenticate heritage and landscape values still resides in the hands of officials, experts and cultural practitioners, rather than being shared with local communities. The process of certification, defining and making things authentic often depends on the credibility of the authority (Howard 2009: 56; Cohen and Cohen 2012: 1301), regardless of any performative interaction with heritage objects.

Such understanding of 'authenticity' is inevitably defined through a particular lens, in the case of the World Heritage List following professional expertise and discipline-based values. This implies that the definition of 'authenticity' is always partial and that attributing permanent and fixed values to it undermines the rationale underpinning the purpose of broadening cultural participation. Consequently, a comprehensive interpretation of authenticity could never be possible, rather it would be multi-layered and multivocal. Thus, what could be done is to be clear about the politics and effects of introducing other, also partial, representations and interpretations.

Through the heritagisation process - in the case of the vineyard landscape through the World Heritage nomination - heritage experts separate the spaces of heritage and people's daily life. Laws and safety standards, when not negotiated or explained, contribute to generating a boundary between heritage and everyday life, between experts and non-experts. As I discuss in chapter five, heritage values and meanings are constructed and transmitted through practice, and therefore through a daily performance rather than exclusively by means of objects. Thus, individuals and groups cannot be considered passive recipients of the imposed values of authenticity. Rather, they consume, contest and negotiate with these cultural effects in diverse ways. As a consequence, as stated by Zhu, 'authenticity is no longer a

property inherent in an object, but a projection from beliefs, context, ideology or even imagination' (2015: 596).

The constructivist (Cosgrove 1985) and phenomenological (Ingold 2000) approaches to the definition of cultural landscape are useful to further unpack how the concept of 'authenticity' is constructed and legitimised. On the one hand, the socially-based constructivist concept of authenticity emphasises reality constructions defined by social contexts and (symbolic) power structures. This means to identify the use of authenticity as a discursive and socially diverse, contested and negotiable heritage concept generated in the public realm (Cohen 1988; Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011). Such an approach requires us to question how the authenticity of a heritage site is defined, to consider whose values and meanings have been included (or excluded) and which are the implications in terms of power relationships. On the other hand, the phenomenological approach, defined as existential authenticity, emphasises how experiences of reality are present in bodily senses and activities, and therefore vital to explaining a greater variety of 'heritage experiences' (Wang 1999; Reisinger and Steiner 2006). This performative approach to authentication is based on people's identity, memory and their bodily interaction with heritage objects (Knudsen and Waade 2010; Cohen and Cohen 2012; Zhu 2012).

The analysis of the legal frameworks and documents, together with that of the interviews, demonstrates that in the reading of 'authenticity' constructivist and experiential perspectives are closely intertwined and should both be taken into account. While in the *Executive Summary* and the *Management Plan* authentication lies in the harmonious maintenance of tangible heritage values, the interviewees emphasise that authenticity is defined through a local dimension and is associated with identity. In fact, most of the interviewees claimed that their landscape was authentic where socio-economic activities are still managed by local people. Thus, the data analysis captures the personal dimension of authenticity that is associated with identity, individuality and self-realisation, outlining how the process of becoming authentic is mediated through embodied practices.

The constructivist and experiential approaches are clearly expressed in the example of the *Astemia Pentita* winery (chapter five, section 3.6), whose owner is an 'external' of the wine sector as well as of the area. The construction of this building

is perceived by some interviewees as a menace to the authenticity of the vineyard landscape – in particular because of its modern architecture. The conflict is not limited to cultural and identity values but involves social issues. In fact, this winery is seen as the symbol of a dominant group – that of external and rich investors – who local people perceive as exempt from UNESCO requirements and limits. This example could therefore have a double reading: from a constructivist perspective, it represents the embodiment of power relationships; from a phenomenological point of view, it outlines that the local population consider themselves as the keepers of the 'real authenticity', as they create it through their everyday living in the landscape as well as through the continuity and implementation of traditional knowledge.

Authenticity, beyond being the bearer of multi-layered values and meanings, should also be understood as an evolving and changing parameter. While it has been traditionally connected with the maintenance of original material values, authenticity is defined and moulded as a social process, contextually constructed and shaped, assuming different connotations and meanings. The performative approach foregrounds the transitional and transformative process inherent in the action of authentication, which is mediated and contested by local communities and produces competing outcomes in different locations (Zhu 2012: 2015). If 'authenticity' has to be considered a paradigm to identify and legitimise heritage, it is therefore fundamental to take account of the ongoing interaction between individual agency and the external world which defines it.

## 7.4. Future lines of reflection

The case of the vineyard landscape reveals a need to reconsider the UNESCO guidelines for a greater involvement of communities and how they are applied in the single heritage site. As suggested by Lixinski (2011) UNESCO should re-frame and strengthen the obligations of state members to engage in more effective and meaningful consultation with the different groups connected to a heritage site. However, participatory approaches requiring dialogue and negotiation are frequently and necessarily time-consuming, while national and local administrative bureaucracies in many cases favour quick and measurable results. This is particularly true when economic interests demand clear and unambiguous decisions allowing development. Notwithstanding these real challenges, it is

necessary to find appropriate ways of institutionalising participation by all interested groups and to develop a form of democracy that balances majority rule with sensitivity to underrepresented interests, in order to develop policies whose objective is to reveal – and tackle - social injustices.

As has emerged from this research, the complexity of a 'cultural landscape' made of multiple and often contrasting voices and needs requires management and preservation practices able to negotiate heritage and identity values and meanings. During the interviews, people living within the vineyard landscape expressed a conflictual relationship with the local authorities, as they felt they had not been sufficiently informed about the implications of becoming a World Heritage Site. In fact, the activities organised to promote the nomination (for example the *After UNESCO*, *I Act* project) appear as rather paternalistic and patronising ways of engaging people, namely through meetings or conferences held in institutional spaces. Most of the interviewees declared that they do not feel involved in decision-making processes, but at the same time they do not take part in the programmes developed by local authorities. Despite being aware of the relevance of their heritage in the identity-building process, the interviewees do not feel represented in the main narrative of the World Heritage vineyard landscape and they seem to experience the nomination as separate from their everyday lives. These findings suggest that new approaches to participation should aim to overcome this feeling of disengagement by understanding how people participate in culture and then developing strategies that could better activate their engagement. Nevertheless, this move from *conservation* to *conversation* presents some challenges. The first is that engaging different actors implies managing the coexistence of different definitions of identity. In this negotiation some symbols representing one or more groups would inevitably emerge and impose themselves, and they may offend, omit or exclude other perspectives. Instead of striving for a universal, consensual and harmonious definition of heritage, it might be better to recognise the existence of its undercurrents, and to distinguish between interests which are conflictual and those which in some sense are shared. This does not mean resolving all the conflicts or achieving a general consensus, but providing people with capacity building tools and skills, in order to facilitate the articulation of heritage values and also to rethink and maybe redefine heritage markers.

The second challenge is taking into account alternative spaces of negotiation. The choice of using institutional buildings has been found to be discouraging for local people, as these are perceived as the spaces of an indisputable authority. An interesting element which emerged from my data analysis is that museums are considered trustworthy places where memories and stories could be preserved and passed down to future generations. Many interviewees stated that they visit local museums with their children and grandchildren, because they want them to learn about the story of the landscape and their traditions and they would expect their stories and memories to be represented as part of the mainstream narrative of the vineyard landscape. Differently from local authorities, the museum is perceived by the interviewees as a space where dialogue and negotiation could take place, probably because of its consolidated educational mission. Moreover, the introduction of their stories could be understood as a strategy to rethink power positions: people can become the real actors if their stories are recognised and they could decide what is important to tell and share. Cultural representation and participation is therefore understood as a tool to affirm their identity and to become actively engaged also at social and political levels. To participate in the definition of what heritage is - what should be valued and preserved - is a way to exercise their rights, but even more important, their duties and manifest their role in the definition of the landscape. Could museums become a space where different representations of the landscape find their voice? Could museums act as connections between heritage and everyday life? Both heritage and museum studies have questioned the role museums could play in the empowerment of socially and culturally excluded groups through cultural representation and participation (Sandell 2002; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007; Gibson 2009), rethinking their elitist, exclusive control of experts on heritage and museum narratives by advocating the pluralisation of voices (Samuel 1994; Howard 2003; Witcomb 2003; Watson 2007; Fairclough 2009; Davis 2009; Schofield 2014; Kryder-Reid et al. 2018). The UNESCO *Hangzhou Declaration* (2013) has recognised the role museums could play in understanding the complexity of cultural diversity, claiming that in order to preserve the social fabric 'cultural infrastructure, such as museums and other cultural facilities should be used as civic spaces for dialogue and social inclusion' to 'give impetus to a diversity of

intangible cultural heritage practices as well as contemporary creative expressions' (UNESCO 2013b: 5).

In the context of the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, museums are mentioned as places for the 'enjoyment and dissemination of the wine culture' (*Executive Summary* 2014: 399). As I noted, in the interviews with local people museums were considered as the places where the memories are collected and passed down, where the cultural capital is preserved and transmitted to new generations. Recalling Sandell's argument, 'it appears that cultural organisations, in comparison with other agencies, might be uniquely positioned to act as catalysts for community involvement and as agents for capacity building' (2002: 19). Thus, museums could play a role in contributing to unveiling inequalities in order to challenge dominant perspectives. In this sense, museums could represent the concept of the 'hybrid forum', to be the place where experts learn from laypersons and engage with alternative knowledge systems, and where people gain an understanding of the role of heritage professionals.

The contribution of this research is to have unpacked and examined in details heritage discourses which are often approached as binary and divisive, in order to understand how such discourses establish or counteract the authority of certain speakers and marginalise others. Through a direct comparison of these discourses I investigated in which ways they produce different cultural significance and how they construct different understandings of heritage, with implications on identification, preservation and management processes. As I argue, the actual listing of the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero of Monferrato does not articulate what local people feel is important and relevant about this site. Despite the values validated through formal documents do not necessarily align with the rich and complex way local people talked about landscape, this does not mean that the heritage discourse is entirely controlled by an externally imposed AHD. As I largely discussed throughout the thesis, the 'hybrid forum' method could become a source to include different actors – in particular the underrepresented groups – and to secure a wider negotiation in decision-making processes. However, such method could risk reinforcing the traditional roles (the 'experts', the 'local authorities', the 'laypersons') instead of fostering participation and challenge power relationships. Thus, I suggest that 'remixing' roles and knowledge between experts and laypersons

(Roberts and Kelly 2019) could be more effective in supporting a citizen-centred preservation planning. As explained by Roberts and Kelly 'remixing as praxis offers a framework for engaged preservation and heritage conservation that reinforces citizen empowerment through identification and application of innovative practices rooted in local knowledge' (*ibidem*: 301).

As Harry Wolcott claimed, it is not possible to conclude a piece of qualitative research without referring to the fact that the fields of inquiry are complex and everchanging (2009: 113). Pretending to find exhaustive and definitive answers would not be possible or desirable, as it would end the opportunity to analyse the conflicts and issues at stake. In fact, this research has sought to clarify that there is no ideal or single solution and that the key to considering landscape issues is to recognise and facilitate the complexity. The approach used to study the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato can be used to frame the study of other similar heritage sites, but this could be challenged in the future or not be valid in other situations. Moreover, if the same research was done using a wider number of interviewees, but also other groups, or using an intersectional analysis, the outcomes could be slightly different or open to new perspectives. Thus, the principal contribution this research has made is to enrich the field of research concerning living heritage and cultural participation and to offer a tool for academics and practitioners interested in the development of inclusive and socially-driven management and preservation practices.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1 – Ethics Approval Letter

University Ethics Sub-Committee for Science and Engineering and Arts Humanities

28/06/2016

**Ethics Reference:** 7024-es284-museumstudies

Dear Elena Settimini,

**RE: Ethics review of Research Study application**

The University Ethics Sub-Committee for Science and Engineering and Arts Humanities has reviewed and discussed the above application.

1. Ethical opinion

The Sub-Committee grants ethical approval to the above research project on the basis described in the application form and supporting documentation, subject to the conditions specified below.

2. Summary of ethics review discussion

The Committee noted the following issues:
We are satisfied that this research project is well planned and low risk and can be give ethical approval.

3. General conditions of the ethical approval

The ethics approval is subject to the following general conditions being met prior to the start of the project:

As the Principal Investigator, you are expected to deliver the research project in accordance with the University's policies and procedures, which includes the University's Research Code of Conduct and the University's Research Ethics Policy.

If relevant, management permission or approval (gate keeper role) must be obtained from host organisation prior to the start of the study at the site concerned.

4. Reporting requirements after ethical approval

You are expected to notify the Sub-Committee about:

- Significant amendments to the project
- Serious breaches of the protocol
- Annual progress reports
- Notifying the end of the study

5. Use of application information

Details from your ethics application will be stored on the University Ethics Online System. With your permission, the Sub-Committee may wish to use parts of the application in an anonymised format for training or sharing best practice. Please let me know if you do not want the application details to be used in this manner.

Best wishes for the success of this research project.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Paul Cullis
Chair

**Appendix 2 – Participant Information Sheet**

**Project Information Sheet for Participants**

**Project Title:** Cultural landscape and living heritage in the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato

**Email Address:** es284@leicester.ac.uk

**Date:**

I would like to tell you more about the nature of the project: who I am, why I am undertaking this research and how you were selected for the project. I would also like to inform you about how your data will be used and the protections of your privacy and confidentiality that are in place.

Who is doing the survey?

Elena Settimini, PhD Student

School of Museum Studies

University of Leicester

What is the project/survey for?

This research aims to develop a better understanding of the relationship between museums and local communities within World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, in order to understand to what extent are heritage and identity values negotiated and how to develop a sustainable management that enhances the preservation of 'living' sites, as well as the production of local heritage.

How you were selected?

Your role in completing the project/survey

Our interview will be an oral interview. Other participants will be interviewed in order for me to achieve data, which are comparable in key ways. All the interviews will be recorded and transcribed. You can request your name to be acknowledged or you can decide to be anonymous, specifying your preference in the Research Content Form.

Your rights

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the project at any time. If you are uncertain or uncomfortable about any aspect of your participation, please contact me to discuss your concerns or request clarification on any aspect of the study.

Protecting your confidentiality

Any information you supply will be treated confidentially and the data will be securely stored in my personal database.

If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the research please contact the Research Ethics Officer, Dr Giasemi Vavoula, on gv18@le.ac.uk.

Thank you!

Name and Surname

Signature

**Appendix 3 – Participant Consent Form**

**Research Consent Form**

I agree to take part in the research project "Cultural landscape and living heritage in the Vineyard Landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato" for the School of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester.
I have had the project explained to me and I have read the Project Information Sheet, which I may keep for my records.
I understand that this study will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics, which can be viewed at http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice

Material I provide as part of this study will be treated as confidential and securely stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

| | **Yes** | **No** |
|---|---|---|
| I have read and I understand the Project Information Sheet | ☐ | ☐ |
| I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction | ☐ | ☐ |
| I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time | ☐ | ☐ |

I agree to the interview being recorded and my words being used in a student assignment

☐ ☐

I agree to my words being used in related academic publications, including on the Internet

☐ ☐

I give permission for the following personal details to be used in connection with any words I have said or information I have passed on:

My real name

☐ ☐

The title of my position

☐ ☐

My institutional affiliation

☐ ☐

I request that my real name is acknowledged in any publications that references the comments that I have made

☐ ☐

I request my interview to be anonymous

☐ ☐

Name

Signature

Date

Please, contact me if you have any more questions or you wish to withdraw from the research.

## Appendix 4 – Interviews with Sergio Bobbio and with Roberto Cerrato

- Could you describe the motivations that led to proposing the vineyard landscape of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato to the UNESCO World Heritage status?

- Could you retrace the steps of the nomination process?

- Have there been participatory projects in the preservation of the cultural landscape before the UNESCO nomination? If so, when did they start, how long did they last, which groups did they involve and what have been the outcomes?

- At which stages of the UNESCO candidacy have local people/stakeholders been involved? How have they been involved in the decision-making process?

- Which local places/traditions/stories are understood by local people to be representative and distinctive of their heritage? Do the cultural values mentioned in the UNESCO nomination correspond with local people own sense of its heritage?

- Which are the groups that did not actively participate? Who would you like to be more involved in the preservation of this heritage in the future?

### Interview to Sergio Bobbio, previous official of the Tourism Department at the Canelli Municipality

Gliela racconto brevemente, perché la storia dura quasi vent'anni. Io andavo frequentemente, anzi, continuo ad andare in Nord Europa. Quindi attraverso… allora facevo la Svizzera, la Germania e salivo fino su in Norvegia. E noi avevamo un rapporto di amicizia con Bellinzona, in seguito dell'alluvione eccetera. Un giorno, passando per Bellinzona, vedo UNESCO, i tre forti, tre castelli e allora ho cominciato

a seguire, salendo su… cioè in Nord Europa le indicazioni ci sono eccome. Cosa che qui è un po' un disastro. Allora ho cominciato ad andare a visitare dei siti e tornando, da uno di questi viaggi… qui allora era sindaco Bielli aveva iniziato una manifestazione che era 'Canelli, una città del vino' e per la prima volta dopo, non so, per la prima volta in assoluto era possibile durante quella manifestazione visitare tutte le cantine sotterranee contemporaneamente e sono state così, delle belle sorprese perché chi aveva le Cantine Bosca non era mai andato a vedere le cantine Lancia o Riccadonna o Contratto o Coppo, e così via. E pian pianino hanno… così, ci siamo resi conto che c'era un patrimonio mica da poco, qua sotto e in più c'erano… abbiamo poi fatto delle ricerche, negli inizi del Novecento – fine Ottocento c'erano cento aziende che imbottigliavano. E ognuno all'epoca, non avendo energia elettrica… allora non avendo la tecnologia del freddo, l'unico sistema era scavare sottoterra e le bottiglie… Poi c'è stata l'epoca d'oro dello spumante italiano e quindi chiunque aveva un pezzo di cantina, non so, sotto il Comune, che era una casa privata, c'era una cantina grande, prestigiosa, perché il freddo si trovava sottoterra. Quindi ci siamo resi conto che c'è un patrimonio esteso, ormai l'azienda ha chiuso, però le cantine grazie a Dio sono ancora lì. E io allora, tornando da uno di questi viaggi, mah vado dal sindaco, mah senti un po', secondo me ci sono i numeri, ho visto che nel Nord Europa fanno di quelle cose con nulla. Anche bei paesaggi, sì… poi hanno lamiera, cioè, zone industriali, dove uno va a visitarle… ma poco confronto a cosa abbiamo qui noi. E quindi, se noi facessimo una cosa del genere? Se chiedessimo all'UNESCO il riconoscimento? Intanto mi ero informato. Il sindaco bisogna dire che 'pronti, domani andiamo a Torino, andiamo a parlarne. Siamo andati in Regione. Insomma, una serie di concomitanze. Andiamo in Regione, da questo signore, da questo funzionario che era … conosceva il paesaggio, conosceva il valore della vite, del vino, eccetera, e delle cantine soprattutto. Dice 'pronti, noi tra una settimana siamo a Parigi a presentare le bellezze del Piemonte. Mettetevi in coda. C'era il presidente della Regione, incontri con tutti i giornalisti francesi, internazionali. In un teatro in centro a Parigi. Loro hanno presentato il Piemonte, allora c'era Conte che parlava. Abbiamo presentato le foto. E di lì in poi la regione ha finanziato un bel po' di soldi per la start up. Hanno mandato dei fotografi per fotografare le cantine, abbiamo cominciato a fare dei dépliant. Perché il problema era far capire ai proprietari delle cantine cosa avevano in mano e soprattutto alla gente, cercare di

sensibilizzarla. E abbiamo cominciato a produrre una serie di cose, manifestazioni nelle cantine, il progetto UNESCO, senza ancora avere, diciamo, alcuna autorizzazione. E nel frattempo, il più sensibile di tutti gli industriali era Gancia – è mancato pochi giorni fa. Lui era apertissimo a queste cose, ha sposato subito la causa. Ha riunito Bosca, che era l'altro sensibile, Bocchino, il dottor Contratto. E soprattutto lui conosceva il ministro dei beni culturali in carica. A questo punto, noi eravamo andati alla soprintendenza a Torino, e c'era – tra l'altro bravissimo – il dottor Malara, che poi …. È venuto giù e ha guardato, ha cominciato così a rendersi conto di quello che c'era e diceva, mah noi abbiamo un progetto prestigioso che sono i paesaggi viticoli italiani… un po' grossa! E infatti disse, mah visto che ho i ganci, eccetera ci serviva un'entrata per Ricasoli in Toscana, perché gli altri hanno detto di no, non interessa. Mah, mi sembrava esagerato, comunque il discorso erano i paesaggi viticoli, perché ci ha spiegato che l'Italia non può più presentare ogni anno tre possibilità, tre siti, perché ne abbiamo troppi e quindi si fanno dei siti seriali. Quindi uno ma che comprenda tante cose, le Residenze Sabaude, i Sacri Monti. E a questo punto ho detto, beh le cantine e i paesaggi viticoli. E di lì è nata questa cosa. Sono venuti diversi funzionari dalla soprintendenza a Torino. Poi Gancia è intervenuto sul ministro e ha mandato a settembre, mi ricordo, il direttore generale del … si chiamava Proietti … ministero dei beni culturali. Quando… noi conoscevamo già un funzionario, quando gli abbiamo detto 'mah, viene su questo'… 'mah, no, non viene neanche a morire. Non si è mai mosso da Roma, figuriamoci se…', era uno piccolino, magrino… e invece questo qui è partito, è venuto e l'abbiamo caricato all'epoca c'era… che saliva sulla carrozza a cavalli e portava… ha caricato quest'uomo su questa carrozza e lo faceva girare, ogni cantina che entrava gli davano da bere… l'abbiamo sfinito a furia di bere. E comunque questo dice, abbiamo saputo da questo funzionario, insomma questo seguiva proprio il discorso UNESCO, e abbiamo saputo che questo qua aveva detto 'si fa, si fa'. Si comincia, la mettiamo nella Tentative List, cominciamo a inserirlo lì e poi, e poi è venuto questo funzionario molto gentile, è venuto diverse volte, ci spiegava, qui funzionano, noi lo mettiamo nella Tentative List, ma perché un sito sia, così, nel vivo della questione deve esserci una volontà dal basso che non siamo noi, noi lo mettiamo ma è il territorio che lo chiede. Non è una cosa automatica, hanno deciso da Roma. Quindi bisogna, loro erano già contenti perché gli industriali, insomma, erano interessati, allora abbiamo

cominciato, ci ha consigliato di cominciare, un'opera di sensibilizzazione. Quindi abbiamo fatto tante riunioni con… allora il territorio era ancora vasto... Diciamo, non c'entrava nulla con quello che poi… comunque, abbiamo cominciato a fare incontri con personaggi che avevano un po' di peso sui vari territori, quindi le associazioni dei consumatori, abbiamo visitato altre cantine, altri sindaci, altre cose. Certo che era dura … un bel momento, finalmente la politica… perché all'inizio erano le amministrazioni provinciali… sinceramente, secondo me, non sapevano di cosa si parlava, non avevano la più pallida idea di cos'era l'UNESCO, cos'era il patrimonio dell'umanità. E ci abbiamo messo degli anni, sinceramente, abbiamo fondato un'associazione che era 'Canelli domani' dove lo scopo era promuovere tutta una serie di attività di sensibilizzazione, così, e contemporaneamente il dottor Gancia… oltre a tenere i contatti con Roma e così via, poi lui con le sue conoscenze, anche grazie al dottor Bosca, che ne aveva altrettante, era andato a Parigi, alla sede generale dell'UNESCO, noi abbiamo un ambasciatore italiano presso l'UNESCO, che lui conosceva, l'ha fatto venire, poi lui aveva il castello, li ospitava nel castello, c'erano i camerieri in livrea … era già una cosa un po' così… e gli raccontava del territorio… morale … e poi finalmente la politica si è svegliata, la provincia di Alessandria praticamente ha delegato agli altri, la provincia di Cuneo ha accettato, il Roero non voleva… avevano paura, poi ci sono i vincoli, e poi ci fa questo e poi ci fan quello. Poi finalmente, quando di là si sono svegliati, a questo punto 'vogliamo tutto noi, facciamo tutto noi'. A quel punto lì, la cosa è passata, noi abbiamo… la nostra funzione è finita, toccava poi alle amministrazioni pubbliche, alla Regione… La Regione… combinazione c'era il professor Conti, docente universitario, che era assessore …. Poi è finita in mano sua perché lui poi doveva fisicamente fare, e lui – con architetti e ingegneri a disposizione – hanno poi selezionato … e ha cominciato. Poi, contemporaneamente i politici si riunivano, per carità, ma c'erano dei problemi politici. Approvare o modificare tutti i piani regolatori. Ma la cosa è andata avanti, dal punto di vista della politica. E poi ci sono voluti un po' di anni, un sacco di modifiche. Poi le hanno messe, no, se non ci sono le cantine non ha senso perché poi il paesaggio è nato perché c'erano le cantine, capito, cioè avevano l'uva e quindi. Il paesaggio prima era ad uso domestico, nel senso che il vino era alimento, quindi tutti producevano per mangiare, per sé insomma. Qui in zona c'era del surplus e vendevano già, c'era una storia lunga, ma andiamo fuori tema. E quindi già eravamo

città di confine, quindi c'era già l'abitudine a commerciare, il surplus mandarlo un po' distante. Bastava passare un ponte e si era già in un altro Stato, lo spedivano a Genova e di lì andava in Francia.

Morale della questione, hanno finalmente fatto questa cosa, l'hanno portata avanti, non hanno interpellato il territorio né noi e lì, secondo me hanno fatto due errori, due/tre grossi errori. Uno è il nome, perché prima erano i paesaggi viticoli del sud Piemonte, vitivinicoli, inizialmente era vinicoli. Poi Langhe, Roero e Monferrato, mi va bene, ma noi, tutto l'astigiano non c'entra né con il Monferrato né con le Langhe e quindi gli astigiani sono un po' arrabbiati. Poi la politica dice che va bene, però è una realtà completamente diversa, fisicamente, storicamente, tutto quanto, però hanno deciso così e va be'. E poi, soprattutto, hanno assolutamente ignorato il territorio, non hanno più fatto nulla se non riunioni, così, quelle prestigiose. A livello di amministrazione, ma facevano anche delle cose pubbliche, però cioè, qui noi andavamo a trovarli a casa. Se io dico a cinquanta produttori, venite giù, facciamo la riunione sul paesaggio, su queste cose, non sarebbero venuti. Un po' siamo andati, un po' abbiamo fatto. I politici fanno poco. E così poi è andata avanti.

Lei pensi che a Canelli ci sono più o meno 500 aziende agricole che hanno un paesaggio umano. Adesso esiste il comitato del sito che non han pensato, mettiamo un rappresentante delle associazioni agricole. 500 Canelli, ce ne saranno 500 a Nizza, non so ad Alba un migliaio. Mettiamo uno che esprima i pareri di chi ha il paesaggio in mano. Neanche hanno messo nessuno delle cantine. Si sono… quando entra la politica… diventa una cosa così. C'è un partito che esprime quello, questo qui mah sì, mettiamolo lì… e non c'entra più…

I contadini vivono male i vincoli, perché poi l'azienda vitivinicola non ha subito nessuna coercizione, nessun vincolo, nel senso che se uno riesce a far capire a…ma soprattutto qui, che queste aziende agricole che oggi esistono, esistevano nel Seicento, Cinquecento, sono il frutto di nonni, di bisnonni, di bis-bisnonni che hanno lavorato, hanno faticato, sono morti in mezzo alle vigne per avere questa cosa e quindi fargli capire che non è un monumento, è un paesaggio culturale che è creato nel tempo, che si svilupperà probabilmente, e che è un valore assoluto unico, se han deciso a livello mondiale. Certo, se uno non glielo fa capire, e gli dice 'tu quello non…' cioè, poi puoi fare quello che vuoi. Subito era venuto fuori, 'ah ci fan cambiare tutti i pali, ci fanno cambiare tutto…' ma no, non è assolutamente vero. Dovrebbe essere

uno che ha i vigneti e dice, accidenti quasi quasi lo rendo più veritiero, più naturale, non uso questo, non uso quello. Poi bene o male turisti ne arrivano, ne arrivano a vagoni. Vogliono vedere un paesaggio di per sé bello. Meraviglia che ci siano i pali di legno bisogna siano di cemento, quella è un'evoluzione. Prima si usavano le canne, spuntavano gli alberi nelle vigne, c'erano tutti i boschetti. C'erano i salici, c'erano tutta una serie… Addirittura le disposizioni dei filari, le distanze, noi abbiamo gli statuti medievali che stabilivano già a quel tempo cosa fare: bisogna avere tanta distanza se due sono… se uno guarda com'è l'impostazione adesso, dirà allora questi qui una volta erano di due proprietari perché la … nel mezzo è più larga… ci sono dei motivi storici, e così bisogna, bisognerebbe farglielo capire. Se tu fai il viticoltore e questi vigneti sono patrimonio dell'umanità, quello che ne deriva di qui, il vino ha un valore, in qualche maniera ha un valore. Puoi mettere sulla bottiglia il logo dell'UNESCO, però puoi dire benissimo nella brochure: io sono… il mio territorio, il mio vigneto è patrimonio. Però bisogna farglielo capire. Diciamo che semplicemente basterebbe spiegargli cosa possono fare e loro vedrebbero semplicemente il bel bollino dell'UNESCO. Si possono fare altre cose, per esempio mettere, così, invece, il mio territorio è sito UNESCO. Lo chiedi a Roma, l'autorizzazione a scrivere. Si uniscono in associazione, tutti i soci dell'enoteca, che ne so, facciamo un coso dove chiediamo a Roma un pendaglino da appendere su tutte le bottiglie. Si può usare il logo dell'UNESCO, si può usare… possono fare un sacco di cose. Non è solo commerciale, ma è anche valorizzazione, cioè un discorso. Però nessuno glielo dice! Nessuno li riunisce, nessuno glielo spiega e loro non sanno a chi chiedere, cioè non possono in 500 telefonare a Roma e dire 'posso?'. Dopo un po' questi qui dicono 'no'. Per una cosa… Andrea… per una cosa che no, non si può, eccetera… ha mandato due righe a Roma e gli hanno autorizzato il logo dell'UNESCO. Bisogna solo informarli, più che altro fargli capire.

Ah, tra l'altro noi avevamo fatto delle cose con le scuole, abbiamo cominciato dalle elementari, li portavano in campagna, gli facevano vedere come funziona il vino. Han pubblicato dei libretti, delle cose fatte dai bambini. È chiaro che son cose che bisogna fare tutti gli anni. Bisognerebbe avere un'associazione che si occupi di quello, dovrebbero avere – a mio parere, ma ho visto… Dovrebbero avere sedi distaccate, una sede sarà, che so, ad Alba, a Torino, ogni core zone potrebbe avere un luogo fisico dove uno va lì, chiede a Serena e Serena avrà l'incarico di trovare le soluzioni,

chiedere a Roma, chiedere a Torino, chiede a Milano, non so … però invece pare che … eppure hanno dato quelle indicazioni, di allargare la base, trasformare l'associazione o in fondazione o in qualcos'altro … come hanno fatto nelle Dolomiti. Noi avevamo fatto venire l'architetto, che è quella che poi, sa … il primo tentativo era andato a rotoli perché… e poi questo architetto che era, hanno dato l'incarico a lei e lei è riuscita a riunire, a fare quello che doveva, unire due regioni… caos… è riuscita a fare tutto…. Ma l'hanno poi messa da parte... è così… e comunque, no no… e però adesso manca questa parte che è fondamentale perché c'è il rischio che boh, è una patacca che ci hanno dato. E invece, io continuo ad andare a vedere, siti, sempre in giro per l'Europa, perché io vado di là, ma lì ne fanno tipo un'industria. C'è una miniera in Svezia … diciamo che lì non c'è nulla e quindi curano, il popolo, cioè… c'è un sito fantastico in Svezia che è la costa alta… non so in svedese com'è, non me lo ricordo più… è un sito tipo il nostro, un sito naturale. Dentro hanno un pezzo di parco naturale, e addirittura un pezzo di questa costa è svedese l'altra… un pezzo di questa costa si è unita … uno arriva già a dieci, venti km e comincia a vedere dei cartelli non so, 30mx4m, tutti marroni solo il simbolo dell'UNESCO, quello dei paesaggi, del patrimonio, solo quello e il nome. Ogni dieci metri c'è un cartello su quello che riguarda la strada, ma non c'è scritto … uno vede e vede quello, non è che vede il nome, il signore, il tale, niente… uno quando arriva deve vedere quello… quello è … poi, chi l'ha fatto, non vuole essere famoso, ma non importa … poi c'è un centro documentazione, una sorta diciamo di museo, dove spiegano con le mappe e tutto, le altezze, perché la storia, perché è importante, perché è unico, così via, gli uccelli che ci sono, la flora, la fauna, tutto quello che c'è. Ma sono tutti così, noi invece siamo…in tutta Italia. Abbiamo tante cose… però qui in Piemonte non è che abbiamo tante cose, abbiamo poche cose

Prima dicevano, eh a macchia di leopardo non possiamo farlo perché… poi se han deciso di farlo a macchia di leopardo… però probabilmente cioè ogni zona ha un valore suo, una motivazione, quindi non è solo perché ad Alba c'è il Barolo e lì sono più bravi, c'è il tartufo eccetera. Ognuna ha le sue storie, le sue motivazioni, Cavour, le industrie, l'industria del vino era qui. Qui hanno inventato il vino bianco e poi qui lo produciamo. Comunque, non… sì… noi abbiamo fatto il sito UNESCO… l'unica che secondo me ha capito bene come funziona è la Bosca. Loro ad esempio, ben chiaro, hanno una visione internazionale delle cose, capiscono cosa vuol dire quel valore.

Ad esempio, qualche… un paio di anni fa c'era l'anno … L'UNESCO aveva l'anno internazionale della luce. Loro hanno trovato un sistema, hanno chiesto di partecipare all'anno della luce, hanno rifatto l'illuminazione delle cantine. Loro per un anno gli hanno autorizzato sulle bottiglie l'UNESCO e l'anno della luce… strade ce ne sono, bisogna… però l'oro hanno capito, seguono ogni anno… quest'anno… qualcosa si inventano…

Forse bisognerebbe proprio, se uno riuscisse a radunarle, parliamo anche solo delle aziende. Poi qui c'è stato un… la Gancia è finita in Russia, la Contratto a un signore … La Bosca… eh, è rimasta solo la Bosca. Tra l'altro la Bosca ne ha tre cantine… no, ne ha due. E loro per esempio hanno ancora l'azienda storica. Bisognerebbe che questi signori, come faceva Gancia all'epoca, erano persone che avevano una visione. Facciamo una cosa tutti assieme per avere un peso nell'associazione. Chi non capisce lascia stare, chi capisce va avanti e ottiene qualcosa. Poi i finanziamenti verranno.

Poi bisogna fare in modo che il paesaggio, qui non c'è pericolo… ha presente nella zona del Barbera, verso … lì il paesaggio è sparito… il Barbera non va più, hanno tolto il Barbera … quindi bisogna con la tutela … sempre quello, che si conservi, che si sviluppi.

Il paesaggio era diverso finché non è arrivata l'industria. I produttori di Moscato si sono uniti, non hanno ancora una visione legata all'UNESCO, ma perché probabilmente… una semplice ignoranza dei dati, non sapere cos'è l'UNESCO. Semplicemente quello. Non so se è mai andata in Francia, Saint Emillion. Saint Emillion io ero andato quando eravamo in fibrillazione per questa cosa, voglio andare a vedere un paesaggio famoso. Come vigneti vale nulla, nel senso zero, passi così in piano, perché ci passano le macchine per lavorare, quindi non c'è la percezione del lavoro degli uomini. Però la città, loro ne hanno fatto la bandiera, la città che … l'ufficio informazioni è tre volte questa stanza, dentro un ex convento, dove dentro ci sono tavoli di chi vende le carte, di chi fa i viaggi, di chi ti porta a vedere i vignaioli. Uno entra in città, mentre passi c'è una bottega, un'azienda vinicola, quello che vende solo cavatappi, quello … e tutto vive su questa cosa. Sul vino e sull'UNESCO. Uno entra e comincia a vedere 'bottiglie in vendita qui', allora Saint Emilion del 1927, 18.000 euro, qui 10.000, qui 3.000 poi alla fine compra sei bottiglie da 10 euro ma è contento perché dice 'ah, è un vino che può anche costare 18.000 euro. E c'è un'industria… è un paesaggio vinicolo, che è brutto, cioè è brutto

come paesaggio. Qui è anche bello, uno va su ogni metro cambia… abbiamo progettato, una volta, di caricare tutti i sindaci della zona con un po' di vignaioli e di portarli a Saint Emilion. Eh, non è facile, però lì dovrebbe farlo l'associazione. Anche lì c'è ancora un problema: l'associazione dei paesaggi viticoli è quella… ha lo scopo di mantenere, di fare in modo che questo paesaggio si mantenga, non di fare… sì, facciamo dei bei convegni… ma io sono andato a sentirli, sono sempre i soliti 4 gatti che vanno a sentire. Quindi, secondo me, parallelamente o inventano qualche cosa di diverso, dando spazio a voci… non lo so…

Le persone non sanno. Invece di vederlo come un'opportunità unica al mondo… poi non sanno che l'UNESCO c'entra con l'ONU, che… non hanno la minima idea della storia, quando si è sviluppato, da quanti anni c'è sta cosa…

Il turismo è una conseguenza. Anche io, piuttosto che andare a caso, vado a vedere un sito UNESCO. Però uno che vive in quei paesi, sa che c'è una garanzia, se è una scelta a livello mondiale che vale la pena conservarla, non perché son belli o perché… no, qui l'idea è l'UNESCO. È unica, deve essere unica. Noi ci viviamo dentro, non ce ne rendiamo conto, il paesaggio che abbiamo è una cosa unica.

Certo che, pensare che ha una storia culturale secolare. Adesso noi qui avremmo anche solo la storia dell'industria.

Adesso le cantine bene o male, i turisti vanno. È sempre pieno, quindi vuol dire che chi viene… però se ci fosse una possibilità… va be', Bosca fa Bosca, Contratto fa Contratto, Coppo fa Coppo… ci fosse un centro unico di prenotazione, di organizzazione uno va da Bosca e poi sa che volendo c'è Contratto… sono cose che ci va tempo, ci vorrà qualcuno di illuminato in Regione che dice facciamo così. Il Piemonte adesso, bene o male, con le Residenze Sabaude, i Sacri Monti… Canelli potrebbe avere una grossa opportunità, Canelli avrebbe una cosa unica perché uno va lì a vedere il paesaggio, uno sta lì un'ora, due ore a vedere il paesaggio, che bello, scende e ci sono le cantine, cose che in altri luoghi… cioè, o c'è poi il luogo dove spieghi il paesaggio e allora è semplice. Magari ci vorranno vent'anni.

**Interview to Roberto Cerrato, site-manager and president of the local UNESCO Association**

Il processo di candidatura del nostro sito è partito da abbastanza molto lontano. Tra il 2003 e il 2004, ci furono delle intenzioni da parte dei titolari delle cattedrali sotterranee di Canelli, quattro cattedrali sotterranee ed altrettante aziende legate alla spumantizzazione delle uve moscato (Gancia, Coppo, Bosca, Contratto) e avendo dei rapporti a livello internazionale sviluppati già da tempo con le loro aziende, in particolare Gancia aveva contatti anche con il Comitato Mondiale dell'UNESCO e suggerì agli altri di unirsi in questa sfida per il riconoscimento di queste cattedrali del vino che però erano un bene totalmente privato. Questa cosa raggiunse un pochettino tutto il Piemonte, no, questa volontà, ecc, e venne un pochettino raccolta anche dalla provincia di Cuneo, dall'allora presidente Raffaele Costa. Intanto questi quattro iniziatori di questo progetto non scrissero nulla, non si unirono a fare un protocollo di intesa, ma stavano poi sul territorio, e anche presso Roma e il Ministero, queste volontà di fare qualcosa… e poi il Ministero però gli rispose che non c'era possibilità da soli di poter andare avanti. Dice, "Se fate una progettualità di territorio, coinvolgendo tutta una parte culturale, sociale, economica, ecc… allora sì che si può". E come possiamo fare? Questa interazione portò a fare dei ragionamenti ad alta voce che poi convinsero il presidente della provincia di Cuneo a smuovere sul nostro territorio una prima idea e ci fu una telefonata tra il presidente della provincia e il sindaco di Alba, allora Giuseppe Rossetto, e anche con il sottoscritto il quale era assessore qua al comune di Alba. In una giornata la telefonata arrivò: "cosa ne dite se ci troviamo ad un tavolo ad immaginare insieme all'astigiano, il Monferrato, un qualche cosa che possa… anche perché il presidente della regione Raffaele Costa aveva degli agganci molto importanti a Bruxelles - suo fratello era segretario - ci fu già una telefonata in Europa, come dire, per dire, ma se l'Italia si mettesse su questa candidatura potrebbe essere sostenuta? "Cominciate a lavorare" è stata la risposta. Passano due anni, un anno e mezzo e sentivamo già una volontà di poter dire "mah, noi lo sappiamo di aver un riconoscimento forte sul nostro territorio, cominciamo a sviluppare conoscenza presso i comuni, perché ci sono delle regole molto particolari per fare una candidatura, e nel 2005 allora ci furono riunioni, incontri con i comuni del territorio delle Langhe e questi primi di Canelli intanto svilupparono con la città di Canelli, con la città di Nizza questo abbozzo di sensibilità. Si arrivò poi ad un primo documento di richiesta di inserimento nella "tentative list" dell'UNESCO con questa volontà. La tentative list non è niente, se non un elenco di luoghi che intendono col

passare del tempo lavorare per presentare una candidatura ufficiale. Ci sono tentative list ferme da anni, da dieci anni, perché vuol dire che il territorio non ha risposto, la nostra invece era alimentata da una grande volontà. Il che ha fatto sì che il ministero coglie questa opportunità dicendo "ma ci tenete davvero? Perché vediamo che ci sono articoli positivi, ecc.. E si inserì anche la zona del Roero. Il Roero dice, noi abbiamo il paesaggio del vino, abbiamo l'Arneis, il vitigno Roero, storia del 1600, monumenti, chiese, confraternite, ecc… non si parlava ancora della fragilità del Roero, come capannoni, come luogo sfregiato un po' da questo consumismo, da queste cose… che poi parte di questi capannoni sono vuoti, non hanno … E si arrivò nel 2006 anche a coinvolgere… perché il paesaggio del vino non aveva alcun riconoscimento, a livello di paesaggio rurale non ce n'era. Il Ministero diceva "cercate di unire tutto il paesaggio del nord Italia" e allora anche la Valtellina, con i suoi paesaggi del vino partecipò in un certo periodo a questa progettazione, pensi, quindi Langhe Roero Monferrato e Valtellina. Per alcuni mesi infatti sui siti internet – e forse ancora adesso se va a ripescare – c'era la prima tentative list, venne fatta con Langhe Roero Monferrato e Valtellina. Ben presto però si capì che la Valtellina era nel nome vitigno – avevano avuto problemi, con la slavina, i morti della Valtellina - allora il ministero voleva anche un po' aiutare a risollevare questo nome Valtellina, per questo aveva aiutato ad inserire però non puoi inserire uno non tangibilmente sfruttabile, perché era solamente un'idea, poi la concretezza del paesaggio del nostro territorio è molto più forte. Là sarebbe stato un traino, non c'era quell'aggancio di territorio, non si era mai lavorato insieme e si vede quando si opera, no, su queste tematiche. Nel 2006, verso settembre, allora arrivò il momento e ci fu l'iscrizione nella tentative list. Venne colta con molto favore questa tentative list però di lì in avanti si fece una riflessione, "ma adesso cosa facciamo?", per noi è un arrivo essere nella tentative list, parcheggiamo questa cosa o ripartiamo? Le volontà dei comuni erano abbastanza forti. c'era un po' di tensione nella zona del Roero, perché alcuni sindaci non predisposti e preparati - anche culturalmente - nel cogliere questo progetto ci domandarono "eh, ma noi abbiamo un territorio che va avanti solo con gli oneri di urbanizzazione, se questi ci mettono questi vincoli poi noi come facciamo?". Questa domanda era ricorrente. Era ricorrente, tant'è che si arriva nel 2008 a stringere un rapporto con la regione Piemonte in maniera ufficiale per creare il protocollo di intesa Regione Piemonte e Province di Cuneo, Asti e Alessandria per lavorare per la presentazione di un dossier di candidatura. Intanto il Roero trasmetteva ancora queste difficoltà. Arriviamo al 2009, c'è la volontà da parte della Regione di finanziare con le province che avevano ancora forza a suo

tempo, di finanziare un primo progetto di redazione di un dossier di candidatura. Ci si guardò intorno e SiTi, del Politecnico di Torino, venne individuata come soggetto estensore della candidatura insieme al nostro territorio. Nel 2009 si comincia a scrivere questo dossier. Ma quanto ci va a scrivere un dossier? Eh, se lo vogliamo scrivere bene ci va del tempo. Intanto proseguono le decine, decine e decine di riunioni per convogliare i territori e per creare poi quella che sarà la mappa che poi presenteremo all'UNESCO, quindi a macchia di leopardo si individuò una regione geografica delle Langhe Roero e Monferrato con nove/dieci core zone e un altrettanto grandissima buffer. Non ci si sapeva come identificare e allora si passò a denominarle con i nomi dei vitigni: Barolo, Barbaresco, Nebbiolo, Dolcetto… era carina questa cosa, però era troppo a macchia di leopardo e quello lo capimmo dopo, nel 2012/2013 quando ci fu l'iscrizione – ma non corriamo, siamo ancora al 2009.

Nel 2009, allora, c'è la volontà di costituire questo gruppo di lavoro e il sottoscritto viene chiamato a coordinare le attività per la provincia di Cuneo, che aveva la parte più forte, la parte di vitigni più importante, e furono nominati due altri referenti per le zone delle province di Asti e di Alessandria, nelle persone di Gianfranco attuale presidente. Noi eravamo i rappresentanti voluti dalla politica, per il momento, che coordinavamo tutto il discorso insieme agli uffici tecnici della regione e agli uffici tecnici delle province. Un bellissimo lavoro che portò nel dicembre 2010 alla presentazione del dossier definitivo. Ritornando solo un pochino indietro, il 10 marzo 2010, quando il dossier era già imbastito per il suo 90%, cosa succede? Succede che il Roero si vede annesso al progetto in maniera già un po' marginale e in quel momento il Roero si chiede perché? Perché c'è una lettera con firma del segretariato regionale e del ministero dei beni culturali che decide che il Roero non ha le caratteristiche per entrare nella core zone, ma solo una piccola parte di buffer zone, perché? si sono detti, per la fragilità del paesaggio. Ci sono dei problemi e pure avendo una bellissima eccellenza di una core zone all'interno (Monticello, Santa Vittoria), ma non era sufficiente. Cioè, ci avrebbero creato più problemi perché c'erano dei sindaci che durante gli anni avevano fatto delle comunicazioni ufficiali alla regione, al ministero, dicendo "noi non vogliamo entrare". E quando scrivi non vogliamo entrare… questa è la verità, poi lei la moduli bene. Il giorno in cui io, in una riunione, che sono stato costretto a tirare fuori questo documento – me lo ricordo come fosse oggi – era una riunione dei sindaci a Canale d'Alba dove tutti ci chiedevano "ma perché a noi non ci fanno entrare?" e in mezzo c'erano proprio quei sindaci, zitti, che avevano fatto queste lettere. Allora dal cassetto tirai fuori questa lettera e allora qualcuno puntò il dito su

qualcuno e allora io ho detto "state calmi, state tranquilli che vediamo di recuperare, però adesso dovevamo presentarla perché loro avevano fatto capire che se arrivavamo verso ottobre, verso novembre con la candidatura pronta l'Italia avrebbe firmato e nel 2011 partiva. Così caricammo su un furgone tutto il materiale, io, Marco Valli di Siti e altri quattro, partimmo con il furgone il 15 gennaio 2011, partimmo alla volta di Parigi in macchina a portare su il dossier, perché devi consegnarlo a mano, con tutti i libri del territorio, duecento libri. All'UNESCO hanno migliaia di libri buttati là. Convinti che fosse un bellissimo dossier, ma spiegare il frutto del lavoro di 2000 anni del territorio raccolto in cinquecento, seicento pagine con tavole. Consegnammo questo, in attesa. Verso marzo, aprile cominciamo a capire i primi sentori: i documenti ci sono tutti, appare subito evidente una difficoltà a capire il territorio, tutte queste macroaree contenute nella buffer, sono molto distanti, diversità di tipologie di sensibilità sul territorio, quali sono i paesaggi del vino, quali sono le collocazioni. E poi viene evidente che a maggio/giugno vi mandiamo la prima visita ispettiva che verrà a settembre. C'era già qualche cosa nell'aria che diceva "uhm, attenzione". E chi mandano? Mandano una persona preparatissima, uno dei tre estensori della carta del paesaggio, e cominciamo a dire "la Francia ci darà la mazzata". Il 18 settembre arriva, cominciamo dall'abbazia di Vezzolano che era uno dei punti più belli dell'arte romanica dell'astigiano, che sarebbe stata inserita nella core zone. Comincia a guardare le carte e si rende conto che è sterminata la cosa da vedere. Partiamo, una visita di quattro, cinque giorni, una mail dove lui espresse "ho visitato i più bei paesaggi al mondo del vino", però non trapelò nulla. C'erano stati dei momenti di difficoltà e lui fece una grande relazione, ma un criterio di sospensione sulla parte culturale, cioè lui aveva evidenziato un bellissimo paesaggio, un bellissimo territorio ma non erano centrali le logiche legate alla cultura del territorio. Chiese perché la parte culturale forte… Cioè, lì veniva fuori che c'era un'economia dei vini, c'era una socialità del territorio, c'era la voglia di continuare per le generazioni ma non era spiegata la cultura del vino in maniera fondamentale. A questo punto ci arriva la valutazione e si arriva alla riunione di San Pietroburgo del 2012 dove viene espressa la valutazione "deferral", secondo grado, un 6 - -, nel senso che c'erano i valori e i criteri eccezionali, ma non c'era quello che volevano loro – e poi grande frase, mi ricordo, non c'era relazione tra le varie zone. Il ministero in questa occasione non mandò nemmeno l'ambasciatore, perché conoscendo prima il risultato non voleva fare brutta figura. Per noi fu un grande trauma, perché poi vienilo a spiegare sul territorio. Allora rimando a fine settembre, dopo il verdetto, radunammo tutto il territorio, ci fu una riunione devastante, bisognava

cambiare il dossier "eh, ma ci fanno spendere di nuovo soldi", intanto le province cominciavano a vacillare, dove troviamo questi 150.000 euro, di nuovo da fare la candidatura – ne avevamo già spesi quasi 300.000. Arriviamo a fine settembre, c'era però la volontà anche a costo del bagno di sangue, di togliere dei posti e di ridurre, di ripresentarsi. Ecco, si capì quindi la volontà del territorio e della regione di andare avanti. Mi mandarono in avanscoperta, l'ambasciatore a Parigi, io parlai con i capi dell'UNESCO e loro mi dissero "se in 3 mesi riuscite a rifare il dossier, entro gennaio del 2013, noi ve lo facciamo passare, cioè, proviamo – però è il vostro stato, l'Italia che deve provare. Noi avevamo cambi di presidenti del consiglio ogni sei mesi, nessuno voleva andare a Roma, nessuno voleva prendersi la responsabilità, io mi sono preso la responsabilità e sono partito per due mesi – mentre loro scrivevano il dossier io portavo a casa la firma del presidente del consiglio, del ministro e tutto. Ci fu un accordo in una stanza a Roma, ci fu un accordo … il Presidente della Commissione Italiana UNESCO aveva un sito da presentare, si fece garantire dal Presidente del Consiglio (Enrico Letta), praticamente che poteva passare il nostro sito nuovamente in candidatura ma che il suo, che aveva nel cassetto, sarebbe passato l'anno dopo – era un fatto di prenotazione. Quello andò bene e noi partimmo di nuovo nel gennaio 2013 con la solita macchina, portammo di nuovo su tutto, con quello che oggi è il sito … in tre mesi abbiamo capito cosa si doveva cambiare e abbiamo fatto venire giù il valutatore dell'ICOMOS che poi parlò al comitato mondiale dicendo, veramente venne da noi e ci disse come dovevamo modificare – una cosa che non fanno mai. Però ha capito la nostra volontà, a loro interessava anche avere un paesaggio italiano così, perché loro avevano già la candidatura poi della Borgogna da portare e volevano che si facesse questa interazione. Praticamente, la storia è quella di oggi: ce l'abbiamo fatta, un grandissimo risultato ad ora, dove tutti d'accordo fecero … è chiaro che ce l'abbiamo fatta e quando ce la fai arrivano tutti sul carro e salgono, però in alcuni momenti non c'era nessuno.

Cosa viene fuori da questo? Che il territorio ha compreso la grande volontà di stare insieme. Se non avesse deciso in tal senso non sarebbe andato avanti, che non può mai essere un ordine che viene dall'alto quello dell'atto di mettersi insieme e che l'UNESCO è una seria realtà e ti offre l'opportunità di un riconoscimento che puoi sfruttare in tutto il mondo. Ma che devi essere veramente intelligente e sfruttarlo al meglio. A volte anche qua si sbaglia perché immaginano che il bollino UNESCO sia una garanzia di bontà del prodotto, ecc… non è quello. È una garanzia di autenticità di quel territorio che sviluppa

delle buone pratiche anche per la produzione del prodotto principale che è il vino. Ma ci sta tutto il resto. Questa è la storia vera.

L'associazione nasce a cavallo della prima presentazione del dossier (10 gennaio 2011) e quindi questa forte volontà dell'associazione nasce per la gestione, ha fatto sì che veramente diventasse un punto di riferimento per l'UNESCO, per l'ICOMOS che valutarono molto bene questa cosa. Se non c'è un soggetto che gestisce loro non ti guardano nemmeno. Se porta la domanda la regione è un conto, sul territorio chi si occupa di quello? Ecco allora l'Associazione. E a volte fa dei lavori che non vengono pubblicizzati così tanto, perché non siamo… dobbiamo fare questi lavori di censimenti tutto su database (26.000 dati georeferiti). Lasceremo al futuro la mappatura del territorio, chi sono i soggetti, gli stakeholders. Si capirà e con il tempo verrà fuori però adesso ci sono ancora abbastanza sbavature da limare perché il territorio ha parecchi attori: la regione fa una cosa, un altro ne fa un'altra.

La mia risposta dice "non mettiamo in discussione un riconoscimento così importante per delle preoccupazioni che sono di parte e soprattutto vengono fuori perché c'è una volontà e il bisogno di regolamentare il territorio riconosciuto. Perché sono raccomandazioni che l'UNESCO dà. Ma le linee guida emanate dalla Regione Piemonte non sono di bloccare tutto quello che è lo sviluppo. Bisogna farlo, se è un far-west ci troveremmo poi di nuovo in condizioni esattamente di gestire lo sviluppo che vuole l'azienda, ma irrefrenabile e che va a riverberarsi sul territorio, sulla bellezza e su tutto quello che è anche il paesaggio stesso. Quindi un po' da qua e un po' da là bisogna prendere le cose migliori, farne una sintesi ma certo, se uno legge bene le linee guida non sono affatto, non intralciano la volontà di crescita. Ci mancherebbe! Solamente che vanno spiegate. C'è stato un difetto di forma, cioè il comune di La Morra, essendo un grande comune come Barolo e che ha interessi maggiori, magari doveva fare una riunione o due in più per poter condividere con il territorio queste cose. Invece la Regione aveva un po' premura di andare avanti e hanno fatto degli step un po' prematuri. Senza voler sorpassare nessuno. È uscita questa cosa e hanno dato la parola ai viticultori "eh, ma allora noi non possiamo". Ecco, è questo. Mi fa piacere che un altro grande del territorio, Ceretto abbia detto invece "signori, sono cento anni che noi prendiamo bisogna anche dare al territorio". Ecco questa è una risposta seria. Poi non è vietato fare nulla. Bisogna solo farlo con delle metodologie. Anche perché la commissione del paesaggio devono essere a conoscenza di quello che è il programma delle linee guida, bisognava partire con qualche comune che facesse da apripista. Adesso, dopo questo piccolo contrasto tutto sarà rimesso a posto. Si comprende che non si deve

danneggiare, ma dobbiamo anche far capire. Ma ogni tanto le regole vanno rispettate. Poi il territorio deve rimanere così per anni e anni. Noi passiamo, ma il territorio resta e chi lo raccoglie deve avere delle regole sulle quali poi tranquillamente lavorare. Quindi sono lavori da fare con estrema cautela e si va davvero a intaccare, non deve essere un elefante in cristalleria, deve essere una cosa che aiuti a comprendere meglio lo sviluppo del nostro territorio.

Bisogna tornare a spiegare i valori. Per non perderli bisogna sempre rinfrescarli. Rinfrescarli vuol dire mai abbandonare la soglia di garanzia, cioè quella che per me… l'associazione deve essere forte a spiegare che senza i valori non si va avanti nel riconoscimento. Automaticamente c'è una maggiore forza del territorio, il territorio vale di più, il territorio vale 20% in più ma perché sono i dati dell'UNESCO. Anche nelle Dolomiti c'è stato un aumento, anche loro nei primi anni hanno tribolato a far capire cosa vuol dire gestire un territorio patrimonio e alcune cose che vanno fatte obbligatoriamente. Dopo sei/sette anni lo si capisce. Purtroppo, siamo all'inizio e siamo in un territorio, Langhe-Roero e Monferrato, con delle effettive difficoltà di valori – in Monferrato il valore del terreno è nettamente inferiore a quello del Barolo. L'associazione sta lavorando molto anche su questo aspetto, per far partire quella modalità perché anche loro comprendano cosa vuol dire l'accoglienza, il riconoscimento dell'UNESCO è anche accoglienza. È chiaro che qua ci sono delle potenzialità maggiori, non lo nascondiamo, c'è un commercio, Barolo e Barbaresco la fanno da padroni, si chiamano Barolo e Barbaresco due comuni, cioè è una cosa veramente…

Trenta/quarant' anni che hanno fatto sì che questo sviluppo fosse importante, c'è stato un vuoto all'interno perché c'è stata effettivamente troppa economia, troppa poca voglia di recuperare l'identità. Perché qui ormai è tutto troppo bello, sembra quasi tutto finito. Parliamo del Prosecco, che non esiste proprio, però loro (i turisti) si aspettano di venire qua, nella cascina, di trovare le persone, ecco…

Non dico di creare quell'ambiente, di ritornare a cinquant'anni fa, però non bisogna perdere la faccia … meno male che si lavora tutto a mano qua, che non scrollano i vitigni per raccogliere l'uva. Però già avere tutta questa manovalanza ha fatto sì di dire come mai? È la forma di cultura, cioè qui bisogna vederlo come la Borgogna sta cercando di mantenere i piccoli produttori, tutto, persino nelle scuole, tutto parla di vino perché c'è una cultura maggiormente proiettata al mantenimento di quella identità e noi dobbiamo lavorare su quello. Cioè, l'associazione infatti lavora su quello. Lo vuole portare nella testa di queste persone. Non è facile, perché anche le stesse realtà, la regione Piemonte,

con i progetti di valorizzazione del territorio, spinge molto all'economia. Invece le politiche dovrebbero guardare il sito UNESCO come il nostro… ruralità e integrità di un territorio che solo così può mantenere le credenziali e il valore UNESCO.
Non è facile spiegare l'autenticità. Perché nelle raccomandazioni dell'UNESCO questo è il carattere più delicato. Loro hanno visto l'autenticità del territorio, è quella che ci ha… nel corso dei secoli… però mettono un'attenzione particolare su questo. Cioè hanno chiesto anche a noi… Raccontare l'autenticità è la parte più difficile, non si può trasferire in due parole. Bisogna calpestarlo il territorio perché sia autentico. Dev'essere autentico quello che tu magari trovi nel brutto e che ti trasferisce dei saperi e quello che vogliamo diventare noi per il futuro. Per trasferirlo alle nuove generazioni noi l'abbiamo messo all'interno tutta la parte formativa che la scuola enologica vuole trasferire questi valori, i giovani vogliono trasferire alle generazioni future. Quindi cinquecento ragazzi della scuola enologica apprendono le attività, tutto quello che è legato al vino e noi abbiamo messo questo. Poi c'è una scuola, l'unica scuola, che trasferisce ancora questi valori dall'Ottocento a oggi, nello stesso modo. E questo ci ha garantito un pochino di, abbiamo accresciuto un po' il valore di valutazione. Io comprendo che c'è l'80%, il 90% di trasformazione del prodotto e vendita all'estero e tante volte l'autenticità è… Il turista che arriva sulla piazza ha l'idea di trovarsi in un bel borgo, ma molto elegante, quello di Barolo, molto elegante a Barbaresco, lo skyline verde, ecc… poi va in un posto, a Tiglio Monferrato, borghi dove non trova nessuno, c'è una grande autenticità ma non c'è vita, non c'è il trasferire queste cose, i negozi sono chiusi, cioè ha voglia di continuare poi su quelle orme che hanno portato a scrivere il territorio come il nostro e che hanno portato al riconoscimento. Noi l'abbiamo raccontato molto bene ed è stato recepito, è chiaro che adesso bisogna fare la parte per tornare indietro e che non siano solo parole scritte ma la volontà di lavorare perché questo riconoscimento … Noi abbiamo persino anche fatto vedere le cose chiaramente, portando in giro, abbiamo fatto delle strade particolari. A noi interessava questo perché c'era bisogno che il territorio comprendesse il suo valore: era quello del paesaggio plasmato dal lavoro dell'uomo in quasi due millenni. La domanda che lei mi ha fatto è pertinente perché è il nodo di tutto. Abbiamo un occhio di visuale molto diverso da quello di Canelli che è un centro molto importante per la spumantizzazione, è stato riconosciuto perché il Moscato in quel modo lì viene da sempre in Asti Spumante, con le bollicine e quindi l'unica rappresentazione di quel vitigno di come viene utilizzato e loro paragonato allo champagne ha quell'autenticità lì, che viene da sempre prodotto in quel modo. Ecco, l'autenticità si trova molto a Grinzane, ad

esempio, perché Grinzane come edificio ha saputo e sa da tanti anni, secoli, quello che è il bene contenitore e al suo interno una storia che si vuole tramandare e resta così. Ecco, la conservazione. È chiaro che se ti affacci dal balcone … L'UNESCO lo sa benissimo: è un territorio fragile, difficile, complesso. Ci ha premiati proprio perché l'Italia non aveva un paesaggio rurale a 360°. Così, questa è stata la nostra forza. Tutti gli altri paesaggi del vino, terrazzamenti delle Cinque Terre, la Val d'Orcia, non avevano quella caratterizzazione perché erano inseriti in un contesto di parco, diversa, invece noi abbiamo un'espressione unica e autentica del paesaggio del vino italiano.

Noi, sviluppando le politiche legate alla legge 77, cioè la legge che prevede il finanziamento di progetti legati ai siti UNESCO, sviluppiamo tutta una serie di progetti, iniziato con il censimento – quello che le avevo detto – prima di parlare bisogna conoscere: chi siamo, dove siamo, quali sono gli elementi di valore di questo territorio, le strutture del vino, gli infernot, è tutto censito in questo database, che alla fine del lavoro, tra un paio di anni, noi abbiamo un grande contenitore dove c'è praticamente tutto di questo territorio. Quindi sapremo anche dove, quello che pesa di più quello che pesa di meno, cosa bisogna fare e soprattutto i luoghi del vino è inutile bisogna narrarli, ma narrarli proprio con il concept di quello che è stato il percorso che ha portato il riconoscimento, perché è patrimonio di un'umanità? Perché ti lascia dei valori, dei saperi che sono unici e che servono a te come persona a fruire di un bene che ti lega alla cultura di quel territorio. Cioè, quel territorio, grazie a quella impronta mantiene un patrimonio che è per l'umanità. Questo è difficile trasferirlo alle persone che non ne fanno parte, ma nemmeno noi ci stufiamo di spiegarlo. Lo spiegheremo anche in un convegno che il 26 farò sul valore rurale del territorio di Langhe Roero, perché adesso qua bisogna abbassare un po' gli animi e farli innamorare di quelli che sono i luoghi del vino, che non sono solo le cantine o le cave. I luoghi del vino sono quelli che sono caratterizzati dalla presenza anche, il museo delle contadinerie, il WiMu. Il WiMu è stato fatto con un grande progetto, di alcuni milioni di euro da un artista che vedeva a suo modo il mondo del vino, in quel modo lì, ma messo in un contenitore che se il fruitore non è preparato ad accogliere quel tipo di sistemazione culturale, entra dentro, vede delle cose nuove, un ragionamento lo fa, ma lo vede sotto un'altra ottica, cioè ognuno lo interpreta come un'opera d'arte, perché è un'opera d'arte. Invece noi dobbiamo caratterizzare i luoghi perché sono in questo posto, la gente deve capire che entrare in un luogo c'è anche lì il patrimonio dell'umanità. Una targa fuori non basta a dire questo. Sicuramente, luoghi come il WiMu dovrebbero avere anche una presentazione di quello che era il castello in quel momento della storia e

che cos'ha determinato per il territorio quel luogo. O il luogo è diventato un teatro di rappresentatività, ma non esprime valori autentici di quel territorio. Pertanto, noi abbiamo in programma, quest'anno 2017 abbiamo vinto finanziamento sull'inclusione dei territori, quindi lavoriamo ad abbattere non le barriere architettoniche ma abbattiamo tutte le difficoltà per poter godere della bellezza del territorio (disabilità). Progetto "Paesaggio per tutti". Quindi, il primo è stato il censimento per conoscere il territorio, il secondo lo finiremo a maggio del prossimo anno – inclusione – quindi anche testare sul territorio le possibilità di fruizione, fruirlo in maniera a 360° e tutte le persone non avranno ostacoli e daremo anche la possibilità di finanziare tre progetti su tre territori macro (Asti, Cuneo, Alessandria), progettualità dei giovani finanziata con una borsa di studi di 10.000 euro per ogni progetto e che verrà poi svolta e finanziata. Per poi arrivare il prossimo anno e quello che lei sta facendo, cioè i luoghi non sono luoghi qualunque, sono luoghi che hanno una testimonianza. Che testimonianza ha il castello di Barolo? Non ha la testimonianza del museo WiMu che è arrivato nel 2005, hanno speso milioni, ma ha il contesto che quel luogo è stato riconosciuto per il territorio perché metodo Marinot lì raccontiamo questa cosa qui. A Barbaresco ci sarà un'altra cosa. In questo trittico e allora lì usciremo poi pubblicamente e diremo questa è la realtà, la stiamo tirando fuori noi perché nessuno se ne sta occupando, perché tutti qua vogliono fare numeri, ma è anche giusto, perché siamo in un mondo che parla così. Invece l'associazione guai se non lo facesse e poi l'UNESCO viene da noi. Anche sui social dobbiamo spingere e non avere paura di far comprendere qual è l'autenticità del sito. In quel modo lì, perché se no, saremo fuori. Lei non mi ha sentito dire una volta 'siamo passati da 700.000 turisti a 730.000, lei non lo sentirà mai. Questa è la cosa importante. Io le parlo tre ore del progetto senza dirle, provi ad andare da un altro. Trenta secondi e sono già … Sono io a dover avere questa visione. Io ho curato tutta la candidatura e so cosa vuole dire. Purtroppo, io mi metto poi anche di traverso in queste situazioni, ma non importa, devo tenere duro. Certo il ministero e l'UNESCO a Parigi hanno molta… credono molto in noi e vogliono sostenerci perché io ho questa convinzione, e loro dicono è uno dei migliori siti gestiti proprio perché…

'Io Agisco' è importante, 'Io Agisco' è iniziato talmente sballato rispetto al concetto che adesso stanno un po' ritornando nell'alveo perché all'inizio… il rametto in fiore sul balcone, ma per carità, ci mancherebbe, non è quello… ma non gestiamo il sito UNESCO solo con queste piccolezze. Adesso vogliono aiutare i giovani a crescere però si sono fidati anche all'associazione e mi chiedono tutte le cose che devono fare. Io più che spiegarla così, lavorando giornalmente in questo modo, i risultati ci sono ma

…Resilienza, sono in pochissimi a parlarne… Il sito ha un'associazione forte seppure in controtendenza a un territorio che ha ricevuto questo riconoscimento e vuole svilupparlo ognuno nelle proprie manifestazioni, però noi sappiamo benissimo quello che serve a questo sito. Camminiamo piano ma camminiamo sempre per la giusta strada cercando di inculcare in tutti questa identità, questa sensibilità, questa sostenibilità, ma non solo scritta… trasferirla, trasferirla. Devo dire che il lavoro premia, sì, perché all'inizio c'era gente che metteva il no all'UNESCO dappertutto. Ecco, allora quello vuol dire che è un fallimento del progetto. Adesso anzi chiedono all'associazione, noi valutiamo.

Chi vive nel territorio deve essere il primo a esserne felice, perché se no non riesce a raccontarlo. Per comprendere va spiegato. Sono convinto che ci siano una grande volontà, una grande sensibilità. Ci sono molte più cose positive che negative. Qualcosa di negativo deve esserci se no sarebbe… è chiaro che siamo solo noi che possiamo fare bene, chi lo abita, chi lo vive e non lo può descrivere una persona che vive a 200 km, con tutto rispetto, devi viverlo, devi sentirlo per apprezzarlo. Soprattutto lavorare non in funzione dello sbarramento, delle buffer (zone), delle core (zone), è sbagliato. Adesso io sto lavorando molto sul Roero, per creare un'associazione per la valorizzazione del Roero e ho messo al tavolo i soggetti. Comunque anche nel Roero ci sono due buffer zone, due comuni, non è che non ha un riconoscimento, e da quelle due realtà voglio creare un collante. Questi due comuni che continuano a dire "siamo solo un trattino, non ci siamo". Non è vero, voi ci siete, perché nella registrazione del nome, nella nomination il Roero c'è. È un cambio culturale importante. Purtroppo, qui negli anni '90, 2000 c'erano tanti soldi e hanno fatto altre realizzazioni, non si pensava... Sulle opere d'arte ci possiamo confrontare, non è detto che sia brutto.

## Appendix 5 – Interviews to local people

- What do you think is your heritage? What is important to preserve or to represent? And why?

- What would you like people to know about your heritage? What do you feel is the "authentic" heritage of this area?

- Do you ever visit local museums? Ecomuseums? Do you find "your" stories there?

- Do you feel part of this heritage community? Do you want to be more engaged?

- In which ways women's life has changed in the last decades (memories about their mothers, grandmothers, aunts…)?

### Interviews in the 'Langhe of Barolo' core zone

1. **Franca (about 45-year-old woman, public officer)**

- Il patrimonio è sia materiale sia immateriale
- Idea molto vaga di "paesaggio" (vivere qui; castello/museo; stare insieme; la vita sociale)
- La dichiarazione UNESCO aiuta perché tutela il sito e permette agli abitanti di lottare per difendere il patrimonio
- Le istituzioni si occupano di queste cose, se uno ha bisogno basta andare a bussare in comune e si viene ascoltati
- Non visita i musei per questioni di tempo. La scuola deve pensare a portare i bambini nei musei
- Il ruolo della donna è cambiato profondamente, ormai donna e uomo sono pari. Le donne non sono rappresentate per questioni socio-culturali
- Il sito non aiuta alla consapevolezza, la consapevolezza è qualcosa che hai o non hai; alcune persone non raggiungeranno mai la consapevolezza

2. **Mariuccia (about 70- year-old woman, café owner)**

- Con la dichiarazione UNESCO sono arrivati più turisti
- Patrimonio sia materiale sia immateriale. Non esprime un particolare attaccamento alle tradizioni: "bisogna andare avanti"
- Ciò che è autentico sono i prodotti locali, il cibo
- Visita i musei insieme ai nipoti
- Le donne hanno raggiunto l'indipendenza

3. **Adriano (about 50-year-old man working for a wine producer)**

- Il patrimonio sono il vino, i tartufi, i prodotti locali (cibo)
- Attenzione migliorata negli ultimi 10-15 anni
- Turismo: non ci sono lati negativi, è un turismo consapevole, soprattutto quello estero
- Maggiore consapevolezza, anche per i locali
- Le strade non vanno bene
- Necessità di un maggiore coinvolgimento a livello istituzionale
- Non visita i musei
- Il ruolo della donna è migliorato, ma per fortuna per il momento le donne vogliono solo arrivare al pari dell'uomo – perché in realtà sono già molto avanti a livello di formazione

4. **Emma (about 55-year-old woman, B&B owner)**

- Paesaggio caratteristico, non deve essere modificato in maniera invasiva
- Autenticità è il modo di vivere, ancora molto rurale
- I turisti amano vedere la vita contadina
- Il lato negativo della dichiarazione UNESCO sono i vincoli imposti, come la difficoltà nel modificare le architetture. Vincoli molto rigidi nell'edilizia
- Manca un dialogo, ci vorrebbe più elasticità
- Mancano i collegamenti con i mezzi di trasporto pubblici (non c'è la stazione), le strade sono dissestate. C'è forse la volontà di isolare questi luoghi per mantenerli intatti
- Turismo slow food, ma anche stagionale

- Le istituzioni tralasciano le esigenze delle persone, dei cittadini
- Vorrebbe un museo più sociale
- Ci vorrebbe una maggiore collaborazione tra i paesi (ognuno tende a fare le cose in maniera autonoma). Lo stesso accade nelle istituzioni culturali
- La situazione della donna è ancora indietro; la figura maschile fa parte del paesaggio. Forse progetti culturali aiuterebbero in questo senso

**5. Valentina (about 45-year-old woman, wine seller)**

- Patrimonio è tutto ciò che è bello, che permette di ricordare un luogo. Pulizia, ordine, caratteristico. Ricerca delle tradizioni, della storia. Propone di fare delle rievocazioni storiche
- Mancano eventi culturali di sera. Non pensa che ci sia un gran ritorno dovuto alla candidatura UNESCO. Le decisioni sulla tutela degli edifici dovrebbero essere fatte da persone locali. Lamenta il fatto che il tecnico che ha stabilito il piano colori non è locale (ligure, ha già lavorato alle Cinque Terre usando gli stessi colori)
- Puntare solo sul vino è un rischio, si va verso la monocultura. Anche i turisti si lamentano del fatto che ci sia solo questo
- "Bisogna partire insieme", necessità di coinvolgere i cittadini sin dalle prime fasi decisionali
- La situazione della donna è migliorata, anche se spesso alle donne vengono affidati ruoli come l'accoglienza o la comunicazione
- Non è interessata ai musei; non ha tempo e preferisce altri tipi di attività.

**6. Beatrice (about 55-year-old woman, shop owner)**

- Il patrimonio sono i vigneti, i monumenti, lo stile di vita e i valori. Maggiore salvaguardia per trasmettere ai propri figli tutto questo bagaglio. Non bisogna stravolgere il paesaggio, neanche per renderlo più bello. Mancano i valori della convivenza
- I cittadini dovrebbero essere coinvolti, perché questo vorrebbe dire renderli anche più responsabili

- Per questioni di tempo non visita i musei. Pensa che potrebbero coinvolgere di più i cittadini, soprattutto gli anziani che potrebbero raccontare com'era un tempo questo territorio e tramandare storie e tradizioni

**7 – 8 – 9. Roberta, Massimo, Giovanni (a family composed by mother, father and son, they have a shop where they sell their food products)**

- Non c'è coinvolgimento da parte delle istituzioni
- Lamentano il fatto che in realtà i limiti possono essere evitati, se si hanno protezioni politiche e soldi: 'se hai i soldi, puoi fare tutto quello che vuoi'
- L'autenticità è nel paesaggio, nelle tradizioni, nei monumenti

**10. Daniele (about 60-year-old man, public officer)**

- Clima, bellezza panoramica, strutture per i turisti. Modificare verso il meglio
- Nato qui; ci si affeziona ai posti
- Turista: viene per il belvedere, per il panorama. Il panorama di La Morra è migliore di quello di Barolo. Tradizioni: festa dell'uva di La Morra – giornata dei bovini, dei trattori, degli attrezzi; tradizioni che si sono perse
- Ci va tanto lavoro per organizzarle, in più la burocrazia rallenta tutto, è troppo pesante
- Lati positivi del riconoscimento UNESCO: più turisti, lavoro per migliorare le architetture brutte che rovinavano il paesaggio. Subito sembra difficile seguire quello che prescrive l'UNESCO. Ha lavorato per quaranta anni nella pro-loco
- Ogni sindaco ha la sua teoria. C'è difficoltà nel mettere tutti d'accordo. Devono esserci regole ma devono essere condivise, c'è bisogno che le decisioni vengano spiegate con un linguaggio non tecnico e che possa essere capito da tutti
- Ha visitato i musei (è piaciuto molto quello di Grinzane Cavour), sono assolutamente da mantenere, soprattutto per i giovani, per far vedere come funzionava un tempo la campagna
- Oggi ci sono molte donne nel mondo del vino. Una volta lavoravano sia in vigna sia in casa, ora sono nei posti di comando; sono entrate nel settore come mogli/figlie di… e poi hanno fatto strada da sole – è una cosa molto

positiva. Non importa se siano uomini o donne – l'importante è che facciano bene il loro lavoro

**11. Francesca (about 25-year-old woman working in the town wine cellar)**

- Il patrimonio è costituito dal vino e dai paesaggi. Territorio agricolo, non solo turistico, presenza delle persone locali, è ancora molto 'vero' non si stanno perdendo le tradizioni: molti eventi, sagre tradizioni legate al cibo, lancio della barrique
- L'UNESCO è un aspetto positivo perché ha inserito dei limiti (divieto dell'uso di pesticidi). Spinta già prima dell'UNESCO. L'UNESCO però non deve dare l'idea 'di film' (es: la vendemmia con i piedi, o immagini tipo "Un'ottima annata")
- Turismo selezionato, davvero interessato a tutto del vino che compra, dall'inizio alla fine (dai filari alla cantina). Vogliono vedere la vigna; potrebbe diventare troppo turistico. Cercare di non eccedere con il turismo. Trovare qualcuno di fiducia che faccia da intermediario. Gli italiani iniziano ad apprezzare (ma ci sono limiti economici)
- Bisogna mantenere l'aspetto agricolo. Ci sono territori uguali in tutto il mondo, per questo bisogna mantenere l'autenticità. Bisognerebbe che nelle cantine ci fossero sempre persone del luogo: sono produttori, non investitori
- Lo stesso vale per la politica: più partecipazione attiva (es. raccolta firme contro la pista ciclabile)
- Non piace il WiMu, è un museo turistico, 'non c'è niente che parli di me'. Molto belli invece i castelli (Serralunga e Grinzane). I musei dovrebbero funzionare di più per i turisti italiani, per far scoprire l'identità del luogo. Sarebbe interessante trovare le nostre storie nei musei
- Se c'è il Barolo è grazie a Giulia di Barolo. Tante cantine sono in mano a donne, anche una volta aiutavano nelle vigne (ma dovevano occuparsi anche della gestione della casa)

**12. Giorgio (about 50-year-old man, wine producer)**

- Il patrimonio è fatto dalle vigne, dallo stile di vita e dalle tradizioni

- Ormai è molto difficile mantenere le vigne. Molti viticoltori hanno pochi ettari, è facile essere comprati da investitori stranieri
- Non c'è stato coinvolgimento da parte delle istituzioni. Gli piacerebbe essere informato, anche se non avrebbe il tempo di partecipare attivamente

**13. Andrea (about 40-year-old man, restaurant owner)**

- Patrimonio: vino, nocciole, panorama, architettura, cultura/storia
- Da conservare per le generazioni future. Particolarità del territorio (colori, profumi diversi)
- Il territorio è già valorizzato ma bisogna fare di più (in questo caso per 'valorizzazione' si intende sviluppo turistico). Presentare meglio il territorio, più contatti con le agenzie turistiche
- Autenticità: gastronomia, vino cultura (organizzare eventi in costume)
- Musei che parlino anche del presente
- Più partecipazione

**14. Giovanna (about 60-year-old woman, shop owner)**

- Il patrimonio è fatto dalle colline e dalle vigne. Non sono più le Langhe di una volta (c'erano i vigneti, ma anche tante altre coltivazioni). Si è perso il patrimonio immateriale.
- Ma l'UNESCO è arrivato troppo tardi, perché negli anni passati si sono fatti troppi scempi. Il paesaggio è stato rovinato per ottenere profitti economici. L'arrivo dell'UNESCO aiuta perché ci sono dei limiti.
- Però bisogna anche spiegare in cosa consistono questi limiti. I cittadini non vengono coinvolti
- Oggi le donne hanno iniziato a ricoprire ruoli importanti nella produzione del vino. Alcune donne sono più preparate degli uomini – gli uomini si occupano del lavoro in vigna, le donne dirigono le aziende. Cita Nuto Revelli

**15. Caterina (about 50-year-old woman, shop owner)**

- Il patrimonio è fatto dal paesaggio (vigne, castelli, borghi). Deve essere salvaguardato per le generazioni future
- Ha notato un ritorno a ciò che è autentico

- Ci vorrebbe più comunicazione
- Lei è orgogliosa del suo paese, a prescindere dalla nomina UNESCO, ed è felice della candidatura
- Sarebbe interessante un maggiore coinvolgimento da parte dei musei, che potrebbero raccogliere le storie delle persone. Anche perché le persone anziane che possono raccontare le tradizioni ormai stanno iniziando a mancare

**16. Anna (about 60-year-old woman, shop owner)**

- Il patrimonio è fatto dal paesaggio, dalle coltivazioni
- Si stanno recuperando alcune tradizioni, come le fiere, ma non dipende dall'UNESCO. È un processo iniziato già prima
- Manca la comunicazione, ma non vorrebbe essere coinvolta in maniera più attiva. Ha fiducia nelle autorità (c'è un bravo sindaco, giovane)
- Sarebbe interessante essere coinvolti maggiormente dai musei
- Le donne imprenditrici stanno aumentando, ma c'è ancora molto lavoro da fare
- L'UNESCO non può realmente cambiare la situazione o la mentalità. Il cambiamento può partire solo dai cittadini stessi.

**17. Claudio (about 50-year-old man, public officer)**

- Patrimonio è il nostro territorio unico e irripetibile, noi viviamo il territorio, la varietà del territorio: paesini piccoli, racconti di quello che è rimasto. Tante tradizioni sono andate perse, a causa della burocrazia. La bellezza della vendemmia non esiste più
- Alba è molto affollata, ci vorranno decenni per arrivare a grandi numeri anche qui. Non è una meta turistica. Non bisogna stravolgere questo territorio per esigenze turistiche. Le proloco sono lasciate un po' a se stesse, si pensa che il loro lavoro si limiti all'organizzazione di eventi, invece sono l'unico strumento turistico, ma non vengono sfruttate
- Le Langhe cinquanta anni fa non sarebbero entrate nell'UNESCO, ora sì: 'voi fate rendere il denaro'. Motivi economici contro i limiti UNESCO. Molte persone non hanno capito che cos'è l'UNESCO: non si era pronti, ma poteva

essere fatto prima per salvaguardare il territorio. L'UNESCO ha dato maggiore visibilità

- I musei non sono coinvolti nelle politiche di sviluppo. Potrebbero coinvolgere gli abitanti, ma non lo stanno facendo. Non si parlano tra di loro
- Manca organizzazione: non esiste nessun legame tra i vari enti, tutto slegato. L'ambito politico è bloccato
- Non ci deve essere divisione uomo/donna. La parità di genere è solo uno specchio, perché le donne lavorano nelle aziende famigliari

**18. Marco (about 55-year-old man working in a local factory)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, vigneti, tradizioni e stile di vita
- A Serralunga abitano circa quattrocento persone, ci sono pochi giovani. Chi si è fermato guadagna. Altri paesi si sono sviluppati di più
- Si lascia la campagna per l'industria e per lavorare nel turismo
- Dieci anni fa era nel consiglio comunale, ora non più perché l'amministrazione non è attiva. Non si vede un miglioramento. 'Ci siamo trovati l'UNESCO': si poteva entrare dopo, con calma. Mancano i servizi di base, mancano centri di aggregazione. 'Ce lo dovevano dire, ce lo dovevano presentare!'. Paura di parlare con le autorità, perché si temono ritorsioni
- I musei non sono attivi, 'mi piacerebbe un museo che coinvolgesse di più le persone'
- La vita contadina si è persa per colpa dei grandi produttori. Ora c'è solo vite, una volta non era così

**19. Lorenzo (about 35-year-old man, B&B owner)**

- Cosa rende speciale questo territorio sono la conformazione morfologica e gli edifici (castelli, palazzi, case). Sì, anche le tradizioni, in particolare la lingua. Non bisogna perdere il dialetto ('ma non so se questo interessa all'UNESCO')
- Le amministrazioni pubbliche devono essere più coinvolgenti. Non sono stati coinvolti nella decisione. Sarebbe meglio essere più informati
- Ha visitato alcuni musei del territorio, quello che gli è piaciuto di più è stato quello di Magliano Alfieri, perché parla bene del territorio. Il museo del vino

di Barolo è molto bello, ma è meno legato al territorio. Attraverso i musei non si capisce che cos'è l'UNESCO. I musei potrebbero fare da collante

- Autenticità vuol dire tutelare il proprio territorio, non permettere al privato di divorare quello che c'è. Bisogna preservare il passato (spesso è personale), ma non bisogna denigrare il moderno
- A livello burocratico, conservare il territorio è più complesso ora che c'è l'UNESCO. In ogni caso non è una minaccia, è un'opportunità. Forse bisognava entrare prima per salvare il territorio
- Buoni risultati per il turismo, la stagionalità si sta allungando, non è più solo legata al vino e al tartufo. Turismo diversificato. Per il momento non si teme il turismo di massa, perché c'è un turismo di nicchia: turismo che porta gente con reddito e che conosce bene il territorio, turismo consapevole. La mentalità delle persone che vivono lì però non è ancora cambiata

**20. Franco (about 70-year-old man, retiree)**

- La prima risposta sapendo che dovevamo parlare dell'UNESCO è stata "devo prepararmi?"
- Ci devono essere dei limiti. Positivo: ci sono più possibilità di accedere ai fondi
- Bisogna salvaguardare l'ambiente, la cultura, gli edifici. Anche se ha viaggiato e ha visto altri posti in Italia, lui è innamorato del posto dove è nato: la vista sulle colline è unica
- Anche se ormai il territorio è stato modificato: andavano mantenuti i boschi, mentre ora è solo vigneto
- Arrivano molte persone che investono, soprattutto nel turismo. Anche se in alcuni casi non si sono rispettati i limiti, si è costruito troppo o in maniera inopportuna. La gente viene per i resort, ma si fermano solo un giorno perché non c'è niente oltre il castello e il piccolo borgo (il Castello è molto bello). Lui fa parte della protezione civile e un anno si sono impegnati a tenerlo aperto per un mese: sono arrivati 8.000 visitatori e a fine giornata c'era sempre ancora la coda. Loro non sono stati pagati per questo, ma non importa, l'hanno fatto volentieri. Quando vengono dei suoi amici li porta sempre a visitare il castello, ma "i turisti sembrano

vedere più di noi la bellezza del luogo" e lo tengono più pulito, mentre spesso chi ci vive non è sensibile alle questioni dell'inquinamento

- Purtroppo, molta gente non sa ancora che cos'è l'UNESCO e non capiscono che bisogna stare dentro i limiti l'UNESCO potrebbe aiutare a sensibilizzare di più la popolazione alle tematiche ambientali. L'amministrazione non ha comunicato bene che cos'è l'UNESCO, però anche quando ci sono riunioni la gente non va. Ognuno fa la sua strada, ci sono molte cantine ma non collaborano
- Ha visitato dei musei ma non si parla di che cos'è l'UNESCO
- Le donne stanno diventando più brave degli uomini nella produzione del vino

**Interviews in 'Canelli and Asti Spumante' core zone**

1. **Alessandro (about 40-year-old man, B&B owner)**
    - Tutto è da mantenere: le abitudini della gente, il modo di coltivare, le storie e le nostre memorie. Il paesaggio è sicuramente importante ma anche questo deve essere preservato, gli abitanti del paese vogliono preservare questo
    - Personalmente non sa se sono state fatte cose per coinvolgere i cittadini. Da un lato mi piacerebbe essere coinvolto e informato, ma non ho il tempo materiale per farlo
    - Ha visitato quasi tutti i musei presenti sul territorio. Gli è piaciuta molto la visita al Castello di Serralunga perché la guida ha dato spiegazioni sul territorio in cui si trova il castello; però non viene spiegato che cos'è l'UNESCO
    - Il turismo in questa zona non è ancora di massa, però bisogna stare attenti a non esagerare. Le pro-loco continuano a organizzare eventi come prima
    - Il territorio è ancora autentico, molti B&B e ristoranti sono a gestione famigliare e i proprietari parlano volentieri del territorio insieme ai turisti
    - Visione molto positiva dell'UNESCO
    - 'Spero di non aver detto delle cose stupide'

2. **Carlo (about 45-year-old man, working in the public administration)**
    - Il paesaggio, le tradizioni, lo stile di vita, i vigneti, le cattedrali del vino, le memorie e le storie di chi abita qui sono il patrimonio di questa zona
    - L'autenticità è rappresentata dalla vita quotidiana delle persone che vivono nel sito
    - I musei hanno un problema di rapporto con l'esterno. Non è mai andato al WiMu: è una scelta ideologica, 'sono andato di sfuggita e sono andato via'. Adesso c'è la tendenza a spettacolarizzare un po' e non ha nessun contatto con il territorio. Vorrebbe musei più coinvolgenti, dove trovare le sue storie
    - Teme che ci sia comunque la possibilità da parte dell'UNESCO, degli ispettori di dire 'ragazzi, qui sono passati cinque anni, non è cambiato niente. Non so, vi mando un monito. Se dopo altri cinque anni non cambia niente, vi tolgo la cosa'. E allora, magari, farà più rumore il fatto di 'deunescoizzare' che il fatto di 'unescoizzare'
    - Non c'è stato coinvolgimento. In fondo è la società del consenso, l'importante è che tu sia un cittadino acquirente, utente. Poi il resto te lo devi fare da te. Il discorso sarebbe stato bello, le cattedrali sotterranee avevano un senso, legato all'economia dello spumante, all'epopea industriale a cavallo tra l'Ottocento e il Novecento, invece così è diventato un carrozzone che tenta di tenere insieme un po' tutto e tutti e quindi questo è un difetto di partenza
    - Il patrimonio locale c'è ma si trasforma subito in populismo, 'riaffermazione della propria supremazia'. In fondo qui c'è stata un'immigrazione sconvolgente quando la Fiat ha fatto un salto di qualità e ha chiamato tutti gli italiani a lavorare a Mirafiori. 'Qui sono venuti tutti, non lo so io, noi abbiamo un feeling con Piazza Armerina, e qui ormai gli immigrati sono di terza generazione. Allora, diciamo, il sentirsi parte di un territorio, secondo me – adesso questa è una frase che ho fatto io… - abbiamo tantissimi amici che si danno da fare, che sono immigrati, figli di immigrati che si danno da fare, perché in questo territorio, la loro attività economica e quindi si danno da fare. Altri che invece non si sentono parte di un retaggio culturale di questo territorio qua. E poi adesso c'è di nuovo

l'immigrazione, quella dall'estero, i profughi eccetera… e quindi si stempera e quindi non esiste una coesione'

- Ma poi mio nonno è andato a New York negli anni '20… c'è tutto un fenomeno di immigrazione. Perché c'era una miseria terribile.
- Qui, per esempio, abbiamo Calosso, Santo Stefano Belbo… e uno che parla dialetto si sente subito straniero, perché lì dici tre parole e ti guardano subito come dire… tu non sei di qui, tu parli come quelli di Nizza… e quindi c'è tutta questa scarsa coesione, chiamiamola… che fino a cinquanta anni fa era quasi sul pezzo, no? Qui sei un 'furesté', un forestiero… e quindi non lo so… la gente ha bisogno di essere rassicurata, ha bisogno comunque di essere sempre blandita, eccetera. Però ci sono delle differenze notevoli. E qui, se tu vai poi nel profondo, scopri che tra paese e paese c'è comunque una rivalità, non solo calcistica. Tutte le volte che si andava a giocare a pallone a Nizza ci si menava, da ragazzi. Quando si andava a ballare a Calamandrana arrivavano quelli di Nizza, quelli di Canelli e lì si menavano… adesso parliamo di bullismo e di cosa, però siamo stati anche noi della partita
- Noi abbiamo poi visto l'UNESCO solo come organizzazione turistico-paesaggistica … in realtà questi sono quelli dell'ONU… il discorso principale è quello dei diritti umani, è quello delle torture, dei soprusi sui popoli, eccetera eccetera … poi vieni giù, le tradizioni, in ultimo arriva anche il paesaggio, che fa parte della libertà dell'uomo. Quindi noi abbiamo preso poi dell'UNESCO sempre… sembra che sia un'agenzia di viaggi, un'agenzia turistica… quelli che non sanno. In realtà non è così e insomma, questa cosa qui la patiscono un po' quelli dell'UNESCO

3. **Paolo (about 50-year-old man, working for a wine shop)**
   - Il patrimonio è fatto dal paesaggio con i suoi vigneti, le cattedrali sotterranee e le memorie
   - Sono autentici i prodotti locali, le tradizioni e lo stile di vita
   - Alcune persone percepiscono l'UNESCO come un discorso nemico perché adesso non posso più fare nulla, neanche se poi dovesse fare chissà che cosa, nel senso che ormai non c'è più nulla da fare. Sì, d'accordo, se non

magari mascherare un po' qualche capannone, ma lì abbiamo la possibilità di mascherarli in diversi modi. Basta anche solo semplicemente dipingerli, non dipingerli come ha fatto quello là delle gelatine – che l'ha fatto senza senso.

- Le quattro cattedrali sono una slegata dall'altra, non si riesce a fare un evento in cui le cattedrali siano la cosa partecipata, principale e libera a tutti. C'è gente che parte, che fa migliaia di chilometri per venire a vedere qualcosa poi diciamo 'eh no', 'eh no', 'eh no'. Quello che è possibile si cerca di fare, di trasmettere al turista, ma siamo mille miglia lontano da quello che possa essere, visto che poi dopo, a 30 km, quando andrai a fare le interviste dall'altra parte, nelle Langhe o nella zona dell'albese, là è un'altra cosa. Là il turista si sente tra virgolette riverito e coccolato. Se si fa una manifestazione, fanno due mesi di manifestazione ad Alba o meno, dedicato a tutto quello che è il buon bere, il buon mangiare e via dicendo, che ormai è la cosa maggiore che attiri, che muova la gente, perché le altre chincaglierie ne abbiamo già talmente tante. Qui invece quelli fondamentali non riusciamo a dirgli, no, facciamo una manifestazione. Facciamo una manifestazione tutti insieme, no? Dite, fate voi, e niente, non si riesce. È questo, che si sta perdendo questa coesione e perdendo l'opportunità, poi fra tre anni, quando magari rivedranno e magari diranno, eh no, lì lo mettiamo con il punto interrogativo… oh cribbio, abbiamo perso il treno… ah, no, ma adesso ce lo rimetteranno di nuovo…
- Noi qui abbiamo avuto un'immigrazione dal Sud e adesso, poi dopo, il mercato dell'est che ci permette di tenere 'ste campagne, e di là la stessa cosa. Nell'albese hanno i macedoni, i rumeni, i bulgari che vanno in campagna, come li abbiamo noi qui. Però di là li hanno un pochino integrati, nel senso che… Io ho mio cugino, ce ne sono tre famiglie di miei parenti che hanno delle cascine su di là, loro una famiglia l'hanno presa. Gli hanno dato un pezzo di terra. Tu qui, pensa, i miei, quelli che vengono ad aiutare i miei a vendemmiare li metto nel carro. Poi vediamo noi il problema che viene fuori, che arrivano e poi non sanno dove andare o meno. Quel discorso lì. Ma se ognuno dice, fai venire quei dieci persone ma gli dai… non ci sarebbe questo problema, ma magari crei anche

integrazione fra di loro. Perché io, questi qui che vengono giù sono una famiglia sono ormai sette anni che vengono. Padre, madre, figli, via dicendo. Vengono giù, quindici giorni, vengono ad aiutare i miei a vendemmiare e via dicendo. Eh, per quello, poi mio fratello è andato su a trovarli loro là

- I miei nonni a San Marzano avevano la cascina, sono morti di tumore, però loro non riuscivano più a dare il verderame. C'è stato un consorzio di elicotteri che ha fatto furore per vent'anni. Questi qui andavano, irroravano gli orti con delle concentrazioni di prodotto forte per evitare che si disperdesse nell'aria e quindi ci sono stati vent'anni di elicotteri. Così i miei nonni, e tanti altri, hanno pagato con la vita. Adesso la situazione è decisamente migliorata, però c'è ancora questo rapporto… se la gente vien qui e poi passa le campagne e poi vede tutto bruciato, dice 'questi qui me la contano bella'
- Non c'è stato coinvolgimento, ma la gente comunque non partecipa attivamente. Ci sono una serie di produttori, che sono già quelli che vanno in giro, eccetera, che capiscono e gli altri che devi andare a prendere a casa, non so…tirarli per i capelli perché non capiscono che all'interno… fare sistema in questo modo è fare i propri interessi addirittura, non è andare a perdere del tempo… 'io non ho tempo', non è che devi farlo tutti i giorni, uno dovesse farlo tutti i giorni posso capire
- Non si è dimostrato la coesione o meno su questo territorio, fare qualcosa bene. Proviamo a fare una manifestazione… e sono cinque aree…proviamo a farne una settimana qui, una settimana là, una settimana là… no, se le facciamo, le facciamo tutte insieme così almeno uno non sa dove deve andare… terra terra è poi questo
- Purtroppo non ho abbastanza tempo per andare a visitare i musei

**4. Mauro (about 55-year-old man, teacher)**

- Il nostro patrimonio sono il paesaggio, le memorie e le tradizioni. Attenzione alle piccole cose, ai piccoli paesi, alle persone, alle nuove forme di accoglienza turistica slow che si vanno affermando

- L'autenticità si ritrova nei prodotti tipici, nei panorami, nei profumi e nello stile di vita; i visitatori devono trovare 'la storia' dei prodotti e devono poter degustare la qualità vera: vini di marchi importanti ma anche piccoli vignaioli che raccontano con i loro prodotti un amore lungo generazioni
- Rimettere le pietre e rifare i selciati, rivalutare le vecchie cascine e i nuclei storici dei paesi Monferrini e Langaroli. Recuperare immaginandone un uso reale, sia che diventino dimore di charme, musei a cielo aperto, testimonianza della storia del lavoro oppure abitazioni che raccontino la vecchia vita e la nuova vita, i vecchi abitanti e i nuovi contadini che, forse, domani, saranno di origine est-europea
- I paesaggi UNESCO senza i contadini non valgono nulla e i contadini possono anche essere "nuovi" cittadini
- Non vedo ad oggi cambiamenti negativi dovuti al turismo. Il suo approccio soft ha di fatto portato nuove consapevolezza e nuove attenzioni al territorio. Bisogna continuare su questa strada pensando al turista come ad un amico da far star bene a casa nostra, orgogliosi di quello che possiamo offrire, consapevoli di abitare e di lavorare un territorio unico, diverso da tutti gli altri.
- Non sono un grande visitatore di musei ma se devo scegliere scelgo ancora la memoria e il lavoro. Credo moltissimo nella forza didattica di un museo come quello di Cisterna d'Asti che ha ricostruito, ormai molti anni fa, la storia dei lavori e, con la storia, la vita delle famiglie contadine. In ogni caso preferisco 'musei all'aperto': piazze, vie, angoli, mercati coperti. Preferisco cercare il cuore dei luoghi là dove vive la gente che fa quei luoghi
- Non c'è stata partecipazione, ma va bene così. Ho molti impegni di lavoro per cui non potrei essere di grande aiuto ma vorrei essere più informato
- Un grande uomo piemontese, Nuto Revelli, anni fa ha scritto un saggio molto bello intitolato "L'anello forte" dedicato alle donne contadine e delle montagne cuneesi. Il senso (e il titolo) erano proprio cogliere l'importanza delle donne in una società che sembrava essere solo governata dai maschi. Già le famiglie contadine del dopoguerra hanno visto le donne protagoniste delle scelte, anche se in maniera non ufficiale ma sempre con grande forza e senso del futuro. Oggi conosco, anche per sentito dire, molte donne

imprenditrici, titolari di aziende agricole, ristoratrici, imprenditrici a tutto tondo protagoniste in prima persona, con il loro nome, finalmente in primo piano

5. **Paola (about 35-year-old woman, wine producer)**
   - Canelli e tutta questa zona sono importanti per il paesaggio, ma soprattutto per le cattedrali del vino, i vigneti e i prodotti locali
   - La nostra autenticità si trova nel cibo e nei prodotti locali, ma anche nele persone che da secoli portano avanti questo paesaggio con il loro lavoro e il rispetto per il territorio
   - Non c'è stato coinvolgimento nelle fasi decisive, poca comunicazione e spiegazione di cosa vuole dire diventare un sito UNESCO. Vorrebbe essere informata sulle decisioni che vengono prese
   - Le donne finalmente cominciano a essere considerate delle imprenditrici, non solo 'figlie di..'
   - Ama visitare i musei locali, soprattutto quelli che raccontano la storia del territorio. In questi musei le future generazioni possono imparare com'era la vita in campagna

6. **Lara (about 35 year-old woman, wine seller)**
   - Il nostro paesaggio, le cattedrali sotterranee, i vigneti e lo stile di vita sono il patrimonio che si deve far vedere al mondo
   - L'autenticità non è qualcosa di materiale, si trova bensì nelle persone - che portano avanti le tradizioni - e dalla vita quotidiana
   - Le piace visitare i musei presenti sul territorio, perché sono i luoghi dove si può imparare come fosse la vita contadina una volta e vedere i cambiamenti e i miglioramenti che sono avvenuti nei decenni. I musei potrebbero essere più coinvolgenti. Per esempio, potrebbero utilizzare le storie delle persone, soprattutto degli anziani: creare un ponte con le nuove generazioni
   - Non le risulta che ci sia stata partecipazione nelle fasi decisive, ma ora le persone non vengono coinvolte nelle decisioni e c'è poca informazione. Le piacerebbe che ci fosse una maggiore partecipazione

7. **Elisa (about 25 year-old woman, working in tourism sector)**
    - Patrimonio: paesaggio, cattedrali sotterranee e stile di vita
    - Quello che rende autentico e importante questo territorio sono il cibo, lo stile di vita e il paesaggio
    - Non c'è stata partecipazione e vorrebbe essere coinvolta maggiormente, 'vorrei potere esprimere il mio parere su come gestire e valorizzare il nostro patrimonio'
    - Non visita i musei presenti sul territorio. Preferisce fare altre attività, in particolare sport

8. **Lucrezia (about 40-year-old woman, shop owner)**
    - Il paesaggio, i vigneti e soprattutto le cattedrali sotterranee, ma anche le tradizioni e i prodotti locali costituiscono il patrimonio di questa zona
    - Le persone che visitano questi luoghi scoprono la sua autenticità attraverso i prodotti locali e lo stile di vita
    - Non visita i musei, perché preferisce fare attività sportive
    - I cittadini non sono stati coinvolti nel processo di nomina del sito, le decisioni sono state prese dall'alto. Vorrebbe essere informata su cosa vuol dire essere parte dell'UNESCO, 'qualcuno dovrebbe spiegare bene i limiti e quello che invece possiamo continuare a fare
    - Negli ultimi decenni le donne sono diventate più forti, hanno anche ruoli di responsabilità

9. **Carla (about 45-year-old woman, working in a local shop)**
    - Il paesaggio e i vigneti sono il patrimonio di questa zona
    - L'autenticità si trova nella vita quotidiana, nella continuità delle pratiche di tutti i giorni
    - Le piace molto visitare i musei, ma vorrebbe che fossero più coinvolgenti e conservare le memorie delle persone che vivono qui – soprattutto sentire le storie delle persone più anziane. In questo modo sarebbero davvero utili per le nuove generazioni

- Non si sente coinvolta dalle istituzioni, vorrebbe essere almeno informata su quello che viene deciso. 'E' anche il mio patrimonio, voglio sapere quello che succede'

**10. Luisella (about 45-year-old, journalist)**

- Il paesaggio, i vigneti, lo stile di vita, le tradizioni memorie: sono tutte parte del patrimonio locale
- Il modo in cui ci si relaziona con il paesaggio è autentica, il fatto che siano ancora presenti molti produttori locali che hanno a cuore il destino del territorio. Molti imprenditori esterni si interessano solo alla produzione oppure a sfruttare il territorio creando nuove attività
- Non c'è stata partecipazione, le istituzioni locali dovrebbero rendere i cittadini più partecipi e responsabili
- 'Mio papà mi portò alla presentazione del libro "L'anello forte". Per me è stata un'ispirazione'. La situazione della donna è certamente migliorata, ora è più riconosciuta, ma c'è ancora molta strada da fare
- Le piacciono i musei, ma vorrebbe che fossero più coinvolgenti. 'Mi diverte andare al museo con mia nipote, perché insieme scopriamo com'era la vita in campagna tanti anni fa. Ora è tutto diverso!'. Sarebbe interessante imparare attraverso le storie delle persone, ascoltare le loro memorie

**11. Maurizio (about 75-year-old man, retiree)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, vigneti e cattedrali sotterranee
- Ha lavorato in cantina per tanti anni. Secondo lui, l'autenticità di questo territorio si trova nelle storie delle persone che hanno creato tutto questo patrimonio
- Non c'è stata partecipazione. In realtà non avrebbe comunque tempo per partecipare, vive da solo e non se la sente di andare a riunioni di sera. Gli piacerebbe comunque essere informato
- Gli piace andare nei musei con i suoi nipoti, così può raccontare le sue memorie

- La situazione delle donne è cambiata molto. Prima lavoravano in vigna e anche in casa, era tutto molto faticoso. Ora finalmente stanno ottenendo grandi riconoscimenti e dimostrano di essere meglio degli uomini

**12. Giovanni (about 70-year-old, retiree)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, vigneti, cattedrali sotterranee e prodotti locali
- Autenticità: vita quotidiana
- Non c'è stata partecipazione, ma vorrebbe essere più coinvolto: 'mi piacerebbe che la mia voce venisse ascoltata. Vivo qui da quando sono nato e conosco bene questo territorio, molto meglio di quei funzionari che vengono dalla città'
- Non visita i musei, perché gli piace di più vedere il patrimonio esterno

**13. Valeria (about 35-year-old, doctor)**

- Patrimonio di questa zona sono il paesaggio, i vigneti, lo stile di vita e le tradizioni
- Il modo di vivere paesaggio ne determina l'autenticità. L'autenticità è fatta di relazioni tra persone e territorio
- Non c'è stata partecipazione, ma vorrebbe essere più informata
- Non visita musei per mancanza di tempo

**14. Daniela (about 50-year-old woman, teacher)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, cattedrali sotterranee e memorie
- Autenticità stile di vita paesaggio
- No partecipazione, bisognerebbe essere più coinvolti perché sono le persone che vivono qui che hanno creato questo paesaggio
- Visita i musei, ma vorrebbe vedere le storie delle persone – non solo dei personaggi famosi. È molto importante che le giovani generazioni sentano le storie di chi ha vissuto questo territorio, perché si crea una connessione più forte'. I musei dovrebbero lavorare di più su questo aspetto, perché 'gli oggetti non ci dicono niente se non c'è una storia dietro'

**15. Davide (about 25-year-old man, working in a wine shop)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, vigneti, cattedrali sotterranee, stile di vita e prodotti locali
- È difficile dire cosa sia autentico. L'autenticità di questo territorio si vede nelle vigne e nei prodotti locali
- Non visita musei, perché preferisce fare altri tipi di attività nel tempo libero
- Non c'è stata partecipazione, nessuno ha chiesto cosa ne pensavano. Essere riconosciuti dall'UNESCO è stato importante, però è qualcosa che si sono trovati da un giorno all'altro. Vorrebbe essere informato sulle decisioni che vengono prese
- Le donne oggi possono occupare dei ruoli importanti. Anche se molto spesso le aziende sono di famiglia

**16. Mirella (about 85-year-old woman, retiree)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, tradizioni e stile di vita, vigneti
- L'autenticità non è materiale, non si può misurare. Bisogna cercarla nel modo di vivere e rispettare il territorio. Quando manca questo rispetto, allora niente è autentico
- Non visita i musei, perché preferisce il cinema e il teatro. Però i musei sono molto importanti per i giovani, che possono scoprire com'era la vita in campagna nel passato
- Non c'è stata partecipazione e questa è una cosa molto negativa, perché sono le persone che vivono qui che hanno creato il paesaggio. Per questo dovrebbero essere consultati e le loro idee dovrebbero influenzare le decisioni
- Le donne stanno diventando sempre più preparate e soprattutto il loro lavoro viene riconosciuto

**17. Emanuele (about 40-year-old man, shop owner)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, vigneti e stile di vita

- Questo paesaggio è autentico perché si può ancora vedere uno stile di vita contadino che in molte altre zone si è perso. Qui l'uva si raccoglie ancora a mano, non c'è stata un'industrializzazione massiccia
- Gli sembra che non ci sia stato coinvolgimento da parte delle istituzioni locali e gli piacerebbe che ci fosse più informazione. 'Io non so esattamente cosa voglia dire essere parte del patrimonio mondiale dell'UNESCO e non ho gli strumenti per fare tutto da solo'
- La situazione delle donne è cambiata in meglio
- Visita i musei, gli piacciono soprattutto quelli sulla vita contadina

**18. Vittorio (about 50-year-old man, architect)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, vigneti, stile di vita e tradizioni
- L'autenticità si trova nello stile di vita e nel paesaggio
- Non c'è stata partecipazione, per questo molte persone ancora non capiscono cosa voglia dire essere patrimonio mondiale dell'UNESCO e rischiano di non accettarlo
- I musei dovrebbero essere coinvolgenti. Se non iniziano a raccogliere le storie delle persone più anziane, molto presto non avremo più una memoria

**19. Luca (a 30-year-old-man, public officer)**

- Patrimonio: paesaggio, vigneti e stile di vita
- È difficile spiegare che cos'è autentico in un paesaggio. Di sicuro non si può limitare a qualcosa di materiale. L'autenticità si deve cercare nello stile di vita, nel modo di vivere il paesaggio nel quotidiano
- Gli è dispiaciuto che non ci sia stata partecipazione durante la nomina. Vorrebbe essere informato
- I musei del territorio non hanno grandi collezioni o oggetti importanti, quindi dovrebbero raccontare le storie delle persone più. Così sarebbero anche più coinvolgenti. 'Sarebbe emozionante vedere le storie della mia famiglia in un museo e condividerle con le nuove generazioni'

**20. Monica (about 35-year-old woman, working in a wine cellar)**

- 'Il paesaggio è il nostro patrimonio, con le sue vigne e soprattutto le cattedrali sotterranee, le memorie e i prodotti locali'
- L'autenticità di questo territorio risiede nello stile di vita e nelle tradizioni. 'Bisognerebbe raccontare le memorie dei nostri nonni, raccontare come tutto è iniziato. Per arrivare al successo di oggi ci sono voluti tanti sacrifici, è giusto che i giovani imparino il valore del lavoro'
- Non c'è stato coinvolgimento durante il processo di candidatura. Sarebbe bello essere consultati e condividere le proprie idee su come si vorrebbe che il sito fosse gestito
- Il ruolo delle donne è cambiato molto negli ultimi decenni, 'siamo riuscite ad avere più visibilità'. Per una donna è comunque difficile riuscire ad avere una posizione di comando, perché oltre al lavoro deve anche occuparsi della famiglia e gestire i figli
- Non le piace il WiMu, 'questo museo parla del vino, ma non del nostro paesaggio. Potrebbe essere ovunque, potrebbe essere a New York e sarebbe lo stesso'. I musei dovrebbero raccontare le storie delle persone, in modo da raccontare ai giovani com'era questo paesaggio nel passato e com'è cambiato

## Appendix 6 - Interviews to women wine producers

- Have you been engaged in the definition of what is heritage in this area during the designation process of the World Heritage site?

- If yes, to what extent? Do you feel you need to be more engaged in the decision of what should be preserved and represented (that is, not only in an initial phase but as an on-going process)?

- If no, how do you think wine producers should be engaged in the preservation as well as in the interpretation of the site?

- Do you feel that the cultural, social, economic role of women is well represented in the narrative of the local heritage (exhibitions, museums, festivals)?

- Do you think that the World Heritage designation could become an effective tool to fight the "glass ceiling" (as part of a sustainable development)?

- Which type of partnerships and projects do you think could help in empowering women within the context of the heritage of wine production?

### Interview to Chiara Boschis

- Non personalmente ma sapevo che c'erano lavori in corso al riguardo, non so a chi si siano appoggiati, tuttavia è grazie alle aziende di qualità (come la mia) che il patrimonio di Langa si è preservato ed è anzi stato migliorato in questi ultimi 30 anni di duro lavoro fatto per arrivare a dove siamo adesso.

- Io continuo a fare il mio lavoro serio e costante, a combattere la mia battaglia per un'agricoltura pulita (io sono certificata Bio) e a portare alta la bandiera della mia Langa sia in Italia che all'Estero.

- Come detto credo che sia importante sensibilizzare sempre più produttori ad avere attenzione al bello (spesso le spese per abbellimento erano considerate spese inutili e ci siamo attirate tante critiche in tempi passati per aver "sprecato soldi" in cose esteriori e non di sostanza,) per me la bellezza è sostanza e con la bellezza va di pari passo la pulizia e quindi il Biologico

- Se non narrato di sicuro realizzato e fatto come lavoro quotidiano da tante donne che oggi sono in prima fila nelle aziende di Langa! ...e non dimentichiamoci che siamo "L'anello forte"!

- La candidatura all'Unesco è stata come la ciliegina sulla torta, ed è sicuramente importantissima per uno sviluppo del Turismo enogastronomico della zona in cui le donne sono ben presenti (Cantine Ristoranti e Alberghi)

- Favorire la famiglia con servizi primari come asili e centri sportivi e-o didattici di sostegno: che hanno sempre rappresentato un tasto dolente in Italia. Le donne hanno bisogno di servizi efficaci per poter svolgere serenamente il loro lavoro senza dover rinunciare al proprio essere donna quando non hanno un aiuto in casa dalla famiglia stessa, ad esempio i nonni.

**Interview to Anna Abbona**

- L'eredità e il patrimonio culturale sono ciò che lasceremo a chi verrà dopo di noi. Il nostro compito è preservare e, se possibile, migliorare questo lascito. I vigneti delle Langhe, del Roero e del Monferrato sono entrati a far parte del World Heritage dell'UNESCO e tra i paesi, indicati nello specifico, c'è anche Barolo, la nostra terra. Questo è un riconoscimento del quale siamo molto orgogliosi e ci piace pensare di aver contribuito a questa menzione - come Marchesi di Barolo, ma anche come famiglia Abbona, erede di questo patrimonio da circa un secolo - per un grande progetto dell'UNESCO, per il quale sono stati selezionati solo alcuni territori nel mondo. Tra le piramidi egiziane e il reef australiano, ci sono i vigneti di Barolo e delle zone limitrofe: non occorrono altre parole per spiegare il nostro coinvolgimento nel World

Heritage.

- Noi confidiamo nel fatto che l'UNESCO abbia svolto e stia ancora svolgendo un lavoro di ricerca ampio e accurato, ma siamo sempre disponibili, come profondi conoscitori della nostra terra, a eventuali confronti. Siamo comunque soddisfatti del modo in cui i vigneti e queste zone sono rappresentati nel mondo sul sito Unesco World Heritage.

- Essendo tra i protagonisti di questa sezione del sito, insieme ai nostri colleghi, siamo consapevoli della nostra responsabilità nella preservazione dell'eredità che lasceremo a chi verrà dopo di noi. E siamo onorati che l'UNESCO abbia pensato alle nostre terre, come a panorami che valorizzino i confini del mondo intero.

- La nostra cantina nasce dal sogno di una grande donna, Juliet Colbert, per cui abbiamo sempre sentito molto la parte "femminile" del nostro lavoro. Tuttavia, siamo fiduciosi del fatto che in Italia si sta lavorando nella giusta direzione, affinché la donna ricopra ruoli di rilievo, realtà questa che è già consolidata nel mondo del vino.

- Il "soffitto di cristallo" è un concetto che non dovrebbe nemmeno esistere. Il fatto che una donna riesca a fatica a raggiungere posizioni di potere è inaccettabile, soprattutto al giorno d'oggi. Per questo, nella nostra cantina, abbiamo cercato di valorizzare sempre la presenza femminile, sia come famiglia che come azienda. Sarebbe meraviglioso che l'UNESCO World Heritage facesse lo stesso nel resto del mondo, non esaltando aprioristicamente la figura della donna, ma aiutando nell'educazione al pensiero che uomini e donne possono raggiungere gli stessi traguardi.

- La nostra non è una cantina esclusivamente "di donne", ma una cantina in cui uomini e donne lavorano equamente. In famiglia, infatti, siamo due a due come rapporto e ci piace che questo equilibrio sia mantenuto anche in azienda, non tanto per il numero in sé, ma per l'armonia che crea. Purtroppo, in Italia non c'è ancora parità di diritti tra uomini e donne. Può apparire così sulla carta, ma non

nella realtà. Per sradicare un concetto così atavicamente consolidato non solo qui, ma nella maggior parte del mondo, bisognerebbe partire dall'educazione, insegnando ai bambini che non c'è differenza tra maschi e femmine e che entrambi potranno essere tutto quello che vorranno, in futuro. Ci piacerebbe partire dalla scuola e raccontare alle nuove generazioni come l'uguaglianza sia un traguardo e non un ostacolo. E porteremmo l'esempio di quello che accade, da generazioni, nella nostra cantina, luogo testimone di come il ruolo femminile nella storia del modo del vino sia valorizzato anche grazie al lavoro e alla dedizione di una grande donna, Juliette Colbert.

**Interview to Giovanna Rivetti**

Sono partita da bambina, a fare un lavoro che gli piace, con dei genitori che mi hanno insegnato. Mi hanno insegnato a lavorare sulla qualità già da allora, che allora era difficile lavorare sulla qualità. E mio padre già… noi abbiamo sempre lavorato sulla qualità. Non importa se non ce n'è tanta, basta che sia buona. Già mio padre diceva queste cose. Per quello poi andando avanti noi abbiamo sempre puntato sulla qualità, per questo motivo, perché già avevamo alle spalle dei genitori che avevano già questa tradizione, questa passione per la vigna, anche mia madre, eh… ti dirò che mia madre e mio padre mi hanno… noi possiamo dire grazie a loro, tutta la famiglia, sia io che i miei fratelli. Perché loro ci hanno sempre spronati, ci hanno sempre detto 'vai che sei capace, vai che ce la fai'. Sì sì, anche nei momenti molto difficili, anche… a volte mia mamma diceva, ma questa ragazza la mandiamo da sola in quel vigneto, là c'è un pozzo… e mio papà, ma no, stai tranquilla, che lei lo sa che non deve andare vicino al pozzo. Ed è stato così. Capisci, ci hanno proprio dato questa forza, ci hanno dato questa fiducia. Difatti quando abbiamo poi… quando abbiamo con i miei fratelli… mio fratello Giorgio quando poi ha iniziato a vinificare… e mio papà piano piano ci ha lasciato andare, ci ha dato la fiducia, perché se noi non avevamo la fiducia e anche… mio papà lui ha sempre firmato per noi… se magari lui fosse stato di idee di dire 'ah qui sono padrone io, qui faccio io', noi non avremmo nulla. Invece lui ci ha dato fiducia. Perché lui… dicevo, già da bambini… io andavo al pascolo con due mucche… andavo e lui mi dava fiducia. Perché noi siamo stati contenti della fiducia che ci ha dato. È stato lungimirante. Ci ha insegnato a vedere le piccole cose, ad apprezzare le piccole cose. Perché sai cosa bisogna fare? Bisogna apprezzare il piccolo, quello che hai al momento. Perché a te sembra nulla, domani quando non ce

l'avrai più, ti accorgerai di cos'era, del valore che aveva e allora bisogna apprezzare quello che si ha adesso, anche se ti sembra poco, però quando ti manca…

Adesso si sta andando verso una dimensione di marketing. Questo a me da molto fastidio. Te l'ho detto già prima. Ma perché? Apprezziamo quello che abbiamo, abbiamo un territorio che fa… abbiamo delle cose che non le ha nessuno. Perché non le apprezziamo, perché le roviniamo? Io questo… io non voglio… quando vedo queste cose, quando vedo che diserbano queste colline che sono piene di fiori in primavera, sono di una 'blessa'… diserbate, bruciate… perché se tu bruci l'erba, non mi venire a dire che la radice non beve, perché è una cosa fuori dal mondo… eh, ma come posso credere 'ah, il diserbante non fa male'? Se brucia l'erba, la radice beve. La vite si nutre dell'acqua, la radice no?, beve quest'acqua. Che frutti ti da? Perché dobbiamo rovinare il territorio? Che era un territorio pulito, un territorio dove si beveva nei pozzi, si beveva nei ruscelli quando io ero bambina. Hanno iniziato con questi diserbanti… io ieri ho visto in televisione … era una cosa assurda, sul grano e le farine che arrivano… allora, in Canada delle distese enormi di grano, danno quattro volte il diserbante … poi arriva la farina qua, dopo aver fatto un viaggio su queste navi, con questa muffa, con queste cose … adesso sono tutti intolleranti… Non è la farina di per sé, è il veleno che c'è dentro, che viene assorbito. Assolutamente, ma anche nelle vigne… se tu la vigna la lavori in primavera, questa erbetta… la vigna dev'essere una cosa naturale com'è, non dev'essere un giardino rasato così, non ci devi giocare a golf, capisci? E anche il filare, se non è tagliato a punto… non è una siepe di un giardino di una piazza a Torino, eh! Pian, insomma! È un filare, è una vite, basta. Anche se c'è qualche germoglio che spunta… che la vite, le foglie… le prime foglie danno vigore fino a un certo momento, poi dopo sono le ultime foglie che, le foglie nuove portano linfa alla vite. Se tu le tagli, lei ogni volta soffre, capito? E ributta delle altre foglie. Così facendo toglie la sostanza al grappolo, all'uva e la porta nelle foglie che deve rimettere, capisci? Io queste cose non le ho studiate, le so

Qualcuno è sensibile a queste problematiche… qualcuno mi viene voglia di ammazzarlo, te lo giuro! Qualcuno adesso già… ma ti dirò un po' di più… ma è una cosa che non va bene. Però ci sono certi ragazzi giovani che avrebbero questa cosa, ma hanno sti genitori ancora che vogliono produrre tanto. Non lasciano spazio a sti giovani come ci ha lasciato mio padre. Che mio padre, questa cosa… ci ha lasciato spazio a noi… io avevo già vent'anni e più, mio fratello venti… adesso ci sono ancora

dei ragazzi che lavorano bene, fanno dei prodotti buoni. Però c'hanno ancora sti genitori con questa… che non si sono mai lasciati dire questa cosa… produciamo tanto, produciamo tanto. E non gli lasciano fare cosa vogliono. Quello è un po' un problema. Se non sono i giovani che… questo cambio di generazione che porta avanti questo progetto, questa cosa di pulito, di buono, di togliere sti diserbanti, di togliere sti veleni, di lavorare di nuovo sta terra e lasciarla libera, lasciarla arieggiare, lasciarla che respiri, non tutti i momenti iniziare 'è ora di dare il verderame', ma se non ha neanche piovuto… capisci… ha manca piuvì… e invece ci sono certi ancora, certi genitori che non lasciano spazio a sti giovani, è vero! Io ne conosco, alcune famiglie… adesso ormai noi dobbiamo lasciare andare avanti l'altra generazione. Che cosa vuoi che facciamo noi? Possiamo aiutarli, anzi dobbiamo aiutarli a farli… perché queste persone qui sono state anche loro ai tempi che sono stata io. Allora le cose le sanno, devono insegnarle a sti ragazzi. 'Non date diserbanti, non fate questo, non fate quello, imparate di nuovo a fare dei piccoli solchi che l'acqua scorra via naturalmente senza fare delle tubature di cemento che vanno'… basta che gli insegnino quello. Io mi ricordo che quando pioveva era sempre una persona che si metteva un sacco di iuta in testa e girava con la zappa, l'anziano di casa, e faceva dei piccoli rigagnoli. Poi io da bambina come mi divertivo, andavo al pascolo, facevo dei rigagnoli così, deviavo l'acqua con un bastone, figurati… ti giuro, guarda come giocavo io, giocavo così. E mi divertivo anche, facevo già questi piccoli rigagnoli. Comunque, adesso, quando piove tutti chiusi in casa, anche se piove solo due gocce, per carità, non si esce più… televisione! La pubblicità… ti fanno comprare delle cose, ti fanno credere delle cose che non ci credono neanche loro!

Comunque, come ti dicevo, ci sono molti giovani in gamba, fanno dei vini buoni, però i padri sono rimasti a questi famosi anni '80, dove si produceva tanto, damigiane…

Il cambio di direzione verso…non prima del 2000, una ventina di anni fa… che hanno iniziato a pensare di produrre dei prodotti di qualità. Che si diceva che fino agli anni '80 si faceva ancora solo in base alla quantità

Eh, bisogna avere la pazienza di tornare indietro sulla lavorazione, sul territorio, di almeno 50 anni . Il territorio, se tu torni indietro a quegli anni lì, allora riesci nel giro di 20 anni a portarti un territorio di nuovo… altrimenti, se tu pensi di andare avanti così, diserbo e non diserbo, ste colline fanno…spavento… (aiutante) qua son già belle

Ma poi abbiamo voluto… ma io a volte vado a casa di qua, abito a Castagnole, mi viene la pelle d'oca… patrimonio UNESCO… in primavera, tutte ste colline bruciate dal diserbante. Mi vergogno! E poi vogliono anche i ponti, vogliono anche … pretendono i fondi UNESCO… e viene della terra così? Ma come puoi pretendere che io ti dia dei soldi… ma te lo sei messo in testa che cos'è l'UNESCO? Lo vedono come raccattare denaro! Loro si aspettano dei soldi perché sono patrimonio UNESCO… ma tu hai presente cosa vuole dire? Che quelle colline fai su di là… tutte bruciate dai diserbanti. Ma come in primavera, al posto di vedere dei fiori, erba verde… bella la primavera, perché ci sono tutti quei fiori gialli… le margherite… lo so, perché io le ho tutte così le vigne e in primavera potare è bello, ti raccogli un po' di insalata, te la porti a casa, la mangi e sei tranquillo. Non è roba avvelenata. Poi guardi l'altra collina, il vicino… tut brisà… che poi, se è tutto bruciato lì, il suo diserbante cola… viene anche nel tuo, sai. E quando tu sei con un vino negli Stati Uniti e in capo al mondo e ti fanno… perché.. ti fanno le analisi, no? E se ti trovano un qualcosa che tu non hai… che tu non hai assolutamente trattato con niente… lo scolo, l'acqua te lo porta dappertutto. Una collina, parti da in cima, se diserba quello in cima, poi l'acqua viene giù

Ma c'è tutto bruciato. Avevamo un prodotto… il moscato… il moscato ce l'abbiamo solo noi qua. Un profumo, una bontà senza senso il Moscato, ne! Solo noi… hanno iniziato a produrre produrre produrre… poi c'era un limite… no, loro producevano di più, sempre di più… sono arrivati al punto che alla sera… andavano di notte a regalare quest'uva a quello che l'acquistava a un euro al chilo… un euro!!! Così hanno sto prodotto… è stato penalizzato… adesso fanno un Asti secco… ma come l'Asti secco? Che abbiamo un territorio piccolissimo, del Moscato buono, va in tutto il mondo… anche in quest'annata del 2017, che ne hanno parlato quasi tutti male… adesso te lo faccio assaggiare… il nostro moscato… perché l'annata, certo, è stata un'annata difficile, ma se lavori bene dall'inizio, la gestisci. Perché se questa vite, c'è poca acqua, tu togli dei grappoli, lasciagliene pochi, invece di bere 10 grappoli bevono 5… si salvano, di qualità

Si lamentano della brina… ma certo, dove c'erano dei prati han messo le vigne. È normale che ci sia la brina. Quest'anno 'eh ha brinato', ma certo! C'erano tutti prati qui. Quello te lo so garantire, io andavo al pascolo… li conosco come un libro, eh! Tutti prati. Dove andavo io al pascolo, quest'anno era tutta bruciata… ma, e mi

dicevano, ma sai ha preso là, ha preso là… ah, io non ho bisogno che mi dici dove ha preso, lo so dove ha preso. Dove io andavo al pascolo ha bruciato. È normale. Perché hanno… pur di avere questo moscato… per poi regalarlo!... che vantaggio puoi avere? Io mi incavolo!

Ma tu lo sai quanto costa farlo vendemmiare? Un euro e 20. Poi glielo portavano la sera, di notte, quello là che glielo portavano, gli diceva 'ma non lo voglio', 'ah, noi te lo portiamo lo stesso'. L'anno dopo, l'anno successivo, quello lì aveva tutto… adesso… sto moscato poi ha iniziato a essere non più di qualità eccellente, allora le vendite sono diminuite, questi qua hanno le cantine piene. È normale se tu… ti regalo una cassa di mele oggi, domani non la vai più a comprare le mele… perché le hai già. Non ci vuole proprio uno di marketing. Non è un re del marketing

Siamo qui, patrimonio UNESCO, siamo arrivati a un punto che la gente… il treno l'hanno tolto… il treno l'hanno tolto! Ma è una vergogna! Patrimonio UNESCO… ieri han chiamato, c'era Elisa qua, dovevano venire dei signori, dovevano venire qua, con cosa veniamo? Con cosa non veniamo? Ma il treno? Il treno è importantissimo! Abbiamo bisogno del treno. Un treno che vada da Torino, Asti, Alessandria, Castagnole, Fermi… togliamo molto inquinamento… sti pullman, sti bambini che vanno a scuola, sti ragazzi che vanno a scuola con sti pullman… il treno ci vuole. Il turismo, UNESCO, una cosa e l'altra … ma noi non abbiamo un treno. Poi il treno non inquina. La gente sale tranquillamente, senza intasare ste strade, senza tutti sti gas di scarico che non finiscono più. No, l'hanno tolto, e adesso quando parlano di ripristinare il treno molti sindaci non sono d'accordo. Addirittura, questo di Canelli. Questo è il primo vino di quest'annata, del 2017, che era … se questa è una cattiva annata… a giugno hanno iniziato a dire 'è un'annata cattiva'… aspetta un momento! (assistente) è difficile, è difficile sì … perché mettevano le mani avanti… difficile, non so cosa fare … viene male

Ma perché, come ti dicevo, bisogna lavorare sulla vite. Inizia a lavorare bene già dalla potatura e vai avanti. E poi certo che se tu hai… diradando un po' … come ti dicevo prima, invece di 10 grappoli, 8 grappoli… la vite gliene lasci 4 o 5, anche se c'è poca acqua, questi 4/5 grappoli bevono quest'acqua che c'è e si nutrono. Invece se tu ne hai 10… sai agli ultimi cosa succede? Tutti sgualciti… Se arrivano, tutti… tutti appassiti e tutti acidi. Di un'acidità

Rimane acido, rimane non vigoroso… acido e bon… però io non so come mai non lo capiscano. È difficile questa cosa da far capire. Un moscato così… la zona com'era piccola… il mondo quanto è grande, questo vino qua poteva arrivare fino a 20 euro al miriagrammo … loro lo regalavano per un euro. E adesso hanno le cantine piene, fanno Asti secco, fanno qui, fanno là… chi fa qualità vende. D'altronde, un panettone e una bottiglia 3 euro… scatola, bottiglia e panettone, vino, trasporto… capisci che quando uno va a comprare… cosa mi possono dare? Cosa mi possono dare con sto prezzo? Inutile che stai lì

Ognuno fa per sé. Guarda i paesi… fanno la festa, tanto per dire diciamo della Barbera qui, Castagnole, Agliano… invece, mettetevi d'accordo… una domenica uno va a uno, poi d'altra, d'altra…no, invece c'è questa rivalità. Non hanno… non fanno gruppo. Manca questa aggregazione, ognuno fa per sé. Loro non hanno percepito, anzi… qui alla domenica i negozi tutti chiusi. La gente viene qua, a volte noi gli diamo un po' di toma, un po' di salame (e loro chiedono) 'dove possiamo comprarla?'. Ma non c'è neanche… niente… neanche un bar… niente, tutto chiuso, tutto chiuso. Come ti dicevo, qui taxi non so se ce n'è … non ho mai visto un taxi a Canelli, non so se c'è. Negozi chiusi. La gente viene qua, potrebbe fare due passi, potrebbe comprare anche qualcosa. Ma anche la qualità della vita per le persone che abitano a Canelli, appunto! Invece no no. A Canelli, come a Castagnole, dappertutto eh.

Son passati patrimonio UNESCO, ma i Canellesi, la gente di Canelli, non hanno mosso un dito. Niente… ma neanche per il turismo, c'è gente, teniamo aperto, teniamo questi negozi, la gente arriva… anzi, si incavolano come bestie se lasciano la macchina. Ma portano soldi sti turisti, portano soldi, vengono da tutto il mondo a vedervi voi qua, quattro pellegrini

Adesso voglio raccontare… quando io ero ragazza, 17 anni/18, abbiamo acquistato la prima televisione. Prima andavamo noi a vederla a casa degli altri, pensa te adesso… noi eravamo, arriva una persona la sera, permesso, vediamo la televisione. Comunque noi abbiamo acquistato la prima televisione e avevamo la sera … San Remo… la casa piena così di persone, di vicini. Poi era anche l'opportunità, quando il granoturco si sfogliava la meliga, tutti la sera si andava ad aiutare. Si sfogliava la meliga, poi quelli lì avevano un po' di moscato, qualcosa, si cantava. C'era molta più aggregazione. Poi quando si trebbiava il grano, tutta la borgata si andava ad aiutare. Ma per qualsiasi cosa… quando una mucca partoriva, mio padre lui lo chiamavano

sempre… e lo chiamavano anche di notte, come un ostetrico. E lui non diceva niente, si metteva su i pantaloni, la giacca e andava. Adesso se qualcuno va a chiamare… ma gli danno tanti di quei nomi… lasciano morire mucca, vitello, anche il padrone della mucca. È vero! Allora no, lui andava là, poi partoriva sto vitello, gli facevano un caffè, stava lì e bon. C'era molta più… si aiutavano. Ognuno adesso fa per sé. E io mi ricordo che avevamo un appezzamento con un po' di grano e di notte è venuto il temporale e dei nostri vicini, alle 3 di mattina, si sono alzati anche loro a venirci ad aiutare. Quella forse è stata la forza che ci ha aiutato a tirare avanti. È stato quello che ci ha portato avanti, eh. Quel poco, quel dividersi quel poco. Se uno ammazzava il maiale, facevamo festa. Tutti portavano… poi alla fine noi eravamo già tanti di famiglia, un pacchettino uno, un pacchettino l'altro…mettevano un po' di salsiccia, un po' di cotechini, qualcosa… però quando l'ammazzava l'altro… era una cosa diversa. Adesso… È cambiato con l'industrializzazione… quello… non lo so, la gente quando è riuscita ad avere la sua macchina e avere due soldi… si sono sentiti… come hanno avuto due soldi in tasca, ragazzi miei… si sono sentiti proprio… si vergognavano di essere amici. Si vergognavano addirittura di essere amici. Poi se riuscivano ad arrivare con la macchina un po' più bella, lì ormai non salutavano più nessuno. Le cose sono poi andate avanti così e piano piano…. Ma il bello è che ci siamo anche noi in mezzo. Sì sì, perché poi queste cose, anche sul territorio, su… questo degrado… ci hanno tirato dentro tutti insieme. Siamo tutti sulla stessa barca. Nonostante noi siamo sempre stati attenti a una cosa, all'altra e quell'altra… a risparmiare, a non sprecare… il fatto è… del non sprecare… proprio il fatto di usare quello che hai. Se hai la legna, perché devi accendere la stufa? Pure, come dicevi, dagli anni 80, hanno iniziato… in cappa. Cosa vergognosa, costruivano le case senza camino. In campagna tutti hanno un po' di legna, perché… pali, cespugli… moltissime case sono state costruite, ma per 20 anni… 'ah no, non lo facciamo'. Ma non è una storia che conto io. Senza camino. Perché tanto la nafta valeva poco, si facevano riempire ste vasche di gasolio… o cos'era che usavano… io ho il mio camino, ho la mia stufa e quando… Al mattino ho la caffettiera accesa e la stufa, guardo il gas… no… non voglio farmi un caffè con il gas che arriva dalla Russia. Ciò la stufa qua! Ci vuole un momento di più, ma cosa vuol dire. Perché devo accendere un gas che arriva…da dove arriva… se tutti sfruttassimo… ma io non dico tutti come me perché… però non sprecare, tenere le cose, sapere il valore delle cose, dare valore a certe cose. Invece, vedono qualcosa…

ci sono delle piante da frutto per terra… vanno a comprare la papaya. Ma sparati per favore! Adesso io vedo… ci sono della gente… adesso noi abbiamo queste pere (prus) madernassa, e c'è tutte queste piante… pere… poi adesso, non avendo piovuto niente 'sti grappolini d'uva sono di un buono… eppure vedi delle persone che ti sembrano normali 'compro la papaya'… come compri la papaya? C'hai l'uva davanti a casa, hai le pere… mangia quelli. Vogliono l'uva senza semi… ma che uva è? Siamo rovinati, lo so. Ci sarà sempre il vicino che diserba, ci sarà sempre l'altro che queste viti le lascia cariche di uva … ci va un po' di ricambio di cervelli, di ragazzi giovani come voi che si mettono di buona voglia e 'adesso andiamo avanti noi'. Ce la fate, eh! Certo che ce la fate! Perché avete, prima cosa, la gioventù. La forza. La capacità. E l'intelligenza. Tutto lì. Poi come puoi pretendere che delle persone di 60/70 anni abbiano la gestione della campagna, di tutte queste cose… che loro tanto la testa non la cambiano più. Non è che si evolvono, eh. Vanno avanti finché muoiono ma sempre con quella idea di tanto, quantità, 'ah, tutte storie, ah io diserbo così resta pulito, ah così…' tanto quelli lì la testa non la cambiano più. Perché io li conosco, so com'è

La candidatura UNESCO… quella gente lì non ne sa. Metà è bruciato… bello spettacolo la campagna

Per le donne che lavorano nel vino non c'è stato cambiamento. Dipende dalle aziende, però non so…

Perché tradizionalmente… ma poi sono poche perché sono giovani, bisogna vedere il padre se gli ha lasciato. E se sono sposate il marito vuole essere lui. Eh, se il marito viene dalla campagna stai fresco… che ti lascia fare il vino da te. A una donna 'ahhh una donna per carità'. Lei magari è più in gamba di lui, però sempre questa cosa… a me da molto fastidio. Io… quando in vigna… 'noi uomini andiamo da questa parte', io mi sono aggregata a quegli uomini, faccio gruppo con gli uomini. E al mattino, diciamo, quando 'io vado qui, tu vai là…noi uomini andiamo a potare là', io vado con gli uomini e via. Perché… noi donne siamo capaci come gli uomini. Io mi sento davvero… non per… ma io mi sento di mettermi con qualsiasi uomo a potare, a legare, a fare tutto quello che c'è da fare senza gnun problema, eh! In cantina sono un po' più… ma a portare l'uva in cantina… nessun uomo mi fa paura, mi fa un baffo! Davvero! In cantina non posso, perché se Andrea viene… mio fratello… poi mi lasciano. Sono fortunata, perché i miei fratelli… perché tanto poi faccio e basta. Tanto io vado avanti per la mia strada, sulle mie direzioni e sulle mie idee e non le cambio!

Faccio così e faccio così, basta. Per fare un lavoro che non serve… io non vado a passeggio nelle vigne così per prendermi un piacere… stavo a casa, sotto un albero a leggere un libro. Però se vado su nella vigna voglio fare un lavoro come va fatto, se no non lo facciamo. Con mio fratello Giorgio, che discussioni… mio fratello quello più giovane… perché adesso lui ha acquistato dei terreni a Bossolasco, nell'alta Langa, e là le guarda lui. E io vado e gli dico 'questo qua non va bene… Quello là non va bene' e lui 'possibile che tutte le volte che vieni su hai qualcosa da dire???' però se sai fare il tuo lavoro lo fai. Non c'è la mezza misura. Tu mi chiedevi delle donne del vino… sì, qualcuna c'è… per esempio c'è la moglie di Massimo, però c'è suo padre dietro che lavora come un mulo, che le ha insegnato molto bene e adesso lei ha fatto l'enologica. È in gamba. Però c'è la scuola dietro di suo padre, di un uomo che ha 80 anni e ha la nostra filosofia di lavoro, ha imparato sul campo. Quello sì. Però improvvisarsi…

Le donne si occupano di accoglienza, di comunicazione… però non vuol dire essere attive… no, no… è tutta un'altra cosa. Se poi posso dire, sinceramente, io donne in campagna ne vedo ben poche. Io che giro tutte 'ste colline, eh. Mia nipote… mia nipote, lei ha iniziato con me cinque anni fa, nonostante abbia fatto tutta un'altra scuola. E poi noi avevamo bisogno… a lei piace…

Non lavorano nei campi perché questo è un lavoro da uomini. Poi adesso… sai qual è il problema? Il problema è che io adesso ho tutti ragazzi extracomunitari e mi trovo benissimo, perché io li considero nostri collaboratori. Collaborando possiamo fare un prodotto di qualità e lavorare bene. Buona armonia, il tempo passa. E molte donne, che con questi extracomunitari… perché qui ci sono molte persone che non li accettano… diciamo le cose come stanno… e allora poi dicono 'eh, cosa vuoi che faccia io in vigna con venti macedoni lì'… meno male che ci sono! Io invece sono stata con loro. E poi molte non vogliono neanche che le figlie 'eh, cosa vuoi che questa ragazza vada lì'. E se tu hai una figlia, guai! Invece Eleonora, mia nipote, è tutto il giorno con loro, è stata con me… e va come una lepre. Ma se tu hai una figlia che sei già un po' su di grado, come si può dire 'eh, cosa vuoi? Che li mandi con questi macedoni? Sta ragazza, sai com'è'… è tutta una cavolata! Invece mi trovo benissimo. Se tu vai a cercare l'italiano che venga con tua figlia, eeehhh, devi girarne di paesi cara mia! Mai trovato 20 italiani che vengano con la figlia a lavorare. Giri mezzo Piemonte. È quello sai? Non si adattano, poi non riescono ancora a capire che noi abbiamo bisogno di loro. Non sono ancora riusciti a entrare nell'ottica. Cioè, noi

abbiamo bisogno di loro. Quando saranno entrati nell'ottica… li vanno a prendere in nero, li vanno a prendere di nascosto… il giorno prima al bar li criticano, all'indomani mattina li vanno ad aspettare di nascosto! Allora, al bar tutti … là, quei pochi del bar… ah mi qui… andiamo avanti con la Lega… tutta una cosa così… all'indomani mattina li vedi di nascosto, li fanno andare un po' in là – giro tutte 'ste strade, lo so – e li caricano di nascosto. Ma se a te questa persona non ti piace, lascia stare. Non andare a prenderla. Se tu il giorno prima di questa persona ne hai parlato male, o dei suoi parenti o del suo padrone, non andare a caricarlo. Perché se tu ne hai bisogno di quella persona… almeno stai zitto. Almeno non andare a fare la politica contro. Li prendono in nero, gli danno poco… lì è proprio una cosa che non ci fa onore, eh! Per niente! UNESCO o non UNESCO… quelle cose lì non ci fanno onore Le dirò, le cose qui non cambiano. Ci devono essere delle leggi, perché qui… se una persona non ci sono le leggi… e parli delle multe, pesa! Se diserbano qui… bisogna toccare sto portafoglio. Secondo me dovrebbe dipendere dalla Regione, anche dai Comuni, dire 'tu sei patrimonio UNESCO, sì? Sei qui? Allora devi tenertelo stretto. Tu non puoi prendere solo i soldi, eh! Non puoi usufruire dei soldi che abbiamo preso noi per il patrimonio UNESCO. O ti metti in regola…

Finché non ci sarà un qualcosa, un qualcuno che sorvegli e veda cosa succede… un po' come la storia del Moscato, una cosa in mezzo al mondo che… insomma… si poteva vendere un prodotto buono, la gente veniva pagata il giusto, si produceva solo quello che si doveva produrre, senza arrecare danno a nessuno… dare un senso di piacere, dire 'guarda dove sono arrivato'… ti dico proprio che quando andavano via giù con quell'uva … regalare a quel prezzo lì… mi veniva la pelle d'oca. Cosa ti vendi? 500 euro un trattore pieno d'uva… proprio andarsi a svendere

La gente viene volentieri, vengono da tutto il mondo e questi, qui, non apprezzano niente. Questi che sono qua… c'è gente di Canelli che non hanno ancora visto la cantina. Magari vanno a fare una crociera, a vedere una cosa… vedi che non è apprezzato. È un patrimonio per gli altri. Perché qui vengono da tutto il mondo e prenotano una settimana, un mese, quindici giorni prima e chiedono. C'è gente di Canelli che non ha mai visto la cantina. E poi, come dicevo, se la lasci la macchina lì… ehhh quello là è venuto… gli dà anche fastidio il turismo. Un turismo consapevole, un turismo che vuole proprio vedere. Qui noi abbiamo proprio delle persone che vengono, che sono proprio interessate a questa cosa. Perché non vengono tutti, non

è che è una fiera dove vengono tutti… no… vengono solo da tutto il mondo, loro sono interessati a vedere questa cantina, a vedere questa cosa. E quelli di qua non vanno
È una facciata, che non deve essere così. Deve essere un coinvolgimento delle persone che vi abitano, delle persone che vivono lì e deve essere tutto un coinvolgimento. Non deve essere un coso di facciata
Adesso Alba è una cosa senza senso. Alba ha dei prezzi… non vorrei che tirassero troppo la corda. E in Liguria, se ti ricordi, hanno tirato la corda con dei prezzi altissimi per tanto tempo. Poi la gente si è stufata. La gente si è stufata perché poi alla fine… la Liguria ha perso molto. Per quello che qui noi adesso… abbiamo solo visite su prenotazione, i signori pagano, perché almeno sono interessati. Perché noi non possiamo fare una cosa qui a 5, 10 euro l'uno. Così vengono tutti, anche chi se ne frega della cantina. No, noi vogliamo che… di fatti pagano 25 euro per la visita poi hanno la degustazione, ma c'è questo ragazzo sotto che fa una spiegazione che dura un'ora. Però devono essere persone interessate… che vengono per vedere questo. Non così solo per uscire… abbiamo un'ora, non sappiamo dove andare, andiamo a vedere loro. No. C'è un lavoro dietro. Anche quando c'era il Vinitaly, si pagava poco, il biglietto costava poco, andavano un po' tutti. Tutta gente che non era interessata al vino, manco sapeva cosa… niente! Invece adesso hanno alzato il prezzo del biglietto, però vanno solo quelli che sono veramente interessati alle cose. È inutile far passeggiare della gente qua sotto, che lui gli spiega e gli fa la spiegazione di un'ora a uno che se ne frega. È inutile
Adesso io qui vorrei che mettessero di nuovo la ferrovia. La gente telefona… non tutti hanno un'auto a disposizione. Arrivano a Torino, arrivano con gli aerei. Se ci fosse un sistema ferroviario che funziona, la gente viene
Noi abbiamo delle vigne a Grinzane, sotto il castello, sì sì. Bello… abbiamo un ciabotin antico, bello… dal castello vai verso il cimitero, vai verso Diano… io il ciabot vedessi come lo tengo bene, ho fatto una cosa sul ciabot, bella! A fare un ciabot così, nessuno è più capace a farlo. È come questa cantina. Può venire l'architetto più bravo del mondo ma una cantina così non la fa. Il ciabot a me piace, io ne ho uno là a Grinzane. Abbiamo fatto delle cose carine… davanti ho messo un tavolo… ogni tanto facciamo degli aperitivi… cose belle… è carino. Dentro quel ciabot c'è il pozzo e il camino. Perché quando venivano… i padroni di quel vigneto lì venivano da Diano,

allora quando veniva giù si fermavano lì. Legavano… fuori c'è ancora l'anello dove legavano la mucca. Allora stavano lì c'hanno il camino e il pozzo… ma interno!
Adesso ho un libro che ha scritto un signore, adesso te lo do, che ha scritto un mio vicino di casa. E io… tutto quello che gli raccontavo io, quando ero bambina, così… proprio la storia così.
Sai una cosa, queste storie… se non ci sono queste donne vecchie come me nessuno le sa.
Ma sai che adesso è uscito un film di Fenoglio… ma lo sai qual è… è un libro di qua
Anche Laiolo ha scritto un bel libro sulle colline qui…io penso che nessuno abbia orgoglio di questi libri qui… non c'è una biblioteca… devono essere qua questi libri. Ci deve essere un punto… be', la ricezione turistica deve essere non solo dove ti dicono dove andare a mangiare. Deve essere una cosa dove ci siano delle persone … che ci sono tante ragazze, tanti ragazzi che hanno voglia di imparare… possono fare degli stage… se tu hai i libri giusti da dargli, loro li leggono, sanno spiegare… sanno parlare anche inglese loro, lo sanno spiegare a questa gente che viene da tutto il mondo com'è. Che non ci vuole un'invenzione… un'inserzione 'se qualcuno vuole sapere qualcosa in più sul patrimonio UNESCO, da come è nato, da … queste cose può recarsi in questo locale, in questo ufficio, dove sarà… l'ufficio turistico è qua. Qui c'è un centro di abbronzatura estetica… su c'è una palestra… è qui, è in questa piazzetta qua che ci dovrebbe essere qualcosa. Così dai anche ai giovani l'opportunità di… come… quando spiegano agli altri imparano anche loro. Avrebbero da lavorare qui, invece sono costretti ad andare via.
Il treno deve esserci per i bambini che vanno a scuola. È un pericolo enorme su ste corriere, vanno e vengono su queste strade strette. Per i bambini che vanno a scuola, per la gente che deve andare… cioè, non tutti hanno l'auto. Ci son delle persone anziane… devono andare fino ad Asti? Prendi un treno a Castagnole e vai ad Asti. Non devi trovare il parcheggio, sali lì…come si è sempre fatto. Han tolto i treni! Ma guarda che… ma poi Alessandria – Canelli – Castagnole era la linea dell'esercito, viaggiavano i treni per l'esercito, capisci. Hanno tolto, adesso c'è tutta una discussione… addirittura il sindaco di Canelli… una pista ciclabile…al posto della ferrovia… una pista ciclabile?! Scherziamo? Chi va in bicicletta? La gente ha bisogno… un anziano come me, un bambino che va a scuola… va sulla pista ciclabile? Mi sembra una cosa assurda. Mettiamo sti treni, adesso ci sono delle automazioni,

non hai bisogno di niente … dei treni navetta, che vanno e vengono ogni due ore, tre… una littorina di una volta. Che ci sono questi sensori che quando arrivi… tac… chiudono le sbarre. Ma puoi capire, accendono un termosifone in Sicilia con un telecomando. Lo sai che adesso c'è… dici, vado in Sicilia domani, voglio calore… tac… e no, sbarre si chiudono non puoi chiudere due sbarre? Automaticamente, quando sei a un certo punto le sbarre si chiudono… non c'è bisogno più del casellante, non dobbiamo tornare indietro al casellante. Dobbiamo fare una cosa che possa servire, automatica, che si chiudano le sbarre così… vai. Poi quando sei in prossimità delle sbarre non devi andare ai 300 all'ora. Se eventualmente questo non ha funzionato, rallenti leggermente. E non c'è bisogno di niente, c'è bisogno di tre littorine che bon… e sei persone che si diano il turno. Tutto lì, eh. Vanno, vengono. Vanno ad Asti, Alba, Alessandria. Ogni due, tre ore ne passa uno. Io mi ricordo da bambina e il primo treno era alle 5 del mattino, passava, e l'ultimo alle 10 di sera. Dunque, abbiamo fatto un bel miglioramento. Tutto questo miglioramento, abbiamo smartphone, televisione, guardiamo gli affari degli altri, ci mandano in capo al mondo … però non abbiamo un treno. E fanno delle discussioni che non finiscono più. Secondo me prendono delle tangenti… davvero! Perché altrimenti ti sembra il caso. Ci vuole mica da mettersi d'accordo. Cosa vuoi che ci voglia? Sti nove, dieci paesi qua, una littorina. Che le hanno le littorine, perché c'erano. Se non le hanno buttate… ma non ci vuole un investimento impossibile. Quando vado in Toscana, l'autostrada sembra una stradina di campagna perché è stretta… però prima in Toscana pagavo 20 euro e adesso sono già arrivata a 25. Vai e vieni 50 euro.

Poi c'è questa paura dello straniero. E quando succede qualcosa, subito la colpa a loro. Io non ho mai pensato male. Noi dovremmo stare zitti con la nostra Mafia.

I miei nonni sono andati in Argentina, lui e mia nonna, allora mia nonna dunque era del 1887, aveva vent'anni, e lui ne aveva 22 sono emigrati in Argentina e sono stati là 14 anni. Mia nonna ha partorito 5 figli sotto una capanna di frasche … le è già andata bene … poi sono tornati su perché le femmine son diventate grandi, 14 anni, passavano i gaucho che erano questi uomini a cavallo e gliele portavano via. E mio nonno ha detto, io torno a Neive. È tornato a Neive. È venuto via di là perché altrimenti gli portavano via le figlie. E mia nonna me lo raccontava. Dunque, pensa te. Però non mi hanno mai parlato male della gente che hanno trovato giù, perché sono arrivati là… anche loro come questi qua. E lei mi diceva che quando partoriva

c'era una signora, si metteva in un angolo e fumava il mate. È un po' un anestetico. Lei partoriva, tornava mio nonno e trovava il bambino lì. Vedi com'è la vita? È il destino. E adesso tutte queste cose. Quando una persona deve partorire sembra che inizi il mondo, ma se tu guardi fuori in una piazza è piena di gente, sono nati tutti così. Invece l'hanno fatto diventare… un fatto naturale l'hanno fatto diventare un evento. Una cosa senza senso, una cosa fuori dal mondo. Ma tu guarda in una piazza, quante persone c'è? A volte io vedo… arrivano tutte da lì. Sono riusciti a fare un commercio anche su questo. Marketing, vendita, sì… di noi se ne frega nessuno, basta che compriamo. Valiamo quanto compriamo

**Intervista Laura Cavalleris**

Benvenuta nella cattedrale sotterranea della Famiglia Bosca. La Famiglia Bosca esiste da ben sei generazioni. Qui è iniziato tutto nel 1831. Questa cantina viene chiamata cattedrale sotterranea sia per questa parvenza architettonica, per questi meravigliosi archi, ma anche perché siamo entrati a far parte del 50esimo sito UNESCO italiano insieme a Langhe-Roero e Monferrato. Quelle che sono le più importanti cantine di Canelli, cioè noi – la Bosca, la Gancia , la Coppo e la Contratto, dal 23 giugno 2014 posso definirsi parte del patrimonio mondiale dell'umanità UNESCO. Nello specifico, in questa cantina noi affiniamo il nostro unico metodo classico, cioè uno spumante bianco secco formato da un blend di chardonnay e pinot nero. Questo è lo spumante metodo champagne, champegnoise, ma che in Italia deve essere classificato come classico o tradizionale. Diciamo che questa bottiglia inizia la sua vita con la preparazione delle uve che durante la vendemmia vengono raccolte, pressate e vinificate nel nostro stabilimento del Boglietto, a dieci chilometri da qui. Abbiamo una prima fermentazione in autoclave, e poi, successivamente, in primavera l'imbottigliamento con lieviti e zuccheri. La bottiglia viene quindi chiusa con un tappo a corona, perché mantiene la pressione, ha un costo zero e nell'ultima fase verrà completamente eliminato. E poi questa bottiglia inizia il suo affinamento in queste grandi cataste orizzontali. Ad oggi garantisce, la Famiglia Bosca garantisce un affinamento minimo di 60 mesi. Quindi durante la nostra passeggiata vedremo la produzione della nostra riserva del nonno, la storia di questa famiglia, ma anche la storia della comunità di Canelli. Tutto in un connubio tra tradizione e innovazione, soprattutto con una spinta verso il futuro, visto che dopo la nomina a patrimonio

mondiale dell'umanità avvenuta nel 2014, abbiamo deciso di aderire a quello che nel 2015 è stato l'anno internazionale della luce. Quindi un anno pieno di interscambi, di relazioni, di interventi. Gli scienziati dell'UNESCO sono venuti qui in cantina e ci siamo approcciati a un punto di vista differente, ma soprattutto abbiamo preso una consapevolezza diversa, quindi abbiamo cambiato tutti i led in cantina, l'elettricità: la luce è importante per la creazione e la crescita dei nostri vitigni. Abbiamo cercato di dare quindi in questa visita una veste diversa, anticonvenzionale, soprattutto una passeggiata in quella che è la storia della nostra azienda, della nostra famiglia ma con un punto verso le idee, le idee che ci contraddistinguono da sempre. quindi un tour un po' magico. Allora adesso io e Laura le mostriamo la nostra storia

Allora, ci siamo fermati qui perché parliamo della seconda fase. Abbiamo detto che questa bottiglia rimane in affinamento minimo 60 mesi, ma poi cosa succede? Abbiamo i nostri lieviti all'interno che lavorano incessantemente e in un periodo circa di due mesi abbiamo la presa di spuma, cioè il periodo dove abbiamo la formazione di anidride carbonica, periodo in cui più si lascia, più si lasciano i lieviti a contatto con il nostro vino più il bouquet aromatico sarà pieno di aromi quali la crosta di pane, la frutta secca… in questi due mesi circa abbiamo la formazione di anidride carbonica e soprattutto la produzione di bollicine, quello che sarà il perlage finale. In questa rifermentazione, chiamata presa di spuma, i nostri lieviti lavorano all'interno e rilasciano tutto il deposito esausto sulla pancia della bottiglia. Quindi la fase successiva sarà prendere la bottiglia e spostarla obliqua in poupitre, così tutto il deposito confluirà… dopo vedremo cosa succede alla bottiglia, ma vista che all'interno di questa passeggiata andremo a scoprire ogni singolo passo della storia che è anche in connessione con la nostra comunità di Canelli, adesso andiamo a vedere uno scorcio relativo al novembre 1994, proprio perché in una situazione drammatica la comunità si è fatta unica… qui in fondo c'è il ricordo dell'alluvione del novembre 1994, quando la regione Piemonte è stata colpita da questa grave tragedia il fiume esondando ha riempito le cantine, i garage, i sottoscala e quello che vede lì davanti è una ricostruzione in creta e argilla di un famoso coreografo della RAI che si chiamava Eugenio Guglielmini. Era un famoso coreografo… scenografo Eugenio… e qui ha saputo ha saputo riportare, con della creta e dell'argilla, quei tragici momenti. Ma le bottiglie che vede sul fondo sono invece quelle reali, sono quelle

vere. Purtroppo, noi quell'anno abbiamo perso una completa produzione di vino: si parla di 800mila bottiglie. Questo perché sotto di noi c'è ancora un secondo piano che era formato da queste grandi cappe per la rifermentazione. Secondo piano che purtroppo è andato inglobato dal fango. Purtroppo, ci sono voluti 40 giorni per arrivare qui dove siamo adesso, quindi può immaginare com'era lo stato della cantina. Qui abbiamo dovuto metterci tutto noi stessi, tutta la forza della comunità, dei volontari, delle associazioni che hanno ripulito questa cantina… tutte le cantine di Canelli, tutta la città di Canelli. E proprio un grazie a questa comunità che c'è sempre stata e è sempre venuta a lavorare in questa cantina, ma soprattutto la famiglia ha sempre dato un raduno a questa comunità. Quindi anche le bottiglie che ha visto sopra, che sono quelle all'uva, quelle sono 1831 bottiglie – quindi l'anno di fondazione – ma che sono state recuperate dall'anno del '94, dell'alluvione. Sono state lì perché fanno una grande forza, una grande luce, per ricordare a tutti di continuare a produrre lo spumante, quello che ci aveva reso importanti nel mondo. Proprio perché abbiamo questa connessione con la nostra comunità, adesso le faccio vedere alcune testimonianze

Qui è una chiusura un po' in dialetto proprio per ricordare le nostre radici. Noi utilizziamo la cantina per tantissimi eventi – convegni, concerti… La famiglia Bosca l'ha sempre imprestata, come dire, per chiunque la volesse utilizzare per mostre, convegni, conferenze. Ad oggi, con la nomina UNESCO ancora di più, perché celebrando l'umanità intera, diciamo così, siamo molto contenti di pensare che tutti vogliano venire qui e conoscere un pezzettino di storia. Poi era proprio l'idea della famiglia, infatti le figlie da piccole – racconta sempre Pia – piccole, adolescenti dovevano passare i weekend a fare le visite, perché le abbiamo sempre tenute aperte e – poi le racconterà la storia degli alpini, perché sono arrivati – ma… e non abbiamo mai fatto pagare il biglietto perché il dottor Bosca e la sua famiglia, i suoi figli, hanno sempre detto 'le cantine sono nostre ma sono anche di tutti, perciò noi dobbiamo farle conoscere e mai si pagherà un biglietto per entrare a vedere le nostre cantine'.

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