COOPERATION IN SARDINIA: PRODUCTION, EXCHANGE AND COOPERATIVES AMONG HIGHLAND PASTORALISTS

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Cooperation in Sardinia.

ABSTRACT

In Sardinia, Italy, shepherds' cooperatives have been very successful in some settings while they have failed in others. Given that the previous existence or absence of informal cooperation is often held as the reason behind cooperatives' success or failure, this dissertation looks at pastoral production and exchange practices in two municipalities of Nuoro province. It is proposed that among the pastoralists of highland Sardinia informal cooperation is not directly related to the success of cooperatives. While informal cooperation exists in the two settings, only in one have shepherds' cooperatives prospered. The reasons for the cooperatives' success have to be found outside the particular settings, in the designs and interests of the Sardinian, Italian and EEC bureaucrats and politicians. Informal cooperation, instead, is part of the larger context of exchange practices through which the local people create a sense of social coherence and autonomy from the wider processes affecting them.

RÉSUMÉ

Les coopératives de bergers en Sardaigne, Italie, ont eu beacoup de succès dans certains villages, tandis qu'elles ont échoué dans d'autres. Etant donné que l'existence ou l'absence d'une coopération informelle antérieure est souvent presentée comme la raison du succés ou de l'échec des coopératives, cette thèse analyse la production pastorale et les pratiques d'échanges dans deux communes de la province de Nuoro. La thèse montre que parmi les bergers des hautes terres de Sardaigne la coopération informelle n'a pas une relation directe avec les succès des coopératives. Ainsi, bien que la coopération informelle existe dans les deux communes étudiées, les coopératives ont prospéré seulement dans l'une d'elles. Les raisons du succès des coopératives doivent être cherchées non à l'intérieur des communes, mais dans les projets et les intérêts des bureaucrates et des hommes politiques de Sardaigne, d'Italie et de la Communauté Economique Européene. La coopération informelle, par contre, fait parti du contexte plus large des pratiques d'échanges à travers lesquelles la population locale se donne une image de cohérence sociale et d'autonomie face aux processus plus larges qui la touchent.

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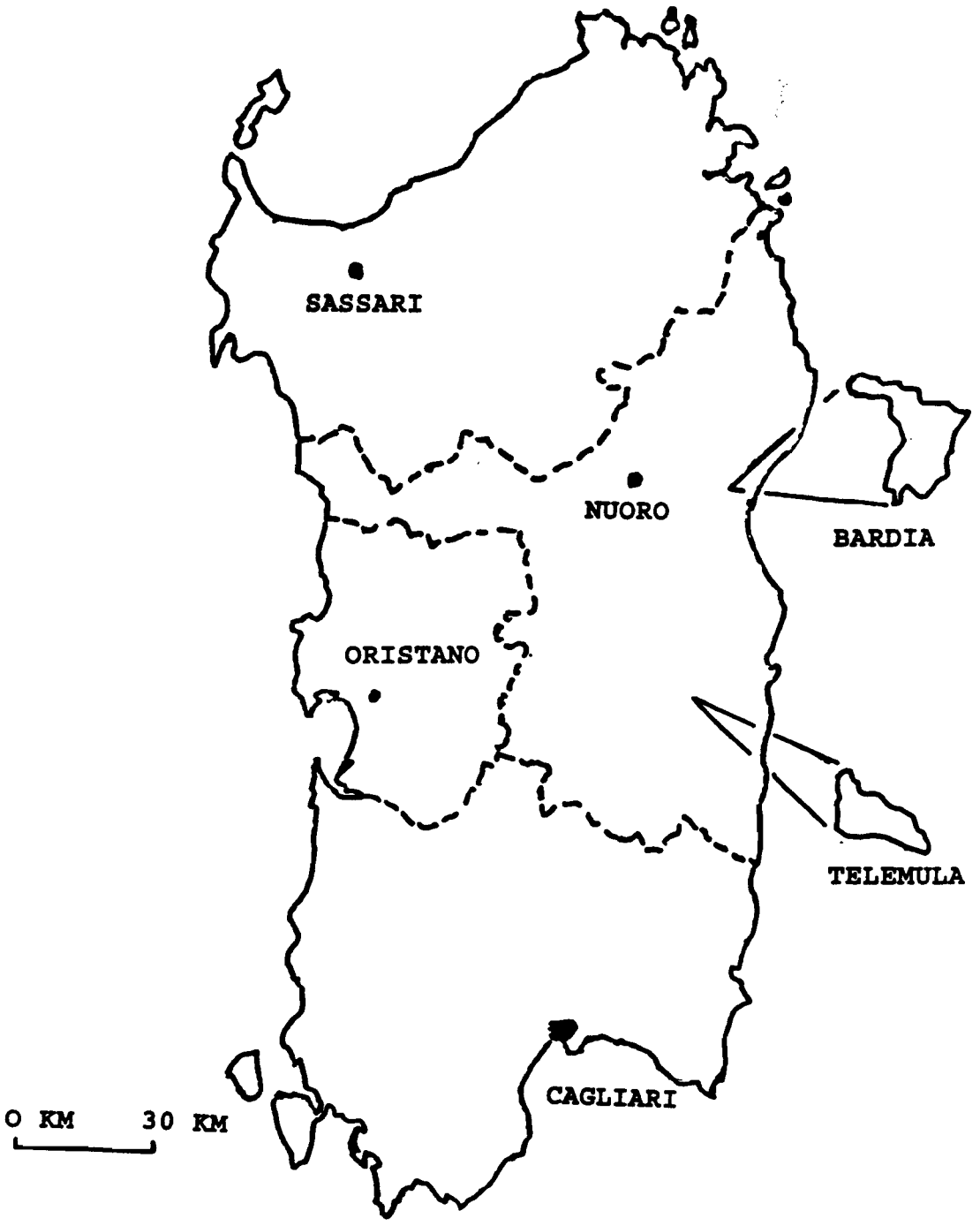
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MAP OF SARDINIA showing the four provinces and their capitals. The profiles of Bardia and Telemula, the two municipalities where the study was conducted, are not shown according to the scale of the map or to their exact location. Sources: Piano di Rinascita della Sardegna 1979; Fabbri Editori 1985; Istituto Geografico DeAgostini 1988.

Col da' e col te'
Amicizia se ne ave'
Ave' e non da'
Amicizia se ne va

Campobassano saying.

PREFACE

1. A SHEARING PARTY[1]

It was early in the morning of June 5 of 1992. Piero had been working in his *ovile* [a shepherd's shelter] in the communal territory of Bardia, Sardinia, before the break of day.[2] He had invited several of his shepherd friends, his siblings and brothers-in-law to come to the lands of the Su Cuile Mannu cooperative to help him shear his sheep. One of his brothers was in charge of bringing, from the town of Bardia, the meat to be consumed during the two banquets to be held in the cooperative's lands that day. The husband of one of his sisters was in charge of procuring several empty plastic sacks where the wool was going to be stuffed after the shearing, and bringing the beer, wine and *grappa* [brandy] that would be consumed during work and at the banquets.

Inside the *ovile*, which Piero used as a storage and resting place, a man was cooking a soup with tomatoes and the intestines of the sheep that had been butchered for the party. Outside the *ovile*'s door two men were cutting up the carcasses of two suckling pigs into eight large pieces of meat. Each of these they speared with two long and thin wooden sticks, in order to prepare the meat to roast.

As the morning progressed, the five shepherds continued to prepare the breakfast and *pranzo* banquets that would precede and later follow the work of shearing the sheep. The shepherds took out of the *ovile* three long planks and proceeded to mount them on two supports, one at each end, to make a table. The table was soon covered with white paper for

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[1] "Bardia" and "Su Cuile Mannu" are pseudonyms.

[2] Angioni (1989:105) defines *ovile* as the constructions shepherds use for themselves and their animals. Following Telemulesi's and Bardiesi's usage, however, here *ovile* only refers to the shepherds' shelters. In Telemula and Bardia, the enclosure where the animals are kept are called *recinti*.

a tablecloth. At eight in the morning Piero's mother, two of his sisters and another one of his brothers-in-law arrived. This man had brought a videocamera and he and his wife began to film everything they found interesting.

Soon, several other cars had arrived, and thirty shepherds were standing around the *ovile*, drinking *grappa* and red wine. The three women who were Piero's relatives first walked around for a short inspection of the area, and then came back to the *ovile*. Soon, two of them began to set plastic dishes on the long table that had been prepared by the shepherds. The soup, which had become a thick sauce of tomato and intestines, was served in plastic bowls. Piero's mother had brought bread, and one of Piero's brothers-in-law had brought sausages and *prosciutto* [cured ham].

All the shepherds, two anthropologists and Piero's female relatives stood by the table, to have a breakfast of sausages, cooked sheep intestines, *prosciutto*, wine and *grappa*. After breakfast it was time for the members of the cooperative to take their animals into the pastures equipped with computerised irrigation. Five cars left Piero's *ovile*, as several shepherds, including Piero himself, drove to the evergreen pastures to make sure their animals went in. Some of the shepherds, including one of Piero's brothers-in-law, stayed at the *ovile*, and then went to gather Piero's sheep to take them to a small corral. These shepherds did not belong to the cooperative. While two of them helped to clean the table where breakfast had been served, six others began to shear the sheep.

Piero's male relatives (his brothers and brothers-in-law) did not shear for long. As soon as the other shepherds came back, they all left to start cooking the food for the *pranzo* [noon meal] banquet. The cooking and ensuing banquet were to take place in one of the large compounds of shelters and stables that were being constructed under the cooperative's infrastructure projects.

A fire had been started by one of the walls of the shelters in construction, and two rows of blocks had been set around. Soon a cook, who had been hired for the occasion, was roasting the meat of two sheep and the suckling pigs with the help of one of Piero's male relatives. The couple with the videocamera instructed one of the anthropologists on how to use it and what to film, and as the anthropologist began to follow their instructions the couple joined the other men and women who were cooking. The women were in charge of washing and cutting up the lettuce, tomatoes and fennel that were to be eaten during the feast. They also worked setting up three tables inside the unfinished shelters, using planks as table surfaces and benches, and pieces of paper from a white roll as tablecloths.

Piero's mother took Piero's five year old son around, telling him and one of the anthropologists about her life as a shepherd's young wife, when her children were small. She told of how, when Piero's father did the transhumance, she used to spend part of the winter in the area where now the cooperative is. Then she was in charge of making cheese and *ricotta*, or other dairy products for her family. She named different spots on the land, and recalled which families used to spend the winter on them. She reminisced about how other families came then to live in *capanne* [huts] and thus re-created a small *vicinato* [neighbourhood] during their stay.

The shepherds were still shearing the sheep when it was time for the members of the cooperative to go to the *irrigato* [the irrigated pastures] again, to take the sheep and goats out of them and back to the area where each shepherd had his own *ovile*. They all went and came back as before, herding their animals from their cars without getting off their vehicles at all and then returning to Piero's *tosatura* [shearing] party.

The shepherds had begun to shear at eight thirty in the morning, and they finished after one in the afternoon. As

soon as the shearing was over a group from among the younger men put a canvass roof on top of the unfinished compound of shelters, and then everyone sat to drink wine and beer, waiting for the meat to finish cooking. Bettino, the oldest shepherd among those present and the oldest member of the cooperative, began to tell the others about the past: how before the 1960s there was so much poverty, how women did not go out alone with men when there were not so many cars as now, how traditions are being overridden by modernity, and how he disagrees with the rule that prevents Giulio, his son, from taking his place in the cooperative after he retires, since to be admitted each member has to pay his own membership fee. The other shepherds pondered with him all these facts of life, but the members of the cooperative told him that he could not just bring another person in to fill his place.

At about two in the afternoon the *pranzo* banquet began. The shepherds who had come to help were treated by Piero and his relatives to a banquet of boiled mutton, the roasted meat of one goat and a sheep, and roasted suckling pig. Also, after the meat there were fruits, aged cheeses, solid yogurt, and desserts of almond cookies and fine biscuits that were brought along with the coffee. The meal finished with shots of *grappa* late in the afternoon, and the shepherds left when the members of the cooperative were supposed to take their animals into the *irrigato* once more, in the early evening. Piero, his mother, sisters, brothers and brothers-in-law stayed for still two hours to clean up after the party. To everyone's satisfaction, the shearing party was considered a success by the Piero and his family, and also by his guests.

2. THE STUDY

The above description of a shearing party touches on most of the issues that are addressed in this dissertation: pastoralists' work in Sardinia, informal cooperation practices, shepherds' cooperatives, the changing roles of

women and children in pastoralist families, forms of communal land management, and the perception of 'modernity' and 'tradition' as having both historical and structural importance. This dissertation is based on fieldwork that I conducted in Sardinia from August of 1990 to June of 1992. Here I contrast two settlements of central Sardinia, which are usually identified as pastoralist municipalities, although less than a third of their labour force is engaged in pastoralism.

I went to Sardinia to study the relationship between informal and formal cooperation among the pastoralists of the island. This dissertation, however, is not only an account of cooperation practices. Living in Sardinia I found that cooperation relations could not be seen in isolation from other aspects of everyday life, and that the influence of the European Economic Community [EEC] on pastoralism itself could not be overlooked. I also realized that my dissertation could not report on Sardinia only according to my own initial interests but had to reflect, to some extent, the interests and preoccupations of local people. This dissertation, then, is the result of a long negotiation between my Sardinian hosts and me. While the data on production and cooperation practices reflect mainly my own concerns, the data on exchange and gender issues reflect the everyday preoccupations of my Sardinian friends and acquaintances. The length of the document is partly due to my double commitment to my initial research objectives and to the people of the two settings' preoccupations. The theoretical interpretation of all materials, however, is my sole responsibility and the Sardinians should not be blamed for what I did with what they taught me.

Even those sections where my own theoretical interests predominate have been shaped by the Sardinians' insistence on questioning my data and my assumptions. For example, my original research project contemplated taking into account the

policies of the EEC. However, it is because of my Sardinian friends' explanations that I came to see this supranational entity less as a homogenous top-down force and more as a set of heterogeneous opportunities and constraints which can be taken advantage of, worked around or even ignored by the locals in particular ways and instances.

Also, while in my original project I had no specific interest in gender issues, both women and men in Sardinia constantly remarked on how the tasks of women and men are different in alternative settings, and how they have changed from one generation to another within each locality.[3] Therefore, in this dissertation I look at pastoralist production in the context of the shepherds' families and the domestic labour division between women and men.

Before going to Sardinia I read many ethnographies and other types of works on the island and on Mediterranean Europe as a whole. These sources led me to make several assumptions which later proved to be either false or irrelevant for the communities I studied:

1. From the work by Lonergan (1984), Berger (1986) and Schweizer (1988), I had somehow gathered that all Sardinian shepherds had sheep, and that there were only a few of them who had goats in their flocks.

As it turned out, in large areas of the Ogliastra sub-region of Sardinia, many of the pastoralists herd goats, which adapt better to the rocky and hilly terrains of the sub-region.[4] While there are many sheep in Sardinia (3,060,171

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[3] I should point out that while some of my friends told me that I should write about the EEC and gender issues, others asked me not to write many of the things they told me. I hope that by using pseudonyms and not giving specific examples of families or individuals who do things that may seem 'wrong' in any way I can satisfy both groups.

[4] Sardinians divide the island into several sub-regions. Some of these are Barbagia, Baronia, Campidano d'Oristano, Campidano di Cagliari, Goceano, Marghine and

according to the last agro-pastoral census, although this figure is probably inaccurate), in some villages there are more goats than sheep, and still in others there are more cattle than either sheep or goats.

2. Although I knew that the expansion of shepherding in Sardinia was a relatively recent phenomenon, that dates from the beginning of the century and has gained special importance since the 1950s (Idda 1982), I had thought that the shepherds would be the direct descendants of earlier generations of shepherds, and they would only marry women from shepherding families. In short, I believed that the shepherds would be an isolated segment of the population of each village, and they would socialise only among themselves (Lonergan 1984, Schweizer 1988). I also had the impression (Meloni 1984, Magliocco 1991) that young Sardinian women were refusing to marry shepherds, and thus the pastoralists were becoming a vanishing social group.

Against my expectations, I found that many young men in Ogliastra and Barbagia are not always the sons of shepherds. Shepherding is taken up by men who have some economic resources to invest and want to have a profitable occupation, by men who were previously unemployed and want to have an income of their own, or by men who want to keep their names on the unemployment records while at the same time are engaged in a profitable activity. Many of the young women that soon became my friends were in love with young shepherds and actively sought the shepherds' company. While I was in Sardinia three of my shepherd friends married, and two others became engaged. Sometimes the women had more schooling than the shepherds, and in one of my visits to the Goceano region

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Ogliastra. For an exhaustive list of the sub-regions and a discussion of their territorial limits see Bodemann (1979) and Berger (1986).

I learned of two local schoolteachers who had married shepherds in the area of Bolotana. It was soon obvious to me that the shepherds are not an isolated minority (or majority) in their villages and towns, and that shepherding is seen as one more occupational alternative by many young men and women. Furthermore, shepherding itself cannot not be understood only as a family matter, separate from other occupational activities and from the larger, all-encompassing designs of the European Economic Community institutions.

3. Having been a graduate student during the years when the 'post-modern' debate in anthropology was strongest (during the second half of the 1980s), I left for Sardinia with the conviction that there are no coherent systems of rules for the organisation of people's behaviour.

I was truly surprised to hear people in the places where I lived constantly stress the rules they abide by in their everyday interaction. Although the rules are there only to be "played by ear" during everyday social life, they nevertheless influence the behaviour of people and the judgements they make about each other.

After two months in the field I had discovered a completely different scenario from the one I had expected: people put great effort into social activities, and instead of having a fragmented experience of themselves they seek coherence through their participation in social communities. The shepherds, who are not very different from the other Sardinians, participate in help circuits and social activities along with the other people in the villages or towns with a kind of compulsion that could seem completely unnecessary. Not only are there rules, but also sanctions, and people make sure things fall within the clear categories of the expected. The circuits of informal cooperation are accompanied by a constant flow of things and money given away as gifts from each individual and family to other individuals and families.

Although these presents were given and received as 'gifts', the idea of gifting prevalent in the two settings was different from my own: in one case, even things and money that were given within a 'commercial' (to my understanding) context were always treated as gifts, and in the other case there was a very structured 'map' of gift-giving . . . and receiving.

4. Probably because so many intellectuals criticise cooperatives as distant from previously established cooperation practices, and because so many studies present informal cooperation in rather idealised terms (Cliffe 1970), I expected to be able to establish a correspondence between informal cooperation and cooperatives. I thought that cooperatives would either rest on previous structures of informal cooperation -only more structured-, or organise work in a completely different fashion from that of informal arrangements.

To my surprise, some of the forms of informal cooperation proved to be highly structured, requiring specific types of help at specific times. Furthermore, help arrangements within the cooperatives often consisted of informal ones, as in the *tosatura* party described above.

To my despair the challenges to my earlier preconceptions amounted to new questions: Why would these people be so concerned with such intense socializing and gift-giving? How did the types of cooperation I was witnessing related to cooperatives at all? What was the true place of the shepherds and of shepherding in Sardinia society as a whole? It is these questions that my dissertation tries to answer, in addition to the relationship between informal and formal cooperation in Sardinia.

3. FIELDWORK

The techniques I used for the collection of data were also, by necessity, shaped by the Sardinian ways of doing things. When I tried to collect numerical data even my

closest friends lied to me, although they knew that I often knew the exact answers to my own questions. I also had the intention of collecting taped interviews, but these too turned out to be difficult to do because most Sardinians did not like to be on tape, especially if they were asked to talk about what they considered touchy issues. Because of their general distrust of written numbers I have used only published or other type of quantitative data which are of public domain.

My personal documents and problems took more room and required more time than I had anticipated. Somehow there were many papers and authorizations which I had to obtain from different bureaucratic offices, and many tax stamps to be bought for different purposes. The procedures to obtain the different personal documents I was required at one time or another (resident visa, driver's license, medical file number, tax payer's number, residence certificate from the local municipal authorities, anti-mafia certificate and a host of documents relative to the car I purchased there) were very complicated and time-consuming.[5]

Other than dealing with the bureaucracy, it was difficult to deal with my own feelings during part of my stay in one of the two settings, since I was sexually harassed by a local man in one of the two places where I lived. As a result I stayed away from his entire family and his friends, and probably lost many research opportunities which could have enriched my work as a whole and this thesis in particular. This, however, was an isolated event and in all other cases I was treated with kindness and respect, especially by the pastoralists and their families. Hopefully in my relations with other people I made up for the information I did not gather from my attacker's family and friends.

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[5] The anti-mafia certificate is a document issued by the municipal authorities. It states that the holder of the certificate does not belong to a criminal organization.

In Sardinia it is often the case that the original and a limited number of copies of important documents are not in any libraries or organized archives. Rather, they are in the hands of particular officials who keep them in their own offices or houses. Often, I had to obtain the documents I was looking for through chains of friends of friends. At other times I happened to have access to documents that I had not even heard about before. This rather haphazard way of working is very far from what I had envisioned before going to Sardinia. However, it added to my experiences with the bureaucracy in general which, all together, gave me an insider's view regarding patronage and clientelist relations.

In order to protect the identity and privacy of the people who were so kind as to make me part of their lives during the two years of my research, I have given these two localities the fictional names of Telemula and Bardia. Other fictional names are Sa Cresia de su Bradu Mannu, Cala Fuili, Su Cuile Mannu, Bardia II, and all the proper names of the people I write about in this dissertation.

I lived in Telemula from the beginning of September to mid November of 1990, and again from February to the end of October of 1991. I lived in Bardia from mid November of 1990 to most of February of 1991, and then in Cala Fuili from November of 1991 to mid June of 1992. The longest time away from the island between the first week of August of 1990 and mid May of 1992 was a period of two weeks in December of 1991.

The main research techniques used for the collection of data were participant observation within the two villages and their surroundings, and open interviews with government officials, politicians and administrators. I also conducted open interviews with officials of the cooperative federations in Rome and Nuoro city, and besides interviewing them I spent time with the heads of local cooperative associations during work hours and social activities. I used several libraries in Nuoro province but, as I already explained, the most important

archival resources I obtained through my and my friends' personal contacts.

4. CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The Ogliastra sub-region of Sardinia has been, in recent years, the focus of much scholarly attention by anthropologists. Several scholars have recently looked at many facets of the social and political life of the same area where I conducted my study. Bodemann (1979) looked at local political conflict in Telemula borne from the designs of the national State for local communities; Ostow (1985) studied out-migration from Telemula to Germany; Angioni (1989) has analyzed the "traditional" forms of pastoralist production in Ogliastra; McVeigh (1992) studied the impact of tourism on an Ogliastra village; Ayora-Diaz (1993) looked at self-perception and occupational choice in Telemula, and the political issues raised by the Gennargentu Park have been analyzed by Heatherington (1993) and Kennedy (1993).

This, however, is the first ethnography contrasting pastoral production, cooperation practices and exchange circuits in two settings of Nuoro province. Besides this new ethnographic data, my dissertation speaks to and perhaps contributes to two fields of theoretical debate; namely, the anthropology of rural Mediterranean Europe during late capitalism, and the anthropology of cooperation. I believe that the two case studies here presented throw some light on the relationship between rural Mediterranean Europe as a whole and the new social and cultural phenomena brought about by the welfare state, the EEC and the post-industrial economy in Europe. On the other hand, this dissertation questions the given wisdom of a relatively direct relation between informal cooperation and cooperatives, in favour of a new interpretation of cooperation practices as part of the larger social context of exchange.

5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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At my return from Sardinia I was fortunate to be granted a write-up fellowship by the Dean of Graduate Studies at McGill, and to be admitted as a member of the Centre for Society, Technology and Development (STANDD), headed by Professors J. Galaty, D. Attwood and L. Bossen. At STANDD I found logistic support and a stimulating environment to

develop my ideas for this dissertation. STANDD also provided me with a photocopy and book allowance to help me defray the costs of writing and submitting my dissertation. Finally, during the last and most crucial phase of my writing, STANDD provided me with an office and computer equipment at a time when our department was undergoing a relocation crisis. I thank Professors Galaty, Attwood and Bossen as well as all the student members of STANDD for their understanding and help.

While my husband Igor Ayora-Diaz and I were in Sardinia, Judy Snively and Rose Marie Stano took care of our economic and administrative problems in Montreal. In Ogliastra Prof. Philip Salzman, Lisa Edelsward, Colleen McVeigh, Tracey Heatherington and Igor Ayora-Diaz were part of our "therapy group." During 1991 and 1991 we met in several occasions to talk not only about our research but also about our experiences at being alien researchers in Sardinia.

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in several occasions, toured us around the city and kept close contact with Igor and me while we were in the field. I thank her for being such a good friend and at the same time such a critical intellectual peer.

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INTRODUCTION: COOPERATION AND THE GIFT

1. THE ISSUES

This dissertation is an anthropological account of the economic and social activities of the members of pastoralist families in two municipalities of central Sardinia, Italy. These are Telemula and Bardia, one a village in the Ogliastra and the other one a town of the Baronia sub-regions of Sardinia. Sardinia is an island of 24,089 square kilometres, 180 km to the West of the Italian peninsula. It is placed between the latitude coordinates 38° 52′ and 41° 15′ north, and between the longitude coordinates of 8° 08′ and 9° 50′ east (Gobbato 1979:647, DeAgostini 1991) and its population is, according to the 1990 census, 1,657,562 (ISTAT 1991b). Today it is one of the 5 'special status' regions of Italy (that is, regions with a constitution of their own) along with Sicily, Trentino-Alto Adige, Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Valle d'Aosta (Del Piano 1984:48).[1]

Telemula is a village of 1,200 inhabitants in the sub-region of northern Ogliastra, and Bardia is a town of 8,000 inhabitants in southern Baronia. Both Telemula and Bardia are part of Nuoro province. Although no more than a third of the labour force in Telemula or Bardia are pastoralists or sedentary livestock raisers, both are considered pastoralist localities.

In this dissertation my main objective is to illustrate the multi-faceted relationship between informal and formal cooperation among pastoralists of Sardinia. The ethnographies and analyses here presented, however, address the larger question of contemporary rural society in the 1990s. Sardinia

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[1] The other regions of Italy, *a statuto ordinario* [on 'regular' status] are Abruzzo, Basilicata, Calabria, Campagna, Emilia-Romagna, Lazio, Le Marche, Liguria, Lombardy, Molise, Piedmont, Puglia, Tuscany, Umbria and Veneto (Del Piano 1984: 48).

today is not isolated from larger economic processes. Many of the problems that people in rural Sardinia encounter every day are not very different from the economic and social challenges that people in rural Canada or the U.S. face (Gardner 1990, Koester and Tangermann 1990, Meilke and Warley 1990). This is largely due to the fact that international capitalism has come to encompass most of the world, including societies that only a few decades ago were outside the influence of the major flows of goods and money.

I do not compare, but rather contrast, the two settlements. While the EEC's agricultural policy [CAP] shelters agro-pastoral activity in Sardinia from the larger international market, and the entire island is under the protection of the Italian welfare state, Telemula and Bardia have been the targets of alternative agro-pastoral policies: Telemula has been included within the *azienda speciale* ['special concern'] agro-pastoral programmes, while Bardia has been identified as a suitable place for the creation of *monti dei pascoli* [cooperatively-managed pastures].

These programmes are based on three main assumptions:

a) People in particular areas of Sardinia are more 'traditional' and thus reluctant to change their production practices, while people in other settings are more 'modern' and thus more prone to accept innovative entrepreneurial ideas.

b) In order to *protect* the environment and the indigenous products in the more traditional settings, government agencies should acknowledge, legally re-enforce and support existing forms of land tenure and the established production practices, while the local population become ready to accept any changes. In the more modern settings, on the other hand, the local people's predisposition to change will take them to *modify* their productive practices and lifestyles toward intensive production and cooperative or corporate forms of organization, if they receive institutional and financial help.

c) In both types of cases (that is, modern and traditional settings) the income of the local livestock raisers should be protected because affluence, or at least a high standard of living, will deter the pastoralists from crime.

Here, I intend to show that the first two assumptions are unfounded. Evidence to support or disclaim the validity of the third assumption is not provided here, as the matter falls outside the objectives of this dissertation. I am concerned, however, with its economic implications since it has affected the standards of living of the agro-pastoral producers and their families, and it has set the background for the exchange practices which I have set myself to describe.

The pastoralist families of Telemula and Bardia have been affected as much as the rest of the population by the welfare state, the protectionist agricultural policies of the EEC, the regional forms of politics and clientelism and the programmes directed at each locality by government officials and politicians.[2] Thus, this is the ethnography of two Sardinian settlements as they experience their ties to the larger Sardinian, Italian and European context every day.

The organisation of the thesis into two main parts follows what I consider my most important findings:

1. In rural Sardinia the intervention of the regional and national governments and of the EEC has created a wide range of economic inequalities among households and between individuals, and
2. People in Telemula and Bardia construct an appearance of social equality and communality through daily exchange

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[2] The concept of *welfare state*, as currently established in social sciences, does not necessarily refer to a national State but to the benefits and subsidies that theoretically protect people from undesirable effects of the labour market. In this dissertation State refers to the Italian or other national system of laws, government and armed forces. Following the standard usage, 'state' when preceded by the word 'welfare' is not capitalized.

and sociability. This construction, in turn, rests on people's refusal to acknowledge their different economic capacities during gift giving and socialising activities.

The apparent social equality which is a public construct of rural Sardinians, then, reifies an ideal of society that does not correspond to actual fact. The other main points articulating this document are related to the first two, and they are:

3. Pastoral production in Sardinia is only viable today at its present levels of expansion because of a) the money transfers and tax breaks that the national and regional governments and the EEC grant the shepherds, and b) clientelism, which allows the members of pastoralist families both to maximise those outside sources of income and to keep part of their economic activities within the informal sector.
4. Gift exchange, informal cooperation practices and sociability have not disappeared or lost importance with the increased commoditization of the economy. Instead, they have been magnified by rural Sardinians and are said to express social equality. The current forms of informal cooperation and gift exchange, however, only re-enforce economic inequalities.
5. Shepherds' cooperatives are based on models brought to rural Sardinia from the outside, and they rest on logical and managerial principles different from those underlying current informal cooperation practices. There is no direct relation between informal cooperation and the organisation of shepherds' cooperatives in the two settings considered in my study.

2. FRAGMENTED SOCIETIES

In a recent book, Donald Donham (1990) has said of the relationship between anthropology and Marxism that its felicity lays on the mutual delimitation of fields: Marxism is the study of capitalist societies; anthropology is the study of non-capitalist societies. While Donham points out that this division of labour has been questioned at least since the 1960s, he still sees in most current anthropological work an "us-them" dichotomy (Donham 1990:4-14). In the anthropological study of Sardinia, this dichotomy is not tenable: the shepherds of Sardinia are as much part of capitalist society as the bankers of Montreal. Agro-pastoral production in Sardinia cannot be understood outside the larger framework of the Italian welfare state, party politics, and the economic designs of the EEC.

However, the ways in which people in different local settings go about living and doing things is very different from Sardinia to Montreal, and even from Sardinian pastoralist families to those Sardinian families headed by teachers or construction contractors. Thus, although it is impossible to understand pastoralism in Sardinia outside the larger context of the local and regional social units, there is some degree of specificity to the pastoralist families, as they are inserted in particular production processes and arrangements pertaining to pastoral production.

As a growing body of literature continues to point out, Marx's original writings already offer us a very limited set of tools to deal with contemporary capitalist society (Offe 1984, 1985, Lash and Urry 1987, Keane 1988, Barcellona 1990, Mingione 1991). Only during the last four decades has anthropology begun to look at the larger social and economic world processes that provide the background to local everyday lives (Wolf 1966[1957], Blok 1974, Schneider and Schneider 1976, Wolf 1982, Ong 1987, Herzfeld 1991). However, our discipline has quickly recognized the need for a different

approach to contemporary rural societies (Marcus and Fisher 1986, Comaroff and Comaroff 1992).

During the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, social scientists and philosophers have remarked on the explosion of a former public homogeneity into individual distinctiveness and the open manifestations of social heterogeneity (Lyotard 1984 [1979], Lash and Urry 1987). Traditional economic theory, which tends to look at the formal indicators of the economy seems to have become very limited in understanding current economic processes. It is symptomatic of this that recent reports commissioned by international agencies and governments have remarked on the 'fragmentation' or 'disorganisation' of society that has taken place during the last few decades, and have called for the development of new theoretical instruments in economics and the social sciences.[3]

The increasingly common phenomenon of subcontracting, the re-emergence of ethnic-based politics, the spread of 'alternative' movements and the security blanket provided by the measures of the welfare state challenge class consciousness (Offe 1985, Mingione 1991). In short, the internationalization of capitalism has led to the disintegration of easily identifiable social groups based on class interest and particularly to the loss of legitimacy of

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[3] A report commissioned by the Conseil des Universités of the Government of Quebec at the end of the 1970s (Lyotard 1984 [1979]) resulted in a thought-provoking book that brought to the public domain the philosophical debate on the 'post-modern' question. In Europe, three reports commissioned by the European Community (Mingione 1988a, 1988b, 1988c) on the informal economy have shown that traditional economic models for the description and prediction of economic processes are flawed because the formal sector of the economy is largely influenced and modified by the other, 'hidden' sectors of the economy. In Latin America, a report from an independent research centre, resulting from a project directed by a UN international consultant (DeSoto 1989) has also questioned the notions and methods of formal economics and shown that the informal sector of the economy has more weight and dynamism than was previously assumed.

the trade unions. This process is related, at the same time, to the proliferation of alternative lifestyles and heterogeneous economic strategies.[4]

In Sardinia these larger processes have taken on specific forms. The advent of the welfare state and the system of economic incentives to agro-pastoral production promoted by the EEC through its agricultural policies have made informal activities and number-twisting proliferate in the Sardinian countryside. As of the late 1950s, new job opportunities created by the demand for services and commercial goods, and the expansion of the national bureaucracy, have come to radically alter the social dynamics of the Sardinian countryside (Sabattini 1991).

Since the end of the Second World War the Christian Democratic party (DC) has assumed the political and administrative hegemony of southern Italy [the region known as *Mezzogiorno*] through clientelism, an ideological identification with the Catholic Church and the manipulation of the proportional representation system of government (Saba 1976, Gribaudi 1991, Mingione 1991). The style of clientelist party politics thus conducted has created and sanctioned personalised bonds between political figures and the larger population. These relationships have only furthered the inequality between different settings, and between households and individuals within each local setting.

In order to construct a theoretical framework for the understanding of contemporary pastoralism in Sardinia which will take into account the island's social and economic complexity, I draw here on the work of Klaus Offe (1984, 1985)

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[4] Lash and Urry (1987) think that it is pessimistic and premature to speak of the demise of class consciousness among the working classes. While they acknowledge that the trade unions have lost much of their political weight and even their social credibility, they believe that class consciousness can be expressed in ways that merge class objectives and alternative movements such as feminism and environmentalism.

and Enzo Mingione (1991). Offe and Mingione are two leading theoreticians of contemporary post-industrial society. Offe is concerned with the role of the welfare state and its impact on the decommoditization of labour. Offe has been criticized for the all-inclusiveness of his model and his inattention to what happens outside the influence of the State and other supra-local institutions (Keanne 1984), as well as for his pessimism regarding the future of the labour movement (Lash and Urry 1987). However, I believe that his model can help us to understand the impact of the welfare state and other types of external economic intervention in local rural communities.

Offe (1984, 1985) contends that the presence of the welfare state has introduced an important change in social relations in those societies where it is in place. He points out that in those societies which have welfare state structures the value of labour is not entirely subject to the caprices of the labour market. The existence of the welfare state, he suggests, has in fact made it possible for labour, land and other factors of production to be partially or totally decommoditized.[5]

Offe proposes that people in capitalist societies where the welfare state has developed have gained a margin of security when bargaining with possible employers. According to him, this development has taken place because the welfare state attempts to solve many of the problems caused by

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[5] It is interesting to note that according to Offe (1984, 1985) the welfare state decommoditizes land and labour, two of the three non-commodities which, along with money, Polanyi (1944, 1968) saw as constantly resisting full commoditization. Offe's perspective that the market system constantly creates by-products that end up posing obstacles to its further development through increasing the areas of decommoditization is also similar to Polanyi's idea that there is a constant social pressure for putting a limit and maybe completely decommoditizing labour, land and money. The main novelty of Offe's approach lies in his close examination of the welfare state as the main agent of decommoditization in contemporary post-industrial societies.

capitalism itself, in order to protect the continuation of exchange as the dominant principle of the economy. The existence of the welfare system, then, provides a third alternative between fully sanctioning the commoditization of labour under capitalism, or overthrowing the economic system because it commoditizes human life. Thus, the welfare system comes to mediate between what Offe calls the normative system (the family, the trade unions, the environmental groups and other value-generating forms of human association) and the economic system based on the exchange of supposedly equal values.

In Sardinia we see in practice what Offe theoretically proposes. The welfare state, which has operated in Sardinia since the beginning of the 1960s, along with the images of work propagated by the school and the mass media, has greatly modified the way in which Sardinians look at work, including agro-pastoral production, and employment. While among the older generations of rural men and women work is valued in itself, the younger generations of Sardinians also want the perquisites associated with permanent white-collar employment, such as vacations, fixed work schedules that give workers free time for leisure activities, and other benefits. At the same time, the welfare state has made it possible for people to have more room for the negotiation of working conditions and salaries (Censis 1991).

Land and labour have become highly decommoditized as labourers enter the job market with specific expectations, and extensive tracts of land do not guarantee their owners an income any more. People in the countryside do not always work in regular jobs, unemployment and underemployment are high, agriculture and pastoralism can survive only through heavy subsidies, but the price of labour is still as high (and often higher) as in those European regions where labour is scarce. Within the new context of a diversified economy, the welfare state makes it possible for individuals to have a relatively

wide range of occupational choices, compared to their to their grandparents at the time they entered the labour market (Ayora-Diaz 1993).

Offe is concerned with the significance of the welfare state and the current forms of capitalism for the urban working class, in western Europe. He points out that the development of oligopolies alongside a competitive sector formed by small, subcontracting firms has led to a differential position of each worker in the job market. At the same time, the 'cushion' created by unemployment schemes and a variety of options for the young of working age outside the formal employment sector creates great heterogeneity among the working class and debilitates the trade unions (Offe 1985). Offe poses that the young do not recognise themselves any more in all-inclusive categories of workers, and their aspirations and lifestyles, plus a perceived plurality of opportunities outside long-term employment, leads them to favour individualistic choices. These related phenomena are currently weakening European trade unions, as class consciousness loses its economic referents and thus wanes away (Ibid).

As Offe suggests, in present-day Europe, including Sardinia, the classical notion of social classes, and of the working class in general, is disintegrating under the processes of the multiplication of individual objectives and moral differences among the workers, the proliferation of subcontracting firms, the new niches for handicraft businesses, the current alternatives of part-time farming and the 'spiritualisation' (that is, the literal de-materialisation) of capital (Barcellona 1990).[6] Thus, the

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[6] Barcellona (1990) proposes that the advent of computers, franchise capitalism, the new forms of banking, the current relationship between science and society, the diminished relative importance of labour as a factor of production in major factories, and the welfare state have

welfare state has the positive effect of decommoditizing labour, at least to some extent. However, it also creates the social situation that Mingione calls *fragmented societies*.

Enzo Mingione (1991) has put forth the concept of *fragmented societies* to characterise the breakdown of ideological consensus in late twentieth-century societies that have reached the so-called 'post-industrial' stage. Following Polanyi's (1944, 1957, 1977) model of the embeddedness of economics in society, Mingione proposes that economic theory is inadequate to explain current economic phenomena. Economics, poses Mingione, has thus far ignored anthropology's suggestion that beside the regular job and money markets, there is always a myriad of other forms of organisation of human survival strategies and circulation of things.

In post-industrial societies, the highly structured patterns of formal employment in organised, legal manufacturing, and in jobs connected to government administration exclude an increasingly higher number of people from the regular job market. Furthermore, the apparent decommoditization of labour closes jobs in the formal economy because of the high cost of salaries and benefits to which workers are entitled. The high cost of labour, then, results in companies investing on labour-saving technology and thus in the permanent exclusion of large numbers of people from the

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transformed the objective conditions of work in such as way that it is difficult for workers to recognise the terms of their own exploitation. As Offe, Barcellona sees the individual workers turning to forms of individualistic response to the current labour market by either taking it upon themselves to diversify their abilities to keep up with technological advances and update their skills, or to drop out of the labour force after they have identified themselves as losers in the path of 'self-achievement', as defined by the mass media, the schools and the government institutions.

formal job market.[7]

The displaced people tend to fall back on reciprocity arrangements within more or less restricted social networks, in order to achieve their livelihood. Paradoxically, then, the decommoditization of labour in the formal market creates a series of alternative labour markets where working conditions are less flexible than in the most established sectors of the economy. According to Mingione, the widespread phenomenon of the informal economy and of the ever-growing service sector are only two indicators of this relation of dialectical opposition between 'reciprocity' and 'associative' patterns, as I now explain.

Mingione agrees with Offe that the competitive market is a by-product of the highly structured oligopolistic market of money and goods, and that the welfare state decommoditizes labour to some extent. He then proceeds to build a model of work in capitalist societies that incorporates suggestions from anthropology, economic sociology, Marxism and neo-Marxist philosophy. In Mingione's model, associative patterns of social interaction are those that are based on the perceived homogeneity (that is, equality) of a social group or sector, such as trade unions and large common interest groups. Reciprocity patterns are based on the perceived difference (that is, inequality) of restricted groups within the larger forms of association, and of individuals within each distinct

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[7] According to the Montreal *Gazette* (June 26, 1993:B6), a report on employment and unemployment by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, *Employment/Unemployment Study; Interim Report to the Secretary General*. Paris 1993) shows that, "since 1973, nearly all the growth of employment in the EC has been in the public sector (compared with the private sector in the U.S. and Japan). Furthermore, long-term unemployment (i.e. 12 months or more) accounts for nearly half the unemployment total in the EC, . . ." On the same page, the *Gazette* reports that "In 1970 Canada had 500,000 unemployed and 1.2 million on welfare. In 1992 we had 2.5 million unemployed, part-time and discouraged workers and 2.2 million on welfare."

group. Reciprocity relations tend to be strongly hierarchical and within them individuals have differential power. Mingione proposes that reciprocity-based networks put a limit to and undermine associative interaction.

The increasing automation of productive processes has displaced large numbers of labourers, giving way to soaring under- and unemployment in the manufacturing sectors and an inflation of the service sector.[8] Mingione proposes that the Marxist analysis of population surplus does not sufficiently clarify the demographic movements of labour.

According to Marx, surplus population is a relative phenomenon that materialises only at intermittent periods of capitalist production, between the end of one and the beginning of the next waves of technological development. Mingione points out that the phenomenon of surplus population has taken on an 'absolute' rather than a relative dimension, as it has continued to exist and grow over the years. He believes that the people who form the surplus population of current capitalist society are too many to be ignored, and thus these people's activity and strategies to survive should be theoretically addressed. He writes:

> Neither Marx, nor later Marxist writers are particularly interested in explaining in depth the 'mystery' of how surplus population survives (Mingione 1991:234).

Mingione takes up the task of building a theoretical model to explain what happens to surplus population in contemporary capitalist societies. To do so, he stresses the fact that the concept of 'surplus population' actually refers to people who are under- or unemployed. He concludes that many of these people create their own jobs by relying on their

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[8] The displacement of labourers from manufacture and the proliferation of service outlets as a result have often been seen as the mark of 'post-industrial' societies (Bell 1976, De Masi 1986).

personal social networks, others join the informal economy, still others become engaged in clearly criminal activities and in many cases households combine formal alternatives with a variety of these non-formal ones.

Mingione characterises southern Italy as a particular case of fragmented societies. According to him, in most of the *Mezzogiorno*, the associative forms (trade unions and collective organisations) came into being only formally, but without the militant significance they had in other areas of the country. Here, he says, the fragmentation of society has taken place through the dissolution of the old agricultural structures, and through all-pervasive political patronage related to the unequal allocation of incoming resources. The multiplication of bureaucratic employment, informal and even illegal activities, all of which are often traceable to some form of patronage, have further eroded whatever bases for social consensus could have existed in the past.

Mingione's analysis is pertinent to the analysis of the Sardinian countryside. In central Sardinia the welfare state, clientelist politics, the informal economy and the new host of alternative occupations and lifestyles have created a highly 'fragmented' society. While the full commoditization of the countryside has created wide inequality among the population, people do not necessarily associate because of a collective class consciousness. Instead, social life and groups are based on alternative frameworks of reference based on personalised interaction.[9]

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[9] According to Sabattini (1991) and Moro (1992) the changes that Sardinia has experienced as a result of the massive influx of public monies have been only a 'fictitious development,' because the increase on consumer spending has not grown out of the population's increased productivity. Moro (1992) writes that in the *Mezzogiorno* public monies have created, alongside the 'official' economy, a 'parallel' economy rooted on criminal or at least illegal practices, which creates further 'distortions' of the market. Both Sabattini and Moro (Sabattini and Moro 1973, Sabattini 1991,

A constant social 'equalization' through personal interaction takes place even in places like Bardia, where the economic and educational differences among the population are relatively wide, ranging from university graduate professionals and entrepreneurs to men and women who have little educational background and find employment as generic labourers in Bardia and its surroundings. In the cases of Telemula and Bardia, as we will see, most of the efforts to create an appearance of equality take place through exchange. However, while in Telemula the patterns of exchange and the notion of equality lead people to bestow the logic of the gift on commoditized relations, in Bardia people have greatly inflated the gift and ceremonial modalities of exchange in their effort to keep up with their own standards of equality.

It is important to note that the practices described on these pages refer to the time when I conducted my fieldwork in Sardinia, from the summer of 1990 to the summer of 1992. This time period probably belongs to a chapter of Sardinian history which is already coming to an end. As of the summer of 1992, the EEC has tightened its agricultural budget and reduced its subsidies to agricultural goods, the Italian systems of health and pensions are being "re-dimensioned" (that is, reduced) and the Italian State has become the object of an extensive inquiry into political and financial corruption.

Most likely, without price supports and financial incentives for the export of agricultural products (including sheep's cheese) the shepherds of Sardinia will find sheep, goat and cattle herding less viable in the near future than during the last decade. Since the beginning of 1992, new EEC statutory provisions aim at cutting down the number of sheep in this region of Italy, eliminating goat's milk from *pecorino*

Moro 1992) seem to lend support to Mingione's position as they stress the importance of external support, political clientelism and the informal sector as salient characteristics of the current Sardinian economy.

romano cheese, and enforcing the reduced quotas of milk that Sardinia is supposed to bring into the community each year (*La Repubblica*, March 14, 15, 16 and 17, 1992). How these larger changes are going to affect Sardinia as a whole, the social dynamics of agro-pastoral settlements and the economy of pastoralist families in particular are questions that need further investigation.

3. EXCHANGE AND COOPERATION

This dissertation builds on and speaks to two main bodies of anthropological literature: the one concerned with the study of cooperatives, and the one commonly identified as the anthropology of exchange. This is so because the literature on cooperatives seldom takes into account the anthropological study of exchange and informal cooperation, and vice versa. In this dissertation I attempt to move beyond the exclusive character of these two fields of inquiry by looking at the relationship between informal and formal cooperation.

By **exchange** I understand the circulation of things and services among different people, be it through money, barter or gifts. **Informal cooperation** refers to those collective forms of labour organization that take place outside the legal channels of the State. **Formal cooperation**, instead, refers to associations duly constituted before the law, which in Sardinia take the names of *associazioni* and *cooperative*.

In the social sciences literature, **cooperation** has often been counterpoised to **competition**. Much of the recent literature on cooperatives (Attwood 1989, Baviskar 1980, Baviskar 1992) and common property management (Olson 1965, Ostrom 1988, 1989, Wade 1988) has this dichotomy as its underlying root metaphor. The first collection of anthropological work dedicated to the subject of human cooperation and competition was edited by Margaret Mead in 1937.

Mead (1937:15) proposed that humans compete or cooperate according to four factors: (1) their natural environment; (2) a process whereby humans 'fix' their behaviour to technology, so that people transfer their cooperative skills to tasks other than those in which cooperation was originally used; (3) their social structure and the definition of common goals; and (4) their education. Although Mead's seminal work on cooperation is now seldom mentioned, to this day similar types of hypotheses still guide much anthropological research in the area of cooperatives and collectives.[10]

With the publication of the collection edited by Worsley (1971), the study of cooperatives became established as a distinct field in anthropology. A wealth of case studies, reports and several other collections have followed (Vincent 1971, Choudhary 1972, Abarbanel 1974, Nash, Dandler and Hopkins 1976, Murtas 1978, McGrath 1978, McClintock 1981, Swain 1985, Attwood and Baviskar 1988, Van den Berghe and Peter 1988, Freeman 1989, Attwood and Baviskar 1992).

From this body of literature we have learned that the degree of State intervention can have a determinant role in shaping the form and contributing to (or obstructing) the economic success of cooperatives (Eckstein 1970, 1978, Worsley 1971; Galeski 1968, 1971; Vincent 1971, 1976, 1988; Nash and Hopkins 1976; Baviskar 1980, 1992; Hyden 1980, 1988; George 1988, 1992; Attwood 1987, 1988, 1989), that the place of trust **and** mistrust are important in maintaining the cooperatives alive and keeping their members from the temptations of 'free riding' (Dore 1976, Hart 1988, Rajaram 1992), that cooperatives may succeed in making an institutional association out of long established cooperation practices (Raulin 1987) but often the formal structures are completely divorced from indigenous customs (Eckstein 1970, 1978, George

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[10] See March and Taqqu 1986, Baviskar 1992. For an example outside anthropology see Stern 1986.

1988, 1992, Attwood and Baviskar 1992).

In recent years, the 'tragedy of the commons' proposition, that is, the question of whether resources can be maintained and possibly improved under communal forms of property or tenancy has attracted the attention of social scientists. These scholars are now providing us with specific examples of how human groups avoid the 'tragedy of the commons' scenario in common resource management, and how 'free riding' is prevented in particular settings (Wade 1988, Runge 1986, Acheson 1989, Ostrom 1989). A collection of papers edited by Gambeta (1988) has opened the inquiry as to the place and modalities of trust in cooperative relations.

In this dissertation I follow these authors' footsteps, approaching the social, economic and cultural dimensions of cooperation from the point of view of political economy. However, I also take my cues from an entirely different body of literature, most of it about African and Melanesian societies, pertaining to exchange practices and to gift-giving in particular (Polanyi 1957, Bohannan 1955, 1959, Sahlins 1972, Mauss 1974, Meillassoux 1975b, Godelier 1972, Gregory 1982, Munn 1986, Keesing 1984, Weiner 1992).

In the field of economics, as Gregory (1982) and Appadurai (1986) point out, there is a long standing debate between the Political Economy and the Neoclassical schools. The definition of those things that circulate in capitalistic societies is contested by these two main currents of thought. From the point of view of Political Economy these are **commodities**, which acquire value only because it is transferred to them through **human relations** and through **natural factors** such as land and the physical aptitudes of labour. Human relations and natural elements are always bound by **society** as to the possible outcomes of their interaction.

From the point of view of Economics, or Neoclassical Economics, instead, the things in circulation are **goods** that acquire value because of their **scarcity**, and it is **individual**

choice that sets in motion and modifies the types of goods and the modalities of flow of the objects of **human desire** (Simmel 1957). Currently, these two schools of thought have influenced each other so much that, as Gregory (1982), Appadurai (1986) and Donham (1990) point out, economic analysis regularly takes into account aspects from both at the same time.[11]

Similarly, within economic anthropology, scholars are now preoccupied with showing how commodities and money are incorporated into different cultural contexts in culturally-specific ways. The question of spheres of exchange (Bohannan 1955, 1959) and the ways in which money provides a possible unit for conversion between them have returned to economic anthropology with renewed force (Appadurai 1986, Kopytoff 1986, Parry and Bloch 1989, Howell 1989, Plattner 1989, Ferguson 1988, 1992, Piot 1991).

The concept of commodity itself has been rendered problematic, and anthropologists are paying specific attention to the subjective ways in which people construe value and the desirability of things, including money. Taussig (1980), Gell (1986), Fuller (1989), Parry (1989) and Parry and Bloch (1989), among others, have proposed that money is re-interpreted from a moral point of view in local settings, and it can be ascribed evil or good qualities in different parts of the world.

The importance of religious or spiritual faith (Geary 1986, Lan 1989, Parry 1989), cultural epistemologies (Gregory 1982, Gudeman 1986), gender (Strathern 1988, Weiner 1992), the power-laden management of time (Bourdieu 1977, Appadurai 1986) and the demarcation of status differences (Taussig 1980, Bourdieu 1984, Strathern 1988) are being raised in order to illuminate our understanding of gift exchange, commodity consumption and the modalities of circulation of money, things

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[11] See, for example, Moyer and Josling 1990.

and people. Furthermore, the study of gift exchange and commoditization has now been approached by thinkers outside anthropology, who in the fields of semiotics, literature and literary criticism have posed new questions and opened new perspectives for the interpretation of these processes (Eco 1988 [1975], Hyde 1979, Bataille 1991 [1967], Derrida 1992).

One of the most original recent contributions to the anthropological study of exchange has been the idea of the social life of things; that is, of things as having a social biography inscribed by the ways in which people come to desire, appropriate and maybe consume them in different cultural and historical settings (Appadurai 1986, Kopytoff 1986). Maybe the most important suggestion arising from this novel conceptualization is the two-fold result of commodities being defined not with regard to production but rather to the circulation sphere. Thus, things can be seen as moving in and out of the commodity stage. This approach incorporates the positions taken in the past both by the 'substantivist' and the 'formalist' schools of economic anthropology. It suggests that, indeed, exchange spheres exist in all societies and, at the same time, the mechanisms for conversion between spheres could work in more or less similar ways within each culturally-shaped economic system. Kopytoff (1986) in particular is concerned with how spheres of exchange can be identified and studied in Western societies.

The circulation of things and services have long been of interest to economic anthropologists (Polanyi 1957, Bohannan and Dalton 1962, Godelier 1972, 1973, Sahlins 1972, Meillassoux 1975a, 1975b, Gregory 1982). However, this new conceptualization of things as having a social life differs from previous work in that it stresses the social relations surrounding things in exchange, rather than the modalities of exchange itself. Things are seen by Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) as bestowed with powers of their own by cultural subjects. Things, from this standpoint, circulate

because they are seen as valuable and, at the same time, because their circulation itself provides a basis for this perception of value. There are, however, advantages and disadvantages to this perspective which deserve immediate attention here.

One of the intrinsic disadvantages of this conceptual standpoint is that the category of commodity is stretched so as to lose its conceptual boundaries. Thus, the specific characteristics commodities had hereto been assigned (i.e. that commodities are things that have been **produced** for exchanges in **money** in a capitalist market so as to bring a profit to the owners of their means of production) become diluted.

If we call *commodities* all kinds of things ready to enter or currently undergoing exchange, we will make all exchangeable things appear as of the same type, regardless of their production history and the specific ways in which they changed hands. This view of commodities takes away the political implications of commodities as agents of capitalism which induce changes in the social and economic systems of the societies they invade. Politics, in this 'circulationist' view, become a set of local circumstances in which economic exchange takes place.

Power, as Appadurai (1986) argues, is manifested in the modalities of exchange or else in the way in which things are kept outside of the market. Appadurai believes that exchange is, in essence, what he calls after Simmel (1957) "an exchange of sacrifices" (Appadurai 1986:3). However, I believe that conceptualising exchange as someone's sacrifice of one thing for another obscures the fact that one person's "sacrifice" may be qualitatively greater than the other exchange partner's deprivation. Also, many times the individual who sacrifices the most may do so under direct or indirect (only-choice option) coercion. This is relevant in the case of rural Sardinia, where choices in exchange and in many other forms of

activity are limited by strong economic, cultural and political determinations, which often transcend the boundaries of local communities.

Besides the 'neutralization' of macropolitical power issues, the conceptual transformation of commodities into objects defined through exchange would obscure the processes behind the current migration of capital and technology to countries where labour is cheaper. It is Marx's explanation of how labour belongs in variable capital that helps us to understand how two exactly identical processes can have different outcomes in terms of added value and subsequent increased profit. If value were created only through exchange we could not explain the process which first took place in Taiwan and now is taking place in Mexico, of capital migrating to those regions where labour is cheaper than in other nations.[12]

It is true, as Spooner (1986) argues, that hand-made articles do not necessarily have to compete with mass-produced commodities. The craftsperson or the specialised dealer may be able to place them in an art circuit where the principle of scarcity is not the determinant factor behind the price that the items can fetch in the market (Ibid). However, it is also clear that in a world in which increased automatization is eliminating the need for large numbers of labourers, companies still take labour as the flexible variable *par excellence* which will augment profits whenever it can be depreciated.[13]

On the other hand, things are not always exchanged through money, even in Western countries where money is usually seen as the measure of all things and many social exchanges. It is important to acknowledge that, as Appadurai

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[12] At a lecture on the proposals for the North American Free Trade Agreement (Calgary 1989) Mexican politicians called it a project for the "Taiwanization" of the Mexican economy.

[13] I thank Rossana Rossanda for this point.

and Kopytoff stress, gift giving and barter also bring back something in return (Bourdieu 1977, Kopytoff 1986, Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992a).

4. COOPERATION AND THE GIFT

Revising the translation of the Maori text on the *hau* (Mauss 1974:8-9), Sahlins (1972) proposes that Mauss misunderstood the meaning of this concept in Maori thought. According to Sahlins, the text on the *hau* is not an explanation of how things eventually return to their original owners, but of the *yield* that things have borne to the person who received them from the original owner. In bringing our attention to this, Sahlins has put the accent on the idea of **debt** as one of the key principles of gift giving economies.

Gregory (1982) proposes that in looking at the economies of Papua New Guinea it is possible to see that there are two different types of economies organizing the exchange of gifts and of people: the gift economy and the commodity economy. Gregory characterises the gift economy as a type of exchange organized around the principle of debt and the non-alienability of things from their original owners, that is, the non-existence of private property as such. On the other hand, the commodity economy is characterised by the simultaneous exchange of things against each other so that no debts are left standing and the alienation of the objects exchanged is complete, as they become the private property of specific owners.[14]

These authors' observations refer to societies where the influence of international capitalism was less important than

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[14] Incidentally, this distinction answers Derrida's (1992) question: Is the gift possible? The current body of literature would seem to suggest that a pure gift, that is, a gift which does not create a debt, is possible only within a fully commoditized economy. To date, no fully commoditized economies have been reported.

in rural Sardinia. They provide useful points of reference for the study of exchange elsewhere, since there is no doubt that the exchange of gifts and the exchange of commodities imply two different types of social relations.

More recently, Taussig (1980), Parry and Bloch (1989) and others have shown that the cultural interpretation of wage labour, commodities and cash are far from uniform in all societies, and that money and commercial goods become morally laden as they become part of previously non-commoditized societies. As first Godelier (1973) and now Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) have pointed out, things do not belong necessarily in one or another type of economy; they can go in and out of being gifts or commodities, be retained or be consumed.

Bourdieu (1977) makes the important point that **time** is an important element of non-commoditized exchange. To hurry the payment of gift debts either offends the donor or socially disqualifies the recipient. In the gift economy time is not measured according to set, inflexible scales, but according to the subjective evaluation of the social relationship within which the exchange takes place. Also, as Sahlins (1972) has suggested, gifts can be exchanged under different types of rules, which may change according to kinship distance.

What do the theories of gift exchange and the theories of cooperation and cooperatives have in common? Worsley (1971) points out that the term cooperation is morally loaded and it brings to mind notions of equality and sharing. In fact, the notion of informal cooperation is similar to the notion of gift. As in the case of gifts, most informal cooperation arrangements in rural Sardinia rest on either a debt system, where the person helped is morally bound to help his or her helper at some point, or a system whereby the common results of joint labour are expected to be equally or proportionally distributed among those who participated in a production process.

Cooperatives, instead, rest on an ideological ambivalence. Although they are expected to evoke the spirit of informal cooperation, they are highly structured organizations that are expected to function according to the logic of commoditized relations and things. The prevalent ideologies of the Italian cooperative federations emphasise the subjective, relational side of cooperative associations. At the same time, these ideologies assign the cooperatives a place within the commodity economy.

While informal cooperation arrangements often allow people to work in a highly flexible manner, in the cooperatives they are expected to work within a highly regulated system which supposedly will bring benefits in cash, rather than other things or gifts in labour. By establishing set rules for the organization of production, the uses and the value of labour and the strict management of time, cooperatives become part of the larger system where labour and its products are alienated from the original producer. The debts which the cooperative contracts with its own members are rigorously specified as to **when** and **how** they will be resolved: the shepherds will receive at the end of every month an advance on the price of the milk they supply, and at the end of the year they will receive whatever profits the cooperative was able to make in the larger national and international markets. Alternatively, in a cooperative of bakers, the group's earnings will be distributed every two weeks among all the members, reserving a sum of money to be invested for upcoming production requirements.

Because cooperatives are expected to be part of both the gift and the commodity economies, in some instances they have been seen by planners and reformers as grounded on people's 'traditional' cooperation practices (Nyerere 1967, Eckstein 1978), or as a 'third path' between communism and capitalism (DeSoto 1989, Attwood and Baviskar 1992). In looking at the relationship between formal and informal cooperation in

shepherds' cooperatives in Sardinia, I want to show how the two types of work organization rest on different social assumptions about what gifts and commodities are, at different levels of the social hierarchy. While informal cooperation is manipulated by Telemulesi and Bardiesi to maintain a sense of equality and social coherence, the cooperatives are perceived by Sardinian politicians and bureaucrats as the door to a better integration of the locals into the capitalist economy.

5. SHEPHERDS' COOPERATIVES IN SARDINIA

A common assumption among students of the cooperative movement is that informal cooperation strategies and groups hold a great potential for their transformation into formal cooperation structures, that is into cooperative associations (Raulin 1976, March and Taqqu 1986, Labrecque 1988a, Labrecque and Montejo 1988, Karanth 1992). In the twentieth century this assumption has been held not only by academics but also by social planners, and it has guided many a national development strategy, such as the *Ejido* system of agrarian cooperatives in Mexico (Simpson 1937, Eckstein 1970, 1978, Stavenhagen 1970, Ronfeldt 1975, Zaragoza and Macias 1980, Villanueva 1990), and the *Ujamaa* program of rural cooperation in Tanzania (Nyerere 1976, Hyden 1980).[15]

In Sardinia shepherds' cooperatives are part of the larger context of supranational, national and regional intervention in the agricultural market. Besides economic functions which frequently take on welfaristic overtones, politicians and government administrators have assigned the cooperatives particular social objectives, such as the

[15] The results from these large scale programs have shown that the relationship between informal and formal cooperation are far from unproblematic. The analysts of these failures, however, have blamed the bureaucrats and politicians for not having realized that the informal cooperation structures were different from what the programmes assumed (See Cliffe 1970, George 1988).

prevention of crime and the curbing of youth unemployment. Often, the failure of shepherds' cooperative associations has been blamed on the supposed traditional individualism of the shepherds and the *invidia* [envy] that economic prosperity provokes among the less prosperous.

As it will become clear in the second part of this dissertation, there are several types of informal cooperation arrangements and the failure of shepherds' cooperatives in much of Sardinia cannot be blamed on a supposed lack of indigenous cooperation among the rural population. Among the pastoralists of Sardinia, informal cooperation practices cannot be mechanically transformed into the regulated practices of cooperative associations.

Furthermore, although government administrators put the blame on the inability of the shepherds of particular areas to cooperate naturally, this is only a *post-facto* justification. In rural Sardinia the projects for shepherds' cooperatives were never expected to draw on informal cooperation, but to modify whatever previous production and marketing practices existed (Murtas 1978, Sabattini 1983).

It could be assumed that, as in India (George 1988), failed shepherds' cooperatives could point to a lack of compatibility between the local and the formal ways of cooperating. The examples of Telemula and Bardia, however, give no evidence to support this view either. Instead, informal cooperation continues to take place in the shepherds' production cooperative of Bardia, and it existed both among the shepherds who tried and those who did not try to form or join cooperatives in Telemula in the recent past.

A striking phenomenon is the coexistence, side by side, of cooperatives and informal cooperation. Work in the cooperatives, in fact, has not impinged on the intensity, the frequency or the size of the ceremonial and other cooperation-based undertakings in which the shepherds and the members of their families participate. In rural Sardinia being a member

of a cooperative is treated by the pastoralist households as another economic asset, which is to be used and exploited according to the local ways of conceptualizing property and organizing work.

6. FRAGMENTED SOCIETIES AND THE LOGIC OF THE GIFT

The central theme of this dissertation is how the pastoralist families, along with all other rural Sardinians, try to create coherence in their lives within a context of fragmented societies. I show how exchange and sociability, through the nostalgic manipulation of the gift economy, are privileged by the locals in order to create a sense of social equality in the face of wide economic inequality. As I hope to demonstrate, although both Telemulesi and Bardiesi expect exchange and sociability to level off social differences, the way in which their exchange systems operate can only further inequality among the people involved.

Both Telemulesi and Bardiesi look at each other through nostalgic eyes, and believe that the others have found a better way to deal with the fragmentation forces of contemporary capitalism: the Telemulesi point at how the Bardiesi have mastered the rules of the international economy, through their sophisticated forms of cooperation and exchange. The Bardiesi, in turn, say that the Telemulesi have kept the capitalist system outside of their village, and seem to believe that the villagers live happily (or at least less selfishly) within the logic of the gift. If we are to believe their accounts of each other, while many Telemulesi would want to have the Bardiesi's acumen for business, many Bardiesi would want to have the Telemulesi's apparent peace of mind. Neither of these two visions holds true for the everyday life of the people of each setting. In this dissertation the double mirage is broken: exchange and sociability in rural central Sardinia cannot solve the contradictions of international capitalism.

PART ONE: PRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM

1. CHIARA AND ANTONIO

It was 6:00 a.m. in the morning of September 7, in 1991. The sun had not come out yet. I was sitting next to a Telemulesi shepherd, inside his pick-up truck, and we were on our way to the Supramonte plateau. As we passed by the centre of the village, I saw several old men and women sitting on the steps of an apartment building, next to the post office. Other Telemulesi shepherds were driving to the Supramonte as well and the bus going to the lowlands was being boarded by men and women in their forties or older.

I asked Antonio, the shepherd with whom I was riding, why there were so many people outside so early in the morning. He told me:

> "*Quei lì aspetano la pensione. Gli altri vanno a lavorare in pianura. I pastori stiamo andando tutti quanti in montagna.*" ["those over there are waiting for their retirement pensions. The others are going down to the plains, to work. All the shepherds are going to the mountain."]

I asked him if he receives a pension himself, and he told me that he receives L.1,400,000 every two months [about Can$1,400.00], but he does not sit around waiting for the post-office to open at 10:00 a.m. He told me that he has never had any problems in collecting his own pension.

Antonio took me through his work day. He told me that he has 150 sheep and that he loves being a shepherd. However, he said, he does not like the fact that his son is a shepherd too, because the work it implies is too hard, especially in the conditions under which it has to be done in Telemula. What Telemula is lacking, he told me, is a shepherds' cooperative like the one in Bardia.

Antonio told me that he has had his pick-up truck for several years now. I later learned that he was able to purchase it through a low-interest loan from a regional fund,

which is managed by the *comune* [municipal] administration. On the Supramonte his sheep graze on communal land, for which he told me he has to pay an annual fee per head of livestock. He makes use of a small *ovile* [shelter], where he keeps his work implements and some food.

He has added an extra room to the *ovile*, which was originally built with EEC monies, has added a wooden frame that can support a canvas roof, and widened the road to his *ovile* so as to allow sports cars to drive in. He has built a large wooden table that will accommodate up to ten people during picnics, and connected a plastic hose to a nearby stream so as to have clean, running water at his work site.

He scooped some feed from a sack of grain and we went to feed a few pigs that he lets roam free on the area close to his *ovile*. He told me that he is not supposed to keep pigs that way, but everybody does it. Then we went to gather the sheep, to bring them to where he would milk them. He advised me to stay behind a certain point, so as not to scare the animals. He told me that I look too much like the veterinarian who comes around to vaccinate the animals on the Supramonte. He took the sheep to a long enclosure made out of stakes and wires.

Before milking the sheep he washed the milk tins carefully, with dishwashing liquid. "Cleanliness, " he explained, "is the difference between a *pastore* [a shepherd] and a *pastoraccio* [a bad shepherd]." After milking he put the milk containers on the back of his pick-up truck and we went back to the village. We arrived just in time to help Chiara, his wife, finish setting up the table for *pranzo* [the noon meal].

Chiara had been away during the morning. She had gone to work on the household's vineyard in the Arbatax valley and then had come back to the area of the village. She kept a few chickens and two turkeys on a terrace, next to the village, and she had gone to feed them as soon as she came back from

the plains. When we arrived at the house, she was roasting a piece of mutton for *pranzo*.

After *pranzo* Antonio had to go to the offices of the *comune* [the municipal administration] to request a permit to build a concrete roof next to the *ovile* that he uses on the Supramonte. Later during my fieldwork I learned that Antonio is expected to make regular visits to the *comune* to report each animal that is born or butchered. I also learned that in Telemula, as in all of Nuoro province, the pastoralists had received for the last ten years drought relief money from the EEC, at the rate of L.40,000 (about Can$40.00) per goat, L.50,000 per each head of sheep and L.150,000 per head of cattle. They also received L.15,000 if they kept an *agnello* [lamb] or *capretto* [kid] for three months, instead of butchering it almost immediately after it was born.

One day, later during the same month of September, a physician came to Antonio and Chiara's house. The doors and windows were closed and there did not seem to be anyone inside. The doctor knocked on the door several times, but nobody answered. I was passing by and I approached the doctor to tell her that I could give the shepherd or his wife a message, since I would see them in the afternoon. The doctor said that I should tell the shepherd's wife that she had come by. She told me that she worked for the "Institute of Social Security and Pensions" (INPS). This piece of information did not mean anything to me, so I had to write it down in order to tell my friends about it in exact detail.

That afternoon I went to see the shepherd and his wife, and explained that a young female doctor had come by as I was passing, and that she worked for a government agency called INPS. My friends grew very agitated, and spoke among themselves in Sardinian. I could see that they were uncomfortable about something. The shepherd's wife told me, as a manner of explanation: "she came to check on whether or not I am sick." I asked, worried, if she was sick, and she

told me "no, but I should have stayed home all the same."

Although I did not understand what I had just been told, this event did not remain a mystery to me for very long. Chiara is registered as an agricultural worker at the Pensions office. Every year hundreds of non-agriculturalist women in Sardinia declare themselves sick and wait for the physicians to come and certify their illness. They receive a compensation payment if the physicians consider that they are sick. Otherwise they are called to the provincial court on charge of fraud if they are not at home when the physician comes, or if they are found to be lying.

Not each case is monitored, so that there are instances in which the women are healthy but still receive sick-compensation payments. The women and the men who have registered themselves as agriculturalists and declare themselves sick have to stay home in case the physician actually comes to see whether they are sick or not. In Telemula women often work tending gardens, orchards, vineyards and olive groves. In Bardia, however, women are less active in fields and gardens, but they still register themselves at the Agriculture Pensions office.

This is everyday life in rural Sardinia. People are constantly reminded of and organise their lives around the services, pensions and credit funds granted to them by the EEC, the Italian government and the regional administration of Sardinia. The ways in which people can take advantage of one or another type of funds and pensions profoundly affects the economic resources of each household and produces economic inequalities among families and individuals.

2. THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN SARDINIA

In many parts of the world peasants and other rural producers are systematically shortchanged in the capitalist agricultural market, and thus have little or no incentive to continue their productive activities. Often times agricultural producers (including livestock raisers) have to give wholesalers their harvest at a price that does not cover the producers' costs. According to Ashton (1984), in many countries the wholesale operations are monopolized by government boards, with the objective of maintaining food cheap in the cities. In this way, in poor nations agriculture is made to subsidize national industry and the urban centres. This transfer of value drains the resources of agricultural producers. The threefold result is a massive emigration from the rural areas to the urban centres, a proliferation of city slums, and a retreat of those agriculturalists who stay in the countryside into subsistence production (Ashton 1984:13).

The anthropological literature on agrarian societies illustrates the ways in which poor rural producers try to 'get back at the system' by violent (Wolf 1969, Paige 1975) or symbolic (Mooney 1965, Ong 1987, Scott 1992) resistance. Other works show how rural dwellers survive by 'humanizing' their plight in the eyes of political patrons (Wolf 1966:87-89, Scott 1972), possible or actual moneylenders (Wolf 1966:87-89, Scott 1985, Cowen and Shenton 1991) or other sources of aid (such as aid agencies and NGOs) (Kalyalya, Mhalanga, Seidman and Semboja 1988, Fratklin 1992).

This text deals with the less familiar situation in which rural producers are not so clearly the 'underdog' of the larger regional, national or international market. The ethnography of Sardinia is that of an affluent countryside. Here agro-pastoral producers often attain higher prices for their products than the final retail value which the same products will fetch in the national and international markets. The ethnographies of Bardia and Telemula show the striking

contrast between two agro-pastoral settings of central Sardinia which are integrated into the larger international economy in very different manners.

Pastoralist households in Telemula and Bardia deal with the larger commodity economy in different ways: in Telemula many pastoralist households continue to strive for independence from the market in food products. The pastoralist household has become an agro-pastoral production unit where the division of labour in primary production takes place along gender lines. In Telemula the male head of household takes responsibility for pastoral production and the female head for horticulture and for dealing with grain producers who have in rent one or more of the family's land plots. Most of the vegetables and fruits and even some of the dairy products and grains thus produced cannot enter the formal market, which is highly regulated in terms of quantity and quality by the EEC, with the help of the Sardinian authorities. Some of this produce, however, does enter the larger regional markets through informal channels and through gift exchange, but the producers can hardly rely on the cash generated by their products (except for the production of milk and of *pecorino romano* cheese) to support their agro-pastoral activities. Instead of looking at a flow of monies that will turn into commodities those items originally destined for domestic consumption, we are in the presence of the opposite phenomenon: a money flow from the outside which enables the existence of something akin to, but yet different from, subsistence production.

In Bardia, instead, agricultural and pastoral production have become highly specialized activities. Pastoralist households are little, if at all, concerned with agricultural production. Much of Bardia's agro-pastoral production is channelled to the larger regional and even international markets through three main cooperative processing plants: a dairy, an olive press and a wine plant. Also, because most

Bardiesi shepherds give their milk to dairy plants, in local households men's work and women's work can be almost completely disassociated and each member of the household unit can engage in different types of activities. While men tend the flocks and provide the household with dairy products, women can engage in other types of activities such as managing small businesses, or staying home to keep their houses spotless clean, and maintain a constant visiting with other women. In both Telemula and Bardia, however, the economic viability and fate of pastoralist production is determined far away from the local settings, in the headquarters of the EEC and the Italian and Sardinian Ministries of agriculture.

As in many other rural societies where party politics are involved in the management of incoming resources (Powell 1970, Ike 1972, Scott 1972, Einsenstadt and Roniger 1984) rural producers in Sardinia are inserted in complex networks of clientelism, factions and political coalitions at least since the mid 1960s (Weingrod 1968). The Italian army's recurrent military occupations of central Sardinia (the latest one in the summer of 1992) has led many rural producers, especially shepherds, to see themselves as constantly harassed by the Italian state.

In the eyes of the rural population this situation lends legitimacy to the practices of *furbizia* [cunning] displayed by many central Sardinians *vis a vis* the Italian state and its resources. In consonance with the ethnographic descriptions of other peoples who see themselves as the victims of a more affluent society (Skalník 1989), in Sardinia patron-client networks, number-bending strategies and a code of *omertà* [obstinate silence about third persons, particularly in the presence of strangers] are all part of central Sardinians's efforts to outwit the state. Much of the *furbizia* of the members of pastoralist households is directed at the officials who represent the EEC and the Italian State in Sardinia, who usually are part of the Sardinian regional administration.

Because of their importance in the everyday life of rural Sardinians, and in order to provide a general framework for the description of pastoralist practices in Sardinia I now outline the general principles of the EEC's agricultural policy and its impact on the Sardinian countryside. Then I delineate the types of economic intervention policies of the Italian welfare state operating in Sardinia. Finally, I describe in general lines the way in which the regional administration of Sardinia deals with both outside and regional programmes addressing agro-pastoralism. This order of exposition is not arbitrary. Many of the welfare policies of EEC member states, including Italy, are highly influenced by the recommendations and requirements of the EEC central committees. In turn, the government of the *Regione Sardegna* [Region of Sardinia] is bound by the Italian laws and programmes.

3. THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY (CAP).

In December of 1991 I became acquainted with a Roman politician who is a former Europarliament Minister for Italy. This lady once told me that the agricultural policy of the European Economic Community came about as a result of the affliction that World War II had caused. The fighting, she said, had not only destroyed many urban centres throughout Europe, but it had also depleted the agricultural and livestock resources of agrarian producers even in those areas where there had not been too much physical destruction. She said that in the 1950s, when the policies for the support of a common European agriculture were first drafted, everyone's concern in European political circles was to raise the supply of food within the EEC nations and keep hunger at bay. According to her, this is the psychological background to the CAP's prodigality in its subsidies and supports to European farms.

Whether or not this off-the-record explanation is close to the truth, there is no doubt that the CAP now protects in one way or another most European agricultural products, except for potatoes and alcohol. The agricultural policy is currently the most expensive sectorial programme of the EEC. It is based on a system of price supports, protectionist barriers to goods produced outside the community and incentives to export (Moyer and Josling 1990, Ritson 1991).

In practical terms this implies several things. First, that the prices of agricultural commodities within the EEC have little relation to world market prices. Most agricultural commodities are more expensive within the EEC than outside. This is why, for example, during our fieldwork in Sardinia Ayora-Diaz and I often found that a kilogram of chicken meat could cost L.12,000 [Can$12.00] or more, and a bottle of 300 ml of olive oil from the Bardia *oleificio* [olive press] cost L.14,000 [about Can$14.00].

Second, there are export subsidies to those EEC producers who sell in the world market. This is why when we returned to Canada in June of 1992 the price of *pecorino romano* cheese, the main agricultural export product of Sardinia, cost Can$12.00 per kg., exactly what it cost in the retail outlets of the Sardinian dairy plants at that time. I knew that at the *caseificio* [cooperative dairy plant] of Bardia, the cheese was being sold at L.6,000 per kg. to the North American wholesalers, while the price for EEC wholesalers was closer to L.10,000 per kg.

Besides the internal price supports, there is a variable levy that taxes incoming commodities. This levy is measured as the difference between the world price and a threshold price at which the commodity is allowed to enter the EEC. We had occasion to see the effects of this levy when we found in the coastal supermarkets of Sardinia Mexican avocadoes, each costing the equivalent of Can$6.00.

In short, because of the CAP, within the EEC exports are subsidized while incoming agricultural commodities are systematically overpriced. The shepherds and dairy producers of Sardinia have benefitted from this system of pricing in several ways. They sell their milk at protected prices (at least L.900 per litre, between 1981 and 1991). They may also take advantage of export subsidies for cheese (which were of L.3,500 per kilogram in 1992) and have access to an EEC fund for the private storage of cheese (EEC 1988a, 1988b, Ventura 1983, Orefice 1992). The two latter types of benefits are usually obtained through membership in a cooperative, or through affiliation to a privately-owned dairy plant. These subsidies do not always reach all shepherds, except in the form of protected prices for milk and cheese.

Another type of related EEC agricultural policies are aimed at controlling the possible oversupply of agricultural commodities. These programmes offer two types of incentives: a host of subsidies for the storage of commodities which are in oversupply within the European Community, and a 'set aside' programme, which offers cash incentives to those producers who are willing to leave their lands idle for five years. Sardinian households in Telemula and Bardia take regular advantage of both types of incentives. The storage subsidy is made to reach the producers through the latter's affiliation to cooperatives or through the industrial facilities where they hand out milk, meat or dairy products. As of 1990 Sardinian shepherds are also offered cash incentives if they accept to reduce their flocks to 75% of their current size (Ekelmams and Smeets 1990, Ministro dell'Agricoltura e delle Foreste 1990).

There are also a series of EEC programmes which seek to modernize agricultural production in the European countryside. Through these programmes rural producers receive incentives for the genetic upgrading of their livestock or the improvement of the quality of their produce. In Sardinia

these programmes support the upgrading of vineyards and wine, the genetic improvement of livestock, the better care and administration of olive groves, and the construction of infrastructure that is expected to raise the productivity of milk animals and increase hygienic measures (Ekelmans and Smeets 1990, Ministro dell'Agricoltura e delle Foreste 1990).

A fourth type of EEC programmes are of a compensatory character, and are meant to even out comparative disadvantages among producers. In Sardinia one of the main forms that this type of programmes takes is that of the *indennità compensativa*. This is a subsidy that the EEC, in a co-financing agreement with the Italian government, awards those producers who are seen as comparatively disadvantaged because it is difficult for them to access regular urban markets (at least 20.3 ECU per hectare or per unit of adult livestock in 1992). Most of the agriculturalists and livestock raisers of central Sardinia are entitled to receive *indennità compensativa* payments, because they are automatic (that is, for those who apply) in those cases where the producers or entrepreneurs are in mountainous areas (Ekelmans and Smeets 1990).

Other types of programmes that the EEC implements through its agricultural policy encompass grants for the professional education of people in rural areas, especially regarding agricultural matters. There are incentives and supports for the production and commercialization of new types of products such as flowers, frogs, snails and garbanzo beans. Although the EEC's administrators have no particular preference for cooperatives, there are economic incentives to those producers who are willing to form collective associations.

Not only Sardinian households benefit from these types of programmes. The principles and most of the programmes of the CAP are supposed to be operative in all member countries. However, they first have to be incorporated into each country's national laws and then be implemented through

national institutions. Thus, a specific EEC type of incentive may become operative in a particular region when its counter-incentive has been already issued at the EEC headquarters. Italy is notorious for its late adoption and subsequent implementation of EEC legislation due to its extremely complicated political and bureaucratic system. During my fieldwork in Sardinia it was common for agro-pastoralists to be able to choose between types of monies that had opposite purposes. For example, the shepherds could apply for subsidies that would allow them to enlarge their flocks, or subsidies that were meant to cut down meat and sheep's milk production.

Often times member states or particular regions within them have interests conflicting with those of the Community as a whole. During most of its existence the CAP has mainly protected the cost of cereals, cow's milk and beef. These are 'northern' products, which have been consistently supported at much higher levels than 'Mediterranean' products (Tracy 1989:309-14). Historically, however, the Italian government has not been particularly preoccupied with gaining EEC support for its agricultural sector.

In joining the EEC, Italian government officials were more interested in advancing the interests of national industry, rather than of other economic sectors. Italian politicians were willing to pay the cost in terms of less support for their national agriculture (Spotts and Wieser 1986:270-1, Ginsborg 1989:287-92, Fearne 1991:36). Only in 1965 did Italy begin to lobby for its own agricultural products, and in 1966 durum wheat, a type of wheat only produced in Sicily and Sardinia, came to be supported within the CAP (Tracy 1989:262). In 1982, the Community began to subsidize the storage of *pecorino romano* cheese (EEC 1982).

The EEC policies have benefited small producers in Europe to some extent. However, it has been the large and very large producers who have benefited the most from CAP programmes. In

1985, for example, 75% of all the subsidies provided by the EEC went to only 25% of the producers in the Community, and only 25% of the remaining moneys reached the other 75% of European agriculturalists (Bureau of Agricultural Politics of Canberra 1985, Orefice 1992). Small producers in southern Italy have managed to increase their life standards, but the viability of their operations is still far from being ensured. Bonanno (1989) characterizes the situation as follows:

> In a random survey of southern Italian small farms conducted in the early eighties, only 21 percent of them constituted the only occupation of the operator. Of these, only 13 percent were farms that generated an income sufficient for the economic sustenance of the farm family. Furthermore, over 60 percent of all farm families in the sample obtained more than 80 percent of their income from off-farm activities, while other 14.1 percent earned between 60 and 80 percent of the total household income from off-farm jobs. Finally, almost all the farm families surveyed received some form of welfare assistance. In essence, in the eighties in the south small farms are almost exclusively a complement to a number of precarious off-farm activities carried out by farm family members. Unfortunately, neither farm nor off-farm activities represent a way out of destitution and marginality for these rural dwellers." (Bonanno 1989:98).

Beginning in 1985 but especially since 1988, mainly because of lobbying by Greece (Tracy 1989: 329), the CAP has adopted a new kind of regional policies. Among these are the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes, aimed specifically at southern Europe. These programmes are intended to help these regions get ready for competition with new members (with Spain in particular) in the European Community (Tracy 1989:328-9). The EEC is also considering to define 'social criteria' in order to better reach the small producers (Orefice 1992).

Many rural Sardinians are aware of the Italian government's disinterest in the CAP. One day, while taking a walk with a goatherd on the Telemula Supramonte, we met a man

who was feeding his pigs. This man has been a police officer in a city and has now retired to his natal Telemula. He told me that he would have liked to stay in Telemula and be a shepherd when he was younger, but that the government of Italy has no interest in furthering the interest of the small people. He said that Italy sold its agriculture for its industry, and that is why things will never prosper for the shepherds or peasants of Ogliastra.

4. THE WELFARE STATE

The Italian welfare state does not always operate autonomously. Today, many of its programmes are influenced and partly supported by the EEC. This is the case, for example, with the *indennità compensativa* support mentioned above. Much of the Ogliastra and the Barbagia sub-regions of Sardinia are targeted by welfare programs that form part of the EEC's legislation for mountainous areas (EEC 1990) and receive combined support from the EEC and the Italian government.

More than one coherent system, the Italian welfare state is made out of different systems that have a history of their own (Istituto Nazionale della Previdenza Sociale 1991). The administration of the programmes is often one of the duties of trade unions and other organizations. Here I outline those welfare programmes which are most relevant for the Sardinian livestock raising households.

1. Pensions to senior citizens and war veterans. Senior citizens are entitled to receive pensions which are funded by retirement payments from the economically active population. The pensions presuppose that the recipient will have contributed to this fund during his working life. There is, however, a minimal pension even for those who did not contribute toward the retirement fund.

2. Pensions for the disabled and the invalid. Historically, these pensions have been one of the main forms of welfare intervention in southern Italy (Bocella 1983, Mottura and Mingione 1989).
3. Sick days payment, vacations, maternity bonus and maternity leave for agricultural workers.
4. Unemployment and physical disability pensions for those injured during work. As of 1988 there is a 'special unemployment' programme, which covers people in particular projects of the regional government of Sardinia. Under this programme, those workers who participated in projects funded by the government receive a pension equivalent to 100% of their former salary, for as many months as they worked.
5. Tax exemptions for small rural producers who make less than L.10 million a year.
6. Reforestation and road construction schemes, which involve young people in areas of high under- and unemployment.
7. Subsidies to the salaries of the young (under 35 year of age).
8. Professional training courses for people under 25 years of age.
9. Compensation payments for producers and entrepreneurs in mountainous areas.
10. Tax breaks for the inhabitants of mountainous areas.
11. Family allowance cheques.
13. *Cassa integrazione* (a fund set up for 'setting aside' supernumerary employees without dismissing them from their jobs), and
12. Universal health care.[1]

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[1] According to Sardinian health care practitioners who have written to me lately, universal medical insurance has been substituted in 1993 by a system of semi-subsidized health care.

It is important to note that, contrary to what most Italians believe, Sardinia and the rest of southern Italy are not the most subsidised regions of the country. Rather, the north receives the largest subsidies through unemployment pensions, family allowance cheques, *cassa integrazione* payments, and the largest subsidies to private industry, including Pirelli, Fiat and Olivetti plants (Gasperini 1978, Bocella 1982, INPS 1991).

The specificity of the welfare state in the south is rather characterised by a proportionally larger flow of monies to these regions for physical disability and infirmity pensions, and for fully-subsidised employment creation programs, such as reforestation (Bocella 1982, Pugliese 1985, Mottura and Mingione 1989). It is possible that these 'southern' welfare schemes have helped to preserve communal property in Sardinia, because the existence of communal or public lands is often a prerequisites for the implementation of reforestation or other public works.

5. THE AGRO-PASTORAL REFORM

The regional government of Sardinia administers programmes that originate at the EEC and the Italian Parliament. Regarding pastoralism, most current intervention on this and related activities takes place within the framework of the agro-pastoral reform. The Law of Agro-pastoral Reform of 1976 (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1976) was born from a Parliamentary Inquiry into the causes of criminality in Sardinia (Clark 1990). The main conclusions of this Inquiry were that criminality was largely rooted in the transhumance practices of the shepherds of central Sardinia, and that the only way to curb it would be by turning the transhumant shepherds into sedentary livestock raisers.

In order to sedentarize the shepherds, the regional administration planned to turn livestock raising into a high-profit activity, by helping the shepherds purchase lands and

set up efficient producing units. The agro-pastoral reform law of 1976 established a fund to help municipal administrations purchase large tracts of land to create *monti dei pascoli* [pasture 'pools' or 'funds'] which would be managed by shepherds organized in formal associations. A new section of the agro-pastoral institute [*Ente di Sviluppo e Assistenza Tecnica all'Agricoltura*] (ERSAT, from here on) was created to conduct studies regarding the potential of different areas for the improvement of pasturelands.

In practice, during the implementation of the agro-pastoral reform law a differentiation has been made between two main types of municipalities in central Sardinia. In some of these the studies have certified that land can be improved and shepherds' cooperatives can be formed to manage collective pastures. In most of Ogliastra, however, a different type of intervention has taken place. This has been the *Azienda Speciale* programme.

ERSAT technicians found that most land in the Ogliastra was not susceptible to improvement, and that the communal land regime is too deeply rooted in the population's frame of mind. They attributed this to people's 'backwardness' and traditionalism, and decided not to promote the enclosure of land (ERSAT n.d.a, n.d.b, 1989). Instead, the *azienda speciale* projects proposed welfare measures for the creation of government-financed employment in those areas, and the building of several shelters and stables that the shepherds could use under their 'traditional' communal land management practices.

While the *monti dei pascoli* projects award shepherds' cooperatives major grants and subsidies for the improvement of pastoralist production, the *azienda speciale* projects contemplate only minor changes to the current forms of pastoral production. Telemula has been included within the *Azienda Speciale* programmes, while in Bardia a shepherds' cooperative was formed to manage three *Monti dei Pascoli*, and

private small producers were the target of a land and infrastructure improvement project conducted by ERSAT. All three types of projects have been co-funded by the EEC and the regional administration of Sardinia. The regional administration, in turn, has also received funds from the Italian government as stipulated by the EEC on its co-financing policies. As described on chapters three, four and five, the impact of these programmes has been of great importance in the economic life of the shepherds of Telemula and Bardia.

CHAPTER TWO: RURAL SARDINIANS AND THE BUREAUCRATIC MAZE

1. SARDINIA.

Not just things go in and out of the commodity economy. Historically, many societies have gone into and out of commodity circulation and money-mediated exchange. This has been particularly true for Sardinia. Not only the entire island but also particular regions have been integrated into and then cut off from money markets and national or international economies at different points in time (Braudel 1972, Gobbato 1979, Boscolo and Bulferetti 1991).

As Braudel (1972) suggests, Sardinia has been brought into the larger Mediterranean markets time and again, at least since it was first conquered and dominated by the Carthaginians (circa 400 BC), only to lapse again into isolation for intervals spanning one or more centuries each time.[1] Specifically, during the last two centuries Sardinia has been the object of conscious policies aimed at bringing it into a fully monetized economy.

During the 1800s Charles Felix and Charles Albert Savoy tried to modernize the economy of the island. The House of Savoy, which headed the Kingdom of Piedmont, had come in possession of Sardinia in 1720. However, it was not until 1799, when the royal family established itself in Cagliari, the main Sardinian city, that their main reformist efforts regarding Sardinia began. The Savoy began to pass a series of laws in order to make the island 'truly European'.

Between 1820 and 1847 the House of Savoy abolished feudalism, passed a law for the enclosure of ecclesiastic and communal lands and introduced a monetary standard that was expected to replace the many different local currencies

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[1] Since 400 BC either the entire island or different parts of it were ruled by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Spaniards, the Catalan, and the House of Savoy (Casula 1982, Meloni 1982, Sotgiu 1982, Tore 1982).

emitted by the aristocracy. The Savoys also brought scientists and agronomists to the island, and commissioned them to improve the production techniques of agriculturalists and pastoralists. With another stroke of legislation, the Savoys abolished tribute payments from the feudal subjects to the lords and implemented a system of taxes in money.

In the cities of Sassari and Cagliari Charles Albert Savoy tried to create favourable conditions for the emergence of manufacturing enterprises in the cities and to encourage export and import businesses through fiscal incentives. With these reforms the rulers of the Kingdom of Sardinia expected to set the economy of the island on new bases, and bring it into a 'perfect fusion' with the other Piedmont territories (Sotgiu 1982, Boscolo and Bulferetti 1991, Del Piano 1991a, 1991b). The House of Piedmont was one of the main promoters of Italian Unification, and in 1861 the *Statuto Albertino*, the Piedmontese constitutional charter, was extended to the entire Italian peninsula, Sicily and Sardinia (Allum 1973:3-4).

The Piedmont House established a system of double taxation whereby the entire municipality was taxed by the government and the families were taxed by each municipality.[2] Although the new laws did favour the emergence of small businesses and manufacture in the cities, the system of taxation created a state of extreme poverty in the countryside. The tax was extended to all food items, including acorn flour which had never been the object of taxes or tributes in the past (Del Piano 1991a:113-4). The *pane di ghiande* [bread from acorn flour] is remembered as the sign of the extreme poverty which prevailed in central Sardinia.

Between the beginning of the first World War and the early 1950s many parts of the island were cut off again from the larger markets of commodities and money. This was the

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[2] According to my oldest informants, this type of system was operative in central Sardinia at least until the 1940s.

case for most of central Sardinia, where money became so scarce that most transactions took place through barter and the payments for work and land leases were calculated in kind.

Although the system of taxation continued to operate, taxes could be paid in kind, and central Sardinian villages became relatively autarchic. Again, double taxation and *pane di ghiande* marked an era of extreme poverty in central Sardinia. In the words of an old peasant:

> *Pagavamo tasse e capitazione. La tassa al governo, capitazione al comune. Si moriva, si moriva della fame* [We paid taxes and *capitazione*. The taxes [we paid] to the government and the *capitazione* to the *comune* [the municipal administration]. People died, people died of hunger.

In Eastern Ogliastra a system of inter-village markets operated during the days of the most important *feste* [festivals] dedicated to local saints. Telemula became famous in the area for its *bisaccie*, goat hair bags which the women wove and then peddled as far as the *Campidano di Cagliari*. A neighbouring village specialized in the manufacture of baskets, and yet another in a type of small chair which, still today, people use to sit next to the fireplace during the winter.

The *pecorino romano* boom took longer to reach central Sardinia than other regions such as the *Campidano d'Ottana* and the *Campidano di Cagliari*, where already at the beginning of the 1890s there were dairy plants specialized in making this type of cheese for export to the national and international markets (Bussa 1978). In central Sardinia land continued to be used mainly for grain agriculture and pastoralism, although horticulture (in particular the growing of potatoes, and squashes) had become increasingly important. In Bardia, Jesuit priests encouraged and supervised the planting of vineyards and olive groves, and to this day the local population remembers them with gratitude.

It was during the 1950s that the Italian government and the administration of the Region of Sardinia, autonomous since 1948, drew Sardinia into the international economy again. Initially through the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno* [Fund for the Development of the South] programme and the welfare system, and then through the implementation of EEC agricultural policies, central Sardinians were put on the map of international capitalism.

Alberto, a shepherd from Bardia who was 74 years old in 1992, has described many times to me how when he was young there were not as many shepherds in Bardia. He himself was a *contadino* who tilled the land to grow wheat and barley. He had a *carro a buoi* [an oxen yoke and cart] and he travelled on his cart to central and eastern Barbagia to trade his produce for fruits and vegetables, while within Bardia he would trade wheat and barley with the shepherds for milk and dairy products, and with other agriculturalists for wine and olive oil. In the 1950s, when money began to be more common in Bardia, he never thought that he would eventually own a car.

In central and northern Ogliastra, including Telemula, money, electricity and market commodities were not common until the early 1960s. In the late 1950s an engineer arrived in Ogliastra and he explained to the locals that he was commissioned to set up an electric generator, and that a lake would have to be created using water from the Flumendosa river, to feed the generator. The engineer started to go around the area along with two Ogliastrini whom he had hired as his assistants and guides. To the locals he explained that he was looking for adequate sites to make the lake and build the electric plant. The old shepherds and their wives laugh when they remember how they all believed that the man was insane. They all thought that he was a rich city dweller who had lost his head and had taken to dreaming of grandiose projects.

Shortly after the engineer came, the system of welfare pensions was instituted. With the Flumendosa Lake and the electric plant, which were created in a municipality neighbouring Telemula, the first non-agricultural (or pastoral) jobs were created in the area. A project of reforestation offered many young men an alternative to either agriculture or pastoralism, and several Telemulesi worked as forestry labourers for the first time. Money became a permanent feature of life in the area, and suddenly almost all items acquired a new value which could be expressed in cash.

In those years, however, large industry was expanding in northern Europe, and new opportunities for land colonization and employment were open in Argentina, the United States and Canada. At the same time, cheap grain from the U.S. and Canada made Sardinian agriculture decline. Thousands of young Sardinians left for the mainland and for the Americas, and as the agriculturalists abandoned the land the shepherds were able to expand their flocks and turn the agricultural lands to pastures. *Pecorino romano* cheese, which was in sustained demand, became the main pastoralist export product of Sardinia (see Table 2.1).

Many of those agriculturalists who did not emigrate purchased sheep or goats and became shepherds. While in some villages and towns of Barbagia the shepherds continued to produce *fiore sardo*, a type of cheese sold within the Sardinian and Italian markets, most other Sardinian shepherds changed their cheese production to *pecorino romano* cheese. Although these transitions were not without pain, in the eyes of the two older generations of central Sardinians in a few years hunger and dire need have been replaced by a relative affluence.

Year	Hundreds of Kg
1900	25,000
1910	70,468
1920	90,000
1924	98,221
1928	100,000
1932	83,969
1933	61,043
1934	69,689
1935	88,328
1936	66,043
1965	73,802

Table 2.1. Pecorino romano cheese exported to the United States from Sardinia, 1900-1965. Sources: Bussa 1978, Idda 1982.

Weingrod and Morin (1971) characterize central Sardinia's recent history as one during which rural agro-pastoral producers became 'post-peasants'. According to them, in rural Sardinia low technology forms of production coexist with high technology production, an expanded service sector, mass-consumption culture and a high bureaucratization and politization of the entire society.

I find the concept 'post-peasants' misleading because it suggests that in the past most rural dwellers who were 'peasants' were in a rather static relation to the state. Thus, in my view the concept does not satisfactorily incorporate these populations' internal social dynamics. However, Weingrod and Morin's description of the recent history of Sardinia is accurate. The increased politization and bureaucratization of rural Sardinia, as we will see, have created a maze of regulations through which pastoralist families have to navigate, and a host of inventive tactics through which the shepherds and their families try to outwit the state.

2. SARDINIAN PASTORALISM BEFORE THE 1950s

The French geographer Maurice Le Lannou studied Sardinia between 1931 and 1937. His book *Pâtres et Paysans de la Sardaigne* soon became an important point of reference for all subsequent academic work on the island. Le Lannou was impressed by the scarce signs of agriculture:

> The most striking feature of the Sardinian landscape is its considerable surface of uncultivated land. One can walk for miles without finding a ploughed field (Le Lannou 1971[1941]:1).

According to the geographer this state of things was due to the paucity of the Sardinian population as a whole. Le Lannou writes about an ancient enmity between the shepherds and the peasants of Sardinia. The transhumant shepherds of the central highlands would take their animals from the mountains to the plains of the island during the cold months of the year.

While in the plains, the shepherds allowed their animals to trespass on the peasants' fields, and this provoked great conflict between the two types of producers. Le Lannou believed that these conflicts were very ancient, and they had led many *comuni* to institute the *scolca*, a rural patrol in charge of overseeing the fields (Le Lannou 1971:127-33). He was impressed by the distances that many shepherds travelled with their animals, and by the harshness of the shepherds' life.

Among the oldest generation of pastoralists, shepherds and wives remember how at the turn of the century when they were young, there was a specialization among pastoralist and agriculturalist households. Much exchange of products took place within the extended family. The laws issued first by the Piedmontese reformers and later by the government of Sardinia had already affected the previous forms of communal land management. A class of large land owners, known as the *principali*, came into being. These people exercised classical

forms of patronage over the rest of the local populations. However, there were still large tracts of communal lands, and the agro-pastoral system know as the *biddazzone* continued to allow the rotation of land between agriculture and pastoralism.

After the 1950s the *biddazzone* system was abandoned in most of central Sardinia. Most full-time agriculturalists had either turned to other activities or left the region altogether, in search of industrial jobs on mainland Europe. In villages like Telemula pastoralist households resorted to an internal diversification of labour along gender lines. While men continued to be in charge of most tasks related to pastoralism, women became mainly responsible for horticultural production and for the keeping of vineyards, orchards and olive trees.

Under this new form of household division of labour women and men helped each other with different facets of their respective work. The women were in charge of taking care of and selling the cheese that the men brought home. The men entered in agreements with other shepherds in order to help the women during the harvest or other particularly strenuous agricultural tasks, and during the pressing of grapes. Today the households of the oldest Telemulesi pastoralist still organize their production activities according to this type of arrangement.

In Bardia the shepherds' wives, who thus far had accompanied their husbands during the transhumance and had often been in charge of cheese making, became *mere e' omu* [administrators of their houses](Murru Corriga 1990b) and renounced most tasks associated with primary production. The pastoralist household in Bardia became practically a system of vertical integration where men were in charge of producing milk and sometimes cheese. The women, instead of busying themselves with agricultural production, put their energy into social and commercial skills. Even when they did not make

sheep's milk cheese, they made other types of dairy products (*perette* cheese from cow's milk) and acted as the marketing agents of their husbands and sons. Today Bardiesi women only work in the fields during the harvest of grapes or olives, although they sometimes make cheese at home, particularly from cow's milk.

Since the 1950s pastoralism, as other activities in Sardinia, has been pulled more than ever before in different directions by systems of logic that have their ultimate referents in the international political order and the world capitalist economy. New forms of household organization, and particular forms of exchange and sociability have come about. Both in Bardia and Telemula people have reacted to the new importance of the market economy with a moral ambivalence toward the new economic opportunities. In both settings this has found expression in a combination of nostalgia and cunning through which the locals to create a moral space of their own and eliminate the contradictions engendered by the capitalist economy. In order to understand the alternative forms that both nostalgia and cunning have taken in the two settings, it is important to take into account the complexity of Italian party politics.

3. PARTY POLITICS AND *LOTTIZZAZIONE*

Allum (1973) describes the Italian system of government as based on two main types of politics: the politics of patronage and the politics of clientelism. For patronage he understands the politicking that takes place between and within parties, and for clientelism he understands the politics of interest groups which usually take place through patron-client relationships. In Sardinia, too, these two phenomena are seen as very distinct, although closely related. While party alliances in the government and party factionalism are called *lottizzazione*, the relationships established between individual patrons and their clients are denominated

accozzi.

Since the first government of the Second Republic, which came to power in 1945 (Ginsborg 1989:92), Italy has a system theoretically based on the principle of proportional representation. The major Italian political parties are the Christian Democrats (DC), the Socialist and the Communist Parties. Besides these, there is a host of smaller parties which have more or less importance at the national level, but sometimes are extremely influential at the regional level.

Through the influence of the Church, the *lottizzazione* and the politics of clientelism, the DC has dominated Italian politics for almost half a century. The Communist party has never been admitted in the government by the DC, although it has always represented a sizable number of Italian voters. Another party that has been systematically barred from the government coalitions, in spite of its strong popular support, is the old fascist party, which currently has the name of Movimento Sociale Italiano.

The Republicans, the Liberals and the Social Democrats are small parties which never receive as much support from voters as the DC and the Communists. However, they form coalitions with the DC and the Socialists and are regularly represented in the government. The government coalitions thus formed have almost no ideological consensus, and their survival depends on all the individuals who have accepted to form part of them staying in the offices that their parties have negotiated for them.

Spotts and Wieser (1986) characterize this aspect of Italian politics as follows:

> With parties representing fully 40 percent or more of the electorate thus excluded from power, governments must be formed with the remaining five parties. . . . Every coalition is hostage to the short-term partisan interests of the governing partners, who respect almost no limits in their ceaseless jockeying for advantage. Governments are therefore of necessity weak and delicately

> balanced. Each member is critical to the survival of the government; one defection is fatal. This power of life and death explains the remarkable - and uniquely Italian- situation where a party with the backing of as little as 2 to 3 percent of the vote has a political weight out of proportion to its electoral strength (Spotts and Weiser 1986:11).

Government coalitions do not last very long. This is why Italian senators have to elect a new government so often. Spotts and Wieser list 44 different government coalitions between June of 1945 and August of 1983. In historical perspective, however, Italian government coalitions resemble a game of musical chairs: the same group of people continue to compete for a few seats, and when one turn is over the game commences again. Giulio Andreotti, for example, has been Prime Minister of Italy seven times between 1972 and 1992, and Francesco Cossiga has been Prime Minister twice and President of the Republic once between 1979 and 1992.

The intricacies of party politics engage most of the attention of the press and the public. In a less public process the DC, the Communists and the Socialists, have created their large followings through both the *lottizzazione* and the clientelist bonds which politicians and bureaucrats create among the population. As in the rest of Italy, in Sardinia the *lottizzazione* system implies that both the major and the minor parties control a number of Ministries and bureaucratic offices (Saba 1976:8).

At the national level one of the most visible results of the *lottizzazione* is the existence of three television channels which are funded by the state: the Communists, the Socialists and the Christian Democrats have each their own T.V. network. At the regional level maybe the most ubiquitous cases of *lottizzazione*, at least of those which have been of public knowledge and that a stranger like myself would hear about, have been that of the *Cassa del Mezzogiorno* and ETFAS, the predecessor of ERSAT, the current agro-pastoral

development agency of Sardinia (Saba 1976, Clark 1990). Within each ministry or institution the offices and jobs are assigned not only according to the proportional representation of the parties, but also of the factions within each party.

Bureaucrats in Italy have much power of discretion regarding what they will do and how they will treat the public that they are supposed to serve. This is why the jobs and offices allotted through the *lottizzazione* have been also called *sottogoverno* [the under-the-table government] (Spotts and Wieser 1986, Clark 1990). The *lottizzazione* system implies that bureaucratic and administrative jobs are dispensed as personal favours by the regional politicians. Very often people who hold a government job did not obtain it because of their adequacy but rather because of their political connections. The situation is very similar to that described by Silverman (1965) for central Italy in the 1960s.

What this all implies is that besides the rigidness of the bureaucratic system in Sardinia, as in most regions of Italy, the regional bureaucracy is highly intricate and very inefficient. Many of the regional institutions, such as the trade unions and the Ministry of Agriculture, have their main headquarters in Rome. Often the same functions are duplicated among and even within the different agencies, and there is little communication between different institutions or their own branches.

For example, according to a report cited in *La Repubblica* (February 14, 1992), the Italian Ministry of Agriculture has 42 general divisions, plus one central inspectorate. The inspectorate has four divisions and 22 satellite offices, 46 councils, committees and consultive commissions, over 12 *Enti* (agriculture agencies), 12 central institutes and over 700 *associazioni di categoria*. The report gives 37,772 as the total personnel employed in the bureaucracy for the agricultural sector. As we will see in subsequent parts of this chapter, for the pastoralist families of central Sardinia

this intricate bureaucratic system has important consequences.

Echoing a generalized sentiment, Castelli (1992) suggests that many Italian bureaucrats hold their jobs as if they were ends in themselves, and not positions from which to serve the public. It is necessary for people to know someone in the bureaucracy or to have political influence in order to access many public services or to become eligible for programmes which were supposedly designed with one or another category of people in mind. This extends to general services, including the public health care system, as the following story illustrates.

Manuel, the barber of Telemula, was in a car accident and he broke a toe. He went to the local doctor, who certified that his toe was broken and that he needed an x-ray and possibly physiotherapy. In order to have his toe x-rayed Manuel had to go to the regional USL [health system offices] in a coastal town, where a physician put a stamp on the doctors' prescription. After this Manuel had to go to the x-ray centre, again in a different location, and then once more to the doctor of Telemula, so that he would be given another prescription for the physiotherapy treatment. This latter document had to be stamped again, and at the physiotherapy centre he was told that he needed a prescription for a special cream which was necessary for the treatment. Manuel was furious and he decided to abandon the treatment altogether, after two trips from Telemula to the coast and back. He has now adapted his walk to suit his condition.[3]

According Spotts and Wieser (1986) the Italian bureaucratic system is very similar to the French. Both are based on a rigid hierarchy where each level is encompassed by a higher one, there is little communication between

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[3] I learned about Manuel's case one day as I was telling him about my own frustration when I was going through exactly the same roundabout procedure. I also gave up on physiotherapy treatment.

departments and less so among different Ministries, and only top Ministers and administrators deal with one another on behalf of their respective institutions.

The theoretical systemic hierarchy within which Sardinia is placed makes the EEC the most complete integration level. Local communities are at the lower part of the hierarchic scale. This hierarchy may be represented as a series of concentric circles. Each local community is contained, along with similar others, in an administrative area, which is turn part of a province. Several provinces form regions, and all the Regions together form the Italian Republic.

Each *comune* is in charge of managing its own land resources and the administration of its buildings and schools. The *comuni* receive money from the Sardinian government, which in turn is allotted a budget from the Italian government. Theoretically, the Italian government redistributes the taxes that Italian citizens pay. The *comuni* personnel also charge the locals a series of fees on behalf of the local administration for different types of permits such as to allow shepherds build new *ovili* on the communal lands, or to allow someone to build a house in his or her own property. Also, the parents of school children have to pay monthly fees to the *comune* because of the meals and field trips which the schools organize for the children.

In Sardinia the budgetary units were defined by the regional administration as 'culturally homogenous' areas. Since 1975 they are called *compresorio* or *Comunità Montana*.[4] Most of the *compresori* of central Sardinia encompass what in the past were seen as the territorial base of the different

[4] In Sardinia, according to the personnel of the *Comunità Montana N.9*, when most of a *compresorio* is declared a mountainous area, this area will become a *Comunità Montana*. If the *Comunità Montana* encompasses the entirety of a *compresorio*, then it supersedes the *compresorio*'s functions and authority.

tribes of Sardinia (Casalis 1833). In other words, except in cases such as the one of Bardia, most of the *compresori* or *Comunità Montane* do correspond to old emic perceptions regarding the Sardinian territory.

It is within the framework of the *Comunità Montana* that local *comuni* receive monies for development projects from the regional government. The larger or the politically more powerful *comuni* have an edge over the others when monies are distributed in this way. Telemula has been included in the *Comunità Montana N.11*, along with most of the Ogliastra, and Bardia has been included in the *Comunità Montana N.9*, which encompasses most of the central Barbagia.

The provinces are the next level from the *compresori* or *Comunità Montane*. According to the Italian constitution (Repubblica Italiana 1975), the provinces are constituted in order to de-centralize the functions of the Region. The *compresori* or *Comunità Montane* are only one more step in this de-centralization. The Region has its own taxation system, and owns land resources, which usually fall within the limits of individual *comuni*. There is a Regional Council, with elected representatives.

Each one of these levels of administration has its own bureaucracy. In practice, the division between the functions of the different levels is not all that clear. Besides the offices that correspond to these different levels of regional government there are many other systems of bureaucracy which operate on principles of their own. This is the case with the trade unions, the different institutes in charge of implementing regional programmes, the authorities in charge of traffic and circulation, the three different police corps (the tax police, the federal police and the *Carabinieri*, who are the military police), the *associazione di categoria* (common interest groups), the political parties, the welfare system and the health care institutions.

Each of these types of institutions, from the EEC to the local *comuni*, and from the trade unions to the health care system, has objectives and instruments of its own. The result is that often the programmes being implemented have conflicting aims and their purposes and objectives encumber one another. There is, according to most rural Sardinians, only one possible way to deal with the bureaucracy's complexity and the bureaucrats' insensitivity. This is, precisely, the *accozzi* route. However, not everyone can have access to a good *accozzo*. In Chapter Seven I explain what may be the costs of procuring *accozzi* for oneself, one's family or one's friends.

4. BUREAUCRACY AND *ACCOZZI*

In Chapter One I listed the different types of welfare funds and other options which are, in principle, available to the pastoralist families of central Sardinia. In practice, however, some of them are obtainable only through an *accozzo*, that is, through a politician's personal recommendation or a bureaucrat's personal interest in a specific case. Even information about the programmes and about the procedures to benefit from them is very often dispensed through *accozzi*. During fieldwork I had occasion to witness how the latest EEC programmes promoting the reduction of the shepherds' flocks reached only a selected group of shepherds who were friends of the technicians in charge of implementing them.

The way in which the *accozzi* work is that when someone needs to obtain something, or request a permit, s/he talks to someone who has a government job, or to a politician. It is important that this bureaucrat or politician be a friend or at least an acquaintance of one's family. If the bureaucrat or politician is not in a position to fulfil the request, s/he will talk to a friend or acquaintance to further the cause at hand.

This type of chain-communication regarding each specific case may continue for some time, until it reaches someone in a position of political power or someone in the bureaucracy who will personally see that the procedure is completed in a swift and satisfactory way. The main characteristic of this process is that it does not follow the established bureaucratic channels within each institution. Instead, it follows the personal contacts of the people who are involved, from one institution to another, and becomes part of a larger exchange of favours between friends or between patrons and their clients.

Those people who do not have a wide network of possible *accozzi* are in a position where they will have to follow the bureaucratic channels more often. This is true of most Telemulesi, including the pastoralist families. Other people, as most Bardiesi, will have many different alternatives when they need to choose someone who can help them through the maze. It is important to choose well one's *accozzo*. There is great margin for the interpretation of the law, especially regarding the allocation of money. An official from one of the Nuoro offices of the cooperative federations told me once:

> You see, in Italy each time we have a new law all the previous ones do not get cancelled. So you have all laws, rules and provisions operating at the same time. Each time you want to interpret what it actually says in a legal text you find that "the present law modifies the fourth comma of the fifth line of the seventh paragraph of the previous law . . .," so you have to go to the previous laws, which still are in effect but have been modified, and then you find that the reference sends you to a previous document, where it modifies "the second comma of the first line from the third paragraph of the twentieth item" of the previous one, and so on, forever. What this amounts to is that you can do things in many different ways.

It is this legal confusion which, together with the clientelist logic, makes the difference when someone is requesting a grant or a loan to set up a business, buy an

electric milker, or do anything according to one or another program. The same officer just quoted put it the following way, when he was explaining to me why not all projects to form cooperatives are funded:

> Let's say I want to form a cooperative, so I go to someone and he tells me "I'm going to help you. There is a new law and so much money for this type of cooperative has been allotted and approved." So this person gives me the money through this new law. However, the fact that the new law is out does not mean that the previous one is cancelled. So, if he does not want to give me any money he can say: "well, there is this new law, but there is no money allocated to it" while he can be giving the same money to someone else through a different law, even though the money was meant to go with this new one. So that is how the government works. That is why some cooperatives can get help and others just cannot. It all depends on *chi ti trovi davanti* [who you find in front of you] and whether or not he wants to favour you.

The pervasive clientelism, the rivalry between institutions because of their political affiliation, the lack of communication between offices regarding the data that they use and the paternalism of politicians and administrators at all levels of the government have resulted in, among other things, a constant surplus of the resources that the regional government and the different agencies control. *Lottizzazione* and *accozzi* have proven to be a very inefficient way to re-distribute the funds that the EEC and the Italian government assign to Sardinia. During my fieldwork it was common to hear in conferences and meetings (such as the seminar on the EEC which took place in Nuoro in March of 1992) that the regional administration could not spend the money that it had requested from the Italian government and the EEC.

The pastoralists and their families have found different ways to access these resources. The way in which the *lottizzazione* and the *accozzi* channels function, however, distribute monies and favours unequally among the population. While some families have been able to take advantage of many

types of programmes, other families have not fared so well. As a result, the economic disparities among households and settlements are evident. The rural population of Sardinia has responded to the entangled State intervention and the creation of income equalities in a complex manner. At the level of the interaction between the household and the state they act from a perception of public funds not as a "limited good" (Foster 1965), but rather as an open, "free for all" (Ostrom 1989) set of resources. At another level, they have created systems of reciprocity and exchange based on conceptions of 'fairness' and 'generosity' that are accorded legitimacy through nostalgia. In the remainder of this chapter I look at the ways in which the pastoralist families engage in these two processes: outwitting the state and creating moral communities.

5. MODERNIZING THE SHEPHERD BANDITS

Sardinian pastoralists have long been seen as a 'backward' population prone to sheep rustling, blood feuds, kidnapping and hostility towards the Italian State (Marongiou 1981). Between 1957 and 1975 the Sardinian regional government, in consonance with the national policies for the industrialization of the *Mezzogiorno*, promoted the development of the island through six designated 'industrial poles'. Industrial development was expected to solve most of the island's social and economic problems and bring prosperity to all Sardinians (Gribaudi 1991:117-26, Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1979).

In central Sardinia an industrial complex at Arbatax (in the municipal territory of Tortolì) developed in the mid 1960s, and a factory of plastic fibres at Ottana (in the municipality of the same name), started to operate in 1971. These are the most clearcut examples of development projects aimed at curbing 'pastoral-related' violence. The Ottana complex is especially remembered as an anti-banditry

initiative because it became a matter of national importance:

> Taviani, who had come several times already in his charge as Minister of Internal Affairs, came to Ottana on March 2 of 1969. [He had come to Sardinia] to evaluate, along with the politicians of Sardinia and the mayors of the municipalities concerned, the possibility of building an industrial park, to transform the economy of the area and put a halt to banditry, which in those years had brutally exposed the abandonment, the extreme poverty, and the barbarism of central Sardinia, when the rest of the island could be considered industrialized around the 'poles of development' in Cagliari and Portotorres. Vicari, the Chief of the Italian Police, had already demanded a factory be built in Orgosolo (Sechi 1982:81).

The Arbatax industrial complex includes five factories, belonging to five different companies, which together produce paper rolls. The industrial nucleus started to function in 1964 (Lo Monaco 1965:155). From the beginning it was a source of ecological problems, as the factories' discharges began to pollute the water of the Arbatax bay (Ruju 1982:70-71). The factories were so far away from most European markets and possible sources of suitable wood that they could function only with the help of heavy subsidies from the Regional government (Gasperini 1978:103-9, Ruju 1982:70, Accardo and Carta 1991:368). However, because it was located in the Ogliastra, an 'economically depressed' area, the industrial complex was seen as a source of employment that could take some men away from pastoralism, and thus from possible criminal behaviour (Ruju 1982:70-71, De Murtas 1992).

While the Ottana and Arbatax industrial complexes did open up jobs for some people in the Barbagia and the Ogliastra, the forced industrialization of Nuoro province did not turn out to be the social panacea that the planners had envisioned. Because the development projects had been geared toward creating a few 'development poles' for industrial activity, most of rural Sardinia, and central Sardinia in

particular, continued to experience a high rate un- and underemployment. Furthermore, with the development in the north of the island of the *Costa Smeralda* luxury tourist resort in the second half of the 1960s, the frequency of abduction for ransom increased (See Table 2.2).

During the last three decades, the social and economic policies regarding pastoralism have been informed by the conclusions of a Parliamentary Inquiry into the causes of banditry, known as the *Inchiesta Medici*, which held hearings between 1969 and 1971. Justice Medici and the commission over which he presided concluded:

> "As long as the nomadic pastoralist world which we best characterize as *Barbaricino* [i.e., obtaining in the Barbagia area], continues to exist, the criminality of its bandits will continue to exist as well: crime is here a product of that world, as the *mafia* was a product of feudal Sicily." (Commissione d'Inchiesta sui Fenomeni di Criminalità in Sardegna 1972, in Clark 1990:418).

The Commission recommended a comprehensive agro-pastoral reform including the definitive sedentarization of shepherds. As a response to the Commission's findings and suggestions, in 1976 the regional government emitted the law for agro-pastoral reform which is now in place. This law was intended to set the legal framework for the transformation of the pastoralists into modern stock raisers through a program of land and pasture improvement, credit facilities and the promotion of livestock raising cooperatives (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1976).

Year	Sardinia	Italy
1945	5	0
1946	8	0
1947	4	0
1948	4	0
1949	0	0
1950	5	0
1951	1	0
1952	5	0
1953	1	0
1954	5	0
1955	6	0
1956	6	0
1957	3	0
1958	3	0
1959	0	0
1960	1	0
1961	0	0
1962	2	0
1963	0	0
1964	1	0
1965	1	0
1966	11	0
1967	12	0
1968	10	0
1969	2	0
1970	5	9

Table 2.2. Kidnapping in Sardinia and Italy between 1945 and 1970, according to Brigaglia (1982:184).

The government has also tried to provide alternative occupations to shepherding through incentives to craft shops, small businesses in general and the development of tourist resorts (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1991, Sabattini and Moro 1973:108-16, De Murtas 1992). The government offers Sardinian entrepreneurs financial help for the creation of cooperatives, as economically 'safe', non-risky ways to take up economic activities (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1991a, 1991b and 1991c).

Besides the efforts to divert men from pastoralism, the mandate of the *Riforma Agropastorale* [agro-pastoral reform]

programme resulting from the 1976 law foresees the implementation agricultural and stock breeding extension services island-wide (Sabattini 1983).

6. MAGIC NUMBERS: *FURBI* AND *FESSI*

In rural Sardinia people strive to become *persone brave* [good people]. This implies that one should do his or her best to be a good worker, a good friend and a good member of the community. The category of *bravura*, however, does not refer only to behaving in nice, polite ways toward others. In Sardinia the notion includes both the concepts of *furbizia* and *correttezza*. *Furbizia* implies that people have to be cunning when they are in a subordinate position, and *correttezza* that they have to be fair with their equals.

As Sahlins (1972) has noted, in many societies people think they have to be fair in their dealings only within a restricted group, and in central Sardinia that boundary tends to be at the level of the village or the town itself. Within each settlement, *correttezza* [fairness] in people's behaviour puts a limit to *furbizia*. However, when relating to resources or people coming from outside the community, people are *furbi* or *furbe* without remorse. Ayora-Diaz and I had a taste of this double moral standard when we moved to Cala Fuili. People at the newsstand and at some of the grocery stores would systematically charge us more than what they charged their fellow Bardiesi. After having been in the settlement for two weeks, we had befriended several shop owners. When they realized that we were staying there for a long time, the price of our groceries and other supplies suddenly dropped.

As I have explained elsewhere (Vargas-Cetina 1993a) the lack of *furbizia* is seen as a lack of *bravura* as well. The people who are not seen as *furbe* or *furbi* are seen as *fessi* or *fesse*, which almost implies that they are mentally handicapped. Individuals are expected to hold their own ground in protecting themselves, their families and friends

from others, but they are expected to do so within the limits of *correttezza*.[5]

The management of information is considered part of *furbizia* and people do not disclose to strangers information about third persons because of the rule of *omertà*. As in Sicily (Hobsbawm 1959, Schneider and Schneider 1976, Sabetti 1984), in Sardinia *omertà* is a code of silence about third persons in the presence of strangers. This code is particularly binding in relation to the national police forces and all inspectors representing the State.[6]

Ostrom (1989) suggests that there is a continuum between different types of resource management options, ranging from exclusive use, as in private property, to open access, where everyone is allowed to take from them and no one is expected to contribute to the costs of the resource's maintenance. Rural Sardinians see their own, local institutions as common resources, where access is regulated and restricted to the members of each settlement. Public funds, however, are seen as unlimited resources that are open to all at practically no cost. Public funds, furthermore, are part of the state, which is looked at with ambivalence by central Sardinians.

State institutions are perceived by central Sardinians as part of an alien authority that is there to repress the

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[5] Even blood feuds in Sardinia are regulated by this double meaning of *bravura*. People in families (or sometimes *crìcce*) where one or more of their members have been killed are expected to retaliate and avenge the murder. If they have the chance and they do not do it, then they are seen as *fessi*. Blood feuds are not common in Telemula or Bardia, but they are in neighbouring communities.

[6] In Sicily *omertà* is most often associated with people's silence regarding criminal events and thus mainly communication with outsiders (Hobsbawm 1959:32, Schneider and Schneider 1976:192-4, Arlacchi 1973, Sabetti 1984). In Sardinia *omertà* encompasses the everyday forms of communication where villagers hide details of their own and especially of other people's activities from one another.

people, but which also has an obligation to ensure people's welfare. According to central Sardinians of all political sympathies, State parties and institutions are there to allocate resources.[7] As other rural Sardinians, many pastoralists do not have too many qualms in falsifying information in order to benefit as much as they can from the public funds set up by state. *Furbizia*, in the face of the complexity and the perceived unfairness of the bureaucratic system, is not only tolerated but even encouraged to some extent both by the rest of the local populations and by the bureaucrats and politicians who deal with the locals.

Sardinian bureaucrats share many of the basic moral principles of the communities from where they come. They understand that people will try to be as *furbi* or *furbe* as possible in dealing with them, and they accept this as part of being in office. They also share the *omertà* code and they would not think of accusing others of fraud, unless they were forced to do so. This contextually shifting moral code, along with the administration problems created by the *lottizzazione* and the *accozzi*, sets the background for many different types of manipulation of information and resources.

The pastoralists give different information at the many registries and agencies where they are expected to report the

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[7] Sardinians who belong to the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano and other extreme right parties in Telemula and Bardia also object to the current flows of in-migration of Senegalese, Moroccans and Eastern Europeans. These foreigners usually go around the island selling either East European or central Italian inexpensive items, or even African handcrafts. According to some of our friends in Telemula and Bardia these people are taking jobs away from Italians, although I never met any Sardinian who would be interested in taking up this type of trade. In Telemula the owner of a local business suggested that these people should be caught at the Italian border and killed in gas chambers. I never heard any of the shepherds or their relatives express this extreme dislike for the foreign peddlers, but some shepherds were suspicious that the peddlers could be thieves or kidnappers.

number of their animals, their earnings, their production yields, the activities of the members of their households or any other quantifiable data. One of the most serious results, which has cost Sardinia (and other regions of Italy where numbers are also falsified) major accusations of fraud by the EEC, is the inaccuracy and lack of compatibility among the different types of statistics gathered by state and regional institutions. Talking to shepherds and their relatives and to Sardinian bureaucrats I found that statistics relating to pastoralism are distorted in the following ways:

a. Number of sheep, goats, cattle and pigs.

Today there are no accurate statistics on how many sheep, goats, pigs or cattle there are in Sardinia. In the *uffici d'abigeato*, the municipal cattle registry of each *comune*, numbers are highly inflated. This is so because shepherds may apply for EEC disaster relief funds if the Regional administration classifies the year as one of drought or of excessive rain. There is an EEC fund, already mentioned above (the *indennità compensativa*), intended to compensate agricultural producers and small industrial shops for their disadvantageous situation if they are in mountainous areas or far away from important markets (Ekelmans and Smeets 1990:55). This fund provides money incentives of 20.3 ECU (European Currency Unit, approximately equivalent to one U.S. per E.C.U.) per animal, up to 120 animals. Shepherds who have fewer than 120 head of stock will seek to declare at least that number. The idea seems to be that each registered shepherd should declare a very large number of animals to the *comune* registry personnel, because one never knows what good things may come from this.

In those *comuni* like Bardia, where most shepherds have some private property of their own and they do not have to pay for the use of communal lands, the number of animals are inflated much more than in those municipalities where the

shepherds graze their animals on communal territories. This is so because shepherds pay a fee, usually of around L.2,500 a year (about Can$2.50) per sheep or goat, and between L.5,000 and 15,000 a year per head of cattle, if the animals are kept on the communal lands, but the communal registries cannot be used for tax collection purposes.

On the other hand, some old shepherds prefer not to declare their animals to the *comune*. While in most cases they do not find the annual payments per head of livestock too cumbersome, they have other preoccupations. One of the most important ones is that they appear as "retired" in the lists of Agriculture pensions at the National Institute for Social Welfare (INPS). They want to make sure that their families' registered earnings do not surpass the ceiling on non-taxable income so as to continue receiving the "family cheques" from INPS. The existence of these retired shepherds' 'phantom flocks' is particularly widespread in Ogliastra and Barbagia, where lands are often communally held. Some formally active shepherds also declare fewer animals than they actually have, in order to minimize their payment to the municipal administration for the use of communal lands.

Many Sardinian shepherds declared fewer animals than they actually have to the Agricultural Census. Shepherds believe the information in the census can be used for tax purposes. Shepherds do not have to pay taxes if they can show that they do not make more than L.10 million a year. Also shepherds, especially in the Ogliastra and in the Barbagia, often keep pigs that freely roam communal lands. This is illegal because of the *peste suina* [swine flu], an epizootic that spreads through contact between free roaming pigs and the Sardinian wild boar, *cinghiale*.

Other shepherds preferred to report more animals than they have to the census, and some people who do not have animals claimed they had livestock. Claiming to have goats or sheep some people avoid falling under suspicion as to how they

make a living and what are their sources of cash, while the tax ceiling for pastoralists still allows them not to pay taxes.[8]

In January of 1992, an EEC regulation that had been issued in 1985 (Ekelmans and Smeets 1990) and had been apporved in Italy in 1990 (Il Ministro dell'Agricoltura e delle Foreste 1990), became operative in Sardinia. This is an 'anti-surplus' measure meant to reduce the number of sheep and goats and the production of milk and meat. Shepherds who wish to participate in this programme will commit themselves to reduce their flocks by one fifth, and to keep them at the same reduced size for five years. This is part of the EEC's efforts to decrease animals and milk production in Sardinia.

Talking to two friends of ours who were involved in agro-pastoral extension (one of them a local ERSAT officer and the other one an agronomist who also worked for a governmental agency) Ayora-Diaz and I were told that, from these technicians' point of view, shepherds would only take the money and not reduce their flocks, except during the initial year. A veterinarian has to certify that one fifth (that is, 20%) of the animals, as the number appears in the *abigeato* office, were killed. Most shepherds will have to reduce their actual flock by more than one fifth, since they had declared more animals. But they could increase their flock during the year, and still have less than four fifths of the number of animals they declared at the beginning of the contract. The shepherds explained to us that frequently they do not remember to correct the number they have given at the *comune* each time they have butcher an animal, so they keep the registry certificates for animals that are now missing, while they

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[8] In Bardia shepherds call the practice of declaring animals without having them "*avere bestiame nel cassetto* " [to have a flock in the drawer].

continue to register the additions to the flock.[9]

According to employees of the Bardia and Telemula *comuni* (municipal offices) and to regional ERSAT officials, shepherds have access to low-interest credit on the basis of their flocks. They can request loans to be repaid in 1, 3 or 5 years, at an interest rate no higher than 7%. Depending on the amount that a shepherd wants to borrow from the Agro-pastoral Credit regional fund, he may inflate the numbers of animals he has, so that a larger loan will be granted to him. It is common knowledge in Ogliastra, Barbagia and Baronia that the shepherds request this type of credit for diverse purposes which are not always related to their pastoral activities.

Given the many different interests shepherds have, and the monetary advantages or penalties owning animals may lead to, it is impossible to know how the numbers are slanted in any particular year, on the available official sources. Some of our shepherd friends kept the *bigliettini* [registry certificates] of the communal registry long after they had sold or eaten the corresponding animals. Others only registered half of their flocks so that they would not go beyond their minimum income and thus would not pay taxes. Some had given different numbers in the many agencies and registries. Still others had inflated the numbers of their animals to get low interest loans that would help them to start or continue construction of their houses, or to pay for the wedding festivities of their children. Bureaucrats and politicians would ask us, when we requested statistics from them, "Why do you want these numbers? They are irrelevant because they are false. Talk to the veterinarian and s/he will give you more accurate information."

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[9] This explanation, however, only makes sense in terms of the fictional information they have supplied to the *comune*, since the shepherds know every one of their adult animals by a proper name.

b. Number of shepherds.

Just as statistics do not reflect the actual number of sheep that there are in Sardinia, neither do they reflect how many people practice shepherding as their main occupation. This is related to the State and welfare policies as well. Other than in those cases when, as I mentioned above, the flocks are "in the drawer" and do not exist outside the registries, there are other reasons why shepherds may give inaccurate information at government agencies.

When one person in a family is registered as a shepherd in the *ufficio d'abigeato*, two people may actually work with a flock (usually larger than the one declared to the Census enumerators) because it convenient for many young men in pastoralist families to appear as 'searching for a job' in the government employment agencies. In this way a young man (or even a man approaching retirement age who works with another shepherd) can apply for higher-paying government jobs, such as road maintenance or reforestation projects. These jobs are considered to be physically less demanding and economically more secure than shepherding or agriculture. If the man gets a temporary job, when the contract finishes he will have an unemployment pension, which he can add to his earnings as a shepherd.

Thus, shepherding functions as an economic cushion for unemployed and underemployed labour. Also, as explained above, shepherds who are officially retired may still keep active and continue to attend to their flocks; this too distorts statistics.

c. Milk produced each year.

In general, in Italian government sources actual milk production is underestimated. This is because there is an EEC ceiling on how much milk Italy can produce before the government has to start subsidizing the guaranteed price from its own treasury. For the last eight years (*La Repubblica*,

March 14 and 15, 1992) the government of Italy has provided the European community with biased figures. The shepherds themselves have managed to produce more milk than they were expected to.

Because of the ceiling on non-taxable agricultural income, some shepherds give industrial processing plants (cooperative or not) part of their milk yields and then turn to the artisanal production of cheese and other milk products. To sell their artisanal products shepherds rely on an established clientele of families who in some cases have been buying products from the shepherds' families for generations. There are also small brokers who place the shepherds' products in the local and surrounding villages at a very low commission.

Some milk products resulting from artisanal cheese making circulate mainly through informal exchange channels (often without monetary transactions), and thus escape inclusion in official statistics. Low milk production figures, then, are the result of shepherds' anti-tax manoeuvres, the Sardinian Regional government's interest in obtaining more funds for the agro-pastoral reform from the national government, and the Italian government's interest in not being penalized by the EEC. Cooperative dairies tolerate shepherds' artisanal production of cheese. The private plants do not receive (or do not report having received) all of their clients' milk yields. Finally, the local, regional and national administrations sanction this order of things.

As we will see in Chapter Three, for Telemulesi shepherds this official willingness to allow for the diversion of milk from dairy plants is important not only because of the continued EEC subsidy to *pecorino* cheese in Sardinia but also because it feeds the informal channels of exchange through which shepherds maintain their social networks. The present inquiry opened by the EEC regarding the Italian false figures on milk production in the country (*La Repubblica*, March 14,

15, 16 and 17, 1992) may, however, put an end to this situation in the near future.

d. Animals butchered each year.

There is a regulation that requires shepherds to declare the butchering of animals to the *comune*. The twofold aim of this regulation is, first, to maintain the municipal and regional records constantly updated and, second, to establish the reason why the animal was killed, and whether or not its meat should reach the market (especially important if the animal was ill). The real figures for animal butchering in Sardinia are grossly underestimated. Shepherds do not always care to report the animals they butcher, unless they think that they can obtain monies from a relief fund for economic damage, as in the case of the *peste suina*.

Many shepherds I know do not believe the *peste suina* exists. They told us that it is something that was invented by the EEC to make them get rid of their pigs. However, they agreed to the killing of all their 'semi-wild' pigs in 1981, in exchange for an EEC subsidy per each slaughtered animal. A friend of mine from the Ogliastra told me: "the *peste suina* was *affari d'oro* (a golden business) for the dealers in deep freezers." Shepherds did not burn the animals. Instead, with the help of the veterinarians, they kept the meat of the animals they were ordered to slaughter. They bought deep freezers to keep the meat frozen at home. The new EEC provision regarding the reduction of flocks may bring a new boost to the official statistics on butchered animals in the near future.

e. Annual earnings.

Statistics do not reflect how much a shepherd or any other type of producer actually earns in Sardinia. The main reason for this is that in Sardinia there is a very strong informal economy in all sectors: I know mechanics who work at

night in front of their houses after they have worked during the morning in legally-established car repair shops, bricklayers and masons who work 'for their friends' while they are receiving unemployment pensions, *casalinghe* [unemployed women] who work cleaning houses or babysitting, *pensionati* [retired persons] who tend large flocks of sheep, cultivate gardens and vineyards or keep large orchards. Some shepherds work as supernumerary barmen during the tourist season, others sell large amounts of their products through informal channels.

In Barbagia and Baronia some shepherds have bought tractors and bulldozers under their sons' or other relatives' names and perform 'land improvement works' on the plots of their friends and relatives. This is because there is a Regional fund that sponsors the clearing and ploughing of agricultural plots. The 'improvements' are not always completed, because often absentee owners have no interest in using their lands and the works can be stopped as soon as an inspector certifies that work was being done when he or she visited the area.

In Bardia conflicts between families and individuals have arisen from the competition over the cleaning of other peoples' plots. An event of this type happened during my stay in the community. Two families among those whom I knew closely stopped talking to each other because of a 'plot preparation' incident. The male head of family A was the brother of the female head of family B. Family A gave their permission for a third family to improve their lands, but, unbeknownst to them, the father and two sons from family B did the work before the members of family C could bring their equipment to the area.

f. Other forms of number distortion.

In families where one or two young persons appear as officially unemployed, there is more room for entering

informal economic activities without loss of family allowance payments than in those families where all members appear as 'employed'. Many friends of ours received unemployment insurance while they were hired as mechanics, construction workers, loggers or truck drivers and were thus receiving a monthly salary. As already explained, these people wanted to appear as 'unemployed' as long as they could not only in order to receive a pension, but also to have priority in the eventual opening of high salary positions requiring unskilled labour.

Pastoralist families are also partly responsible for the inaccuracy of agriculturalist pension records. Many Sardinian women, including shepherds' wives and daughters, are registered as agriculturalists and pay the minimum retirement payments, even if they are not engaged in agriculture or pastoralism. By appearing on the agricultural records they can collect unemployment pensions, maternity benefits, and a retirement pension beginning at 55 years of age (INPS 1991).

To my knowledge, the forms of figure manipulation I have described occur not only in Telemula and Bardia but also in most pastoralist communities of Nuoro province. Both shepherds and local officials from different communities told us that number-bending is a generalized practice. Administrators at all levels of the government and its agencies, such as municipal employees, agronomists working in government offices, provincial and regional bureaucrats of the national welfare system (INPS) as well as the *Guardia di Finanze* [Italian Tax Police] officers, *Carabinieri*, and *Poliziotti* [members of the Italian Police Corps] are aware of these distortions of official records.

It is possible that all these forms of number-twisting are common to other parts of the world. Italy's, however, seems to be a particularly extreme case among the EEC countries because of the political interests at play.

Pastoralist families seek to benefit from this through their *furbizia*. Through the manipulation of information, pastoralist households can increase incoming cash if they manage to do the right thing and have the right contacts.[10]

People in Telemula and Bardia do not blame each other for having more or less access to different public funds, because it is believed that anyone could exploit the government's resources. In any case, when individuals or families enter in conflict, this remains at the local level because of central Sardinians' distrust regarding the fairness of the government's justice system.

The regional administrators tolerate people's misdemeanours for three main reasons:

1. The conviction, shared by many Italian intellectuals, that welfare measures are supposed to give producers a good reason for staying in the villages, without causing a massive emigration to the cities or abroad (Bocella 1982, Gribaudi 1991). In Sardinia there are not many occupational alternatives besides shepherding, agriculture or outside government employment. To accuse a shepherd (or any other producer) of giving false information would only bring problems to the producer and his or her family, without changing things on the whole;

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[10] It is not only Sardinian shepherds who give inflated numbers to the *uffici d'abigeato*, but also stock raisers in other regions. For example, in August of 1991 *L'Unione Sarda* published a note about Cesarò, a municipality in the region of Catania, where 95% of all registered sheep did not exist. The EEC headquarters found it strange that a village of 50 thousand inhabitants would maintain more than 100 thousand head of stock. According to the newspaper, the EEC took the culprits to court for two and a half billion Lire (a little less than two and a half million Canadian dollars). Regardless of the truthfulness of the numbers in the article, or of the news item in general (which could be just an insertion meant to scare Sardinian shepherds), it is clear that figures are manipulated at most levels before reaching the EEC offices.

2. The impossibility of coordinating the different government and union offices because of the disparity of the codes and the inefficiency inherent to all bureaucratic institutions in Sardinia, and;
3. The existence of clientelist networks. Everything becomes a personal matter and even the apparently most routine bureaucratic practices have a personal dimension. The personal ties created allow politicians to create a following and to retain their offices in subsequent elections.

An officer checking on the reliability of one or another figure supplied by a shepherd (or by anyone, for that matter) is often seen as someone who has *qualcosa contro* [something against] the person he or she investigates. Furthermore, the inspector can be stopped or made to change a report if the producer knows someone who is above the officer in question. The following anecdote, although it does not refer to production, illustrates this point:

One night when we were driving through a village we saw a local politician friend of ours who called to us asking us to stop. We stopped and he came next to our car to invite us to take a walk with him. We told him that we would have to find a parking spot first, and he replied that we could just leave the car where it was. We had stopped exactly in front of a sign that forbade parking in that area. We told our friend we did not want to be fined so we should look for a place where we could leave the car without problems. He assured us that the sign was not correct and no one would fine us where we were. We followed his instructions, and after the walk we discovered a ticket on our wind shield. The politician took the bill and later in the month we learned that "everything had been resolved" without anyone having to pay money. The situation had been *sistemata* [arranged] without problems.

The combination of political competition among the different parties and factions, clientelism, and the cultural attitude of *furbizia*, which is shared both by the general population and the bureaucrats themselves, help perpetuate the current inefficiency of government institutions. In Sardinia in the 1990s there is no State vacuum, as Blok (1974) and Schneider and Schneider (1976) suggest was the case in Sicily at the beginning of the century. If anything there is constant intervention of the State in the everyday life of the population in the form of subsidies, permits and clientelist relations. As has been noted for other areas of the *Mezzogiorno* (Gribaudi 1991) and of Italy in general (Castelli 1992), political clientelism extends to most realms of life.

In Sardinia politics are entwined with public and private services. This extends to most institutions such as schools, medical services, commercial licenses, circulation permits and all activities implying the presentation, acceptance or signature of documents. As we will see in Part II of this dissertation, this convergence of bureaucracy and political clientelism is very important for the success or failure of cooperative associations.

The dialogue between central Sardinians and the police forces remains highly problematic not because Sardinians hate the State that the police represent (although they do distrust them) but because, just as the shepherds in their twisting of numbers, most Sardinians are in one or another irregular or semi-regular situation or activity. Most disputes are solved outside the legal channels because an in-depth inquiry into the finances of one or another family could only bring further economic and possibly legal problems to all parties involved. Furthermore, police officers are, more so than other officials, the moral representatives of the Sate. They embody the repressive side of the state and set clear limits to citizens's behaviour, a control which is not so apparent in other spheres of government activity.

Sardinia is not the only region of Italy where government data have come to be totally unreliable and clientelism has come to permeate all civil interaction. The Christian Democratic Party is usually blamed by the Italian press and the intellectuals for the current state of things, which is called 'corruption' by the left and 'benevolent tolerance' by the right and the Vatican (Saba 1976, Gasperini 1978, Melis 1980, Gribaudi 1991, Mingione 1991). From my own experience, however, shepherds belong in clientelist networks connected not only to the DC but to all parties represented on the island.

7. TELEMULA AND BARDIA

a. The two settings

Telemula and Bardia belong to the *zona interna* ['internal zone'] of Sardinia, where transhumant pastoralism has been practised at least since the Middle Ages up until the present day. Telemula is a village of 1200 inhabitants which is seen as one of the most 'traditional' villages of Sardinia, particularly because of its relative isolation from major flows of traffic within the island. Until 1962, pastoralism in Telemula was rooted in the agro-pastoral cycles of production of the *biddazzone*, whereby half of the communal territory was sown with wheat and barley, and the other half was left for the flocks to graze. Telemula's territory encompasses tracts of land that range from a few metres above sea level, on the Plains of Arbatax, to over one thousand metres above sea level, on the Supramonte plateau of the Gennargentu mountain ridge. Today the shepherds of Telemula herd goats and sheep, and the cultivation of wheat and barley have been practically abandoned, except for small patches that are sown with cereals on privately owned plots.

The shepherds of Telemula practice seasonal transhumance of the 'inverse' type: they live in the highlands for most of the year, and take their animals to the lowlands during the

winter. In the past, and still today, the shepherds took their animals not only to the Plains of Arbatax but also to other parts of the island such as the Campidano of Cagliari plains, the Campidano of Oristano plains, and to the communal territory of Baronia settlements, including Bardia's. Still in 1990 and 1992, five Telemulesi pastoralists took their flocks to Bardia. In those same years others Telemulesi took their animals to southern Ogliastra and still others to central Baronia.

Bardia is a prosperous town of 8,000 inhabitants which is seen as one of the most modern settlements of central Sardinia. Its territory includes part of the beautiful shores of the Gulf of Orosei, which are an important destination for tourists from mainland Italy, Germany and France. In Bardia shepherding never ceased to be a specialized occupation since the wheat and barley growers who did not emigrate either completely shifted their production activities to pastoralism or specialized in the cultivation of vineyards and olive trees. Some Bardiesi shepherds still practice the 'normal' type of transhumance, whereby they stay on the lowlands for most of the year and only take their animals to the highlands during the warmest summer months.

Since much of the Supramonte plateau falls within northern and central Ogliastra, in the past Bardiesi shepherds often took their animals to the communal territory of Telemula. Today, however, Bardia is one of the localities that has profited the most from the agro-pastoral reform and only a few shepherds continue to take their animals to the Ogliastra during the summer when they cannot find adequate lands within Bardia's municipal limits. Between 1990 and 1992 only four shepherds (two sheep- and two goatherds) took their flocks to Telemula. During these two years other shepherds took their flocks to other parts of northern Ogliastra and of southern Baronia. Some of these shepherds, however, did not keep their flocks outside the communal territories for very

long, because they are members of the Su Cuile Mannu shepherds' production cooperative, and their animals can stay within the cooperative's lands eleven months each year.

Both Telemula and Bardia are considered 'pastoral' municipalities, although the shepherds represent less than 20% of all employed persons and less than 25% of the economically active male population in each locality (see Table 2.3). Some Telemulesi shepherds have worked as *theracoso* [*servopastore* in Italian: paid sheepherder) before they could have their own flock. Both Telemulesi and Bardiesi shepherds were considered part of the 'archaic area' (Musio 1969) and thus of the 'pastoralist problem' of Sardinia in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

	Employed labour (no. of persons)	Shepherds	% of shepherds out of all male work force**	% of shepherds out of all formally employed labour***
Telemula	356	55	17.08	15.45
Bardia	2,117	400	23.98	18.90
Sardinia (1980)*	480,000	26,000*	7.32	5.52

*** Idda (1982) calculates that in 1980 there were between 25,000 and 28,000 full time shepherds in Sardinia. There are no official records showing the actual number of livestock owners.**
**** Includes those men who were unemployed or underemployed, but declared being specialized in a particular type of occupation.**
***** Does not include the at least 100 women who perform agricultural tasks in Telemula.**

Table 2.3. Relative economic importance of stock breeding (including cattle, sheep and goat rearing) as a source of employment, in 1990. Sources: Idda 1982, Elenco dei residenti, Telemula; Archivi del Comune, Bardia; *La Programmazione in Sardegna* 25 n.s.(6), 1992.

In all pastoral villages of central Sardinia people pride themselves on being extremely hospitable, fair in their dealings with other people and active participants in the life of their own communities. As in other parts of Mediterranean Europe (Friedl 1962, Pitt-Rivers 1961, Aceves 1971, Barret 1974, Campbell 1974, Brandes 1975, Gilmore 1980, Herzfeld 1985) and in much of Italy (Silverman 1965, Brogger 1971, Gross 1973), villagers and town dwellers identify with their natal villages, and say that in the localities where they were born life is better than anywhere else. In Telemula people claim to be more hospitable than the people of the coastal villages, and maintain that they eat better and more *genuino* [pure, genuine] products than the people of the towns and cities.

The water from their springs, Telemulesi say, is much better and purer than the water of almost anywhere else in Sardinia, except for the fountain of Santa Barbara, in a neighbouring municipality. They say that the air of Telemula is cleaner than the polluted air of the coasts, and even more so than the air of the city, and that the meat from animals grazed on the Telemula territory is so good that it does not need any other condiments than salt, because the sheep, goats, pigs and cattle graze on the thyme and rosemary of the Supramonte.[11]

In Bardia people seem to believe that they are the most modern town within a very large area, including the Ogliastra, the Baronia and part of the Barbagia sub-regions. People in Bardia speak of themselves as being hard-working and prone to help each other. They also portray themselves as given to

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[11] In fact, we often had roasted meat which had been cooked without other condiments than salt. As we became familiar with the smells and tastes of Mediterranean herbs we learned to identify the taste of thyme and rosemary on meat to which no spices had been added. The *prosciutto* ham from Telemula proved to be fuller in flavour than most other *prosciutti* we tasted while we were on the island.

excesses regarding their love for expensive clothes, beautiful houses and very large and frequent parties. They say "*[Bardia] è nata allegra, [Bardia] Pompa* [Bardia was born merry, [we are] Pompous Bardia."

Bardiesi claim that Bardia is an 'important' place and that is why politicians pay so much attention to it. Looking at Telemula and other small mountain villages of Ogliastra they say that there, in those *paesini sperduti* [isolated little places], people are *arretrati* [lagging behind], and still live the way Bardiesi used to live thirty or more years ago. Life in Telemula and other such places, according to them, must be dull and repetitive. As one Bardiesi woman put it,

> All of the people in Telemula together would not be enough to have one good party in Bardia. You must have been very bored when you lived there.[12]

In both places people say that they are both more *furbi* or *furbe* and more *corretti* or *corrette* than the people of other settlements. They express the opinion that the people of other villages or towns are morally inferior in one way or another: In Telemula people think that the people of the lowlands and the people of prosperous towns such as Bardia consider themselves superior to the people of other places. This is why, according to the Telemulesi, the people of the coastal settlements of Ogliastra and of towns like Bardia have lost the tradition of hospitality. In Bardia, the Telemulesi say, people even make fun of their guests: Bardiesi serve wine to their guests in small shot glasses, so that visitors become

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[12] In fact, the 1,200 residents of Telemula would not be enough to have one of the large *feste* which take place during the summer in Bardia, when each time more than 2,000 people participate in gigantic banquets.

drunk and the hosts can make fun of them.[13]

In Bardia people say that in other towns and villages of Barbagia many suspicious things happen, while in Bardia everyone works very hard. A shepherd told us about the people of a Barbagia town:

> Those people in [. . .], they keep the doors of their houses closed. Everyone knows that when you go to that village you have to watch your possessions. That is why their doors are closed: they are hiding what they have stolen. Otherwise, why are all doors and windows closed?

In Telemula people say of the welfare state that it is there to give people what they deserve. In their view, the government should give people things because they are meant for them and not necessarily because people need them. A friend of mine who belongs to a pastoralist family told me once:

> Some people are upset because there is this money for the shepherds at the *comune* other people cannot claim it. However, it was meant to go to the shepherds, and that's why only the shepherds should receive it.

It follows from this type of reasoning that one should be able to take advantage of as many programmes and subsidies as possible, as long as they were designed for one's type of family or situation. That the aim of two or more programmes may be in conflict is not relevant: regarding the same resource base (a vineyard, a flock, a few olive trees) the same family may apply for one type of programme under the name of one of its members, and also apply for the one with opposite aims, under someone else's name.

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[13] While it is true that in Bardia foreigners are invited to drink from shot glasses, Bardiesi always drink wine this way. Furthermore, while it is true that foreigners often get drunk, in Bardia the stigma attached to being drunk in public is not as strong as in Telemula, and more than often the hosts become as drunk as their guests.

Two EEC programmes regarding vineyards are operative in Ogliastra: as part of the set-aside programme, the Ogliastrini can apply for monies if they are willing to extricate their vineyards, while another programme encourages the planting of vineyards for the production of Cannonau grapes. In several Telemulesi families someone has applied for money from the set-aside programme while someone else has applied for the Cannonau programme as well.

Many people, including people in those families who have applied to both programmes, believe that this is not legal. They are seen as *furbi* because they are thought to have cheated on the State. The truth, however, is different: talking to an ERSAT official I learned that the intention of the EEC planners is to encourage the Ogliastrini to produce high quality Cannonau grapes, instead of the eclectic mixes that they like to sow in their vineyards. In this specific case, while the Telemulesi believe that they are being *furbi*, in fact they are following the designs of the EEC.

In Bardia, instead, while some people think it is fair to take as much advantage as possible of the welfare state, others, particularly among the young professionals, think that it is not appropriate to cheat on the state. While some people told us that *bisogna arrangiarsi* [you have to get moving] to apply for different things, we heard some young professionals complain about the women who keep the names in the agricultural records without actually working on the fields. These same professionals, however, were part of different networks that fed the informal economy of the town and sometimes of other parts of the village.

The attitude of many Bardiesi, including the shepherds, is that one should keep informed about EEC programmes and take advantage of them. What this attitude leads to is that people are willing to modify their production practices and even to begin producing things that were never produced in Sardinia before. I know people who grow flowers to collect EEC cash

incentives, and at the time of my departure a group of young people were about to open an *ippoterapia* [horseback riding therapy] farm. Bardiesi are willing to experiment if they are provided with money to do so, and their politicians are very active in applying and lobbing for money. When I left Sardinia, the shepherds of Su Cuile Mannu were waiting to receive a flock of Canadian fallow deer which were being brought to Sardinia on an experimental programme. The Sardinian authorities' intentions were to see if the deer could adapt to the island's climate and then be let out in the future Gennargentu Park.[14]

b. The family

In central Sardinia kinship is bilateral and customary inheritance customary rules foresee the equal partition of the parents' property among all their children. In practice, however, among the pastoralists it is men who inherit the flocks, while women inherit lands or other forms of property which are considered of equal value. Besides private property, people also inherit from their parents rights of usufruct regarding parts of the communal territory. In Telemula, for example, people inherit from their parents the right of access to specific terraces around the villages, where women, and sometimes men, grow gardens and keep pigs.

In Bardia inheritance pertains mainly to private property. Much of the municipal territory where gardens and olive groves can be grown, as well as the most appropriate

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[14] The original project for the Gennargentu Park was drafted more than two decades ago. However, until now the population of the villages that are expected to give part of their communal territory to the Park have opposed the project. The Sardinian and Italian authorities expect that by 1994 most opposition will have receded and the Park will come about sooner or later. Bodemann (1979) Heatherington (1993) and Kennedy (1993) explore at length the issues surrounding the creation of the park and people's response to it.

lands for the keeping of flocks, have long been appropriated by private owners. The communal lands most adequate for agro-pastoral use have been rented by the *comune* to a shepherds' and a wine growers' cooperatives and the lands along the coast are used mainly by goatherds on a 'first come first served' basis.

Both in Telemula and in Bardia the extended family is invoked as a unit during specific types of events, such as marriages or funerals. Otherwise, people recognize as their own family the monogamous, nuclear household. This is in theory a neolocal unit, but in practice it is semi-patrilocal, because male children may build their own apartments on top of their parents' house and then bring their brides or husbands to live in an extended family compound in which each household is relatively autonomous.

Unlike in Latin America (Wolf and Mintz 1968), in Sardinia ceremonial relationships based on the Catholic rite of baptism do not create vertical ties between clients and patrons. Most often, baptism ties a child to another member of the community who is a friend of the child's parents, and is the same age as the parents or younger. Baptism creates a stronger bond between godparent and godchild than between *comari* and *compari*, in that the godchild becomes practically the foster child of the godparent, and a link of mutual help is established between the two.

A shepherd and his wife, both in their fifties, constantly urged Ayora-Diaz and me to have children. They told us that they would take our first child to be baptized and thus become our *comare* and *compare*. When I told this to one of my younger friends she said, with disapproval,

> No! They are too old! What will happen if you die? Who would take care of your child? You would need to find a young person, someone who can also be the child's friend. It would have to be someone your age or younger. Those two are too old to baptize anybody any more.

I believe that one of the main reasons why people in rural Sardinia do not try to establish *comparaggio* [compadrazgo] relations with powerful people is because those who are perceived to be more powerful than others are usually politicians or bureaucrats. Unlike land owners in agrarian societies, the base of their power is temporary and they are always in competition with other patrons who hold similar power grounds. A *comparaggio* relationship with this kind of patron might even become a liability if the political conditions change.

As elsewhere in the Catholic Mediterranean (Campbell 1974, Pitt-Rivers 1961, Signorini 1981) and in Latin America (Wolf and Mintz 1968), godparenthood establishes a 'family' relationship between the parents and the godparents [*compari* or *comari*] and between the godparent and the *figlioccio* or *figlioccia* [godchild]. Marriage between ceremonial relatives is not possible and the incest taboo, which in Sardinia extends only to the second degree (Mo, Fa, Da, So, Si, Bro, FaBro, FaBroSo, FaBroDa, FaSi, FaSiBro, FaSiDa, MoBro, MoSi, MoBroSo, MoBroDa, MoSiSo and MoSiDa), encompasses also ceremonial kin.

The non-political character of the *comparaggio* in Sardinia is even more evident regarding ceremonial kin surrounding the Catholic confirmation rite. For the confirmation ceremony, which takes place when the young catholic is around 16 years old, the *madrina* or *padrino* is usually someone of the same age as the *figlioccio* or *figlioccia*, or slightly older. In this way, confirmation creates a permanent bond between coeval friends, one of whom becomes the fictive parent of the other.

c. The household

In central Sardinia the basic social unit is the nuclear family household. Children live with their parents while they are single, and if they never marry they do not leave the

parental house.

Unlike in Greece (Friedl 1962), at marriage children leave the parental house, and at that point they have already accumulated a resource base of their own, including lands, flocks or other property. Women accumulate linens for the trousseau that they will take into their new homes, while men are expected to bring a house and productive property into the new household unit.[15] Very often, it is not until retirement or death that inheritance is transferred from the elderly parents surrender their own property to their children.

The household includes, ideally, a married couple and their children. The male and the female head of household are married by both the State's laws and the Catholic rites (although since the 1970s some couples are marrying only at the civil registry). The married couple, who live in their own house, are the recognized heads of the household and are responsible for the sustenance of the nuclear family. The cycle of the household in Telemula may start with the married couple only or with the married couple and one child born before the wedding. In Bardia a new household is established with the marriage of the childless couple, because if the woman is pregnant the ceremony will take place before the birth of the child.

Over the years membership in the household will increase with the births of daughters and sons. Children are supported by their parents at least until the end of elementary school, or beyond if they choose to continue studying. The elderly, whether married or not, are usually cared for by their children or other relatives. Often, after one of the older parents dies, the widowed spouse spends time among all his or her children and other first degree relatives. These widows

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[15] This is different from Eressos, Greece, where it is women who are expected to provide the house for the new family unit when the couple takes neolocal residence (Pavlides and Hesser 1986).

or widowers (or childless aunts or uncles) spend a varying number of months in each household, depending on the number of households which will host them during the year.

When an old woman or man becomes a widow/er, s/he will move into the house of one of his or her sons or daughters, or will start to rotate among households in the way just described. Although in an earlier part of the family cycle s/he had full authority over his or her children, now s/he is in a position where s/he keeps only some authority over the outward behaviour of the members of the family. When it comes to budgetary matters s/he has no decision power other than over the allocation of her or his old age pension.

Regarding budgetary matters pertaining to the household as a whole, children have no authority as long as they are under 16 years of age, or even older if they still do not bring cash into the household. Later in adulthood children will try to obtain a job or become pastoralists or agriculturalists on their own. However, until the children marry they continue to be part of the same household, and when they marry they initiate a household of their own, thus re-enacting the cycle.

It is common for pastoralist families to pay for the rent and expenses of their children who are away attending school. While there are elementary and high schools in those localities or in nearby areas, most technical training and university education can be obtained only outside. Many young central Sardinians from pastoralist families attend university in Cagliari or Sassari, the two main cities of Sardinia. Others study in Rome, Florence, Turin or Bologna if they chose to attend university on the mainland. In all cases the parents are expected to pay for the rent of the students' apartments and to give their children an allowance for living expenses.

d. The *crìcca*

The *crìcca* is another basic social group in central Sardinia. Usually, it is formed by a group of three or more friends who know each other since childhood. In rural Sardinia much social life during non-working hours takes place primarily within the family and the *crìcca*. *Crìcca* groups usually meet every night in one of the local bars and do the *passeggiata* [the evening stroll through the *corso*, the main street of town] together or in sections. Most *crìcche* include both men and women, who have different occupations. The *passeggiata* is important in establishing people's social presence in the towns or villages and the *crìcche* establish their collective presence by walking (or driving) up and down the street and then sitting together at their accustomed bar or pizzeria.

Belonging to a *crìcca* implies accepting most of the views of the other members of the same group, and sharing to some extent in the responsibility for helping in and backing up the actions of the rest of the members of the group. *Crìcche*, however, are voluntary groups. If a member feels that s/he does not share the interests and viewpoints of the rest, s/he can abandon the group and establish a new social presence as a member of another *crìcca*. The ways in which *crìcche* are formed and the activities they undertake together are somewhat different in Telemula and Bardia, but the general principles of social interaction within and between *crìcca* groups are similar not only in Telemula and Bardia but also in all the villages, towns and cities Ayora-Diaz and I visited in Sardinia.

The main features of the *crìcche* are:

a). Their lack of internal hierarchy. There are no leaders in a *crìcca;*

b). Their importance for the social identity of individuals. In rural Sardinia one has to have a *crìcca* or at least be identified, as among the older men and women or Telemula and

the older women of Bardia, with a certain social network. People show suspicion of those who do not socialize with others; and,

c). Their quasi-compulsory character. One has to meet his or her *crìcca* at least once a week, if living in one's own village, or each time one returns to town, if temporarily living outside, to be able to claim full membership in it.

The lack of leadership seems to be not only a condition but also one of the greatest attractions of *crìcca* groups for young people. The members often spend much time, sometimes even hours, deciding what to do, to the extent that sometimes they are immobilised by their own love of rhetoric because the group ends up not going anywhere if it becomes too late.

In rural Sardinia *crìcche* seem to be the only types of non-hierarchical groups in which individuals can participate on an everyday, face-to-face basis. The family is structured mainly along the lines of age and gender, salaried employees are part of a hierarchical organisation at work, and even independent producers, such the shepherds and the craftspersons, belong in different bureaucratic hierarchies that have direct repercussions on the everyday conduction of their activity. *Crìcca* groups establish the cherished social equality of all their members, which seems to be a strong value among all individuals in rural Sardinia.

Although *crìcche* may join other similar groups on particular occasions, or break into segments during the evening *passeggiata*, the entire group, sometimes encompassing as many as seven or eight persons, is always easily recognisable as a whole. It is possible that the present pattern of sociability characterised by the existence of *crìcche* is a recent result of the multiplication of occupational and recreational opportunities which are open to the new generations. The format of the *crìcca* groups is very convenient in a type of society where the claim for social equality is very strong, notwithstanding the obvious economic

inequalities, and where within each group of young adults or married couples there are bound to be at least one or two individuals or couples who own cars, making it possible for the whole group to undertake common activities in different places.

The loose structure of the *crìcca* also makes it a good candidate to transformation into other types of association. This is the case, for example, of a *crìcca* of young shepherds in Telemula who became an exclusive group, of whom it was rumoured that they were implicated in thieving, breaking the law in different ways and participating in several violent incidents. In fact, this group was seen as a gang, and not as a typical *crìcca* any more. Also, in Bardia one of the *crìcche* that Ayora-Diaz and I frequented turned into an exclusive political clique on the two months preceding the 1992 general Italian elections. Furthermore, informal cooperation groups are often based not only on kinship ties and neighbourhood, but also on membership in a particular *crìcca*.

e. Political groups, parties and factionalism

Both in Telemula and Bardia all major national parties are represented among the voters. Because of the recurrent use central Sardinians make of *accozzi*, however, one or another party may receive more votes than card carrying members it has among the population. In Telemula elections are usually not fought among parties but between two *liste civiche* [electoral lists] which represent the two main factions that exist in the village. In Bardia, instead, electoral politics take place in the form of party politics, and each party (including the Sardinian *Partito Sardo d'Azione* [Sardinian Action Party] proposes its own list of candidates to the electorate as a whole.

Crìcche can often become political groups, especially in Bardia, but often times the members of each *crìcca* belong to different political parties. Party membership is not seen as

a very important issue, except during election time. The past use of *accozzi* may imply that one has to vote for a specific party, and this is seen as an inevitable fact. In Part II I deal at length with the political intricacies of the *accozzi* form of clientelism.

8. THE FRAGMENTATION OF SARDINIAN SOCIETY

In Sardinia today the intervention of the State and the EEC and the clientelist form of politics practised by the Italian political parties have created a situation whereby people try to outwit the state as much as possible, and are reluctant to commit themselves to the ideological principles of parties, trade unions or the cooperative movement. People in central Sardinia attain their current level of consumption of food, other goods and services through the diversification of their activity not only in the formal but especially in the informal sector, where personal networks are very important.

In Sardinia we see the fragmentation of the local and regional society as driven not only by the new economic tendencies of tertiarization but also by political patronage and clientelism. In fact, the tertiarization of the regional economy itself has taken place in this political context. Because of the new job opportunities open to central Sardinians in the service sector and the different access that rural Sardinians can have to public funds, there is an increased economic differentiation among households, and among settlements. Sardinians have fully entered international capitalism, and the commoditization of the local economies now extends to all aspects of life. Mingione (1991) writes of the Italian *Mezzogiorno*:

> In the 1960s, the system of party patronage definitively established its function as an instrument of social control, taking advantage of the growth of the Italian welfare state. The complete interdependence which exists between government intervention, the welfare state and the practice of patronage is one of the most

> significant developments to have emerged in a Western industrial country. . . . A welfare state and patronage are a contradiction in terms. In this sense, it can be said that there is no real welfare state system in the Mezzogiorno, even if it exists on paper. The task of creating a modern system of private and public intervention has been permeated by patronage relations in a variety of ways. Widening public intervention has provided the means for strengthening the party patronage system in a number of sectors including central government services, the railways, the Post Office, electricity, education, health and the relationship between the private and the public sectors. (Mingione 1991:388).

The lack of identification with larger political entities is one of the clearest effects of the fragmentation of Sardinian society. In a recent study carried out by CENSIS [*Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali*] in 15 municipalities in which 800 Sardinians were interviewed, the enumerators found that 85% of the people interviewed never participate in political activities other than elections. We can see on Table 2.4 that the activities in which the highest percentage of the sample participate were sports and church attendance, which nevertheless did not engage a large percentage of the sample.

The study shows how people in Sardinia declared a very poor degree of participation in the institutions and associations created and run by the State, the Church or any other type of formal institutions. As Mingione proposes, rural Sardinian villages and towns are examples of fragmented societies in that most people participate in economic and social activities not through the 'formal' channels and institutions but through informal groups of reciprocity and personalised interaction. In Part II I present the ways in which these social relations result in collective strategies

for the creation of community in Telemula and Bardia.[16]

[16] The phenomenon of poor popular participation in official institutions is not particular to Sardinia, but rather general to most post-industrial societies. For a discussion of the political fragmentation of the working class in several contemporary European societies and the U.S. see Lash and Urry (1987).

	1	2	3	4	Total %
Party or political movement	4.9	9.7	85.3	0.1	100
Trade union	3.7	7.6	88.4	0.2	100
Associazione di categoria	4.5	10.0	84.7	0.9	100
Religious organization/ parish	7.9	17.8	74.1	0.2	100
Voluntary organization/aid organization	4.9	12.0	82.9	0.2	100
Cultural or leisure activities organized groups	5.2	10.7	83.7	0.4	100
Cooperatives	2.1	3.5	94.1	0.2	100
Committee for the administration of the neighbourhood or the *comune*	1.0	2.7	95.9	0.4	100
Sports association	10.7	9.7	79.3	0.2	100
Environmentalist group	2.0	8.7	89.0	0.2	100
Student association or movement	1.2	3.1	94.3	0.4	100
Other	1.0	0.1	20.7	78.2	100

1. Regularly
2. Every now and again
3. Never
4. No Answer

Table 2.4. Association patterns among a sample of 800 people in 15 municipalities of Sardinia. Source: CENSIS 1991.

CHAPTER THREE: TELEMULA, AN *ARRETRATO* VILLAGE[1]

1. BEGINNING FIELDWORK IN TELEMULA

The first time I was in Telemula I arrived by a road which connects it to another highland village, a road which had not been completed even though it had been open to traffic for more than ten years. The drive itself was an adventure. The road was carved out of the side of the mountains that mark the eastern edge of the Supramonte plateau. Big boulders had fallen from the mountain slope onto the road pavement, and the rails that could keep cars or people from falling over the edge of the road were missing for long stretches.

Telemula looked like a disorganized construction site where houses seemed either carved from or glued to mounds of earth and rock. To walk on any one of the narrow streets meant to either go up or down a steep slope. Some of the slopes were steeper than others. The place, I thought, looked grim and depressing. However, from what looked like a small public terrace (and later turned out to be one of the two main *piazze* or public spaces) it was possible to see countless hills and a wide valley, and farther in the distance the Tyrrhenian blue of the eastern Mediterranean Sea. I found the view extremely beautiful and the village itself began to appear to me more 'picturesque' than grim.

I had come to the village with Prof. P. Salzman, his wife and my fellow anthropology student L. Edelsward and their Newfoundland dog Marina. We parked the car by the small piazza and walked up and down the ramps that functioned as streets. We went into a small shop and bought ice cream, and then continued to walk for a while. It was a warm late

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[1] Although the present tense is used throughout the ethnographic sections of this dissertation, the facts and events here reported correspond mainly to the time between September of 1990 and June of 1992, when I conducted fieldwork in the island.

afternoon and the place did not look particularly friendly. There was hardly anyone around. I could see some old women dressed in black, in what I already knew was the way widows dress in Sardinia. They sat at the door of their houses and looked at us, I thought, with suspicion. In fact I did not yet know what a suspicion-laden gaze from a Sardinian widow looked like, but at the time I thought I did.

We came again, at the top of one of the streets, to a point where I could see the hills, the valley and the sea. I looked around, and as I saw the unfinished sides of the walls of those tall two, three and four storey houses facing the Tyrrhenian blue, I realized I had never felt so uneasy about a place before. Everything in there spoke to me of the unknown. I could not imagine what people would be doing inside their houses or what the rooms would look like, what people would look like when they went to work in the morning, or in what kind of activities they would be engaged so as to make their living. Maybe it was the anthropologist in me that whispered in my ear "exotic, exotic, stay!" I knew, there and then, that I wanted to find out more about that place. I wanted to stay and live in Telemula.

It took three weeks for me to find a suitable lodging arrangement. On my second trip to the village, Professor Salzman and I were accompanied by a Sardinian friend of his. This Sardinian knew a Telemulese shepherd who would help us arrange a lease for me. I finally moved to Telemula at the beginning of September, and began to live in a room on the third floor of a house owned and inhabited by a single woman only a few years older than me. We had rooms on different floors but shared the kitchen and the bathroom. The bathroom had been built outside the house, on the corner of the third floor balcony, which faced the main *piazza*.

I could hardly speak Italian. I did not know how to keep a garden and had never been around flocks. I felt completely inadequate in all that seemed relevant to my new life. After

putting my things in my room I went down to the kitchen to talk to my new, incomprehensible roommate. The two of us rediscovered sign language, but we did not seem to be able to communicate very much.

After two days, although I had met some people already, I felt so lonely and missed my husband and my friends so much that I just sat down on a chair and cried. She found me crying and asked me what had happened. I said "I miss Igor, my husband." She would tell me later that at that point she felt that I was truly human and she decided to help me out. She began by teaching me how to swear in Italian and Sardinian, then she took me next door, to the house of a shepherding family, and finally she took me to meet the mechanic of the village and asked him to help me buy a car. Thus my fieldwork in Telemula really began.

2. THE TERRITORY

Telemula's territory is 114.98 square kilometres. From the inhabitant's point of view, it encompasses at least three types of settings: *pianura* lands, which are in the Arbatax valley and are mainly the private property of Telemula villagers; the *montagna*, which are the lands Telemula holds communally on the Supramonte plateau; and the *paese* territory, which encompasses the village, the pig and chicken pens that surround it, and the rain-dependent terraces which are used by the locals to grow garden foodstuffs. However, there is a fourth topographic region, which is often included by the locals in the *pianura* category but is not flat at all. This is an area where the main economic activity is goat herding, and is visited during the fall by Telemulesi looking for mushrooms and during the winter by wild boar hunters.

This area is formed by rocky hills touching each other at the bottom, most of them covered by maquis vegetation or no vegetation at all, and others sown with pine trees, on those lands where the regional government has financed reforestation

projects. Some terraced gardens overlook this area. Since there is no encompassing name for it in the local classification of lands, I will call it here the *serra*, the name in Sard for mountain chain.

The *pianura* area is part of the Arbatax valley and the limits of the land plots owned by Telemulesi often touch those of land owners from surrounding villages. On the *pianura* Telemulesi, like their neighbours, keep vineyards [*vigne*], gardens [*orti*], wheat parcels [*grano* in Italian, *trigu* in Sardinian] and citrus orchards [*giardini*]. The area is also used by shepherds and goatherds during the winter, when they take their animals from the mountains down to the plains.[2]

The '*serra*' area is used by the Telemulesi in several ways. Since goats are usually kept on areas of pronounced slopes, there are about seven goatherds that keep their animals in that area during the summer. Telemulesi also use the area during the fall and the winter, when they gather mushrooms, *mirto* [myrtle] and *corbezolo* [arbutus] berries and *ghiande* [acorns]. Although in the past acorns were used in much of Sardinia to make flour for several dishes and for

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[2] According to a Census enumerator, all Telemulesi families have property on the *pianura*, but it is difficult to know which households control what pieces of land. This same enumerator told me that in the municipal records the registered owners of the *pianura* lands are often deceased people who did not write a will in order to divide their property, but instead told their children which pieces of land they would keep after the parents' death. Apparently, the current owners of the parcels prefer their property not to be officially registered as theirs, because they are afraid that they will be made to pay taxes on them. This disagreement between formal and actual ownership, however, often causes problems to the land owners, because in order to apply for any of the EEC programmes one has to demonstrate ownership of the piece of land in question. The 1991 Census enumerator in charge of collecting data on agro-pastoralism somehow antagonized (or was antagonized by) many Telemulesi, and families gave this person false data about their lands, their flocks or about the other economic activities in which they were engaged.

bread (Del Piano 1991a:114), today they are fed to the pigs. It is believed that they improve the taste of pork.

On the *montagna*, which encompasses all territory higher than the village itself (that is, anything higher than 750 metres above sea level), the large Supramonte plateau extends through the territories of several Ogliastra villages and Barbagia towns. This is the most famous geographical area of Sardinia, since it is commonly believed that most kidnappers keep their hostages on this vast plain on top of the Barbagia mountains.[3]

The *paese* area is at three quarters of the way between the Arbatax valley, almost at sea level, and the Supramonte plateau at some 900 metres above sea level. The lowest point inside the village is at 625.5 mt and the highest at 761.2 mt above sea level (Municipal archives 1991). This is why the streets initially struck me as more or less steep ramps leading from one point to another in a polyhedral design. Between some of the houses, on small pieces of land that have been terraced, women and a few old men keep kitchen gardens. Farther away from the inhabited nucleus, there are more terraces on the slope of the mountain that marks the end of the village and forms part of the eastern edge of the Supramonte. While some of these terraces are still in use for the growing of foodstuffs, many of them are abandoned and are used by women who herd from one to five goats [called *manalithe*, or 'village' goats] from which they supply their families with fresh milk.

Not far away from the northern edge of the village's houses, at some five hundred metres, there is a compound of sheds that is mockingly called "*su scieraton 'e sos porcoso*" [the Sheraton of the pigs]. This is so because these are

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[3] I do not have figures on kidnapping in Sardinia during the last two decades. However, during my stay one child and one teenager were kidnapped, and at least the young woman was held on the *Supramonte* by her captors.

about twenty pig sheds, all close to one another on the slope of a hill, almost in a condominium fashion. The pigs in there are kept enclosed and are fed at least once a day by their owners.

Most of Telemula's territory on the Supramonte plateau, around the *paese* and in the *serra* areas belongs to the village as a whole. These lands are used by the Telemulesi under the communal property regime, while most of the lands on the valley are private property. A large portion of communal land was lost during fascism to the *ente ferrarese*, a colonization agency created by Mussolini to modernize agricultural production in the area (see Table 3.1).[4] Apparently the *comune* could not pay its taxes and was forced to relinquish this tract of land. This part of the territory was sown with pine trees under a reforestation program that took place in the 1950s and 1960s, and now has been purchased by the Sardinian administration for the regional land fund. It is used by the Telemulesi to gather edible mushrooms and snails, as well as soil for their house plants.

Type of property	Hectares	%
Private property	1,554.44	13.18
Property of the church	1.83	0.01
Ente Ferrarese	888.78	7.54
Communal lands	9,053.07	77.63
Large landmarks of public interest	193.34	1.64
TOTAL SURFACE	11,498.12	100.00

Table 3.1. Land ownership in Telemula. Source: ERSAT n.d.a

[4] *Ente Ferrarese* was a colonization agency based in Ferrara, a city of Emilia Romagna.

There are four main paved roads connecting Telemula to nearby villages, and many dirt roads crossing its municipal territory. Some of the dirt roads are practically invisible to the foreigner, as they are thin lines on the dust or the *macchia* [maquis]. For the locals, however, they can be either 'main roads' or smaller paths. These paths are taken by the shepherds either by foot or by truck when they conduct their animals from one *ovile* to another, in the summer and in the winter. During the winter of 1991 and the fall of 1992 some of the pathways on the Supramonte were crossed by creeks and thus not open to traffic, as heavy rains beset central Sardinia. However, during most of the year, and especially during the dry summers, the dirt roads are used by Telemulesi going to work or to feast in their own vast municipal territory.

In Telemula the *biddazzone* system of land rotation was abandoned in 1962. Today, shepherds' shelters built from cinder blocks and cement dot the communal territory. Cereal agriculture is not practised on the plateau any more, and only shepherds use those lands productively. On the Supramonte a series of shelters and a large stable were built in the 1980s under a 'pilot project' of the EEC, and they are used on a fist-come first-served basis. Other permanent shelters have been built by individual shepherds, in the same fashion. Today many of these shelters are equipped with solar panels, each set of which can supply power for seven light bulbs and a small refrigerator.

3. THE PEOPLE

In 1991 there were 1202 registered inhabitants in Telemula, according to the officer of the municipal population

archives (83 people more than in 1981. See Table 3.2).[5]

Age	Males	Females	Total
0-4	46	40	86
5-9	53	58	111
10-14	73	56	129
15-19	55	79	134
20-24	58	49	107
25-29	40	39	79
30-34	31	38	69
35-39	29	37	66
40-44	27	38	65
45-49	26	33	59
50-54	31	45	76
55-59	36	36	72
60-64	20	23	43
65-69	30	35	65
70-74	22	26	48
75 and more	28	35	63
TOTAL	605	667	1272

Table 3.2. Telemula's resident population, 1981. Source: ISTAT 1984.

According to ISTAT (1985), 1,157 individuals were present within the municipality at the time of the 1981 Census.

Within the municipal territory of Telemula people live in one main settlement on a slope of the Gennargentu, and in a small hamlet on the Arbatax plains called Sa Cresia 'e su Bradu Mannu.[6] There is electricity and running water in both

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[5] I was unable to obtain the population data collected by the enumerators of the 1991 Census, regarding Telemula and Bardia. In Telemula I was given access to the voters' registry, and in Bardia I was presented with a list of types of occupations and numbers of people employed in each of them. I have cross-checked this list with the 1981 Census data, and the two sources coincide. Therefore, I assume that the information used at the Bardia *comune* (at least the one given to foreign researchers) is from the last published Census, and not from their internal registries. At the *uffici d'abigeato*, however, I was always provided with updated information, as presented in the relative tables in this dissertation.

[6] "Sa Cresia 'e su Bradu Mannu" is a synonym.

inhabited nuclei, and there is a bus service connecting the main settlement with the coast, and with the cities of Nuoro and Lanusei. Many Telemulesi families own one or two small cars which are always chosen as an alternative to walking, even when the points of departure and destination are no more than 100 metres apart.[7]

There are in Telemula one kindergarten, an elementary school and a Junior high school, which are staffed mainly by teachers from other parts of Nuoro province. There is also a walk-in clinic where at least two of the doctors are residents of the village. There are four general stores, four bars (one of which is part of a small hotel, which also runs a restaurant), two *consorzi* (hardware stores), a pharmacy, a Catholic church and a news stand. The main occupations of people, besides the wo/manning of these services, revolve around agro-pastoralism, construction, manufacture and services to the public (See Table 3.3).

The men who registered themselves as *allevatori* [livestock raisers] have goats, sheep or cattle. Only about six or seven of them keep both goats and cattle. Those people who declared themselves as *peasants* do not necessarily grow wheat or barley. One of these people told Ayora-Diaz and me that in the mid sixties, when most men who have remained in Telemula were giving away agriculture and buying themselves sheep or goats, he did not want to become a shepherd. He prefers to grow a garden, an orchard and a vineyard, and not take care of animals at all.

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[7] Most of our friends who had cars would drive them to go to the local bars, even when they lived only a few metres away. They said that it is important to have your car at hand, in case you decide to go somewhere else. One of these people lived only half a block away from the bar that our *crìcca* frequented.

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Primary Sector:			
Livestock risers	55	0	55
Peasants			
Owners	1	1	2
Dependent	4	2	6
Total	**60**	**3**	**63**
Secondary Sector:			
Masons	19	0	19
Bricklayers	1	0	1
Work(wo)men (*operai*)	154	1	155
Total	**174**	**1**	**175**
Tertiary Sector:			
Public service	19	12	31
Other	66	19	85
Professional	3	0	3
Total	**88**	**31**	**111**
Economically Inactive: Retired (on a pension)	138	185	233
Students	88	89	177
Housewives*	0	264	264

*Includes 86 single women, and all the women who work on the fields, either on their own gardens or helping other garden, vineyard, orchard or olive grove owners.

Table 3.3. Occupation in Telemula, according to the inhabitants for the Municipal Voters' Registry. Source: Municipal Voters' Registry. Table by S.I. Ayora-Diaz.

Other men work as masons or bricklayers, and some work seasonally as firefighters or fire rangers within the municipal territory or around tourist resorts.[8] There are

[8] In Sardinia men who want to become *muratori* [masons], as opposed to *manovali* [bricklayers], have to obtain a letter from a construction contractor and take it to a trade union, where they are granted a *qualifica* [certificate]. Several young men of Telemula have been denied this *qualifica* in more than one occasion by the bureaucrats at the trade unions. One of our friends who obtained a *qualifica* that promoted him from firefighter to fire ranger told us that, after having been denied the certificate twice by the Union's employee, the third time he grabbed the employee by the collar and lifted

also two men who work as *fabbri* [blacksmiths], one *saldatore* [welder] who works at the Arbatax complex, and five men who are in *cassa integrazione* from the Arbatax *cartiera* [paper mill]. One man works as a watchman at one of the camping facilities on the coast, another man is a trucker on mainland Italy and comes home on weekends. Several of the men who work in the 'public service' are road maintenance workers employed either by the regional administration or the federal government. The men and women who declared themselves as *operai* include those employed by the Arbatax complex and are either active, as is the case of the welder, or inactive, as is the case of the men in *cassa integrazione*. The *operai* also include women who are employed at sweatshops in the coastal settlements, and people employed either year round or seasonally in *cantieri* [work brigades].[9]

A large number of people in their twenties and early thirties (about 50) work in *cantieri* seasonally. They either work on road maintenance or cleaning the communal territory of Telemula or of neighbouring villages from garbage thrown away by motorists, from rocks on open pathways, and from flammable debris that could start fires in the *macchia* or the forests. There are several young women who work at the supermarkets of the coastal towns as cashiers or cleaning staff, and other young women (all of them under 35) have seasonal jobs at camping facilities, hotels or other tourist resorts and venues. These women sometimes find jobs as clerks in the

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him up to a high window. Our friend told the employee: "You see the pavement down there? That's where you'll end up when I throw you out through this hole [the window] if you do not sign my documents right now." Our friend obtained his *qualifica* this way, although he did not have an *accozzo*.

[9] The voters' registry lists only one of these women, but in fact the number of Telemulesi women employed at the sweatshops of the coast varies from year to year and even from month to month, because the work is very strenuous and the salary is only the minimum wage.

small shops on the coast, but they are often un- or underemployed during several months of the year. They collect unemployment insurance sometimes, if they had a formal contract before, or work informally cleaning houses for cash. None of these women, as far as I know, works for daily wages helping out in agriculture, as some of the older women do.

The *comune* offices are staffed by people who are registered residents of Telemula, although not all of them live in the village. The Mayor is an agronomist who lives in the coastal fraction of Baunei, another Ogliastra settlement. The person in charge of the *ufficio d'abigeato* does not live in the village either. The clerks, the cleaning staff and the municipal secretary, who is appointed by the federal government, all live in the village.

The local branch of the Bank of Sardinia manages the funds of the municipality and is the financial mediator between the Sardinian regional administration and the *comune* offices. It is through this bank that monies from the EEC, the federal government and the Region of Sardinia reach Telemula. Pension-related money, instead, is distributed by the post-office, which in Italy performs many of the functions that in North America are usually associated with Banks. The local branch of the Bank of Sardinia and the post offices are staffed each by one clerk who lives in Telemula and one who comes from another village or town. The people in charge of distributing mail around the village are two women who live in the village.

Many of those registered as 'students' in the voters' registry do not attend school. Some of them have dropped out of school and others have not continued their studies after the *terza media* [Junior Highschool].[10] Those students over

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[10] Since I became a registered resident of Telemula in 1990, I was included in the voters' registry as having a High School education, although I already had two university degrees. When I told them next year that the information was

18 years of age who are attending school either travel everyday to the city of Lanusei and the technical schools along the Tyrrhenian coast, or live most of the year in Nuoro, Cagliari, Sassari, or on mainland Italy.

When Senior High School students go to live in the cities to attend school it is usually because they have older siblings there who want to have some company. Several of our Telemulesi friends attended university in Cagliari, Sassari, or cities of mainland Italy. They are working toward degrees in law, medicine, biochemistry, the humanities, political sciences, anthropology, chemistry and microbiology. From the university student population we know, seven out of twelve come from pastoralist families.[11] The others have mixed backgrounds. They come from small business-owning families, or are the children of men who worked in construction or have

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not accurate they said it was not important. Since the voters' registry has practically no function except during election time, it is not kept up to date, and mistakes are left unchanged. For me it was convenient to be registered as an undergraduate university student, so as not to intimidate or make other people feel uncomfortable, while for them it only mattered that I was an official resident. This experience leads me to believe that records in Sardinia are inaccurate not only because some people intend to commit a fraud, but also because sometimes the information in them is irrelevant for practical purposes.

[11] In Sardinia, shepherding families who declare earnings of less than L.10 million a year have the right to send their children to university paying reduced tuition fees. If shepherds' children have good grades and keep up to date with the minimum number of university exams they have to take and pass each year, they have the right to free accommodation in the university residences. This was often a point of contention between shepherds' children and the children of professionals in Telemula. In several occasions a man who received his degree in law while we were in Telemula accused his friends of living off taxpayers' money by committing fraud.

been in the military.[12]

4. PASTORALISM ON COMMUNAL LANDS

I had come to Sardinia to study shepherding; that is, to meet the shepherds and their families, and learn how they went about making a living out of herding sheep. Although I had already chosen Bardia as one of the sites for my comparative study, I needed to be in another place where no cooperatives existed. Telemula turned out to be the best place for me to become acquainted with shepherds, as well as with goats and sheep.

I had read several ethnographies about Sardinian shepherds before coming to the field. My actual contact with sheep was limited to having seen a few flocks of them in Belize in 1974, from the window of a car, and having seen and actually touched one in a barn in Wisconsin in 1979. Given that in my research proposal I had set myself to study cooperation among sheep herders, I was not prepared at all for my experience of pastoralism in Telemula, where it turned out to be centred mainly around goats (see Tables 3.4 and 3.5).

The first time I was out on the plateau with a shepherd he took me through his daily summer routine, which consisted of feeding two different groups of pigs, getting the sheep together, milking them, coming back to the village, making cheese, having *pranzo* [the afternoon meal], returning to the plateau, coming back to the village, salting the cheese he had made that morning and finally having dinner, all of this between 6:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. After he had explained very carefully to me everything he had done he told me: "now, go and talk to the shepherds who keep other types of animals." At the time I did not even know which types of animals the

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[12] The specific jobs and forms of employment of non-shepherds will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

other shepherds could keep.

Year	Ovine	Caprine	Bovine
1980	3,879	5,457	486
1981	2,760	4,835	518
1982	2,765	5,091	522
1983	2,656	4,307	688
1984	2,842	4,972	773
1985	2,911	3,904	803
1986	3,003	4,811	919
1987	3,316	4,927	1,020
1988	3,296	5,018	983
1989	3,775	6,062	962
1990	3,701	6,430	931
1991	4,097	6,705	1,036

Table 3.4. Livestock kept by the residents of Telemula, 1980-1990, according to the Municipal Livestock Registry. Source: Municipal Livestock Registry, 1991.

Source	Caprine	Ovine	Bovine	Swine
comune archives, 1990	6,430	3,701	931	70
Agro-pastoral census, 1990	0	2,115	338	0

Table 3.5. Animals kept by Telemulesi stock raisers, according to two different sources.

As I soon learned, the 'shepherds' of Telemula keep three main types of animals, usually specializing in one or another type: goats, sheep and cows. Most pastoralists also keep pigs either in pens or out in the open, although the latter practice is illegal. The shepherds' animals, including some of the pigs that they raise, are kept on the Supramonte plateau for most of the year and it is only during the coldest months of the winter that most shepherds take their animals to

the lowlands, either within Telemula's territory or elsewhere in central, southern or western Sardinia.

a. The end of the *biddazzone*

In Telemula pastoralism involves keeping the flocks of sheep or goats on the Supramonte plain during the summer and taking them to a lower, warmer area during the winter. These movements of flocks are necessary because of the harsh temperatures that the winter brings to the Supramonte. The village, which is closer to the plateau than to the valleys, is the place where the shepherd's family lives, although in many cases the shepherds themselves do not come home for three or more days in a row. Up until 1963 there used to be a system of land rotation known as *biddazzone*, which prevailed in many villages of Sardinia since the Middle Ages. By this system, the communal territory was divided into four areas, two of them on the Supramonte and two of them in the *pianura*, that is, in the valley. One of the areas of the Supramonte and one of the valley would be used for the cultivation of wheat and garden crops one year, and the next year those areas would be left fallow while the other two were under cultivation.

Through the *biddazzone* pastoralism and agriculture were interdependent: the animals would service the agricultural fields after the harvest with their manure and by grazing on the stubble. Cereal agriculture took place not only in the valley, as it is the case today, but also on the Supramonte. The shepherds who kept their animals on the plateau during the Spring and the Summer would either take them to the valley lands that belonged to Telemula, or have to emigrate along with their animals from the communal territory, to the *Campidano* plains of southern and eastern Sardinia, or to the lower plateaus of the Baronia and the lower Barbagia subregions. In any case, it was not allowed for shepherds to keep their animals on the plateau, and each year the *comune*

would set a date for all the shepherds to abandon the Supramonte.[13]

Shepherds were allowed to pasture their flocks on the fallow areas each year, so that the animals would help regenerate the soil with their manure and at the same time would feed on nutritious grass and stubble. In this way shepherds could keep their flocks on the Supramonte during the summer and then they would take their animals to the valley during the winter. However, it has never been the case, at least in living memory, that all Telemulesi shepherds had access to lands in the valley area that belongs to Telemula. Therefore, many shepherds took, and some still continue to take their sheep, goats, cattle and pigs on long trips, either by foot or by motorized transportation, to different pastures. The animals stay in the lower areas, at least during the coldest months of the year, between November and April or the beginning of May when most of the Supramonte is covered by snow. Telemulesi shepherds have always followed the pattern known as "inverse transhumance" (Braudel 1972:85-7) because their village is in the highlands, instead of in the lowlands, and they keep their animals on the mountains for most of the year.

Since the mid 1800s the movement for the privatization of land promoted by the House of Savoy began to affect central Sardinia, including Telemula and Bardia. According to Bodemann (1979), after the *Legge delle chiudende* the councillors of the municipality of Telemula decided to divide some of the most fertile lands in the valley among all the families of the village. Through time, large tracts of land were accumulated by the Church, but they were then inherited by a Telemulese family after the death of a Lanusei Bishop who

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[13] This system, including the annual designation of a particular date for all shepherds to abandon the highlands, was common to much of central Sardinia (Del Piano 1991a).

had relatives in the village.[14]

Through inheritance and land purchases the Sanna family [Bodemann's synonym] accumulated large extensions of land and were in a position to exert what Silverman (1965) has characterized as the old form of Italian patron-client relations: they were the intermediaries through which people in the village related to the larger regional context. Because of the new possibilities for land enclosure, already at the beginning of the century the *biddazzone* system was being distorted by the new form of private land tenure. The parts of the valley that were designated for the cultivation of wheat, barley and garden crops did not include those areas that had been privatized, and some people preferred to enter private contracts with the Sannas over using the communal territories for the growing of cereals and garden crops.[15]

In 1963, the *biddazzone* system was abandoned for two main reasons. First, the new inflow of money from pensions and jobs outside agro-pastoralism made it possible for people to buy American grain in the regional market at a fraction of the price it cost for them to produce it. Second, many young people had left the village, looking for work in other parts

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[14] For a detailed account of land property dynamics in Telemula during the second part of the 1800s to the 1970s see Bodemann 1979.

[15] Apparently the initial reaction of Telemulesi when they became land owners was one of puzzlement, and the lands continued to be managed in a communal fashion still for some years after they had been privatized. A Telemulese told us the following story, regarding the privatization of land: a few years after the original distribution of private plots by the *comune*, a man was offered what he thought was a lot of money for 'his' land by someone from a neighbouring community. He was intrigued by the proposition and decided to grab what he saw as an incredible deal. As he put it to his friends in Telemula, "*io gliela vendo; mica si la porta via!* [Of course I'll sell it to him. There is no way he can carry it away!]." He later watched in wonderment and anger how the new owner built a wall around it.

of Sardinia and of Europe. The discontinuation of the *biddazzone* opened all of the communal territory to pastoralism. Those young men who had been peasants and decided to stay instead of emigrating, either went into construction work or bought themselves flocks of sheep or goats and became shepherds.

According to the older shepherds, in that year the *comune* administration organized the annual partition of the territory into cereal and animal herding areas, as in previous years. The *comune* officials also designated the lots were people were expected to grow gardens, but almost nobody came. Some of the peasants who did show up were those who had a *carro a buoi* [a yoke of oxen], because it was then, at the annual designation of productive areas, that the use of the oxen was negotiated between the owner and the other agriculturalists.

One of the shepherds who used to have a yoke of oxen told Ayora-Diaz and me that when people did not come he understood that he would have to start doing something else, so he bought himself a flock of sheep and became a shepherd. Ever since, shepherds have been free to use all of the communal lands on the Supramonte, the hills surrounding the village and the *serra* area of the communal territory for the pasturing of their flocks.

b. Pastoral production

Andrea, a male head of household who has sheep, migrates each year during the winter from the plateau to the *pianura* part of the Telemula territory, in the valley of Arbatax. In the past he used to take his animals as far away as Paulilatino, in western Sardinia, and the Campidano di Cagliari area. Some shepherds keep their animals (especially goats) close to the *paese* or in the *serra* area most of the year and they only migrate to the highlands during the hottest months. Stefano and Nicola, two brothers who are goatherds and have their winter ovile within the *paese*, practice this

shorter form of transhumance since they move their animals to a higher area during the summer months, while Luigi and his son Tittino, who also have goats, take their animals to the highlands during the summer and then to the Arbatax valley or to Baronia during the winter. I have participated in both types of transhumance (a longer one between the valley and the plateau or between the plateau and another municipality, and a shorter one between the *paese* area and the plateau). Each time, the difference in temperature between the lower and the higher lands was evident.

The ways in which the flocks are tended and the movements to which they are subjected by the shepherds are in part determined by what the shepherds think are intrinsic characteristics of the animals. Animals are said to 'like' certain things and temperatures, and the way in which Telemula shepherds conduct their flocks is always influenced by these perceived preferences of their livestock.

According to them, sheep are stupid and goats are smart.[16] Sheep should be milked twice a day according to the older shepherds, and goats should be milked only once.[17] The animals have to be moved according to the seasons because they cannot tolerate extreme cold or extreme heat. The animals are 'happy' if they are well treated and they are 'unhappy' if the shepherd does not treat them well. Cattle are said to have a natural way to predict the changes of atmospheric temperature. Pigs are not thought to be very smart. Sheep and goats are given individual names once they start to be milked, while

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[16] In Bardia shepherds do not believe that sheep are stupid, or that goats are smarter than sheep.

[17] The younger generations of shepherds are critically evaluating the received wisdom that sheep should be milked twice a day. They say that the milk yield from one sheep is more or less the same whether it is milked once or twice a day. The older shepherds see this as just one more proof of the general laziness of the younger generations.

cattle, pigs, horses and dogs are not named.

Each animal is believed to have particular attributes, and are often given the names of people whom the animals are thought to resemble. Other names underline a special characteristic of the individual animal. For example, a ewe in one of the herds is called Lumaca (snail) because the shepherd thinks she is very slow at everything.

While sheep always stay together in flocks, goats tend to separate themselves into 'families' when grazing. The 'families' are groups of goats that come from the same mother, and each has a leader. Family leaders have bells hanging from their necks, so that the shepherds can identify them from far away when they look for their animals in the morning. Sheep, on the other hand, have no real leaders, but several of them are given bells. The shepherds say that once they are used to the sound of the bells, the animals get nervous if they do not hear them any more.

Another important factor in determining the way in which pastoral production is conducted in Telemula is the fact that the work of milking has to be made manually, since no Telemulesi shepherd owns an electric milker. To milk an animal the shepherd mounts it and bends over it so as to hold down the animal's tail with his chin.[18] Then takes the udder putting his hand under it and pushes the milk gently with the palm of his hand to the nipples he will be squeezing. After this, as he squeezes two nipples alternatively, each with one hand, using his thumb and his index fingers, he continues to push the milk forward with his other fingers. Physically, milking is a very demanding operation, and shepherds often develop physical problems of the joints and the wrists which

[18] Shepherds hold the animal's tail down so that it does not defecate on the milk pan.

usually manifest themselves during middle age.[19]

A third factor influencing herding practices is the poverty of the range lands on which the animals graze. Telemulesi shepherds say that it would not be wise to keep a very large flock, even if one owned an electric milker, if the animals were to continue grazing on the communal lands. As things stand today, the lands on the Supramonte do not hold much nourishing potential for the shepherds' animals. The younger generations of shepherds, those under 45 years of age, sometimes supplement the diet of their animals with fodder. Other shepherds, especially in the older generations, prefer to accompany their flocks during most of the day and make sure that the animals graze on the best grass available.

The shepherd who keeps his animals on communal pastures has to pay attention to changes in temperature, grass growth and water courses during all seasons, and at the same time follow what he perceives as the animals' wishes and needs. Taking all this information into consideration he will make decisions to ensure the well-being of his flock. For example, extra animal feed has to be purchased during the winter because even in the lower altitudes the grass does not grow well enough when it is cold. Also, animals which give birth extemporaneously (that is, after the winter) have to be given diet supplements in the form of maize and other grains. This is done so that they have enough milk to feed their litters, and then continue producing milk when the shepherd has weaned the lambs or kids.

The main capital of a shepherd is his flock. In Telemula there are no shepherds whose animals are looked after by hired

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[19] Many middle-age and older shepherds take a ten day vacation each year to go to a health spa during the summer or the fall. There they take mud baths and perform different bathing cures. They say that this is their way "to prepare themselves for the winter," and that if they miss it one year they will ache more than other years. The health spa program is covered by the national health care system.

herders. In the past, the pastoralists have told us, a shepherd would learn the *mestiere* [the job] by either taking care of the animals of his father or brothers or working for someone else as a *theraco* [*servo pastore* in Italian], a shepherd's assistant. According to the oldest shepherds in Telemula, *theracoso* [plural of *theraco*] used to be better paid in Barbagia than in Ogliastra, and several of the shepherds we came to know had worked as *theracoso* in Bardia and Orgosolo when they were young. The payment was always made in animals, at the end of the year, and while in Telemula before the 1960s *theracoso* were paid with only a few animals (between 5 and 7 for looking after flocks of the same size as elsewhere in central Sardinia), in Orgosolo and Bardia they were paid with 20 sheep a year, plus the products from those animals, for taking care of flocks of 200 or 250 sheep. If the flocks were larger, the payment was raised according to the number of animals in excess of the 'normal' flock size.

Shepherds prefer to team up with other shepherds, sharing one *ovile*. Today a common complaint from the oldest shepherds is that there are not many shepherds any more, and that those who have cars do not like to stay in the *ovile* for more than a few hours a day. Older shepherds, including those who have cars, now have to be alone for long periods of time because they stay with their sheep or goats overnight most days of the week.[20]

The cycles of pastoralist production in central Sardinia fall into two large periods marked by the movement of flocks from the higher to the lower altitudes and back, or vice versa. The downward movement takes place in November, and the upward one in May. Nowadays most Telemulesi shepherds move their herds only within the Telemula territory or to the

[20] Even if there were the same number of shepherds, today they are spread out through the communal territory on the supramonte, while before they were circumscribed each year to only one area of the plateau.

Arbatax valley, but a few continue to take their flocks to Bardia, Irigoli and the two *Campidano* regions (Ayora-Diaz and Vargas-Cetina 1991). There are several other movements that some shepherds do with their flocks, which old shepherds told us were more important in the past, when agriculture and pastoralism were mutually interdependent. Still now, some pastoralists (both sheep- and goatherds) take their flocks to the plains in mid July for two weeks, a period which is called *s'astule* and coincides with the immediate period after the wheat harvest. The animals are brought down to the plains so that they can feed on the stubble, and service the fields with their manure at the same time. Also, the animals are brought into the vineyards at the end of September and the beginning of October, after the grape harvest, for them to finish cleaning the vines.

The shepherd's work day usually starts at 6:00 a.m. during the summer, or at 5:00 a.m. during the winter. The shepherds have to find their animals on the communal territories, and to do so they listen to the sounds of the bells that hang from several 'leaders' of the flock. While sheep tend to stay together or at most break into two groups, goats tend to spread themselves around in 'families', or groups of goats that were born from the same ewe. After finding his animals, the shepherd herds them into a *recinto*, an enclosure where he milks by hand the animals that gave birth during the previous five (or sometimes even six) months. The *recinto* for sheep is a long rectangular space usually bounded by several poles supporting strands of wire or chicken wire. At one of the ends the shepherd places a mobile gate, which allows him to keep the animals to be milked all the way back in the *recinto* and thus gives him a better control of the sheep. The *recinto* for goats, instead, is usually a round or rectangular structure made out of rocks and wooden poles, with several adjacent partitions. The partitions are used to keep young kids and their mothers for up to three months after the

littering season. The goatherds say that the kids should be kept in the *recinto* until they are fully able to coordinate their movements and are strong enough to climb. Otherwise the kids would follow their mothers up rocky slopes and could hurt themselves or be killed if they fell to the ground below. In the *recinti* goatherds call each animal by name and then milk it by hand, in the fashion already described.

After the animals have been milked, some shepherds, especially among the young and self-defined 'modern' ones, give fodder to their flock. Afterwards the shepherd walks with the flock for one or two hundreds of metres, if he is from the 'modern' crowd, or takes the animals to specific grazing areas through the day, if he belongs to the self-defined 'traditional' group. In any case, the shepherd has to show the animals the beginning of their *giro*, the daily route around which they walk and graze on the communal territory.

After setting their animals on their *giro*, the 'modern' shepherds and goatherds take the milk containers with the yields of that morning to a truck of the cooperative plant, adequately equipped with refrigerated chambers where the milk is transported to the dairy plant. They leave their animals for the rest of the morning and then come back to the *ovile* in the late afternoon, around the 16:00 hours. Then the shepherds milk their animals again, while the goatherds are out to make sure that everything is okay with their flocks and that no animals are missing or in danger. Some shepherds stop milking their animals completely during the summer. Others plan it for them to litter at different times so that the ewes will have milk most of the year, if not year round.[21]

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[21] This option, however, is relatively risky because the lambs or kids may not be physically ready to undergo the transhumance in the summer. There is the danger that, if the shepherd does not own or hire a truck to transport the youngest animals, some of them could die from exhaustion after the transhumance.

The main differences between the self-styled 'modern' Telemulesi shepherds and the 'traditional' ones are the use of fodder and the making of cheese. While the 'traditional' shepherds make their own cheese at the *ovile*, the 'modern' pastoralists give their milk yields to a cooperative dairy, or to a privately-owned one. Often it is the dairy plant, especially if it is a cooperative, the one which provides the shepherds with fodder for their animals. In central Sardinia, cooperative dairies generally sell fodder at subsidized prices.

That group of shepherds who want to adopt what they consider 'modern' practices follow what the veterinarians, ERSAT technicians and other representatives of government offices tell them are modern ways of shepherding, and what the shepherds of Bardia do. They all prefer to give their milk production daily to a cooperative, over privately-owned dairies, and they have joined the Bardia cooperative first, from 1990 to 1991, and then the Orune cooperative in 1992. They buy animal feed from the cooperatives or the private *consorzi* [hardware stores] not only to feed particular animals, as the older shepherds do, but for the whole flock. Also, a few shepherds who do not belong to the milk cooperatives give milk to private dairy plants some years, although in other years they make the cheese themselves.

Those shepherds who do not belong to the cooperatives or give milk to private dairy plants make their own cheese by hand. They make cheese in the *ovili* and then take it home to their wives (or sisters if they are not married), who then take care of the aging and sales of cheese wheels.

It takes approximately 10 to 11 litres of milk to make one kilogram of cheese during the winter. During the summer, sheep and goat's milk is fattier, and a kilogram of cheese can be made with as little as eight litres of milk. In Telemula cheese and ricotta are sold locally by the shepherds who do not belong to milk cooperatives, and also some cheese is sold

to the general stores and supermarkets of the Arbatax plains area. The general price for manually made cheese in Telemula is L.12,000 a kilogram (about Can$12.00 in 1991).

The current procedure for making cheese was introduced in Sardinia in the 1890s and the beginning of the 1900s. At that time, *pecorino romano* was a product much in demand in continental Italy and abroad, and some Italian entrepreneurs from the mainland set up either dairy plants or points of trade where the shepherds brought their products. Given that, already at the beginning of the century, these entrepreneurs and the sanitary authorities were interested in 'modernizing' the shepherds' production practices, groups of itinerant instructors taught the Sardinian shepherds how to make *pecorino Romano* cheese and *ricotta*, and sold them the necessary implements at low prices, including a thermometer, liquid rennet, cheese and ricotta casts, and copper-coated cauldrons (Tore 1991:105).

To make cheese manually shepherds use a gas burner that they put on the floor of their *ovile*, to heat the copper-coated cauldron containing about 20 litres of milk. They first heat up the milk to 38 degrees Celsius, turning the burner's flame off when the thermometer reads this temperature, and then they stir liquid rennet into the milk. After this they cover the cauldron for 20 minutes and leave the milk to curdle.

When twenty minutes have passed, the shepherd puts his hands inside the cauldron and gathers the milk curd laying at the bottom, modelling it into two cylinders, which are then put into perforated containers for the curd to take the right shape of cheese wheels. Once the curds are in the containers they have to be pressed, which is done by putting one on top of the other, and then they have to be punctured with a crochet needle, so that they lose the water still remaining inside of them. The curds are then taken out of the casts and turned around, from the bottom up, and then the pressing and

puncturing operations are repeated.

When the shepherds consider that most of the water has been drained off the curds they leave them to dry for a few hours and then they either put salt around the curds or they submerge them into salt water several times. After this they put them on a shelf of the *ovile*, where the curds can catch smoke from the chimney or another source of fire. On the shelf the cheeses are left to age so that they turn first into fresh, white cheese, and then into *pecorino romano* wheels.

After two or three days, or the next time the shepherd goes home to the village (they all go to the village on Sunday, if not before), the shepherd takes the wheels of cheese that he has accumulated in his *ovile* to his wife. She will be in charge of taking care of them from there on by turning them around every day and coating them with olive oil, until they are finally sold or cut to be eaten.

Three other products that are made from sheep's and goat's milk are ricotta, *casevita*, and *casada*. Ricotta is the main byproduct of cheese in Telemula and most of central Sardinia in general. It is obtained after the milk has been first coagulated and then reheated to make *pecorino* cheese. To make ricotta the shepherds reheat the whey once more and pick up the remaining fat by using a sieve to pick up the cream that is left in the whey. *Casevita* is made at the end of the milking season, by coagulating the entire fat contents of the milk with rennet without heating the milk again. This dairy product is left to dehydrate so that it becomes hard, and then is put in salt water to preserve it from rotting. When it becomes very salty it is called *su fishidu* and it is used to thicken soups and pasta dishes.

Casada is a cream made from colostrum, the first milk the animals give after having dropped a litter. The colostrum is heated on the stove until it thickens and forms a cream very similar to yogurt. In Telemula shepherds who do not belong to the cooperative make cheese and ricotta during most of the

year, and *casevita* and *fishidu* during the summer, and most women from pastoralist families make *casada* at home at the end of the fall and beginning of the winter.

I never had occasion to see anyone making *casada* from cow's milk in Telemula. In this village cows are not milked. They are raised for their meat, and also because there is an EEC program that subsidises keeping of cattle which are indigenous to the Supramonte. To North Americans these cows may appear half-starved, but Telemulesi and other Ogliastrans say that these animals' meat has an excellent flavour, better than the meat from fatter cattle grown in other parts of the island and Italy in general.

A regular flock of 120 to 150 animals has to be regenerated each year or every two years. In a year when they are regenerating the flock, the shepherds keep as many kids or lambs would be necessary to eliminate a third of the old flock. Not all the kids or lambs will survive, and the adult animals that will be sold or butchered may be less than a third of the pre-littering season flock, or more if the shepherd decides that he still wants to rejuvenate the entire flock. According to the shepherds, after five years of age the ewes begin to reduce their milk productivity, and as they become less valuable as milk givers it is sensible to butcher them for family banquets or to sell them to the local butcher while their meat can still be considered good.

Veterinary care to the animals is usually provided by a resident veterinarian, who is paid by the national health care system. The veterinarian is also in charge of supervising that the meat the shepherds sell to the local or other butchers is in good condition and safe to be consumed by humans. The cost of the drugs needed for treating the animals, as well as the cost of vaccines, however, have to be borne by the shepherds.

While in the past women used to weave *bisaccie* from goat's hair, today goats are not sheared and the wool of sheep

has no market value. In the past Telemulesi women used the wool to weave carpets, but today most weaving in Telemula makes used of old clothes and rags which are cut into long strips to make colourful mats. Sardinian wool, however, is considered of very low quality in comparison to the wool from Canada, Australia and Argentina, which are sold in the Sardinian markets. In Telemula most wool is thrown away, except for a few coats which are kept by older women to stuff mattresses, and others that are sold to a group of weavers from another village, at a token price (about Can $.25 per coat).

c. The *Azienda Speciale*

Unlike what happened in other communities of Nuoro province (such as Bardia), in Telemula the 1976 law of agro-pastoral reform did not lead to a comprehensive programme of land improvement grants or promotion of cooperatives. The agency for agro-pastoral reform (first ETFAS and later ERSAT) included Telemula in a programme of *Aziende Speciali* [Special holdings]. In spite of the demise of the *biddazzone* system and the new legal regulations regarding the agro-pastoral reform, the *Azienda Speciale* programme legally consolidated the existing system of communal land tenure in most Ogliastra communities, and in parts of the Barbagia (ERSAT n.d, 1989). As a result, since (according to the 1976 agro-pastoral reform law) the prerequisites for land improvement are either the private ownership of land holdings, or the administration of communal lands through a cooperative association, Telemula has been excluded from most programmes for land improvement.

According to the current Mayor of Telemula, in 1979 the municipal council officially accepted the municipality's classification as an *Azienda Speciale*, in order to benefit from reforestation schemes and other prerogatives that such status could bring to the community. The consolidation of the territory into an *Azienda Speciale* was justified by ERSAT as

follows:

> While waiting for the shepherds and stock raisers to show a better propensity to associated forms of [land and resource] management, the municipal council, reassured in its choice by the interested parties [i.e., the shepherds], has decided to give the communal territory a different status. [This has been done by] enacting, within a larger general framework, all interventions for resource improvement that, as foreseen by the "programma straordinario," will respect the local customs." (ERSAT n.d.:2, translation G.V.C.).[22]

The *Azienda Speciale* was conceived of as an autonomous body within the municipal administration, with its own headquarters, budget and personnel. According to the original programme, drafted around 1986, between five and ten people were going to be employed full-time in the administration and supervision of the *Azienda Speciale* and its territory, including administrative personnel, a typist and four rangers (ERSAT n.d.,a). A budget of L.95,092,385,864.00 (about Can$95 million) was going to be spent on pasture improvements, roads, electrification of the communal territory, *ovili*, aqueducts, warehouses, stables and reforestation in 16 different stages [*lotti*] of three years each, during 48 years (ERSAT n.d.,a). The project was going to be carried in a top-down manner and ERSAT personnel, instead of the shepherds themselves, were to decide which tracts of land should be destined to specific uses.

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[22] I have been given a completely different explanation from the one ERSAT officials provided. An official from the *Lega delle Cooperative* told me that the *Aziende Speciale* are the creation of ERSAT because the Christian Democratic party wanted to keep control of the Ogliastra and Barbagia communities involved. According to this person, the *Lega* was beginning to be successful in organizing cooperatives in Ogliastra communities but it had to withdraw from the area for political reasons. I have no way of knowing whose explanation is more accurate.

The budget for the *Azienda Speciale* programme for Telemula has not been approved yet, and little if any profit has come to the shepherds (or to other Telemulesi) from it, while many problems have ensued from the official designation of Telemula's communal territory a legally indivisible unit. The *Azienda Speciale* is theoretically going to be financed entirely by the regional government, for the benefit of all Telemulesi. As a result, individuals or groups have been unable to obtain permission to carry out improvements which could exclude other individuals or groups from tracts of the communal lands.

In short, while the *Azienda Speciale* status of most of the communal territory effectively prevents the shepherds from accessing regional funds for land improvement, none of the promised benefits has materialized. Furthermore, many of the objectives of the *Azienda Speciale* programme have been already carried out by other institutions or have been cancelled by subsequent intervention from other areas of the Sardinian or the Italian administration. For example, before the 1960s there were no perennial shelters built on the Supramonte for the shepherds or their animals. In 1983 and 1984 the EEC sponsored a pilot programme on the Ogliastra Supramonte, and Telemula benefited from this initiative.

Besides several *ovili*, three large animal shelters and eight small ones were built, and a road of access to the Supramonte was paved with funds assigned by the EEC to the "Ogliastra Experimental Mediterranean Programme." Also, many of the areas designated in the *Azienda Speciale* plans for Telemula as sites for the construction of *ovili* and stables (including some of the infrastructure works carried out through the EEC's pilot project) have now been claimed by the Regional land fund for a region-wide reforestation programme. This new programme encompasses several communal territories of Ogliastra and Barbagia, and foresees the creation of forests within the area of the future Gennargentu Park.

It is possible that ETFAS (and later ERSAT), noting how small was the extension of lands susceptible to improvement for agro-pastoral use (see Table 3.6), promoted the *Azienda Speciale* scheme in Telemula. Perhaps this type of programme was seen as a way of optimizing (or at least guaranteeing general access to) the available land and water resources. In any case the *Azienda Speciale* status has effectively prevented the organized management of the communal territory. The municipality does not have the resources (human or technical) to enforce or supervise the management of the commons.

While through the first half of the 1980s the municipality charged the shepherds L.3,000 per each ovine or caprine head of stock, and L.6,000 per each bovine, since 1987 and until the time of our departure from the island, in June of 1992, the municipality had stopped receiving these payments. Apparently, the municipality personnel told the shepherds that they did not have anyone who could be in charge of collecting the money and they would not accept it any more.

Contrary to what Olson's (1965) and Hardin's (1968) propositions would suggest, Telemulesi shepherds are very uncomfortable with the fact that they have stopped paying the municipality for their use of communal pastures. They all hope that sooner or later the municipal council will ask for the accumulated payments. They give two main reasons why they should all continue to pay the *comune*. First, because if they did not pay anything they could not legitimately ask the municipal council to upgrade pastures and roads. Second, because by not keeping an adequate record of who had paid in any particular year, the municipal offices have lost control over who would be allowed to keep animals on the communal territory and the pastures are increasingly degraded.

Quality	Surface*	
	Ha	%
1	5,379	58.90
2	2,293	25.15
3	1,257	13.76
4	174	1.90
5	25	0.28
6	5	0.05
Total	9,133	100.00

* Includes water courses, which on Table 3.1. are part of the "Large landmarks of public interest."

Quality 1. Soils that cannot be improved.
2. Soils where improvement is not recommended, but can be used as natural pastures.
3. Soils that could be improved, but can only be used for pasture.
4. Soils that could be improved and used as irrigated pastures.
5. Soils that could be irrigated for pasture and some types of fodder crops.
6. Soils that can be cultivated but with many limitations.

Table 3.6. Surface of soil by quality in the communal territory of Telemula, from ERSAT n.d.a:49-50.

The shepherds are upset that people who make their living other than by livestock herding have animals on the Supramonte, under no supervision, only in order to collect EEC *contributi* (cash supports to agro-pastoral activity). Their discontent is aggravated by the fact that some of these people are prominent professional and political figures of the village, who are not connected at all to shepherding or other land-related activities, and have no particular interest in the upgrading or conservation of the communal lands.

While most shepherds train their animals to follow a constant pattern during grazing, the animals of the non-shepherds roam freely at large. Since the lands are communal and everyone has the right to use them, since there is not way

to exclude anyone from keeping animals on the communal territory, and since the fact that currently the shepherds are not paying for the right to graze their animals there, there are no mechanism for the exclusion of the animals belonging to non-shepherds from the communal lands under the prevailing legislation and *Azienda Speciale* provisions. As a result, the pastoralists are not able to claim exclusive rights of use not even to the territory on which their animals graze. Thus, they discourage from undertaking any pasture improvements on their own, because of possible predation not by other pastoralists but especially by the animals of non-shepherds. One of the shepherds told us:

> It is not right that we don't pay. We should pay. This way we cannot say anything if they don't do anything [on the Supramonte]. Also, one like for example [name], he keeps, that is, he can keep his horses up here. Like [*diciamo*] horses and a few cows. *E chi può dirlo niente* [And who is going to tell him off]?

As things stand, the livestock herders of Telemula work under conditions of over-exploitation of the natural resources, in a "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968) which is not of their own making. This is so because the shepherds are not allowed to enclose lands under lease or private property (which would make them eligible for land improvement and equipment grants from the EEC) or to limit and regulate the use of communal pastures.[23] In any case, as Ayora-Diaz

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[23] A growing body of literature on the "tragedy of the commons" shows that for over-exploitation of the environment to be avoided, it is necessary to restrict rights of access to land, water or other productive resources so that the possibilities of 'free riding', that is, of people using resources without contributing to the cost of the resource's enhancement or maintenance, can be limited or avoided (Olson 1965, Ostrom 1988, 1989, Wade 1988, Acheson 1989). In Telemula the problem of free-riding is related to the impossibility to create access- restrictions to the communal territory. As we will see in Part II, the shepherds have tried to close an area of the communal lands to form a grazing

(1993:163) points out, Telemulesi shepherds try to take care of their animals as best as they can, and the younger generations of shepherds adopt as much technology as possible looking for ways to maximize their earnings and minimize physical effort.

As of 1990 there is a programme sponsored by the national government and the regional administration for the subsidised sale of solar panels to those shepherds who are willing to acquire them. The total cost of the solar panel system is of 14 million Lire, but the shepherds only have to pay one million (about Can $1,000.00) to own them. This equipment provides an *ovile* with eight light sockets plus either a little refrigerator, about one metre high and sixty centimetres wide, or a colour television. In all the instances we know of, the shepherds opted for the refrigerator.

Since the 1960s the *ovili* have become increasingly comfortable, because the old *barracasa* [cappane in Italian, huts made out of pieces of wood and sometimes hay that were the shepherds' shelters before] have been replaced with single or double room structures made out of cinder blocks, and instead of sleeping on the floor now the shepherds can sleep on mattresses supported by stretchers. The new solar panels have provided electric power to the shepherds' shelters. Nevertheless, those shepherds who stay with their animals most of the week live in relatively poor conditions, compared to the population of the village.

In the village the shepherd's house is fully furnished. During most of the week, the house is occupied and looked after by the shepherd's wife or sister, who is in charge of managing it, and the single children of the couple, if the shepherd is married. The organization and activities of

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cooperative, but this initiative found no support from the communal administration, or from other people in Telemula.

shepherding families are the subject of the following section.

5. THE PASTORALIST HOUSEHOLD

In central Sardinia marriages are monogamous. Residence is usually neolocal within the confines of the village, or patrilocal if two or more brothers chose to build each an apartment for their families over their parents' house.[24] In Telemula, as in other parts of central Sardinia, it is a common arrangement that the elderly parents occupy an apartment on the first floor and one or two sons occupy apartments built over the parents' one.

Schweizer (1988) points out that in the area of Ghilarza pastoralist families are more self-reliant regarding foodstuffs than other types of families. In Telemula some shepherding families are also more independent from the market than other families, but this does not include the younger couples. Young women of a whole generation (approximately between 20 and 30 years of age), value the status of housewives as much as the women from Fonni valued the *mere'e omu* status in the recent past (Murru Corriga 1990b).[25]

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[24] For detailed case-studies of the family in other parts of Sardinia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see Meloni 1982, Murru-Corriga 1990a, Oppo 1990a and Da Re 1990. Also, the collection edited by Oppo (1990b) offers a wide variety of historical examples. The premises on which this dissertation is based are diametrically opposed to Meloni's (1990) depiction of the nuclear family of central Sardinia as 'familistic', since, as I show in Part II, cooperation between families is an everyday phenomenon.

[25] Most of the women who do not work in gardens may have access to them through their parents or affines, or through any property their husbands may have. These women are regularly supplied with vegetables by their mothers and fathers, as well as by friends of the family. Da Re (1990) points out that this is a phenomenon general to much of Sardinia, and that when women discover that their husbands' earnings do not allow for a comfortable standard of living, women often go back to the garden, in order to cut down their food expenses. It is possible that if they came to have plots

Younger women, however, are more willing to follow the example of their grandmothers and mothers and do not shy away from labour on the land. They help their parents during the clearing of plots and the harvest, and many of them find seasonal employment in reforestation projects.

Telemulesi nuclear families combine work on the land and with the flocks with as many other types of work and sources of income as possible. This includes retirement and other types of pensions, as well as informal economic activities. The following examples will give an idea about how Telemulesi households function and take advantage of different possibilities open to them in the form of employment or other cash sources. These examples also show the extent of the fragmentation of the Telemulesi society, in that people tend to rely more on informal contacts and reciprocity networks than on the official institutions of the State, the Church, or other institutional organizations pertaining to the 'formal' economy.

Family 1. Andrea, at 70, is the oldest shepherd in Telemula. He is married to Maria, who is 64 years old. They have three children: Angelo, a student at the University of Cagliari, and Nino and Tannuccia, who are University students in Rome. Andrea's family has a car, but he never learned to drive and has now passed the age when he can obtain a drivers' license. Angelo keeps the car with him, but when he is in Telemula he has to drive his father and mother around, so that they can perform their daily activities.

Andrea has 70 sheep, after having sold half his flock 3 years ago, when he began considering retirement. However, as of January of 1993 he still worked full-time as a shepherd.

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of their own, and were unable to meet their regular expenses, Telemulesi women from this particular generation also would go back to the gardens.

He stays with his animals most of the week. during the summer he comes home twice a week or more because a bus connects the main settlement of Telemula with the Arbatax valleys, where he keeps his sheep during the hot months of the year. During the week he comes home at least once during the weekend, by foot, or more often if he can catch a ride with another shepherd, since there is no bus service between the Telemula settlement and the Supramonte. He then goes back to his flock next morning on foot or, again, riding with one or another shepherd from the ones who drive to the Supramonte during the winter. Or else, during the summer he rides the 4:00 a.m. bus going to the coast, and stays down with his flock at the *pianura* of Telemula, seeing Maria when she comes to work on the vineyard or the *orto* [vegetable garden].

Maria is in charge of tending the family's vineyard, and a vegetable garden, both of which are on the *pianura*. Within the village she keeps one or two pigs in a shed on a terrace above the family's house, and a small garden near the pig's shed. She also bakes *pistoccu* (flat bread) and sweets for her own family at least once every two months. The family can count on a steady supply of bread, milk, cheese, meat, vegetables and even fruit during the year, because of Andrea and Maria's activity.

Maria not only tends and harvests her plants. She also bottles tomato juice, grapes in syrup and flavoured *acqua vite*, and preserves olives and vegetables either in oil or pickled. Maria and Andrea manage to supply their children with wine, greens, dairy products and meat with some regularity. There are a few Telemulesi workers and clerks who work in Cagliari and Rome and travel between those cities and Telemula at least once a month. There are also several students from the village who attend university in Cagliari, and a few others who attend different schools in Rome. When someone from the village travels to either Rome or Cagliari Maria sends her and Andrea's children money, produce and other

foodstuffs, as well as bread that she bakes especially for them. When their children come home Andrea and Maria give them home-grown foodstuffs to take back to the city. In this way, the whole family benefits from the work of the parents with the animals and in the fields.

There are at least three different pensions coming to Andrea and Maria's house through the year: a veterans' pension for Andrea, who served in the army during the Second World War, and retirement pensions for both spouses. Because he thinks that he could be taxed heavily or his pension payments could be affected, Andrea does not register his sheep at the municipal registry. This decision, which he took as soon as he began to receive retirement payments, has affected him negatively because he could not claim the draught relief money that was given to those shepherds who applied for it between 1987 and 1990.

Andrea's children benefited from their parents' status as a retired agriculturalist and a retired shepherd. For their first years of university education they were given free accommodation and a small pension by the federal authorities, through the appropriate regional agencies of Cagliari and Rome. However, today they have lost their right to both free accommodation and student pensions. They did not keep up with the obligatory number of exams that they had to pass each year at school, and thus they have ceased to be eligible for both types of student aid.

At least one of the couple's children, who lives in Rome, engages every now and again in work for cash, when the tourist season creates the need for casual workers in many service outlets of the city. All three of the couple's children share apartments with other students, in order to keep down their rent costs. Andrea and Maria are willing to invest in the education of their children so that these can aspire to good jobs and do not have to depend only on their own agricultural or other manual labour in the future.

Maria and Andrea's family has remained outside most clientelistic networks because the couple believe that hard work is the only fair way to obtain things, and because their children openly show their sympathy for marginal leftist parties which have no weight in Italian politics. Most Telemulesi have limited access to powerful *accozzi* because of the regional politicians' disdain for Telemula. While Maria and Andrea's children could have found powerful patrons in the cities, today they do not have any *accozzi* because of their political inclinations.

Family 2. Manuel is a shepherd in his late fifties. He is married to Aurelia, who is in her early fifties. They have two daughters, Elena and Aurora, both of whom are in their twenties. Manuel works with his two brothers, with whom he has over 300 sheep, one of the largest single flocks of sheep in Telemula. The three brothers and their wives live in the same building, which is divided into three different apartments which share a common basement. The three brothers also have a large tract of land in the Arbatax valley, which they have divided into three adjacent properties. In the valley they grow *vigne* [vineyards] *orti* and *giardini* [orchards]. In the *paese* area the women keep pigs and chickens. Aurelia also keeps a spice garden and a front yard garden which in the summer and the spring has beautiful flowers.

Aurelia is an excellent cook. During the mornings she dedicates herself to the care of her house, which is always spotless clean, and to the kitchen. The three brothers take turns to guard the sheep, and most afternoons Manuel drives back to the village, picks up Aurelia, and the two of them go down to the valley to work in their garden, tend their vineyards, pick fruit from their trees and make sure that their property in the lowlands is well kept. The three brothers have built a large summer *ovile*, which is in the same

area as their *orti* and *giardini*. The *ovile* has a large stable attached to it, and most of the property is powered by a small electricity generator.

Aurelia and Manuel have taken advantage of the EEC programme to extricate vineyards, and also of the one to plant them again. The three shepherds also were able to access EEC and regional funds from the programmes for the intensification of livestock production, because of the property that they own in common in the valley. It was through access to these funds that the shepherds were able to build their shelters and stables in the valley.

Both Elena and Aurora have finished Junior High School. Elena finds seasonal employment in reforestation programmes around Telemula. When she does not find this type of work, she works during the summer at beach resorts and during the winter at ski resorts in mainland Italy. Through friends of hers who work in those resorts as chamber maids or cooks on the Adriatic coast of the Italian peninsula, she has been able to obtain seasonal employment most years after she graduated from high school. None of these jobs, however, lead to employment benefits outside a short period of unemployment insurance payments which she collects each year when she is back in Ogliastra.

Aurora, on the other hand, has been looking for employment in manufacturing sweatshops of the coast. Through her parents' support to one of the village's factions she found employment in a factory that makes shirts, in a coastal settlement. There she was hired by a family who are originally from Telemula but have lived for many years on the coast by now. This family has a large supermarket on a franchise agreement, and several other types of businesses, including the shirt factory where Aurora found temporary employment. There, she was put on a three-month probation term, without being paid or given work benefits. Within this factory each worker has to perform one type of task. One

woman is in charge of the back, another one of the buttons, and yet another one of the collars. Aurora was expected to sew between 75 and 80 shirts each hour, a degree of efficiency which, she says, is almost impossible to attain. She quit during the third month. Since she dismissed herself from the job voluntarily, she was not entitled to any kind of compensation. After this she found work with a municipal *cantiere* in Telemula, but this too is only seasonal employment. Aurora has now applied for the upcoming reforestation jobs in Telemula, and is waiting to hear whether or not she will be hired.

Family 3. Luigi is 61 years old, and his wife Lucia is 33. They have seven children, between the ages of 3 and 15. The kids attend the different educational institutions of the village, from kindergarten to junior high school. Fabio, the oldest boy, accompanies his father to the *ovile* during his holidays. Fabio likes the shepherd's work, but he is considering attending the *superiore* (senior high school), like his sister Gabriella. Luigi is a goatherd. He and his brother Tittino they have about 300 goats, and around 40 free roaming pigs. Luigi stays in the *ovile* most of the week when his animals are on the Supramonte, but he comes home more often when they are on the *pianura*, since from there he can come back to the village by bus. So, when the goats are in the valley, Luigi comes home every third day.

Tittino has a car and he takes turns with Antonio at staying with the goats on the Supramonte every third day. However, Tittino also has twelve cattle, which follow a *giro* [routine grazing path] of their own, generally in a different part of the communal territory than where the brothers keep their goats. Tittino goes to find his cattle and takes care of any calves that may need a special diet or veterinary care. Since the two brothers take turns at staying with their flock of goats, Luigi only seldom rides with him.

Although Luigi's family has a vineyard in the *pianura*, Ginetta does not carry out garden, orchard or vineyard-related activities, other than helping out during the harvest of grapes. She does have a couple of pigs in *su scieraton de sos porcoso*, plus some chickens that she keeps in the backyard of her house. Ginetta's chickens provide the family with some of the eggs they consume each week, and with poultry meat when Ginetta kills and cooks one of the chickens. For goat's meat, most of the pork that the family consumes, and dairy products, the family relies on those that Luigi brings home. For other types of fresh products Ginetta receives produce from other women in her family (notably her mother) and her friends, and purchases produce from itinerant merchants who sell fruit and vegetables out of a pick-up truck. Ginetta buys many of the family's food supplies, many times including *pistoccu* bread, and she spends most of the time looking after the children on her own, since Luigi is home only sporadically.

Gabriella, Luigi and Ginetta's oldest child, enroled herself in a computer course, as did many other children in the village. The people who were supposed to teach the course, however, sold several families a computer keyboard that could be hooked to the television screen and then failed to teach anyone how to use them. The "company" disappeared one night, taking off with the money that parents had paid for tuition. No one has been able to track them down or to receive a refund. Gabriella is now dreaming of becoming a model, a flight attendant for *Alitalia* [Italy's national passenger airplane company] or a professional pilot. Luigi and Ginetta are happy that their two oldest children do not want to become agriculturalists or shepherds. However, other than Luigi's retirement pension and the revenues that come into the house from cheese and meat the family may not have sufficient resources to help all of their children achieve the education that would make them eligible for white collar or at least non-manual jobs.

Family 4. Stefano and Anna are both under 30 years of age, and married recently. They do not have any children yet. Anna helps her parents during the harvest of grapes. However, although Stefano and his brother Nicola own a vineyard in the Arbatax valley, the couple does not grow any grape vines of their own. Anna stays home most of the day, except when she visits her married sisters and friends. Stefano works as a shepherd with Nicola, and between the two of them they have about 360 goats.

In 1990 and 1991, Stefano and Nicola used to give their milk to the cooperative of Bardia, but between 1991 and 1992 they have joined a different cooperative in Orune, along with most shepherds in Telemula who used to belong to the Bardia cooperative dairy. Stefano and Nicola make cheese only if the cooperative fails to collect the milk. Otherwise they and their families eat cheese made manually during the first days of December, when the cooperatives give the shepherds a couple of weeks so as to make their own supply [*l'escorta*]. Also, Stefano and Anna make use of different types of cheese that they purchase from the local stores (especially *mozzarella*).

Anna does not tend gardens or keep pigs. She does not bake *pistoccu* except when she helps her mother. It is Stefano who is in charge of keeping pigs in the pig pens that he and Nicola built in their *ovile*. In this way, most of what is related to primary production in the family is in Stefano's hands, and Anna is in charge of cooking, cleaning the house, doing embroidery and crochet work for her own house, and entertaining the guests who come to the house to visit.

In the houses of the oldest pastoralist families the activities of the male and of the female heads of household are closely coordinated: the man helps his wife during the grape harvest and he brings his animals to the family's wheat fields after the wheat harvest, then to the vineyards after the *vendemia* [grape harvest], and the woman helps her husband

during the *tunda* [shearing] activities. The grape harvest marks the beginning of the couple's activities in making wine and distilling *abb'ardente* [*aquavite* or *grappa* in Italian], a kind of brandy that is made with the dregs of the grapes after they have been crushed to make wine.

The main concern of the older heads of household in pastoralist families is to provide themselves and their children with foodstuffs and other home-produced items. The oldest shepherds of Telemula receive old age pensions from the Italian welfare system, but they say it is unthinkable for them to stay all day in the village and have to buy dairy products for their own families' food supplies.

The oldest women of Telemula who are married to shepherds still make mattresses and rugs, with wool from their husbands' animals. They make contracts with men from other towns or villages to rent out the family's wheat patch, making sure they receive 50% of the EEC cash supports for the growing of durum wheat. They work picking olives from their own olive trees and also work for a payment in olives in surrounding communal territories. This way, they also collect the EEC cash supports to olive oil production, which are given to them both at the cooperative and privately-owned olive presses to which they take their grapes.[26] These women also winnow and store grain to make their own pasta through the year, and bottle tomatoes from their own *orto* to keep in storage for the family's use as well.

This pattern of activities is common among most older women in Telemula, even those that are the wives of retired grain growers, and widows. One old woman, who has a small corner store from which she supports herself and at least one

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[26] Although the cash incentives they receive often do not offset the cost of having their olives pressed, they nevertheless provide their families with the year's supply of olive oil at a price in money that is both subsidized by the EEC and minimized by their own work investment.

of her grown-up children, once said to me:

> *Mezchinedda* (Poor you [the anthropologist]). *Così lontana dalla mama* [so far away from your mother!]. You don't have a garden. And I haven't even invited you to a cup of coffee. I have a garden, and my terrace. I have everything. I only buy salt, sugar, flour, yeast and spaghetti from my store, and milk and cheese from the shepherds. Everything else, I get from my *orto*. Young people nowadays, they want to buy everything.

This same woman also told me that she feels encouraged to grow her own olives and to take them to be pressed to a privately-owned olive oil plant because of the cash incentives that the EEC makes available for those producers who take their olives to the plants.

A favourite tale of the elderly women who grew up in pastoralist families and later married shepherds themselves, is how they helped their relatives to mill the wheat when they were children. They would sit on a plank that was tied to an oxen and they would spin for hours, enjoying the ride while they supervised the oxen. They also went to the Supramonte to plant gardens under the *biddazzone* system and to collect acorns for soup and for flour to make bread. They say that in the past there was not much difference between shepherds and peasant wheat growers, because most often the two types of family were closely related through kinship and through their mutual dependency. They also say that in the old times everyone had to work hard, and no one could envision the prosperity that was about to come. Today, it is women from the older generations who continue to herd a few milk goats [*manalithasa*] to supply their families with fresh goat milk.

Since both men and women in pastoralist families keep pigs, the household has a steady supply of pork and piglet meat, home-made sausages and the aged *prosciutto* hams for

which Telemula is famous.[27] In this way, those pastoralist families headed by men and women of over 60 years of age are self sufficient regarding most foodstuffs. In today's Italy, however, no household can be completely removed from the larger markets and from the flows of cash.

Older pastoralist families, then, produce for their own food supplies and for the market. The main product the pastoralist households sell is either cheese or the goat's or sheep's milk sold by the shepherd to cooperative or private dairy plants. Between 1980 and 1991, the price of sheep's milk paid to the producers has remained stable at between L.1,000 and L.1,010 per litre.[28] Cheese manufactured manually is sold at L.12,000 per kilogram in the village and its surroundings (freshly-made sheep's milk cheese is sold at about 10,000 per kilogram). Goat's milk cheese, *caprino*, is sold at L.9,000 if fresh, or at L.1100 if aged. *Ricotta* is usually given away by the shepherds to their relatives and friends who do not have flocks of their own. There seems to be a limited market for manually-made *ricotta* along the coast because I have often found that coastal supermarkets would sell it for L.5,000 or 6,000 per kilogram, and I was told by the supermarket employees that it is purchased from highland shepherds. However, there are several villages in Ogliastra where this product can be purchased. No one I know in Telemula sells *ricotta* to the owners of the supermarkets.

Most of the agricultural products from Telemula, and particularly the vegetables from the valley gardens and

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[27] Although the *prosciutti* of Telemula are of island-wide renown, they are not sold in the regular markets. The only way to have *prosciutti* from Telemula is to eat at the village hotel's restaurant or to obtain it through gifts or informal exchanges.

[28] While private dairy plants tend to pay the shepherds the lower prices possible, the cooperatives usually pay the highest ones.

terraces, do not meet EEC specifications for food products that are to enter the market. Or else, it costs so much to produce them that they become too expensive to be sold at competitive prices in the regional markets. However, the women sometimes barter products with the itinerant vegetable vendors who come to the village. In this type of transactions, the women give the vendors those products that they have in excess, in exchange for other kinds of vegetables or fruit. This produce also circulates widely within the village in the form of gifts, since not everyone grows exactly the same vegetables, nuts or fruits.

I was surprised to find out about the many young women do not plant gardens or keep vineyards of their own, because these same women sometimes help their parents during the grape, olive and vegetable harvests. They say that they do not like to work outside and therefore have no intention of engaging in what they see as back-breaking labour. In consonance with this, our young shepherd friends told us that they do not expect their wives to undertake any physically demanding activities outside of the house, and the young married women told us that they were happy to have finally become *padrone* [in command] of their own houses.

Two young women friends of ours repeatedly told us that it is a shame that today so many young women want to become housewives. In these women's eyes, this means that Telemulesi women will completely lose their economic independence and will end up becoming subordinated to men. They said that they see this happening right now, and that some of their friends who have become housewives are practically confined to their houses most of the day. Something I found interesting about these women's point of view is that they do not like to work out in the fields. One of them has now a job in the municipal bureaucracy, and the other one is studying to become a lawyer. They, however, think that their own case is different because they have more of an education than, and different aspirations

from, other young women in Telemula.

In my own view the other women who were becoming housewives did not mean to be confined to their houses [which was not the case, since they are free to go about as they please], but to acquire, they too, a white-collar-like way of living that they identified with women not working on the fields, rather than with women staying in the house. Women in Telemula, like men, talk about how they want to be 'modern' as opposed to *arretrate* [backward], and their models of modern life are those of the soap operas on television and of women in other Sardinian villages, including Bardia.[29] In Bardia, as we will see in the next chapter, women do not involve themselves with agricultural labour, and are also increasingly distancing themselves from tasks related to pastoral production.

As part of the desire for 'modernity' which is common to much of the Telemulese population, the children of shepherds often try not to become pastoralists themselves, and they are encouraged by their parents and their peers to look for other types of work, or to pursue educational opportunities. Sheep and goat herding, in Telemula, go through cycles according to the existence of occupational opportunities in other sectors of the Sardinian economy. Three men we know between 26 and 32 years of age have come back to shepherding after having other occupations. One was a factory worker in continental Italy, another has worked as a truck driver, and the third used to be a motor oil sales representative in several Ogliastra

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[29] It is not only distance from agricultural and other primary-production labour that 'modern' women want. As other women of rural Sardinia, these young women also want sports facilities (gymnasiums and physical education courses) and vacation trips. Some of these women attend an aerobics class twice a week. While women and men from surrounding villages take up individual memberships in gyms and health clubs of the coast, in Telemula the young women prefer to hire the aerobics instructor to come to the village for the biweekly class.

communities.

Still another young man we know (also within this age bracket) goes in and out of shepherding according to the season. He works as a shepherd with a relative of his for most of the fall and the winter and then finds employment as a waiter during the summer, or as a bricklayer during the spring, either around the village or on short road maintenance contracts. He says that he follows this routine more or less the same way each year, because he likes to do all of these different types of work and he takes pride at doing all of them well.

It is clear to me that in Telemula, as in the rest of the pastoral communities where we came to know shepherds, shepherding is an activity where the numbers of labourers shift not only from one year to the next but also during the year, according to the employment opportunities available for young men. Shepherding works as a cushion that absorbs the oversupply of labour when other sectors of the Sardinian economy stop accepting labourers or start ejecting them. In Sardinia the summer is the period of the year when the larger number of seasonal jobs are created, because of the tourism and also because of the fire hazards that the extremely dry heat brings. The end of the summer, however, marks also the end of these seasonal jobs.

Contrary to what I had expected to find, in those houses where the family seems to have a greater degree of self sufficiency regarding the supply of foodstuffs, it is not the family as a whole that contributes to food production, at least not on a systematic basis. The children of aged parents work with the flocks or in the fields only intermittently, when they are home from school or off from jobs that they hold during the year. Food production is something that the parents are expected to carry out for themselves and their children.

I learned that adult children, both male and female who still live at home but did not practice primary production year round do not necessarily contribute part of their salary to the general budget of the house. They do supply the house to some extent by bringing food items bought outside and by bringing sweets and beverages which otherwise would have to be bought by their parents. However, they do not have the responsibility, at least for the time being, of helping their parents provision the house. If they do it, it is considered a spontaneous act on their part rather than their obligation. When the young ones are out of work and their unemployment insurance payments run out, the burden is heavier on the parents because they also have to supply their children not only with room and board, but with spending money for clothes and for the sons' and daughters' social outings with their friends. This is the case not only among pastoralist families but among Telemulese families as a whole.

One of our young friends, a construction worker in his twenties, told us at some point that he did not want to work at *Costa Smeralda* any more as a bricklayer, and he had decided to take a vacation at home. He spent his severance pay and then the money from his unemployment insurance going out every day with his friends, while his parents supported him. Two months later he had run out of money and his parents continued to support him at home. When his unemployment money was about to expire, he began to help his father and his mother doing agricultural work, and his father decided to take on a small flock of sheep, to supplement the household's dairy consumption. His parents have told us that they are worried that he does not have a job, because they have to supply the entire family with food and also give spending money to their children from their pension cheques. There does not seem to be any implication that he should bring money into the house, although the fact that he is not earning money outside obliged him to perform subsistence activities to help his parents.

When children are attending university, not only do the shepherd and his wife regularly pay the rent of the apartments their children occupy in the city, but they also give them a biweekly allowance so as to provide them with money for books, tuition costs, tax payments (such as the television tax and the fiscal stamps for their drivers' licences and other documents), entertainment and the food the parents do not manage to send to them through their operating networks.

In Telemula, children are expected to receive from their working parents much more than parents are expected to receive from their children, as people often told me when I said that my parents would not send me money and I would not even ask them for it. Children in Telemula have some independence from their parents, in that they do not necessarily have to contribute to the household's budget in specified ways. Parents, on the other hand, are expected to supply their children with as much as possible, until old age finally settles in and they have to become dependent on their own children in more than an economic sense. At the same time, the fact that the members of the family may reside on different parts of the island or the country does not modify the basic family links, especially in those cases where the children continue to be economically supported by their parents. Parents and children continue to have reciprocal obligations, as when children are called upon for the most demanding agropastoral tasks (such as shearing and harvesting) and when the parents send money and food to their children in other cities or towns. Also, the children will ultimately have to take care of their old parents, when these reach old age and particularly when they become widow/ers.

The only cases where a true 'pooling' of common labour and common earnings takes place is when the father and one or more sons are shepherds, and it is the mother and maybe one of the daughters who take care of agricultural activities, the *magazzeno* storage rooms including the care for and sales of

cheese, and the administration of the households' money. One family that exemplifies this situation is that of an old shepherd over 60, married to a woman of over 50. She is very ill and because of this one of her daughters who usually finds employment in continental Italy spends long periods in town, between one job and the next.

In this family, two of the sons help their father, and these five people (the father, the mother, the eldest daughter and the two sons) pool their labour and cash earnings to make the household as self-sufficient as possible regarding foodstuffs and maximizing the family's cash income. The father and the two sons take care of the livestock (mostly goats, plus several sheep and two horses). The mother, the father and, sometimes, when they were off school, the younger daughter and the two youngest sons work in the fields and gather wild fruits, berries and nuts. The mother and to some extent the eldest daughter manage the house. The family also keep pigs and chickens within the *paese* and make their own prosciutto and sausages.

In another case, two goatherds who are brothers used to live with their old mother, and the two of them supplied the house with milk, dairy products and also with pork and home-made wine. This situation has changed now, since one of the brothers married and he and his wife have formed a new family unit, residing in the same apartment complex than the man's brother and mother, but having an apartment and a budget of their own.

In Telemula, because of the facilities offered to the old shepherds in the form of retirement pensions, the succession of children over parents regarding the ownership and management of the flocks is very gradual, and the old father usually keeps a vigilant eye on his son or sons regarding the way in which the flock is conducted. The case of Mario, a goatherd in his early sixties, illustrates this. Mario has two sons who have helped him at different times with his flock

of about 150 goats. Vincenzo, who is in his early 30s, is trying to build a house to get married, and Carlo, in his mid 20s, went to technical school and is trying to find a white-collar job. Given the scarcity of white-collar or bureaucratic positions in Ogliastra and Mario's family's lack of powerful *accozzi*, Carlo is working as a goatherd, helping his brother and his father with the flock, as he waits for other opportunities to come by. Carlo's sources of information regarding available jobs are those which reach the general public, and the fact that his family can only rely on regional political brokers does not give him an edge in the job-hunting market. He does not like the work of the goatherd, but does not have too many other choices for the time being.

Because Mario is in the process of retiring from pastoralism, and Carlo does not see himself as becoming a goatherd for good, the heavier tasks and responsibilities regarding the well-being of and work with the flock fall on Vincenzo, who is certain to inherit the flock from Mario in some indefinite future. It is Vincenzo who is in charge of rounding up the animals in the morning, and moving the flock during the transhumance seasons. Mario, however, does not like the way in which Vincenzo treats the flock. Once, with Vincenzo, his cousin Mauro, and the entire flock of goats (that is, including the youngest kids), Ayora-Diaz and I ran down the side of the mountain for 18 km, completing the whole transhumance operation in two and a half hours.

The four of us, completely exhausted, left the goats close to the village, because Vincenzo believes that they are smart enough to find their path to the winter *ovile* if they are taken to a section of their winter *giro*. Then we all went to Vincenzo's house for *pranzo*. Mario was already there, since he had driven from the summer *ovile* on the Supramonte. He was furious that we had taken the animals down so quick. He told Vincenzo that what we had done is a form of cruelty to

the animals, and that if Vincenzo continues to treat the animals that way they will all die very soon.[30]

From what older pastoralists have told us, their shepherd or goatherd fathers also disapproved of the ways in which the younger generations conducted the flocks and made cheese. While the oldest shepherds' parents pastured their animals at night, today no Telemulese pastoralist would think of grazing his animals other than in the daytime. Also, in Telemula *pecorino romano* cheese started to be made within living memory, and the parents of our pastoralist friends did not believe at the time that the new form of making cheese was here to stay.

6. THE OTHERS

Many of my Telemulesi friends are not shepherds or members of pastoralist households. The current range of jobs among the Telemulesi encompasses not only shepherding, agriculture and masonry, but also occupations related to tourism, to retailing and to working in government-sponsored enterprises such as road maintenance, the paper mill in Arbatax and the Intermare marine platform building company.

The paper mill and Intermare are in fact semi-private enterprises where the Italian State is a major partner, having provided at least 50% of the invested capital (Gasperini 1978:151). During recent years the paper mill has been closed and some of its employees have been put under *cassa integraziòne*, the fund which provides a government stipend for workers who are classified as "temporarily superfluous" in

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[30] Other older shepherds who saw us as we were doing that specific transhumance also accused Vincenzo of being cruel to his animals. One of them said to us "*povere bestie. C'avevano tanto di lingua fuori* [Poor animals. They all had their tongues out]." Vincenzo, however, does not see why the animals should be made to go at a slower pace, if they can walk that fast and the transhumance can be performed in only a few hours.

private or semi-private factories.

By the time we arrived in Sardinia the paper mill and Intermare were already on the brink of bankruptcy. While the *cartiera* [paper mill] now closes and opens again intermittently, Intermare has agreed to put 100 of its workers in *cassa integraziòne* too and continue its activities with a reduced personnel (L'Unione Sarda, May 17, 1991). All five Telemulesi who used to be employed by the *cartiera* now spend most of their time in the community, waiting for reinstatement at the mill. The two Telemulesi that are employed by Intermare continue to work at the platforms, in constant fear that their jobs will be terminated.

Nine of the young women from the village whom we know work as chamber maids in hotels, either on the coasts of the island or continental Italy, or else as vendors or waitresses at the Costa Smeralda tourist resorts, in northern Sardinia. Sometimes these or other young women work at ski resorts in northern Italy during the winter, as chamber maids or cooks. One of these women worked as a clerk at a shop in a coastal village during the fall and the winter. She was fired and she has not managed to find another full-time job again. She is currently waiting to see if she will be hired in the Telemula reforestation project. Another young woman works as a bookkeeper in the municipal headquarters of Telemula for parts of the year, and at other times she works on short-term bookkeeping contracts in other Ogliastra municipalities. Two other women work as bookkeepers on short term contracts, and another one is a janitor in a school in a coastal settlement. All of these women are under 35 years of age.

Three of the four general stores of Telemula are run by women, and one by a man in his 30s and his 60-year-old mother. Two butcher shops occupy their owners full time and at least one clerk helps the owner of the larger one. The branch of the regional Banco di Sardegna (Bank of Sardinia) has one permanent employee who is a woman over 50 from the village.

This lady is helped by different young bookkeepers who come to work in Telemula for short periods of two weeks to three months each time. The four bars are run by families, and in one of them there are two employees under 30 years of age, one of whom is a woman and the other one a man. In the other bars the husband and wife who own them (and sometimes their close relatives) serve the clients.

Among *muratori* [masons] the possibilities of working in continental Italy or abroad seem to be better than among other Telemulesi. One of the masons we know speaks German. We learned he had worked in Germany when two Austrian friends of ours came to visit us in Telemula and we took them to shearing parties and to the village's bars to introduce them to our friends. In Telemula in particular I do not know any masons who have worked in Algeria, but some of my friends from other Ogliastra communities have worked either as masons or as tube installation specialists in that country.

One of the younger shepherds (he was 26 in 1992) has worked as an electrician in continental Italy and is now considering returning to this type of work. Another young shepherd (he was 30 in 1992) has worked in the village as a shepherd, and then emigrated to continental Italy where he worked first as a shepherd taking care of someone else' flock, and then as a factory worker. Currently, he is back in the village, buying animals to form a flock and once more become a shepherd.

In Telemula the fact of not having a regular job implies that the person in question, especially if he is a young male, will find temporary employment which often involves that he be paid in cash, without contracts having been signed. This arrangement is suitable both to employers and employees because the legal costs of registering these jobs would mean a cut in the pay to the person hired or a rise in the cost of

the job being done, or both.[31]

Many of our friends find temporary employment working as *manovali* [bricklayers], working for an hourly rate during the harvest of grapes, chopping wood on commission for families who do not have the available man or woman power to do it themselves, or working outside the community under similar conditions. During the summer, when regular employment is seasonally available, these people find jobs that pay better and count toward their official work history; that is, those jobs they do list at the provincial unemployment agency.

If during one of the seasons (usually the summer) someone manages to find short-term jobs in positions funded by the regional government, at the end of their contract they are put on the "special unemployment" program. For four months they receive an unemployment pension that is equivalent to their full previous salary. Some of our friends strive to occupy these types of positions so as to have a basic income for four months, on top of which they receive the 'un-registered' (under the table) money they charge for other small jobs.

Among non-pastoralist families, just as among the pastoralists, old women are in charge of agricultural activities. This is the case among all of the couples over 60 years of age with whom we are acquainted. Women over 60 years of age work in the valley, growing grapes, fruits and vegetables, and taking care of pigs, a few goats, chickens and terraced gardens, besides looking after the house and cooking for their husbands and children, if these still live at home or if they come to visit. Most of the women used to weave and some of them still continue to do so.

Many old women told us that when they sought employment in the past, working in the fields during times of harvest, they were paid 3 *imbuti* of grain [about 7.5 cubic litres] or half a kilogram of cheese. Their *giornata* [work day] began at

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[31] Obviously, this is a form of tax evasion.

dawn and finished at dusk. While before when they peddled *bisàccie* or worked in the fields they used to stay away from home, sleeping in the open or being hosted by their employers or friends, now they all sleep at home every night. This possibility of staying at home most of the time or at least sleeping there every night is often mentioned by these women as the result of the present general prosperity.

In the past men also seem to have had very limited work possibilities, unlike their sons and grandchildren today. Most older men (over 60) who were not shepherds have been either *contadini* [agriculturalists], *tagliapiètre* [stone cutters], *muratori* [masons], or *scarpari* [shoe makers]. Also, a few of the older men we knew had worked in other parts of Italy or abroad during their youth. Some of them had taken their wives with them, and a few families in Telemula still speak French among themselves, because both parents and children were born and went to school abroad.

One of the old men (he was over 70 years old in 1992) had worked in Belgium as a brick baker. He had often described for us how in Belgium his job implied going in and out of a gigantic oven, and he had to wear a pair of wooden shoes so as not to burn his feet when entering the oven to put the bricks to bake. The heat, he told us, destroyed his hands and he does not feel much with them any more. Another man used to be a factory worker, also in Belgium. During the first three months I was in the community I also met a man who had emigrated to Argentina, and was back in Telemula for the first time after 30 years. We were told that there had been two other men in his generation that had also emigrated to Argentina, who have died by now.

Among these older generations not many women emigrated outside Sardinia by themselves. Some, however, followed their husbands and learned different trades than those they knew in the village. At least one of them, a woman who has lived in Belgium, set up her own informal business when the couple came

back to Telemula. She now bakes cakes and other sweets that Telemulesi order from her on special occasions, and since the winter of 1990 she makes pizzas, also upon request.

The emigration destinations among the younger generations have ceased to be Belgium or Argentina. Many men under 50 have emigrated to Germany at one time or another. The barber of the village went to hairdressing school in Germany, and I have also met three men under 40 years of age who work in Germany and visit the community three times or more each year. From this middle-age generation several women emigrated as well, either following their husbands or going by themselves. Some of these women married and settled outside Sardinia. At least two women I am acquainted with live in Germany with their husbands and children, but maintain houses and other property in the village.

Many of the *muratori* and specialized male workers who now live in the village have worked abroad. One of the masons has worked in Germany and Spain, a car mechanic has worked in Morocco and Kuwait, and a welder who now works in a road maintenance crew has worked in Spain, Mexico and northern Italy. Also, some of the older Ogliastran emigrants have not returned but their born-abroad children have now come back to and settled in the villages of their parents. A man who was born in Belgium and is now in his early forties exemplifies this trend. He went to technical school to become a car mechanic, and after having worked for some years in Belgium he decided to return to his parents' natal village. He has now settled in Telemula with his wife and children. His wife is Belgian and his children have dual citizenship. They all have learned both Italian and the Telemula dialect of Sardinian, but still their household language is French.[32]

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[32] This man's case is not uncommon in Ogliastra. I have had occasion to meet people in other villages who went through the same process of return migration one or two generations later. A woman whose parents were from Telemula was born

Today the older men and women of Telemula, whether or not they emigrated in the past, are on pensions. They spend much of their time tending gardens, vineyards and orchards, and looking for mushrooms, asparagus and some fine herbs that grow wild. Among non-pastoralist families, however, the degree of self-reliance on subsistence activities is more limited than among the pastoralists, because the family has fewer sources of meat (pigs and/or chickens), and is not self-sufficient in cheese and other dairy products. Two of the older men devote their time, other than to gardening, to wood carving and at least one older man has organized a folklore group. He designs outfits and choreography routines for the dance group and he goes on tour with the group on trips when they are invited to perform outside the village and even abroad.

Most of the non-pastoralist families also produce their own wine. I knew of only a few cases where non-pastoralists did not produce their own wine each year. One was that of a woman had chosen to sell her grape harvest two out of every three years. She lived by herself and did not consume as much wine as a larger family would, and one wine batch every three years was enough for her. In another instance, an old widow who also lived alone had given her vineyard to one of her sons, who supplied her regularly with wine.[33]

Ayora-Diaz and I have often travelled to Nuoro city by

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outside and came to Sardinia for the first time when she married someone from Lula, a small village in Northeastern Sardinia. She is now widowed and lives in Lula with her children. I also met young adults who came to live in Ogliastra for the first time when their parents retired and came back to the island.

[33] As among the pastoralists, in non-pastoralist households the young wives currently do not work in agriculture, and therefore do not tend vineyards. If young husbands themselves do not take up work in the vineyard and wine making, these families have to depend on wine purchased from other local families or from commercial wine plants.

bus. It is always difficult for us to find parking spaces there, and sometimes we have preferred to take the bus to go and come back the same day. The bus for Nuoro city, which leaves Telemula at five in the morning, is regularly taken by people from Telemula who are going to the plains to take care of their vineyards, orchards and gardens. We have often sat with old men who discuss their own grape-growing and wine-making techniques, and assure each other that one's own production process is superior to the other person's. At other times we have sat by old women who speak about their gardens and how they have been able to obtain two and even three harvests of potatoes in one year. Often, the topic of conversation is the amount of rain that fell during the current or previous year.

What do these people do in the fields? I always thought that this question had an obvious answer, until I began to work in the fields myself. Once I went to a vineyard with the wife of a shepherd. We arrived at the fields at around 8:00 a.m. in the morning, and we left after noon. While we were there I was following her around her husband's winter *ovile*. I could not understand what she was doing and least of all what I was doing with her. She walked, with me trailing along, around an area of about 4 kilometres. I could see that all the grapes had been picked, that all the prickly pears had been picked too, and other than that I could not see anything in particular. She had given me a long stick and a bucket to carry, both of which went totally unused.

She would walk for a few metres, then stop and push aside some of the brush, then look around and then continue walking. At some point we got to the vineyard and she went to a large tin can that was at the end of the vine rows, she looked inside, she nodded and she came back to where I was. When we came back to the *ovile* she took a ladder and climbed to the roof. Once there she continued looking around, as she had done when she was on the ground. She came back to the ground

and swept the floor of the *ovile*, after which she told me we were going back to the village.

When were I asked her, finally, what was it that we had done the whole morning. She told me that she had been inspecting her grafts, which she had covered with brush so that the sheep would not eat them. She said she had been also looking around to decide what she would be sowing next. Looking at the way in which fences and wired enclosures were set up, she was trying to determine what the owners of neighbouring plots would do, so as to decide what and where to plant for the next season.[34] She told me that inside the tin can she had the *medicina* [pesticide] for the vineyard and she had seen that she had enough of it for the following month. She said that she had gone to inspect the roof of the *ovile* because there had been heavy rainfalls and hail storms lately, and she wanted to see if they had done any damage to the roof and how that could be repaired. She had also seen what damage the hail had done to the cactuses and to the fields in general, and she had decided that a tractor should be brought to remove the soil in the vineyard. She had given me a stick and a bucket in case we saw any prickly pears that could be picked or any aromatic herbs she could take home. While I had thought that we had wasted the whole morning she was very satisfied by what she accomplished during our trip.

At other times gardening and fruit picking are more obviously engaging. Ayora-Diaz and myself were taught by the women to pick fruits and olives by climbing trees, to plant and harvest tomatoes and potatoes, to clean the vineyards with a hoe and the vines with knives or garden clippers, to medicate the vineyards, to harvest vegetables, greens and citrus, and to harvest beans and green peas.

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[34] As I explain in detail in Part II, Telemulesi women often enter work arrangements with the owners of tractors and of neighbouring plots.

Among non-pastoralist families in Telemula, as among pastoralist ones, children are not openly asked to contribute to the family's budget and, again, the advantage parents see in their children having jobs is that they (the parents) do not have to fully support their children. Since in a recent past families were completely dedicated to pastoralism and agriculture, with the few exceptions of those families where the father was a *calzolàio* [shoemaker] or a *tagliapiètre* and therefore did not engage in agricultural work, it is possible that the present disjunction of the household is a recent development. In the past, since the family did not have too many sources of cash, probably money was something extra that did not enter the families' regular planning for the year and family heads had greater authority.[35] Today in Telemula the family, both in pastoralists and non-pastoralist households, is adjusting to a new order of things where money is omnipresent and production for home consumption takes place less out of sheer necessity and more out of the desire to give alternative uses to cash.

7. EVERYDAY LIFE

The national parties give Telemulesi a link to the larger political sphere of Italy. However, in Telemula party politics are subordinated to intra-village politicking. Social life in Telemula is still heavily determined by the factionalist strife Bodemann described in 1979. There are two main political factions, each one headed by one family, the members of which function as patrons for their followers (Bodemann 1979).

By the time Ayora-Diaz and I arrived, the two male heads of the patron families had agreed to end their old enmity and

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[35] This was certainly the case in other places of central Sardinia, as it is described in the fictional works by Ledda (1975) and Carta (1981).

bring peace to the community by consulting each other on further economic decisions. One of our friends told us that she had been told by the two men who used to lead the two factions:

> "We have decided to bring peace to the community. From now on the two of us agree on what is done in Telemula. It is now up to you, the other Telemulesi, to stop the factionalist fight."

In my friend's view, the motives for the factionalist conflict could emerge again, because employment opportunities are still handled and distributed by these two patrons. However, she believes that the objective bases for it have disappeared because of the agreement between the two men. She believes that the rest of the Telemulesi do not realize to what extent now the two men and their wives coordinate their activities and the job opportunities that they offer to people in Telemula.[36] According to this same person, the conflict is at this point more a matter of habit among the local population, since the historical reasons behind it have largely disappeared. In any case, what is present in the village is a diffuse animosity among two large groups of people. Within each group, people make a point of showing solidarity and friendship to each other. The attendance to specific bars, the choice of god-parents and the membership in

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[36] The most visible basis of this rivalry is the existence of two construction companies within Telemula. However, as Bodemann (1977) has pointed out, one of the families distributing jobs and patronage have a hotel in the village itself, and supermarkets and manufacture sweat shops on the coast. Since this family is in the process of transferring itself and its businesses to the coast completely, it is possible in the near future they will not have too much stake in Telemulesi internal politics. It is in this context that young people in the two factions are currently trying to end the several-generations long conflict.

crìcche are all marked by this factionalist division.[37] This split social context is the general framework of everyday life in Telemula. Ayora-Diaz and I have tried to bridge the gap between the two factions and have visited pastoralist families in both self-defined groups. However, at night we have socialized more often (maybe four out of every five nights) with the people in one faction. The following description of everyday life in Telemula is influenced by all of these determinations.

In Telemula people come into and leave from the village continuously during the day and until the late afternoon. Between 4:30 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. the village was left and re-entered by shepherds, women who go to and come from the fields, construction workers, cashiers and service personnel working on the coast, and the personnel of the municipal offices. At night, after 9:00 in the evening, people gather in the *piazze* or in the village's bars to play cards, chat and listen to music. Unlike other villages of Sardinia, there is not much activity outside after 10:00 at night, except for the *crìcche* [groups of friends] sitting in the bars, until 11:00 p.m.

If employment sources are more or less varied today, entertainment is not so varied for the younger generations. They all socialize together, although within the context of the two factions. In the village, the places where they can find amusement are the *piazze* or public spaces during the summer, and the bars, which are open year round. We were often told that in the past young people from one of the factions had created a group that organized parties more or less regularly, either in someone's house, out of the village in different spots of the communal territory, or in a house

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[37] As Ayora-Diaz (1993) has pointed out, *festa* occasions were an exception to factionalist sociability and during *feste* all Telemulesi socialized together.

that was under construction and thus was an adequate facility with a roof, a floor to dance on and electric outlets to supply energy for a stereo and electric light bulbs. Today, young people seek entertainment outside the village. There are restaurants and *pizzerie* on the coast. Telemulesi patronize these and go around the island by car to village *feste* in other villages and towns. Sometimes we went with our Telemulesi friends to bars in other villages or to village festivals in neighbouring communities, and other times we were invited by them to *spuntini*, outdoor banquets where wine and meat are the main fare.

As McVeigh (1992) has shown for another Ogliastra settlement, in Telemula the summer is a period when the flocks need little care, and the shepherds can spend much more time than during the rest of the year dedicating themselves to other productive tasks and engaging in leisure activities such as one-day trips outside of the village. Ayora-Diaz and I have often travelled with shepherds to places such as Cala Fuili, which is 30 kilometres away from Telemula, to sight-see and swim in the sea, or to Cagliari, the capital of the province, which is five hours away from the village, to watch a soccer game. One of the old shepherds went on a two-week trip to northern Italy and other shepherds have gone on short trips to Yugoslavia and France, to visit famous sanctuaries dedicated to a Catholic *Madonne*. During these shepherds' holidays, the animals are taken care of by the shepherds' brothers or by other shepherds who share the same *ovile* with them.

Also, we have gone on long sightseeing hikes inside the communal territory during the summer, during the period when the shepherds did not have to milk their animals. The shepherds have taken us to parts of the communal territory they do not see during their work with the flocks. We have often participated in outdoor roast meat banquets called *spuntini* that take place during the summer. Through these

banquets the shepherds visit with their friends, and at the same time consume those animals that have become supernumerary.[38] The cash expenses for the banquets, then, are not as much for the meat, which comes from the shepherds' own flocks, but for beverages (beer and soft drinks), fruits, and the sweets that accompany all formal meals in Ogliastra and Barbagia. Wine and bread are often supplied by the shepherds or their friends from their houses' *magazzeni*, as well.

The pace of everyday life, then, is more or less as follows: in the morning the shepherds go to work around 6:00 a.m. in the summer and 4:30 to 5:00 a.m. during the winter. At noon the shepherds who own cars are back in the village, and other people who work within the village take a break to go home and have *pranzo*, the noon meal. Before the meal most unmarried men and women (and also some married men) go to the bar to have an *aperitivo* [a drink preceding the meal].[39] Between 3:00 and 6:00 p.m. the shepherds return to their *ovili*. In the winter most shepherds have to milk their animals in the afternoon, for the second time during the day. Goatherds during the winter and both goat- and shepherds during the summer go to watch their animals in the afternoon, in order to ensure that they are all more or less together and that everything is okay with the flock.

Between 7:00 and 8:00 the bars begin to fill again, this time with men and women who are outside to socialize together after the day's work. At 8:00 people leave the bars again, to go home and have supper, and after they have eaten they either

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[38] During the summer it is easier for the pastoralists to see how many animals should continue to be grown within the flock, because by this time they can see how many of the litters they have been keeping have survived the winter.

[39] This usually consists of one among several types of non-alcoholic bitter drinks, or the same type of beverage already mixed with white wine.

stay home to watch television or come back to the bar to meet their friends for a *digestivo* [another drink, usually a bitter liqueur made from artichokes], for a game of pinball, or a game of cards.

During the summer much of the socializing, including card playing, takes place outside in the *piazza s'istrada*, a small public place which is in front of one of the bars and next to another one. The bars serve the customers outside, and people stay out until midnight. During the winter the bars are expected to close at 11:00, but what usually happens is that, if there are many customers inside, the bartender brings down the metallic shutter while the customers, some times including the *carabinieri* in charge of enforcing the closing time, stay inside until midnight or until the first hours of the morning. It is to introduce variations on this general pattern that young Telemulesi often drive to coastal towns to have pizza on outdoor patios or have drinks at a different bar. During the summer, village festivals provide another source of entertainment. Our Telemulesi friends then travel to different villages to meet and are hosted by their friends in other villages, and to enjoy the live music and entertainment that are provided for the festival.

Older people travel around less than their children and grandchildren, but they are also busy during the summer hosting their younger friends and the friends of their children and grandchildren. The older folks, however, do lead an intense visiting activity through the year as, although within the limits of the factions, friends visit each other around the village.

8. THE CRìCCA

In Telemula each *crìcca*, including those of the shepherds, are formed by men and women of different occupations. The income of the members of each *crìcca* is also relative heterogeneous. At any point in time a *crìcca* may include one or several

people who are temporarily unemployed.

The members of each *crìcca* are supposed to help each other out and give each other support during difficult times. For an outsider this aspect of *crìcca* sociability may not be very obvious. The group includes people with (at least apparently) different opinions who constantly argue with one another so much that it could be difficult to believe that these people seek each other every night and undertake common leisure and sometimes even work activities.

During the summer *crìcca* groups organise one-day trips, go to the beach, hold outdoor banquets, go out for pizza and attend village festivals in Telemula and neighbouring communities. During the winter they organize and participate in *veglióni* [large dance parties where snacks and champagne-like wine are available] to celebrate Christmas and the New Year's. The members of each *crìcca* usually get together in the late afternoon, to take part in the daily *passeggiata* [the walk on main street]. At this time people walk back and forth on the main street in groups of four or five people, which are segments of different *crìcche*. After the walk the *crìcche* it in one of the local bars.

In Telemula shepherds usually belong to *crìcche* where the other members are not pastoralists. Although men hunt in the winter with their friends, hunting groups are made out of people from different *crìcche*, and they often include people from other villages as well. I went wild boar hunting once with a group of some 30 men, and besides members of my regular *crìcche*, there were people from *crìcche* that I frequented less, and people from other parts of Ogliastra.

Women over 40 years of age in Telemula are said not to belong to *crìcche*. However, these women often have a well developed network among both women and men, which is related to their parental families and their fictive kin, their production activities in the valley, their bread baking groups and their activities in the gardens, as well as to their

participation in village festivals and meetings of parents of school children. As already described, many women in Telemula share a history of having belonged to one or more bands of young women who travelled together peddling *bisàccie*, looked for and gathered acorns to make flour, pastured and milked together their family's milk goats, collected berries and walked together to the agricultural fields. They visit each other and make each other small gifts, keeping their networks alive.

These bands seem to have been somewhat similar to today's young people's *crìcche* in the sense that they provided their members with a sense of belonging to a group. However, while today's *crìcche* are primarily concerned with leisure and include people from different occupations, the composition of the older women's groups seems to have grouped young people undertaking the same or similar production and foraging activities. Also, while young people's *crìcche* are so much a part of their social identity within the village and around neighbouring villages and towns, the work bands do not seem to have given their members the same type of group image to their members. While older men do not identify themselves as members of *crìcche*, either, they usually have a group of people with whom they play cards or whom they visit at their homes. Older men's groups in Telemula are very similar to the *crìcca* groups, including the groups' occupational heterogeneity and factionalist identity. The differences I can see between these older men's groups and the *crìcche* are the first's single gender composition, and the fact that they do not undertake common activities outside the bars separate from their respective families, while the *crìcche* organize events and travel around the island.

9. DISCUSSION

In Telemula the governmental projects to take men away from pastoralism have had some limited success. Other than

the five men employed in the *cartiera* and the ones who work at Intermare, middle-aged and young men find employment in government-sponsored road maintenance programmes, reforestation and service outlets of different sorts. However, it is doubtful that all the men employed in these other types of jobs would have been able to become shepherds had the government not provided alternative possibilities. The main difference is that these people have stayed in Telemula while their parents and grandparents often had to emigrate in search of jobs.

The *Azienda Speciale* legislation, which maintains the municipal lands communal, is an obstacle to the improvement of pastoralism because with the collapse of the field rotation system and the lack of subsequent lands improvements, the communal pastures have been degraded and the productivity of the animals cannot be increased.

The *Azienda Speciale* has also prevented the shepherds from undertaking land improvement activities themselves because of the impossibility of keeping extraneous animals away from the improved areas. These extraneous animals, furthermore, do not belong to shepherds but to non-shepherds who, by letting them roam free on the Supramonte, can have access to cash incentives which are theoretically meant for shepherds only.

The varied employment structure and the differential access of particular families or individuals to government funds have created economic disparities among the villagers, and the factionalist rift has engendered two almost exclusive social communities within the same village. Clientelism and the political influence of individuals or families re-enforce the differences and cleavages between small groups. Both the fact that non-shepherds can let their animals free on the Supramonte and the fact that *accozzi* are (or at least are considered) necessary for obtaining jobs and access to resources show the importance of clientelist networks and

political influence in the village.

While at the institutional level clear distinctions emerge among Telemulesi, however, sociability and the dialectical dynamics of factionalism bring them together in informal ways. The combined effect is what Mingione characterizes as the fragmentation of the society because instead of grouping themselves through perceived structural similarities, people come together only on the strength of interpersonal relations. As Mingione proposes, formal sociopolitical institutions such as trade unions and political parties do not hold much sway in Telemula, except through people's insertion in specific social networks. That is, a trade union will take on a positive or negative meaning among Telemulesi not because of the ideological or political platform on which it is chartered, but because of the trade union's leaders or steering committee members' friendship with one or another Telemulese.

Although the politics of patronage and clientelism are alive and working in Telemula, in general terms Telemulesi are disadvantaged when looking for powerful *accozzi*.[40] This lack of political clout, in turn, limits the possibilities Telemulesi could have when making occupational and other choices which are determined outside the village.

We also see the fragmentation of society working through the strong dependence of the locals on informal reciprocity networks as opposed to relying on institutions, leading to the lack of flexibility in labour negotiations. Telemulesi enter unequal relationships in which they have no possibilities of negotiating their work schedules, safety conditions or employment benefits, as would be the case if they stayed in the formal job and commodity exchange market. While people's

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[40] As we will see in detail in Part II, Telemula is considered politically marginal and thus uninteresting by most Sardinian bureaucrats and politicians.

obvious choice is to find full-time regular employment in the formal economy, especially in secure positions, this is a privilege of which many Telemulesi can only dream. In the meantime, they find jobs which are often outside the regulation of the State, and thus do not pay taxes, but at the same time lose all possible claims to adequate working conditions and worker's benefits.

The proliferation of the informal economy, then, has the positive effect of providing jobs and income to those sectors of the population that cannot find ways to remain in the formal economy. However, it has the negative effect of eroding the negotiation power of workers. This is why Elena can be made to work in a shirt factory without receiving a salary or any other worker benefits, or a mason work for cash and in outwitting the State also lose all claims to unemployment insurance or other benefits he would get from a job in the formal market.

As we will see in Part II, the informal economy depends largely on the manipulation of the idiom of **friendship** and people can shake off their reciprocal obligations by re-defining the contents of the concept. Someone may employ a friend, or not employ her or him and justify this action by re-defining the meaning and expectations attached to the idea of friendship. This possibility, which is always a latent one among friends, makes for an element of uncertainty in the informal market of labour and goods, which is precarious enough even when everyone follows the reciprocity rules that are said and expected to prevail among the villagers.

The theoretical issues awaken by Telemulese families' self-provisioning activities are most interesting when seen in the light of both the "simple commodity producers" described by Cook (1982) and the "worker peasants" of Friuli, described by Holmes (1989). Cook conceptualizes "simple commodity production" as follows:

> On the one hand, the concept assumes a domestic production regime, operating with non-waged family labor power, in which the direct producers own or control the principal means of production and produce essentially for autoconsumption. These conditions imply an anti-capitalist dynamic that pulls direct producers away from labor and other commodity markets, which are predicated upon a separation of production from consumption and of direct domestic units striving for reproductive viability through production for own-use. On the other hand, simple commodity production implies some degree of production for exchange by domestic units and, consequently, the necessary involvement of direct producers in exchange or marketing relations (Cook 1982:2).

It would be a grave mistake to see the pastoralists or other producers of Telemula as simple commodity producers because, if it is true that their agricultural products are primarily directed to family consumption, this does not pull them away from the capitalist market or relations. Instead, in many cases agricultural production in Telemula is an occupation people engage in only at specific stage of their lives (for example after retirement from factory jobs elsewhere) or as a complement to other economic activities, such as shepherding or wage labour. Peasant concerns are radically different from those of Telemulesi direct producers: in peasant households the family attempts, through an internal division of labour, to be as independent as possible from the market. In Telemula the market and the welfare state themselves make the continuation of primary production viable.

During their study of the communal territory, ERSAT technicians determined that the current number of sheep and goats is excessive, not only for the current carrying capacity of the communal lands, but even for improved pastures in the event that the project of the *Azienda Speciale* were to be carried out fully (ERSAT n.d.b). However, production supports continue to make pastoral production economically viable through the cash incentives, special tax breaks and other

privileges the pastoralists are granted. This becomes even clearer in the context of the price protection measures of the EEC.

If the pastoralist families' products were left to freely compete in the international market it is unlikely that the price of *pecorino* and *caprino* cheeses from Sardinia would be as high as at present. The importance of the EEC and welfare supports is also highlighted in relation with the horticultural products that the Telemulesi produce. Although many of them are prevented by EEC policies from entering the regular market, it is still possible for horticulturists to save money by growing their own foodstuffs, because of the cash incentives to agriculture, the welfare payments and the retirement pensions to which they are entitled as agricultural producers. In Telemula, as in all of Sardinia, then, the production of foodstuffs not only brings food into the household but also money which the producers collect because of their engagement in agriculture. In short, it is the presence of the EEC and the Italian welfare state what makes Telemulese primary production viable.

The romantic figure of the Friulian worker-peasant, as described by Holmes (1989), is not very far away from the Telemulese agro-pastoral producers. However, while Holmes sees the attachment to an agrarian and rural way of life as the determinant feature of Friuliese identity, it would be difficult to say the same of the Telemulesi, among who the younger generations of pastoralists are highly preoccupied not with conservation but with change.

The programme of the *Azienda Speciale*, however, does seem to be based on the assumption that Telemulesi are very attached to their cultural traditions, which are described by the planners as archaic and closed to all possible change. This and other programmes which make Telemula their target promote conservation measures and activities rather than the development of entrepreneurship. Such is the case when the

pastoralists are offered solar panels, which do not have the potential of running milkers or heavy equipment which would ease the shepherds' and goatherds' efforts at work. It is also the case when the cattle raisers of Telemula are offered cash incentives to keep the variety of cattle indigenous to the Supramonte, or the grape growers are encouraged to grow the Cannonau grape variety, which is also indigenous to Ogliastra. The reforestation programmes only foresee the employment of people as a remedial measure to local unemployment and not the possible development of alternative cultivation.

The political disinterest in Telemula stems from the paucity of its population, which represents only so many votes, and from a generalized perception of the village, its inhabitants and resources as highly marginal to the regional economy. The lack of *accozzi* that the Telemulesi experience on an everyday basis when dealing with the bureaucracy is one of the results of this indifference. Another result, directly tied to the first, is the necessary reliance of Telemulesi on reciprocity networks which, in turn, limit their scope of choices and bargaining possibilities in the formal job market. While they seem to believe that they are outwitting the State, the Telemulesi are being not even outwitted, only bypassed by the designs of bureaucrats and politicians for the future of Sardinia.

CHAPTER FOUR: BARDIA, A *PROGREDITO* TOWN

1. BEGINNING FIELDWORK IN BARDIA

During my first week in Sardinia I visited Bardia's main settlement almost by accident. I had been put in contact with an ERSAT official who was spending his summer vacation in Cala Fuili, a tourist resort which is a 'fraction' settlement of the Bardia municipality, and the bus going from Cagliari to the northern tip of Sardinia left me at a downtown stop in Bardia. Highway 125, known as the *Orientale Sarda*, runs along the eastern coast between the city of Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, in the south, and the port of Palau in the north of the island. This highway touches the outskirts of Bardia, where it meets Highway 129. Highway 129, in turn, crosses the island from east to west as it runs between Bossa, on the coast, and Orosei, on the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea. This highway also touches the cities of Nuoro and Macomer. During the summer, the buses going along these highways pass through the centre of Bardia to allow passengers to change buses.

My first time in Bardia I was one of these passengers, and I had to wait there for a bus that would take me to Cala Fuili. Before the bus entered the town I had admired the terraces planted with vineyards, which seem to fall like a cascade from the level of the highway to a river's valley. The river itself disappears into the two gigantic walls of a canyon, making for one of the most spectacular views of the Sardinian landscape.

It was the beginning of August, and the town was crowded with tourists speaking German, and others speaking Italian with different accents. Bardia, I thought, was a pretty town of tall houses with wide balconies. There were many shops offering the tourists a myriad of leather articles, handicrafts made out of wood and ceramics, local wines, metal work, jewellery, baskets, postcards and pottery. The place looked very busy with many cars going up and down its narrow

streets.

I thought there would be at least fifty thousand inhabitants, judging from the volume of motorized traffic. However, after the first hour, I realized that several vehicles and faces had become familiar to me, as they passed on the same street over and over again. I had begun a conversation with a German couple who, like me, were waiting for a bus. I asked them at some point if they had noticed how some of the people passing by in the cars had come around before, and they told me that they were under the same impression. We decided to start counting the times a young woman we spotted would pass by. Half an hour later, when my bus finally came, she had passed by us seven times, in at least three different vehicles. She had first driven past us in a small car, the size of a Volkswagen Rabbit; then she had come around in one of the little Italian *Cinquecento* cars from Fiat, and finally she came twice on a scooter. The German couple and I found this amusing and rather odd. I did not suspect at the time that a few months later I would also be going around the same streets in this fashion, driving with or being driven by my local friends endlessly around the same streets.

Bardia looked prosperous and welcoming. Middle aged and older women were elegantly dressed. People around my age and younger were dressed in sweat shirts or t-shirts and jeans or shorts. In the summer heat, life seemed to be relaxed and vivacious. Even before I had seen it, I knew that it could be one of the sites for my research, because my original project was studying cooperatives among the pastoralists of the island. From the literature available in Montreal I knew that there were in Bardia more cooperatives than in the surrounding towns and villages. I also knew that there was at least one shepherds' cooperative. However, if I had chosen a village to stay in from the window of a bus without previous information, I would probably have chosen to stay there.

Cala Fuili turned out to be a real tourist paradise. It was full of people crowding both sandy and rocky beaches for most of the day. Many women sunbathed topless, and the children (especially German children) ran around naked under the bright, hot sun. The official from the agro-pastoral agency whom I had come to meet welcomed me, and he and his family hosted me for the three days that I stayed in Cala Fuili.

I started living in Bardia in November of 1990, in an apartment that I rented from relatives of the family who had hosted me in Cala Fuili in August. During the previous three months I had lived in Telemula and become acquainted with many people from pastoralist families, including some from Bardia. Since I had already made friends with the daughter of a Bardiesi shepherd who worked as a kindergarten instructor in Telemula, it was rather easy for me to continue making friends from among pastoralist and non-pastoralist families in Bardia. Furthermore, this young woman and her sisters had among their friends a group of musicians, and I was often invited to hear them rehearse.

During weekends I went dancing with my new friends. I also began to stay out until late at night or the early morning, listening to the musicians or simply being driven around in the fashion I have already described. I also met a group of young professional men, who invited me to drink with them at night in their *cantine* [wine cellars]. Since in Telemula it was normal for young women to go to bars with men, I never hesitated to join them whenever I had the time. Soon, my landlord and landlady called me to tell me that it was not proper for a young woman like me to go around at night with strangers.

Also, several times I went back to Telemula, to see a doctor, to do a transhumance with a shepherd and to attend the Archbishop's seminar on politics at his house in Lanusei. On these occasions I stayed overnight in Telemula, without

thinking of giving notice to anyone. Being as busy as I was, I stopped visiting my landlord and landlady as often as I had during the first few days after I moved into the apartment. On one occasion I travelled to Telemula and from there I accompanied a shepherd in a transhumance between Telemula and Bardia, in his truck. That day a pipe broke in my apartment and my floor and the one below were flooded. The landlady and landlord came to my apartment, called a plumber, fixed everything and cleaned the floors, while I was nowhere to be found.

My hosts were increasingly uneasy about their paying guest and they did not hesitate to tell me so. I felt that they did not have the right to pass judgements on me or at least not to tell me how to conduct my own work. Although I was not behaving as what 'good, nice women' were expected to do from their point of view, it was clear to me that I was not breaking everybody's rules, since it was with local livestock raising families and with young men and women that I socialized. At the end of the month I moved to a house which I shared with a family of two adults and their two children. In the new house I had a bedroom on the ground floor, a living room and kitchen on the second floor and a bathroom outside in the enclosed patio. The family had a kitchen and *cantina* on the ground floor, two rooms on the second, and the entire third floor to themselves. The two parents and their children welcomed me warmly and made me feel at home. Since my rooms were on the bottom floors I could come and go as I pleased, without bothering anyone. After some trepidation, I had finally found a satisfactory living arrangement. When my husband Igor Ayora-Diaz came to Sardinia, at the end of December, we continued to live in the same house, with the family, until March of 1991, when I moved back to Telemula, with him.

2. THE TERRITORY

The territory of Bardia is 224.81 square kilometres (almost twice that of Telemula), and it encompasses much more diversity than Telemula's. It is inhabited by 8,000 people, 1,000 of which live in the Cala Fuili fraction while everyone else lives in the main settlement on a valley. The main areas the inhabitants recognize are five: the *paese* is on a plain at 300 metres above sea level, and it ends in the east at the foothills of a mountain that separates the *paese* area from the coast on the Gulf of Orosei. To the west, the *paese* overlooks an open valley, cut by several rivers. The major river crossing this valley is known as the Frumene, and is one of the largest rivers of Sardinia. The Frumene river opens wide to form a lake, most of which lies on Bardia's territory.

To the north, Bardia's territory joins the rest of the Baronia sub-region through a series of small hills and ample valleys where both sheep and goats graze. Large tracts of this area are covered with vines. To the south, the territory of Bardia touches and includes part of the Gorropu canyon, as well as part of the Supramonte plateau, and two areas where there are still more vineyards, and olive groves.

Since the mountain blocks access from the *paese* to the coast, two tunnels have been built by the locals through the calcareous rock. Many Bardiesi have houses on the coastal fraction of Cala Fuili, some 9 kms away from the main settlement. Cala Fuili is an offshoot of the *paese* which has become a favourite tourist destination among Italians from the mainland and also among tourists from Germany and France.

The territory of Bardia, unlike that of Telemula, is crisscrossed by paved roads that go in all directions. The inhabitants of this town and its Cala Fuili fraction indefatigably open new roads and pave the old ones to allow motorized traffic. Cars, trucks and *motorini* [a type of small truck run by a motorcycle engine] travel on the roads across the municipal territory most of the year, unless one or

another area is flooded or ablaze.[1] The paving of the roads is financed by the regional or provincial governments, but Bardiesi do not always wait until the financing is approved to build the roads. Sometimes they open roads with communal resources, which are then paved if their financing is approved, or left unpaved if no public monies are assigned to them. Furthermore, some roads have been opened by private entrepreneurs with the approval of the municipal administration, and only later have they been paved with public funds.

Besides three churches and a convent in the town, several country chapels dot Bardia's landscape outside the *paese*. As we will see in Part II, these chapels give local people important points of reference during the year's social calendar. Large village festivals take place during the summer on large open fields surrounding these small chapels, some of which are accessible by paved roads. Most of them, however, can only be reached through dusty country roads.

In Bardia there are communal lands, but over 50% of the lands are private property.[2] In all, 11,000 Ha are held communally and 13,481 Ha are private property. Most of the communal lands are on the coastal part of Bardia's territory, separated from the town by the mountains that in the past made the shores inaccessible to motorized transportation. The communal lands on the plateau and valleys have been rented out

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[1] Fires are a common occurrence in Sardinia, especially during the summer. Each year, parts of Bardia's territory burn during the summer, when the grass becomes very dry and easily catches fire.

[2] Part of the communal territory of Bardia became private through what is locally remembered as the *enfiteusi*, which was a process through which *braccianti* [agricultural workers] were granted the ownership of a piece of land, if they had worked on it for twenty years. This way of acquiring property was made possible by the *Legge Gulo Segni*, which according to Angioni (1982:194, note 10) was passed in 1944.

or given to the State for reforestation (See Table 4.1).

Communal Lands	Hectares
Su Cuile Mannu cooperative	2,600
Wine cooperative	55
Azienda Demaniale (reforestation programme)	1,000
Development perimeter for Bardia	800
Development perimeter for Cala Fuili	800
Communal lands on the coast	5,745
TOTAL COMMUNAL LANDS	11,000

Table 4.1. Communal lands in Bardia, by their present form of use. Source: Municipal archives, 1991.

The agro-pastoral products of Bardia include sheep, goats, cattle and pigs, as well as dairy products, wheat, olives and grapes. Three cooperative plants, a winery (the *cantina sociale*), a dairy plant (the *caseificio* sociale) and an olive oil factory (the *oleificio sociale*) process much of the local agro-pastoral production, as well as some from surrounding villages. There is in Bardia a cooperative of vineyard owners, all of whom are also members of the cooperative wine plant. As shown in Table 4.1, the wine cooperative plant also has on lease 55 hectares of communal territory. These lands are located next to the lands that the *Su Cuile Mannu* shepherds' cooperative rents from the *comune* and the regional administration. Also, extensive olive groves are owned by the members of the *oleificio sociale*, the cooperative olive press and oil factory.

The cooperative dairy, the wine and the olive press also accept in their membership people from surrounding towns and villages who commit their agricultural production to the cooperative plants of Bardia.

Besides the main agro-pastoral products (milk, cheese, olives, olive oil, grapes and wine), some honey is now being

produced by a group of young people who have formed a cooperative. The reforestation programme has been taken up by another youth cooperative, which had originally tried to establish a cooperative farm and now takes up *appalti*, contracts for works funded by the government.

Because Cala Fuili and other spots of the municipality's coastline attract large numbers of Italian and foreign visitors. Tourism is an important economic sector in the *comune*. It brings revenues through the tourists' purchases of agro-pastoral products and handicrafts, through the hotel fees and rent that Bardiesi collect from the tourists during the summer, charges from tours and other services, and entrance fees at several tourist attractions run by the municipality (see Table 4.2 and 4.3).

Year	Tourists
1981	93,698
1982	157,242
1983	149,950
1984	166,486

Table 4.2. Number of tourists who stayed in Bardia in local hotels and rented rooms and apartments, 1981-1984. Source: Bardia municipal records, 1991.

Year	Tickets sold
1987	94,275
1988	86,596
1989	77,190
1990	70,372

Table 4.3. Tickets sold to tourists for entrance to the Cave of the Sea Oxen. Source: Bardia municipal archives, 1991.[3]

The tourist season creates in Bardia a phenomenon of cyclical rents, as the owners of houses and apartments in Cala Fuili swell the price of rent during May, June, July and August. The difference in the price of rents between the rest of the year and the summer month is dramatic, as apartments which would rent for L. 200,000 to L. 300,000 (between Can$200.00 and 300.00) a month at any other time of the year cost L. 1,000,000 a month (about Can$1,000.00) in June, L. 2,000.000 in July and L. 4,000,000 (about Can$4,000.00 CAN) in August.[4]

Even the rent of those people who lease from their relatives goes up during the summer, because the owners of the houses and apartments on the coast and in the town calculate that they are losing money by renting their properties to their nephews, nieces or grandchildren, instead of renting them out to the tourists. It has been explained to us that it

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[3] The decrease in the number of tickets sold can be explained by the fact that in recent years some of the entrepreneurs organizing the tours along the coast include in the price of the boarding tickets the visit to the famous cave. the contracts between these entrepreneurs and the municipality for access to the caves are negotiated at the beginning of the summer, and the count now registers only those tourists who come from other ports or on boats that they rent themselves.

[4] This is exactly what our apartment, which cost us $ 250.00 Can during the other months of the year, was being advertised for during the summer of 1992.

is better for the owner of a house or apartment not to rent the place during the year and then rent it at very high prices during the summer, so that the property requires less upkeep and still brings its owner more money than if he or she rented it out for the whole year at regular prices.

It is no wonder that many Bardiesi aspire to own houses and apartments in Cala Fuili. The settlement is expanding in size both south and westward, in spite of a law currently in place which forbids any further construction along the Sardinian coasts. Although some people build large houses for themselves and not for rent, many families have built additional one-room apartments in their property for tourists. It is often older women who are in charge of cleaning and preparing the apartments to be rented, and they are also in charge of collecting the rent from the tenants.

3. THE PEOPLE

According to the municipal archivist of Bardia, in 1990 there were 8,000 inhabitants, 1,000 of which lived in the Cala Fuili fraction of Bardia. According to the 1980 Census, the population was 7,595 during the 1981 count (See Table 4.5).

Bardia is relatively close to Nuoro city, and during regular weekdays there are several buses connecting Cala Fuili with the main settlement, and the main settlement with the provincial capital. There are in Bardia a kindergarten, an elementary school, a junior and a senior highschool, as well as a technical senior highschool, but many youngsters prefer to attend educational institutions in Nuoro city after elementary school. Besides Highway 129, there is an old road connecting Bardia with Nuoro city. The traffic between the provincial capital and the town is continuous, since many locals work, shop, dine and carry out business in the city. While in Telemula the range of occupations is relatively limited, in Bardia people engage in very varied types of work, including agro-pastoralism, and jobs in the secondary and

tertiary economic sectors (See Table 4.6).

Age	Males	Females	TOTAL
0- 4	297	274	571
5- 9	346	301	647
10-14	374	319	693
15-19	369	354	723
20-24	315	323	638
25-29	303	300	603
30-34	244	241	485
35-39	216	190	406
40-44	208	188	396
45-49	190	200	390
50-54	194	208	402
55-59	179	219	398
60-64	118	141	259
65-69	132	175	307
70-74	116	149	265
75 and more	170	242	412
TOTAL	3,771	3,824	7,595

Table 4.5. Bardia's resident population, 1981. Source: ISTAT 1985.

The people registered by the census as practising "agriculture, fishing and forestry" full time were those registered as full-time pastoralists or agriculturalists. Today, there are also between twenty and twenty five fisherman who operate from Cala Fuili, although mostly on a seasonal basis. Those who declared occupations encompassed under "energy, gas and water" were employed either full-time or seasonally at the local water plant and the regional electricity company. There are no mines in Bardia. However, north of the local territory, still within the Baronia subregion, there are several granite mines which give employment to people from the region. The chemical plant of Ottana also provides jobs for local Bardiesi men.

Type of Occupation	Number of workers*
Agriculture, fishing and forestry.	592
Energy, gas and water:	10
Fuel extraction, oil industry	0
Energy, gas and water.	10
Extractive industries (mining), manufacture industries for the transformation of minerals, chemical industry.	72
Industry for the transformation of metals and precision mechanics.	62
Transformation of foodstuffs, manufacture of textiles, fur, leather, clothing, wood, furniture and others.	193
Construction and related activities.	501
Commerce, restaurants, public venues and lodging.	326
Repair of appliances and automobiles.	52
Transport and communications.	114
Credit, insurance, services to firms, leasing:	50
Credit and insurance,	9
Services to firms, leasing.	41
Public administration, public and private services:	397
Public administration,	115
Public and private services.	282
TOTAL	2,369

*Includes those people who at the time of the census were unemployed but who declared themselves as specific types of workers. It does not include those people who reported themselves as students.

Table 4.6. Distribution of the local work force of Bardia in 1981, by type of activity. Source: municipal archives, 1991.

The three processing plants are sources of seasonal employment. The *caseificio sociale* hires additional employees during the high milk season, from January to May, the *oleificio sociale* also hires seasonal workers during the olive pressing season, between November and February, and the *cantina sociale* hires additional workers for at least two months each year, during July and August. These people are counted under the sub-heading "workers in extractive industries" by the census enumerators.

Metal work is one of the craft specialties of Bardia. The census registers 193 people working as smiths in 1981. Besides iron smiths, there are three men in Bardia who specialize in gold and silver handicrafts, and sell their crafts in their own establishments. These goldsmiths are considered among the finest of the island, and people from other parts of Sardinia come to learn the trade from them.

Also, leather and to a lesser extent wood crafts are locally produced, and many of the shops that sell handicrafts on the two main streets of the town also display and sell the work of the shop's owners, among handicrafts from other parts of the island. Along with these craftspeople, the census classifies under the same sub-heading those people (mainly women) who bake bread and fine pastry for sale. In Bardia there are at least seven establishments that specialize in fine pastry and sweets, including one where one of the main bakers is a man who used to work as a cook in American transatlantic cruise boats, and now incorporates Brazilian and American techniques when baking his Sardinian confections. The sweets and the pastries from Bardia are considered among the finest of all of Sardinia, and in all main Sardinian cities pastry shops carry Bardiesi sweets. The same "Food processing and manufacture" sub-heading also includes the local weavers. Currently, there are five commercial shops in Bardia in which textiles are weaved year-round. One of them is operated by its owner, who has only one helper working with

her. Another one is operated by young women who weave under contract from the owner of the shop.[5] The others are run by the families of the owners, occasionally employing additional labour. There are also shops which specialize in ceramics. The employees at these establishments work on a piece rate basis. They are paid by the owners of the shops according to how many items they either produce or decorate (for example, how many dishes they paint designs on).

Construction is another one of the main economic activities in Bardia. The census lists 501 as the number of people engaged in construction in 1981. It is important to note, however, that construction did not necessarily provide for 501 full-time jobs in 1981. Rather, 501 persons listed construction-related activities as their main occupation to the census enumerators. Today there are five local construction companies which operate year-round. However, some of the people employed by them are hired on a short-term basis or only part-time. Also, the existence of these companies and the short distance that separates Bardia from the city of Nuoro has created an incentive for several men to buy and operate large pick-up trucks and tow-away equipment. I know four Bardiesi men who own trucks and operate mainly within Bardia and the Barbagia, usually in coordination with the local construction companies.

There are three hotels which operate during most of the year. The census reports 326 people as employed in commerce, restaurants, public venues and lodging in 1981. Most likely, this figure has increased since, because of the expansion of services in general in Bardia during the last few years. Some

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[5] The largest number of weavers I have seen operating at this establishment at one time is five. One of these weavers was part of my *crìcca* in Bardia and she told me that she only made the minimum wage. She said that in Bardia weavers are hired as generic labour and not as specialized workers. It is assumed that anyone can learn how to weave, and thus no special education is required.

people are employed full time in service outlets, because of the large number of small general stores (over twenty), supermarkets (twelve) and bars (over twenty five), plus four *pizzerie* [pizza restaurants] which are open to the public during the whole year. These establishments are usually run by the members of the owner's family, occasionally employing outside help. There are also at least six lodging establishments which operate both in the main settlement and in Cala Fuili during the summer. In May, June, July and August also the number of restaurants, ice cream stands and service outlets suddenly increases, especially in Cala Fuili, as the beaches and coastal villages are flooded by tourists. Because of this, during the summer there are ample employment opportunities for most Bardiesi, and especially for those who are fluent in German and French.

According to the census, in 1981 there were 52 people who worked repairing appliances and cars. This is another figure that is most likely higher nowadays, as currently there are at least six tire repair shops between the ones in Bardia and Cala Fuili, four *officine* [auto repair shops] and two auto dealers, besides the two shops I know where appliances are repaired.

The category of "transport and communications" encompasses the truck drivers I mentioned above, plus anyone who works as a bus driver, and the people who work at the post office. Since the two post-offices have existed in Bardia for more than ten years, and there has been a freeze in hiring at the bus companies, I do not expect that the figure would have changed during the last decade. During the summer many young men (and as of 1991 young women too) find employment as bus drivers with the two major companies of the island (ARST and FF.SS). This type of employment, however, does not guarantee them employment as bus drivers during the rest of the year.

The 1981 census lists 50 people as engaged in financial services in Bardia. Some of the people who perform these

services work in the two banks that operate within the municipal territory. These are branches of other Sardinian banks, namely, the *Banco di Sardegna* and the *Banca Popolare di Sassari*. The *Banco di Sardegna* [Bank of Sardinia] also runs a smaller branch at Cala Fuili during the summer, as one more convenience for the tourists. As in Telemula, the local banking establishments are mainly staffed by women. There are at least six women who hold full-time jobs in Bardia at the local banks. At least one of them is from a neighbouring village. As in Telemula, in Bardia the local branch of the Bank of Sardinia also manages the funds of the municipality, and grants loans on behalf of the regional administration of the island. A man runs an insurance office, which is also a branch of a regional insurance company. This man, besides insurance contracts, also carries out bureaucratic procedures for his clients at fixed fees. There are other people who represent insurance companies locally. However, they do not seem to be able to live off these services only and they usually look for and engage in other types of work at the same time.

The "public administration and public and private services" subheading encompasses those people who work for the post-office, for the *comune* offices, for the local branches of regional institutions such as the welfare registry, the trade unions, the agro-pastoral institutes and the Ministry of Forestry. Also, it is under this heading that census officers count those people employed at the health facilities and doctors' offices that operate within Bardia, and the teachers and instructors who staff public schools and other and educational institutions.

Two post-offices are local sources of employment. One of the is in the main settlement and the other one is in Cala Fuili. There are about six full-time office employees in the post office of the main settlement, and at least two full-time letter carriers, and three full-time employees and one letter

carrier work at the Cala Fuili post office. Because the post office is a federal institution, three of the full-time personnel at the main settlement's post office are from the province of Cagliari. Also, temporary employees come to both Bardia and Cala Fuili when the full-time employees are absent or when extra personnel is needed.

There seems to be an oversupply of teachers and kindergarten instructors in Bardia, because several people I know work as teachers or instructors in Ogliastra or Barbagia towns within the public school system. Bardia schools, both in the main settlement and in Cala Fuili, give particular attention to the education of mentally handicapped or problem children. Especially trained teachers visit the elementary schools regularly in order to help those children who are considered to have mental problems of any type. Even these special instructors are now in oversupply, and it may take some time for a special instructor to obtain a teaching position in Bardia after he or she has obtained a special education teacher's degree. A woman I know worked for two years in Ogliastra, before she was able to find part-time employment within the territory of Bardia as a special instructor for handicapped children.

The *comune* offices of Bardia employ more people and thus are more bureaucratic than those of Telemula. Here too, as in Telemula, the municipal secretary is salaried by the federal government, and is expected to protect federal interests during the local decision making process. The Mayor, unlike in Telemula, is a local politician who represents one or another national political party. Also in the *comune* headquarters, there are two resident *geometri* [land surveyors] who are in charge of mapping the *comune*'s and people's property. There is a full time employee in charge of the *ufficio d'abigeato*, an employee who only looks after civil matters (certificates, permits, official registration of personal signatures and other legal responsibilities of the

comune offices) and several *raggioneri* [bookkeepers] both in long- and short-term positions. There is an administrative secretary who works closely with the town's Mayor, and man who runs errands for the *comune*'s personnel. There is also an indeterminate number of typists who are hired under short term contracts, on the basis of open competition for jobs that the *comune* advertises locally.

4. THE PASTORALISTS AND THE SEDENTARY LIVESTOCK BREEDERS

a. *Pastori* and *allevatori stanziali*

Bardia is one of the most important municipalities in Nuoro province, in terms of livestock. In particular, it is one of the municipalities with the larger numbers of sheep in the province (See Tables 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6). As people elsewhere in Sardinia, Bardiesi distinguish between *pastori* [pastoralists] and *allevatori stanziali* [non-transhumant livestock breeders]. *Pastori* are those livestock owners who do not have large holdings of their own and cannot afford to rent large tracts of land where they could keep their animals year-round. Sedentary livestock raisers or breeders are those who have more resources (in land, cash or both) and do not have to move their animals to different places during the year. Apparently, only in recent years has the concept of *allevatori* [stock breeders] been promoted as a general category encompassing both the pastoralists and the intensive livestock breeders. However, the adjective *stanziali* continues to refer only to those livestock owners who no longer practice transhumance. Thus, this adjective continues to mark the difference between two socioeconomic types of livestock producers.

Year	Ovine	Caprine	Bovine	Swine	Equine
1980	41,652	6,461	2,471	49,459	107
1981	39,164	5,902	2,558	45,856	100
1982	34,172	6,323	1,950	41,138	132
1983	33,570	5,630	2,252	39,772	116
1984	34,765	5,818	2,471	41,156	117
1985	33,706	6,305	2,685	40,641	174
1986	34,902	6,645	3,325	42,193	190
1987	65,857	8,050	5,749	79,799	235
1988	71,100	9,253	5,964	86,384	256
1989	82,000	10,250	5,544	99,141	256
1990	76,400	9,942	5,172	93,116	252
1991	76,850	9,861	5,460	91,627	225

Table 4.4. Livestock in Bardia, 1980-1991, according to the Municipal Livestock Registry, 1992.

	Ovine	Caprine	Bovine	Swine
Municipal archives, 1990	76,400	9,942	5,172	93,116
Agro-pastoral census, 1990	46,536	5,469	2,606	3,598

Table 4.5. Animals kept by Bardiesi livestock raisers, as reported in two different sources.

	Ovine	Caprine	Bovine	Swine
Telemula	2,115	0	338	0
Bardia	46,536	5,469	2,606	3,598
Nuoro Province	983,731	83,777	70,103	62,666
Sardinia	3,060,171	218,411	286,225	253,292

Table 4.6. Livestock in Telemula, Bardia, Nuoro Province and Sardinia in 1991, as reported in the 1990-1991 Agro-pastoral census.

While all Bardiesi livestock owners would like to become *allevatori stanziali*, most young shepherds either do not have lands of their own or have such small pieces of land that they cannot afford to keep their animals in one place all year. The most outstanding exception to this are two brothers in their early thirties who own over 400 sheep. One of these brothers is a veterinarian and the other takes care of their common flock for most of the year, employing young men from town under one day or one week informal contracts. These two brothers rent an area of about 20 hectares from a local landowner, where they keep their sheep, over 63 pedigree bulls, one milk cow and four fine racing horses. They are members of the local dairy cooperative, where they sell their milk and purchase animal feed at subsidized prices. Each of them owns a car, and the two together also have a pick-up truck and heavy equipment for land improvement. In June of 1992 they were considering the purchase of automatic milkers.

Several young men have entered partnerships with their fathers, who already had land and sometimes also flocks of their own. Two of my shepherd friends have followed this particular strategy. In both cases their fathers were considering whether to retire or to go into a different line of economic activity, but as soon as the sons took up livestock herding, however, the fathers decided to remain active as herders, in partnership with their sons. The teams of father and son expanded the father's original flock, and bought heavy equipment to take advantage of the EEC programmes for agricultural land improvement. Today the sons from these families keep active year-round working with their flocks, growing grains for fodder and also using their tractors and other heavy equipment to clear land plots for other people, around Bardia. For this latter type of work they are paid by the regional government through the EEC programme for land improvement.

In many households even pastoralism is just another occupation, which happens to be held by one of the members of the family. For example, in the Cabras family shepherding was taken up by one of the young adult members of the household recently. In this family sheep herding is seen as just another occupation which should not require the family to change its patterns of sociability or its internal organization. Camilo, the male head of this household runs a *tabacchi* shop [a shop where cigarettes, matches, chewing gum, post stamps, postcards and toiletry are sold], and Lucia, the female head of the household, is a teacher at a local high school. They live in a house with Camilo's mother, and their three sons. Their daughter Elena attends university in Sassari, in the social sciences faculty. Roberto, one of the three young men, has bought a flock of sheep which he keeps on a piece of land belonging to the family. Pasquale and Nicola, the other two young men, have set up a carpentry shop with a grant from the *artigianato* fund for young entrepreneurs.

Roberto supplies the household with some meat and dairy products. He is a member of the dairy cooperative, to which it sells his ewes' milk and from which he purchases animal feed. Roberto told me that he chose to become a shepherd because he believes it is a profitable occupation. He occasionally asks his brothers for help, but in general the other members of the family do not participate in pastoral activities.

Other young men who make their living herding livestock are less fortunate than the two brothers, or than the young men whose fathers already had resources of their own. If their fathers have very limited resources there is little incentive for young men to consider livestock raising as a permanent activity. Many young shepherds who work with their fathers also keep their names on the unemployment records, and thus do not register the livestock as their own. Instead, the livestock is registered under their fathers' names in the hope

that when employment outside shepherding is available, such as road construction or reforestation, they will be eligible to be hired. Thus, they work as shepherds while they look for another job. But salaried jobs are hard to come by. With one foot in the job market and another one in pastoralism, these young men are in a precarious economic situation. They cannot apply for land improvement grants, or for EEC subsidies to pastoralism. Often, their fathers cannot apply for these subsidies on their behalf, either, because they would be seen as having more sheep and thus a higher income than the average small producer, for whom many of the tax breaks and support programmes are designed.

The local shepherds' production cooperative, Su Cuile Mannu, which has given many local landless shepherds access to land. The cooperative has made it possible for its members to receive large EEC and regional grants as a group. Young shepherds today, however, are not easily accepted into the cooperative. The entrance fee is now 13 million Lire (about Can$13,000.00), which an unemployed aspiring shepherd would find hard to come by. Besides, the cooperative members claim that the carrying capacity of the cooperative's lands is already exceeded by the numbers of livestock on it, and they refuse to admit new members for the foreseeable future, unless the cooperative manages to acquire more land.

As a result of the extent to which there is an unequal distribution of private lands, the scarcity of communal lands open to pasture, and the inequality of money and labour resources among families and individuals, there are significant economic differences among local livestock owners. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that most Bardiesi shepherds are better off than Telemulesi ones. This is so because the quality of pastures in all of Bardia and the availability of grants for those men registered as full-time shepherds are much higher in Bardia as a whole than in Telemula.

b. Stock breeding under a mixed land ownership regime

The contrast between the forms of livestock breeding in Bardia and Telemula are also related to topographic factors. Bardia's territory is relatively level, except for the mountains along the coast. This makes the terrain more adequate for keeping sheep than goats. Because of the larger and more profitable market for sheep's milk that for goat's milk cheeses, sheep herding is the most profitable form of livestock production in central Sardinia.

The agro-pastoral programmes based on 1976 law have found in Bardia a perfect natural and social setting for the encouragement of intensive livestock raising in general and of sheep herding in particular. In 1974 the shepherds' production cooperative Su Cuile Mannu was allowed to lease 2,140 hectares of communal lands. In 1977 the cooperative also leased 900 Ha of public lands from the regional land fund, in order to form three *monti dei pascoli* as recommended first by the *Inchiesta Medici* and then by the 1976 Agro-Pastoral Reform Law.[6]

At the beginning of my fieldwork in Bardia the members of the municipal council explained the local pastoral sector to me by saying that there are two types of Bardiesi shepherds: those who have lands of their own and can keep their sheep in the same place the whole year, and those who have to move their animals during the year from one place to another. The latter, even if they own small pieces of land, cannot rely on

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[6] In 1820 the House of Piedmont passed a Law of Enclosures that created three types of landed property in Sardinia: private lands, communal lands and public lands. Private lands are owned by individuals or by legal subjects (such as the church or a company). Communal lands are owned by a municipality as a whole and are managed by the municipal councils. Public lands, in turn, are managed by the regional authorities. As in the case of Telemula, where the lands that used to belong to the *Ente Ferrarese* are now public lands, the three types of tenure may coexist within the confines of a single municipality.

their own resources to become fully sedentary livestock breeders. They gain access to grazing lands either through membership in the shepherds' production cooperative Su Cuile Mannu or by taking up goat herding, which can be practised along the coastal communal lands.

After visiting the shepherds' work sites myself I found very striking differences among the shepherds, but not exactly the ones suggested by the municipal councillors. The main differences were not between the owners of large livestock breeding outfits and the landless shepherds, but rather between those shepherds who either have or rent private lands or belong to Su Cuile Mannu, and those who have little or no land of their own and thus rely exclusively on free communal pastures and transhumance arrangements. Compared to those landless shepherds who are excluded from membership in the cooperative, sedentary livestock breeders, landowning pastoralists and the members of Su Cuile Mannu have achieved a very stable way of life.

Sedentary livestock breeders, such as the two brothers mentioned above, are able to keep all their animals either on one single piece of land or on two that are within short distance from each other (that is, two or three kilometres apart). They keep cattle for meat and for milk, and collect special premiums that the EEC awards the breeders of beef lambs and cattle. The holdings of sedentary stockbreeders which I visited are all equipped with electricity and running water, which may or may not feed off the municipal power and water lines.[7] In these properties there are several permanent buildings including a masonry house, a shelter for sheep and for lambs, a barn for cattle with appropriate hay feeders, a shed for pigs, a storage room for equipment, one or more water troughs, and a smaller storage room for cheese, sausages and

[7] Some of these places have small generators and water pumps.

those foodstuffs that the livestock owner would want to put to smoke or consume during the hours he spends at his work site.

I also found that the sedentary stockbreeders always keep pure bred cattle and fine horses for race or show competitions. Where these stockbreeders have goats, they have also built shelters for them, as for the sheep. Many of the sedentary stockbreeders own and operate electric milkers.

As explained in Chapter 1, the EEC has a series of grants for land improvement, in which the money is paid directly to the operator or the owner of the equipment used to prepare land for agriculture. Sedentary stockbreeders may expand their operations, as the two father and son teams mentioned above, by purchasing machinery to be used in their own and others' land plots. This type of equipment provides additional earnings to the stockbreeders during the fall and the winter, when it is put to use within the municipal territory.

Some pastoralists have private lands but cannot afford to keep their animals in the same place the whole year. They either move their flocks between several pieces of private land within the municipal territory, or take their flocks to mountain pastures on the Supramonte plateau during the summer. I met some of these Bardiesi shepherds in Telemula while I lived there, and one of them told me that he had good winter pastures of his own, but they were too warm for the animals during the summer. While many shepherds in Telemula practice 'reverse' transhumance because they live in the highlands and take their animals to the lowlands during the winter, many of these Bardiesi pastoralists practice 'normal' transhumance, as they live at a lower altitude and thus take their animals to the highlands during the summer.

I found that those pastoralists who own winter pastures are similar in economic terms to those who are members of Su Cuile Mannu, the shepherds' production cooperative. That is, they have a fixed point of reference which makes them eligible

for EEC and regional grants for land improvement, infrastructure and equipment. At the same time, they cannot participate, the way the sedentary stockbreeders do, in EEC programmes involving subsidies to fodder crops and premiums to choice meat producers, because their lands are not sufficiently large for them to grow crops or build the necessary infrastructure without having to down-size their flocks.

The shepherds who are members of *Su Cuile Mannu* mainly keep sheep (see Table 4.7). For most of the year, they keep their animals within the lands that they rent from the municipality and the regional land fund. It is only for two months each year that the cooperative's council orders the shepherds to take their animals out of the cooperative's lands, so as to allow the pastures to regenerate. With grants from the regional government, the shepherds have financed the improvement of the cooperative's lands, a network of roads, the building of shelters for themselves and the animals, the supply of electricity to the area, the sowing of pastures for their animals, and the purchase and installation of a computerized irrigation system.

Type of flock	Flocks
Sheep	56
Goats	9
Cattle	7
Sheep and goats	7
Sheep and cattle	9
Goats and cattle	2
Sheep, goats and cattle	1
TOTAL*	91

* At the time of the count two members did not have any animals.

Table 4.7. Composition of the flocks kept by the members of Su Cuile Mannu, the shepherds' production cooperative of Bardia, Sardinia, as of March 17 of 1992. Source: Su Cuile Mannu records.

It is clear that membership in the shepherds' production cooperative would not improve the economic and work conditions of those shepherds who already own land. A Bardiesi shepherd who owns several pieces of land through the municipal territory explained to Ayora-Diaz and me:

> Those who are in the cooperative are there because they do not have lands. They need to keep their animals somewhere, and they do not own lands. It is better to have your own lands. You are your own *padrone* [boss]. Besides, now we have cars. I do many things at the same time. I have my sheep, and I still have time to grow a vineyard for my own wine. I also have some olive trees. I could not do this before, when we had no cars. but now, the car really helps you to do all these things at the same time. *Io e miei cugini* [I and my cousins], we have lands. We don't need to belong to the cooperative.[8]

[8] Here the man is making reference to two cousins of his whom he knows are friends of ours.

There are also some pastoralists who do not own any land of their own and are not members of Su Cuile Mannu. Most of them keep goats, which are more apt to find their own food around the communal lands in Cala Fuili and neighbouring areas. These pastoralists are in the most precarious economic position among all Bardiesi livestock raisers. Their *ovili* do not have running water or electricity. The lands they graze their animals on are of poor quality, and do not have irrigation facilities. Some of these goatherds continue to practice seasonal transhumance. However, even these goatherds are better off than the average Telemulesi pastoralist. This is so because they are often members of the Bardia cooperative milk processing plant. Therefore, even if they do not supply milk to the *caseificio*, have regular access to subsidized fodder and veterinary care for their animals, and also are paid a subsidized price for their milk. Also, they are able to market their cheese to the tourists as a hand-made specialty product and thus sell it more expensive than the industrially processed cheese sold at the stores and supermarkets.

The cycles of pastoralism that mark the life of Telemulesi pastoralists are very different from the cycles followed by Bardiesi livestock herders, or at least the effects of these rhythms are greatly diminished on Bardiesi livestock raisers and their flocks. While most Telemulesi shepherds undertake transhumance between the highlands and the plains, the Bardiesi pastoralists and sedentary stockbreeders do not necessarily do so. Even the goatherds who keep their animals along the coastal communal lands do not practice transhumance every year. The coastal climate is relatively even year-round, and the flocks kept there do not suffer from extreme temperatures almost at all during the year. The only reason a goatherd may choose to move his flock to a different spot for some time is to find better pastures. Goats, however, in any case, are capable of modifying their grazing

patterns by themselves by taking different *giri* [grazing daily routes] according to how much grass they can find in particular spots.

While we were living in Cala Fuili, there were two flocks of goats that grazed around our house year-round. In the winter, when the owners of the coastal houses were not there, the goats' grazing strategies included entering private gardens and eating the grass, flowers and aromatic herbs they could find. During the summer, when the houses in Cala Fuili are inhabited full time, the goats can be seen around the hills surrounding the perimeter of the settlement and on the borders of the road that links Cala Fuili with the *Orientale Sarda* highway.

It is not uncommon for shepherds to make use of both private and communal pastures for their flocks, alternating their uses at different times of the year. Several shepherds who are members in Su Cuile Mannu also have small pieces of land. Therefore, they are able to keep more than the specified 170 head of livestock per member permitted on the cooperative's lands. Moreover, by keeping animals in different places, moving them back and forth, some shepherds are able to rotate the animals they have on the cooperative's lands. This way the entire flock can benefit from the improved pastures. This practice is not exactly legal, but rather unregulated and thereby quietly sanctioned by both the cooperative's members and the overseeing government agents.

There are striking differences between the animals in Telemula and Bardia. In Bardia sheep and goats look much bigger and cattle better fed than in Telemula. The cattle kept by Bardiesi are different from the ones kept by the Telemulesi, and cows are milked.[9] Bardia takes part in an EEC programme for the breeding of beef cattle. According to the veterinarians in Bardia, local sheep give between 150 and 200

[9] In Bardia women make *provolette* cheese from cow's milk.

litres of milk a year, per milked animal. Ogliastra sheep, by contrast, are the types classified as *petit* and *moyen* by Baticle (1974), and they only give between 120 and 150 litres a year, per milked animal. The great difference in the quality of the pastures in the two places, and the fact that Bardiesi livestock raisers supplement their animals' diet regularly with feed, accounts for the differences in size and milk yield.

Unlike Telemulesi pastoralists, livestock raisers in Bardia do not believe that the sheep are stupid. Once, during a visit to the property of the two brothers mentioned above, I was surprised to see that the sheep knew when it was time to be fed, and went by themselves into the corral where they were going to be milked. After having been milked, the sheep stood around, waiting for the shepherd to feed them, and when they had eaten they all returned peacefully to the grazing area where we had found them in the afternoon.

In Telemula the shepherds believe that the sheep are so stupid that they have to be carefully watched while they eat. Otherwise, Telemulesi say, they may eat too much and then die because their digestive system explodes. In Bardia it is also believed that sheep may explode from what they eat, but the shepherds and sedentary stockbreeders say that this only happens when the sheep eat too much *trifoglio* [green clover], which causes their stomach and intestines to produce great amounts of gases.[10] Shepherds say that they have solved the problem of sheep dying from intestinal gases through two strategies: by combining *trifoglio* with two other types of grass in specific proportions, as discovered by a Barbaricine shepherd in a nearby town, and by allowing the animals to graze on the improved pastures only for two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon. The cooperative's improved

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[10] This condition is known in English as *bloat* (D. Aronson, personal communication).

pastures are all a combination of *trifoglio* and the two other types of grass.

Bardiesi shepherds say that their animals can be trained to do specific things, such as recognize and follow the shepherds' orders and go up loading ramps when they are to be transported on trucks. On one occasion a Bardiesi shepherd bragged to us, "I am a modern shepherd. I herd my sheep by car." At least one of us (me) had thought that it was a joke, until a few seconds later he got into his car and started driving, taking all his animals with him. We have also seen Bardiesi goatherds and cattle herders in their cars move their animals from one place to another, sometimes even on the highway. When the distance to be covered is more than two or three kilometres, they enlist help from other shepherds, and one car rides at the head of the flock and another one behind the animals. Contrary to what Telemulesi shepherds believe about sheep, Bardiesi shepherds say that the sheep recognize their own flock and the herds of two shepherds will separate on their own if they merge for a few minutes.

Other than herding practices, manual cheese making is also somewhat different in Telemula and Bardia. While in Telemula all shepherds follow the same procedure and make *pecorino romano*, in Bardia *pecorino* [sheep's milk cheese] is made in two different ways. One of these results in *casu romanu*, which is the same type of cheese as the one made by Ogliastrini shepherds, and the other one in *casu sardu* cheese. The difference between the two is that to make *casu sardu*, instead of moulding the curd into a round block after the rennet has made the milk congeal, the shepherd cuts the curd into four to six blocks that are pressed into a casket so as to form a cylinder. Then the curds are taken out of the container and cut again, and then they are put back into the container, once more in cubic blocks. The shepherd moulds the cheese into cylindrical form by cutting off strips from the curd. These strips are finally placed on top of the cylinder,

in the centre of the upper circumference. The rest of the procedure is the same as in the *romano* cheese; that is, the shepherd (or his wife) pricks the curd with knitting needles, then lets it drain before washing it in salt water, and finally puts it to age. The procedure for taking care of the aging cheeses is again the same than for the *romano* in Telemula.[11]

In Bardia, too, old women whose husbands make cheese are in charge of coating the cheeses with olive oil and turning them around periodically to avoid air bubbles forming on their surface. Often times the women make cheese themselves, from fresh milk that their husbands, sons or brothers bring home. During the milk season the few Bardiesi shepherds, sedentary stock breeders or old women who make cheese, also make ricotta from sheep's milk whey, as well as *casevita*, which in the region is called *frue*. *Casciada* is made not only from (goat or sheep) ewe's milk, as in Telemula, but from cow's milk as well.

Most Bardiesi shepherds and sedentary stockbreeders, however, are members of the local dairy cooperative and thus supply their milk to the plant. Only a few, mostly the goatherds who keep their animals on the coast, prefer to make all of their animal's milk into cheese themselves, because of their tourist market.[12] The cooperative pays its members L. 1,010 or more per litre of sheep's milk, and L. 700 to 900 per

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[11] It is unclear to me why there should be two different procedures to make *pecorino* cheese. I never found any difference in the taste of *casu romanu* and *casu sardu* myself. Bardiesi shepherds, however, told me that *casu romanu* is the way lazy people or people who are in a hurry make *pecorino* cheese, while *casu sardu* cheese is made the proper way.

[12] It is not clear that the goatherds who keep their animals on the coast could actually sell their milk to the cooperative. According to D. Bradburd (personal communication), for the milk from Ogliastra to be purchased by the Bardia cooperative, the shepherds are required to have running water in their *ovile*, for hygienic reasons.

litre of goat's milk. These are the highest prices the shepherds and sedentary stockbreeders can attain for their milk anywhere on the island. For the shepherds and *allevatori stanziali* it is a great advantage to be able to sell their fresh milk during most of the milking season and not to make cheese manually, because they it gives them more free time and a secure market outlet. The preferential price is yet another incentive for livestock owners to sell their milk to the cooperative plant.

Beginning with the *Piano di Rinascita* and later with the Law of Agro-pastoral Reform of 1976, Bardia was chosen as the showpiece of the Barbagia and Ogliastra areas for the establishment and development of sedentary livestock raising. In 1977 ERSAT undertook two "feasibility studies" to determine how to improve livestock raising practices in Bardia (ERSAT 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d). Between the money set out for Su Cuile Mannu and an area called [Bardia] II by the local ERSAT officials, L. 28,668 billion were allocated to Bardia for agro-pastoral development. The projects contemplated works improving the pastures, opening roads, building permanent shelters for pastoralists and their animals, supplying the two areas with electricity, planting orchards and building pig stalls. The budget has been revised several times while the works are in progress, to keep up with inflation. In 1989 the budget for the works in Su Cuile Mannu was raised to L. 17 billion (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1989).

Those livestock owners who own a plot of land that they can claim as an agro-pastoral unit have been able to secure grants and low-interest loans from the regional government and the EEC for the improvement of their holdings. Those livestock owners who, like the Telemulesi shepherds, do not have lands of their own might have been excluded from these benefits. However, public money has reached more Bardiesi other than the land owners because of the membership of many landless pastoralists in Su Cuile Mannu, the shepherds'

production cooperative and the works carried out in Bardia II.

c. The pastoral family

In Bardia, as in the rest of Sardinia, families are monogamous and households are patrilocal or neolocal within the confines of the town. Often, both the *allevatori stanziali* and the *pastori* live in similar familial arrangements. In Bardia, as in Telemula, it is common to find that two or three families live together in apartments stacked one on top of the other, usually in patrilocal groupings where a father and one or more sons live in separate apartments with their families in the same building. However, other arrangements are possible. For example, the apartment I lived in during the first month of my stay in Bardia belonged to a family where both brothers and sisters had chosen to live together in separate apartments of the same building which belonged to their parents before. This is not uncommon in Bardia, where houses and apartment compounds are connected through a *cortile*, an interior patio to which different doors or staircases lead, and which separates the entrance of the houses from the street.

Unlike Telemula, in Bardia there are families who own apartments and houses which they either purchased or built to lease out. Because of this, young couples may start living in leased apartments when they marry, usually renting from a relative, until they manage to build their own house and move definitively on their own or to a new apartment in a patrilocal extended family compound.

Another living arrangement which is becoming increasingly common in Bardia is that of nuclear families buying apartments in condominiums. A few livestock owning families live this way. They are mostly pastoralists, since the *allevatori stanziali* often have the resources to buy houses as opposed to apartments. The pastoralists who live this way have purchased apartments in low-income housing compounds, with the help of

either the municipal administration or the regional government. As other sectors of the population, pastoralists (but not *allevatori stanziali*, as far as I know), are now living in these compounds. This form of residence is truly neolocal and therefore different from the extended family compounds I just described.

Since at least the end of the 1950s Bardiesi women are not expected to participate in agro-pastoral production. Women in Bardiesi pastoral households, including those over 50 years of age, perform no long-term agricultural tasks during the year other than growing flowers and aromatic herbs such as basil and parsley. They may look after and harvest fruit trees, but they do not keep vegetable gardens or vineyards, nor do they participate in wood chopping and bush clearing activities during the winter. They say that women in places such as Telemula are exploited by their husbands, because they are made to work *come gli uomini* [like men] in agricultural tasks year-round. The semantic opposition regarding the role of Sardinian women as either dedicated to primary production or exclusively to their own house has been aptly characterized by the Sardinian anthropologist Gianetta Murru Corriga (1990b). Murru Corriga describes two types of ideal women in central Sardinia: the *bona mathargia* and the *bona mere'e domo*.[13]

According to Murru Corriga (ibid), among the current oldest generations of pastoralists the men wanted either a *bona mathargia* or a *bona mere'e domo* for a wife. The *bona mathargia* was expected to be a woman who could undertake

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[13] In her 1990 paper here discussed, Murru Corriga's rendition of Sardinian words and expressions follows the local dialect of Foni, a highland village of Barbagia. In this dissertation I will use *bona mere'e omu* interchangeably with *bona mere'e domo* because of the local usage in Telemula and Bardia. The fully spelled-out expression in Academic Sardinian would probably be *bona mere de domo*, which is phonetically modified in the local dialects.

physical labour along with the careful administration of the household's human capital and resources.[14] The *bona mere'e domo* was a woman who would control the household with great authority and would specialize in the arts related to the domestic sphere, proudly showing her distance from any form of primary production.[15] The *bona mere'e domo* ideal could only be attained by the women of those families which were affluent enough to afford sparing the females members of the household from agro-pastoral labour.

The first type of woman was the ideal wife in those places where women worked in agriculture within living memory, such as in Orgosolo, Telemula, Triei and Villagrande Strisaili (Murru Corriga 1990b, Da Re 1990), and the second type of ideal prevailed in those villages where women have been primarily house administrators and only secondarily part of the household's agricultural labour force, as it is the case in Bardia. As Da Re (1990) points out, it was not always possible for all women in Bardia (or elsewhere where this ideal prevailed) for all women to achieve *mere'e domo* status.

Today, Bardiesi older women in pastoral households perfectly embody Murru Corriga's description of the *bona mere'e domo*:

> A good *mere'e domo* is . . . "she who controls, who has even more authority," but only comes into being when the family has economic and social stability. This is also an ideal type of woman, under a privileged social condition, and her authority comes from having, owning [*possedere* in the original] [property]. [This ideal can only be incarnated by a woman] there where the quantity and quality of the household's property allows the woman to distance herself from work as a direct

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[14] *Mathargia* is usually translated into Italian as *massaia*, which means "peasant."

[15] *Mere* is a Sardinian word which means "boss" or "employer" and it does not decline according to gender. According to A. Schachter (personal communication), it comes from the Greek *magister*, "master."

> producer in favour of her specialization and perfection in chores related only to her house. (Murru Corriga 1990b:23).

The women in Bardia's pastoralist households specialize in processing the goods that their husbands or brothers bring home, such as meat, fruits and even milk. These women often make cheese, especially from cow's milk. With this type of milk they made shining pear-like cheeses called *perette* or *provolette*. I have not seen older Bardiesi males make this type of cheese, although one of my shepherd friends who is 35 years old makes them regularly. Many older women I know also make *pecorino romano*, ricotta and *caprino* cheeses, although this is generally considered men's work.

In Bardia, the female head of the household in those pastoralist families where both heads of household are over 50 years of age have an almost total control of the household's storage rooms. They are the ones who manage the products that the shepherds bring home and the ones they make themselves. They, however, have only partial control over the cash that the male members of the household earn. Men in Bardia keep some money for themselves, unlike men in the households of the older Telemulesi pastoralists.

Within living memory, women used to accompany their husbands during the transhumance, and the entire family moved to the winter pastures together. Each family lived in a hut made out of wooden planks and hay. Older Bardiesi women from shepherds' households often remember how in the past they replicated in the winter pastures the sociability patterns they followed when they were at home, in town, visiting with each other and exchanging news. An older woman, the wife of a 65 year old shepherd, told me how complicated it was to send the children to school during the winter, since there was no public transportation to take them into town. She said that the kids' teacher had organized a way to drive at least some of her pupils to school, picking up the shepherds' children

around the Su Cuile Mannu area in her own car.

Once during a *tosatura* in the lands of the shepherds' production cooperative Su Cuile Mannu, a widowed woman over 60 took me by the hand and showed me around the lands on which she used to spend the winter with her husband and children. She remembered the names of all the places and spots she used to live in for part of the year more than twenty years ago. She could also remember which other families used to spend the winter in the same area, and where they built their huts.

Bardiesi women under 50 years of age, including those in pastoralist families, are very active in different sectors of the local economy. In general, women in Bardia have taken on very dynamic roles, often finding or creating employment for themselves outside their homes. Some of them have set up businesses such as corner stores, bakeries, carpet weaving shops, fabric stores and other kinds of retailing businesses. Among the younger generations many women have studied to become teachers, secretaries and nurses. Others who abandoned school have become housewives, who manage their house, shop for groceries and keep alive the family's networks in town.

In addition to cooking, making preserves, and managing their households, Bardiesi housewives dedicate themselves to weaving, crocheting and making fine embroidery. They say that housework is as much 'real work' as a regular job. Bardiesi housewives often told us that they would like to see the creation of a housewives' union. They want to be paid a monthly salary, since their work is as *valido* [worthy of reward] as anyone else's.

Like the houses of other Bardiesi, pastoralists' houses are spotless clean because the women spend a great deal of time cleaning and polishing the floors, the cutlery, the dishware, the furniture and the kitchen appliances. Ayora-Diaz and I were surprised to find that on private lands the wives of the shepherds also keep the houses on the family's property in the countryside shining clean, just as they do at

home. The women take sausages to be smoked in the houses that are on the properties where their husbands keep their animals. They plant flowers in small garden plots around the *ovili*, and treat the sedentary stockbreeders' work sites almost as an extension of their own homes.

In Bardiesi pastoralist households older women are never without work. Although they do not plant vegetable gardens, they take part in the work related to the processing of the shepherds' products such as making sausages and cheese. They bake *carasau* flat bread, make a great variety of sweets and fritters that mark different village holidays, embroider, embellish their houses, and shop around for foodstuffs, clothes and all the conveniences that the shepherds' work does not provide.

Contrary to what the older Bardiesi women in pastoralist households say, I am under the impression (which would need to be explored further) that they work much more than their Ogliastrini and Orgolesi counterparts. At least, Bardiesi women seem to spend more time working than the women of Ogliastra who, although they do agricultural work, watch television or sit idly by the fire for long hours. It is only during the summer that the older women of Bardiesi pastoralist families seem to have any rest, sitting by the seashore at Cala Fuili or taking two-week tours to vacation resorts on the island or on the mainland. Furthermore, women whose families own houses or apartments in Cala Fuili that are rented to tourists during the summer spend a great deal of time cleaning and re-ordering before the tourist season and between one group of tourists and the next.

In Bardia, although both men and women have specific responsibilities, to some extent these become interchangeable between the two genders. For example, women can make sheep's cheese and men can make cow's milk cheese. Keeping pigs, which in Telemula is done by both women and men, in Bardia is considered men's work.

Today the *ovili* are considered more *masculine* than feminine, while most of the house in town is considered more *feminine* than masculine. Although women do visit the *ovili* and plant flowers around them, it is mainly the task of the men to keep their work sites clean and tidy, even when the women do not come to them for some time. At home men have their own space, the *cantine*. There the family's wine supply is kept and the men can invite their friends to drink with them when they please. The *cantina* is usually in the basement, and it may be near the *magazzeno*, the household's storage room, which more often than not is female domain.

In the *cantina* there is usually a table and benches or chairs, wine barrels and bottles with *acqua vite*. Some of the *cantine* have nicely finished walls, ceilings and floors, and they may have decorations hanging from the walls (usually work implements used by peasants or shepherds in the past). Others look more like an all-purpose storage room, and it is hard to find a nice spot to stand straight on them because the floors have been covered with cement that was not smoothed and was left very uneven.[16]

The *cantina* in pastoralist households has an additional use as a storage room for keeping the equipment used for making wine and cheese. When shepherds make cheese at home they usually do so in the *cantina*, where they keep all necessary implements and substances for this. Also, firewood can be stored in the *cantina* if the house does not have a backyard or a sheltered courtyard to keep it dry from the rain.

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[16] A man we know who is neither a shepherd nor a sedentary livestock breeder has a *cantina* where the roof is shaped as a series of domes. He keeps there wine, wine glasses and a long table with a double set of benches. Next to the main room of the *cantina* there is and additional room where he keeps bottles of wine that he purchases during his travels. He has been in different parts of Europe, Canada and Australia, and his wine collection includes wine bottles from these places.

Unless the wood for the fireplace is kept there, older women do not enter this men's space. They leave the cleaning and tiding up of the *cantina* to their husbands and sons. However, most women under 40 years of age no longer respect this gendered separation of space, and they also ask their husbands to help them with household chores such as shopping, dish washing and picking up around the house. Among my young friends who were the daughters and sisters of shepherds (all under 30), it is common to attend *cantina* parties with both male and female friends, and even to organize them in their fathers' *cantine*.

While the organization of the household, then, is similar in terms of work between the older and the younger generations, the differences are spatial ones, although these are also disappearing under the changing attitudes of the young. Besides herding and milking livestock, which is exclusively a male activity in Bardia (although not in Telemula, where women might keep and milk a few goats), there is, to my knowledge, at least one more exception to what Bardiesi women will do. This is to kill large stock such as pigs, cattle, sheep or goats. This is again relatively different from Telemula, where women help during the butchering of the animals by separating the skin from the flesh, changing the buckets when the blood is draining and even holding the carcass while it is being hung from hooks.

Unlike in Telemula, even the oldest shepherds in Bardia can either drive a car themselves or are driven around by their daughters or sons. This gives all shepherds the possibility of coming back to town every day, although some of them return late at night. Shepherds do not always patronize local bars. Rather, many of them stay at home and consume wine and *acqua vite* brandy with their friends in their private

cantine.[17]

Older shepherds seem to be less keen than their wives on taking long trips. Younger shepherds take more vacations and like to see faraway places. While for their parents' generation going away to find a job meant that it would be difficult or impossible to come back to live in Bardia before retirement, many young shepherds have worked in central or northern Italy either as sheepherders or as industrial workers for a few years, and then have come back while they are still of working age.

Bardiesi shepherds under 40 years of age seem to feel that it is possible to move from one region of the island or of Europe to another, but they are aware that jobs are scarce everywhere. Since they also have friends and relatives in other parts of the country and abroad, they know that it would be difficult for them to find a job as shepherds or unskilled labourers anywhere in Europe.

Like other Bardiesi men of marriageable age, shepherds are willing to marry women from outside Bardia, and even from outside the island, something which is not yet very common in many communities of central Sardinia. This new openness to travel and foreign people is common to most local men and women, and when possible they all like to take short vacations on the Italian mainland or abroad. However, while in Telemula older and middle age shepherds often (at least once every two

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[17] According to Lonergan (1984), in Bidda, the Sardinian town of the southern Marghine where he did fieldwork, shepherds almost never go to the bars. This is so because their status is (or at least was at the time of Lonergan's fieldwork) markedly inferior to that of other segments of the town's population. In Basilada, a community of the same Marghine area, Schweizer (1988) found that married shepherds do not but single shepherds do patronize the local bars, even if their status is as low as in Bidda. In Bardia shepherds do not seem to have a different status from that of bricklayers or truck drivers, and single shepherds do frequent the local bars.

years) spend ten days in thermal bath resorts, in Bardia shepherds (and non-shepherds as well) seem to either ignore or distrust this type of establishment, and we have never met a single Bardiesi, male or female, who ever spent any time at this type of health facility.

Most shepherds' sons and daughters in Bardia have formal schooling, at least up to the last year of junior highschool. It is common for young women and men in pastoralist households to go to university or spend some time abroad, typically learning other languages. One of the shepherds has asked us repeatedly about Canada because one of his daughters studies English and French in Montreal, and apparently she is considering taking up a job in Canada as a secretary, for one year. I have also met a woman, daughter of a shepherd, who studies Sanskrit in mainland Italy. Most Bardiesi youngsters who study languages, however, usually learn German or French. This is so because most of the tourists that visit Sardinia come from mainland Italy, Germany or France, and thus Bardiesi think it would be more useful to speak those than other languages in order to obtain jobs in the tourist sector.

Bardiesi youngsters have many and more diversified opportunities for schooling and employment than Telemulesi of the same age, not only because there are more educational facilities and employment opportunities in the area, but also because they are willing to consider work outside Nuoro province and even outside Sardinia, and their networks reach into North America and Australia, other than mainland Italy and Europe. Not only do those Bardiesi who have emigrated to the U.S., Canada and Australia keep in touch with their Sardinian families, but also many first and second generation North American, French and Australians who are children of Bardiesi keep on coming to Bardia for holidays and family visits. I have met several of these people, including a family from France and two from Canada, as well as a man from Australia. I believe that this is due not only to the higher

affluence of the original migrants, as related to the Telemulesi who went to work abroad, but also to the fact that Bardia and Cala Fuili are very attractive destinations where landed property is highly desirable, due to the high revenues that can be obtained from tourism-related trade. The sons and daughters of Bardiesi who have emigrated abroad have a vested interest in laying claims to the lands and other property they might inherit from their Bardiesi parents or grandparents.

As the following examples of Bardiesi families show, in Bardia the fragmentation of the local society is less conspicuous than in Telemula, since the locals seem to be better inserted in the formal legal and economic social institutions of the regional administration, the national government and the EEC. However, in Bardia too people engage in informal activities, find employment through reciprocity networks, enter patron-client relations, and maintain a parallel economy to the formal one, through personalised social interaction and, as I will show in Part II a complex ceremonial and gift-giving system of exchange. As it will become apparent from the following examples, because women do not conduct sustained agricultural work, the pastoral households of Bardia are much more dependent on the market for foodstuffs that those in Telemula. However, it is this independence from agricultural activities that makes it possible for women in pastoralist families to have access to more sources of cash.

Family 1. Nicola is in his sixties, and he is married to Emidia, who is in her late fifties. They live in an apartment on the bottom floor of a building that belongs to an extended family including the two of them, two of their sons, and their sons' wives and offspring. Nicola used to be a peasant until the 1970s, when he decided to become a shepherd. Nicola is a member of Su Cuile Mannu, the shepherds' production

cooperative, of which he is one of the founding members. He has little formal schooling, but he and Emidia have encouraged their sons and daughters to pursue formal education at least up to junior highschool, and now one of their daughters is a school teacher. Nicola and Emidia take pride in the fact that one of their grandchildren is doing very well at school, and they hope that she will eventually become a professional.

Both of Nicola's sons currently living in the same family compound worked in mainland Italy as sheepherders for a salary and then came back to settle in Bardia with their families. Nicola has a cousin who lives in Montreal, and he says that he thought about coming to Canada himself, at some point. He decided against it and now he is glad he stayed in his natal Bardia. When his cousin left, life was very difficult in Bardia. Today, Nicola says, everything has changed in ways he could not have imagined.

Nicola has over 170 sheep registered under his name, so he keeps 170 in the cooperative's lands and the rest outside, in a small plot of his own. In fact, half the flock actually belongs to one of his two sons who live in the same building as he. This young man (36 years old) is a full-time shepherd, but he appears as unemployed in the local employment office and thus is able to take up temporary jobs in road construction and repair, under short-term contracts.

Emidia keeps the house, makes cheese and sausages, and bakes sweets and *pane carasau* [*carasau* flat bread] with her daughters and daughters-in-law. She grows aromatic herbs and flowers, sews, makes crotchet and manages her house, including a storage room in the common basement of the three family building in which the food supplies of the three families are kept. Nicola keeps wine and work implements in a *cantina* on the ground floor. He hosts his friends there every night. His two sons do not have *cantine* of their own, and they usually keep their own wine in their apartments, where they sometimes entertain their friends.

Family 2. Cipriano is a shepherd in his late forties. He has almost 200 sheep on his own private lands, where he keeps them all year. He hires occasional help during the summer, and has worked out an arrangement with a shepherd from a mountain community whereby the other shepherd brings his flock of 150 sheep to Cipriano's property during the winter (usually between November and mid March) and the two shepherds help each other with their flocks. Cipriano is a member of the local cooperative dairy plant, the *caseificio sociale*. He lives with his older sister, Francesca, who is in her early 50s. She is an employee in one of the local banks. Both Cipriano and Francesca are single. Cipriano did not have much schooling beyond elementary school, while Francesca went to senior high school to become a *raggionera*. Cipriano became a shepherd with Francesca's help. She continues to help him financially when he finds himself in difficulty. She also helps him occasionally to cook during the banquets that the two of them host during Cipriano's *tosatura* and at other times during the summer, but does not perform all the other tasks other women in pastoralist households do. Francesca does not have time to make sausages or bake bread, or to turn or coat in olive oil the cheese wheels that Cipriano produces when he does not sell all his sheep's milk to the *caseificio*. Other than Cipriano's dairy products and the sheep meat that he brings home from the *ovile*, the two siblings consume foods purchased in stores and supermarkets. Cipriano usually entertains his friends in the *ovile* or drinks with them in the local bars.

Family 3. Effeddu is a shepherd in his early forties who lives in a three-storey building where he has an apartment on the second floor. His brother Pantaleo, also in his thirties and also a shepherd, lives on the third floor, while their mother occupies the apartment on the first floor. Both Effeddu and Pantaleo are single, and their mother is a widow.

Effeddu is a member of *Su Cuile Mannu* and the *caseificio* cooperatives, while Pantaleo keeps his sheep on lands of his own. Pantaleo is also a member in the *caseificio* cooperative. Effeddu and Pantaleo are both active in local politics. Both of them are members of the steering committees of the shepherds' cooperatives. None of them performs any other primary activities outside sheep herding. Their mother manages the households' supplies and cooks for them everyday. Effeddu and Pantaleo keep a common *cantina* in the ground floor of their apartments' building. However, they often drink with their friends in local bars.

Family 4. Bardilio is a shepherd in his sixties. He is married to Paulina, who is in her late fifties. They live in a house of their own with their four sons, all of whom are single. Two of their sons work as shepherds with their father, while one works as a *raggionere* and another one attends senior high school, only helping his father during his free time. Two of Bardilio and Paulina's sons keep their names in the unemployment records, and they are able to find temporary employment at the *caseificio* or in Cala Fuili during the year. The oldest one has registered a flock under his own name, and he and two of his brothers also operate around the municipal territory land-improvement equipment which the family has purchased to take advantage of EEC grants. The family also owns several olive trees, from which they make their own olive oil supplies. The oldest son, the one registered as a shepherd, has also entered a partnership with two other local young men and they have set up a bar on one of the main streets of Bardia.

Paulina keeps busy managing the household and taking care of the dairy products and meat that the men bring home. She also bakes *carasau* bread, makes sausages, cheeses, *acqua vite* and sweet liqueurs, as well as fine sweets which are associated with particular days of the calendar. She also

keeps active as a member of the church. In the summer she also goes on one- or two-day hikes with her friends, and manages the property of one of her brothers who lives in France. Paulina has been to Canada once, where both she and Bardilio have siblings.

In Bardia, unlike Telemula, household production is primarily oriented to the market and only secondarily to subsistence. Nevertheless, pastoralist families do manage to self-provision their household to a great extent because they are self-sufficient in milk and make some of their own dairy products. In addition, some families own small plots with olive trees, which provide for most of the household's yearly supply of olive oil. Many shepherds buy their wine from local private producers, and the ones who own vineyards seldom rely on their home grown produce for their entire year-round supply. I do not know if this is also the case for the *allevatori stanziali*, since I did not spend any time with them outside the hours of work with the animals. However, given that sedentary stockbreeders are specialized producers too, it is very likely that they buy most of their wine from private or cooperative commercial suppliers.

In Bardia, perhaps because of the relatively large number of work possibilities available to them, young people are expected to either perform well in school or find a job that will help their household either by supplying additional income or by relieving the parents of the responsibility to support their grown-up children. For example, while in Telemula young women may remain at home helping their mothers with household chores and only occasionally looking for employment, in Bardia young women, including those from pastoralist households, are constantly looking for employment if they do not attend school full time. Unlike Telemula, where I did not know anyone who worked as a domestic servant all year round, in Bardia many young women find employment as

housekeepers in Nuoro and in other cities of the island (including Sassari, in northern Sardinia) either while they continue studying or as permanent jobs.

Young women and men from pastoralist (or other types) of families still can, with a senior highschool diploma as *raggioneri* or a university degree find jobs or set up offices in town. The great value accorded to school and education is not a recent development and there are many older Bardiesi who have either technical diplomas or university degrees. These people work for the government or as independent professionals since twenty or more years ago. The number of laureates who are now placed in important positions in the regional bureaucracy gives Bardia a political leverage that most other settlements of Nuoro province can only aspire to. This makes a difference when resources are being allocated or when networks are tapped in order to gain access to funds, jobs and privileges dispensed by provincial or regional officials. Local sedentary stockbreeders and the pastoralists benefit greatly from the island-wide network of Bardiesi professionals in key bureaucratic and political posts.

There are in Bardia many cooperatives, the number of which varies from one year and even from one month to the next. The shepherds and the members of their families are often involved in the cooperative movement in one way or another. Construction, for example, is one of those activities which supplies much formal and informal employment for Bardiesi men, not only through private companies but also through cooperatives. There are two well established construction cooperatives, besides the private contractors who operate year-round. Money for cooperatives and small shops is available through *artigianato* [small shop] grants from the regional government both for training and for setting up cooperatives and privately-owned small shops. Many young Bardiesi have set up either cooperative or private carpentry, weaving, leather and mechanic work shops, as well as bakeries

and tourism cooperatives that rent out boats or take the tourists to different attractions along the Tyrrhenian coast of Sardinia. Young men and women, including many from pastoralist families, find temporary employment in tourism-related activities during the summer when they are hired either as individual workers or through their membership in cooperatives.

Because the government favours the creation of cooperatives (Regione Sardegna 1991a, 1991b, 1991c), many Bardiesi form or try to form cooperatives in an effort to receive aid in cash or facilities from government funds. This support, however, does not materialize in every case. It is a generalized opinion in Bardia, as elsewhere in Sardinia, that in order to form a cooperative (as when undertaking any other type of enterprise involving government support) it is necessary to have the right *accozzi*. Although Bardiesi have more chances of getting grants than people in other villages (the contrast is especially great with Telemula), not all of them have good *accozzi* who can help them to obtain grants and other monies from public funds. I am familiar with the case of a group of nine young daughters of shepherds who met the dead end of the Sardinian bureaucracy.

The nine young women, today in their late twenties, wanted to have an income of their own to support themselves through school by taking turns at working and studying. In the 1980s they had the idea of forming a cooperative to produce and sell *pane carasau*, the typical bread of Bardia. They were promised by regional officials that they would be given a subsidy and a low-interest loan to pay for their equipment, establish their business and register it in all necessary offices.

The women, who by now have become teachers or are engaged in other types of work, believed at the time in the promises of the administrators. They acquired equipment which was supposed to be paid with money provided to them by the

government through the regional fund for the creation of cooperatives. They waited for several months until they had to pay all their suppliers, and then had to face the fact that they did not have the money to do so. They started to find other employment that would help them to pay for their equipment and would support them while the bureaucratic procedures necessary for beginning their operations ran their course. In the end, one of the five sisters took a loan from a local bank to pay the suppliers and established herself as the owner of the equipment, so that the machines and oven would not be taken away. She later opened the business by herself, employing one of her younger sisters, but the bakery she set up is smaller that the one originally planned, and she is in no position to give employment to the other women with whom she had tried to form the cooperative before. Today this woman's business continues to function as a private *carasau* bakery.

Many of our friends, including some shepherds, find short-term employment in different enterprises during the year. They might work in the *caseificio* during the high milk season or in the *cantina sociale* when grapes are being harvested and then supplied to the wine plant. They might be hired to work in road construction or maintenance on short contracts, usually tied to specific works, or work in Cala Fuili during the summer. When a young shepherd leaves the flocks to go to work elsewhere, his father might hire additional help, or ask another one of his sons to help in the meantime, while the other young man comes back. As in Telemula, shepherding in Bardia is one of the main cushions on which unemployed men fall back when no salaried jobs are available.

5. THE OTHERS

In Bardia those families in which the male head of household is not a sedentary stockbreeder or a shepherd do not

necessarily practice activities related to agro-pastoral production. Non-pastoral families share few if any of the worries of the pastoralists and the sedentary livestock breeders. This is so because of the higher degree of specialization prevalent among the different types of agriculturalist and pastoralists in the municipality, whereby the shepherds do not practice market-oriented agriculture and the agriculturalists do not keep flocks.

In many households none of the members of the family is a shepherd, although one or more members of the family might be involved in some type of agricultural production. This is the case, for example, for the family of PierAntonio and Margherita. They have been married for one year. Both of them are in their early forties. He is a construction contractor in Bardia and Cala Fuili, and she is a teacher in Nuoro city. PierAntonio has a two hectare vineyard, and he is a member of the *cantina sociale*. He sells part of his harvest to the cooperative plant, and keeps another part to make his own wine supply and his own *acqua vite*. The two of them live in a three-storey house which is attached to other houses, in a patrilocal compound that belongs to PierAntonio's family. They buy their dairy supplies from the *caseificio sociale* or from Margherita's brother.

In yet another family, Giulia is married to Alberto. The two of them are in their thirties. They both graduated from university and now they work as teachers at the local senior highschool. Although they are both natives of Bardia, they live in a downtown house away from both sets of parents. They have a two-year old son. None of them practices any type of agricultural or pastoral activities, and they purchase their foodstuffs, including dairy products and wine, from the local processing plants.

6. EVERYDAY LIFE

In Bardia there is no obvious factionalist strife between local families. Instead, the town is intensely involved in party politics, which are taken seriously by the local politicians and only a little less seriously by other Bardiesi. The political coalitions that have formed the municipal council of Bardia for at least the last five years have been relatively difficult to balance. Nevertheless, the Mayor has regularly been a local member of the same national party, which is the former Communist Party and current Democratic Party of the Left.

It is important to note that personal animosity in Bardia does not seem to be related to issues concerned with national politics. Rather, enmities between individuals and families seem to result from individual or familial conflict related to the access to resources. For example, some shepherds are upset at the members of *Su Cuile Mannu* because the cooperative refuses to accept any more members. This has lead to several confrontations between the landless shepherds and the members of the cooperative, which have resulted in personal and familial conflicts between the people involved. Bardia, however, is relatively large so that social peace can be maintained through social avoidance between people who are having quarrels. In general, everyday life in Bardia is peaceful and civil. During the period of my fieldwork only one local shepherd was murdered, and although the house of one of the local butchers was bombed, no one in his family was hurt.

Life in town is far more vivacious than in Telemula. This is not only because of the larger size of the town, but also because there are so many people who are freed from agro-pastoral activities during the whole year. While in Telemula the village streets are deserted most of the morning, in Bardia the town does not ever seem to stop. Bardiesi patronize the bars at all hours of the day and night, between

the 9:00 and the 23:00 hours. Given that women in pastoralist households do not engage in agriculture, they have to shop for foodstuffs, clothes and other household necessities. Their coming and going add to the animation of the town. Bartenders and the clerks at the local shops and supermarkets keep constantly busy. The bars' curfew is more strict that in Telemula, and I have witnessed a bar owner being fined for not having sent his clients (a group of five men, a young woman and myself) home one hour before midnight. However, groups often move from a closing bar to someone's *cantina* if the *crìcca* is not ready to disband just yet.

Through registration in the agricultural records, even those women who are unemployed can have access to some liquid cash.[18]

In addition, given that Bardiesi have more access to summer jobs than Telemulesi (because their relatives can employ them in Cala Fuili during the summer and because of the availability of seasonal employment at the local produce processing plants) there are unemployment pensions coming into town each year. These flows of cash lead to conspicuous consumption not only in the form of spending in the bars but also in the buying of expensive clothes and furniture, which keep local stores in business.

There are seven major fashion stores in Bardia, and I attended one of their joint *sfilate* [fashion shows]. The show took place at a small theatre that belongs to the community centre of one of the local parishes. Pastoralists and sedentary livestock owners also attended this fashion show, along with the other Bardiesi. During the *sfilata* one of the models was a young man who helps his father to tend sheep. However, full-time shepherds who are single tend to socialize

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[18] This is done by declaring oneself ill once each year, after having accumulated between 104 and 120 work days on the register.

more with other shepherds than with people in other occupational groups, and on occasions such as this, they tend to sit together in groups, instead of mixing with the rest of the public.

There is much more entertainment in Bardia for the young than there is in Telemula. While in Telemula the locals drive to the coast to go to pizza restaurants, in Bardia people patronize the local *pizzerie* of Bardia and Cala Fuili. Also, in the city of Nuoro there is a terrace which is used as a movie theatre, and Bardiesi go there often to watch the latest North American films, all of which are dully dubbed into Italian. Bardiesi also frequent *pizzerie* and go dancing in neighbouring towns and in Nuoro city.

Besides a local library and a *pro-loco* association, there are in Bardia several clubs and associations such as a folk dance group, a barbershop choir and several cultural associations which sponsor the organization of festivals, art exhibits and plays. There are several locals painters, writers, sculptors and potters whose works are shown in local exhibits. Also, the local library and the *pro-loco* organize local shows of plays that are sponsored by the regional or national governments and travel to different cities and towns of the island.

During the summer and the winter there is at least one *saletta* [dance bar] where local young and women go dancing at night. The music played in this establishment and to which the youngsters dance is regular North American and British music by U2, Bruce Springsteen and Madonna, as well as old disco songs from the 1970s, some reggae and some funk.[19]

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[19] Bob Marley's songs are very popular in Sardinia, and their melodies are sung with Italian or Sardinian lyrics that change according to the occasion. During a wedding in Orune the song "No woman no cry" was arranged by a local group so that the chorus said "No, [Nello] no cry, a [Wanda] c'e l'hai" [No, Anthony, no cry, you already have Wanda for yourself '], and the friends of the *sposi* [couple celebrating their

Italian rock, reggae and rap are also played, as well as some Sardinian rock. I have noticed that the music in this *saletta* is the same each night, although played in a different order. Local young people do not seem to mind this, since the *saletta* is only one of their nightly stops during their *giri* [nightly itineraries] and they are happy to drop by, dance a few songs and leave to go elsewhere with their friends.

A favourite pastime of young people in Bardia is to drive around the town and then to Cala Fuili and back. They recognize each other's cars, and sometimes two or more different cars pull over on the street or the road. Their occupants chat for a while, and then resume their driving around the town's streets and the two roads that border it. After the 22:00 hours most women leave the bars to either go home or drive around.

It is rare for single women to stay in the bars, especially if they are not engaged but have a favourite boyfriend with whom they are planning to become engaged at some point. After the 22:00 most of the patrons in the local bars are men, with the exception of the odd woman coming from a meeting or accompanying her boyfriend or husband. Once Ayora-Diaz and I were walking home a young woman, the daughter of a shepherd, who was about to become engaged to a shepherd we knew. The shepherd and this woman met every night, but always with their respective *crìcche*. As we were walking we passed by one of the local bars and the shepherd, who was there with a group of his friends, called us to invite us to a drink. The woman said that she would not go inside the bar at all because it was already late and she would not drink with him then. She even refused to stop to tell the shepherd that we were not staying to drink with him. Ayora-Diaz and I excused ourselves with the shepherd and his friends and continued to walk with the woman to her house. A few months

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marriage] could improvise lyrics for the rest of the song.

later these two people were engaged and the situation was very different, since the woman would stay outside with him and the rest of us until late at night.

There is however a group of young people that includes women, who stay up most of the night and until the early morning. They are all under 30 years of age. They dress in black leather jackets and black shoes and form two or more groups along a two-block segment of one of the main streets. These people are known as *sos piscinos de su ponte* among the local young. These groups include teenagers from different backgrounds, including some young men who help their fathers herding livestock when they are not attending school. They are seen with suspicion by the older people in Bardia, who believe they might be drug addicts or behave in disreputable ways.[20] However, in fact *sos piscinos de su ponte* do not behave too differently from other young people in Bardia, and when they have cars or scooters they drive around in the local streets and the two roads that skirt Bardia, as the other young Bardiesi do.

Although there is great concern among the older people that the local young are turning to heavy drugs, the only type of drug I saw circulating, other than regular tobacco and alcohol, was marihuana, which is relatively easy to obtain in all of Sardinia and it is used by many young adults in the villages and cities of Sardinia. As far as I know, there are no local marihuana dealers in Bardia, and the distress of the older people regarding drugs among the young is largely unfounded.

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[20] I met several members from the *crìcche* of these *piscinos de su ponte* since the first night I spend in Bardia, and I spent some time with them at the beginning of my stay in the town. However, I never became a regular member of their *crìcche*. It is with these people in particular with whom my first landlord and landlady did not want me to associate at all.

In Bardia the *passeggiata* starts at about the 20:00 hours and it continues until the 22:00, as people bar-hop, visit the *saletta* and drive around. Every night the groups of friends walk back and forth along the two major streets and eventually join their friends in their favourite bars. While in Telemula people dress clean but casually for the nightly *passeggiata*, in Bardia young women and men dress their most fashionable clothes as they walk along the *corsi* [main streets] with their friends.

While in Telemula the main form of entertainment in the summer are *spuntini* banquets, in Bardia the summer offers many more diversions as the tourist season comes. Besides organizing sightseeing hikes and spuntini, young and old people enjoy the beach at Cala Fuili and other parts of the communal territory. On weekends, the *porto* [dock] of Cala Fuili is a favourite spot during the *crìcche*'s *passeggiata*, all summer long. Also, during the summer many of the Bardiesi who live abroad return with their families to spend two or more weeks in town, and the *crìcche* become larger for a while, as the young people from the visiting families join their local friends.

7. THE CRìCCA

In Bardia the young shepherds' *crìcche* are often formed by other shepherds and only seldom include people from other occupations. Older shepherds, however, do socialize with the owners of small shops, construction contractors and workers, and retired merchants who peddled local goods around the island. It is among those people in their forties or younger that the *crìcche* have become more exclusive. While the *crìcche* of non-shepherds may include people who have different types of jobs, there seems to be a separation of the groups of urban technicians and professionals who graduated from technical schools and university from the rest of the local *crìcche*. Often, the regular composition of *crìcche* in Bardia

is related not only to occupational specialization, but sometimes also to individuals' affiliation to political parties.

One of the *crìcche* that Ayora-Diaz and I frequented at night in Bardia encompasses six local politicians and bureaucrats. All of them are single, and four are active members of the Christian Democratic party while the other two are not affiliated to any particular party. Another one of our *crìcche* comprises several shepherds in their thirties, most of whom are members of Su Cuile Mannu. Still another one of the *crìcche* with whom we often socialized at night is formed by six women in their mid twenties, most of whom are daughters of shepherds or sedentary stockbreeders. One of them works full time as a housekeeper, one is a student, two are secretaries and the other ones are teachers. This *crìcca* is occasionally joined by a group of four young male musicians and their girlfriends. One of the musicians is a mechanic and the other ones go to school or find temporary employment in Bardia or elsewhere in Italy. Yet another musician, who comes occasionally into town and is the actual leader of the band, is enroled in the Italian navy and spends much of his time abroad, on war ships.

Unlike Telemula, the *crìcche* regular groups are more exclusive in their gender composition, since it is usually either only females or males who belong to the *crìcche* in their smallest size, and undertake most activities together. When the groups are larger and include both men and women, the locals still speak of the whole group as of one single *crìcca*. However, in my view the character of this larger group is different, since not everyone in it meets with all others every night, and the group usually breaks into the smaller groups for different types of activities.

As in Telemula, in Bardia it is usually the case that two or more *crìcche* together organize parties for Christmas, the New Year's and the international day of women, as well as for

their members' birthdays. While in Telemula the local *crìcche* tend to organize their Christmas and New Year's banquets preparing the food themselves, the members of Bardiesi *crìcche* are often willing to pay expensive fees for private banquets at restaurants of Nuoro city, to celebrate these holidays together. On one occasion, the *crìcca* of shepherds' daughters, along with a *crìcca* of young shepherds (many of whom are on their way to become successful sedentary stockbreeders) and construction workers payed a fee of L. 100,000 ($100) per person for one of these banquets.

The local *crìcche* also organize *spuntini* in the countryside, as well as in private *cantine* within Bardia. In the summer a favourite activity of the members of Bardiesi *crìcche* is to go on one-day hikes to different spots on the coast. The *crìcche* also attend together the village festivals of Bardia and surrounding villages and towns. Horse races are one of the favourite sports of Bardiesi, and they are willing to travel to different parts of the island to enjoy the *paglii* [horse races and acrobatic shows] that take place during the summer and the spring. The *crìcche* of young Bardiesi shepherds are particularly prone to attend this type of spectacle. We have met *crìcche* of Bardiesi shepherds in Ogliastra, Barbagia and in the city of Sassari, during events that involved *paglii* shows.

Carnival is a major event in which the *crìcche* of Bardiesi young people take part in an organized fashion. The *crìcche*, including the shepherds' groups, form unified groups in order to enter costume contests and attend together the dance parties that take place every night. There are also *paglii* during the local carnival celebrations. These take place on the two main local streets and are widely attended by the young shepherds and their families.

Older men also have their own *crìcche*. These groups usually socialize in their own *cantine*, if they are married, or in the local bars, if they are single. Also, many times a

crìcche of older men may have a few drinks at a local bar and then move to a private *cantina*, from which it will often move from one to another of the members' houses through most of the night.

Older women do not consider themselves members of *crìcche*. They usually visit one another in the morning or the afternoon, when their husbands and children are absent from their houses. It is only during the summer that groups of older women get together to go on hikes in the mountains or along the shores. However, groups of older women who have been common friends for a long time are easy to spot during weddings, summer banquets and other occasions usually related to church ceremonies or recreational activities organized by the local priest.

In Bardia, if the political preferences of the members of a *crìcca* are not the same, no major interpersonal problems develop. During the general election of 1992, within the *crìcca* of shepherds' daughters each of them openly expressed their sympathies for one or another party. However, during the same period many *crìcche* turned into exclusive political groups that organized meetings and distributed pamphlets around town. A Bardiese who went to Telemula a few days before the general election took place was very surprised at the degree of animosity she encountered between the members of the two local factions. During the same period in Bardia, although politics are seen here as a serious affair, the *crìcche* continued to frequent the local bars as usual, not on the basis of party affiliation but of customary preference instead.[21]

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[21] The relationship between *crìcche* and politics are explored further in Part II of this dissertation.

8. DISCUSSION

In Bardia development projects have encouraged the development of intensive stockbreeding practices. The ones that have been implemented to date follow to the letter the recommendations of the *Inchiesta Medici* and the 1976 Law of Agro-Pastoral Reform. These projects aimed at the complete transformation of the productive practices of transhumant pastoralists, including the landless shepherds who until then had been dependent on communal lands during the winter, into sedentary stock breeders. Su Cuile Mannu, the shepherds' production cooperative, is one of the most visible and locally significant results of these agro-pastoral development schemes. Through the creation of three *monti dei pascoli* the cooperative has given access to lands to a larger number of shepherds than those who could be supported by the same lands under *pascolo brado* [natural pastures].

Besides the incentives for the creation of intensive stockbreeding units, Bardiesi livestock owners also enjoy those benefits granted to them by the EEC and the regional government through the *caseificio sociale*, the dairy cooperative. As we will see in Part II of this dissertation, politicians and administrators are always willing to back up the Bardiesi members against other milk producers when the resources of the cooperative decrease.

The contrast between Bardia and Telemula, and the differences between the livestock owners of each setting do not pass unnoticed by Telemulesi and Bardiesi. A young Telemulesi once said to Ayora-Diaz and me:

> In [Bardia] they are rich because they have always been rich. They have many doctors, lawyers, engineers. . . people who have been professionals for twenty or more years now. They have their own people in the government. *Loro sanno fare* [They know how to do things].

The matter of why or how Bardiesi are privileged, however, is not only related to the fact that "they have their own people

in the government," but also to the many resources of Bardia's territory which could be turned into sources of earnings.

First, the size and the good quality of Bardia's lands, along with a moderate climate, make them ideal for the cultivation of vines and olives, two Mediterranean products well supported by the EEC. Second, the level character of Bardia's territory makes it possible for most Bardiesi livestock owners to keep sheep, which are more profitable than goats. Third, the municipal coastline has become in the last two decades a profitable resource, as tourists have discovered in Sardinia a natural sea, sun and mountain paradise.

In short, Bardia has natural resources of its own which allows it to take advantage of the current development opportunities offered to Sardinian rural dwellers by the EEC, the federal government and the regional administration. Furthermore, the location of Bardia between Ogliastra and Barbagia, the two major 'problem areas' of central Sardinia, give regional politicians and bureaucrats additional incentives to invest in Bardia's pastoral sector. It is important for the regional authorities to support Bardia so that it will continue to be a prosperous town of central Sardinia, where state-regulated institutions such as cooperatives and small businesses are part of everyday life, and especially where the livestock owners are visible elements in this institutionally-framed prosperity.

Because of the size and the high degree of work specialization in Bardia, local families are hardly self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Specialization has allowed agriculturalists and livestock raisers to make their products come closer to the EEC quality standards and thus to access the regional, European and international markets. It has also allowed agro-pastoral producers to have more free time on their hands than before. However, by the same token, the agriculturalists and livestock raisers of Bardia have become more dependent on the market than the Telemulesi for the

satisfaction of their own food requirements, as people have dedicated their land and labour resources to monocrop production. As the EEC begins to draw back its cash supports to Mediterranean products, the future viability of agricultural and livestock enterprises in Bardia has become uncertain. In the summer of 1992 some families and individuals were already looking at ways to diversify their production and spread their economic risks among different types of economic undertakings. For example, a shepherd told me that he wanted to have a *frutteto* [orchard] and an *oliveto* [olive grove] in addition to his flock, and he intended to request monies from the EEC through the regional government to start these projects.

Although the Bardiesi population seem to enjoy a happier relationship with government and EEC institutions than the Telemulesi, social inequalities are more conspicuous among them than among the Telemulesi. The sedentary stockbreeders have increasingly less in common with the pastoralists who own small pieces of land and still have to practice seasonal transhumance, and still less with the goatherd pastoralists who herd their animals on the coast. The young professionals who make their living as lawyers and doctors have a higher income and a distinct lifestyle, different from other people's in town, and those people who have managed to reap off the benefits of the tourist trade in Cala Fuili through their ownership of hotels and restaurants show their wealth in new houses, new cars and other forms of conspicuous consumption.

All these people are unequally placed within political and bureaucratic networks, and thus have differential access to public resources. However, as in Telemula, interpersonal relations bring people from all socioeconomic sectors together in sociability networks that bond local families and individuals. These networks are easily transformed into unequal employment relationships.

In Bardia the opportunities for formal employment, either full-time or part-time, are more than in Telemula because of the many small shops, the seasonal peaks of work in the plants that process local agro-pastoral products, and the tourist trade. However, reciprocity networks based on unequal access to resources, as characterized by Mingione, are also in place. For example, the recruitment of employees under seasonal contracts in Cala Fuili usually follows the channels of the extended family or the friendship between the families of the employer and the employee, with the subsequent loss of contract flexibility on the part of the employee. The same is true of employment in the small businesses run by families which require additional personnel at specific times of the year.

Regarding the politics of patronage, Bardiesi are better positioned than the Telemulesi to find powerful *accozzi* when they need them, although as we saw above not all Bardiesi are equal when it comes to gaining access to public funds. While the fragmentation of Bardiesi society is less obvious than in Telemula, in practice the informal economy and people's reliance on the welfare state are widespread in Bardia.

In this town "hidden employment" and "hidden unemployment" coexist side by side. There are shepherds who do not register their animals because they are aiming at government-salary jobs. They are engaged full-time in an economic activity, but they appear as 'unemployed' in government registries. At the same time, the category of agricultural workers hides the fact that many people in Bardia are in fact unemployed and stay home or look for odd jobs during the year. Housewives and part-time personnel, who are often labelled as the "hidden unemployed," appear as having regular occupations in official registries in order to access pension plans, health care benefits and other types of public funds.

Bardiesi livestock herders, including those landless shepherd who are members of the cooperative, have become close to the typical commercial small holder of the *Mezzogiorno* (Bonanno 1989, Motura and Mingione 1989). Their worries are those of specialized producers elsewhere. Because of their dependence on the agricultural incentives and protective policies of the EEC, Bardiesi shepherds find it convenient to express their grievances through the formal institutional channels such as trade unions, cooperative assemblies, organized protests and even news releases for the press.

The distrust of shepherds and sedentary livestock breeders for official institutions is not evident at first sight. However, as we will see in Part II, Bardiesi in general and the shepherds in particular express this distrust by becoming members, at the same time, in two or more cooperatives and trade unions which are affiliated to ideologically diverse and even opposed political parties. This is never clearer than in the Bardiesi shepherds' participation in the cooperative movement. The same shepherd might belong to a cooperative of the *Lega*, of communist and socialist affiliation, and to a cooperative of the *Associazione*, of Christian Democratic sympathies.

In short, in Bardia it is important for both the livestock owners and the politicians to maintain a facade of institutionally guided, formal economy. The politicians can show Bardia as a true success resulting from the implementation of official programmes, and the shepherds' and other producers' demands are satisfied through normal official channels. Underneath appearances, however, Bardiesi have retained and probably even strengthened their reciprocity practices based on personalised interaction. In Bardia the informal economy feeds from the formal one, and the two together form the fabric of the local networks of exchange. Through exchange, social relations are maintained, feelings are expressed and inequalities perpetuated. The modalities of

these exchanges are the subject of Part II.

CHAPTER FIVE: PASTORALISM IN RURAL SARDINIA

1. THE EFFECTS OF AGRO-PASTORAL PROJECTS.

As other types of productive activities, pastoralism in Sardinia has been greatly influenced by the agro-pastoral development programmes of the Sardinian regional administration and the EEC. Looking at the contrast between Telemula and Bardia it is easy to see that the programmes have benefited those producers who, as in Bardia, already had an edge over the producers of less favoured areas, such as Telemula.

The agro-pastoral producers of Bardia were already better off than many of their neighbours because of several circumstances. First, Bardia is very close to the urban market of Nuoro city, which in turn is connected by train and by buses to Cagliari, Oristano and Sassari. Second, Bardia's natural resources were easily turned by the Bardiesi, with help from the Sardinian administration, into sources of profit though the promotion of tourism, the raising of sheep and the intensive cultivation of vineyards and olive groves. And third, Bardia is strongly supported by the bureaucrats and the politicians of Sardinia. As we will see below, this support does not stem only from the numbers of Bardiesi in key administrative and political positions. It is also a result of the Sardinian administration's vested interest in keeping the town as a showpiece of the effects of the policies and projects, within the conflictive context of central Sardinia.

Within Bardia itself, however, different people have benefited at different degrees from the programmes of the EEC and the Sardinian administration. Those who have been most favoured have been the sedentary livestock breeders, who already had lands of their own where they could keep their animals and thus were less dependent on communal pastures than other shepherds.

The 1976 Law for Agro-pastoral Reform has been applied in a discriminating way between communities. Those communities classified as *Azienda Speciale* are expected to keep their communal territory intact. They become the recipients of government programs aimed at the creation of employment and not at the development of individual or collective agro-pastoral enterprises. The alternative programmes carried out in Telemula and Bardia are justified on the basis of the alleged personal character of their inhabitants.

Telemula has been defined as a 'traditional' community (ERSAT n.d.(a), n.d.(b)) and most of its territory has been kept under communal ownership, under the *Azienda Speciale* regulations. The lack of private or leased lands dedicated to livestock rearing, in turn, denies pastoralist families the option of applying for those subsidies and land improvement grants that would help them to improve the conditions in which they raise their animals.

The EEC programs directed at Telemula during the last twenty years have been less for the promotion of innovation than for the conservation of the prevalent practices of agro-pastoralism. The programs in place include a subsidy for the production of durum wheat, for the keeping of cattle indigenous to the *supramonte*, and for the substitution of vineyards, which are currently planted with different varieties of grapevines, with vines of *Cannonau*, a type of grape characteristic of Ogliastra and Barbagia. Also, some people have accepted not to undertake agriculture in, or rent out to the shepherds, the land plots they own in the valley, as they have accepted to participate in the 'set-aside' programme of the EEC.

The construction of several shelters on the *supramonte* was part of the *proietto Ogliastra*, directly supervised by the EEC and implemented by ERSAT (ERSAT n.d., Ente di Sviluppo Sardegna n.d.). The pastoralists of Telemula have also been given the option to purchase solar panels which, although they

can provide electricity for the shepherds' working sites, do not generate enough power for the shepherds to contemplate the use of electric shearers or milkers.[1] Regarding roads, limited funding has been granted to the municipality for the paving of three roads: a road that goes from the village to the *supramonte*, one (which in 1992 was declared illegal because too many boulders fall on it everyday) that would provide a more direct access to Lanusei and one that goes to another neighbouring community. Besides these, no other road paving projects have been funded during the last twenty years for the Telemula territory.

In Telemula the programs of reforestation have had the double goal of providing trees for the Arbatax paper mill and providing employment for local people. Once again, from 50 to 100 people will be hired, between 1992 and 1993, to work in reforestation. This reforestation scheme shows the commitment of the regional government to create employment. However, the same scheme displaces the pastoralists who used to keep their animals in the areas now destined to reforestation and environmental conservation. The *ovili* of these soon-to-be-displaced pastoralists often are those which were built with EEC monies under the *proietto Ogliastra*, and are among the finest in the area.

The new reforestation program suggests that the intentions of the regional and national governments regarding the pastoralists are those of eliminating the activity in the area, rather than convert it to sedentary livestock breeding. A local administrator of another Ogliastra village, where the reforestation scheme will also be implemented, told Ayora-Diaz and me:

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[1] Ayora-Diaz and I have speculated that the solar panels may be the government's response to the immediate needs of the pastoralists while the National Park of the Gennargentu becomes established.

> The shepherd is like the Panda bear. It is a species on its way to extinction. We are going to hire some shepherds so that they can provide an additional attraction for the tourists. Other than these few, salaried husbandmen, all the others will have to find another job.

Bocella (1982) has devised a threefold classification of areas of the Italian *Mezzogiorno* as autonomous, productive abroad or dependent on welfare subsidies. Autonomous areas would be those where the productivity of areal labour accounts for 90% of all net income. Productive abroad are those areas where labour occupied locally brings in less than 90% of the annual net revenue, and at the same time 5% of the net income can be traced to migrants' remittances. Dependent areas are those where less than 90% of the net areal revenue is produced locally and less than 5% is brought in by migrants' remittances.[2]

In Bocella's (1982) classification both Telemula and Bardia fall under the category of dependent areas. In Sardinia, according to this author, only those zones around the *poli di sviluppo* created through the *Cassa del Mezzogiorno* programs are autonomous. Pugliese (1985) points out that reforestation programs -such as the ones now being implemented in Ogliastra and part of Barbagia- are only another way of subsidising local communities by creating a government-sponsored occupation alternative. The welfaristic character of these programs has been underlined in Telemula and other Ogliastra communities where twice as many people have been hired as there are positions open.

In Telemula 50 people will be hired to work during six months, and other 50 during the rest of the year. Those workers temporarily unemployed will benefit from an

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[2] It is difficult to know what the exact figures are for each settlement, as Bocella presents his results in a series of coloured maps, instead of in numerical tables.

unemployment pension equal to the full amount of their previous salary during a period similar to the one they were officially employed. This way, each half a year's job, when combined with unemployment pensions, will amount to one full year's salary. In the words of an aspiring forestry worker, "this way the money will go around for more of us."

The fact that Telemula is widely seen more as a recipient than a producer of income reaffirms the regional government's perspective on this village as being a marginal community. The 30 kilometres separating Telemula from the coast give officials and Telemulesi alike sufficient reason to believe that the community is **far away** from the regional markets. The idea, common among bureaucratic and political circles that Telemula is a 'traditional' and 'backward' place seems to reinforce itself in full circle following this train of thought: "If they are backward it is because they are isolated, and if they are isolated it is only because they are traditional and like to be so."

During the *sagra del prosciutto*, a feast organised in Telemula in August of 1991, a regional administrator based in Cagliari said to Ayora-Diaz, in English and Spanish, so that our Telemulesi hosts would not understand:

> "Look at this people. *Poveretti* [Poor them]. Eheh, They are so backward! They like to live like this and this is why they will never progress. However, they are happy and live in peace with their traditions. Maybe it is us, it is our own lifestyle that is wrong. These people have a simple life and we should not push on them programs of modernisation. We should not destroy their harmony. Look at us! With all the stress, all the problems. Each time they come to me they only want subsidies for agriculture and shepherding. And that's fine. They don't want to progress. [They] want to stay like this, happy, maybe it is us who are wrong."

On another occasion, we met at an EEC seminar in Nuoro city one of the politicians we had met during the *sagra del*

prosciutto in Telemula. He asked us where we were living then and we said that we lived in Cala Fuili. He told us:

> "*Va bene* [o.k.], now I can get in touch with you. We all wondered what you two were doing up that mountain [that is, in Telemula], living away from civilisation!"

He then introduced us to other administrators attending the seminar, telling them that we were living up in the mountains among the shepherds, and thus getting the wrong impression about Sardinia. Time and again, politicians and administrators spoke to us of Telemula as a marginal place, where welfare payments are the only option to maintain the population in place and at the same time guarantee some social peace.

Bardia, on the other hand, has been identified as a 'modern' town, and it has been the object of large land improvement projects (ERSAT 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d). Also, the shepherds' production cooperative (Su Cuile Mannu) benefited from the 1976 agro-pastoral law and the creation of the *monti dei pascoli*, which enhanced the economic assets of the organisation. Through the Bardiesi officials and bureaucrats now in key positions, the local entrepreneurs manage to obtain grants and low-interest loans either individually or through cooperatives. The problems Telemulesi face when conducting transactions or carrying out *pratiche* (bureaucratic procedures) are minimized for many Bardia men and women because of the easier access that residents of this town have to *accozzi* and also because Bardia is in the *Compresorio* that encompasses the Barbagia.

The area of Barbagia has always been considered the most problematic one of the island. Because of the supposed violent character of the Barbaricini [the inhabitants of the Barbagia], Bardia is *il fiore nel occhielo* [the jewel of the showcase] in the Barbagia *Compresorio*. It is in the interest not only of the Bardiesi to continue being prosperous, but in

the interest of administrators and politicians as well.

In Nuoro province, Bardia is the best example that the Sardinian administrators and agro-pastoral extension officials can show for the results of their own policies, advice and guidance. In Mamoiada, Orgosolo, Fonni, Ottana and other pastoralist communities of the area the monies poured on them by the EEC, the regional and the provincial governments do not seem to have ended the violence that the Agro-pastoral Reform Law intended to eradicate.

In those communities banditry, blood feuds and the bombing of businesses and private homes still occur: during the two years that I lived in Sardinia, at least 40 people were killed in Barbagia and Ogliastra, presumably because of ongoing blood feuds.[3] Also, two people were kidnapped (although one of them managed to escape from her captors). In the city of Nuoro two flower shops were bombed, and in Ogliastra a hotel was bombed in the coastal village of Girasole. In Bardia, instead, life is relatively peaceful and violence only sporadic, cooperatives flourish, handicrafts and sweets are sold to the tourists and in the urban markets, and small shops multiply everywhere. The town has come to represent the concept of Sardinian modern livestock herding, and the resulting prosperity is there for all to see.

In october of 1991 Ayora-Diaz and I were invited by the local representative of ERSAT in Bardia to go out for dinner with him, along with an ERSAT official from Cagliari and an olive oil expert from Tuscany. The Tuscan had come for a one-day seminar sponsored by ERSAT, which was held on the premises

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[3] On December 29 of 1990 *La Repubblica* published a figure (also reprinted in Fontana and Serarcangeli 1991) which showed a map of southern Italy with the numbers of homicides that had been committed in five of them. The figure, which under the heading of "Violence in the South," gave comparative data on Sardinia and the four other "problem" provinces (Sicily, Calabria, Campania and Puglia) showed that from 40 in 1989 the number actually increased to 60 in 1990.

of the cooperative olive press. The Tuscan expert repeated several times:

> *Qua siamo nell'età della pietra* [here people are still in stone age]. People do not have a clue about how to make good olive oil. If we were in Tuscany much of this oil would be downgraded to *olio saso* [low quality olive oil].

He told us that the problem is that in Bardia people are growing olives because they want the subsidies, and not because they are concerned with making and consuming top quality oil.[4] The local ERSAT representative told me, at some point during the walk to the restaurant:

> "He is complaining now, but *c'e n'è di peggio, e come! ti lo dico io* [He will see worse, I know]. We [in Bardia] have the most advanced methods in the island. He has not seen everyone else. I'm sure that after tomorrow he will realize that *noi siamo tra i migliori* [we have one among the best olive presses]."

In fact, although Bardia's olive oil might not meet the standards of the Tuscan expert, I never hear but praise for this and other local products from regional politicians and administrators.

The mixed character of land ownership in Bardia has made it possible for some pastoralists to change their patterns of production and become permanently settled livestock raisers, because the livestock owners can take advantage of EEC land improvement funds, and of the grants created with the Law of Agro-pastoral Reform. But also here the willingness of Sardinian administrators to find ways to fund Bardiesi livestock production has played a major role in making many Bardiesi producers eligible for pasture improvement subsidies

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[4] Note that the Bardiesi are discursively portrayed by the Tuscan olive oil expert in the same way Sardinian politicians and bureaucrats use to portray the Telemulesi. From the point of view of many people from mainland Italy, most of Sardinia is 'backward', relative to the rest of Italy.

and other types of grants.

It is only the owners of plots of five or more hectares who can have access to grants for the improvement of pastures and livestock rearing infrastructure. In Bardia ERSAT has made an exception by grouping several plots under five hectares along with neighbouring larger plots, and treating the whole area as a single production unit (ERSAT 1977c, 1977d). The communal lands apt for the keeping of sheep have been given on lease to the Su Cuile Mannu cooperative which, acting as a collective subject, has been able to secure funds for the improvement of land and infrastructure. Livestock owners benefit from Bardia's clout and image. They have more services than the shepherds of other communities such as Telemula and its Ogliastra neighbours.

The types of monies that the regional government and the EEC direct at Bardia are not just for conservation purposes, as is mostly the case in Telemula, but for entrepreneurial activity instead. Public funds are more readily available in Bardia than in Telemula for the setting up of *artigianato* [small] shops, pasture improvement and the creation of cooperatives.

The subsidies that livestock owners obtain in Bardia for the raising of cattle are not directed at protecting a species close to extinction, as they are in Telemula, but at making the local cattle raisers competitive in the larger regional and EEC market of premium quality meat. Pastoralists as well as the sedentary stockbreeders have electricity in their work sites, and stockbreeders can make use of electric shearers and milkers. Also, the communal territory has benefited from grants to build country roads. Cooperatives spring in all sectors of the economy because by now Bardiesi are familiar with the procedures for applying for collective grants and are helped by bureaucrats in filing their applications.

The effects of the alternative policies applied to each locality and the differences in resources that could be turned

into economic assets accounts for many of the differences between the two communities. It is not because the Telemulesi shepherds are "traditional" or "backward" that they continue to practice transhumance and make little use of feed supplements, as compared to the Bardiesi. Rather, most Bardiesi livestock raisers have a greater availability of feed, through membership in the dairy cooperative, as well as access to lands from which other people and their animals can be excluded.

These differences are played out every day during the work of the pastoralists and sedentary stockbreeders, and result in very different forms of livestock raising practices. As we saw in the previous ethnographies, in Telemula most pastoralist activities from spring to fall take place in communal lands. In Bardia, instead, pastoralism is mainly practised making use of one or several private plots, or by membership in the shepherds' production cooperative Su Cuile Mannu, which makes irrigated and dry pastures available to its members eleven moths each year.

While in Telemula goat herding is the main pastoralist activity, in Bardia sheep herding is the most important by far. In Telemula private plots are used mainly for agriculture from Spring to Fall. In Bardia the private plots belonging to pastoralists are mainly used for shepherding year round, if they are used for agriculture at all. Both in Bardia and in Telemula fodder crops are grown, but this is particularly so in Bardia and less so in Telemula, where I only met three shepherds who grew fodder crops. In Telemula the wheat grown on small private patches is used for flour, from which bread and pasta are made at home, while in Bardia wheat, when grown, is used mainly for fodder.

There are no truly sedentary shepherds in Telemula, whereas in Bardia large stock owners often keep all of their animals year-round in the same place or in several plots within two kilometres or less from one another. While in

Telemula the animals can roam unattended for many hours, in Bardia, outside Su Cuile Mannu, the animals have to be fed fodder and industrially-produced feed supplements because they do not have large surfaces of range.

In terms of the actual money that pastoralists have to spend in order to keep their flocks, Bardia shepherds seem to invest more in feeds and fodder crops than the goatherds and sheep pastoralists of Telemula. Bardiesi shepherds spend money on feed and other food supplements for their animals because this is the only way in which they can increase the productivity of their animals without having to rely on larger extensions of pasture or keep larger flocks. However, industrially processed feed is available to Bardiesi stock raisers at subsidised prices, through the *caseificio sociale* (the dairy cooperative), while the Telemulesi usually have to buy feed from private *consorzi*. Also, the land improvement programs sponsored by the EEC cover most of the costs of operation of Bardiesi fodder crop growers who own the necessary machinery themselves. As a result, milk production per animal is greater than in Telemula, and stock owners' investment is well rewarded through the guarantee prices for sheep's milk cheese established by the EEC.

In Telemula the fact that feed is expensive restrains many shepherds (though not those who are members of a milk cooperative) from spending money in what they see as an almost useless investment. Older shepherds say that they do not like the taste of cheese when the ewes are fed *mangime* [hard grains]. Since they and their family will consume a good part of their annual cheese production, this consideration has more weight for them than for those shepherds who know that their animals' milk will be mixed with other milk in the cooperative plant.

In Telemula many pastoralist families are engaged in agricultural production of one or another type. In Bardia, instead, pastoralism and agriculture have become specialised

activities, which give many individuals full time occupation. In Telemula agricultural production is mainly consumed by the producers' families while in Bardia agriculture (in the form of vineyards and olive groves) is mainly oriented to the Sardinian market as a whole. In Telemula the *vigna* provides a complement to the cash earnings and the family's self-sufficiency in food items. In Bardia, instead, there are professional *vitticultori* [grape growers] who are specialised producers, like the shepherds and the craftspersons. The same is the case for olive grove owners in Bardia, who derive most of their earned (as opposed to received through welfare) income from the their olive trees and the cooperative oil factory.

2. THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN

Along with the differences in stockbreeding practices, it is possible to identify variations in the division of labour within the household, and in the role of women among the livestock raising families of each locality. In Bardia the greater orientation of livestock rearing and other types of production made it possible for women to distance themselves from primary production in favour of processing and managing activities.[5] Today, the current organization of livestock-related work in Bardia engages the shepherd or his family in milk processing or cheese curing activities to a very limited extent, since the shepherds or their wives only make cheese at the beginning of the milking season. After mid January this work is performed by the local cooperative dairy plant. This

[5] Today the Bardiesi households of the older pastoralists who are not members of the dairy cooperative give the impression of Taylorite organizations, where the men and the women perform complementary activities. The men are in charge of primary production activities (taking care of the animals and milking them) and the women are in charge of processing and commercial activities, that is, making cheese and selling it.

makes it possible for women in pastoral families to dissociate themselves completely from all tasks related to pastoralism, and they become free to pursue other types of activities, either bringing additional profit into the house or fully dedicating themselves to managing and embellishing their household and raising their children.

In Telemula, on the other hand, the poor quality of the lands, and the fact that local producers find it difficult (because they are "far" away from urban markets) to place their produce in the regional markets has favoured the specialization of women in garden production for family provisioning, among the older generations of pastoralists. The same circumstances within the new context of government intervention now favour the participation of young women in those welfare programmes aimed at the Telemulesi population in general, such as reforestation and the creation of road maintenance and clerical jobs funded by the regional and national governments.

Today it is possible to find that women in Sardinian pastoral households might be more or less connected to the shepherds' work. Following the initial classification proposed by Murru Corriga (1990b), I propose the following six categories, defined from the point of view of the work of women in relation to agro-pastoral activities: *mathargia*, *mere'e omu*, full-time housewife, employee, professional and commercial entrepreneur.

Mathargie are those women who perform agricultural activities year-round, manage their own household and help their husbands, brothers or sons with some aspects of pastoral production, such as the storage and maintenance of aging cheeses. These women might also engage in the production of cheese themselves. They often engage in physically demanding work by themselves, such as when hoeing in the gardens or in the vineyards, and coordinate their own activities with their husbands' when they need each other's help. These women often

find occasional employment as agricultural workers outside their own house.

Mere'e domo are those women who do not engage in agricultural activities except during those periods of peak labour requirements, such as during the harvest of olives and grapes. These women manage their household, often with help from other women who may be servants, or their daughters or daughters-in-law, when the *meri* become older and their children are grown up. They still engage in some work related to pastoral production, such as the storage and oil-coating of cheese, and also may make cheese or other dairy products themselves. They do not seek employment in agriculture.

Full-time housewives. These women are different from the *mere'e domo* in that they do not do any work related to pastoralism. They are dedicated to their own houses and families, although they might participate in the harvest of grapes or olives, if there is a shortage of labour in their own or their parents' household.

Employees. These women have jobs outside their homes, in establishments that do not require specialized skills. Their jobs may require little manual work, as in the case of clerks and cashiers, or some type of manual work which is not considered specialized, such as working in a weaving or a shirt factory, or helping a cook. Because they are considered as generic labour, these women may find short-term employment throughout the year, if they do not hold regular full-time jobs during the whole year. They do not participate in livestock-raising activities, but they might contribute their work during the harvest of grapes or olives for their own households. They might also look for short-term work as *braccianti agricole* [agricultural workers] in order to supplement their income from other sources. Many of these women marry shepherds or men who might choose to engage in shepherding at some point.

Professionals. These women have some type of specialized education and they tend to look for *posti fissi* as teachers, highschool instructors, physicians, lawyers or members of the local and regional bureaucracy. Their fathers or brothers might be shepherds, but they usually marry non-shepherds or sedentary livestock breeders. They do not perform activities connected to livestock raising, although they might help during the harvest of olives or grapes. In fact, probably because of the impact of the ecological movement in Italy as a whole, many of these women take pride in their participation in activities that bring them "close to nature."

Commercial entrepreneurs. These women have opened businesses of their own, such as bakeries, small general stores, grocery stores, weaving shops or supermarkets. The female commercial entrepreneurs from pastoralist families that I know do not participate in any type of activity related to primary production because they run their own shops and cannot leave their businesses unattended during the *tosatura* or the grape or olive picking seasons.[6]

Both in Bardia and in Telemula women from all these categories are present. In Telemula, however, among the older generations the ideal type of woman in pastoralist households is the *mathargia*, and among the younger generations it is the casalinga, the employee or the professional woman. In Bardia, in contrast, the ideal woman among the older generations of pastoralists is the *mere'e domo*, and among the younger generations the ideal woman is the casalinga, the employee and the commercial entrepreneur. The appeal of both the *mathargia* and the *mere'e domo* seem to be waning in both places, which is indicative of the fact that women are increasingly less

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[6] There are other types of commercial ventures run by women in Bardia or in other places of rural Sardinia, such as travel agencies, insurance companies and import agencies. However, I found that the women who own these businesses were never married to shepherds.

involved in activities related to pastoralism, even when their husbands or other members of their family are shepherds.

Another point of contrast between the role of women and men in the two settings is that of the gendered division of space. In Telemula the current separation of the genders is related more to the types of work that men and women perform than to the leisure activities in which people engage in the village. Women work in the Supramonte only during the summer, for the *tosatura* of their husbands' or brothers' or friends' animals, while at other times they visit that part of Telemula's territory only for leisure purposes, including *spuntini* and hikes on the mountains. In this locality the valley is the site of both men's and women's work, as many retired men work in their orchards or vineyards, and the shepherds bring their animals to the area during the winter.

In Bardia, on the other hand, women visit the countryside, including the work sites of their husbands, brothers and friends more often, not only during *spuntini* but also during regular working days. They, however, work out of town only in those occasions when their labour is needed, and not on an every day basis. In this locality the separation of both work and leisure space between 'masculine' and 'feminine' spaces is also internalized within the limits of the household, where the *cantina* is, especially among the older generations of Bardiesi, a 'male' space.

The consequences of women's different place in the economy in Bardia have a direct impact in the strategies the members of the household can follow, in obtaining informal or formal employment. At the end of the 1980s a survey was conducted at a Lanusei employment office among young people from four Ogliastra communities, including Telemula (Loy 1988). It was found that most of those youths who found part or full-time employment did not do so through that or other similar agencies, but rather through informal channels. In pastoral households in Telemula the parents of our friends who

attend university do not have many friends in the bureaucracy, and although their networks would be sufficient to find them jobs as employees in the area they do not seem to have the appropriate networks to obtain high-paying professional jobs. In Bardia, on the other hand, the members of pastoral households have an extensive network of friends among the politicians and bureaucrats of the island. This is not only because of old-time acquaintance between shepherds and people who are now in key administrative positions, but also because of the commercial or professional know-how and the personal acquaintances of the women.

3. THE *CRÌCCHE*

Crìcche groups are to some extent similar in Telemula and Bardia, in that they are voluntary associations which people join more or less at will. However, in the two settings the socioeconomic composition of the *crìcche* is different. In Bardia the young shepherds' *crìcche* are often formed by other shepherds and only seldom do they include people from other occupations. While the *crìcche* of non-shepherds may include people from different occupations, there seems to be a separation of groups that include urban technicians and professionals who graduated from university, and the regular composition of the groups is not related only to intra-village factionalism, but also to individuals' affiliation to particular political parties.

It is possible that the *crìcche* of Bardia can be more exclusive in their composition because the town is much larger than the village of Telemula, and there are more people to choose one's friends from. The older women of both Bardia and Telemula are not considered to belong in *crìcche*, but in fact they are part of friendship groups that are similar in their composition and functioning to the *crìcche* of the younger generations.

The phenomenon of the *crìcca* is particularly interesting in the context of association patterns in the past, and in other parts of Mediterranean Europe. The literature on Mediterranean Europe and on Sardinia itself offers us examples of voluntary associations based on other interpersonal or economic parameters, such as alliances based on neighbourhood, as in Andalusia (Pitt-Rivers 1971); people gravitating around only one political patron, as it was the case in Telemula in the recent past (Bodemann 1979); hierarchical organisations based on trust, self-help and defiance of the law, as in the case of the old and new forms of *mafia* in Sicily (Arlacchi 1983, Sabetti 1984); diffuse sociability networks or the convergence of dyadic relationships on one central individual, as in Bidda, Sardinia (Lonergan 1984); or associations based on either kinship or occupational category, as in Basilada, also in Sardinia (Schweizer 1988).

The *crìcca*, instead, are relatively open groups, since people may attach themselves to them or leave them more or less at will. At the same time, they are relatively closed, since they usually include people who belong to the same village faction (as in Telemula), the same political party (as in Bardia), or people with similar interests such as in the case of hunting comrades in Bardia, young people who aspire to a 'modern', urban-like lifestyle in Telemula, or groups of coevals who have known each other from school or from having grown up together.

The *crìcche* are, in fact, one of the criteria that define the social identity of individuals within the village or town, since each group is perceived as composed of people with relatively similar interests or tastes. In societies where the employment structure is increasingly diversified and the members of each family and even particular individuals have differential access to public resources, the *crìcca* creates a fiction of social equality among its members, which is not attainable in other spheres of social life.

4. THE ASSISTED HOUSEHOLD AND THE FRAGMENTED SOCIETIES

None of the two communities can be explained through Chayanov's (1966) model of the peasant, or Cook's (1982) model of the simple commodity producer. People in these two Sardinian settings are immersed in the international market in such a way that it would be practically unthinkable for them to continue producing sheep milk's cheese if it were not because of the incentives from the regional and the national governments and from the EEC.[7]

Instead of agro-pastoral production being the only focus of the pastoralist families in the two places, this type of activity has become to a large extent somewhat of a default occupational possibility. There are many shepherds who would like to leave their occupation and only continue to herd their flocks while they find the chance to leave them. While Chayanov's and Cook's theoretical models imply a constant transfer of value from the countryside to the urban centres, in Sardinia the opposite is the case. Agriculture and pastoralism continue to exist because they are the recipients of non-agricultural transfers and the population of the villages and towns is not necessarily forced to emigrate.

As Mingione points out (1985, 1991:384-5) for southern Italy as a whole, in central Sardinia the informal sector is characterized by employment relations that fall outside the regulatory powers of the State.[8] It is also clear that the

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[7] I thank Dan Bradburd for originally pointing this out to me, when he came to Sardinia in 1991.

[8] According to Mingione (1991:385), the reason why the informal sector prevails in southern Italy is because the members of each household unit try to bridge the gap between the needs and desires of the household's members and its economic possibilities, and the informal economy appears as the only solution to bridge this gap. Mingione states that besides informal employment the other main characteristic trait of the informal economy in the *Mezzogiorno* is "the area of predominantly female labour consisting of housework and other family-based self-provisioning activities" (ibid).

thriving informal economy derives, at least in part, from the aspirations of people to enter the formal sector under a regular wage. On the other hand, informal employment allows individuals to demonstrate before legal and administrative institutions a state of economic need that may not correspond his or her living conditions, so as to keep the flow of public moneys running into one's household or individual budget. This is the case when, for example, young shepherds do not declare their own flocks in the appropriate registries because they want to appear as unemployed in the employment agency's lists.

Political patronage, combined with the *furbizzia* of the local clients of the welfare state, further promotes the fragmentation of the communities because it destroys the economic bases for social equality, or at least for objective merit criteria. As economic differences between families and individuals become wider, lifestyles and alternative moral codes multiply, and individuals come to be increasingly different from one another.

Mingione's framework, although illuminating, leaves us at the characterization of the informal economy. The ways in which the reciprocity communities he speaks of are formed and function cannot be predicted by his theoretical model. The intertwined workings of the reciprocity networks and the everyday functioning of cooperative associations is also beyond his model's explication possibilities. From now on, during the second part of this dissertation, it is the body of anthropological theory on exchange to provide us with a theoretical thread to understand exchange, cooperation, and the ways in which cooperatives actually work in Sardinia.

Although this is true among the older generations of women in pastoral households of Telemula and Bardia, many women under 50 and most women under thirty are now trying to enter the formal or informal employment sector in conditions similar to those of the male labour force.

I believe that past economic and social equality are only a fiction belonging to the realm of collective nostalgia. Today, people in Telemula and Bardia try to minimize the social impact of the blatant economic differences through three main strategies, sustaining an 'economy of affection' (Hyden 1980) of sorts. These strategies are gift exchange, informal cooperation, and the manipulation of nostalgia and money as 'shifters' that allow them to create and re-create a sense of community. Part II of this dissertation is concerned with these processes; that is, with the ways in which local people in the two settings try to overcome the social dissolution of their fragmented societies.

PART TWO: EXCHANGE

CHAPTER SIX: FORMAL AND INFORMAL COOPERATION

1. COOPERATIVES AND THE INFORMAL COOPERATION MYTH

One of the common assumptions behind the promotion of cooperatives and cooperative programmes is that networks of informal cooperation can be easily turned into cooperative associations. This could be done presumably by bringing into an institutional framework those informal cooperation networks and structures that are already in place, or at least taking these as a starting point for introducing institutional innovation (Nyerere 1967, Eckstein 1970, Cliffe 1970, Ronfeldt 1975, March and Taqqu 1986, Francia 1988). In the second part of this dissertation I demonstrate that, at least for central rural Sardinia, such expectations are unfounded. Existing patterns of informal cooperation may in fact hinder the efforts of State officials, or even local entrepreneurs, to form cooperatives. On the other hand, cooperatives may become successful not by integrating informal cooperation groups into one association but simply by not curtailing the existence of these groups, which may transcend the limits of the cooperatives. Furthermore, cooperatives may not only destroy old forms of informal cooperation but also create new ones, again both within and outside the formally established associations.

Where does informal cooperation come from? Are informal cooperation circuits the result of spontaneous invention or are they the product of top-down legislation and coercion? Here I want to suggest that informal cooperation derives from both types of stimuli, sometimes in isolation and sometimes in combination with one another. In the Soviet Union, for example, the all-pervasive regulations of the State resulted in the simultaneous presence of an 'official' and a 'hidden' economies, both of which required some degree of informal cooperation as they coexisted and fed off each other (Timofeev 1983, Mingione 1991). Today in Italy and other post-

industrial nations the increased regulation of private life has resulted in the spread of non-regulated practices, based on informal networks of reciprocity and personal relations (Offe 1984, 1985, Lash and Urry 1987, Mingione 1985, 1991).

The impact of internal 'spontaneous' and external 'coercive' stimuli on informal cooperation may not coincide in time; namely, what was the result of coercion in the past may become spontaneous practice in the present, sanctioned through the collective manipulation of what Herzfeld (1990) has called "structural nostalgia." In Sardinia, at least some of the currently existing structures of informal cooperation in fact derive from previously existing formal structures. These had been imposed in the past by feudal regimes or through the 'modernisation' efforts of the government during the first half of the twentieth century. This is the case with practices such as *sa ponidura* [the donation of sheep to a shepherd who has lost his flock or wants to start his career as a husbandman] and the *compagnie barracellari* [country guards], which in the past were mandatory for the shepherds (Berger 1986) and today are accepted as a 'traditional' forms of cooperation.

Informal cooperation, as Worsley (1971) notes, brings to mind images of solidarity and individuals' sensitivity for other people's needs. Part II of this dissertation shows how, as Bourdieu (1977) suggests for the Kabyle of Algeria, in Sardinia strong networks of informal cooperation do not necessarily work in favour of the people who participate in them. In fact, they may actually be detrimental, in the long term, to the economic well-being of individuals or families. As will become apparent, in Bardia the prevalent patterns of gift exchange and informal cooperation, based on carefully balanced reciprocity, put a strain on those people who do not have the resources to reciprocate gifts or help to the extent they have received them.

In Telemula, on the other hand, the prevalent forms of gift exchange and informal cooperation highlight the supposed generosity of all co-villagers. The calculated lack of rivalry in this village questions the universal applicability of Bourdieu's conclusions, since Telemulesi, like the Muria Gonds (Gell 1986), take great pains at divesting gift-giving and informal cooperation from all possible association with competitive behaviour. In Telemula people try not to overdress or to spend in ways that might be seen as 'selfish'. In this village one is expected to spend money for one's relatives and with one's friends. To withdraw from intense participation in social activities is seen as a way of "trying to put oneself above the others," as the Telemulesi put it.[1]

Informal cooperation networks, because they rely on personal relations, are necessarily intertwined with and strengthened by gift exchanges and common sociability. In this dissertation informal cooperation networks, that is, networks of mutual help, are understood in this larger context of sociability, hospitality, mutual favours and gift exchange. As will become clear in subsequent chapters, in rural Sardinia sometimes informal networks of help are indistinguishable from other forms of exchange between individuals or families, while at other times help in labour might be placed within a discrete sphere of exchange.

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[1] The long-term result of this form of behaviour is, as Gell perceptively points out, a widening gap between the richer and the poorer families, as the rich become richer by not spending according to their economic possibilities, while the poor become poorer by spending at a level which is considered 'average' in the village. Right now, however, it is difficult to consider anyone in Telemula 'rich' since those people who make enough money to establish themselves in coastal towns or in the cities usually do so as soon as they can afford it.

2. THINGS AND PEOPLE, PROFIT AND MONEY

Marshall Sahlins (1972) identifies three types of reciprocity relations: generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity and negative reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity refers to:

> transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary, assistance returned. (Sahlins 1972:193-4).

Balanced reciprocity, instead, is based on direct exchange: the initial gift or prestation is reciprocated with a customary equivalent, with relatively little delay (Ibid: 194-5).

Finally, negative reciprocity

> is the attempt to get something for nothing with impunity, the several forms of appropriation, transactions opened and conducted toward net utilitarian advantage. (Ibid:195).

Reciprocity, or the 're-payment' of these actions, usually stems out of self-defense or revenge (Ibid:195). From Sahlins' point of view, reciprocity, in all of its forms implies one or another sort of exchange.

Bourdieu (1977), questioning the mono-dimensionality of structural models, suggests that approaches to reciprocity and exchange such as the one proposed by Sahlins might be misleading, for the abstract model of reciprocity reduces highly subjective processes to mechanical operations, while the model telescopes time and allows for the reversibility of the exchange processes, actual exchange takes place through time, and the pacing of the initial overtures and ripostes is what allows the participants to devise and follow strategies; the gift is a challenge, and the adequate riposte has to be carefully chosen:

> The receiver of a gift is caught in the toils of exchange and has to prolong the exchange or break it off. If, obedient to the point of honour, he opts for exchange, his choice is identical with his

> opponent's initial choice: he agrees to play the game, which can go on for ever, for the riposte itself is a new challenge. (Bourdieu 1977:12).

Analyzing the patterns of gift exchange and marriage among the Kabyle, Bourdieu concludes that the strategy inherent in gift exchange creates relations of domination between the parties. These relations are established and reproduced through the timed manipulation of the flows of goods, services and women. The driving motor behind individuals' participation in exchange and creation of strategies is, among the Kabyle, the sense of honour, which is part of the *habitus*, the complex of attitudes and feelings inculcated early in life. It is the subjective and temporal dimension of the gift, Bourdieu poses, that makes possible

> the *institutionally organized and guaranteed misrecognition* which is the basis of gift exchange and, perhaps, of all the symbolic labour intended to transmute, by the sincere fiction of disinterested exchange, the inevitable, and inevitably interested relations imposed by kinship, neighbourhood, or work, into elective relations of reciprocity (Ibid:171. Emphasis in the original).

The gift, then, according to Bourdieu, is both a mechanism to create and perpetuate inequality and a tool to disguise the mechanics of inequality creation. Bourdieu's conclusions, in the end, do not question the usefulness of Sahlin's classification of reciprocity, but rather the character of reciprocity as a mechanism for the maintenance of social and economic equality. While it is true that there is a highly subjective aspect to exchange and that exchange relationships take place through timed strategies, Sahlin's reciprocity continuum provides us with a set of notions which are susceptible of ethnographic verification.

Gregory (1982) proposes that the gift and the commodity economies are distinct from one another, and that in class-based society the commodity economy prevails, while in clan-

based society it is the gift economy that prevails and informs social exchange. According to Gregory (ibid:p.41),

> commodity exchange establishes objective quantitative relationships between the objects transacted, while gift exchange establishes personal relationships between the objects transacted.

Commodities, in this light, are "*alienable* objects transacted by aliens," while gifts are "*inalienable* objects transacted by non-aliens" (Ibid:43. Emphasis in the original).

These distinctions, which are probably tenable in non-monetized economies, can hardly be clear-cut in rural Sardinia, where not only gifts but also commodities are transacted between aliens (or at least between persons who have never seen each other) and non-aliens alike. In Sardinia, as in most industrial and post-industrial societies, the gift and the commodity intersect in everyday life because the difference between a gift and a non-gift is determined by the intention of the giver, and not by what is exchanged.

As Parry and Bloch (1989) point out, the moral dimensions of exchange are not automatically cancelled by monetization itself. In rural Sardinia both gifts and commodities are exchanged everyday, sometimes in the same transaction. The affective dimension and the manipulation of the meanings of exchange, however, often create social friction. It is within the ambiguity created by the coexistence of multiple meanings for things and favours that all social activity, including cooperation, takes place.

We have seen in Part I that the internal economy of pastoralist households in rural Sardinia is based both on primary production activities and on a flow of monies from regular jobs, informal economic activities, subsidies to agro-pastoralism from the EEC, grants from the regional administration and pensions from the Italian welfare state. The economy of rural Sardinia in general is characterised by

the presence of both goods produced for family consumption, and commodities specifically produced for or purchased from the commercial market.

Automobiles and trucks, television sets, gas cooking and heating stoves, radios, binoculars, tape recorders, watches, calculators, videocassette recorders, washing machines, food processors, still and video cameras, stereos, industrially produced linens, rugs, furniture and all types of consumer goods, including packaged and canned foodstuffs are now part of everyday life for the rural population of Sardinia, as they are for the rest of Italy. Goods originally produced either for family consumption or for sale within a restricted network, and commodities produced outside the village or town, change hands and become the ownership of individual Sardinians through at least two different types of processes: selling or buying with money, or giving and receiving gifts.

As Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) have noted, things that started out as commodities (that is, that were produced for sale) may become de-commoditized at some point, and vice-versa. In Sardinia, people give as gifts things that they have produced themselves, such as wine, fruits, vegetables, sweets or cheese, and also lend and give each other things such as hard candy, clothes, jewellery, watches, refrigerators, computers and even money, all of which are imported from outside the local communities and were produced with the specific aim of turning a profit in money.[2]

Social relations are also established and maintained through giving and accepting help in terms of labour. In rural Sardinia informal cooperation is important in the context of productive activities, and of ceremonial and other

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[2] However, as I have observed in the General Introduction to this dissertation, exchanges of gifts and purchases of commodities tell more about the types of social links that they either establish or help perpetuate than about the things *per se* being exchanged.

festive undertakings. There are specific points during the family's production calendar where the need for labour exceeds the capacity of the family, and outside help is called upon. Under the most common arrangement, the people who called for help organise a banquet in which both the individual or family who own the property and the people who come to help take part. The social effect of this is the (at least partial) disguise of the economic character of labour exchange. Moreover, while it is now a common practice for the helpers to be paid an hourly rate, this exchange of money does not seem to diminish the supposedly disinterested character of cooperation. Even when cash is given to the helpers, the people who come to help claim that they came not because of the money involved but because of the friendship that binds him or her to the individual or family in need of help.

These general forms of labour exchange take particular forms in each one of the two settings, as we will see in the following ethnographies. In both settings, money can be held either as an extraneous element in a relationship of friendship or as something that changes hands exactly because of the existing relationship between two parties. Money, which can be used either as a de-personalising force during exchange or an additional element in a highly personalised relationship, is invested or divested of either meaning through the contextual manipulation of nostalgia.

In central Sardinia, men and women from the older generations remember a time when there was no money, there were not many things to buy or sell besides what was locally produced, and there were no pensions for the old or ill, no EEC incentives for agricultural production, and no programmes to ensure the well-being of those who could not *andare avanti* [survive on their own]. From these people's point of view, today the world has changed very much, but these changes were generated from the outside, and not by the local communities. Many of these changes have to do with money: the money that

started circulating in the villages and towns because of the reforestation projects of the 1950s, then the money brought by the system of pensions since 1963 and the money that has come from other sources ever since. While in the past people bartered products or sold them with great difficulty, today everything can be calculated in money, including mutual help, and even affection.

The perception of money as something that rests on dubious moral bases, if not on total evil, is characteristic of many parts of the world where the commoditization of the economy is relatively recent. For example, in his study of Colombia miners, Taussig (1980) shows how the miners associate money with the devil and fatal illness: money acquires the potential to harm people, as it gains the power to reproduce itself. However, in other societies, such as among Malay fishermen and their families (Carsten 1989) or Fijian villagers (Toren 1989), the fact that money can be part of impersonal transactions is not taken as something inherently wrong, although it is recognized as a potential source of conflict.

In rural central Sardinia money is also perceived as relatively innocuous, since it is not conferred powers of its own to bring good or evil into people's life. Rather, what can bring good or evil is individuals' greed. Money can be incorporated into gift exchange and thus lose its de-personalized character, or else can be used to buy and sell in impersonal transactions. People, however, can become greedy for money and cause problems to their fellow villagers or town dwellers, and especially to their close kin.

Herzfeld (1990) has coined the concept of "structural nostalgia" to characterise the

> collective representation of an Edenic order -a time before time- in which the balanced perfection of social relations has not yet suffered the decay that affects everything human. (Ibid:305).

Here, however, I re-take the idea of nostalgia not as the cherishing of "a time before time" but rather as the "static image of an irrecoverable past," which is Herzfeld's first approximation to the definition of the concept (Herzfeld 1990:305). Through the collective reification of rural life and society before the 1960s, nostalgia thus defined plays the same role in rural Sardinia as the "time before time" idea seems to play in Greece. Allegedly, at that time money had not spoiled the communitarian nature of highland villagers and people cooperated with one another much more than in the present.

As elsewhere in the Mediterranean (Herzfeld 1990, 1991) and beyond (Nyerere 1967, Vargas-Cetina 1988), while many present actions are justified on the basis of an imagined "tradition" of common sociability and active mutual help, it is highly doubtful that this fully-cooperative traditional society ever existed in the 1960s or before.[3] In present-day rural Sardinia, nostalgia is used by social actors to re-define the meaning of social interaction, things and money in order to accord their actions and responses different meanings, depending on the circumstances. Today the most common indigenous categories used to invoke nostalgia are those of *genuino* ["genuine"], *costumi* [customs] and *tradizione* [tradition], which seem to have superseded, at least since the 1970s, the idea of *su connotu* ["what is known"]. Apparently, *su connotu* was the main contents of nostalgic justification

[3] There is a vast literature on the "invention" of tradition, the seminal work being Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) edited volume *The Invention of Tradition*. Here, however, it is not my intention to discuss the invention of tradition in general, but the invention of those myths which reify the past as one of human harmony with nature and strong informal cooperation.

before the 1970s.[4]

Profit, on the other hand, is the notion used to divest money from its communitarian meaning and transpose it to the rhetorical realm of impersonal relations and commodity exchange. Nostalgia and the notion of profit surround exchange and endow money with moral ambivalence, therefore turning it into a 'shifter' (Silverstein 1976, Galaty 1982): Money can be either a token of appreciation that is given away in recognition of a social relation, and therefore as a gift, or else it can be the 'conveyer' against which things and people's time can be measured, becoming a currency that transposes social relations and things from the domain of the gift to that of the commodity.

Seen from the agro-pastoral settlements, gift giving, barter and informal cooperation belong in the realm of the 'traditional' economy regulated by *correttezza*, which has the local community as its main point of reference, while wages and impersonal transactions are part of the larger commodity economy that has a life of its own independently of the communities of social relations, and moves according to international markets and prices. This is the economy of the *troppo furbi* [too cunning], from which *bisogna stare attenti*

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[4] During the modernisation reforms of the nineteenth century the enclosure of lands and the royal decrees aimed at cancelling customary rights of land usufruct under feudalism were fought by highland villagers under the cry "torra su connotu," ["let's return to su connotu"], which implied returning to what was already established, known and accepted. This chapter of Sardinian history is known as "the Su Connotu mutinies" (Del Piano 1974, Clark 1990). Pitzalis Acciaro (1978) also found that the women she interviewed in Barbagia considered *su connotu* as the main justification for blood feuds and banditry. During my stay in Sardinia I never heard anyone talk about *su connotu*. Instead, the most recurrent concept invoking nostalgia were *genuino* and *costumi* in Telemula, and *genuino*, *tradizione* and *aiuto* [help] in Bardia.

[it is necessary to beware].[5] This dichotomy does not refer to what is being exchanged, since things and labour may be both gifts or commodities, but to the intentions behind the exchanges, and the generation and control of the circumstances under which things and labour are appropriated.

Historically, the gift economy was in fact rooted on the subsistence economy, especially during the years between the first two world wars. Individuals still associate money and the commodity economy with the world outside while their own products and gift giving patterns mark the boundaries between *da noi* ["among us"] and what comes from the outside. Barter, however, was a form of commerce since things were bartered for their equivalents in other products. Today, as money and market commodities have become incorporated into people's everyday life, the factual limits between the market economy and the subsistence economy have become blurred. The distinction between the two belongs only in the collective memory of a nostalgic history, in an imaginary past where work, and not money, was the measure of all things. Today, money can be the measure of greed, or the measure of hard work.

Because of its ambivalence, money plays the role of a 'shifter' between the two conceptual types of economy; namely, fair exchange and selfish commerce. Also, because of its place in the two moral types of economies, both in Telemula and Bardia the use of money as a 'shifter' allows individuals, at each transaction, to either maintain a sense of community (by divesting money from its meaning as a de-personalizing force), or draw symbolic boundaries that permit them to engage

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[5] In Sardinia *furbi* are those who take advantage of others who are in a position of superiority. To be *troppo furbi*, however, is to take advantage of others who are in the same position or in a position of inferiority to oneself. To be *troppo furbo* is to lack *correttezza* and therefore to have no scruples.

in commoditized exchange without at the same time engaging in personal exchange. The result of these practical choices is the contextual re-framing of exchange within two alternative moralities: the morality of the community, with its emphasis on generosity and mutual help, or the morality of the market place, with its emphasis on profit.

Everyday sociability and all other forms of exchange take place within this double 'morality', as it is up to the particular transactors in each case to stress one or the other meanings of the interaction.[6] In other words, transactions can be justified through nostalgia as *the result* of pre-existing social relations, or they can be seen as profit-oriented and therefore divested of the moral connotations of gift exchange. Cooperatives, like other forms of group undertakings, do not escape this ambivalence during their day-to-day operations. Cooperatives group individuals who supposedly have similar interests and common goals.

According to the official ideology of all Italian cooperative federations, cooperative associations are hybrids between informal cooperation structures and wage labour institutions: somewhere between sociability circles and capitalist enterprises (Prandini 1982, Badioli 1975, Sapelli 1982). Cooperatives, in fact, are particularly suited for the expression and re-definition of both the commoditized and the non-commoditized exchange of labour and things. While at the level of the communities where they exist they are expected to respond to the morally-sanctioned social dynamics of exchange and sociability, they are also expected to fulfil the

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[6] One can think of customers who do not want to patronize certain businesses because of personal disagreements with the shop's owner, but who at some point have to enter the shop to buy something not available elsewhere or of immediate need. As a Sardinian friend of mine who was in this type of predicament put it, "I only went there to buy something because I had to. So I just paid my money and I got what I bought."

expectations of socioeconomic planners at the regional and national levels. Cooperatives, then, are at a crossroads of morality codes and social expectations.

In order to provide the current larger context in which cooperatives are created and are expected to function in Sardinia, in the remainder of this introduction I first sketch the larger political coordinates of the Italian cooperative movement. Then, in order to provide a descriptive framework for the presentation of my data, I construct a classification for the description of informal cooperation. Finally, I suggest how informal and formal cooperation relate to one another in the cases of the two communities here described.

3. THE ITALIAN COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Italian cooperative movement traces its roots to late nineteenth century Europe, when revolving fund associations caught the eye of social planners and reformers. In all of Europe, but especially in the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy, credit unions and rural institutions of grain banks (which loaned quantities of grain to farmers), communal livestock guards and other forms of self-help that existed under feudalism (Holyoake 1888, Degl'Innocenti 1981, Berger 1986) came to have a more political character. Under different currents of socialist thought led by the followers of Owen, Saint Simon, Charles Gide and Schultze Delitsch, as well as other social theoreticians and reformers such as Fourier, Paul Lamont and Louis Blanc, communes and cooperatives began to form in all of Europe (Holyoake 1891:4-6, Corelli 1979:14-16, Briganti 1982, Saxena 1974:13-31). Self-help organisations, which advocated the autonomy of institutions that until then had been considered forms of charity and were managed mainly by local parishes or guilds, came to be seen as possible autonomistic responses to the exploitation of workers under capitalism (Holyoake 1891, Digby 1960, Saxena 1974, Aschhof and Henningsen 1986).

St. Simon, Fourier and Owen sought in religion the ontological justification for their socialist ideas. Charity funds were soon superseded by the creation of organised cooperatives, and the cooperativistic ideology became part not only of socialist and later communist European associations, but also of established religious institutions, including the Catholic church. The first Italian cooperatives were inspired by the British Owenite movement of communes and the German Schultze-Delitsch movement of credit unions and cooperative associations (Degl'Innocenti 1977, 1981, Briganti 1982).

The Italian movement, however, has its main inspirational figures in Luigi Luzzati and Giusseppe Mazzini. They proposed that cooperatives would bring about the reconciliation of the working classes with the owners of capital and the means of production, and should be directed by the government (Galetti 1976, Ciufoletti 1982, Briganti 1982, Aschhof and Henningsen 1986, Earle 1986).

Luzzati was a reformer who thought that the involvement of enlightened intellectuals was necessary for the advance of the working class. He proposed that cooperatives should co-exist with other forms of enterprises, and be helped by the bourgeoisie to better serve the interest of the working class. Mazzini was a political activist who proposed that instead of antagonising each other, the rich and the poor should come together to help each other. Cooperatives, he thought, should come to dominate the entire economy of the country, thus uniting all social classes in a common effort (Briganti 1982 (I):4-5; Ciuffoletti 1982:92,98-9).

To date, the philosophy behind all the main Italian national cooperative federations, continues to be inspired by Luzzatti and Mazzini's thought. Today there are four cooperative federations in Italy, usually known as *centrali*, which group most of the country's cooperatives: the League [*Lega delle Cooperative e Mutue*], the Confederation [*Confederazione Nazionale delle Cooperative*], the Association

of cooperatives [*Associazione Generale delle Cooperative Italiane*], and the National Union [*Unione Nazionale delle Cooperative Italiane*], of relatively recent creation.

The *Lega delle Cooperative*, of socialist and communist affiliation, is usually identified with both Mazzini's and Luzzatti's ideals; the other three federations are thought to be closer to Luzzatti's legacy (Degl'Innocenti 1977, 1981, Ciuffoletti 1981, Briganti 1982, Lega 1991:6-8). According to the recent studies commissioned by the EEC, the Italian cooperative movement is the best organised one among the EEC countries and the one with the greatest political weight at the national level. Because the federations of cooperatives act as umbrella associations grouping thousands of cooperatives, in Italy participating in the cooperative movement implies participating in the larger political life of the country (Ruatti 1984, Zan 1986).

The *Lega delle Cooperative e Mutue*, commonly known as the "red federation," was founded in 1886, dismantled by the fascist regime in 1925 and then reconstituted in 1945 (Lega 1981, Earle 1986). It is loosely affiliated with the socialist and the ex-communist movements which are now represented by the Socialist, the Republican, the Leftist Democratic and the Communist Re-Constitution parties. Along with the *Confederazione Nazionale delle Cooperative* it is one of the two largest federation of cooperatives in Italy, and in 1990 it grouped 11,187 associations, with a total of 3,134,000 members (Lega 1991:3). According to Earle (1986) in 1985 the cooperatives affiliated with the Lega were 15,422, 715 of which were in Sardinia.[7]

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[7] The Ten Cooperative de Conseils, an independent agency that put together a report on the cooperative movement in different European countries in 1984 under assignment from the European Communities, reports that according to the Italian Ministry of Labour there were 13,000 cooperatives affiliated to the Lega in December of 1979. The same document reports that the figures at the Ministry of Labour and at the Lega

The *Confederazione Nazionale delle Cooperative*, generally identified as the "white federation", is ideologically associated to the Catholic Church and the Christian Democratic party. It was founded in 1919, when the cooperatives that were more closely affiliated with the Catholic Church broke away from the Lega. It was also dismantled during fascism, and then resuscitated after WWII. In 1983 it grouped 22,678 cooperatives, from which 1,357 were in Sardinia (Earle 1986:55). Although most of its membership comes from central and northern Italy (see Table 6.1) in the south it has more members than the Lega, because the Christian Democratic party and the Catholic trade unions have had a strong hold over this area of the country after WWII (Ruatti 1984, Earle 1986, Zan et al. 1986).

The *Associazione Generale delle Cooperative Italiane*, founded between 1952 and 1962, is known as the "green federation."[8] Its ideological tendencies are republican and social-democratic (Ruatti 1984). In 1985 it encompassed 6,328 associations, of which 104 were in Sardinia (Earle 1986).

These three federations are generally known as "the red, the white and the green federations," and together group more than 80% of all the cooperatives of the country. A fourth national federation of cooperatives is the *Unione Nazionale delle Cooperative Italiane* (UNCI), also affiliated with the Church, which was legally established between 1975 and 1982 (Earle 1986:62-64, Zan 1986:2). This association has not been fully recognised by the other three older cooperative federations because much of its membership is suspected to be bogus, and a large percentage of the cooperatives grouped by

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delle Cooperative's administration offices do not coincide (Ruatti 1984:I8).

[8] Ruatti (1984) gives 1956 as the date of official establishment of this *centrale*, Earle (1986:58) gives 1962 and Briganti (1978) gives 1952.

it are housing cooperatives, which have a short life span and usually dissolve when the housing needs of their members have been met (Earle 1986).

Also, there are many cooperatives that are affiliated with the Catholic trade unions ACLI and CENASA-CISL (Lega 1981:7). There are independent cooperatives as well, which do not affiliate to any of the national associations, because their members desire to stay aloof from political involvement. However, in recent years cooperatives increasingly choose to become affiliated with a centralised federation not because of ideological reasons but rather because the federations can provide them with a number of services to which otherwise the individual organisations would not or would find it harder to have access.[9]

Many cooperatives exist only on paper. They may have been formed in order to take advantage of the legal and financial facilities offered by the government to cooperative associations, or have never materialised after they were registered at the Ministry of Labour. Earle writes:

> "It is worth recalling Italo Santoro, who addressed a meeting with industrialists in March 1983 with the words 'the first thing I would like to say is to suggest throwing the data supplied by the ministry of labour out of the window.' He went on, 'The point is that cooperatives pullulate in Italy -as do other firms too, by the way- cooperatives which live within the space of a morning, and afterwards exist no longer." (Earle 1986:64).

It follows, then, as Earle himself notes, that many cooperatives are bogus or have not started to function as such, and therefore the official numbers are misleading. In any case, as I have done in other parts of this dissertation,

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[9] As we will see, today this is the case of many cooperatives in Bardia, where associations that belong to central federations in order to have access to legal and technical assistance, rather than to represent a particular political ideology.

I present here the numerical information available. Table 6.1 gives an overview of the figures collected by Earle from the different *centrali* [federations] regarding the number of cooperatives affiliated with each of three main ones per region.[10]

Almost certainly, the numbers here reported are not accurate. However, I still include them because they provide an important sub-text to the political weight of the cooperative movement in Italy. These are the data which the leaders of the movement and the official representatives of the government use as a basis of the policies and programmes that they draft. The direction of the cooperative movement in Italy is thus influenced by the fictions reified in these particular numbers.

4. THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN SARDINIA

Before the advent of the cooperative movement, in Sardinia there were at least two types of charity institutions, both usually managed by the local parishes, which were known as the *monte frumentario* and *monte numario*. The *monte frumentario* was a sort of grain bank from which the agriculturalists could borrow grain to be repaid with interest after the harvest. *Monti numari* were funds managed also by the local parishes under arrangements similar to those obtaining for the *monti frumentari*. A Royal Decree in the

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[10] I trust that Earle's numbers are the closest to what is possible to obtain because when I went to the Lega offices in Rome myself, and then contacted the Associazione offices in order to collect this type of information, I was referred to Briganti's (1982 Vols. I, II and III) and to Earle's (1986) studies as the most comprehensive to date regarding the several branches of the cooperative movement. In fact, at the Lega I was offered their apologies for not being able to provide me with a copy of Earle's book, and presented with a copy of Briganti's three volume collection. For the attention, the help and this valuable present I thank the Lega association wholeheartedly.

1767 turned these institutions into *monti di soccorso*, which were expected to operate in all villages and towns throughout the island charging low interest rates, often no higher than 4% per harvest-period (Berger 1986: 173-4, Ortu 1990:221-2). These institutions inspired the creation of the *Soccietà di mutuo soccorso*, the credit unions which, like in the rest of Italy, were the first types of cooperative associations to be created on the island.

REGION	LEGA	ASSOCIA -ZIONE	CONF COOP	TOTAL
AOSTA	19	10	131	160
PIEDMONT	981	301	899	2181
LIGURIA	651	154	480	1285
LOMBARDY	2108	324	3225	5657
VENETIA	679	137	1852	2668
TRENTINO-ALTO ADIGE	78	1	1137	1216
FRIULI-VENEZIA GIULIA	96	72	862	1030
EMILIA ROMAGNA	2237	591	2308	5136
TUSCANY	1779	194	1363	3336
MARCHES	427	187	645	1259
UMBRIA	379	48	414	841
LATIUM	1414	875	1778	4067
MOLISE	82	16	81	179
ABRUZZO	281	130	268	679
CAMPANIA	1032	1121	1629	3782
APULIA	885	384	971	2240
BASILICATA	214	154	299	667
CALABRIA	422	152	568	1142
SICILY	915	1373	2411	4699
SARDINIA	715	104	1357	2176
			22678	
TOTAL	15394	6328		44400

Table 6.1. Cooperatives in the Italian Federations, in 1985. Source: Earle 1986.

Cooperatives first appeared in the cities of Sassari and Cagliari at the end of the 1800s, and later spread to the countryside under the auspices of the Church and the *casse*

rurali (credit union) movement (Sotgiu 1982, Tore 1982). The Sardinian regional government, following the example of the national government, has promoted cooperatives as part of its strategies for employment creation and employment protection (Stern 1986). The three main federations of cooperatives have been very active in Sardinia, but many cooperatives (almost a third in 1985) remain aloof from the three main *centrali* (see Table 6.2).

PROVINCE	ConfCoop	Lega	AGCI	Independent	N
Cagliari	53.3	27.1	3.6	34.0	860
Sassari	39.2	24.6	3.8	32.4	488
Nuoro	31.7	37.5	2.0	28.8	540
Oristano	42.4	21.7	3.1	32.8	312
Total(%)	36.2	28.4	3.2	32.2	2200
N	755	592	67	671	2200

Table 6.2. Affiliation, in percentages, of Sardinian cooperatives to the three main federations of cooperatives, by Province, in 1985. Source: Resi 1989.

The independent cooperatives are often affiliated with the trade unions (particularly with ACLI, the Catholic trade union) in order to receive the privileges granted by the national and regional governments to cooperative associations. Currently, in Sardinia there are cooperatives in all the economic categories that the larger national movement considers in its general classifications (see Table 6.3).

TYPE	Cagliari	Sassari	Nuoro	Oristano	Total (N)
A	5.8	4.5	4.4	6.0	115
B	48.7	47.0	43.1	42.2	1012
C	34.2	37.0	41.1	35.2	807
D	1.5	2.3	2.0	0.6	36
E	5.0	3.3	2.6	10.5	106
F	4.8	5.9	6.8	5.5	124
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	2200
N	860	488	540	312	2200

A Consumers' cooperatives.
B Transformation cooperatives and labour pools.
C Agricultural cooperatives.
D Transportation cooperatives and collectives.
E Fishing cooperatives.
F 'Mixed' cooperative associations.

Table 6.3. Type of cooperatives existing in Sardinia, in percentages by Province. Source: Resi 1989.

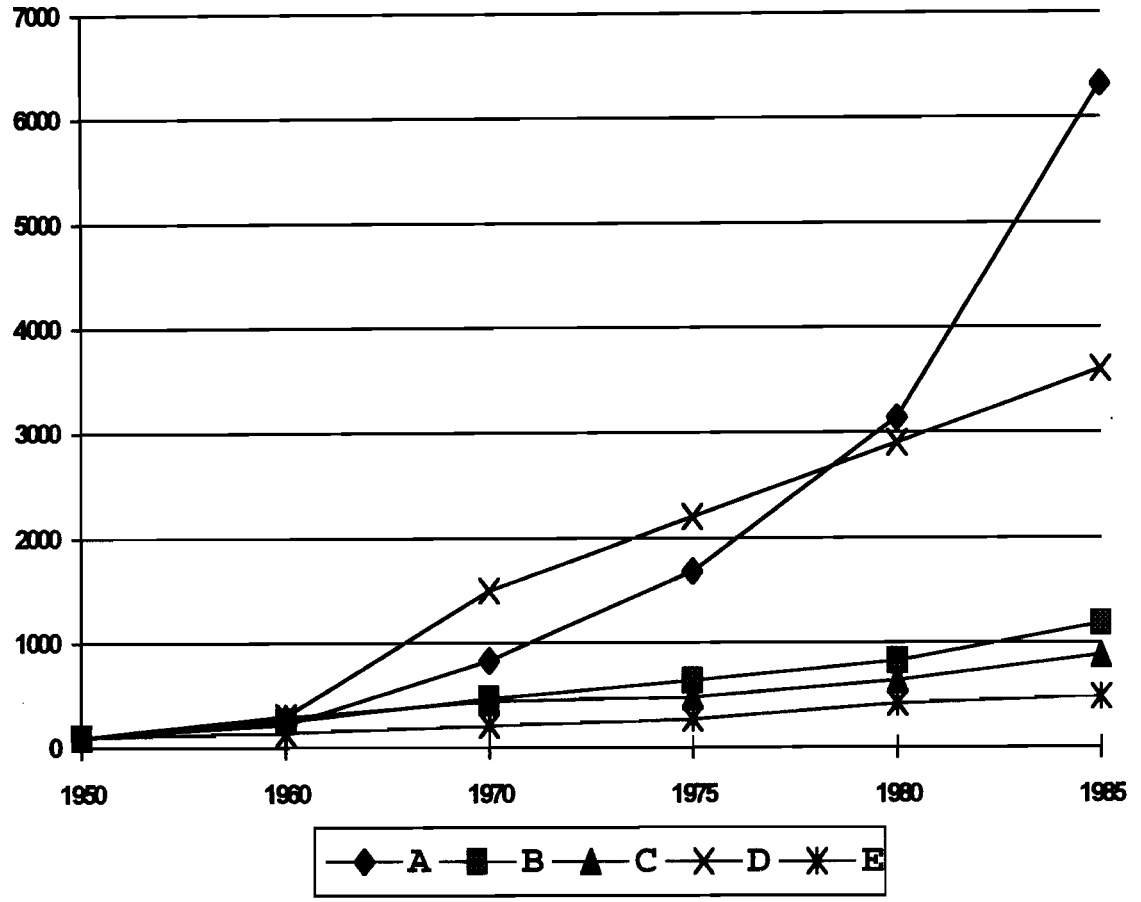
Regarding the current importance of the cooperative movement in southern Italy, Stern (1986:12) notes:

> Since the 1970s Italian co-operatives have begun to assume greater significance in the South of Italy. Initially this took the form of an unsuccessful attempt to replicate the Northern co-operatives in the less developed South. Youth co-operatives, under Law 285 (1977) were mainly a Southern phenomena as were the 'reconstruction' co-operatives following the [Naples] earthquake at the end of 1980. Such co-operatives have become socially significant; but the economic weight of Italian co-operatives remains overwhelmingly in the North and Centre, ie Tuscany, Trentino, Lombardy and Emilia.

Under this general southern process, in Sardinia, as shown on Figure 6.1, the increase of cooperatives has been significant since the 1970s. Besides the 'youth cooperatives', which according to EEC-commissioned studies are mainly a southern type of association (Ruatti 1984, Stern 1986, Zen 1986), I have described in Part I of this dissertation how in recent decades the regional government has promoted cooperatives among the pastoralists.

Cooperative associations are seen by regional and provincial administrators as a modern form of resource management that may bring prosperity for the shepherds and their families and, at the same time, social peace. According to the government's projects, cooperatives would help to sedentarize the pastoralists and thus to reduce the incidence of crime that pastoralism is supposed to bring about (Pirastu 1980, Pinna 1983, Sabattini 1983, Clark 1990). *La Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*, the development fund for southern Italy which started operating in the 1950s, was the first agency to promote cooperatives among the pastoralists as the main option for the sedentarization of the male population of pastoralist communities (Berger 1986, Setzi and Antoniacci 1988).

After the *Inchiesta Medici*, the 1976 Law for Agro-pastoral Reform has once again chosen cooperatives as the most viable solution to the pastoralist 'problem' (Pirastu 1980, Setzi and Antoniacci 1988, Carrus 1982, Sini 1982, Clark 1990). Unlike Mexican (Eckstein 1970, Zaragoza and Macias 1980, Vargas-Cetina 1986) and Tanzanian (Nyerere 1967, Cliffe 1970, Hyden 1980) rural cooperatives, where 'traditional' forms of common property and collective organisation were branded as the justification behind the national institutionalisation of Ejido and Ujamaa common property regimes, in Sardinia the opposite was true.



A. Transformation and Labour.
B. Agriculture.
C. Fishing.
D. Transport.
E. Mixed.

Figure 6.1. Increase of Cooperatives in Sardinia, per Type of Association. Percentages 1950-1985. 1950=100%. Source: Resi 1986.

Shepherds' cooperatives in Sardinia were not expected to be based on pre-existing forms of cooperation, but to bring the supposedly individualistic shepherds into forms of collective organisation (Murtas 1978, Sabattini 1983, Clark 1990). Needless to say, shepherds' individualism also belongs in the realm of myth rather than in that of actual history. There have been and there continue to be different forms of informal cooperation among highland shepherds of the Barbagia and Ogliastra zones. Furthermore, the existence of cooperative associations among these producers is not as recent as the government or the cooperative federations may have it today. Cooperatives among the shepherds are relatively recent if we look only at the associations that group shepherds only, but the perspective can be different if we consider that in the past, until the late nineteenth century, most highland primary producers combined pastoralism with some form of agriculture and thus joined cooperative associations and revolving funds not as 'shepherds' but rather as 'peasants' who were classified as either '*masaii*' [tenants] and '*contadini*' [smallholders].

5. THE COMMODITY *AND* THE GIFT

Today shepherds' cooperatives in highland Sardinia, like the associations grouping other types of producers and craftspersons, are torn between the community-building and commercial dimensions of both the market place and gift economies within which both things and people circulate. In contemporary rural Sardinia the market economy continues to create differences among people because of the wide range of cash sources and ways in which commodities are exchanged and become appropriated. Profit creates friction because people who engage in profit transactions are seen as gaining something at the expense of others. It is the exchange of gifts which re-creates the sense of community through the re-framing of exchange as transactions taking place between

equals.

The commodity and the gift economy, however, are not different domains of the exchange of either things or labour. Rather, since everything or most everything can be either a gift or a commodity in today's rural Sardinia, these two economic domains encompass many of the same transactions, which can be perceived in different ways. As we will see in the ethnographies, there are ways for store owners and craftspersons to 'personalise' their services so that they are seen as exchanging favours for money tokens. Cooperatives are at the very crossroads of these two types of exchanges, since they are expected to be based on more or less voluntary labour organisation arrangements and at the same time are expected to function as profit-making enterprises. It is this tension that gives cooperatives their moral ambivalence. At the same time, it lends them much of their attraction, especially among those producers who, like the Telemulesi, consider themselves too individualistic to form or join them in their own communities.

Formal cooperation is supposed to rest, on the one hand, on informal cooperation strategies and, on the other hand, on institutional structures of the State and the national federations of cooperatives. While it is expected that people will cooperate voluntarily, the institutional regulation of cooperation would determine how people should cooperate and how the resulting profits should be distributed among the members of cooperative associations. The contradictions inherent in the cooperative framework become more apparent when one looks closely at informal cooperation.

Informal cooperation, that is, the collective organization of labour outside the legal channels and structures of the State, takes place in many types of circumstances and for a variety of purposes. In the next section I set out the five categories I used to organize my ethnographic material in subsequent chapters. These

categories are based on the specific purposes for which people work together in Sardinia.

I am well aware that all classifications of phenomena are necessarily arbitrary. However, since the Sardinian themselves identify types of events according to their purposes (and not, for example, according to the types of exchange that take place on each occasion or to the ways in which gifts circulate), it seems fitting to describe cooperation patterns in this fashion, and move to an exchange-centred analysis in the concluding sections.

6. INFORMAL COOPERATION DOMAINS AND COOPERATIVES

There are several types of activities for which the gathering of several individuals may be necessary in order to accomplish a task. Wolf (1966) has proposed that besides the organisation of household and group production activities, people in peasant societies often organise themselves into "coalitions" based on one or many types of interests, and that people express their interdependence through religious and other ceremonial festivities. Brandes (1975, 1976, 1980) has described informal cooperation structures that undertake productive, ceremonial and political functions in rural Spain. Friedl (1962) shows how cooperation arrangements among cultivators and the owners of agricultural machinery operate in Greece, and how the parents have some degree of responsibility in the creation of new families. Bodemann (1990) shows how groups that collaborate informally can form and be controlled through factionalist politics and the manipulation of kinship. Salzman (1988) identifies three main "labour formations" among the Yarahmadzai nomadic tribe of Baluchistan: the household, the work team and the herding group, all of which imply some degree of concerted activity.

These scholars show a multiplicity of circumstances and types of arrangements where cooperation is an essential part of the reproduction of local societies or groups. Drawing on

these works and on my own data, in order to single out the occasions that may require informal cooperation, I propose that there are at least five different types of activities in rural Sardinia where informal cooperation plays an important role:

a. Cooperation during primary production activities
b. Cooperation during the preparations for new families to be formed.
c. Cooperation for the maintenance and smooth operation of households.
d. Cooperation during socialising activities, and
e. Cooperation during ceremonial events.

These domains can be separated only analytically, since in practice many (sometimes all) of them take place at the same time. In most of Mediterranean Europe money has long been part of most or all of these forms of cooperation. In Sardinia, since the monetisation of the economy resumed only after the 1950s, money has been relatively new for the oldest generations. But today money is an intrinsic part of everyday life in rural Sardinia, and it is also present in the current forms of informal (as well as formal) cooperation.

With the increased commoditization of the rural economy, some of these domains of informal cooperation have now been re-defined into types of enterprises; that is, they have been turned into businesses. After the advent of formal cooperative associations and small businesses since the 1960s, some of the processes comprised by what used to be more-encompassing activities have been divided into two or more separate activities. These separate processes are either undertaken by different people or at least by the same groups at different times. This is the case with activities such as the baking of bread and sweets, which are now produced in different commercial outlets. In the past, sweets used to be the result of the same baking session flat bread was baked, as women took advantage of the different temperatures produced in

their wood-fuelled ovens.

In rural Sardinia there are types of entrepreneurial activity that date at least back to the beginning of the century. These were often based on money calculations even if they were remunerated in kind. Some of these are house construction, shoemaking and the manufacture of wooden crafts. Today these activities have changed in that new products have substituted old ones, and payment for them is customarily made in money, with few exceptions. An example of this type of activity is house building, which at the turn of the century and as late as the 1950s was based on the use of granite. Granite has now been replaced by cement blocks supported by steel frames, and the previous extensive use of labour has been replaced by heavy machinery and a few operators.

Entrepreneurial activities of recent inception, whether or not performed within cooperatives, have modified the way in which people organize themselves for work. Again, the baking of sweets provides us with a good example of this process. Sweets are often baked by women at home, but today there are some types of sweets which are only commercially produced. The baking of fine sweets is now an activity carried out by highly specialised shops in a few villages of Ogliastra (notably Villagrande Strisaili and Lotzorai) and in Bardia and other Baronia localities. Another case in point is the making of cheese, which in the past was part of the everyday activities that shepherds were expected to perform, and today is often performed in dairy plants, run by specialised workers.

Regardless of the earlier presence of profit-oriented activities which were not so obviously connected to subsistence production, in the collective memory and representation of both Telemula and Bardia's peoples the 1960s are the historical watershed between 'tradition' and 'modernity' and thus between the traditional and the capitalist economy in their purer forms. However, people in

the two localities have managed to re-create a sense of community and a contextual re-definition of the two types of economy. They have achieved this through the manipulation of alternative moralities informed by either nostalgia or profit, currently the two main standpoints for the re-definition of the meanings of things, labour, and especially of money. Informal cooperation and cooperatives are part of this larger context of the mechanics, the strategies and the moral implications of exchange.

Exchange, cooperation and cooperatives are part of the larger context of reciprocity. The social relations established through reciprocity and its particular manifestations (such as gift-giving, informal cooperation, exchange for money, barter, clientelism and hospitality) can be those of equality or inequality between the participants. Patron-client relations are in Sardinia part of the larger phenomenon of reciprocity. Clientelism is widespread in Sardinia and it often determines who and under what conditions will have access to public resources. In order to set out the background for the description of local cooperation dynamics in Bardia and Telemula within the larger regional setting, the next chapter explores the issue of clientelism, politics and reciprocity in central Sardinia.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SARDINIA. THE POLITICS OF COOPERATION

1. PATRONS, CLIENTS AND FRIENDS

Informal cooperation, based on the gift economy, implies that people will cooperate (or will purport to cooperate) with people whit whom they feel inclined to pursue a social relationship beyond that of mere transactors. In Sardinia the reasons people give as to why they would help someone else are usually related in one or another way to *essere amici* [to be friends], which is the same idea as that of *amicizia* as described by Schneider and Schneider (1976) for Sicily.[1]

Anthropological and sociological studies of patronage and clientelism often focus on the patron-client relationship as a dyadic one, in which the personal relation between the two parties is the framework for the services that the patron does for his or her client, and the expected payment from the client (Foster 1965, Powell 1970, Landè 1977). In Sardinia, too, clientelism usually takes place within a fictive or actual friendship relation but the person who benefits from a favour or service often is not the patron's putative friend.

The Sardinian variant of clientelism, instead of the dyadic relationship between individuals, resembles more what Scott (1972:127-8) has characterized as "patron-client pyramids;" that is, downward extensions of patron-client clusters as an original group of clients recruits additional clients for her or his patron on the basis of her or his own influence. However, as we will see below, Scott's model suggests that these pyramids are relatively rigid structures, while clientelism in Sardinia is very fluid and the same

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[1] The word *amicizia*, however, is not widely used or at least it was not so during the time of our fieldwork. Berger (1986) reports that in the Barbagia of Ollolai, at the time of his fieldwork, the Sardinian word *amistade* was used to imply friendly relations and goodwill between two parties, or at least lack of animosity.

people can have different patrons, who might even belong in ideologically opposed groups.

Wolf (1966), Scott (1972) and Landè (1977) also make the point that dyadic relationships may be considered either horizontal or vertical. In horizontal relations the two parties of the relationship are equal in status or resources, and when they exchange favours they do so as equals. In vertical relations, on the other hand, the relationship is unequal and the favours or services granted one to the other party in the relationship create an unequal bond. This is the case of patron-client relations, where the client becomes subordinated to the patron.

Lande's and Scott's view, which is supported by most of the anthropological literature on the subject (Pitt-Rivers 1961, Campbell 1964, Wolf 1966, Scott 1985), would lead us to the conclusion that in a patron-client relationship the clients are at the short end of an unequal relation, where after having requested help or favours from the patron they have little choice but to support the patron in the ways or under the conditions that the patron him or herself establishes. In terms of Sahlin's reciprocity categories, this characterization of clientelism would seem to place client- patron bonds closer to the pole of negative reciprocity, as the patron profits more than the client from their exchange.

The literature on clientelism in southern Italy has stressed how, in terms of the form, extent and political importance of clientelism, this area of the world is relatively anomalous. In southern Italy, after 1945 clientelism has developed not as a spontaneous phenomenon of interpersonal relations, but as a directed policy through which national parties have consolidated their followings and channelled the resources set out for agrarian reform and development schemes (La Palombara 1964, Silverman 1965, Weingrod 1968, Powell 1970, Graziano 1973, Tarrow 1985,

Gribaudi 1991).

In fact, in Sardinia those individuals, families or communities who best tap public resources through clientelistic networks benefit more than those who do not. This leads us to consider that in southern Italy patronage does not necessarily entail an extreme negative reciprocity, since the clients gain significant benefits from relationships of this kind.

In a recent volume on patronage and Italian art during the Renaissance (Kent, Simons and Eade 1987), Kent and Simons (1987: 18-21) hold the view that within the relationship between patron and artist, the two parties have some room for manipulating each other. This approach, which is also supported by my own data (Vargas-Cetina 1993b), places the patron-client relationship closer to the 'balanced' middle than to either the 'generalized' or the 'negative' poles.

Einsenstadt and Roniger (1984), on the other hand, have proposed that patronage can be seen as a form of generalized reciprocity, since patrons perform different kinds of favours for their clients and they are not paid on the basis of the favours they make. Patronage, from this standpoint, would be another aspect of friendly relations and thus of the gift economy. This position would seem untenable in the light of most literature on patron-client relations (Scott 1972, 1976, Wolf 1966, Landé 1977).

My findings regarding clientelism in Sardinia, however, suggest that here the *accozzi* system in fact partakes of some aspects of generalized reciprocity, since the patron might not be able to exact anything in exchange from the client or the foreseeable benefits might be far away in the future. At other times, the transaction between the patron and the client sometimes might involve a relatively balanced reciprocity, whereby the clients pay in specific ways for the favours they receive. Also, in yet other occasions the transaction might come closer to the 'negative' extreme, since the patron does

not ask only for the client's loyalty or services in return, but also for the loyalty of the members of his or her family, or for other services which are onerous for the client.

2. SOCIABILITY AND THE EVERYDAY RE-CREATION OF COMMUNITY

Everyday life in rural Sardinia is characterised by a constant engagement in sociability which takes place at the bars and public spaces, at people's homes, at their work sites and just about everywhere where two people or more can get together. People who consider others as their friends actively seek their company, and visiting with one's friends at home or in public spaces is considered an important activity. In Bardia, where the etiquette of visiting requires offering one's guests a particular type of sweet, as well as coffee, hospitality expenses are a regular part of the budget of each household. In Telemula hosts usually offer their guests home-made wine, sweets and *grappa* and thus hospitality expenses have not become a separate category, at least not in monetary expenses.

As I explained in Part I, in most Sardinian villages, towns and cities of Sardinia people get together every night for the *passeggiata*. Afterwards they form groups at the *piazze* or at the bars. At the bars, people buy 'rounds' for entire groups, and each person takes turns at buying drinks for everyone else at the table.[2]

In some instances one individual may pay for the consumption at other tables and, in highland Ogliastra, it is impossible for *ir istranzoso* [that is, for people from outside the village] to pay for their own drinks. The patterns of this 'round' system differ in Telemula and Bardia. In Telemula the rounds are not bought in strict turns, and in fact someone who is known to earn more money than the others at his or her table may buy more rounds than others (See

[2] See also Lonergan (1984) and Schweizer (1988).

Ayora-Diaz 1993).[3] The assumption is that at some point in time this person will be earning less than someone else, and a balance will be eventually reached in terms of how many drinks he or she has paid for and how many he or she has had on other people's invitation. However, as a local student told me, it is better not to accept too many drinks if you cannot pay yourself for one or two rounds at the time.

In Bardia, instead, the accounts are balanced after a much shorter time, and in fact people try to take strict turns so as to avoid 'owing' drinks to anyone. Non-Bardiesi, however, are also exempted here from paying for drinks, as they are in Telemula. There is a general agreement that outsiders make the local people *fare brutta figura* [cut a poor figure] if they are allowed to pay for their own drinks, because this suggests that the local people are not hospitable. More often than not, non-Bardiesi will be treated by their local friends, who otherwise would be accused of badly representing the town's hospitality traditions.[4]

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[3] Ayora-Diaz (1992) proposes that hospitality manners should be approached not only from the point of view of intra-village but especially inter-village relations. In Ogliastra the custom is for visitors to be attended by their hosts on the understanding that when the hosts become guests, that is, when they are visitors in other villages, they will be treated in the same way and with the same deference with which they treated their own guests. The inter-village approach is valid for informal cooperation circuits only to some extent, since shepherding families may invite their relatives and acquaintances from neighbouring villages to the *tosatura* and often to the *vendemmia* as well, but the largest numbers of helpers come from the local village or town.

[4] As in Alcalá de la Sierra, Spain (Pitt-Rivers 1961), in Bardia one is a *Bardiese* either by birth, marriage or ascendance. Very few people who were not born in Bardia or who have no kinsfolk or affines there ever become accepted as locals. Teachers and bank employees who came to the municipality to take up jobs and have remained there to live are still seen as belonging somewhere else and having taken up residence in Bardia on a temporary basis, even if they have bought houses in Bardia and live there practically the whole

In Ayora-Diaz's and my case, we were allowed to pay for rounds at the Telemula bars only three months after the two of us had taken up residence in the village. In Bardia we were treated most of the time and only occasionally allowed to pay for our own drinks. On several occasions, both in Telemula and in Bardia, the bartenders themselves picked up our bill when we tried to pay. We argued that as long as they did not let us pay, they would continue to make us feel as foreigners, but this was of no avail. The clearest proof that we were never considered *del posto* [locals] in Bardia is that we were allowed to pay only during a few occasions, and in those cases only for our own drinks instead of for entire rounds. Furthermore, in the case of the bar which was also the public telephone office of Cala Fuili, where we were allowed to buy rounds for our friends, we seem to have been charged systematically higher prices for drinks, rolls, coffee and telephone calls than the locals were.

In Telemula both women and men visit friends at home. It is expected that one will visit and in turn will be visited by one's friends, and these visits may at some point involve asking for or offering help. The sociability patterns that take place at the bars also help establish friendly and sometimes close relations between individuals. An individual may request help from his or her regular *crìcca* for activities such as harvesting grapes, shearing sheep, making the transhumance or cutting wood during the winter. However, the *crìcca* is not the only group from which one can draw help. Rather, there is a scope of friendly relations with whom one exchanges visits, including relatives, ceremonial kin and friends of different ages than one's own, who can also be called upon to help.

Occasions when collective help is required are also the motive for large social gatherings and banquets of six or more

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time.

courses at which *prosciutto*, pickles and olives, meat, wine, cheese, vegetables and often *butarga* (a type of fish's eggs) are consumed. A common way to recruit help is to ask one's friends to come to a *tosatura*, a *vendemmia* or another form of labour-intensive activity, in the understanding that after the work is done there will be a large banquet and possibly dance music from the tape deck of a car. A shepherd in Telemula told us that it would be much cheaper for him to hold a banquet than to pay hourly rates to the men he needed to shear his sheep. Besides, the feasts which are part of these parties enhance the prestige of the host. Those who are seen as the richest shepherds of the village or the town are expected to give the largest and most generous banquets after the work has been completed.[5]

Cooperatives and networks of informal cooperation are permeated by larger national and regional politics. In Telemula there are two political factions which claim to espouse diverging views on political matters. Informal cooperation networks and the attempts at forming cooperatives in this locality are always inscribed within this larger political atmosphere. However, as I explained in Part I, it is possible that although the Telemulesi publicly express opposing political views, the rift between the two factions in the village might be traced to old quarrels or, more likely, to the older system of patronage that formed during the 1950s and became explosive in the 1970s, as has been carefully documented by Bodemann (1977). In this sense, opposing voting

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[5] This seems to be a practice common to most of the Ogliastra and the Barbagia. During the fall of 1991, at a party where there were people from the two regions, a man of Bitti told a story about one of the shepherds of his home town. He said that the shepherd was so stingy that he would shear all of his sheep by himself, doing a few animals each day. Everybody at the party found this very funny and soon we were regaled with similar anecdotes concerning shepherds in Orune and in several Ogliastra villages.

preferences between the two factions would not be the cause but the result of factionalism.[6]

In Bardia intra-town politics are more closely related to identifiable national ideologies and parties, which until 1993 seemed to diverge in fundamental ways from one another.[7] Here the opposite of the situation in Telemula is true: there seems to be a conscious effort to breach ideological differences through participation in informal sociability and mutual help networks, and in large potlatch-like ceremonies. In both settlements, people seem always to stress how, in spite of their ideological differences, they are still part of the same community. The ways in which this process takes place will become clearer in Chapters Eight and Nine. First, I want to turn to a detailed description of the accozzi system, which will show itself to be extremely relevant for the understanding of the cooperative movement as it takes place in present-day rural Sardinia.

3. *ACCOZZI*: *AMICI* AND *PADRONI*

Sydel Silverman (1965) writes that the nature of political patronage changed in southern Italy with the advent of the republic after WWII. While until then villages had one or a few single patrons, party patronage became more

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[6] There is no question, however, that many of the votes for the Christian Democrats would go to this party in any case, because the most religious part of the population of this village would follow the local priest's instructions in voting for the party of the Church.

[7] In 1993 it has become increasingly clear that different political parties are not as opposed to one another as it was previously thought. The political corruption scandals still being unravelled by the *Mani Pulite* inquiry lead by Justice Antonio di Pietro are revealing that political parties exchanged bribe money and illegal funds among one another, and that the complicity among top-level politicians and entrepreneurs was stronger than what Italians, Europeans and the public at large were led to believe.

widespread. According to her, a *concorsi* (contest) system replaced the system of direct appointment which had been the customary way to recruit people into the bureaucracy and public institutions.[8] However, the *concorsi* were also pervaded by political patronage and thus were ineffective as a way of choosing impartially among possible candidates for the same office. Silverman's description of this second type of patronage based not on brokerage between an individual or group and a community, but on political affiliation to national parties still applies to rural Sardinia. Personal recommendations are paramount for candidates to the different posts that are open from time to time in the bureaucracy.

One afternoon, in a village near Telemula, a family invited me to their house for *pranzo* (the noon meal). In this family the two heads of household are prominent politicians in the area. During the meal the mother and the father told the eldest son, who had just obtained his law degree, that they would meet that night in Cagliari with important regional figures of the Christian Democracy. They suggested that he come along to Cagliari with them, to secure an *accozzo* from two of these important people. Securing a good *accozzo*, they explained to me, is the most important part of job searching. The higher the position of the politician who can put in a word on one's behalf, the more likely it is that one will obtain the desired job.

The young man whom the parents were attempting to make *piazzare l'accozzo* [ensure the *accozzo*] reacted by saying that he did not want to talk to those people. He said that *accozzi* are expensive, and he was going to try and obtain the best possible marks on the contest for the job for which he was applying. He did not want to lose his freedom. His parents

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[8] For a detailed discussion of patronage in Sicily over time from the point of view of a political scientist see Sabetti 1984.

noted that everyone in that *concorso* would be doing their best to obtain the highest grades, in any case, and that the *accozzi* would decide who would obtain the job he was applying for. The young man said he still had a few hours to think about it, and he would let them know before they had to leave for Cagliari.

At the time I did not understand the exact implication of this conversation. I could understand that an *accozzo* implied a personal recommendation by a politician, but I did not understand in what way the young man would "lose his freedom" or why one would not talk to "someone high" except in case of real emergencies. I was not to understand these things fully until shortly before our departure from Sardinia. The general elections of 1992 gave Ayora-Diaz and me the opportunity to participate closely in the activities surrounding first the political campaigns and later the interpretation of what the voting patterns had meant. During these elections and their aftermath we came to know that one of the ways in which one can get help from bureaucratic officials and politicians is by compromising one's vote. The politicians who will ask for one's vote are called *padroni* (patrons) and they may ask for more than one vote to be guaranteed in exchange for their favours, forcing the client to ask her or his relatives to vote as specified.

As the anthropological literature shows (Scott 1977, Einsenstad and Roniger 1984), the idea that politicians obtain votes in exchange for their favours is common in much of Latin America, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, Africa, Northern Europe and the United States, if not in every society where elections are held for one or another purpose. It is not clear, however, in what ways the payment of the clients is effected; that is, how clients are to reciprocate their patrons with favours or, if they are to pay with votes how the voting is monitored so as to make sure that the favours of the patrons will be reciprocated in terms

of votes. Einsenstad and Roniger (1984) can hold the view that patronage works through some form of generalized reciprocity precisely because there is the possible outcome that clients may not pay back or voters will decide to change their own mind, and the patrons will have given out favours without the certainty of a return.

In Sardinia the *accozzi* system may involve a form of generalized reciprocity: favours may be given out without binding the client to act in a particular way, such as when someone puts in a personal recommendation for a friend of his or her to proceed smoothly through the medical bureaucracy, or when someone's application for a specific type of service is pushed along the way by one or more people who are personally related to the applicant through kinship or friendship. I have benefitted myself from this type of patronage in that friends of mine helped me to obtain documents and medical services which otherwise would have implied long procedures if I were to obtain them on my own. These types of favours are in fact based on generalized reciprocity, and the understanding is that the person being favoured will in turn help someone at some other time, perhaps in a completely different situation. Because of this, the *accozzi* system does not refer only to vertical but also to horizontal links between individuals and groups.

However, when someone asks someone else for a recommendation that will help the applicant to obtain a job, gain access to some types of funding (very often funding for small businesses and cooperatives) or some types of welfare pensions (such as disability pensions which go to people who are not so obviously disabled), that is, when the favour involves getting the client out of an emergency (usually economic or legal), the ways in which the aspiring clients will have to pay in votes are not hypothetical at all. Clients are expected to vote for specific people and, until 1992, in ways that were pre-established by their patrons.

People usually try to avoid resorting to patrons who will ask them to compromise their votes, but in cases of emergency such as when jobs or money are involved, political patrons may offer the only or the most likely solution to their problems.[9]

The voting system reform of 1992, which established the *preferenza unica* [one preference only] finally recognised this particular predicament. This reform effected a partial modification that at least will make it increasingly difficult for political patrons to monitor the voting behaviour of their clients. Until then, the ways in which patrons or their delegates could know who voted in what way went as follows:[10]

Ballots used to be lists of candidates from different political parties, on which the voters had to express their preferences. This is a more or less regular form of voting in most democratic countries. However, in Italy more than one candidate's name could represent each party on the ballot, and the voter was asked not to cross one name only but instead to specify a number of preferences, specifying also the order in which he or she would rate the candidates' desirability. Each ballot, then, although cast in private, showed a list of names in the specific order that the patron had asked his or her client to vote. From the order of the preferences on the ballot it was relatively easy to identify who had followed the instructions given to her or him. As a friend of mine put it,

> You go and sit at the ballot count with your list, and cross out names of the people who voted as they were supposed to.

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[9] It is not clear why people only reluctantly compromise their vote in Sardinia, except that committing oneself to vote for a particular faction within a party would probably mean that one cannot ask favours from other patrons. In a sense, it is as if one had only one coin and had to chose where to spend it.

[10] The following description is based on conversations with three informants who participated in politics in the Ogliastra, and on the articles published on *La Repubblica* and *24Ore* during the 1992 national general elections.

Vote counts are public, and it was easy for patrons who had told their clients in what order they were supposed to rate their preferences to know whether or not a particular client had followed the patron's instructions. Two friends of ours described how they would be sent by their party to the counts. They would sit among the public with a list of the people who they knew were supposed to vote in precise ways, and their only task was to check out the names of those who had voted as they had been told. In a sense, it was almost as if the voters had signed their ballots. Given that voters are bound to vote in specific voting districts, the number of permutations of preferences was reduced and the possibility of many people depositing a similar order of preferences in each district was reduced.

It used to be possible for candidates who were winning by a good majority to transfer part of their votes to one or another candidate in the race. In this way voters lost practically all control of their votes, either through having to vote as they were told or through the impossibility of stopping candidates from transferring votes to one another. To my eyes, it was almost as if by voting the voters extended blank ballots to the politicians, who were in effect able to fill them themselves. The question of clientelism, the terms under which people received protection from politicians, and the importance of patronage in people's lives became the matters of open debate during the 1992 general elections.

The 1992 vote reform intended to put an end to the monitoring of votes on the part of party delegates. A series of proposals, drafted for this reform during the four weeks preceding the elections, stirred the interest and ingenuity of people from all political parties. One of the topics most prominent in everyday conversation, newspapers and t.v. debates were the ways in which the vote could theoretically be controlled by political patrons. During these weeks preceding the election Ayora-Diaz and I found ourselves each day in the

middle of several conversations where the topic was the upcoming elections.

People discussed the views of the neo-fascists (which seemed to be gaining popularity among some of our acquaintances), the ways in which the voting could be manipulated and the differences between the different sections into which the communist party had split. I was always surprised by the ingenuity with which one or another of our friends would come up with an idea for knowing who voted in what way, through the different systems that the government proposed.

Our friends who were not affiliated with the parties tried to figure out how they would be made to vote in one or another way. Many times it seemed to me that they were attributing to the political parties tricks which party politicians had not thought out yet. On the other hand, our friends in charge of campaigning for their parties were also thinking of how the current new vote reform was flawed and how they could control the votes of their own and their faction's clients.

The fact that there are still illiterate people in Italy made it necessary for the parties to devise ways in which the illiterate could write the name of their candidates on the ballots. A piece of cardboard or plastic called the *normografo*, which had the name of the candidate perforated on it so that it could easily be traced with a pen, was produced by the campaign committees of all candidates. At once the newspapers, television stations and people in general embarked on long debates over the use of the *normografo*. Politicians in the different political parties of Sardinia and of Italy as a whole tried to invent ways in which this device could be used to control people's votes, while people who were not card carrying members of any party tried to figure out in which ways the vote would be controlled so they could object to the

new devices.[11]

The result of this reform was that the general election of 1992 resulted in what the Italian newspapers and most politicians called a "political earthquake," because it shook the accustomed ways of distributing the votes and forming coalitions among the four parties that since the 1970s have formed the government; that is, the Christian Democratic, the Socialist, the Republican and the Social Democratic Parties. The creation of the Lega Nord and other regional parties in 1991 and 1992, as well as the new popularity of the neo-fascist party also contributed to the nation-wide de-legitimization of the *quadripartito* [four-party coalition] that had governed Italy thus far.[12]

Many politicians were in charge of collecting votes for the candidates from their own faction of a particular party, and the understanding was that if in the future they managed to enter the ranks of the candidates other people would collect votes for them, as they were collecting for others. These politicians could not be considered as equals, because

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[11] In the end, the reform instituted a system whereby voters had to write the name of only one candidate on the ballot, by the symbol of the appropriate party. The use of the *normografo* was allowed, and all parties created theirs and distributed them among the voters. As I had suspected, the *normografo* did not make too much of a difference and voters were actually able to express their preference with much more freedom than ever before.

[12] Although in the past the *quadripartito* was seen as the result of the collusion of party leaders, it was not clear in what ways the four parties were interrelated with one another, except that the four of them allowed the *Democrazia Cristiana* to continue in power. Currently the *Mani Pulite* inquiry is unravelling the way in which these parties helped to finance each other, dividing the kickbacks they collected from industrial and public works entrepreneurs in different percentages. In some cases, for example in Milan, the Communist Party also received a percentage of the kickbacks that the other parties collected (See Panorama Libri Inchiesta 1993, and *L'Espresso*, March 21, 1993:20-31).

they were at different levels of the hierarchical scale in their parties or their jobs, but they still collaborated with one another in drumming up support for common electoral causes.

This description of the way in which political patronage works is important for understanding how the *accozzi* system has worked in favour of the Christian Democratic party for so many years in Sardinia. There is a great difference between Sardinia and Sicily, in that in Sicily the system has been accompanied by violence against people who fail to comply with their patrons (Sabetti 1984, Gambetta 1990). I asked a friend of mine who figured out that in the 1992 election several persons had not voted as they had been told by his party: "What about those people?" and he answered "*Eh beh, gli abbiamo persi* [well, we have lost them]." He said that he suspected who had not voted as they were expected, and they would not be favoured by the politicians from his party in the future. Thus, there would be no violent retaliation but rather an exclusion of those reluctant clients from future favours. These favours might have included helping them out in getting pensions, or in obtaining grants to form small businesses or cooperatives.

4. THE PASTORALISTS AND THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The relation between the Sardinian pastoralists and the cooperative movement has been somewhat problematic. However, the shepherds have not been as reluctant to join the movement as is often thought. The movement of *casse rurali* of the turn of the century found expression among the pastoralists in the creation of *assicurazione del bestiame* societies, which were revolving funds insuring flocks against theft (Ortu 1991:120-1).

Other than the *assicurazioni di bestiame* the shepherds have been receptive to the idea of *caseifici sociali*, that is, dairy cooperatives. The *Latteria Sociale Cooperativa*, which

was founded in 1907 in Bortigali, is often claimed as the first example of formalised cooperation among Sardinian shepherds (Ortu 1991:127). However, this cooperative was not formed by transhumant shepherds but instead by rich cattle owners, who created the dairy to process their milk, which was not being accepted by the Italian entrepreneurs who collected sheep's and goat's milk to make *pecorino romano* cheese (Bussa 1978).

The *caseifici sociali* do seem to have found some support and acceptance among the shepherds already before the First and Second World Wars (Murtas 1978, Pinna 1983). Dismantled during Fascism, they began to appear once more after WWII, and by 1970 there were 119 on the island, 19 of which were in Nuoro province (Pinna 1983:99). In December of 1992 the number of cooperative *caseifici* and *latterie* in Sardinia was 32 (ISTAT 1992:18).[13]

Before the 1970s the shepherds often had to negotiate contracts involving both lands and animals from land and livestock owners. According to the shepherds of Telemula and Bardia, sometimes one person owned both types of productive means, and at other times two different people had to be dealt with to secure access to lands and a flock. There were at the time (and they exist today in modified form) various types of contracts, the terms of which varied from one community to the next, and even from one family to another within each community.

In Nuoro province, because of the existence of communal lands in most *comuni*, the most common contracts were the ones called *società*, which concerned the 'rent' as it were of flocks. These contracts generally assigned to the shepherd to keep half the products of the flock during the year, plus a

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[13] *Caseifici* and *latterie* are industrial establishments for the processing of milk (Colli and Stupazzoni 1980). *Latterie* sell milk while *caseifici* sell cheese and other milk products.

number of animals at the end of the contract (Pinna 1983:23-9, Ortu 1981, Berger 1986). Rents for land use were often calculated in produce or bartered for dairy products, although, according to the shepherds of Telemula, when flocks were taken to the *Campidano* areas rents usually had to be paid in money (Ayora-Diaz and Vargas-Cetina 1991).[14]

In Bardia the *società* contract was far more advantageous for the *servopastore* [sheepherder] than in northern Ogliastra. In this latter area, including Telemula, the shepherds could keep only a few animals at the end of the contract while in Bardia the shepherds could keep up to a third of the animals when the contract expired.[15] The *Inchiesta Medici* and subsequent legislation were meant to improve the economic lot of shepherds, addressing precisely these arrangements which the regional administrators and intellectuals saw as unfair to the shepherd. The first step toward an improvement of the terms of land leases for the shepherds was the *Di Marzi Cipolla* law of 1971, which established the rent value of land at accessible prices (Pinna 1983:103-16, Berger 1986: 337-9).

The 1976 Law of Agropastoral Reform addressed, through the creation of the *monti di pascolo* [cooperative pools of pasture], some of the problems that the *Di Marzi Cipolla* law had in turn created. Because the leases had been officially fixed at relatively low prices, many landowners and even *comune* administrations began refusing to lease their lands to

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[14] The shepherds of Bardia have always practised 'normal' transhumance by moving their animals to higher altitudes during the hot season. Bardia has a stretch of communal lands on the *Supramonte* plateau, and when the shepherds had to take their animals outside of the municipal territory they usually took them to Barbagia and Ogliastra *comuni*, including Telemula, where they could barter rent for dairy products.

[15] This is why before the 1970s many Telemulesi shepherds worked in Bardia, where they were often given the sheep and the right to pasture them on the lands owned by the sheep owner during part of the year.

shepherds. Instead, they preferred to leave the lands idle under the *set-aside* program of the EEC.[16]

In Telemula the choice between the *set aside* program and the leasing of lands to the shepherds at low cost affected only small pieces of land in the Arbatax valley. Although this was enough to heighten existing animosity among several local families, the economic impact was minimal given that most of Telemula's municipal lands are communal, and the shepherds have regularly practised transhumance to lands outside the municipal territory.[17]

In Bardia the existing communal lands within the non-coastal territories were in danger of being blocked from grazing by their owners (some of whom owned lands in the area of Su Cuile Mannu), because of what they saw as disadvantageous regulations regarding the rent they could charge. As soon as the *comune* administration managed to regain the Su Cuile Mannu lands for the communal land fund, they were given to a shepherds' cooperative for the formation of the pasture pools.

As soon as 1977, less than a year after the 1976 legislation, 18,540 hectares of land had been ceded to shepherds' cooperatives of Nuoro province for the implementation of the pasture pools (Pinna 1983:161). The

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[16] See Murtas (1978) for the case of Paulilatino, Berger (1986) for the case of Ollolai, and Pinna (1983) for a description of these reactions in general.

[17] Once, while we were in the *pianura*, one of my friends took me for a walk around the area, and pointed out some of the pieces of land that are now under the *set-aside* program, which requires that they be left idle for five years. This person, whose father is a shepherd, said to me that the owners of those lands could have charged the shepherds the same money, but they had instead chosen to keep the shepherds from using them, while receiving money from the EEC. In this particular case the economic benefits did not seem to be the main reason (at least not from my friend's point of view) for having taken those pieces of land off productive use.

Agro-pastoral Reform Law also allocated 260 billion Lire for the creation and development of the shepherds' production cooperatives managing these pasture pools (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1976, Clark 1990).

Present-day shepherds' production cooperatives have been either created or consolidated through funds made available to the shepherds after this piece of legislation. The shepherd's cooperative Su Cuile Mannu of Bardia is one of the few that became consolidated and, finally, generously funded after the 1976 law.[18] In Sardinia the conflict among the cooperative federations, which seems so prevalent in other regions of Italy, is almost non-existent. This is so because the cooperatives themselves seem to be already *lottizzati* among the different federations. Some types of cooperatives are regularly affiliated with specific *centrali*. Shepherds' cooperatives also follow this pattern, and in Bardia those shepherds who are members in Su Cuile Mannu are also members in the dairy cooperative.

While Su Cuile Mannu, like many other shepherds' production cooperatives, is affiliated with the *Lega delle Cooperative*, the *caseificio* [the dairy cooperative] is affiliated with the catholic *Confederazione delle Cooperative*, as are most other cooperative *caseifici* of the island. Most *Casse rurali* [credit unions] and cooperative banks are affiliated with the 'white' *Confederazione* as well. The ones in Ogliastra and Baronia are no exception to this. Sardinian cooperative members have come to see the *centrali* less as ideological strongholds and more as technical institutes that can offer them legal and technical advice. As a result, in Nuoro province an individual who belongs to two or more cooperatives can be affiliated with the Christian *Confederazione* and the leftist *Lega* at the same time without experiencing an ideological conflict.

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[18] See Vargas-Cetina 1993a, 1993b.

According to a representative of one of the cooperative *centrali*, the *Azienda Speciale* cases were also the result of the *lottizzazione* in that they were left by the cooperative *centrali* to ERSAT, which is mainly associated with the Christian Democratic party. Whatever the truth behind this last assertion, these political understandings seem to be beneficial to the extent that there is no need to create a 'red' cooperative for every 'white' one that becomes established, and vice versa. The open competition between the *centrali* for the control of regional cooperatives seems to be an endemic problem in other regions and according to the president of a Tuscan cooperative olive grove and press, it causes a great waste of resources which could be used, as in Bardia, to create other types of cooperatives.

In order to show how in Telemula and Bardia informal and formal cooperation relate to each other, it is necessary to give here a more complete account of the realms of informal cooperation in rural Sardinia, as outlined in the previous introduction. Informal cooperation precedes historically and logically formal cooperation, since for cooperatives to be formed people must have thought that cooperation was possible. The order of the next two ethnographic chapters will follow this historical-logical order, thus reversing the order of the presentation of this chapter.

5. INFORMAL COOPERATION DOMAINS

As suggested in the previous chapter, at least five major domains of informal cooperation are important for the everyday and ceremonial activities of rural villages and towns. These are primary production, the formation of new households, the maintenance of the household, sociability outside work and ceremonial events. All of these require the gathering of people and the circulation of things, or the participation in labour parties, or both. The following description traces the general characteristics of each one of these five informal

cooperation domains.

a. Primary production.

Campbell (1964) characterises the Greek Sarakatsani shepherds and their families as exclusively oriented toward work among the family, and diffident of people outside their closest kin. Although Sardinian shepherds breed the same animal species as the Sarakatsani and practice the seasonal movement of flocks, they do not exhibit such exacerbated tendencies toward social atomization. Berger (1986) attributes this difference to the fact that the Sardinian shepherds were never semi-nomadic like the Sarakatsani.

> "The critical difference between the Sarakatsani and the Barbagian shepherds has to do with village life. While the Barbagians are residents of communal villages in the mountains, the Sarakatsani are semi-nomads without true homes . . . In the Barbagia, on the other hand, only men move with the sheep. When they return to the mountains in the summer, they are no longer outsiders but at home. The Sarakatsani are outsiders year round." (Berger 1986:36).

Sardinian shepherds and their families in fact cultivate large networks of friends and willingly become part of the fictive kin of other families. Even the practice of *abigeato* [animal rustling] in Ogliastra has been linked to the shepherds' strategies for widening networks of friends and allies among the shepherds of neighbouring communities (Caltagirone 1989), in the same way that the shepherds of Glendi and its environs in Greece (Herzfeld 1985) create friends through livestock rustling. In any case, as Lonergan (1984) has documented for the area close to Ghilarza, *abigeato* is usually performed by groups and not by isolated individuals.

Primary production among shepherding families more often than not takes place in a context of informal cooperation with both kin and non-kin. Shepherds like to work in pairs,

sharing an *ovile* with other livestock owners. This has several advantages over working alone, one of them being that those shepherds with partners can come back to the village more frequently than those who work by themselves, even if they do not own an automobile. Another advantage is that they can take turns at performing the same tasks on alternating days.

The dyads of shepherds who keep their animals together are usually made up of father and son, or two brothers, or two men related through affinal ties. In some cases, however, the two shepherds may not be related at all, but they will always relate to each other as people from the same village and from the same political faction. There does not seem to be much day-to-day cooperation among shepherds from different villages. On the Supramonte the flocks sometimes trespass the communal boundaries. Instead of creating cooperation networks this type of circumstance seems to fuel conflicts among the shepherds of neighbouring *comuni*.

Although dairy plants have eased the work of many shepherds, there are at least two main activities during the herding year cycle that require the cooperation of more than one's *ovile* partner: the transhumance and the shearing of the sheep. The transhumance takes place at least twice a year, once during the spring and then at the beginning of the winter, and the *tosatura* takes place during the spring, before the transhumance to the highlands. Help during the transhumance is not rewarded with a large banquet because as soon as he arrives in the new *ovile* the shepherd has to build the *recinto* [enclosure] where the animals will be milked, milk the ewes and prepare the place for the summer or the winter sojourn. The help received from other people during the transhumance may be paid in several ways. These include cash, helping other shepherds with their own transhumance, or the demonstrating one's friendship through either gifts in dairy products or invitations to formal meals later on, or both.

The *tosatura*, however, is the occasion for a large party which often includes the families of those who came to help during the shearing, and one's *crìcca*. In some cases the *tosature* are attended by guests coming from far away, who often show up at the time of the banquet and are not expected to shear.

Agricultural work also requires the concerted effort of individuals. It is common for vine growers to help each other during the *potatura* [cleaning around the foot of the vine], the *medicina* [the 'medication' of the vineyard], and the *vendemmia* [grape harvest], which are often carried out with the help of other vine growers. The *potatura* and the *vendemmia* are by far the most demanding of these tasks.

After the *vendemmia* there is a banquet at the end of the day, to celebrate the end of the efforts in getting ready to make the next year's wine supply. Vineyard owners looking for help during the year jokingly tell their prospective helpers "*se non mi aiuti a potare, non ti cercarò per vendemmiare*" [if you do not help me to *potare* I won't ask you to come to *vendemmiare*], the unspoken understanding being that not only that they will be excluded from the banquet but also that those who are not willing to work with others are not true friends.

The wheat and barley used for flour also requires several people to help during the winnowing of the harvest. Today most of the process of growing grain, from preparing the soil to sowing and harvesting, is mechanised. The arrangements for the growing of grain, however, often require informal arrangements since in many cases the grain producers are not the owners of the plots they use for this purpose. It is usually men who own tractors and combine harvesters who produce grain.

When the grain is harvested a truck will take it into the village or town for someone, usually women, to winnow it. Manual work includes only the winnowing of the grains, since

the milling of wheat into flour is also mechanised. When it is to be used for fodder, the grain is pressed into bales taken to a storage room, often in the countryside, and then let to dry, to be fed to the animals. It is usually cattle owners who make the greatest use of hay as fodder.

Work in the gardens and orchards sometimes is undertaken in collaboration, but most often individuals work alone on them. However, in the terraces surrounding the *paesi* people make a concerted use of water for irrigation. Theft of irrigation water and animal trespassing into planted areas are among the most common sources of conflict arising among horticulturists and between them and other local people.

The ethnographic literature on Sardinia has documented the existence of informal cooperation circuits (that is, of groups of people that help each other often) throughout the island. These circuits exist in the Trexenta (Murtas 1978:39), the Campidano plains (Angioni 1974, DaRe 1990) the Barbagia of Ololai (Berger 1986, Murru Corriga 1990a:72) the Ogliastra (Angioni 1989:155) and in Siniele, in central Sardinia (Meloni 1984:173) and are generally designated as *su aggiùdu torrau* in the Campidano of Cagliari (Angioni 1974:111, DaRe 1990) and some areas of Ogliastra (Angioni 1989:155) and *su azudu cambiau* in the Barbagia (Meloni 1984:172). These circuits exist not only within the domain of primary production, as we will now see.

b. Forming the household.

As explained on Part I, in rural Sardinia couples do not marry until the two future spouses are *sistemati*. For men, this usually means that they have to own a house and adequate furniture, and either to have a regular job or to make enough money to support a family from a productive activity. For women, it usually means to have a job, or a car, and to have accumulated a trousseau consisting of many linens plus a new wardrobe to be worn after the wedding.

For the shepherds to be *sistemato* usually means owning a flock that is economically viable (usually between 100 and 150 animals), besides having built and furnished a house in which to settle with his new family. Women marrying shepherds nowadays do not have to be good agricultural workers or careful administrators of the storerooms where the shepherds used to keep their products. Today the option of *casalinga* seems to be a socially accepted one in most of rural Sardinia (Murru Corriga 1990a, DaRe 1990, Ayora-Diaz 1993).

When women make parts of their *corredo* [trousseau] themselves they usually do not ask for help from other women. However, men work at least as *manovali* [bricklayers] during the construction of other men's houses. Men usually recruit the help of their male friends, and in return help them in the construction of their houses. There are two main banquets accompanying the building of each house. One takes place when the *muratori* [construction workers], along with the owner of the house and the friends who are helping, *buttano il tetto della cantina* [lay the roof of the *cantina*]. If there is no *cantina*, as in Telemula, the banquet takes place when the roof of the basement or the first floor is laid and the first level of the house is almost finished. To this banquet the friends who are helping to build the house and their wives or sisters are invited.

The second banquet takes place when the construction party lays out and pours cement on the *solaio*, the upper roof of the house. These two banquets are planned well in advance so that the party of construction workers is only part of the people invited to the occasion. While the construction party works, there is a lot of activity as other people (men and women) take care of the food to be served. In these two cases the food usually consists of an *antipasto* of prosciutto and olives, and the main dish includes *pecora bolita* [boiled sheep] and *maialetto arrosto* [roasted suckling pig], besides greens, pecorino cheese and often *casevita* or *frue*. Some of

the people who have come to help take turns at helping with the preparation of the meal. While women are in charge of the vegetables, it is usually men who roast the meat and who supervise the boiling of mutton. These banquets are important in that they strengthen cooperation ties and also allow the owner of the house being built to host their friends and relatives. The banquets establish and later confirm the couple's social prestige in the village or town as good hosts.

c. Maintaining the household

The maintenance of the house includes not only the regular maintenance but also the eventual expansion of the premises where the pastoralist family resides, as well as those activities that keep the family clothed, fed, and living in the best possible conditions given the familial budget and the family members' expectations, preferences and possibilities. It is more difficult to recruit help for the expansion of an already existing house than for the construction of a new one. Extensions are usually carried out by building specialists (masons and bricklayers) with the collaboration of the members of the family.

The onus of providing comfort for the family during the year usually falls, at least in theory on the woman head of household. In rural Sardinia the activities of women include cooking almost every day, fixing garments, baking flat bread, *fare pomodori* [making tomato sauce], and sometimes making mats on weaving looms that they own. Men only cook meat, and then again only (or mostly) during festive occasions. There are circuits of help among the women, especially for those tasks which are most demanding, such as the baking of flat bread. Work on the looms is less sociable and it is sometimes conducted in pairs (often of mother and daughter or of two women related to one another by kin, by affinal ties or by ceremonial kinship). Other occasions involving group work for the maintenance of the household are when making *pasta al*

forno [lasagna] and sometimes during when making tomato sauce.

Of all these types of help circuits, the bread baking one is by far the most organized. The women of each bread baking group get together at least once a month, and in each occasion they bake one family's bread provision for several months (at least a three month provision for one family is baked each time). The groups may come together very early in the morning, as it is the case in Telemula, or when the sun comes out, as it happens in Bardia. In each session, the woman whose family the bread will be for is in charge of preparing the dough with water and yeast and lighting the wood fired oven before the rest of the group arrives. Each group is organized hierarchically. One of the women theoretically has more experienced than the others. This woman cuts the dough when she considers that the yeast has combined adequately with the dough, and during the flattening of the bread she gives the finishing touches to each flour sheet, before putting it into the oven.[19]

At the oven one of the women is usually considered more skilful than the others at keeping the wood burning and managing the bread inside so as to get the best possible results. The baking usually takes place when most of the flattening out of dough sheets has been accomplished, unless the group is large enough to carry out both activities at the same time. When each piece of bread comes out of the oven for the first time, two women will be in charge of separating the bread into two different, circular sheets, which are later returned to the oven for a second baking. There are two breaks during the work: one for breakfast and one for *pranzo*. However, the women do not eat as much as they would during festive occasions, since people believe that a heavy meal

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[19] Sometimes only two women get together to bake flat bread. However, in my experience, this is more the exception than the rule. Each time I have participated in these groups, there were between three and seven people, including myself.

slows down the workers. Coffee closes the *pranzo* meal, and after it the women return to work. At the end of each baking session, the women who helped the owner of the house will receive two pieces of bread each, which are called *su cocome*. These are known as *la paga* [the payment]. Sometimes, if the baking of the bread finishes early (that is, before 3:00 in the afternoon), the women also bake sweets, making use of the different temperatures the oven takes on as the wood finally burns away.

d. Socializing

Socializing, especially during weekends, can be a highly organized activity in rural Sardinia. During the spring and the summer the *crìcche* organize several banquets, generally called *spuntini*, out in the countryside. These banquets can consist of the regular fare of roasted or boiled mutton, roasted goat meat and/or suckling pig, or of special treats such as sea food or *cinghiale* [wild boar] meat. The banquets are usually accompanied by red wine, coffee, soft drinks and *acqua vita*. These banquets can take place among one or several *crìcche*. For the organization of these banquets, which usually take place out in the open or at an *ovile*, specific persons from the *crìcche* either collect money from all their members or each of the participants brings along something decided before hand.

These banquets usually take place among coevals, if the *crìcche* are those of young people, or among a group of older coevals and their younger children, if they are organized by adult men and women. In places like Bardia and other parts of the Barbagia and Baronia settled couples may have a *casa campestre* (a house in the countryside) which is regularly used for these banquets. During sunny days it is easy to spot in the Sardinian countryside long lines of cars which reveal the places where *spuntini* are taking place.

Another type of festive gathering which is organized through common efforts, again usually by one or a combination of *crìcche*, are the *veglioni*. These are large feasts where there is music by means of a stereo or a live performance, and they usually take place around Christmas and the New Year. These can be organized in one of two ways: a *crìcca* or group of *crìcche* may rent a locale to hold the party, or they may pay for a reserved space at a restaurant. The second option is more expensive, but it is preferred by those people who hold regular jobs and have little time for planning large events in advance.

On the eight of March, for the international day of women, the *crìcche* of young people celebrate the day by the men giving mimosa flowers to the women, and the women going out together in groups of women-only to a restaurant at night.[20] Usually the women plan the night a week or more in advance, and they may collect money to order a special menu and pay for extra treats such as separate rooms at the restaurants where they will go to celebrate international women's day. It is usually women under 40 years of age who celebrate the Day of Women in this fashion.

As described above, there is also an established way of socializing at the bars which is expected to even out the discrepancies in income and social standing in the community by giving everybody the chance to treat their friends to drinks, candy and ice cream. There is, especially among married people of all ages, intense visiting during off work hours. Unmarried men visit each other at home less frequently, and they prefer to find their friends at the accustomed spots at *piazze* or at their favourite bars. Unmarried women do visit each other at home, although not for long periods but rather as they go looking for one another to

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[20] Mimosa are yellow flowers that grow on trees and in Sardinia are considered to announce the coming of spring.

go to the *piazza* or the bars to join their male friends.

From my own experience, the social visiting among married people does not necessarily include the intensive exchange of information, as has been suggested by Berger (1986). Many times the conversation is highly animated, as someone tells jokes or anecdotes, or people discuss events that have taken place that day within the community, or discuss the news. Other times, however, the hosts and their guests watch the news, soap opera *puntate* [episodes], games or contests on television, and everyone feels free to make comments. Yet, at other times Ayora-Diaz and I have sat with our hosts in silence, eating sweets and drinking wine or grappa, while each of us was free to pursue her or his own thoughts.

According to rural Sardinians, the point of visiting is the establishment and re-affirmation of friendship. Other purposes, which are not so readily acknowledged by them, are the exchange of information and the arrangement of help parties. Shepherding and non-shepherding families alike expect host and be hosted by their friends, and an individual who does not visit or does not receive visitors is seen as a social outcast. People who do not engage in sociability are labelled as *prepotenti* [feeling superior to others] and we have heard them being suspected of being mentally retarded or having something gone wrong with their brains (See Ayora-Diaz 1993).

e. Ceremonial events. Most festive occasions, including those marking individuals' *rites of passage*, are organized and celebrated with people collaborating in groups. While the family of the particular individual is expected to bear most of the expenses of the celebration, the planning, butchering of animals for the banquet, setting up of tables and serving food at the banquet is a collaborative enterprise that may take anywhere from one month to two weeks from the beginning to the end of the preparations. *Battesimo* [Cristening],

cresima [confirmation], *prima Comunióne* [first Communion] and *matrimonio* [wedding] celebrations are usually large affairs involving at least twenty people each time, since relatives and friends of the family have to be invited to participate in the special occasion. In Bardia the First Communion and the weddings involve as many as 600 people at the parties.

Religious *festa* dates are other occasions in which the informal cooperation is paramount. In rural Sardinia village festivals require of a common pooling of resources in the form of voluntary money donations to hire the musicians and help in setting up special decorations and electric light bulbs on the streets of the village or town and on the venues where the festival will take place.

In Bardia a special type of feast has developed following the cooperation and organization model of weddings. Each year four *feste campestre* take place on different parts of the municipal territory, bringing together from 1,500 to 2,000 people each time. The coordination of activities during the organization and the feasts themselves require from two to three months of work on the part of around 200 volunteers each time, who help the family who finances the feast on each particular occasion. These feasts, which originated as religious festivals, have in recent years taken on a scale and competitive character that remind the anthropologist of the *Potlatch* of the Canadian West Coast (Spradley 1969, Codere 1950). These festivities will be looked at more closely in Chapter 9.

In the next chapter I describe the specific ways in which informal and formal cooperation take place in Telemula. Also, I discuss the relationship between informal and formal cooperation in that village. In Chapter 9, in turn, I describe the ways in which people socialize and organize themselves within both informal cooperation circuits and formal cooperative associations in Bardia. Chapter 10 is a discussion of the materials presented in Part II and it is

intended as a conclusion to it. Chapter 11, in turn, presents the general conclusions of this dissertation.

CHAPTER EIGHT: TELEMULA: THINGS STAND FOR PEOPLE

1. THE UNCOOPERATIVE TELEMULESI

In the fall of 1991 I began to visit the shepherding families of Telemula during the day and to accompany the shepherds through their work routines. At night I would go with my landlady-roommate to the *piazza* and the local bars, where she introduced me to her friends, and I began to make some friends of my own among people of my age. As I became more proficient in Italian I was increasingly able to communicate with my local hosts and better explain my research objectives. Soon they learned of my interest in local forms of cooperation and I learned about their purported 'individualism'.

One day, during my first bread-making party, the male owner of the house where the bread was being baked made a long speech for my benefit, making sure I understood that cooperatives would never be possible in Telemula. He said to me:

> "The problem with us is that we do not like to cooperate with one another. We are very individualistic. A cooperative would never be possible here. If we can agree on the type of cooperative we want to have, then the municipal administration won't let us do it. As soon as we have the first negative experience we will be dissuaded. This is exactly what has happened before. And the reason why we have never had a cooperative is because we are not able to work together. *Ognuno guarda al suo* [each looks only after his own]. There will never be cooperatives in Telemula."

After lunch he continued to explain how cooperation is alien to the Telemulesi. I excused myself saying that I had to leave. He asked me where I was going and I said "*vado giù, alla cooperativa* [I'm going downstairs, to the cooperative]." He looked at me in amazement and he said "*ma guarda che hai raggione!* [You are right!]," and he came down to the basement

with me to tell the other women what I had just said to him.

In this chapter I show how informal cooperation as such is not categorised by many Telemulesi as a distinct category within sociability or exchange. Instead, it is considered only one more element of social life, belonging in the larger sphere of gift exchange. The exchange of favours is not recognised as a way of organising informal cooperation, even if in some cases it may be seen in the light of the commodity economy and thus in terms of wages paid or saved. In other words, people in Telemula expect gifts from their friends, including gifts in labour, which are not accounted for separately from gifts of things or other expected demonstrations of friendship.

In Telemula there is the conviction that people will not help one another. However, I was constantly surprised by the way in which work parties were organised, people collaborated to have banquets and feasts, and things and money circulated among individuals and households. In this chapter I want to illustrate how in Telemula work is not necessarily 'paid back' in work, gifts produce bonds of solidarity which may translate into help in labour, and money often changes hands as just another gift and at other times as the price for things and labour.

Although many Telemulesi men and women under 40 years of age say that people have become too attached to money and that the young do not respect the old customs, to this day the commodity economy remains subsumed, at least partly, within the gift economy. When things and work are fully calculated in money, even those who say that they want things to change in this direction (increased commoditization of things and social relations) are shocked, and they criticise whoever dares to fully calculate things or work in money.

Apparently, in the recent past exchange took place within socially accepted hierarchical relations, whereby the wealthiest villagers established patron-client relations with

members of those shepherding families in one of the factions, people should give and help each other spontaneously. In the other faction, however, the self-defined "*moderni* [modern]" pastoralists (most of whom are single) believe that there are too many social obligations and too little room for business. It is important to note that the behaviour of people from both groups is very similar, in terms of what is exchanged and the way in which labour is organised. It is the *interpretation* of these exchanges, and their perception as desirable that is contested.

While the *tradizionalisti* (or *tradizionali*) shepherds and their families believe that one should engage in business with one's friends and relatives, the *moderni* shepherds believe they should deal with those entrepreneurs who will pay them most for their product. While the *tradizionalisti* shepherds believe that one should call only upon one's own relatives and friends when looking for paid help in agricultural or shepherding tasks, the *moderni* shepherds believe that one should hire the most able workers regardless of their kinship links to the worker, and that paying someone because of kinship or other obligations reduces the possible efficiency of work. However, when the time comes, the *moderni* shepherds are just as likely as the *tradizionalisti* ones to hire their kinsfolk and to help their friends before helping those who offer them higher wages. Young people who consider themselves *moderni* and say that they want relationships to be commercially-oriented will protest against those who actually relinquish their social obligations and hire "strangers."

One explanation for this dissonance between what it is said and what is done may be that many of the younger shepherds have to conform to what their older relatives (including their fathers, who may co-own the flock) think is right. Also, although the younger generations say that they want the "traditional" obligations to cease, they still have not experienced the full force of a completely free market of

labour and products. Ayora-Diaz and I have witnessed the conflicts between the older and the younger generations of shepherds time and again. While our younger shepherd friends (those under 35) believe that tasks should be accomplished in the shortest time possible and with the least effort, their fathers and the other older shepherds constantly criticise this point of view.

Given that in Telemula there are only 55 full-time shepherds and goatherds, it is impractical for young shepherds of the *moderni* group to completely alienate both their elders and the *tradizionalisti* young shepherds.[2] Although the young in the two groups avoid each other as much as possible, the *moderni* shepherds still have to work with their elders.[3] In this chapter I present a series of ethnographic cases in each of the domains of informal cooperation and the opinions of both *moderni* and *tradizionalisti* shepherds on why things should stay as they are or should be changed. Subsequently, I outline the attempts at forming cooperatives that have taken place in the village, and the reasons why they have not come to fruition. The discussion that concludes the chapter presents two heuristic models to represent the way in which the *moderni* and the *tradizionalisti* shepherds understand the

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[2] In 1993 many men have given up shepherding because of the re-forestation scheme. Some became re-forestation workers and some simply gave up pastoralism because their summer *ovili* were claimed by the reforestation programme and sheep are not allowed any more in the area. Through letters we have received, we know of five sheep- or goatherds who have abandoned livestock rearing. There could be many more, because our displaced friends shared summer *ovili* with other shepherds. Under the new conditions it is possible that shepherds in opposite political factions will be forced to cooperate with one another, because the number of pastoralists seems to be progressively shrinking in all of Ogliastra.

[3] See Ayora-Diaz (1993) for a full description of the contrast between the two groups.

relationship between the gift and the commodity economy.

2. INFORMAL COOPERATION

a. Primary production

Since both pastoralism and agriculture are carried out by the members of pastoralist families in Telemula, here I present the ways in which informal cooperation takes place during specific activities of the agro-pastoral calendar. The shearing of sheep [*tosatura*], the transhumance and the harvest of the vineyards are the three main examples through which I illustrate the ways in which help is recruited and rewarded, and the ways in which the gift and the commodity economies become intertwined on these occasions.

i. The tosatura in Telemula.

Sheep shearing [*tosatura* in Italian, *tunda* in Sardinian] takes place in Telemula between mid March and the end of May. The *tosatura* is usually carried out with the help of one's partner and the family friends of the shepherding partners. The event is organised with little planning in advance, since the shepherds have to shear their sheep when it is not too cold or rainy outside. Usually people are invited to the *tosatura* one or two days before, at most.

Although each *tosatura* is very expensive because of the banquet that follows, shepherds still prefer to organise a party and invite their friends from the village instead of paying a group of men to work at an hourly rate. A shepherd once told us that although it is very expensive for him to organise a *tosatura*, it is still cheaper than paying five men daily rates, usually 60,000 Lire per *giornata* [day of work] (about 60 Canadian dollars). The shearing of 260 sheep takes six men, including the shepherd, about five hours. A shearing *giornata* is not expected to last more than five hours. Thus, in terms of wages this would cost the shepherd

300,000 Lire (300 Canadian dollars).

For a party of twenty to thirty guests a shepherd needs to buy only beer, coffee and soft drinks, since he and his family can offer their guests meat and *antipasti* [entrées] from the family's own flock and *magazzeni* [storerooms]. Even if the party will end up costing 300,000 Lire because the products were consumed and not eventually sold for money, the shepherd and his family will have hosted their friends in a celebration of commonality and a re-establishing of common ties with other people in Telemula and neighbouring villages. The perception of someone as being richer than others is often accompanied by the expectation that the person or family will be more generous in exercising the duties of the host. This applies to the *tosatura* as well as to other domains of reciprocity where labour and sociability intersect.

At the beginning of 1991 Ayora-Diaz and I were invited by three brothers who keep a common flock to come to the *tosatura* of their animals. The three brothers had over 400 sheep, the largest flock of sheep in the village, and theirs was going to be, as every year, the largest *tosatura* feast of the season. The three families had invited 80 people from among shepherding and non-shepherding families. Some of the young people invited were members of the *crìcche* of the sons and daughters of the three brothers, some of whom attend university in Cagliari. Other guests were the relatives of the three families who lived in other parts of the island.

The *tosatura* began with a breakfast banquet which took place at 9:00 a.m. *Prosciutto*, olives, soft *moddisosu* bread, *pecorino* cheese, *pistoccu* bread, beer, wine and coffee were served. After breakfast four groups of people formed as many working groups. Most of the older women busied themselves washing the vegetables, setting the table for the noon banquet, and cutting the meat of five sheep into several large pieces. A group that oscillated between five and eight older men, most of them retired, peeled long branches in order to

do not charge much and the main reason why I work with so many other women on the *pianura* is because most of those who come looking for me are either my relatives or good friends of mine."

She is a hard working woman. She goes from one terrace to another, and then works in the *pianura* gardens and orchards most days of the spring and summer, and she is still able to carry on her housework, including the baking of *pistoccu* bread. She is very good with the hoe and highly experienced in the use of fertilisers, insecticides and herbicides. Stela also works for free when she is part of a regular work party. With our landlady, who aspires to be a good *massaia* in spite of being younger than most *massaia* women, Stela regularly teamed up in order to work in the *vigne*. The two of them 'medicated' and cleaned their vineyards together on many occasions while Ayora-Diaz and I lived in Telemula. They also kept a steady stream of presents and lending of work-implements between them.

During the harvest Stela charged everyone else except for our landlady the regular 60,000 Lire rate per day of *vendemmia* work, which was also paid to other people who participated in several *vendemmie*. Also, in at least one case a woman paid her *comare* the regular rate, although the *comare* reserved her right to call on the woman who owned the vineyard for the harvesting of her own (that is, the *comare*'s) *vigna*. The young people (both those who had been paid for their work and the children of the owners of the vineyards) explained the *vendemmia* work payment as a wage, which they told us was competitive with the wages being paid around Ogliastra for the same type of work. Understating the commoditization of labour, the owners of the vineyards explained to us that this was a way to reward some of the helpers because they were unemployed and they deserved some incentives to make them feel better. They said this was a way to show these people that they cared about them and took their plight into

consideration.

The 'token of appreciation' explanation still does not explain why Stela or the *comare* were being paid, since they are not exactly 'unemployed', and I tended to agree with the young people who saw the payment as a wage. I believe that the older people were trying to place money and wages within the realm of the gift economy to maintain the sense of equality and contribute to the building of a sense of community within the village. The younger people, instead, were explaining the payments as wages. For them the fact that money changed hands was a commercial transaction, thus attempting to cancel the obligations they would have contracted if the arrangements were cast in the idiom of the gift. Equality in this case would be maintained through the opposite strategy; that is, by depersonalising exchange and considering the transaction closed at the satisfaction of the two parties.

As with the work of pastoralism, agricultural work is marked by the organisation of large banquets after the *vendemmia* and the harvest of olives, but, as in shepherding too, not all agricultural activities that are undertaken by teams are rewarded in this way. The *vendemmia* usually involves the work of the members of the family and of the families of one's siblings, who are expected to work because they have a moral obligation to their parents or relatives, as well as the work of people recruited by paying current rates, all of whom are then invited to participate in a feast at the house of the vineyard's owners.

Shepherds and their wives will regularly call on non-shepherds (often women) to help harvest grapes. In all cases, at the end of the harvest and the *macina* [the milling of the grapes] there is a banquet of *carne arrosto* similar to that of the *tosatura* in which both the unpaid and paid helpers participate. The payment of hourly rates was always explained to us as giving the workers a token of appreciation when they

were in need for money. The consensus among the older people seemed to be that if they were not badly in need of money, those paid helpers would not have taken the payment. By coming to work in the *vendemmia* they were doing a favour to the owners of the *vigna* and the payment was only a way to acknowledge their help.

The fact that the older women try to call first upon their relatives or good friends gives us a clue that they do not want the *vendemmia* to be seen by anyone as a commercial venture. They still manage money within the principles of the gift economy: they are not *paying for labour*, they are *being generous with someone who has shown generosity to them*. Most families in Telemula have a vineyard or have to help in the *vendemmia* of the wife or the husband's parents (or in both). Usually the women will have to pay only one or two of the people helping them harvest the grapes and subsequently to mill them.

Most young women who have inherited vineyards do not work on them and instead chose to make their husbands responsible for the care of the vines and the making of wine. The result is that, since the wives of young shepherds and the other young women in their *crìcche* are increasingly reluctant to help in agriculture, the tending of vineyards is becoming increasingly commoditized, including the ways in which help is recruited and the ways in which payment for help is interpreted as wages. Women have been for thirty years (since the abandoning of the *biddazzone* system in 1962-3) the main source of agricultural labour in Telemula, and their current withdrawal from the fields is producing a shortage in the available labour for the tending of the fields.

b. The forming of a household

As explained in the previous chapter, an important event for most men in rural Sardinia is the building of their own houses. While in Telemula many of the new apartments are

built on top of older ones, banquets to celebrate different stages of construction take place all the same. The difference is that if the apartments are being built on top of other ones, instead of celebrating the *buttare il tetto della cantina* and *buttare il solaio* they celebrate the beginning of the new house and the *colaudo* (the end of the construction). While we lived in Telemula there were two houses being constructed, the owners of which did not organise banquets at the beginning of the works. This made many villagers suspicious. They decided that the owners must be *istranzoso* (strangers) until it was discovered that the owners were people who had emigrated to the coast.

The construction of the two houses became the matter of much debate, since they were on the *corso* (the main street). Some concluded that by refusing to engage in the accustomed celebrations these people were claiming superiority over the rest of the villagers. The fact that these people had recruited a construction company from Bardia instead of giving work to the locals was also seen as a lack of appreciation for the villagers.

At least two young women commented on the beauty of the houses. They expressed their opinion that local *muratori* would not have been able to do as good a job and found the hiring of 'foreign' construction workers justified. Many of the locals, however, and especially the young men of the village who could have worked as *muratori* or *manovali* were irritated, and they expressed their opinion that the people who would come to live in the new houses would not be welcomed.

It turned out that one of the owners of the two houses was one of the rich men of the village. He owns a hotel, and he and his family have moved to the coast, where they have

businesses and give work to several Telemulesi.[11] What had started with the locals noticing the lack of an initial banquet turned into discussions that only fed into the usual factionalist separation that characterises social life in Telemula. The construction workers from the two different factions made up their minds in support or against the new construction. While those people of the faction opposite to that of the hotel owner showed their disagreement in terms of the gift economy (that is, casting doubts on the generosity of the owner because he did not employ local people), the faction that backs up this entrepreneur expressed their agreement with the way in which things had been handled by saying that even if he had not hired villagers to construct his house, he and his family hire Telemulesi in other occasions.

One or more major work parties are also necessary for the celebration of marriages in Telemula. These parties usually include the helpers for the bride's and those for the groom's family. In some occasions, two independent work parties may be necessary because the couple (or their parents) may chose to have two separate wedding celebrations. In September of 1991 Ayora-Diaz and I were invited to participate in two weddings where the grooms were shepherds. In both cases there

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[11] This man's family has one of the largest costal supermarkets and also a series of small industrial shops where Telemulesi are employed. A woman in her twenties who was employed by this family in a shirt factory told us that many of the women who apply to work there are dismissed after a "try-out" period without ever being paid. Also, the pace of the work set by the owners in terms of shirts per hour is, according to our friend, impossible to keep, and the women are regularly penalised by having their wages cut at the end of the month. While we stayed on the island no woman had protested because many of them are relatives or family friends of the employer, and their recourse was to quit after a few months, even at the cost of remaining fully unemployed. In other words, if it is true that this family employs Telemulesi, it is also true that the villagers are exploited as much as possible for the lowest possible wages, beyond local reasonable work-salary standards.

were two receptions before the wedding, which in rural Sardinia are called *addio al celibato* [end of bachelorhood] parties. In one case the bride was not from Telemula, but in the other case we were told that the parties were organised in the 'traditional' way. That is, the bride and the groom hosted separate pre-wedding and then wedding celebrations and at the end of the dinner banquet the groom and his friends went to the bride's party for the *invito* (sweets and coffee). The following description recounts the wedding that took place between two local young people.

In September of 1991 a goatherd and his girlfriend invited Ayora-Diaz and me to be involved in their wedding's preparations and feasts. This man, who was in his early thirties, was marrying a twenty six year old *casalinga* woman. The goatherd was one of our "milking teachers" since he had been teaching Ayora-Diaz and me to milk goats. We had also done a transhumance with him, and we belonged to his brother's *crìcca*. Because of these circumstances, although we were friends of both families we were considered closer to the family of the groom than to that of the bride, and were considered guests of the groom during the wedding celebrations. However, because we thought that the two celebrations could be different from each other, we divided our time between the groom's and the bride's parties, taking notes and pictures at both places.

The wedding celebrations started two days before the actual marriage ceremony. In Telemula the usual practice is that two days before the church ceremony the *corredo* party takes place. This is organised and conducted mostly by women who are relatives and friends of the bride. For this particular wedding the *corredo* party started in the afternoon of the 12th of September. Ayora-Diaz and I arrived at the house of the bride at 15:00 hs. and we found that about twenty women were already there. We were invited to sit down in the dining room and have *bianchini* [meringues], *sospiri* [marzipan

sweets] *amaretti* [almond biscuits] and bitter drinks which were served by the bride, her sisters and her mother. There were mostly women and only four men who were the husbands of the women who had come *a vedere il corredo* [to see the trousseau]. The bride told Ayora-Diaz that we were also invited to see it.

Upstairs, on the second floor there were linens, mats, clothes, towels, rugs, embroidered and crocheted little mats and stuffed animals on chairs, beds and other pieces of furniture, in four of the rooms of the house. Going back and forth on the hallway the mother and the father of the bride offered the guests another *invito* [sweets and drinks] and coffee. Ayora-Diaz and I were taken from room to room by the bride for us to admire the large *corredo*. At 16:00 hs. all the women who had come began to pick up all the items of the *corredo* to transport them to their cars. Nine cars were loaded with the baskets, suitcases and boxes in which the *trousseau* was stuffed, and Ayora-Diaz and I ran to the house of the groom, as the women drove around the village beeping constantly. The female friends of the bride accepted their husbands' help in loading the cars with the *corredo* items. The bride stayed at the parental house while her female relatives and friends went to the new apartment where the couple were going to live.

At the groom's house male and female friends of the groom had been working since the night before. Another *invito* had been prepared, with sweets, bitter drinks, soft drinks, beer, white wine and bitter liqueurs. The men had been in charge of renting and transporting refrigerators and stuffing them with beer and *grappa*. The women had prepared trays of sweets and glassware for the *invito* that was to take place. The *corredo* of the groom had already been brought into the new house by his female relatives and the *corredo* festivities were the first chance for the relatives and friends of both *sposi* [bride and groom] to look at the house, admire the furniture

and be guests in the new residence. While the bride's *corredo* party takes place the groom is supposed to be absent, working at setting up the place for the next days' banquets where he will host his friends.

The women who had brought the *corredo* put all the items in their appropriate places around the house. After the *corredo* had been all *sistemato* [arranged], the relatives of the groom offered the women an *invito*. For this all the women who had brought the *corredo* sat on chairs in one of the rooms and it was the turn of the female relatives of the groom to host the relatives and friends of the bride.[12] First sweets were offered, with bitter non-alcoholic drinks, and then trays were passed around with soft drinks, white wine and liqueurs. After everyone had eaten and drunk, the hosts distributed little bags containing sweets to the bride's party of women friends and relatives. After this final gift, the women who had brought the *corredo* left.[13]

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[12] Apparently this is supposed to be a women-only group, but some of the groom's relatives offering the *invito* were men in their twenties.

[13] The groom and his friends had been working outside, since the banquets of the groom's party were going to take place next door, on the second and third floors of a building under construction. When the women who had come from the bride's parent's house came, all the women who had been helping the groom had come into the house, to take part in the excitement of the *sistemazione del corredo* [the trousseau's arrangement around the house]. As soon as the last woman from the bride's party left, the groom and his male friends who were around went inside the house and began to open all the drawers, inspect the clothes, admire the carpets and the bed covers, look into the closet in the bathroom and in general admire or criticise what had been brought and the way in which it had been arrayed by the women. They were offered sweets and drinks as well, although they had been inspecting things as if they were not supposed to. I asked if the groom's male friends were supposed to be there and they said that they were not, but they do it every time. After having inspected the *corredo* they all went back to work.

Next day the groom and the bride, along with their relatives and friends, worked during most of the day. The party of the relatives and close friends of the groom, to which we were understood to belong, divided itself into two groups. One of these groups was in charge of the *macellazione* [butchering] of the animals for the groom's feast. Another group stayed at the new house and the two terraces where the party was going to be held. For the banquets of the groom one bull and six goats were butchered, while for the party of the bride two bulls and three goats were being killed that day. Since it was known that I always kept note pad and pen in my pocket, I was put in charge of registering how many kilograms of meat would be handed over to the butcher for storage.

At the house the sweets, the fruits, the beer, the wine and all the other items to be consumed during the three banquets were being prepared by two groups of people: one working in the basement and another one in the kitchen. While those people in the basement filled bottles with wine, sliced the *prosciutto* and stringed animal intestines into long braids, people in the kitchen (mostly women) ground meat and cheese, prepared the sauce for pasta, and cleaned vegetables. Two additional kitchens were set up: one for boiling the mutton and another one for the preparation of the meals during the banquets. A group of friends of the groom was in charge of setting up a canvas roof under which the meat was going to be roasted for the wedding banquet.

In all there were four banquets at the groom's party quarters: one at noon, after the *macellazione*, one that evening for the celebration of the *addio al celibato*, another at pranzo after the wedding, and finally another at dinner time, on the same day of the wedding. Between 20 and 25 men and women were involved in cooking and preparing the meals, and at least 10 people helped clean up after the celebrations. Male and female relatives and neighbours of the groom worked day and night for four days. The closer relatives of the

groom (his brother, his sister's daughter and two sons and his paternal and maternal cousins) were in charge of serving the food at the banquets. There were in all about 250 people who attended one or more of these banquets in the groom's house, and about the same number of people attended the bride's party feasts.[14] During the first dinner banquet, that is the *addio al celibato* one, we had the innards of the animals that had been butchered for the groom's parties, and the day of the wedding we had the meat for dinner.

A chart of the people who helped to prepare the groom's celebration is shown on p. 28. On the day of the wedding most of these people said that they were relatives of the groom. I asked some of them why before this day they had told me that they were not related to him, and they said that they were more or less distant relatives, and that it is on occasions like this that one has to acknowledge whose relative one is. Besides, they were all friends of the groom and that was why they had come to help him. I asked them if they would ask the groom to help them when they got married. One of the men working with the groom told me that that was not a good question, because maybe he will never get married. Another man said that he would ask all of his friends but he does not know if this particular shepherd would be in a position to volunteer his work when he (the helper) marries.

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[14] Because we were close friends of the groom, Ayora-Diaz and I were among the small group that accompanied him to the bride's banquet immediately after the church ceremony.

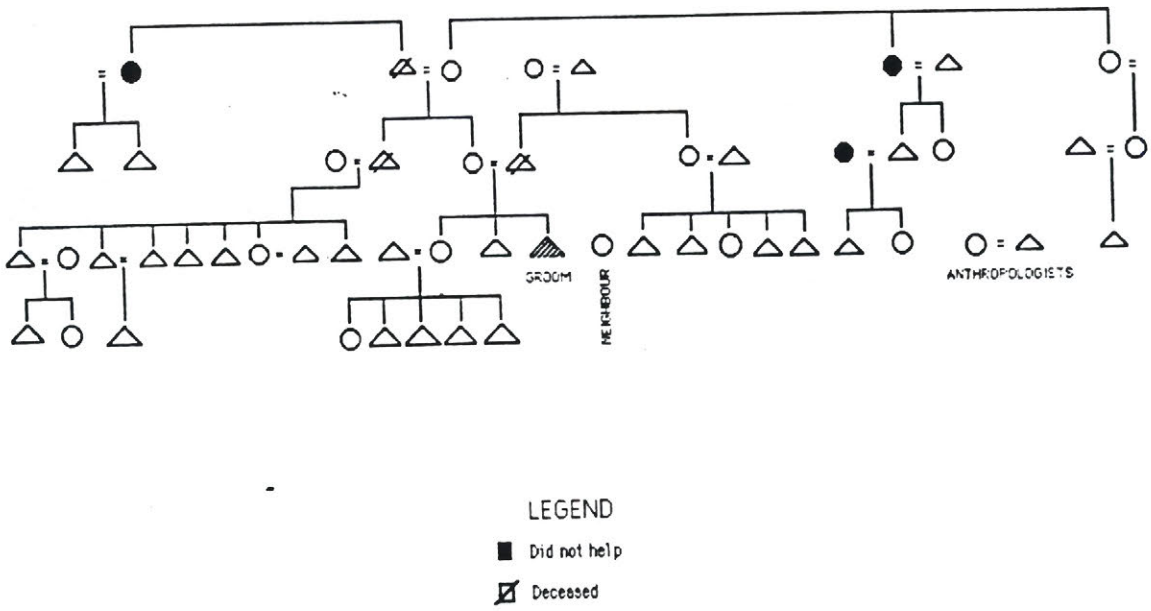


Chart 8.1. **The Work Party for the Wedding of a Telemulesi Shepherd, in 1991.**

One of the women said that she will definitely ask the groom to help in her party when she marries, because she is the groom's niece (she is the groom's sister's daughter) and he would have to participate in her wedding's preparations and festivities.

It is interesting to note that at least two of the people in the groom's party do not expect him to work for their own weddings, and that most of the people helping in this particular occasion claimed to be relatives of the groom. Nobody in the groom's party was paid for her or his help, except for the butcher who brought his refrigerated truck to weigh and then take to storage the meat that was going to be consumed. The professional photographer who was called on the day of the church ceremony is a personal friend of the groom, and he gave the couple a discount on the wedding pictures. Help from the groom's friends and kin was given apparently for free, and not in exchange for some particular return in the future.

During this wedding the bride and the groom received expensive gifts such as a gas stove, a colour television, a videotape player and recorder, money, flower vases, alarm clocks, electric irons, towels, cook books, and other commodities purchased by their friends and relatives. They also received gifts in food such as *pistoccu* bread packages, entire *prosciutto* hams, dozens of kilograms of meat, olive pickles, several containers of home-made wine, and sacks of potatoes. Furthermore, on the days immediately following the wedding, all the people in the village who had not been invited (including those people from the opposite faction) came or sent someone to the house of the bride's parents with a gift for the newly married couple. Many of these gifts were small items bought in stores (things such as a scale for the bathroom, a flower vase, a set of towels, a set of pyrex containers and a plastic curtain for the shower) or gifts of food (especially packages of *pistoccu* bread and boxes of

pasta).

On the day of the wedding the bride went around the tables of her guests and people pinned money on her dress. The general consensus in the village was that everybody had contributed to provide the couple a good start. Money, commodities and labour were given away as gifts, and the way in which the couple would have to pay back was not implied in the type of help or gifts they had received. It is generally accepted by most people in Telemula that commodities and subsistence items should both given away during weddings, as gifts. In Telemula weddings are particular instances where money, labour and commodities are completely subsumed into the logic of the gift.

Although a selected group of 200 to 300 people were invited to the three major banquets on each side (the *addio al celibato* dinner and the *pranzo* and dinner banquets after the wedding), after dinner, many single men and women who had not been invited joined the party, and they were offered wine and sweets. Some women sat in groups talking. Mixed groups of men and women played cards, while groups of men sang *a tenores* songs, played *morra* [a type of handgame] or talked about the wedding.[15]

In Telemula, during weddings, the solidarity of one's *crìcca* and the loyalty of one's friends is tested, as helping the bride or the groom implies committing oneself to four days of intense work. During these days the friends have to help the groom's or the bride's family beginning at the break of day, and then participate in the celebrations until the small hours of the next morning. During the last night of the celebrations, that is after the dinner that takes place during the day of the wedding at the church, the *sposi* give away

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[15] At the end of the other shepherd's *addio al celibato* party an accordionist was brought in for all of us to dance to live Sardinian music.

bomboniere, which are little packages of sugar-coated almonds wrapped in gauze. After the wedding one's *crìcca* and "relatives" (who are only virtual relatives for most of the year) have to help the two families to clean up, as the *sposi* (newlyweds) have to stay at home for at least two weeks to receive practically everyone from the same faction and their friends from other villages, towns and cities.

In Telemula weddings are particular instances where the sense of community is re-created to an extent only strived for during the major village festivals. The fact that all families from both factions send presents to the newlyweds, and that single men and women come to celebrate the wedding, whether or not they were formally invited, re-creates a sense of community that encompasses practically the whole village in one way or another: the whole village cooperates to give the newlyweds a good start. Even those people with whom the couple has little or no social exchange at all during most of the year (and possibly most of their lives) because of the factionalist divide express their support to the couple through their gifts and accept the hospitality of the bride's family, having sweets and a bitter drink or liqueur when they take their present to the bride's house.

The participation of young men in the *morra* game, the *a fro* songs and the dance give also a sense of continuity with the past, with things and usages that are *Sardinian* and *Telemulesi*. In this way the participants in wedding celebrations are related not only to the rest of the village, where all families mark the event in one or another way, but also to the past generations of Telemulesi, since the protocol of the celebrations is followed according to established procedures that were either invented or imported into the village by the forefathers of the current inhabitants of Telemula. During the wedding celebrations our friends often pointed out differences between *i nostri costumi* [our customs] and those of nearby villages and towns: in a coastal village

the groom goes to get the bride, while in Telemula the groom and the bride meet at the church. In a nearby town the groom and the bride hold the *addio al celibato* party together, while in Telemula they each hold a party separately. In other places, it was especially pointed out to us, only the people who were invited to the wedding bring presents for the newlyweds, but in Telemula, where people still care for each other, every family gives them a present.

The re-creation of intra-village solidarity is experienced through the giving and receiving of presents, which involve even those people with whom the couple never socialize. The *sposi* and everyone else in the village know that this way of showing goodwill is underway as of the day after the wedding, although the social distance from the couple is marked through the fact that the presents are not directly delivered to the newlyweds but instead to the parents of the bride. During weddings the re-creation of community is at its strongest in Telemula, and the link between "tradition" and the present is validated as much as it is rejected through modifications introduced in the pace and details of the celebrations.[16]

c. The maintenance of the household

The maintenance of the household usually includes a series of intra- and inter-family arrangements for the lending

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[16] Probably one of the major changes that have been introduced to the celebrations of weddings during the last decade has been induced by the perceived "need" to videotape one's wedding. The pace of the events has to be adjusted to the technical capacities of the filming process, and technical problems in the filming often cause delays and repetitions in the events that are supposed to take place during wedding day. Unlike in the Mexican State where I was born (like in Bardia), where there are "wedding rehearsals" so as to adjust the pace of the wedding to the videotaping procedures, in Telemula there are no such rehearsals and the wedding's rites are slowed down, repeated or delayed depending on the instructions of the camera operator.

of labour, help to one's neighbours on particular occasions such as after a woman gives birth and at funerals. Here, however, I will only describe in detail the baking of *pistoccu* bread, which is one of the most repetitive tasks taking place during the year, and about the only activity in which people actually create fixed commitments of labour exchange in Telemula.

i. Pistoccu bread baking

In August of 1991 I went to a *pistoccu* baking party to which the mother of the wife of a goatherd had invited me. I arrived at the lady's house at 3:55 in the morning, as agreed. She invited me to have coffee with her and then we went to the house where the *pistoccu* baking party would take place. There the woman whose turn it was to be helped had already been working for an hour, *impastando* [making the dough out of flower, yeast and water] with thirty kilograms of flour. At 4:30 the whole group was already there and we all began the process of *cariae* [kneading].[17]

After the *cariae* procedure the dough was cut by the oldest woman into small pieces, which all of us had to make into round ones, and then put within plastic containers on pieces of cloth, folding the cloth so as to form layers of dough round pieces.[18] When all the dough had been prepared in this way we all stood around a large work table. In the *pistoccu* baking hierarchy the least experienced or least able

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[17] During most *pistoccu* baking parties the kneading of the dough is done with a machine through which all the dough, cut into portions, has to be passed at least 30 times. For this particular baking group, doing it by hand was the regular procedure.

[18] The cloths used during *pistoccu* baking are long pieces of a strong cotton fabric which are especially designed so as to be used during the baking procedures. Many of them have been handed down from mothers to daughters for two or more generations.

worker starts the procedure of forming large flat pieces of dough with her hands, which grow progressively thinner as they are passed from one worker to the next. After the first or the second worker, all the others use wooden rods to extend the bread. The last person to work on the flattening of the dough is the most experienced worker, who directs the entire process each time the group meets.[19]

There are usually two different batches of dough to be made into bread. In Telemula the wood ovens are raised relatively high above the floor, so that the women in charge of putting the bread to bake have to do this standing up. In each group there is an oven expert. She is in charge of the oven each time the group meets. After cutting the first batch of dough, one of the women goes to light the oven so as to have it ready for the first batch of flattened dough. When this first batch is ready the group of women divides and at least two (or if the group is relatively large, up to four) women go to work at the oven. The oven expert, usually the physically strongest woman in the group, is in charge of putting the dough into and taking the bread out of the oven. For this she uses a wooden or iron instrument which is a long rod which has a flat round piece of metal or wood at one end.[20]

Pistoccu bread is baked twice, in two different steps. When the bread rises so as to form a balloon inside the oven

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[19] It is usually women who are in charge of all the steps of breadmaking in the Ogliastra. I have been at a *carasau* [a very similar type of flat bread] baking party in Nuoro city where a man also participated with obvious expertise, but in the Ogliastra and the Baronia it is rare for men to participate unless the women from their house have "used up" their right to call on the other women for the next three months and they still need to make more bread. Even in these cases women will try to recruit their female relatives before asking one or more men to help them bake.

[20] The instrument for putting the bread in and out of the oven looks more or less like a paddle.

the woman in charge of the oven takes it out and puts it on a table, where one to three women work. There the women will separate the bread into two sheets before it can cool off, will brush flour and ashes off the two sheets and will collect the thin bread sheets on a flat basket. One of the women will be in charge of putting a round flat piece of wood on top of the pile and press it down pushing downwards.[21] On this particular occasion I was sent down to work with the oven group, where two women separated the bread sheets and I was in charge of brushing them. Once all the dough has been baked for the first time the women bake and then brush again these thin sheets that resulted from the first baking, thus making them become crispy. Once all the *pistoccu* had been baked twice the women proceeded to bake "the payment" bread: two pieces of bread for each woman who helped. This type of bread is smaller than the *pistoccu* sheets (about the size of a small pizza in Canada), it is not cut into sheets and it is baked only once. Subsequently the women make and bake sweets, usually *sebadasa* which are cheese-filled patties, and *seadasa*, which are ricotta-filled little tarts.[22] At 14:00 hs. all the baking was done and we all went home after lunch.

In Telemula the group of *pistoccu* bakers usually consists of at least five women who work together each time the group meets. In addition, the woman whose family's bread is being baked recruits help from her daughters, her sisters and in-laws. These younger women can later ask for help at some other point, but if the women being recruited are younger than 40 chances are good they will never have to bake large quantities of *pistoccu* for their own families. These women usually buy bread at the supermarket and many of them do not

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[21] In Telemula, if a man helps in the baking of *pistoccu*, he will be given this particular task.

[22] The names of these sweets changes from village to village and from one area to another.

even own the necessary oven and tools for baking *pistoccu* at home. On the few occasions in which I have seen men help bake *pistoccu*, they belonged to the family who was to keep the bread, and they were there because there was a shortage of women. Only young men (under 30), usually university students, will work kneading the dough or helping to extend it into sheets.[23]

The core of each group has a commitment of reciprocal aid that has to be kept each time. If one of the women in the group is ill the baking will be postponed until she recovers. On one occasion a baking party was postponed twice, the first time because one of the women had to travel to Nuoro city to obtain a document, and the other time because another woman was sick. Women like me who help and will never request help in a *pistoccu* baking in turn may be given presents of *ricotta*, sweets, fruits and vegetables by the other women. In my case, since my husband and I were foreigners, we were constantly invited for *pranzo* and for dinner, besides being hosted at the many feasts that the shepherding families celebrate. Although my participation in baking parties was acknowledged by giving me *la paga* bread, I never made it beyond the second initial position around the dough working table, and the bread I brushed always had to be re-brushed by someone more expert at that task.

While the women with whom I baked never 'paid' me more than the two accustomed pieces of bread they all took great care in explaining to me what was being done, and what were the exact procedures that had to be followed. The other women would always ask me if the one who had invited me had treated me well in the morning, or if she had not been hospitable to me. During the occasion described above the women asked me

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[23] I found interesting that while young women are refusing to work making their own *pistoccu*, several young men are now being attracted to the process and they are willing to work with their mothers.

about the shepherd's mother in law: "Did she treat you well? Was she nice to you at all?" And to this the old lady said outloud: "Tell them, tell them that I let you into my house, that I offered you coffee and gave you an apron. Tell them how kind I was to you this morning." These women were not concerned with "paying" me, but with maintaining a bond of friendship or at least of goodwill with me, as they do with their co-villagers.

Since I was not part of the reciprocity circle of mutual help in baking, generalised reciprocity applied to me: if I ever needed help someone would surely help me, and it would not have to be these women I was baking with. It could be anybody, and the fact that someone helped me (such as when my landlady-roommate and the wife of a shepherd took care of me once when I was sick) was generally held as if everyone was taking care of me. When Ayora-Diaz arrived in the village the shepherds and their wives made a point of telling him that they had taken care of me, had fed me well and taught me many things.

In Telemula the baking of *pistoccu* is the only type of activity where the exchange of labour is strictly balanced. Although two or more women may collaborate during the harvesting of fruits or olives, these other activities do not take on the exacting reciprocity of the baking circuits. Rather, after having worked together in the field, women may give each other money or gifts in food, produce or *ricotta* cheese in recognition of the help received. The maintenance of the bread circuit is also seen as a sign of friendship between the women who belong to them, but the strictly reciprocal character of bread baking parties may pose problems for some of the women involved.

For example, once Ayora-Diaz and I helped a woman and her 26 year old son to bake *pistoccu* bread that she wanted to send to one of her sons attending university. This student had asked his mother to send him *pane integrale* [whole wheat

bread] because he wanted to raise his fibre intake. The mother had already baked with her group for the three month provision of her family, and she could not ask the other women to come to bake on her behalf again until all the other women had their turn at taking home the bread for their own families. This woman's options were to either bake alone or ask people outside her baking group to help her. She accepted help from her youngest son and from the two anthropologists. Ayora-Diaz's and my help were not to be rewarded in a specific way, but taken within the larger, strong friendship that the two of us had with this particular shepherding family.

d. Cooperation during socializing activities

Here I am concerned with the forms of collaboration that take place during events that do not have any immediate work significance and are seen as purely socializing activities. Besides the rounds at the bars, these include the organisation of *spuntini* (countryside banquets) which may celebrate particular occasions (someone's new job or birthday) or specific days of the year such as *pasqueta* [Easter monday] or *ferragosto* [mid august] day.

Spuntini that are not related to work are organised in two main ways: either by nuclear families, during *ferragosto* and *pasqueta* days, or by the *crìcche* during the spring and the summer. *Ferragosto* (on August 15) and *pasqueta* are family holidays, and the family usually goes out to the countryside, where the siblings and parents eat together under the shade of *leccio* trees. In the case of shepherding families, the family spends most of the day at the *ovile*, where the meat of a sheep and a *porcetto* [suckling pig] are roasted out in the open, and the members of the family who do not herd animals go for walks around the hills and creeks.

Both during *pasqueta* and *ferragosto* families carry along sweets, wine and *acquavite* [brandy] to be offered to anyone that comes to visit them after noon. After the *pranzo* banquet

people go again for walks in the countryside, visiting those people who are having their *spuntino* nearby. Today many families have fixed spots were they hold their *spuntino* each year, and their friends from the same and other villages come to visit them after *pranzo*. During one of the parties that Ayora-Diaz and I attended for the *pasqueta* of 1991 the visitors who came to visit the shepherding family were from Telemula and from three of the villages surrounding it. At the end of the day the shepherd and his wife returned to the village for dinner, while their children (one of them my age and the other one in his mid thirties), Ayora-Diaz and I went to someone's house in a neighbouring village, where we were offered yet another banquet for dinner, this time inside because in highland villages it is never very warm outside at night. This second party was hosted by five young couples (all under 40) and their children, plus people whom these couples had visited around the area after the midday *spuntini*.

Ferragosto is a family *festa*, like *pasqueta*, and again it has a very communitarian component as families visit with each other after the noon meal. We were told that this is a relatively new holiday and not all families celebrate it. However, many shepherding families have established this as a large banquet appointment for their families and friends because it gives the shepherds an occasion to have a feast hosted by their families at the shepherds' worksites.

On August 15 of 1991 Ayora-Diaz and I had been invited to several *spuntini* organised mainly by shepherding families who had also invited other families to eat with them. However, we were also organising our own *spuntino* with the members of our *crìcca*, with whom we had planned the banquet for two weeks. On *ferragosto* day, all the women from our *crìcca* except for me were absent during our group's banquet, because most of them are shepherds' daughters and they had to help their own families to organise their parties. Most young shepherds were also absent, for the same reason, except for two of them whose

families do not celebrate the holiday together.

On the morning of that day a group of fourteen people, including civil servants, industrial workers, a teenager whose father owns one of the local bars, two peddlers of car oils, two shepherds and the two anthropologists went to a clearing of the Telemula forest, some 100 metres above the village's last house on the mountain's side. We made a fire with logs brought from the village, collected water from a nearby spring in a big cauldron and then put the water to boil. Six of us sat on rocks to clean six kilograms of *cozze* [mussels] with our shepherds' knives. This took us about one hour. Then the man who had brought the *cozze* boiled them in the cauldron. In the meantime two men brought planks, cement blocks and plastic boxes used for the carrying of bottles and fruit picking, and with them made two large tables, which they covered with white paper in the guise of tablecloths, and set up four sets of benches on which to sit at the tables.

The shepherds had brought a suckling pig, cheese and prosciutto, and the two industrial workers who are employed on the coast had been given the task of bringing seafood, including the *cozze* and several bags of *butarga* [fish eggs]. Ayora-Diaz and myself had brought some beer and three bottles of white wine, but most of the beer had been purchased collectively and then stored in the refrigerators of one of the local bars.

In order to keep the beer cool we put it in a large pot which we placed under the stream. Two men were in charge of roasting the suckling pig and the meat that the shepherds had brought, and the shepherds busied themselves slicing the *prosciutto* legs they had brought and arranging the different types of cheeses on plates. One of the car oil peddlers drove between the village and the picnic site to bring whatever was found missing, such as a cork screw, some parsley, olive oil and additional limes. Another man was in charge of finding out who else was having another *spuntino* nearby or whether

those people whom we knew would be coming to the same area had arrived yet. Although I did not understand the exact reason for this latter activity, it turned out that this was necessary for the planning of the activities to be undertaken before and after the banquet. It had to be established if we would be visited before or after the meal by our banquet neighbours and when we would go around visiting other people ourselves.

Before the banquet some of the people having their *spuntini* close to ours came to have the *apperitivo* (bitter drinks which none of us had remembered to bring) and ended up tasting the *grappa* that someone in our group had brought and the white wine which Ayora-Diaz and I had purchased.[20] We had the *cozze* and the *butarga*, along with the prosciutto for entrées, and then we had roasted lamb and suckling pig meats. Then came the cheese, and oranges which one of the oil dealers had brought. After our banquet we were expected to go to have coffee and then a *digestivo* [the liqueur that is drunk after coffee] with our neighbours. At about 2:00 p.m. we had finished eating and we were invited by one of the neighbouring groups, two young couples and their pre-school children and the brother of one of the adults, to have a taste of a wine that had been brought from Corsica. Ayora-Diaz and I excused ourselves after this first visit to another group, saying that we were expected for coffee by several shepherding families. As we were leaving someone produced a deck of cards, other people arrived and the tables that had been set up for our banquet began to be occupied by groups of players, including several women.

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[20] In good Sardinian etiquette (that is, one verbally insults one's friends) we were informed that nobody liked our wine and that the local white wine is far superior than anything industrially produced, while everyone continued to drink it.

We attended only one more banquet party that day. There we had coffee and sweets in the company of two shepherding families who were having a common celebration, and their guests from different parts of the Ogliastra and mainland Italy. At the end of the day we were invited by the daughter of one of the shepherds to have something at one of the local bars along with her friends who had come from neighbouring villages. This bar meeting became an extension of her family's *spuntino*, because she insisted on paying for the first two rounds of drinks and sweets. However, afterwards some of the other men and women from our regular *crìcca* came to join us and after the people from other villages left, the rounds of drinks, ice cream and candy at the bar assumed their accustomed rhythm. Ayora-Diaz and I left the bar around 7:00 p.m. to prepare ourselves to go to Bardia next day. Some people from our *crìcca* stayed there, commenting on the banquets, the card scores and the incidents of the day. As we learned next day, most of the older participants in the *ferragosto* celebrations (that is, the parents of the members of our *crìcca*) had gone to bed early, after a very long day.

The *spuntino* which our *crìcca* organised for *ferragosto* is typical of these types of banquets in Telemula. They usually involve the participation of several small *crìcche* which become one larger group for major undertakings. In this particular instance the members of our regular *crìcca* only included one of the two shepherds present, and the two industrial workers. The other people in that day's party were often with us during large outings for *pizza* or *spuntini* banquets similar to that day's. During the summer the groups may include over 30 people or more. The *spuntini* thus organised often are very large banquets, especially if the feast does not take place on a day when shepherding families celebrate a particular holiday. Beer is about the only thing which has to be purchased collectively, as each participant will bring something to be eaten, home made *grappa*, or wine.

Other than taking care of not having too many of the same things being brought by different people, there are several things to prepare. It usually takes about two weeks to find an appropriate day when everyone in the group will be able to attend (some industrial and road maintenance workers have to take turns during weekends at the establishments where they work). Someone may be asked to bring something in particular because s/he lives or works in a particular place during part of the week. For example, a lawyer who works in Cagliari and comes to the village during weekends could be in charge of purchasing *butarga*, which is less expensive in the capital of Sardinia than elsewhere in the island, or someone who works on the coast may be asked to purchase fresh seafood, industrially-made wine, film for several cameras, or particular tapes of Italian or Sardinian music. Film was a major preoccupation during the organisation of the large *spuntini* in which we participated.

These banquets reaffirm the sense of equality and community among all the participants, who belong to the same political faction. Often, when I asked one of my young friends about someone else in the village, s/he would say "*è una brava persona. Le mangiate che ci siamo fatti ensieme!*" ["S/he is a good person. The banquets we have had together . . .!]. On the other hand, someone's refusal to participate in these common celebrations is perceived by young people as being *prepotente* [arrogant] and trying to claim superiority over other villagers.[21] Once at the bar, a young shepherd once said of another one:

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[21] The mother of a young woman had died recently at the time I arrived in Telemula. The young woman attended the *spuntini* of her *crìcca* during the summer, although she was obviously depressed. Several of her friends told me that the fact that she attended the bankets shows that she is a *brava persona* because she did not refuse the company of her friends when she might have wanted to be alone or with her closest kin.

> *Guarda quello lì. E' sempre con le bestie. E' molto bravo come pastore però non ha degli amici. Quando l'hai visto negli spuntini? Neppure al bar ci viene. Per forza c'e qualcosa che non va nel suo cervello* [Look at that guy over there. He is always with animals. He is a very good shepherd but has no friends. When have you seen him at *spuntini*? He does not even come to the bar. There must be something wrong with his brain].[22]

During *spuntino* parties items that were both purchased in stores and produced at home are lumped together into one large amount of supplies, and the fact that individual people bring their own contributions enhances the feeling of sharing that these feasts promote. It is interesting to note that while young people often complain about losing control over their marketable products through social obligations, they see other young people who do not participate in these *spuntini* as arrogant and selfish.

Unlike Bardia, where people from other villagers or cities are constantly invited to informal most large festive gatherings, for the *spuntini* organised in Telemula by the *crìcche* during the spring and the summer no special effort is made to invite people from other settlements. As in the example of the Easter *spuntino* I described above, these feasts celebrate the common belonging to the same group of friends in spite of the income and career differences of the participants.

e. Ceremonial events

There are three main village festivals in Telemula. They are said to honour three different saints: Sant'Efisio in May, Santa Marta La Piccola [Little Santa Marta] in August, Santa Marta at the beginning of September and San Michele on

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[22] The shepherd in question is very shy, but I have talked to him on several occasions, on the Supramonte, and he has always been perfectly articulate.

September 28. To this day, the feast of Santa Marta La Piccola is seen by the oldest generation (those over 50 years of age) as the festival of the bachelors. Apparently in the past only bachelors of both sexes were expected to dance during it, and many couples became engaged. Today the festival has become more important as people from neighbouring villages drive to Telemula to participate in the merriment and the dance.

The Sant'Efisio feast takes place at Sant'Efisio, one of the zones of the communal territory which borders with two other municipalities. The transportation of the Sant'Efisio statue and the masses celebrated during the three days that the *festa* lasts are sponsored by one person or family, known as the *obreri*. This festival was more important in the past, and Telemulesi have told us that one of its main functions was to remind three neighbouring municipalities what the limits of Telemula's territory are. This feast has never been widely attended by the shepherds because of two main reasons: The first reason is that it takes place during the time of the *tosature*. The second reason is that before the 1960s those families who participated in this festival (allegedly all except for the shepherds') camped for three days on the area. The shepherds could not afford to leave their animals unattended for so long (see Ayora-Diaz, forthcoming).

In August of 1991 the Festa di Santa Marta la Piccola took place between the 27th and the 29th, and it included the first *Sagra del Prosciutto* [prosciutto fair] to be organised in Telemula. As mentioned in Part I, Telemula is well known in Sardinia for the excellent quality of its *prosciutti*, which are commercially sold only at the small local hotel. For the celebration of this *festa* a committee was formed in advance to collect money around the village and find adequate entertainment, and another committee was formed by the local *pro-loco* [cultural association] to organise the prosciutto fair. The first committee, that is, the one in charge of

collecting money to pay for the cost of the public entertainment, received money not only from the families of Telemula but also from the local entrepreneurs and businesses who accepted to be among the commercial sponsors. A photographer and a grocer from a coastal village also paid to figure among the commercial sponsors of the *festa*.[23]

The day before the *festa* one of the members of the *pro-loco* committee, who had probably come to meet someone else, picked us up from the boat coming from Lazio and took us around to run some of the errands for the *festa*. He explained to us that the committee had been given a grant with which to cover the expenses of the prosciutto fair, and he was in charge of procuring a set of blown-up pictures showing scenes of pastoralism on the *Supramonte*. In the coastal town and back in the village we found that there were *manifesti* [posters] announcing Telemula's festival for the next three days. These advertised that music and entertainment would take place at night at the village's *piazza*.

Next day there were live *launeddas* [wooden flutes] and accordion dance music during the afternoon. Then a magician hypnotized several young men from the village and made them act out comic scenes. On the 28th, for the *sagra del prosciutto*, the *pro-loco* committee held an exhibit of prosciutti and local crafts and invited several politicians to give public discourses at the *piazza*. After the discourses our *crìcca* was called upon for help as the *pro-loco* committee had organised a *pranzo* banquet to honour the politicians in a facility under construction. At night we distributed plastic plates with slices of prosciutto and bread and glasses of red

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[23] To be a special sponsor, cited as one on the *manifesto*, one had to donate 200,000 Lire [about 200 Canadian dollars] or more to the fund for the festivities. Local families gave around 100,000 Lire each. Other than contributing to the *festa*'s fund, Ayora-Diaz and I participated only marginally in the organisation of the festival because our main *crìcca* was not involved and we had to travel to Rome for a few days.

wine to the visitors who had come to enjoy the festivities. Later on folk groups danced on a stage and after the dance shows were over the accordionist played music for all to participate in the dance. Next day there was dance music performed by the accordionist during most of the day, a track race, a mass, a lottery to which local entrepreneurs had donated prizes (including several animals donated by local shepherds), and a *tenores* group's performance.

This was by far the largest celebration undertaken collectively by all villagers in 1991. At night, during the three days of the *festa*, local people hosted their friends from other communities at the local bars, and all intra-village quarrels, including the factional split, were put aside for most of the duration of the festival. Although Ayora-Diaz and I were reluctantly allowed to participate as locals, our status as foreigners became highlighted during those days. We were expected not to pay for our drinks or for anyone else's, and when Ayora-Diaz paid for drinks for friends of ours of another village we were told that we had made the locals *fare brutta figura* because we are foreigners and it is the local people's duty to host everyone during the festival.

Also, there was some discussion as to whether or not our help first at serving food and drinks at the banquet for the politicians, and then at distributing plates of prosciutto and bread meant that other people from the village were not attending well the collective guests of the village. Apparently we had been asked to help so that we would not feel excluded from the activities of our friends, but they had expected that other locals would ask us to relax and enjoy the party instead of letting us work.

Other festivals that year were not as well attended and not as varied as the Santa Marta la Piccola one. The Santa Marta village festival, known as the *festa dei grandi* [the festival of grown-up people] seems to have been attended in the past by people from other villages whose territory

encompasses part of the *Supramonte* plateau. Today, however, it is loosing its regional importance and its value for the Telemulesi. This is so because the Santa Marta la Piccola is attended by people from neighbouring villages and by those Telemulesi and other Ogliastrini who live on mainland Italy or abroad and come back to Sardinia during the summer while the Santa Marta la Grande *festa* falls practically at the end of the regional *festa* circuit.

As pointed out to us by several villagers, the increased mobility of people due to the ownership of cars, and the fact that now Telemula families own tape recorders make it redundant for villages and towns to have many *feste* of their own. Local people can listen to their own musical tapes or travel to neighbouring *feste* during the whole summer instead of paying for the *pro-loco* to organise the local celebrations. After the Sant'Efisio and the Santa Marta la Piccola *feste* Telemulesi become somewhat reluctant to continue contributing to the village *feste* fund, especially because of the poor attendance of people from neighbouring villages and even from Telemula itself, and the high remuneration that live entertainers currently charge.[24] Nevertheless, during all festivals there was live entertainment such as accordion and *launeddas* music, plays in Sardinian or a *gara poetica*, which is a competition among two or more famous Sardinian poets who make impromptu verses on a theme decided by the organising committee.[25]

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[24] We were told that Benito Urgo, the most famous Sardinian stand-up comedian, charges ten million Lire per show, and a renowned Sardinian singer who used to come to Telemula before now charges three million Lire. The rock band that came to play for the Santa Marta la Grande *festa* charged two million Lire (about 2,000 Canadian dollars) for less than four hours of music.

[25] For a description of the Sardinian *gara poetica*, see Mathias 1974.

During all these *feste* most of the responsibility for the shows falls on an organising committee that may or not coincide with the *pro-loco* group. The organising committee is also in charge of coming to an agreement with the local priest on the times at which the mass and the processions accompanying the effigies of the saints will take place. It is important that the entertainment or other activities are scheduled so as not to coincide with the religious events. The Catholic ceremonies, however, are organised by the priests and by volunteers, outside the activities of the *pro-loco* or any other non-religious committee.

There is a fourth village festival, the *festa di San Michele*, which is celebrated on the 28th of September. In the past this used to be a major festival where the shepherds slaughtered and roasted one or more of their animals and distributed the meat around the village, and the women of shepherding families gave sweets and bread away. Today this has become a family celebration, and shepherding families have a *pranzo* in their homes where the menu consists of *culurgionese* (cheese stuffed ravioli characteristic of the Ogliastra), roasted mutton, home-made *pistoccu* and cheeses of different ages. At night there is live entertainment (accordion dance music in the afternoon and *tenores* [a kind of barbershop singing]. Again, in 1991 the live music was sponsored by the whole village through family donations to the festival's organisation committee.

Although many villagers do not participate directly in the organisation of the festivals, all families participate in one way or another in the celebrations by attending the live performances and hosting groups of visitors at the bars and sometimes even in their houses, for *pranzo* or dinner. Village festivals, especially the most attended ones, are important events where villagers present to themselves and to their visitors from other villagers their most accomplished fiction of a united community. During those festivals that take place

within the village a tract of the main street is closed to motorized traffic and a stage is built for the musicians and other performers. Through the general participation in the dance, the public shows, the buying of rounds at the bar for one's friends from the same and other villagers the Telemulesi reproduce the sense of equality and commonality not only within but also between the political factions, and with the visitors from other villages and towns. The *feste* are again an attempt to link the present with the past through the manipulation of nostalgia, which is evoked through the discursive equation of 'hospitality', 'generosity', 'traditional music' and 'traditional dance'. These practices are invested with the moral connotation of and communality assigned to gift giving and 'fair' exchange.

3. FORMAL COOPERATION[26]

In Telemula there have been several attempts at forming cooperatives, but until now they have not been very successful. The shepherding families have been close to entering the cooperative movement several times, and in 1991 and 1992 a few shepherds did belong to milk cooperatives affiliated to the cooperative dairy plants of the Barbagia. Today in Telemula there is the widespread conviction that Telemulesi will never manage to have a cooperative of their own and that the only way they can enter the cooperative movement is by joining already-established associations in other villages or towns. Even this latter possibility is seen

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[26] From the following description of the attempts of Telemulesi at forming cooperatives it will become clear that perhaps the main obstacle has been, as discussed in Part I, a lack of support from the bureaucracy and the political parties and trade unions to Telemulesi projects or concerns. In this section, however, what I want to highlight is the way in which the failed cooperatives have been re-interpreted by the locals within the frameworks of factionalism and the local understanding of the commodity and the gift economies.

as a rather remote option and the shepherds who in 1991 and 1992 belonged to the dairy cooperative were seen with much scepticism by the rest of the population, although they were admired for their 'modernity' and their will to cooperate among themselves. However, even among these shepherds there was the conviction that sooner or later problems would develop and the milk cooperative would disintegrate.

In 1992 there was a project to form a housing cooperative, which would be administrated by the *comune* during its initial stages. In Italy housing cooperatives are different from the Canadian ones where the members form a cooperative of tenants or owners who then take turns at different tasks such as gardening, cleaning and shovelling snow. In Italy, as in Peru (DeSoto 1989) housing cooperatives have the aim of supplying their members with houses or apartments of their own. In this case the housing cooperative would not be initiated by the villagers but rather by the authorities. In reality the "housing cooperative" would be no more than a low-income housing project, similar to the one already mentioned during the description of pastoralist production in Bardia, and those existing in other villages and towns throughout Sardinia.

The following description of the cooperative movement in Telemula illustrates the attempts at organising cooperatives that have taken place between the late 1960s and 1993 and the reasons why the cooperatives have failed each time. The shepherding families of the village have been implicated in these ventures sometimes because the cooperatives addressed the shepherds' working conditions and other times because the cooperatives were aimed at looking after generalised conditions or needs among the village's population.

a. The vineyard and olive grove cooperative and the hog raising cooperative projects

Bodemann (1979), who has done fieldwork in Telemula for nearly twenty years (he started fieldwork in the village in 1970 and I met him and his family in the village in 1990), tells of two cooperative projects that the 1968-70 municipal administration tried to develop (Bodemann 1979:285-6):

> ". . . Giulio [Mongili, in the pseudonym Bodemann accords him] attempted to encourage the formation of cooperatives in Telemula. He developed two such projects, both very imaginative and innovative. One plan, the *Cooperativa Biditzai*, called for the establishment of vineyards and olive groves on 157 hectares on land illegally occupied by the *Azienda Mereu* in the *pianura* (low plains). The second project, the *Cooperativa Sant'Antonio Abate*, was to exploit Telemula's fame for cured ham (*prosciutto*), and was to be turned into a large hog-raising, meat processing and gastronomic enterprise. What remained of the old oak forest on a slope overlooking the village was to become a grazing area for pigs --leaving the forest largely intact. This piece of land was to be fenced in, buildings were to be built for the processing of ham, and finally a restaurant, in the rustic style of a shepherds' *cuile* [*ovile*], with the magnificent panoramic view from Telemula to the coast, thirty to forty km away, was to attract tourists and customers to the area."

After being in the village for one month I wrote a short description of what I had learned about Telemula and the Telemulesi thus far, mentioning these two projects and the reasons I was given for their failure. I had been told that a politician had opposed their formation and that people had refused to work with each other because Telemulesi are individualistic. Friends of mine who could read English were given the manuscript, and they criticised my blind acceptance of what I had been told. They told me that this episode is well remembered in the village as one of the outcomes of the factionalist division of the village, and that I should be

cautious in accepting people's remarks.

The two versions as to why these two particular projects did not succeed in gaining general support, however, are not necessarily contradictory: such large undertakings would necessitate the joint effort of many families, and at the time the entire population of Telemula was of less than 1500 people, including children and the old. The factionalist divide implied that people could not come together peacefully and that the project would be boycotted by whichever faction did not propose it in the first place. Also, there was a political dimension in that the *sindaco* who proposed these cooperatives was ousted by the other faction, which opposed the projects.

Bodemann also points out that there were technical problems which would have caused several problems in the village if the hog raising cooperative had materialised. One would have been the danger of contamination to the major source of drinking water and another one the loss of the land where the hogs were to be grazed to the *usi civici* [communal rights of usufruct] activities that generally take place in the area. Thus, in the end, the hog-raising cooperative was opposed even by the *circolo culturale* group, who at the time supported the mayor. Thus, in fact the division implied that people could not come together and cooperate among themselves, but probably the village as a whole benefitted from not having to give up gathering activities and maintaining the purity of its water streams.

b. The Sant'Efisio restaurant and bar

A restaurant on the site where the annual *festa di Sant'Efisio* takes place was planned as a business venture to be managed by a local cooperative. The restaurant was built and now operates continuously during most of the summer and the fall. However, this venue is ultimately controlled by the political faction in power, and rented out to whoever pays

more for the contract.

During our stay in Telemula a local entrepreneur from one of the local factions was allowed to rent the bar, which is relatively independent from the rest of the restaurant, for the *festa di Sant'Efisio*. In general terms, however, the restaurant (including the bar) is either rented to individual entrepreneurs or cooperatives from other villages during the summer and the fall. It is possible that young Telemulesi could persuade the municipal administration to rent it to them if they formed a cooperative, but I never knew of such an initiative on the part of any of our young friends.

This may be partly because young people from each faction may fear open confrontation with the young people (especially young men) of the other. During the summer of 1991 an exclusively male *crìcca* of the village twice destroyed furniture and glassware in a local bar owned by a middle-aged couple that caters mainly to the faction opposite to their own. While the owners' or managers' seniority usually acts as a deterrent for such actions, the elimination of age differences between managers and clients at a 'neutral' point as Sant'Efisio may increase the frequency of violence outbursts among the villagers.[27]

c. The shepherds' production cooperative

In the mid 1980s the project for a shepherds' production cooperative began to be entertained by several shepherds from

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[27] Some young people are beginning to propose as artificial the generations-old conflict, which is now expressed through the rhetorical opposition between 'traditional' and 'modern' lifestyles. While we lived in Telemula several young men in their twenties were attempting to frequent all four bars and maintain friendly relations with people in both factions. A single football soccer team was formed in 1991, uniting the two that existed in the past (one from each faction) and during Christmas and New Year's eve parties a group of young people organised large parties to which all young people in the village were invited.

a village neighbouring Telemula and from Telemula itself. This cooperative, which I will call the *Cooperativa Pastori del Supramonte*, was intended to group shepherds who keep their animals on the supramonte plateau in the communal territory of the two municipalities. The cooperative became legally established in 1987, and its president negotiated the affiliation of the cooperative with *Confcoltivatori*, the trade union of the Christian Democratic party.

At the moment of being registered before the trade union, the cooperative grouped 84 livestock owners who kept sheep, goats and cattle on the supramonte during the spring and summer. In the words of the cooperative's president, the association was formed

> "nella intenzione di cercare di avere contributi dalla regione, per cercare di istigare al comune di migliorare il terreno, di fare qualche fiera, per fare le mostre di questo bestiame . . . [with the intention to have *contributi* from the regional government, to incite the *comune* to make land improvements, to organise fairs and shows to display these livestock . . .].

The steering committee promoted the idea of forming a *caseificio* for goat's milk in the Ogliastra, given that in mountain communities goats may outnumber sheep. The group wanted to take advantage of a large milk refrigerator that was then being built on the area.[28]

The cooperative's president negotiated a contract with the owner of a private dairy plant so that a truck from the plant would collect the milk in Ogliastra. The dairy plant was going to pay the shepherds the protected prices for milk, which the plant's managers would collect from the special fund

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[28] This refrigerator, which has a capacity for 15,000 Litres of milk, began to function in 1992 and when we left the island it had been in use to store the milk that the young shepherds from Telemula and other Ogliastra villages with lands on the Arbatax valley were giving first to the Bardia and then to the Orune *caseifici*.

for shepherd cooperatives set up by the regional government. These arrangements were in effect between 1989 and 1990, but the dairy plant often lagged behind in its payments to the shepherds. The owner of the plant claimed that the Regional government did not pay him on time for the money that he was giving to the shepherds over the regular prices paid for milk to other producers. The plant finally went bankrupt in 1990 and the shepherds of the cooperative were not paid for the milk they had given that year to the plant.[29]

Also, in 1989 the president of the cooperative negotiated a contract for the Bardia *caseificio* to sell animal feed to the shepherds in the cooperative at subsidised prices. However, at the end of the fall some of the shepherds who first had agreed to purchase through the cooperative rushed to buy their own feed before the contract with the Bardia *caseificio* came into effect, and the steering committee finally had to cancel the deal with the Bardia plant.

Although the number of members grew from 85 in 1987 to 115 in 1991, the cooperative did not receive adequate support of the regional authorities or the municipal administrations from the two villages. In 1991 the president of the cooperative, who had been the head and most enthusiastic

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[29] The feeling among those Telemulesi shepherds who formed part of this cooperative and lost the money they were due for payments on their milk, was that they had been cheated by the industrial entrepreneur. However, it is likely that, although the shepherds do not seem to have considered this possibility, the plant went bankrupt because it could not receive the subsidies it was supposed to from the regional government on account of the money paid to the *supramonte* shepherds at a subsidised price. The president of the cooperative assured me that he duly sent memos to all the members of the group each time he called a general assembly, and that on all of them the group was referred to as a cooperative. In fact, probably because the cooperative was never registered with one of the cooperative federations, many Telemulesi shepherds saw the association more as a "group of shepherds who negotiated a deal together" with a dairy plant than as an actual cooperative.

proponent of the association during the five years of the cooperative's existence, relinquished his charge and decided to give up on the idea. The conclusion he drew from this experience was:

> *"Gli dico la verità . . . siamo diffidenti. Ci diffidiamo l'uno con l'altro. Non siamo riusciti mai ad andare compatti, mai. Siamo cinque anni con questa cooperativa ma ci troviamo al momento di partenza. Non c'è una miglioria per niente* [To tell you the truth . . . we are diffident. We distrust each other. We have not been able to stand united. We have been in this cooperative for five years and we are still at the point of departure. There is not any improvement at all."

This man's conclusions have to be evaluated carefully, since from the beginning the objectives that the president of the association and the steering committee sought were not to make the shepherds cooperate among themselves, as much as unite forces for demanding particular services and prerogatives from the municipal administration and the regional administration. From the president's own description of the objectives of the cooperative, as reported above, in fact the 'cooperative' functioned as collective bargaining organisation, and thus as a shepherds' trade union.

It is apparent to me that the Supramonte shepherds did want to enter an association, even if some, as the Telemulesi, did not think they were joining a cooperative. Diffidence does not seem to have been the main factor in the failure of the association. Rather, the delays on milk payments and even the tardiness of the feed contract appear to have discouraged the shepherds from operating within the association.

I do not find it surprising that the shepherds who had agreed to purchase feed collectively rushed to buy it individually when they saw that the winter was coming. When the ewes begin to give birth the shepherds want to make sure that they will be well fed so as not to harm them or their litters by allowing them to be malnourished. There was a lack

of trust toward the cooperative's steering committee in that the association could have closed the deal only a little later than the shepherds thought was a 'safe' distance in time from the winter. However, the balance between the survival or collapse of a flock is rather precarious in the Ogliastra, as subsidies have proven harder to come by than in other places.

In Telemula and other Ogliastra villages the numbers of animals reported by the shepherds are not as inflated as in some Barbagian communities because the function of the livestock is not purely or mainly commercial, as it is in Barbagia. Rather, in Telemula flocks are also an important household capital in subsistence production. While in Bardia shepherds seek to minimize their workload and increase their cash earnings, in Telemula the shepherds have to think not only in terms of incoming cash but also in terms of the money that is saved by the family and the higher standard of living that it is possible to achieve (that is, the 'genuineness' of their food) by relying on the shepherd's production of milk products.

It is difficult, however, to think that the cooperative would have been able to function as one single production unit. The ways in which people exchange help during those times when the labour needs exceed the forces of the individual household suggest that informal cooperation is needed in more than shepherding activities. The cooperative, furthermore, would have to ensure the support of two or more *comune* administrations in order to be allowed to make use of communal lands within two or possibly even three municipalities.

The current schemes for the reforestation of those areas of the *Supramonte* to be dedicated to the Ogliastra Park include part of the lands which the president of this cooperative thought could be leased to the association. With this new development, the *Cooperativa Pastori del Supramonte* is to remain as another failed initiative for the inclusion of

Telemulesi shepherds within structures of formal cooperation.

d. The Ogliastra milk cooperative

In 1990 the shepherds of Telemula were invited by the shepherds of one of the neighbouring valley villages to participate in the formation of a milk cooperative which would give milk to the Bardia cooperative *caseificio*. The idea was to form a milk supply cooperative that would pool milk from shepherds in the two villages and would be affiliated to the Bardia dairy cooperative plant. The Bardia dairy accepts affiliation from such cooperatives and treats their members as part of its larger membership. Unlike the supramonte cooperative, this one would not demand from the *comune* the improvement of communal pastures. This type of works, it was thought, should be let to production cooperatives which could form in each one of the two villages.

Several Telemulesi shepherds saw as reasonable the option of a milk collection cooperative, as separate from collective milk production. Around 20 young Telemulesi shepherds under 40 years of age who had thought earlier of joining the other cooperative accepted this second proposition, and for one year they had what they consider the best service they ever received from any agency or organisation. While the veterinary service of the neighbouring valley community sponsored a project of vaccination of flocks, the Bardia cooperative apparently contributed additional funds to this program (or so the Telemulesi shepherds believe).

The Bardia cooperative dairy plant allowed the Telemulesi shepherds and their neighbours to take advantage of subsidised *mangime* [animal feed], which was made available to all the cooperative's members. The Bardia plant sent each morning to the border between the two Ogliastran communities its refrigerated truck, it bought the goat kids and the lambs from the Ogliastrini members at protected prices and even collected the sheep's wool, which has practically no commercial value in

Ogliastra or Barbagia.[30]

In 1991 the services that the Bardia cooperative offered were significantly reduced, as the veterinary program was discontinued, the *capretti* [kids] were not accepted any more and the wool was not purchased or even collected by the Bardia cooperative plant. By 1992 the cuts in EEC and regional budgets for the support of pastoralism were forcing the Bardia cooperative dairy to cut its budget. The Ogliastra cooperative was one of the first to be cut as it came to be considered too expensive to support.

The members of the Bardia cooperative decided in a general assembly to cut costs by not sending out its refrigerated truck, because the regional government refused to subsidise the gas and the cost of the refrigeration process. The Bardia cooperative's representatives told the steering committee of the Ogliastra cooperative that if they wanted to continue belonging to the Bardia *caseificio* they should bring the milk to the plant themselves. When the time to start giving milk to the plant came, the members from the other village objected that their lambs and kids had been born late and they were not ready. They said they had not stocked on the allowed quota of cheese for domestic consumption and refused to hand their milk over for two more weeks. The problems between the Ogliastra milk cooperative and the Bardia plant continued to grow as the winter advanced. The Bardia plant delayed the payment on the lambs that its members had brought to the cooperative to be butchered, and when it finally paid its Bardiesi members the Ogliastrini still were

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[30] In 1956 wool was sold for 600 Lire a kilogram, while cheese only fetched 400 Lire per kilogram. In 1981 wool was sold for 5,000 Lire a coat, while a kilogram of cheese was sold for 10,000 Lire. In 1992 cheese cost the same as in 1981, and wool is not in demand. A textile cooperative has bought some wool from Telemulesi shepherds, paying a maximum of 400 Lire per coat.

not paid.[31]

The Telemulesi members of the Ogliastra milk cooperative were very upset at the way in which the steering committee had handled things. Apparently, once the Ogliastra cooperative's president was paid for the lambs he still withheld the payment due the Telemulesi. Also, the Telemulesi members of the cooperative did not agree with the idea that they would have to rent a truck to transport their own milk to the dairy plant and there would be no guarantee that the employees at the plant would accept it if it had gone bad during the transportation.

The members of the steering committee in Bardia explained to me that they could not send the truck, and it was up to the Ogliastrini to make their milk arrive at the plant. Also, they told me that the dairy cooperative did not contribute any more to the veterinary service because each village is supposed to be served by one or two veterinary doctors employed by the government, and thus the cooperative's service was redundant. The cooperative was to pay only for its two veterinarians to attend the sheep on Bardia's territory. The Bardiesi said that milk cooperatives in other villages had arranged to deliver their milk themselves, and they did not see why the Ogliastrini could not do so. They told me that they had offered the Ogliastra cooperative to pay 30 Lire per litre toward the cost of transportation, but the Ogliastrini had refused this offer objecting that this would cover less than 40% of the total transportation costs.

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[31] Also, during the winter of 1992-3 the Bardia *caseificio* was held responsible in the bankruptcy of a 'third level' cooperative cheese marketing association with which many of the island's cooperative dairies were affiliated. Since the Bardia cooperative had signed as one of the financial guarantors of this larger association, payments to all members of the Bardia cooperative for milk were withheld for several weeks (See Vargas-Cetina 1993b).

The president and other members of the Bardia cooperative told me that they did not dislike the Telemulesi, but that they had no sympathy for the members from the other village. They told me that the Telemulesi were getting the short end of the stick because the members from the other village did not have enough *corretezza* [fairness] in their dealings with either the Bardiesi or the Telemulesi. One of the Bardiesi in the dairy plant's steering committee told me: "If we told the Telemulesi what has been going on, we would probably start a blood feud. It is better for us to stop dealing with the Ogliastrini altogether than to cause blood to be shed." The Bardiesi, however, advised the Telemulesi not to trust the steering committee of the milk supply cooperative and encouraged them to disassociate themselves from partnership with the other village.

In Telemula I heard the same words about a blood feud being averted from a young Telemulesi shepherd, who told me that the Bardiesi had taken him into his confidence. Although it is possible that the Bardiesi were trying to promote the disintegration of the Ogliastra cooperative so as not to have political problems within the cooperative plant's membership and not to share their diminished subsidies, it is also possible that the representatives of the cooperative did cheat on the Telemulesi, as the Bardiesi said. The Telemulesi young shepherds decided to leave the Bardia cooperative and to form another milk supply cooperative that would be affiliated to yet another dairy plant. During the Spring of 1992 the young Telemulesi shepherds had joined the Orune *caseificio sociale*, which sent its refrigerated truck to the territory of Telemula for the transportation of the local shepherds' milk yields.

I asked a government official of Nuoro province who was informed about the Bardia-Ogliastra conflict why the Ogliastrini were not receiving more help. This official's answer was that the Bardia *caseificio* had to cut down its costs and thus could not continue to subsidise the Ogliastra

milk cooperative. He said that the *caseificio* would not resent too much the absence of the Ogliastrini, since there were other shepherds who wanted to join in. In any case, he said, the milk production of Bardia alone is almost sufficient to keep the *caseificio* running at its full capacity during peak milk season. This government official did not seem concerned with the fate of the Ogliastra shepherds, who were expected to resolve their problems on their own, while the *caseificio* of Bardia continued to have political support for its actions.

At no time during my stay in Sardinia did politicians show any support for the Telemulesi. In fact, the only time when a group of politicians came to the village (during the *sagra del prosciutto* that I have already described) Ayora-Diaz and I were told that the Telemulesi do not need anything except one job opening every now and again because they are happy living in their traditional ways.

In rural Sardinia a cooperative of any kind necessitates at least a friendly inclination from someone in a position of political influence, in order for the association to establish itself and have access to government funds. Although the factionalist division of the village is a major obstacle to organising and consolidating any form of institutionally-sanctioned association, the complete disinterest shown by politicians and administrators over what goes on in Telemula provides no enticement for the villagers to resolve their old differences.

Bodemann (1979) recounts how, while he was doing research in Telemula, even the Communist Party leadership in Tortolì refused to help its Telemula fraction. Bodemann, then, attributed this disinterest to the paucity of the village's population and thus its lack of weight in terms of votes. This situation is not very different today, so that the alliance between the ex-communists (now belonging to *Rifondazione Comunista* and to the *Partito Democratico della*

Sinistra) and the neo-fascists continues to find expression in the *liste civiche* [electoral lists] supported by one of the village's factions. Without political support the Telemulesi will not be able to profit from the government's resources set aside for the encouragement to cooperatives in the island.

4. THINGS STAND FOR PEOPLE

The previous description of cooperation networks and strategies illustrates how in Telemula, other than the *pistoccu* work circles and the work parties organised around work in the vineyards, informal cooperation is rather spontaneous in character and it is not necessarily "paid" with help, things or money in the near or medium-term future. The absence of cooperatives, furthermore, makes 'payment calculations' appear artificial altogether, and help continues to be asked for and given as an element of the larger relationships of kinship or friendship that bind Telemulesi among themselves.

The line between the commodity and the gift is, if recognised at all, always understated. Things that were bought in the market become presents, and things that were originally produced for subsistence purposes may be transformed into commodities or gifts. Furthermore, help in work may be rewarded by gifts, by a banquet, or it may even go unacknowledged except as a part of a broader relationship.

Money enters both the gift and the commodity circles as part of social relationships. While it defines the terms of transaction with strangers in other towns and cities, and even among people of the two main factions existing in the community, within the context of friendly ties money usually changes hands invested with the meaning of a means of recognition for someone's help. The exchange of things for money also takes place within a fictive non-commercial economy, to the extent that the owners of all local stores run credit tabs on many of their customers, which are cleared once

or twice a month without the store (or bar) owners charging their customers any interest.[32]

The constant rhetorical disguise of the cash economy by means of its re-interpretation through the morality of the gift reveals a profound ambivalence on the part of the villagers toward exchange in general. Gift exchange is not completely satisfactory any more, because those things that are given as gifts could have been sold elsewhere for money. On the other hand, the cash economy is based on profit, and when the rules of the market place are truly followed, it threatens the affective dimension within which all exchange theoretically takes place in Telemula. In the presence of the pure commodity, the cherished notions of equality, generosity and fairness that are considered such an important part of Telemulesi specificity reveal themselves as collective fictions, as a mere appearance of good will.

The maintenance of this appearance of disinterested commonality, however, is continually enforced as things flow from one household to another and sociability is compulsorily reproduced. The differences in income, occupation, religious and political beliefs are constantly underplayed in everyday interaction as if by intensive sociability and gift giving they became partially or totally erased. The factional

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[32] After Ayora-Diaz and I had become well known in the village, two store owners offered to run a credit tab for us in their stores. I asked one of the owners how she knew that people would actually pay back and she said that in Telemula everyone knows everyone else and people would not even think of not paying their debts. The cost of this credit system, which probably leaves the store owners with fewer liquid assets, is offset through the increased prices that the store owners charge their customers. These can be up to 4% and 5% of what the same goods would cost in coastal supermarkets. The one exception to this is meat, which is sold either at the same or even at a lower price by the village's butchers than the same type of meat costs on the Tyrrhenian coastal settlements of the Ogliastra. In this case, butchers can be in debt with their suppliers, the Telemulesi shepherds.

division, rather than questioning this sense of community, is used to enhance it by holding it as the source of all social ills in the village, rather than acknowledging other, larger fragmentation forces in action. When someone has a fight with his or her own relatives, things can be explained in terms of how the relative's convictions were closer to the ideas prevalent among the other faction. Each faction accuses the other of anti-social behaviour caused by greed, and people within both factions are able to behave in more or less similar ways while explaining their behaviour as different and even opposed to the behaviour of those in the other group.

Work, income, lifestyles and expectations differ among the people inside both factions. Good-will exchanges and generosity are claimed by both groups as their defining characteristics. Hospitality, which is said to be at the heart of "being Telemulesi," is an arena by which the relative "bravura" of each faction is defined. A lack of generosity in hospitality is seen as a despicable act, and the two factions compete at being more hospitable than the others with their guests. It is important to note that this 'hospitality competition' between the two factions is similar to the same type of rivalry between different Ogliastran communities.

When we both lived together in the village we were constantly given gifts and were invited to meals and banquets. We were constantly asked if the people we had been with the previous day or week (if they were people from the other faction) had treated us well. During village festivals we were asked by people in other villages, in the presence of our friends, if we were being well treated and if people were nice to us. People would want to know if we thought that they were more hospitable than others or if they were not doing enough for us to be comfortable with them. If we stopped visiting one or another family for some time, we would be asked when we returned if we had been upset by something they had done during our previous visit, or if other people treated us

better than they did.[33]

In Telemula the exchange of things, that is, the giving and receiving of gifts, is seen as the expression of people's good will and friendship. With few exceptions, informal cooperation does not rely on reciprocal agreements and instead has a more voluntary character. In Telemula people give other people gifts of things that the recipient would not normally have him or herself, unless s/he purchased it at a store or from another person. As the son of a shepherd explained: "you give fruit to someone who does not grow it, you give *ricotta* to those who do not make it themselves." In gift exchange there is a calculation element since gifts are seen as subtracting things from the sphere of commodities, and therefore strengthening social links. Things and not commodities pass between friends. Gifts should be never reciprocated right away, because the immediate counter-gift would imply the refusal of friendship by the counter-giver.

The daughter of a shepherd told Ayora-Diaz that on one occasion her mother had sent a neighbouring family who had just come back to live in the village a gift of produce, and the new neighbours had immediately sent another gift in return. Her mother, thinking that this had been a strange

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[33] Although they were probably meant in all kindness, I experienced these remarks as a type of emotional blackmail, which was the source of much anxiety for me. During my first three months in Telemula I often spent the days going from one house to another so as not to upset anyone. Once I described to my landlady and roommate my itinerary for one afternoon, which included visiting six families between one in the afternoon and nine at night, and she said "*tu fai la professione di San Francesco*" [you do Saint Francis' pilgrimage]. Later on Ayora-Diaz and I decided that if we were to gain any understanding of people's lives in the village and still write our notes we should visit between one and three families a day, and go to one or another of the local bars each night. To the question of whether something had upset us and kept us away for so long we started answering: "We have not been upset at you. The proof is that we are back today."

coincidence, sent the neighbours a new gift, and once more she received a counter-gift within a few hours. The shepherds' wife told her daughter that the new neighbours did not seem to want to become friends with the shepherding family, because they had refused her gifts.

When visiting different families we were often told where the things that we were eating had come from. Often fresh grapes of one or another variety were gifts from neighbours and friends. Ricotta cheese was also a type of gift received by many non-shepherding families, while chestnuts were never given away because the chestnut forest is under the communal ownership of all villagers and it is considered that anyone can have *castagne* [chestnuts] if s/he wants them. Citrus, sweets and roast meat left over from large celebrations were often given away to friends and neighbours. Those families who do not grow their own produce can still give gifts to their friends by purchasing them from stores or from other people.

On one occasion, for no apparent reason, a woman in her thirties gave a young woman friend of hers a ring which she had purchased in a jewellery store on the coast. When I asked her why she was giving that woman the ring she said: "She is a friend of mine. Besides, she was very kind when my mother was ill." Her mother had died more than a year before; however, the justification for the gift took this past as well as present circumstances into account.

Gifts are given to remind someone of a friendship link, and sometimes friendship links translate into gifts even when, according to other rules, they are not supposed to, as when the shepherd who belongs to the cooperative sets aside some of the flock's milk yield to make *casevita* or cheese for a friend who is getting married. Cooperatives, which are one of the main elements of the local idea of 'modern pastoralism' (see Ayora-Diaz 1993), are still not widely accepted in the village as a possible option. Although the Telemulesi hold the view

that they are too individualistic to enter cooperative agreements, I suspect that one of the main reasons behind their reluctance to enter fixed cooperation agreements is related to the small size of the village, the consequences of which are augmented by the factionalist rivalry dividing the village.

To commit one's loyalties permanently to only one work group would alienate the shepherds from the rest of the population and would make them economically more vulnerable, as they could not rely upon their wider pool of *crìcca* friends and relatives to help them when they are pressed for additional labour. The *pistoccu* baking groups are a constant reminder of how once a number of people create an exclusive relation in which help is only matched by similar help, one's dependence on a specific individual increases. Under the current state of affairs, if someone cannot help a grape grower to harvest her grapes, someone else might help, because of an existing relationship established through the exchange of gifts, of labour, or of both. In short, the current forms of generalised exchange which do not make too much of a distinction between gifts of things and gift of labour give everyone in the village a claim to other people's help which would not be tenable if a cooperative based on the sharing of labour were established.

Marketing cooperatives also awaken the suspicion of the older shepherds because by committing one's entire milk yield to only one buyer they would give up their commercial relations based on affective ties within Telemula and its surroundings thus would become more vulnerable. As things stand, the shepherds have to continue selling their milk and dairy products to specific families, who is some cases have bought from the same family for generations. The reciprocal relations and obligations would suffer if these ties were severed and, in the even of a general downfall of the market of milk and its products, the dependency from the outside

could possibly ruin the shepherd and his family along with all other Sardinian shepherds. Still today, there are in Telemula several shepherds who do not engage in commercial transactions with large commercial dealers, and prefer to depend on their personal networks. They trade with their friends and with the families that have bartered or bought from their own for several generations, under the logic of 'fair exchange.'

Young shepherds, as most Telemulesi under 35 years of age, say that they oppose the existing system of reciprocal obligations which are not based on the maximization of one's income. One night Ayora-Diaz and I were in a bar, in a coastal town, with a group of Telemulesi and friends of theirs from continental Italy. Our group consisted of, besides the anthropologists, three young university students (one woman and two men) and a shepherd in his twenties, from Telemula, as well as two couples that attended university in Rome. One of the Roman visitors said to me that he had heard of my interest in cooperation and cooperatives, and asked me what I had found out about Telemula.

I began to say that in Telemula people give gifts away all the time, and they constantly help each other without strictly calculating the value of their work. I said that even when money changes hands this takes on the form of gifts and the customary loyalties are maintained. I said that the exchange of money takes place within larger relationships and that the creation of a cooperative could damage these exchange networks, and that if someone gave something away he or she would not expect something back from the same person. Our Telemulesi friends became increasingly agitated. One of the Telemulesi sons of shepherds said that it is very true. The Roman student said that this is "molto bello" [very beautiful], but the shepherd's daughter said that this only proves to her once more how *arretrati* [lagging behind in time] the Telemulesi are, because this is a form of exchange that was predominant among the Classic Greeks, many centuries ago.

Then she added that in any case these customary practices make her think of Telemula as a warm place, as opposed to the cold city. Ayora-Diaz told them that the technical name for these customs is "generalised exchange" and that it does not make Telemula an *arretrato* place, since this is something that exists in many societies.

While we the university students were pondering the theoretical and emotional aspects of what I had recognised as the ways in which Telemulesi engage in exchange, the young shepherd, a certified bookkeeper who had to go back to shepherding because he could not find a bookkeeping job elsewhere, had become very impatient. He came to the edge of his chair and said in a loud voice:

> "*Ecco, è quello che ci frega, è quello che ci frega* [That's right. That is what damages us, it damages us]. Because of all of these obligations we cannot prosper. We cannot sell our milk to the best buyer, but to whoever bought it from our parents. We cannot claim wages for our work and we cannot negotiate payment when we help someone. We should do away with all of this, and find the way to make more money. If I give someone something, I should have the right to expect something back. Instead, I find myself giving things away which I could have sold for money."

One of the Telemulesi who is the son of a shepherd, asked him if he thought he could get more money for his milk or cheese if he went to the open market. He suggested that maybe the fact that the buyers were his family's friends implied that he could be paid more money than someone else would pay him. He replied that he is completely sure that if only he could do away with all of this nonsense tradition he would be much better off.

This young shepherd's position is similar to that of many other shepherds who claim to hold the same views on the need for market transactions to be more widespread in the everyday life of the village. However, when someone among the younger generations takes this position seriously many of the same

people who claim to hold this view react with disbelief and resentment. The following example illustrates this.

A young woman and her brother, both of whom are still single and work in the service sector, decided to build a new bathroom in the house they inherited from their parents. For this they hired a man from central Ogliastra, whom they knew from a few years before. Tonino, a *manovale* from the woman's *crìcca* expressed his disappointment because they had hired a *muratore* from out of town, instead of giving work to their own friends. The woman continued to socialise with the same *crìcca* as usual without showing any remorse for having hired an *istranzu* [outsider]. There had been no labour gifts from Tonino to the woman or her brother thus far, but he had repeatedly invited and accepted invitations from the woman, along with the rest of the *crìcca* (including the anthropologists), and the two of them had been part of many summer *spuntini* through the years. He had invited us to have pizza at the restaurants on the coast during his birthday, and regularly took turns at paying and accepting invitations at the bar during the accustomed rounds. The woman's hiring the foreigner *muratore* was seen as a breach of friendship not only by Tonino but also by many people in the village who told us that she showed no loyalty to her friends.

When Ayora-Diaz and I asked her why she and her brother had hired someone from outside she said "because he works better and with more professionalism than anyone in the village." While Tonino is particularly careful not to voice controversial opinions and has never expressed the view that people should stop giving gifts to each other, the *crìcca* to which he belongs is one of the main proponents of 'modernity' in the village. They claim that they want an increased freedom from customary obligations in favour of commercial transactions. They give each other gifts that they buy in coastal shops and say that they prefer efficiency over customary arrangements. However, they were as shocked as

everyone else in the village that the brother and sister had hired someone from outside, and they all rejoiced when the siblings began to have problems with the 'foreign' *muratore*.

It is possible to see that in Telemula there are at least two ways in which locals express what they consider the ideal relationship between the commodity and the gift economies. As the factional division is currently articulated at the rhetorical level of modernity versus tradition, regarding exchange practices this takes the form of a rhetorical opposition between an increased desire for profit against the logic of the gift and fair exchange. Furthermore, many of the shepherds who belong to one or the other faction but do not care about 'modernity' or 'tradition' as such subscribe to the vision of the *tradizionali* that money, commodities and labour should be treated at least partially as gifts.

The refusal of the *tradizionali* to make exchange more balanced and more commoditized, however, does not necessarily speak of a more generous stance whereby they all want to help their fellow man, but of the creation of a security cushion that ensures that they will be helped when they need it. The calculations of the shepherd who organizes a *spuntino* for his *tosatura* instead of having to pay five people to do it is an indication of the ways in which Telemulesi manipulate the gift. Along the material side to the transactions there is also the prestige dimension, which is enhanced by showing one's generosity and one's ability to be a good host. While cast in the language of the gift, Telemulesi manipulate the meaning of money, labour and commodities in order to re-create a fiction of community.

CHAPTER NINE: BARDIA: YOU ARE WORTH WHAT YOU GIVE.

1. WHAT GOES AWAY WILL COME BACK

During my first long stay in Bardia an old shepherd said to me:

> Today my wife is going to a funeral. She is taking coffee with her but she is not really giving it away: When I die, this coffee will come back because other people will bring coffee to my funeral. This way we all help each other not only during funerals but during many things.

Through the almost two years that I lived in Sardinia I had occasion to hear and see these forms of calculated exchanges many times. I was always surprised by the ways in which people in Bardia counted and calculated things exchanged and help given. In many ways, life in Bardia was much simpler than in Telemula because in Telemula it was never clear how one could repay gifts or favours. In Bardia, instead, the terms of exchange were ever so precise: you give what you were given, plus just a little more.

The ways in which the Bardiesi pastoralists, along with the rest of the town dwellers, re-create a sense of commonality through exchange is very different, at least in the terms through which it is undertaken, from that of Telemulesi. If Telemulesi are preoccupied with showing an 'open' generosity which they claim needs no reward, Bardiesi are concerned with showing their appreciation as soon as possible and making sure that their rules of reciprocity are recognised. They take great care in reciprocating in the same ways in which they received gifts of things or gifts in labour, which they invariably call *aiuto* [help], and the issue of social standing as a result of the display of generosity is a constant collective preoccupation.

In Bardia gifts and *aiuto* are two very distinct phenomena, and the two of them, in turn, are different from the commercial sale or purchase of things and wage labour.

While commodities and wages always imply the exchange of money, gifts and informal cooperation may be rewarded with money as well. The generous person is not someone who gives things or lends help, but someone who helps others save money, probably by risking or even losing money him or herself. Money has invaded most realms of life, including sociability and exchange, and gifts in money are, theoretically at least, paid in the same coin at a specific time.

The display of generosity has taken on an agonistic character which is fully displayed during several major festival each year, and the celebrations are so lavish that they remind the anthropologists of the competitions of generosity of the Canadian West Coast (Codere 1950, Spradley 1972) and the Melanesia big men (Keesing 1984, Epstein 1968). At the same time, whoever shows generosity is entitled to expect that others will be generous toward him or her, or toward people in his or her family as a whole. While in Telemula money does not necessarily mark the boundaries between the gift and the commercial transaction, in Bardia money is the conveyer through which things can be calculated in terms of labour, wage labour can be calculated in terms of informal cooperation, commodities can be exchanged for gifts and vice-versa. In other words, money does not only cross the boundary between the market and the gift, but also the boundaries between things and human labour in both market transactions and gift exchange.

In Bardia sociability is not only compulsory, but also competitive. One must socialise in a manner that does not leave too many 'debts' standing and, if possible, leaves other people in obligation toward oneself. There is also a common effort to portray the entire village as an island of generosity and *civiltà* [civil virtuosity] in the middle of hostile and *arretrati* [backward] peoples. The many civil servants from the village working in the cities of Nuoro and Cagliari help their fellow Bardiesi and friends to obtain

swift and efficient service, even at the risk of disfavouring other people.[1]

The cooperatives that exist in Bardia are held by the town dwellers and their neighbours alike as a proof of both the enterprising spirit and the gregarious disposition of all Bardiesi, which make them the best example of 'modernity' (as understood by most rural Sardinians) in the area. The conflict between the perceived effects of 'traditional' or 'modern' moral codes on the life of the town are practically nonexistent, since both young and old strive to become as modern as possible within what they perceive as permissible for people in each age category. In this context, it was surprising to me that young Bardiesi who have attended or are still attending university fully endorse the generosity displays from an even heightened recourse to nostalgia: they criticise the calculation in the motives, saying that now people only want to make money, while before generosity was more authentic.[2]

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[1] Ayora-Diaz and I benefitted from this in our dealings with the provincial and even the regional bureaucracy. On a few occasions someone from the town put in a word of reference for us at one or another official agency and our papers were not only processed faster but actually brought to Bardia by the Bardiesi civil servant who had helped to speed our case. Needless to say, this was very different from the treatment we had received from bureaucrats most of the time we lived in Telemula. However, although documents may be processed faster for Bardiesi than for people from other villages or towns, the Italian bureaucracy is so convoluted that many locals find it convenient to hire the local broker at an *agenzia d'affari* [literally, "business agency"] who charges 10,000 to 50,000 Lire per service, including all steps from the beginning to the end of each procedure.

[2] Although it is true that very often people in Bardia give gifts and host parties in the hope of receiving gifts and money in return, I am not sure that money *per se* could be a sufficient motivation for the overly conspicuous displays of generosity, as my university student friends proposed. If money were the only motivation, the economic risk and the amount of time spent in the preparation of parties and the

While in Telemula cooperatives are still a rather alien concept that has not been appropriated and re-defined in local terms, cooperatives in Bardia do not escape the dynamics of gift exchange. In Bardia cooperatives are truly at the crossroads of the commodity and the gift economies, and thus they must be seen not only in reference to the larger regional and supra-national policies of development but also to the local forms of sociability and exchange. Instead of posing a threat to existing circuits of informal cooperation, the cooperatives have allowed for the formal and the informal ways of labour organization to feed on one another.

In this chapter I describe the ways in which people, including pastoralist families, participate in circuits of gift giving and help in Bardia, and then the organisation and participation of pastoralist families in local cooperatives. The following description of informal cooperation and cooperatives in Bardia is based on my experiences and the accounts of people with whom Ayora-Diaz and I had contact. The account, however, is possibly biased by the occupational range of our acquaintances and friends. They were pastoralists, craftpersons, professionals and civil servants, and we had little contact with industrial workers from the town who may live mainly or solely off their wages.[3]

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planning of gifts would be taking people away from good business opportunities in the provincial market. Given that people often chose to take their sick days or unpaid leaves from their job to participate in social events, it must be something other than money that is at stake. I believe that the re-creation of commonality and the local competition over prestige are, besides, money, high stakes in the local agonistic forms of exchange.

[3] Although there are no mines or heavy industry installations in Bardia, Table I.3.6, on Chapter 3, shows that there are 72 industrial workers in that town.

2. INFORMAL COOPERATION

a. Primary production

As explained in Chapter 3, in Bardia the women of pastoralist households do not engage year-round in agricultural activities. Men, however, may travel between the *ovile* and the *vigna* during the year, in order to supply their families with dairy products and wine. As in Telemula, the *tosatura* is one of the main social events during the annual cycle of pastoralism, and transhumance may be undertaken by some shepherds during the summer, in order to take the flocks to cooler pasture lands.

Although shepherds from both Telemula and Bardia have talked to me about the two-day-long transhumances which some Bardiesi shepherds undertake, I never participated myself in a transhumance in Bardia where the animals belonged to a local shepherd. The movements of flocks within the territory of Bardia which I witnessed covered short distances and were usually carried out either by truck using loading ramps, or by two shepherds riding a car at the head of the flock and two others driving at the rear of it. Other short movements covered less than five kilometres between two points, and were regularly undertaken by shepherds and goatherds through the year.[4] However, while during transhumance the need for large help parties has been eliminated, the *tosatura* celebrations have experienced two extreme developments within the village: some shepherds have chosen to acquire electric shearers and do the shearing by themselves, and others have turned the

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[4] For example, in the Nieddu family four brothers keep goats and cows with their father, making use of two sets of property that the family owns along one of the roads to Sassari. They take the goats every morning to pasture on the rangelands where the shelters for the cows are built. At night, during twilight, two of the brothers walk the goats back to the *ovile* and stalls where they keep them overnight, four kilometres away from the cows stalls.

occasions into full-blown *feste* to which they invite not only those who come to help them but also local politicians and friends from neighbouring villages. Here, in connection with primary production I will pay particular attention to the *tosatura*, the *vendemmia* and the picking of olives as they take place in the municipality of Bardia.

i. The tosatura

In June of 1992 Ayora-Diaz and I were invited to the *tosatura* of our friend Luigi. Luigi is a shepherd in his early thirties who works with a flock owned by his father. He attended an agricultural college for two years but had to come back to tend the family's flock because his father could not find *servopastori* any more. Camilo, another shepherd in his thirties who is a proud member of the shepherds' production cooperative *Su Cuile Mannu*, is Luigi's best friend. The two help each other to move the animals, to vaccinate them, to take care of the flocks in general and to organise the banquets and work parties that each of them hosts through the year.

The *tosatura* was going to take place in the property of Luigi's father, a compound of buildings on the area of the *chieseta di San Giovanni*. Ayora-Diaz and I were told to come at 9:00 in the morning, but since we had never been to Luigi's father's property we spent more than one hour driving around the area before finding the compound. When we arrived the shepherds had already finished eating breakfast under a *leccio* tree, since in Bardia breakfast at the *tosatura* usually takes place with everybody standing up close to the food.

The shepherds who had come to help in the *tosatura* were already getting ready to start working. We were greeted by Ciccio the cook, who is the official cook of most Bardia parties. Ciccio, who is a friend of ours since my first long-term stay in Bardia, urged us to have breakfast before we headed for the sheep stalls. We had something as he went to

fetch two bottles of beer, since he knows that we do not drink red wine, and when he came back he told us that he would be cooking at what used to be a machinery storage room.

When we had finished eating I went into the house that was close to where the breakfast bar was set and I met a lady in her late fifties, who greeted me and politely answered my questions about the place. She had set up a large table for about 70 people, and she allowed me to take notes and pictures. I thanked her and went back outside, where Ayora-Diaz and Ciccio were waiting for me. Ciccio gave us a little tour of the property and introduced us to a man who was going to work as his assistant.

Ciccio had set up the roast in one of the adjacent courtyards. There he had put two rows of cement blocks to form a box-like structure against a wall, one row on top of another, and made a fire in the middle. He was roasting the meat of one sheep, one goat and two suckling piglets, all of which had been butchered especially for this particular occasion. He told us that he had cooked every day that week, for as many *tosature*. He said that there were at least three other *tosature* that day and some shepherds who should have come could not because they had told the owners of the other flocks being sheared that they would help them.

Luigi and Camilo came to greet us at the courtyard where the shearing was taking place. They introduced us to other shepherds, some of whom said that they had met us at least once or twice before and reminded us where and in what circumstances. All the individuals helping to shear were men, and most of them were shepherds, except for one of Luigi's brothers in law. This man, who introduced himself as a high school instructor, told us that he likes to participate in the activities of the shepherds. Some of the shepherds were using electric shearers, but others preferred manual ones. Luigi's father was walking around the court with a flask of a violet liquid used to dye the wounds of the sheep when they are cut

with the shearers. He seemed satisfied that the work was going well.

After noon other people began to arrive from Bardia, including women, teenagers and children. We wanted to know who these people were and we were told that most of them are relatives of Luigi's and others are friends of the family. They had come to help Luigi's mother to prepare the banquet we would have after the *tosatura*. All of these people went into the house where I had met Luigi's mother.

The shepherds soon finished shearing, and at about 11:30 a.m. they were all back under the shade of the trees where the breakfast table had been set earlier. Luigi, Camilo and some of the adolescents who had just come brought beer, wine and plastic glasses. The shepherds split into several groups, looking for shade. A group of six took chairs and a carafe with wine by one of the walls, on a spot that was also shaded. Another group, including Ayora-Diaz and me, stayed under the shade of the *leccio* tree.

Little after noon we were all invited to come into the house were the tables were, but no one seemed to pay attention. Luigi went inside and then came out calling everyone to come, but again nobody went in. The second time he went in and then came out, Camilo said "Bah, let's go eat!"[5] We all went into the house and took places at the long tables. Two of the women who had come late, Ciccio's assistant and a teenage boy were serving at the tables. We were served three courses of meat, after the *entrée*, and then cheeses, fruit, coffee and *grappa*. The women and children sat at another table, and ate faster than everyone else. As they

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[5] In other *tosature* in Bardia men showed this initial reticence to go into the place where the banquet was being held, while in Telemula I never saw it happen. There men and women alike did not seem to need as much encouragement as in Bardia. I believe that this may be related to the local understanding of good manners.

finished eating, while we were on the first course of meat, a new group of guests arrived. Several of these were local politicians from the Christian Democratic party, some of whom were good friends of ours. They all sat at one of the tables and were served meat, since they declined the *entrées* saying that it was okay by them to start with the meat right away. After the banquet one of the men who had brought his *motorino* brought it close to the house where the banquet had been held, and put a tape of Sardinian accordion music on. People began to leave and by the 16:00 hours only a few of us were left.

The previous description illustrates several features of the way in which exchange takes place in Bardia. By the time we attended this *tosatura* Ayora-Díaz and I had learned when we offered our help to do something we would be thanked and kindly pushed away, or at most let to do one sheep for our own entertainment, because Bardiesi were less likely to accept us as 'locals' than Telemulesi. In a public event such as a *tosatura*, in which so many people were present, it would reflect negatively on a host to let his or her non-shepherd guests work at all. There were only shepherds working at shearing the sheep, and those non-shepherds who could be admitted among the group of shearers were part of the extended family of the owner of the sheep. Also, several shepherds who belong to both *Su Cuile Mannu* and the *caseificio* cooperative were present, since they had either been helped before by Luigi or Camilo, or expected help from them during the shearing of their own sheep. Those older shepherds who came to help were friends of Luigi's father, and expected to receive help from this man's sons or in-laws in the near future.

The banquet after the *tosatura* did not only include those people who had helped to shear the sheep, but also the extended family of the owner[s] of the sheep, namely Luigi and his father, and also local politicians from Bardia and from Nuoro city. There had been no dance after the banquet, which

is characteristic of Bardiesi gatherings.[6] Ayora-Diaz and I were given two *perette* cheeses by Luigi's mother as a present and as an overture for friendship. *Perette*, which are usually made by women, are given away as gifts more often than other types of cheese, since usually sheep's and goat's milk is handed to the caseificio for the industrial production of *pecorino* cheese.

Ciccio had been hired to cook because he is one of the local *arrosto* specialists. In Bardia many types of gatherings have become so large that a new group of specialists has emerged to cater to the specific requirements of cooking for large numbers of people. The trend toward replacing domestic activities with commoditized services has invaded not only these types of relatively exceptional occasions but, as we will see during the rest of this chapter, also other domestic activities.

The idiom in which the *tosatura* as a whole is cast is that of generosity. The monetary cost of things is downplayed by the family who is hosting their friends, although they know that the guests have a good idea about how much money went into the organisation of the party including the refreshments, the breakfast buffet and the banquet. The shepherds who came to Luigi's tosatura were either creating or paying a family debt which can only be 'repaid' with *tosatura* work or with

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[6] In Bardia there are many people in their thirties who dance *su ballu Sardu* because they learned it while they belonged to the local folk group. During large village festivals, unlike in Telemula, people do not dance but only sit to listen to the music. The only time I have danced with someone from Bardia was during the carnival of 1992, in Mamoiada, where a woman from who used to belong to the Bardia folk group and I danced to live accordion music on the *piazza*. In Telemula, instead, people enjoy dancing the local version of *su ballu Sardu* at almost any occasion. One night two of our Telemulesi friends (a young shepherd and a man attending university in Rome) improvised a dance in a pizza restaurant as I played Sardinian music on the guitar and someone else played the conga drums.

other kind of work party and banquet during the present or the next year.

However, the system of informal cooperation for the *tosatura* works on a "first come first served" basis: the shepherd who asked first for *tosatura* help from another shepherd or family is the one who ensures this other individual or family's participation. In some cases, if there are several shepherds in one family, they may attend different *tosature* during the same day. During this particular *tosatura* Ciccio explained to us:

> "*Questi tutti si aiutano tra loro: se uno tosa, gli altri vanno, dopo l'altro tosa e tutti vanno lo stesso e così via* . . . [These [shepherds] all help each other: if one of them shears, the other one goes, if another one shears all the others go and so on . . .].

One of the shepherds there present, however, told us that he had sheared his sheep by himself. He said that he does not have electric shearers, so he had sheared a few sheep a day during several days. We often saw this shepherd in other *tosature*. He is the president of one of the local cooperatives and he was creating labour debts which would eventually be paid in a different way. We heard from shepherds who do not belong to the cooperative that he was trying to place himself above others. The shepherds in the cooperative, however, appreciated his political skills, which had brought them economic benefits, and were willing to accept him even if he did not engage in the reciprocity circles in the same way as everybody else.

ii. The vendemmia

In Bardia there is a large grape producer cooperative, which is in turn affiliated with the local wine making cooperative plant. The cooperative plant itself owns two vineyards which are looked after by paid personnel. Much of the grape harvest in Bardia takes place with the use of

machines. However, many families, including shepherding families, keep a small vineyard from which they make their year's wine supply. The shepherds in particular do not think that industrially produced wine is good, because it is not 'natural' enough, and they prefer either to keep a small vineyard and make their own wine, or buy wine and grappa from their relatives or friends.

Often times, working arrangements which concern the grape harvest have been in place for many years between families who keep their own vineyards. One shepherding family, for example, helps their relatives in another village to collect and mill their grapes and then is helped by these relatives when they harvest their own. Another family, headed by a construction contractor and a school teacher, have a small vineyard from which they prefer to collect the grapes over several weeks, with help from the husband's *crìcca* or with no help at all, picking each time only those grapes that are ripe and leaving the other ones, which are picked later on. An extended shepherding family composed of three nuclear families living in apartments built one on top of another in the same building, prefer to collect their grapes with help from the shepherds' wives and in-laws, and then mill them in their common *cantina*. I never saw or heard of anyone paying someone else for his or help during the grape harvest, except for the commercial grape growers, who may hire wage labourers instead of paying for the mechanised harvest of their grapes, because they believe that the machines harm the vines.

While there are different working arrangements for the picking of the grapes, all families hold a large *pranzo* in the *campagna* (the countryside) where the grapes are picked. As in Telemula, the making of *grappa* takes place much later and is not marked by any particular celebrations, since most rural Sardinians I know believe that distilling alcohol in one's

home is an illegal activity.[7] Rather, each family makes its own grappa almost in secrecy, in the basement of the house, although the smell coming from the houses and invading all corners of the town at the end of September and during October would make the tax police very suspicious if they really wanted to fine those people who make *grappa*.

iii. picking olives

As with the grape harvest, in Bardia the picking of olives takes place within two widely different forms: through family work or through wage labour. There is in Bardia a cooperative olive grove, as well as several individual olive growers. Most non-shepherding families who grow olives commercially are affiliated with the local cooperative olive press. There are, however, several shepherding families who have their own olive trees, and make their own supply of olive oil for the year from these trees and from olives that they glean after the harvest season is considered over.

The picking of olives takes place during the fall. Some shepherding families manage to have their olives pressed at the local olive oil plant by giving them to their relatives who belong to the cooperative. This is an arrangement that favours both the independent grower and the member of the cooperative. There is an EEC cash incentive given to olive growers at all olive presses in the Ogliastra and the Barbagia. This usually takes the form of a payment awarded to the members of cooperative olive presses, or a discount given by the owners or managers of private olive oil plants to those people who bring their olives to them for pressing.[8] The

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[7] According to an officer of the *guardia di finanze* [the tax police], it is not illegal to distil one's brandy at home, as long as it is for one's home consumption and not for sale.

[8] In 1991 a woman from Telemula told me that she had received a small payment from the owner of an olive press, because the award due on her olives was larger than the fee

relatives of shepherds keep part of the money they received on the other family's olives, and the shepherding families save themselves first the trip and transportation of their olives and then of their oil between Bardia and another town or village.

In Bardia families are economically more specialised than in Telemula regarding primary production. There are several well established agricultural and pastoral cooperatives which have their *raison d'etre* in commercial production for the local and regional markets. Today, produce, meat and dairy products are usually expected to sell in the market for cash, or produced strictly for family consumption. The interplay between the gift and the commodity economy is at full play between these two hypothetically distinct spheres of the local economy.

There is in Bardia a burgeoning black market of home-made products. While in Telemula home products circulate usually as gifts from one household to another, in Bardia at least part of this flow implies the use of or substitution for money. *Grappa* and home-made wine are sold to friends and relatives, home-made bread and sweets are sold under the table, and even animals are given and taken as payment instead of cash, away from the scrutinizing eye of the tax police. While in Telemula at least part of these exchanges take place within the gift circuit, in Bardia there is a general complicity that unites many of the villagers. Furthermore, some families have worked out a system of exchange whereby they pay kickbacks to politicians in exchange for permits to do something or to delay their tax payments. These illicit exchanges are all cast in the idiom of the gift: one sells something or buys something illegally from someone else only if the two individuals or families see each other as friends.

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the plant charges for the service.

The manipulation of the notions of 'gift' and 'commercial transaction' are in full force regarding the exchange of things. Purely commercial transactions take place between strangers, while commercial transactions that have a gift-like quality (personal discounts, credit, and the sale of illegal sale of products) take place only within friends. The calculation of 'help' in terms of wages are fully acknowledged by all participants in help circuits. As we will see below, in Bardia this characteristic of mutual help as a money saving device is most important during socialising and ceremonial activities, that give the town its fame in the area as *Bardia Pompa*: "Pompous Bardia".

b. Forming a household

In Bardia the current custom of separate spaces within the house for men and women gives special significance to the different stages of building a house. As opposed to Telemula, where the basement usually hosts only the storage rooms of the house, the basements of Bardia houses are very large because they have to include a large space for men to host their friends at home. The large capacity of the basement gives Bardiesi room to organize very large parties during the two main occasions marking the building of a house: *buttare il tetto della cantina* [to build the roof of the basement] and *buttare il solaio* [build the upper roof of the house]. Given that the male members of the *crìcche* all help each other to build their respective houses, the celebrations for both events are lavish, as the woman whose husband or husband-to-be is the one who organizes the party also invites her own *crìcca* and relatives to the feast.

In May of 1992 Ayora-Diaz and I were invited to the feast given by a family headed by a *muratore* [a mason] and a school teacher who specialises in helping children with learning disabilities. This feast was to mark the day of *buttare il solaio* of their new house. At 9:00 in the morning most of the

men who would participate in the work and the feast (about 30 of them in total) but only three women (the female owner of the house, the owner of the first stage of the house and myself) were there already.

After breakfast the female owner of the house left to go back to the apartment that the couple already lived in. The men organized themselves into several groups: a group of four men (two shepherds, a mechanic and a *muratore*) took over the task of cutting the meat from two sheep into little pieces and cooking *pecora bolita* [boiled ewe], two men became in charge of roasting two suckling pigs, and the rest of the men went to the roof to help the male owner of the house to complete the roof, which should be finished before the *pranzo* that was meant to celebrate it.

The two anthropologists, who lived close to the house owners' current apartment, were put in charge of travelling between the apartment and the house under construction to carry vegetables, potatoes, cutlery and the plastic dishes and glasses that we were going to use during the *pranzo*. When we arrived at the apartment we found that several women were already working there: two were washing the salad, while other two were taking slicing potatoes. The owner of the house was directing the other women's activity and preparing the plastic plates, glasses and utensils that we were going to transport to the new house.

When we returned to the house under construction, the woman who had stayed there was helping her husband to dress the long tables and benches that the men had prepared out of planks, cement blocks and grape harvest cases. More women were arriving, but they did not seem interested in helping the men to prepare the meat or the women to prepare the vegetables at the apartment. Instead, they all wanted to tour the house, and the woman who had stayed lead them through all the rooms, explaining what each would become when construction finished. The two men who had been in charge of roasting the piglets had

now been joined by another one, and the three of them were roasting the meat of two *capretti* [kids]. In all, we learned, about forty kilograms of meat would be served at *pranzo*.

The roasting of the piglets was being done next to the basement where the banquet would be held. The exterior walls of the room where the pig was roasting were not yet finished. Because of the roast and also because the cauldron with sheep meat was boiling in the same room, the place was very hot. I asked one of the shepherds, a man in his late twenties who is a member of the *Su Cuile Mannu* cooperative, why he had come to help. He told me that he is a friend of the owners, and he wanted to help them to have their own house.

Ayora-Diaz and I went back to the apartment, and there the female owner of the house was having mixed feelings about the party. She told us that it was a good thing that so many people had come, because it meant that some of them would continue to help them during the finishing up of the house. However, she thought that there were too many men and especially too many single ones or men who did not own a house. She said that this meant that her husband would be absent from her house for many weekends within the next two or three years, because when someone helps you to build your house you are bound to reciprocate in the same way.

At *pranzo* there were over 50 people, including all the men who had helped plus women and men who had come at noon or later. The banquet continued until the five in the afternoon, at which time it had become clear that there would be a great amount of leftovers from the meat, the bread, the vegetables and even the wine. Beginning that night, the meat was distributed among the relatives and close friends of the couple.

Weddings in Bardia are also major undertakings that require the participation of many people. The following description refers to the wedding of the daughter of a shepherd with a *contratista* [construction contractor]. I have

been told that this wedding was not out of the ordinary and that actually it was kept on the conservative side, since other weddings involve more preparation and a greater attendance.

This wedding took place in November of 1991, shortly after my arrival in Bardia for my first long-term stay in this town. Since I was a good friend of the bride's family and I asked to help in the preparations and celebrations, I was invited to take part in the cooking, baking and running of errands that went on during the previous days. While the *sposi* went around town handing out invitations to the wedding, the mother and the sisters of the bride, all women ceremonially related to the family, several neighbours and friends took part in the preparations for the wedding. Two hundred families were invited RSVP, and they were notified at least thee weeks in advance.

The families who received invitations were expected to let the couple know almost immediately whether they could attend the wedding. Those families where most members were old or infirm as well as those who had already other types of commitments, were given a present by the couple. The present consisted of several types of sweets, as well as two hundred grams of coffee and a *bomboniera*. In those cases of people who were particularly close to the family there were two bags of coffee in the package, instead of one, and twice as many sweets as in the other packages.

While we bought some of the sweets from local bakeries, the other sweets were all made in the basement of the bride's mother's house. One of the bride's sisters and I were in charge of putting the packages together, which then would be picked up by the *sposi* and taken to those people who could not attend the wedding celebrations. We made a total of around 60 packages of sweets, 20 of which were twice as large as the others.

In the meantime the families that had been invited began to come to the bride's house to bring their presents. An additional supply of sweets was necessary for these guests, who would always be offered coffee and sweets during their visits. The visits always took place in the living room, if the people who came were not part of the helping crew. To my knowledge there were at least fifteen women helping to make the sweets and prepare the packages: five sisters of the bride, plus a host of ceremonial relatives of the family.

After someone from an invited family had brought a present, a child was sent from this same family to the house of the bride with a greeting card in an envelope. Inside each envelope there was a card wishing the couple happiness in marriage, and a bill of denominations that ranged between 10,000 and 100,000 Lire.[9] Each child carrying one such envelope was invited into the house and given two pieces of caramel candy and a tip of one thousand Lire for every 10,000 they had brought.

The presents that the invited families brought to the couple included electric appliances such as irons, blenders, electric choppers, cookware, dishware, glassware, vases, a television set, a videotape recorder, lamps, clocks, as well as photo albums, towels, linens, and other items for the house. Also, the couple received gifts of boxes of pasta, containers with wine, *carasau* bread packages, and the meat of entire animals. The bride told me that she had received so much food that they probably would not need to buy any of that for more than six months, or even a year.

The presents were all written down on an accounting book, where the following items were specified: which family had sent it, who had brought it to the house, and what the particular present had been. According to the family of the

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[9] Out of these envelopes the couple collected in all six million Lire; that is, six thousand Canadian dollars.

bride, the presents had been purchased by the wedding guests according to the following system: a close relative or friend would have to spend at least 600,000 Lire [6,000 dollars]. This included all the members of the bride's and the groom's *crìcche*. A friend who was close but not particularly so would have to bring a present that cost 400,000 Lire. A long-time acquaintance would bring a 200,000 Lire present, and someone who was only a recent acquaintance would send in something that cost between 40,000 and 60,000 Lire. These presents would not take into account the money that the family would later send with a child.

I asked why all the presents were written down on the book, and they told me that when someone from the family who had sent them got married, they would have to reciprocate with a gift of equal value. In fact the bride spent the following months investigating what the price of each present had been, and how much money the gifts of the wedding represented. One of the women of the house, who at the time was working in Telemula as a kindergarten instructor, told me that in Telemula things regarding weddings are still the way they were in Bardia thirty years ago. She said that in Telemula the customs were much simpler, although it was nice that everyone in the village gives a gift to the *sposi*.

While at the house of the bride we were taking care of the packages of sweets, the baking of *carasau*, *moddisozu* and *su cocome e'gherda* types of bread, the house of the groom was in charge of preparing everything else from the setting up of the places where the two main wedding banquets were going to take place, to helping the bride to co-ordinate and arrange the things that would be used and served during the banquets.

A week before the wedding there was the *addio al celibato* banquet, which took place in a large basement still under construction which belongs to the groom's family. This banquet was hosted by both the groom and bride, and the cooking and serving of food was coordinated by specialists who

are hired to coordinate the cooking and volunteers who belong to the family of the *sposi* and to their *crìcche*. There were over 200 people being served.

This banquet took place at night, between the 21:00 and the first hours of the next morning. At the end of the banquet I was asked to play the guitar for the guests. I played and sang three songs and then lent my guitar to a young men who asked me for it. Then people began to move and separate into small groups. Several groups of men formed and some began to play *murra* while others began to sing *canto a tenores*. A group of young people were singing Italian popular songs while a young man played the guitar. All the songs and the shouts of the players together were an amazing and loud array of noises and I was surprised that there were no complaints from any of the neighbours. To my surprise, given my Telemula experience in these types of celebrations, no one was playing cards.

The wedding and ensuing *pranzo* banquet took place one week later, at noon, in a still larger place which accommodated the over 600 people who sat to eat. Before the meal there was an *invito* bar, where the guests were offered *amaretti* [almond cookies] and bianchini, as well as the bitter drinks that are taken as aperitifs in Sardinia before *pranzo*. The bar was womanned by three friends of the bride, and when all guests were seated the *pranzo* meal began. There were 60 volunteers who served the different courses, which again were being cooked and prepared by women and men who were relatives, ceremonial relatives or close friends of the family, under the supervision of two hired cooks. After the banquet people went home and then came back later to where the *pranzo* banquet was held, and we had a dinner of meat, cheese, wine and *aqua vite*.

After dinner an accordionist came to play for all to dance to Sardinian music. The party continued until after midnight, and when it was over everyone went home. Next day the friends and relatives of both the bride and the groom came

to clean the place. While it had been the groom's friends and relatives who had first cleaned the place and set the tables, it was the turn of the bride's relatives and friends to clean and pile up the planks on a corner of the room. Later on I asked the bride: "what happens if you have to work the day that one of the persons who helped you gets married?" she answered:

> "*Non è pensabile* [It is unthinkable]. I will either get a permit for sickness or a leave of absence without pay. When any of my friends who helped me during my wedding gets married I will have no other option but to help him or her. This is how things work in Bardia: we all help each other, and it is only because of this that we can make such large parties each time."

On another occasion I went to visit my friend Francesca, who had been recently married. She was home alone, sitting by the fire of a little fireplace.[10] Probably because there was nobody else in the house she felt that she did not have to mind what she said to me as she would in public. After telling me about her new married life she said to me: "What do you think about X?" I said that she is a good friend of mine and she said that she had also thought that she was a friend of hers. X's husband, she said, is in the same *compagnia di caccia* [hunting group] as Francesca's husband. However, they had given Francesca and her husband a wedding present that cost only 40,000 Lire which, furthermore, Francesca had found out it was on sale for only 20,000 at the time of her own wedding.

Francesca explained to me that "*da noi* [among us, in Bardia] you cannot just give any present to someone." She detailed the hierarchy for me, once more. Only someone you

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[10] Fireplaces in Bardia and Cala Fuili are very small as they are less than a metre high and less than 1.5 metres wide, while in Telemula they are at least one and a half metres high and at least two metres wide. Bardiesi often asked me if it is true that in Telemula people sit inside the fireplace.

had met last week could give you a 40,000 Lire present. Even an unmarried woman that she had met one week before the wedding had given her something that costs 60,000 Lire. X and her husband, she said, should have given them something of at the very least 200,000 Lire, or a gift that cost 400,000 Lire, which was what Francesca had expected to receive from them.

During the building of houses and the celebration of weddings the expectation is that the help given to someone else will be reciprocated exactly in the same way as it was given: that is, anyone who helps a friend during the building of a house expects that his help will be reciprocated in the same way. Help during the organisation of a wedding and during the serving of food (or the performance of other tasks) at the wedding is reciprocated when the helper or one of his or her children holds a wedding celebration of their own. The only room left for negotiation on these labour agreements refers to whether or not two or more parties will need help at the same time from someone who is 'in debt' to them in the same way.

There is the expectation that siblings and other close relatives (both parallel and cross uncles, aunt and cousins, and all of ego's ceremonial relatives) will help in one's wedding party. The matter, however, may be complicated if two weddings claiming ego's involvement are those of a close relative and a member of one's *crìcca*. However, Bardia is still small enough that many of these problems can be avoided by programming only one wedding per day if any conflict could ensue from two weddings requesting help from the same people.

I have asked my married friends in Bardia if they would consider someone's help during a different time as being given instead of the help they would give at someone's wedding. This had not even occurred to them, since events such as weddings, funerals, the building of houses, and others that require large numbers of people are distinct and not interchangeable. My question "If someone helped you during

your wedding, would you help this person at some other time and then not help him or her during his or her own wedding?" only met with their impatience. One of my friends said: "Look, if someone helped me during my wedding I just have to help her during hers."

c. Maintaining the household

As in Telemula, in Bardia there are many repetitive tasks that the families have to perform during the year in order to keep the household functioning. Some of these include, besides the daily managing of the budget, cleaning and cooking that is usually carried out by women, the provision of firewood, the making of sausages, the making of *pasta al forno* [lasagna] and the baking of *carasau* bread.

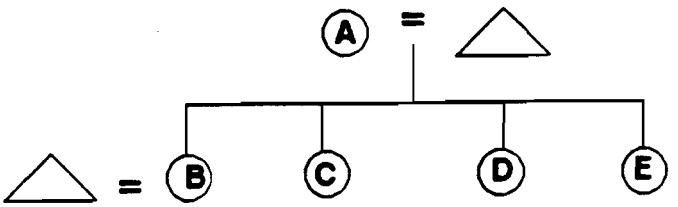
In Telemula families cut their own wood, sometimes with the help of their (both male and female) relatives and friends who organise themselves so as to take their wood by turns. In Bardia, instead, wood cutting is completely regulated by the *comune* and each family pays a set quota each year (600,000 L. in 1992) in order to have wood delivered to their house. Wood cutting, then, does not imply the same type of informal cooperation arrangements that it does in Telemula.

Unlike Telemula, in Bardia it is common for shepherding families to buy *carasau* bread. The local businesses specialised in this product thrive not only from their insertion in the larger regional markets but also from their local clientele. However, most shepherding families still prefer home-made *pane carasau* as opposed to industrially produced bread.

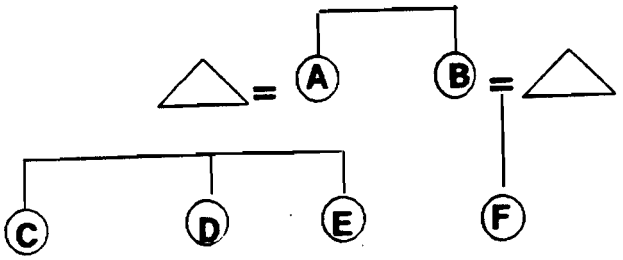
Each time I baked bread in Bardia it was within circuits of help that are much more loosely structured than those of Telemula, in that they do not imply that each worker will keep all the bread for her own family, by fixed turns. Maybe because the spatial separation between men and women during socialising activities creates different, single-gender social

circles for the older generations of men and women, the baking of *carasau* in Bardia very often took place among women related matrilaterally, while in Telemula the circuits of help most often included patrilateral relatives and affinals, as well as neighbours. Very often, the bread that was baked was distributed among all the women who had participated. Figure 6.1 shows two baking groups of Bardia who are formed completely along matrilateral lines, and a third group that is formed along both matrilateral and affinal ties. In Bardia women do not necessarily make large batches of bread that can last a family three months each time, and they seem more willing to bake more often during the month, as necessary.

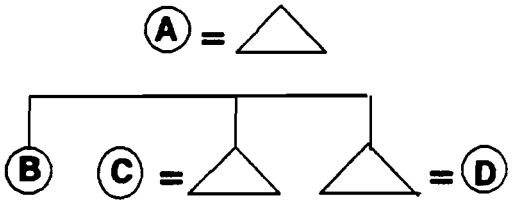
While in Telemula the baking of *pistoccu* bread starts before the break of day and is highly ritualised in its rhythm, in Bardia the baking of *carasau* starts well into the morning (never earlier than 7:00 in the morning) and does not necessarily include a major breakfast or *pranzo* or the baking of sweets after the flat bread. As is the case with the regular *carasau* bread that accompanies most meals, there are many local businesses that sell the sweets for which the town is famous. *Biscotti*, a type of fine biscuits, are never baked at home. These biscuits are offered by the women in their living rooms or by the men in their *cantine* practically on every social visit. Besides *biscotti* there are many other sweets that the Bardiesi make and consume through the year. These can be either bought or made at home.



GROUP 1



GROUP 2



GROUP 3

Legend:

woman

man

deceased man

A . . . Z bakes with the group, sometimes

Chart 9.1. Three Pane Carasau Baking Groups in Bardia.

Women in Bardia make sweets of different kinds not only during *carasau* baking parties but also during special holidays, which seem to take place once a month or more often throughout the year. While in Telemula there are only about four holidays marked with the baking of special sweets, in Bardia there is an amazing variety of sweets and fritters associated with particular holidays. For some of these, women need help from other women. This is the case, for example, during the baking of *su pistiddu*.

Su pistiddu is a special type of sweet that is baked during the winter, for the *festa di Sant'Antonio* and the *festa di San Michele*. The making of *su pistiddu* sweets is especially laborious since it requires the confection of a jam made out of red wine. To make this jam young wine from a recent grape harvest has to boil until it becomes a sweet dark red paste. Women take turns at stirring the jam in a large pot, which they put either on top of the gas stove in the kitchen or, in pastoralist households, on the gas burners that the shepherds use for making cheese. This particular operation takes several hours, since the wine has to become thick by evaporation.

Once the jam is ready the women proceed to make the sweat dough for the tarts which will be filled with the *vino cotto* [literally, "cooked wine" jam] and then to bake them in the bread oven. The work arrangements during baking are very similar to those described for Telemula for making *su pistoccu* (which are the same than for *su pane carasau* in Bardia): there is a hierarchy of workers whereby the least experienced one will start forming the tarts and the most experienced or dexterous one will finish them. Then, after the tarts are filled with the wine jam, they will be covered with flat, round pieces of dough by the eldest worker. After this, someone who is considered to have special creative talents will cut a design from the top of the cover before the whole confection goes into the oven. The result are beautiful

sweets that are proudly offered to one's guests during the season of the Sant'Antonio and San Michele *feste*.

d. Socializing

Socializing is a major preoccupation of Bardiesi of both sexes and all ages. While in Telemula socializing is less intense during the winter, in Bardia the pace of visiting, meeting one's friends at the bar, organising trips to Nuoro city to go to the movies, organising banquets in someone's *cantina*, or going out to the countryside in large groups to have a *spuntino in campagna* [a banquet out in the countryside] never seems to stop. Once I asked in the house of a shepherd why was it that there is always so much going on and people never seem to get tired of partying. One of the daughters said that "*[Bardia] è nata allegra* [Bardia was born festive]." She said people in Bardia like to be together always, even during funerals, and to undertake all kinds of projects.

In another occasion I was riding in a car with the daughters of several shepherds and one of them began to say that in Bardia there are so many things going on all the time that you are never bored when you live there. She said that people do not only get together to eat and drink, as they do in the Ogliastra, but that out of banquets and *crìcche* parties many things result. She told us that a *crìcca* of middle aged men had just decided to start singing and they were now taking singing lessons in order to form their own polyphonic choir.

Ayora-Díaz and I were constantly visited by our friends while we lived in Cala Fuili. They would come to tell us that there was a pizza dinner that night at some restaurant, or that we were invited to join a party in someone's house.[11]

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[11] In Bardia and Telemula we had lived with other people or families, sharing the houses where we were. When we lived in Cala Fuili we took an apartment by ourselves. This made a major difference since people accepted our invitations to come to our house, while before they had shown reticence to do so.

While in Telemula people decided to do things on the spur of the moment, in Bardia things were planned longer in advance. For example, for Christmas several *crìcche* decided to organise a large dinner at a local restaurant. For this they gave L.100,000 per person, renting a room and ordering a special menu. On top of this quota they organised a present exchange.

At night people from both Bardia and Cala Fuili participate in the *passeggiata*, between the seven and nine in the evening, along the two main streets of Bardia. While in Telemula people walk during the *passeggiata*, in Bardia people go along the two main streets both on foot and by car. After driving several times along the same two streets someone may decide to park his or her car and walk. During the walk people agree on what to do next and this often involves going to a specific bar where the rest of the *crìcca* will usually catch up with their friends. During regular weekdays at the 11:00 p.m. most women disappear from the streets, while some men continue to go around the streets and *piazze* and often into someone's *cantina*. The exceptions are wedding celebrations, carnival and the many festivals which are organised in Bardia through the year, when both men and women stay up late until the early hours of the next day.

During the summer the number of *spuntini* taking place in all corners of the communal territory is larger than ever. The following description regards a *spuntino* to which Ayora-Diaz and I were invited during the fall by a *crìcca* of middle aged men. This type of *spuntino* differs from the one organised by the *crìcche* of younger people in that one person or family is the main host, and what the other people bring is never meat, but something to start or close the meal such as home-made *ravioli* or dessert.

One morning a *contratista* came to our apartment looking for us to invite us to a *spuntino* in his *casa campestre*. We drove some five kilometres to where the party was being held, out in the countryside. The house, which was unfurnished

then, has a large basement of some 40 square metres, with a fireplace. The wife of the owner was already there, talking to her brother, a shepherd in his late thirties. The shepherd was roasting the meat of two sheep and one piglet, and the woman gave orders to a boy with whom she washed the vegetables.

Outside the house there was a small vineyard, which I calculated was of about 1,000 square metres or larger. Most of the people present at the party (about 20 in total) were over 45 years of age. A couple had brought three *panettoni*, the Italian cake that is eaten during easter and over Christmas. Another couple had brought ten kilograms of frozen square *ravioli*, and he explained to us that he has his own *ravioli* factory and distribution business. Another couple had brought bottled wine from a renowned cantina of Ogliastra, which we were to have as *aperitivo*.

At some point the conversation turned to Canada, and in particular to Montreal and British Columbia, which several among those present have visited and where many of them have relatives. The only shepherd at the party was particularly quiet, although he seemed pleased by the attention that everyone was paying to the meat. His sister kept on explaining that he had supplied the host with the meat and with the old cheeses for the party.

Before the banquet we were offered *biscotti*, bitter drinks, beer and the wine that one of the guest couples had brought. After noon we all took place at the two tables that had been set upstairs, on the second floor, where we had a wonderful view of Mount Oliena and the grasslands of an area called *Iloghe*. The menu included two types of pasta in meat and tomato sauce. One of these dishes was made from the *ravioli* that the businessman had brought. Then we had greens and the *carne arrosto* that had been supplied and cooked by the shepherd (for a payment in money). Then we had cheese and fruits, and afterwards with the coffee came the three

panettone cakes that one of the other couples had brought. To close the meal we all had *aqua vita* shots and then we all began to move around the house and then to form groups to take walks around the area. I asked the couple from mainland Italy if they knew anyone of the people there before the party, and they said that they had just met one of the men, who had invited them to come along to the party.

While *spuntini* as the one just described were common among shepherds who are single, they are less so among shepherding families who only host such large banquets out in the countryside during production-related activities, and often organise parties in their own houses in town. Those shepherds who are young and single organise *spuntini* with their male and female friends out in the countryside during the summer, and in their fathers' *cantine* during the winter. However, those shepherds who are married and have grown up children prefer to host their guests either at the *ovile* or at their own house in town in connection with one or another work activity such as a *tosatura* or the killing of a pig. Pig killing parties are particularly suited to show one's respect for one's elders and special guests by offering them the warm raw liver, which is eaten with local Cannonau white wine.[12]

The basements of Bardiesi houses seem particularly well suited for *spuntini* since they can accommodate up to 60 guests around two large tables even without making use of the men's *cantine* rooms. Middle-aged shepherds who are not married do much of their socializing in the local bars and in the *cantine* of their own houses, and attend *spuntini* related to shepherding and other work activities (including pig killings). In my experience, it is only *tosature* and the

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[12] Meloni (1984:173) stresses the importance of pig killing parties in Siniele, a village of Barbagia. He points out that often the pig killing occasions are planned well in advance, so as to give one's and siblings working in other parts of Europe time to arrange a visit for the occasion.

marking of animals that are mostly or exclusively attended by shepherds.[13] All other types of socializing activities are undertaken by mixed occupational groups where the shepherds become part of larger groups of friends. While there is evidence that elsewhere in Sardinia, at least during the 1980s, shepherds did not socialize with other members of their villages or towns (Schweizer 1988), in Bardia and in Telemula this does not seem to be the case.

e. Ceremonial events

Ceremonial events are an additional occasion for both socializing and the display of generosity. Besides several large events which are sponsored and orchestrated by the town as a whole, partly through a fund from the municipal administration and partly through private donations from local entrepreneurs, people in Bardia take a very active role in preparing for and participating in collective ceremonial events. An example of this are the *feste* of Sant'Antonio and San Giovanni, for which the women of most households bake *su pistiddu* and give it away to their friends and neighbours, from whom they often receive *su pistiddu* as well.

During the day of the Sant'Antonio and San Giovanni *feste* the pro-loco committee members are helped by local young people to gather rosemary from the Cala Fuili section of the communal territory. The group of rosemary gatherers usually

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[13] In Bardia and in Telemula animals are not marked with branding irons. Instead, cattle are given special EEC-approved yellow tags on one ear and marked with knife-made incisions on the other ear. Sheep and goats' ears are marked with knife incisions on one or both ears. These incisions have particular names, according to how deep they are and in what part of the ear they are performed, and the right and the left ears may be marked differently in order to make the incisions more difficult to modify (See Bandinnu 1982:143, Caltagirone 1989:99-101, Angioni 1990:142-3). This system of marks is very similar to the one used by Corsican shepherds and goatherds (Ravis-Giordani 1983:259-61).

includes shepherds, who are as fond of these festivities as the other inhabitants of Bardia. A pile of rosemary is collected in the centre of one of the local *piazze*, characteristically the one in front of the church where there is the statue of the saint being celebrated. A big cross with nails sticking out of its arms and head is set up in the middle of the pile, and oranges are attached to the nails.

At the 18:00 hours the priest and the appointed ceremonial *priori* of the year go around the pile of rosemary, which has been wetted with gasoline. The priest and the *priori* carry each one long candle, and the priest throws blessed water on the rosemary pile. All those with candles wait for the order of the priest to bring their candles close to the pile of rosemary at the same time. As the rosemary starts to burn four or five children go up the pile and when they get to the top they start taking the oranges off the cross and throwing them to the crowd that has assembled to watch the spectacle. The children stay as long as they can resist the heat and when the whole pile of the dry stuff is burning they come down, practically through the flames. The effect is very dramatic and this anthropologist could not help but think that this particular ritual was extremely dangerous for the children involved and that at least this part of it should be cancelled.

During both festivals, which take place in different neighbourhoods, the *cantine* and the living rooms of all the church's neighbours are open after the burning of the rosemary. Anyone who cares to come in and share a glass of wine and a piece of *su pistiddu* with the owners of the house is welcome. Women usually attend other women, children and the elderly in the living room, while men attend other men in their *cantine*, in the basement of their houses. Beside *su pistiddu* sometimes the owners of the *cantine* may supply *biscotti* for the feast. There is white and red wine in the cantine, and *vov* [eggnog] in the living rooms for the guests.

People circulate either individually or in groups from one *cantina* to the next, or from one living room to another.

The regular disposition of rooms in Bardiesi houses has it that the living room is often on the second or third floor of the house. Therefore during these *feste* the separation of the men's from the women's guests is almost complete.

Among middle-aged couples, however, as among the couples where both husband and wife are under 40 years of age, this separation is being increasingly trespassed as the women find it more convenient to attend guests in the *cantine* with the men instead of having to hold a separate party of their own. This was the case, for example, at the house of the manager of the *caseificio sociale*, where both husband and wife attended their guests in the *cantina* of their house during the *festa di sant'Antonio*. Young women are also increasingly joining the men at the *cantine* during the two *feste*, since they go around the neighbourhood along with the rest of their mixed *crìcche* of young men and women.

Several village festivals that are organised through the year. Notably, a six day festival is organised in August for *ferragosto* and several *sagre* [festivals] are held during particular occasions: *carnevale* is a one week long celebration in which there are several *sagre*. During these *sagre* special dishes or sweets are cooked in very large cauldrons or wok-like frying pans in the middle of a *piazza*, and everyone in the village is invited to eat and have wine together for the occasion. The municipal administration, the pro-loco and the local stores and bars organise these festivals, which are carried out with the help of volunteers.

Carnival is an important period in Bardia. It offers most everyone in the village the opportunity to participate in the collective celebrations in one or another way. The celebration of carnival starts with the event called *Sas mascaras de Baunei*, literally "The Masks from Baunei." This is a festival which is said to have originated during the

worst periods of hunger between the two world wars. According to the story behind the festival, during the 1920s the people from the Ogliastra were very poor, and they often sought work around Bardia so that they could make a living by helping Bardiesi tend their fields and look after their animals.

The people from Baunei, an Ogliastra village, were at some point so poor that instead of coming to look for work, one day they came to the edge of the village with their faces completely dirty and wearing only rags. Some of our oldest friends said that they had brought things to sell, and that they did this each year before *carnevale*. Others told us that they did not bring anything, and they just stayed at the edge of the village begging for food. Today the *sas mascaras de Baunei* festival starts with a parade that goes into town from the edge of the village, where the Baunesi are remembered to have come. In February of 1992 the parade included several men and women, all dressed in the working clothes of women, who danced to the accordion music played by one of the *mascaras*. After the *mascaras de Baunei* group came mostly children who were dressed as animals, cartoon characters or insects, and several boys dressed as women, who wore masks.

As the parade advanced through town the vice-Mayor walked along the *maschere* with a two-litre bottle of red Cannonau wine, and two shot glasses, inviting all spectators to have a drink. The parade finished at a local *piazza* in the centre of the town, where *sas mascaras* put on aprons and invited everyone to eat *fave con lardo* [broad beans fried in lard] and drink Cannonau wine.

This is one of the two main collective meals organised by the *comune* and the pro-loco committee, with the help of volunteers: the other one takes place one week before Mardi Grass day, and another one which features sweets known as *fritelle di carnevale*. The entire population of Bardia helps to defray the costs of the *carnevale* festivities by buying raffle tickets for a series of draws that take place during

the week.

The *comune* and the *pro-loco* also obtain grants to pay for the cost of the festivals, and young people either volunteer their help or are paid per hour of work to cook in the *piazze* and serve the food. On carnival thursday a large frying pan is set up in one of the *piazze* and people are offered *fritelle di carnevale*, a type of sweet fritters that are characteristic of carnival in Bardia and are made by slowly dropping semi-liquid batter in boiling oil to make lace-like biscuits which are then coated with white sugar. These are eaten with white wine. Also during carnival there may be another type of *fritelle* that are cooked outside for everyone, usually in Cala Fuili, on Mardi Gras day. These are balls of a very sweet dough, similar to the *buñuelos* of Central America. They are usually accompanied with white wine.[14]

During carnival there are three nights of horse races, parades and masquerades, starting the day before Mardi Gras. During the late evening the celebrations of the carnival start with horse races and the demonstration of horsemanship along the two main streets of Bardia. After the horse races there is a parade where all the people dressed up walk from one to the other extreme of the two streets. The elementary school puts on a show based on particular themes, usually including one or more floats.[15] At night different *crìcche* groups dress themselves, often in the same androgynous style, and go

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[14] These large collective feasts are also organised at other times in Bardia. The *sagra del pesce*, a festival organised and sponsored by the pro-loco committee, is held in Cala Fuili in June, to mark the beginning of the tourist season. Thousands of sardines are fried in a giant frying pan at the Cala Fuili port, and again bread and wine are supplied along with the fish.

[15] One five-year-old child was dressed as "a punk ant," wearing a black leather jacket with many chains hanging from it and hiking boots, and his hair was dyed in many colours.

masked from one public dance to another. Among our friends we knew of two *crìcche* that wore costumes and masks during carnival. In one of these two groups was made of five women, and another one of thirty people, including both women and men who all dressed the same identical costume. Although carnival customs are usually very fancy and expensive, most children are dressed in at least two different costumes for the parades and to attend the horse races that take place along the main streets of Bardia.

Carnevale, along with the *fuochi* nights (that is, Sant'Antonio and San Michele) is one of the main series of festivals which helps to re-affirm the sense of community of all Bardiesi. The menus of the public banquets are not chosen at random: the *fave con lardo* is considered one of the most traditional dishes of central Sardinia, which is consumed in public by two or more hundreds of people who may deny their preference for the dish on other occasions. The health-conscious discourse of the mass-media, the school system and the government's health awareness campaigns is collectively challenged. The *fritelle di carnevale*, on the other hand, are considered one of the most representative types of sweets made in Bardia. The general banquet is a celebration of what it means to be a Bardiesi: to eat together local sweets and be rich enough to shoulder the extravagance. These types of festivities are boasted to the stranger as clear examples of the local propensity to be happy, be together and put a common effort toward a collective cause. According to the locals, festivities such as these justify the epithet of *[Bardia] Pompa* [Pompous Bardia] by which themselves and other people characterise their town.

There is in Bardia a special type of village festival that take place in open spaces next to country chapels. These feasts, which like the weddings have developed to their current size during the last two decades, are attended by around two thousand people each time. There are four of these

feasts: *Valverde*, which is celebrated two weeks before the closest Saturday to May 9; *Buon Camino*, which takes place on the Saturday that is closes to May 22; *Babbu Mannu*, which is celebrated on the Saturday closest to June 5, and *San Giovanni*, which is held on the Saturday closest to June 20. Thus, these festivals are spaced within two weeks of each other.

All of these feasts have the same format: they are sponsored by the male and the female heads of one single household, who are called the *priori*, and in 1991 the expected attendance at the main banquet in each of them was 2,000 people. These feasts have taken on many of the organisational features of weddings, and they often involve a major part of the population of the town. Two main specialists who are hired for these banquets. They are in charge of coordinating and supervising the cooking of the pasta and the meat for the feast. These are Ciccio, the *arrosto* cook, and Zia Suzanna, the pasta specialist. Zia Suzanna takes care of all the other parts of the menu, but she is famous for her *pasta asciutta al sugo con carne* [pasta in meat sauce], which is reputedly the best in all of Bardia. The following description follows the events that took place for the *festa di Buon Camino* in 1992.

The *festa di Buon Camino* was organised in 1992 by one of the local entrepreneurs. Ayora-Diaz and I were invited because we were acquainted and had started a friendly relationship with Tadeo, the brother in law of the *priore*. Tadeo drives a minibus between Bardia and Cagliari and we had travelled with him is some occasions and asked him to run errands for us in Cagliari at other times. Tadeo was a willing informant and he liked to explain to us what was happening. Although he was very busy helping his wife's family during the *festa*, he took personal interest in the two of us, making sure that we participated in the *invito* and that we were happy with our food.

There were between 200 and 300 people who worked as volunteers for three months for the organisation of the *festa*. These included all the five siblings of the *priore* and their families, such as in the case of Tadeo, plus other friends and neighbours and the members of their *crìcche*. One week before the main banquet the animals that will be items on the menu (sheep, calves and suckling pigs) were slaughtered. A large feast for the volunteers and the senior members of the party took place one week before the main banquet, and the menu consisted, as in the weddings' *addio al celibato* parties, of the innards of the butchered animals.[16]

The volunteers continued to work, and in the days after this first banquet they cleaned the ground and set up tents and tables on a large clearing next to a country chapel. On the day of the banquet there were two large tables set as bars. At one of them coffee, *biscotti* and *amaretti* were served, while at the other the guests were offered white and red wine in little shot glasses. Although it was less conspicuous at the table than the wine, beer was also available upon request. We were offered first wine and then coffee and sweets, at the *invito* tables. A friend of ours who is a young Catholic priest was setting up a sound system inside the little chapel, and he told us that there would be other two priests conducting the mass with him.

Next to the chapel there was a large cistern truck which had brought clean water, and behind the truck the kitchen had been set up in something that was a mixture between a building and a series of tents. We met the cook, who we were told is over 70 years old. She greeted us, and told us that she has been cooking for *feste* for over 20 years now, although the banquets then were not so large. We were shown the cauldrons where the pasta would be boiled, and were told of the enormous

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[16] However, the livers were not eaten that night but reserved to be served to the guests during the main banquet.

quantities of meat (1200 kilograms of mouton and 700 kilograms of veal and piglet). Other food provisions for the party included 200 kilograms of pasta and several legs of prosciutto, as well as olives, fruits, lettuce and fennel, cheese, and over 200 kilograms of bread, between *carasau* and *moddisozu*.

We moved away from the kitchen and into the large tent where the tables for the banquet were being set by several groups of young people. They worked fast, as two of them dressed each table and set of benches in white paper. We counted 25 long tables, which were expected to accommodate between 80 and 100 guests each. At the edge of each table the volunteers were placing cardboard boxes. We came close to one of the boxes and turned it around, calculating that that particular table is set only after most other ones. On one of the sides of the box there was a list itemizing the following: 100 plates for pasta, 200 napkins, 100 glasses [*bichieri*], salt and toothpicks.

One of the volunteers told us that there were between 200 and 300 people helping the *priori*, and that it would take them at least one more week of work to clean up after the banquet. They were expecting 2,000 guests for the banquet. We asked where they had obtained the planks to make the tables and chairs and they told us that the same planks and several iron bases for the benches had been in circulation for at least the last decade, passing from the last *priori* to the next. The planks and other items that were added when necessary by the *priori* of a festa become included as part of the general equipment for this type of celebrations. We later discovered that the tables used for the setting up of the *invito* bars and the aprons used by the butchers and the cooks are also passed from one *priore* to the next, along with the planks and the iron stool bases.

At first sight this type of *feste campestre* in Bardia is an enormous expense that is shouldered by the *priori* and their

family on their own. However, there is a system whereby the *priori* are compensated for the time and money that they have invested in the collective feast. This system follows the gift pattern of weddings. However, instead of the three types of gifts including items for the house, food and money, this time the gifts are made directly in money, following the same 'hierarchy of affection' as during the weddings: close relatives and friends give them over 500,000 Lire, those who are less close give 400,000 Lire, long time acquaintances give the *prior*'s family 200,000 Lire, and those who are still further away in the affection scale but still were invited to the banquet will give at least 60,000 Lire each.

Again, as for the weddings, this practice of giving money takes place almost privately, since the money is sent to the *priori* directly instead of giving it to them during a public display. Since the guests are invited without having been placed in a specific place within their hierarchy of relationships, the total of money from these gifts in relation to the cost of the banquet may pay for part of the total expense, cover the whole amount that the *priori* had to disburse for the banquet, or even result in a profit beyond the actual cost of the banquet. The volunteers themselves may give different amounts within the hierarchy, besides their help in the work party.

The size of the banquets and thus the risk of spending all of the family's savings in it without seeing a return have become so great that today not too many people accept to sponsor the *feste* as *priori*. For this reason, those couples or individuals who accept hosting this type of festivities gain great respect among their co-town dwellers. Hosting of these feasts has now become equated with social prestige. In a potlatch-like logic, as manifested during the first years of ethnological research on the feasts (Codere 1950), each year the number of people invited are larger, as the current *priori* try to outdo the parties of previous years. This inflation is

probably related not only to the fact that the *priori* aim at giving more prestige to the festivities sponsored they sponsor, but also to the fact that a large crowd of guests probably helps to offset to some extent the economic risks: the larger the group of guests the more money they will collect. The increased numbers of people help to reduce the proportional significance of those guests who forsake their social obligation to manifest in cash their affective attachment to the hosts. The investment in terms of money, along with the political investment that the hosts undertake, are at least partially repaid, and the hosts enhance the social prestige of their family before Bardia as a whole.

Instead of 'charging' interest on returning goods, as it happened among the West Coast Kwakiutl (Codere 1950), the 'repayment' rates are set according to the affective relations that the guests have established with the hosts, plus any other pending 'debts' on returning gifts that the guests may owe the hosts. This type of celebration is one of the main ways (besides weddings) in which families in Bardia convert their social networks into hard cash.

The views of different people in town regarding these prestige-building festivities are mixed. Many of our friends who have attended technical schools or university saw these parties in a very cynical light. According to them, the reason why anyone would want to make a party of that size was to make as much money as possible. They all recognised that there was always the risk of losing money and going broke, as has happened on several occasions to the families who have hosted one of these annual *campestre* feasts. However, some of them pointed out, there was the example of a man who organised and hosted one of these feasts and now has a new car, and another family had made a lot of money as well.

3. COOPERATIVES

Cooperatives in Bardia have been made part and parcel of the general exchange patterns of gifts and informal cooperation by the locals. The shepherds are usually part of reciprocal help circuits of different types. The cooperatives of Bardia have the mandate to function as single, collective work units made up of the members of the association, but this is seldom the case. In practice, within Su Cuile Mannu shepherds take care of intensive-labour associated with their flocks with the help of their relatives and friends, and not necessarily with other members of the cooperative. There are, however, a few cases where the cooperative was actually formed by a group of people who already cooperated among themselves toward some specific purpose. For example, a group of three brothers and one sister who were business partners in a butcher shop for several years were following during 1991 and 1992 the necessary procedures to register their business as a cooperative.[17]

In Bardia cooperatives exist in most sectors of the economic life of the town. Here, however, I focus on the ways in which the local pastoralists of Bardia have entered the cooperative movement. Two important points have to be kept in mind: first, that the shepherds' cooperatives are part

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[17] Although the siblings explained to me that their cooperative took as a starting point their older business association, an officer from the Lega delle Cooperative office in Nuoro city told me that this cannot be done. According to this officer, it is easier to turn a cooperative into a private business than to turn a private business into a cooperative. Once a private business is organised as such, he explained, it cannot be converted into a cooperative. Furthermore, he believes there are no economic advantages to cooperatives over private businesses, since private businesses receive more subsidies than cooperative associations. This is a view that most Bardiesi (and most rural Sardinians) do not share, and the current regional legislation regarding subsidies for small enterprises does seem to support the general public's view, as opposed to this officer's (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1991a, 1991b, 1991c).

of the larger cooperative phenomenon in Sardinia and, second, that the shepherds and their families participate in more general circuits of exchange encompassing people who have occupations other than shepherding.

a. Primary production: *Su Cuile Mannu*

One of the main examples of a "modern shepherds' production cooperative" obtaining in central Sardinia is that of Su Cuile Mannu, a shepherds' production cooperative founded in 1973. This cooperative has been favoured by the national and regional government and by several institutions (such as the *Lega delle Cooperative,* ERSAT and the Riforma Agropastorale institute). The shepherds who are affiliated with *Su Cuile Mannu* enjoy a series of advantages such as access to well-kept pastures open exclusively to the members of the cooperatives during 11 months every year. Also, they have the right to use the storage facilities and shelters that were built with money from the regional government under a major ERSAT project, the veterinary services of two veterinarians. Within the cooperative's lands, paved roads facilitate the access to the different points of the collectively-held lands for the shepherds, electricity powers the shepherds' worksites, and a system of computerized irrigation keeps part of the cooperative's grazing lands green year round.

The cooperative is as much a result of regional as of local politics. Leftist parties and associations claim the cooperative as one of their major achievements, while officers and activists from the parties of the right try to assign *Su Cuile Mannu* a non-political character. In fact, most shepherds who belong to it usually belong to at least one other cooperative, the local *caseificio sociale*, which is affiliated with the cooperative federation identified with the party of the Church.

The ideological conflict that could be expected is countered by the fact that in Sardinia cooperatives have been *lottizzati* at least since the 1970s: while the *Associazione* gives advice to most of the regional cooperative *caseifici*, there are other types of cooperatives, including many shepherds' production cooperatives, that are affiliated with the *Lega*.

The lands the Su Cuile Mannu cooperative has on lease are in two valleys that are among the most fertile lands of the Bardia territory, and probably of all Nuoro province. Until the end of the eighteenth century these valleys were used by Bardiesi under a regime of communal usage of feudal lands. In 1820, however, the 'Law of Enclosures' made legally possible the private ownership of land in all of Sardinia, and in 1839 the Law for the abolishment of Feudal Rights cancelled the privileges that the inhabitants of Bardia had over the public use of surrounding feudal lands.

Although in 1873 the citizens of Bardia proposed that the communal administration purchase the valleys where the cooperative now is, this was not allowed by the Cavour house, which thus far had feudal rights over Bardia. The area became coveted by individuals and families and in 1874 the area was sold to private buyers. In 1903 the comune (the municipal administration) of Bardia started a legal process that would last until 1983, when part of the contested lands were bought by the municipality and returned to the communal territory, and another part (900 Ha) were finally acquired in 1984 by the Regional Government of Sardinia for the regional land fund (L'Unione Sarda, April 6, 1984: 11). Today the *comune* rents out 2600 hectares to the shepherds' cooperative society Su Cuile Mannu, and 170 hectares to the cooperative wine plant Cantina Sociale Bardia for the cultivation of vineyards.

According to one of the members of the cooperative, shepherds were involved in property-trespassing incidents in

the area since 1947.[18] This had brought the attention of the local authorities to shepherds' problems concerning access to adequate grazing lands. In 1971 the Regional Council approved a by-law whereby communally- and regionally-administered lands could be rented out to shepherds or agriculturalists "preferably grouped in associations" (Sini 1982: 176-177).

One of the founding members of the cooperative told me that the idea to form the cooperative did not come from the shepherds themselves. At the beginning of 1972 Bardia shepherds were approached by an officer of the Department of Agriculture who told them how they could take advantage of subsidies and good quality lands if they formed a cooperative. The alternative was that if they did not organize into some kind of association all the shepherds who were keeping their animals in the area would be expelled, and the land would be leased to the wine processing cooperative.

The Communist municipal councils of Bardia, in the four electoral terms between 1971 and 1981, were very sympathetic to the shepherds. It was clear that the valleys where the cooperative now is located were preferred areas for summer pastures and the shepherds who either trespassed or leased lands in the two locations were many. Leasing those lands to the wine grape growers would imply that most shepherds with few or no grazing lands for their animals would have to migrate outside of Bardia during the summer. Much of the communal territory had been already appropriated by individuals or families, and the remaining communal territory, most of it in the area of Cala Fuili, was extremely rocky and exposed to strong wind (thus only suitable for keeping goats).

A shepherds' cooperative would give the administration an acceptable way to ensure that the area stayed open to pasture.

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[18] Before this date the shepherds had access to the area either through customary rights which still prevailed in part of the two valleys, or through agreements for rent in kind to the new owners of the enclosed property.

At the same time, the cooperative would help the shepherds in that it would take away the problem of negotiating individual leases during the summer months. The shepherds decided to follow the officer's advice and accept the municipality's help, although they were sceptical about the eventual results.

The shepherds' cooperative society Su Cuile Mannu was officially established in 1973, with 53 members (ERSAT 1978). In 1974 the comune gave the Su Cuile Mannu society 2400 hectares on lease in the area of that name. There were already several shepherds who kept their animals in the area year round since long before the formation of the cooperative. Since they had customary rights to the use of the pastures the cooperative and the communal administration proposed they join the cooperative if they did not want to get off those lands. Apparently they did not want to leave and they became included on the cooperative's membership list.

During its formative years (1973-1978) the commitments of the members to the cooperative were limited to paying an entry fee of 10,000 Lire and giving part of their milk to the cooperative dairy plant, to which many members already belonged. In this way, the most immediate effect of the cooperative's creation was the establishment of rights of access in an area where up to then trespassing was a common practice.

In 1976 a major program known as the *Secondo Piano di Rinascita* (the Second General Program for Regional Development) was approved by the Regional Council of Sardinia. This document was the result of a three year inquiry into the roots of crime in Sardinia. The inquiry, known as Inchiesta Medici, had been sponsored by the Italian Parliament in order to design adequate measures that would help control and eventually eradicate *malessere* [social discontent] on the island.

Between 1969 and 1972 the Parliamentary committee presided over by Justice Medici listened to the extensive

testimony of small entrepreneurs, agriculturalists, housewives, clerks, labourers, prisoners, victims of kidnapping, and anyone who cared to offer his or her opinion, including fugitives who sent recorded tapes to the hearings. After the hearings, the committee reported in a long and detailed document its conclusion that the roots of criminal activity in Sardinia were to be found in the backwardness of pastoralist production, and specifically in the practice of transhumance (Manconi 1982:177).

The Regional Law for the Reform of Agropastoral Production of 1976 was the Sardinian Regional Council's legislative response to the findings of the Medici enquiry. It was designed to help shepherds change their production practices and modernize not only their work sites but also their entire way of living through higher cash incomes. The Su Cuile Mannu association, along with other cooperatives of central Barbagia (L'Unione Sarda, February 23 1986: 10), was identified as a good starting point for the development of non-transhumant sheep breeding. Bardia itself was targeted as a 'demonstration community' for Ogliastra and the Barbagia.

In 1977 ERSAT conducted two 'feasibility studies' in Bardia to determine the appropriate measures for the improvement of pastoral production. One of these studies concerned the Su Cuile Mannu cooperative. The other one regarded lands privately owned by other shepherds who were being convinced by the authorities to create *Bardia II*, another shepherds' cooperative. The studies arrived at the conclusion that it would be necessary to invest 28.668 billion Lire to modernize pastoralism in Bardia, from which 6.260 billion Lire should go to the Su Cuile Mannu cooperative in three different allotments. The entire project was meant to be completed in 36 months (ERSAT 1978a, 1978b).

In 1979 the cooperative's board began to ask from the members a greater degree of involvement in collective works. The shepherds began improving the cooperative's lands while

they waited for the project to be financed. The project was finally approved by the Regional Council in 1981 (*L'Unione Sarda*, February 23, 1986: 10) for an increased total of 8 billion Italian Lire, but the first public monies arrived only in 1983. In 1984 the cooperative membership had grown to 88 shepherds and the milk productivity per sheep had increased 33% (*L'Unione Sarda*, April 6, 1984: 11).

Many other shepherds began to ask for membership in the cooperative. The Su Cuile Mannu group found themselves in the predicament of having to turn aspiring members down. At the end of 1984 a group of twelve shepherds invaded with their sheep the lands of the cooperative, demanding that they be admitted as regular members. They questioned the cooperative's policy for the acceptance of new members and they accused the cooperative of not following its own internal rules (L'Unione Sarda, April 6, 1984: 11; La Nuova Sardegna, January 11, 1985: 1).

The incident was taken by both parties to the Provincial Court. Although it was satisfactorily resolved in favour of the cooperative in less that two months, it created some embarrassment among the members because it became clear that not everybody in Su Cuile Mannu was equally cooperation-oriented. The president of the cooperative felt the need to declare to the press that the absent members who lived in Continental Italy had expressed their firm commitment to come back to Bardia and participate in the collective works (*La Nuova Sardegna*, January 11, 1985). The cooperative had come to enjoy the favours of all local and provincial politicians and the fact that there were absent 'cooperators' was easily dismissed.

In 1985 the Su Cuile Mannu society owned two tractors and had begun major infrastructure projects such as the building of internal roads and individual store rooms (Earle 1986: 183-184). However, each individual shepherd continued to look after his own flock, without allowing the pooling of all

animals into one cooperative flock (Earle 1986: 183). The shepherds had occasional quarrels with the personnel working in the neighbouring vineyards of the local cooperative wine plant, because their animals would get into the wine plant's lands (Earle 1986: 184). But all in all, the cooperative continued to prosper.

By June of 1992 the cooperative had 93 members and it is in the process of completing the works contemplated for the second phase of the ERSAT project. The budget of the project itself was raised to 17 billion Lire (around 17 million Canadian dollars) in 1989 (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1989). The society manages a total of 3,040 hectares, 140 hectares of which are equipped with computerized irrigation. These and another 300 hectares have been sown with green clover, which is very nourishing for sheep. Besides, 2,600 hectares are under natural pastures.

There is electricity in the entire area of the cooperative and an internal road network has been built. There are stalls and individual two-room houses under construction, because in the past shepherds used to stay for long periods in the countryside with their sheep. The program did not foresee that eventually all shepherds in the cooperative would own a car. It is likely that these apparently obsolete structures will be used by the shepherds for storage rooms and for spuntini, the large outdoor banquets characteristic of central Sardinia.

The lands of the cooperative look very much like the communal territory of other nearby villages such as Orgosolo, Urzulei and Baunei, only much more fertile. Each shepherd or pair of shepherds (usually a father and son or two brothers) keep an ovile (a shepherd's shelter) of their own, and milk their animals by hand in their own recinto (wire-enclosed area where animals are kept while they are being milked). The animals of designated shepherds go twice a day into the irrigated clover areas for two hours at a time, and the rest

of the day they are left to go around the area of the cooperative in their 'giro' or customary daily itinerary.

The members have the option of having one or two shares in the cooperative. For every share, the member commit themselves to provide the cooperative with the profits on the milk of 30 sheep, in exchange for all the privileges they enjoy. All members are expected to also join the *caseificio sociale* and sell their milk to the cooperative plant only. However, instead of forcing the shepherds to give all their milk to the cooperative dairy, the steering committee currently allows two of them, who prefer to make their own cheese, to give only a minimum 'social' quota and keep the rest. This social quota consists of the milk produced by 30 sheep each, which is the number of animals that Su Cuile Mannu actually owns for each share. Each member takes care of his own flock, including those animals that actually belong to the cooperative.

When I asked one of the oldest members of the cooperative why he decided to join the association he told me:

> "The best thing would be to have lands of my own. However, given that it is not my case I am in Su Cuile Mannu so that I won't have to take my sheep outside of [the] Bardia [territory]."

This shepherd says that he is satisfied by his membership in the cooperative because it allows him to supplement the pastures he needs for his animals, so that he does not have to do the transhumance. He takes active participation in the affairs of the association, but he would gladly leave if he were able to secure on his own adequate pastures for his animals.

The members of the Su Cuile Mannu Cooperative manipulate the political will to support shepherds' cooperatives to their own advantage. In Sardinia it is clear that clientelist networks are important to politicians and most government officers, especially if considering promotion or political

candidacy, are willing to let many things pass as 'minor' incidents or problems so as to have a broader consensus base and a more pleasant stay in office. Therefore shepherds, as most Sardinians, have much leeway in conducting their own affairs.

For example, shepherds are required by law to declare each year the number of animals in their flocks. The authorities pretend they do not know that shepherds regularly inflate the numbers so as to get the best out of EEC emergency moneys in the years of scarcity, or subsidies to their income in the years when the prices of sheep's milk products fall. The fact that many shepherds who belong to the cooperative have some land of their own allows the pastoralists to conduct real or imaginary 'shifts' of animals from one place to another. It is virtually impossible for the authorities to come to a count that actually reflects the exact number of animals owned by the shepherds, since when they are visited in their work site (either the cooperative or their private ovili) they can always say that the rest of their animals are elsewhere.

The shepherds in Su Cuile Mannu are not about to change their own production practices in order to adjust to institutional cooperative rules. Many of them have said to me "no, we won't put all our sheep together, even if it is more work for each of us to work this way. We are very diffidenti (suspicious) of each other." Shepherds continue to see membership in the cooperative as an individual investment.

Only 170 units of stock (each sheep or goat counts as one unit, and each cow or bull counts as five) can be allowed in the cooperative per share, and two shares is the maximum a member can hold. However, if a shepherd decides to rotate his animals (as is often the case), so that 170 of his animals are in the lands of the cooperative at the time but they are not necessarily the same animals each time, no one will say anything in the cooperative or outside.

The EEC and the regional administration demand a strict veterinary quality control from the cooperative. The objectives of this program are to ensure that the animals being milked have no health problems, that epizootics do not break out, that animals with infectious diseases are promptly removed from the areas of collective pasture and that only healthy animals are butchered for human consumption. A member of the cooperative told me once:

> "Yes, we are supposed to consult the veterinary service when our animals are not well, but we don't trust anyone. We medicate our own animals and I for one am not willing to kill a sheep when the veterinary doctor has declared that it is not suitable for milk production any more, or it is supposed to have an infectious disease. I take care myself of my sheep with whatever I think might work and sometimes the animal gets well. In any case, if it dies I butcher it and eat it with my brothers and my friends. The veterinarian would advise me to burn it, but then it is not his property."

When I asked him what would happen if he was discovered he said that nothing will happen since everybody knows this is the general practice, and no one will ever care to file a complaint against him.

In November of 1991 I attended a general assembly of the cooperative. One of the main issues being discussed was that the number of shepherds patrolling the cooperative's lands each night would have to be doubled from two to four per turn. This was necessary because the Regional government would not pay any more for the replacement of materials stolen from the cooperative's lands, and thus the shepherds themselves would have to replace what was found to be missing. This proposal provoked heated argumentation against the steering committee because to keep one of the members from taking something away, or accusing him in public, would amount to a breach of *omertà*, the cultural rule by which no one talks about third persons, particularly when this may imply that someone gets fined or

punished. Although the number of members on guard every night was doubled in the end, to date the problem has not been resolved in a unanimously accepted way and it is very likely that the authorities will continue to reimburse the cooperative for whatever is found to be missing from it.

Another recent incident shows how shepherds manipulate their political patrons. At the beginning of 1992 the shepherds found that the cooperative and the dairy plant could not pay them for the milk they had given to the plant during the previous year. The 'second degree' cooperative of Macomer (an association of milk cooperatives for the common marketing of milk products) had gone bankrupt and as the Bardia shepherds had signed as guarantors they were legally bound to pay part of the Macomer association's debts. The shepherds of Su Cuile Mannu did not want to know about what their supposed responsibilities were in the fall of the Macomer association. Since the incident took place during the time of national and regional election campaigns, they told the authorities that if they were not paid within the month of March they would not vote and all of them would deposit blank ballots in the boxes. The Regional council, pressed by Bardia's local administration and its political patrons, resolved the problem in less that three weeks and the shepherds were paid as if they had no responsibility in the fall of the Macomer association.

According to shepherds in Su Cuile Mannu and to ERSAT personnel, in 1981 the price the shepherds were paid for their sheep's cheese peaked at its maximum ever. Since then, the price has remained stable partly because the EEC has continued to subsidize cheese production in the face of a glutted international market. While shepherds in other parts of Nuoro province find it increasingly hard to keep up with the prices of animal feed, veterinary services and products, as well as construction materials and gas for their vehicles, the shepherds in the cooperative have access to subsidized animal feed (which shepherds see as one of the most important

advantages the cooperative gives them) and regional programmes related to meat production. In December of 1991 and January of 1992 the price of sheep's milk paid to the shepherds dropped from Italian L.1,100 to 900 per litre. The dairy cooperative of Bardia, to which the Su Cuile Mannu shepherds belonged (and had the majority in the steering committee), continued to pay the old price to its members.

The way in which the different circuits of exchange articulate with the cooperative becomes obvious to the visitor through the activities that the shepherds perform in the cooperative. Our friends Luigi and Camilo, whom I have mentioned before, are a good example of a shepherding partnership that is not related to the structure of the cooperative, since only one of these two shepherds is a member of *Su Cuile Mannu*. Luigi and Camilo help each other to tend their respective flocks. When *Su Cuile Mannu* closes its pastures for a month between October and November in order to re-generate the grass, Luigi helps Camilo to take his flock from the cooperative's lands to a piece of land that Camilo's family has on the area known as *La Pinetta*.

As I described before, Camilo helps Luigi to organise and carry out the shearing of Luigi's family's sheep, and Luigi in turn helps Camilo at the cooperative when the latter has to shear his own sheep. Luigi and Camilo socialise together most of the time, although they belong to different circuits of wedding labour exchange. In the summer of 1992 Camilo helped Luigi to make inquiries regarding Luigi's lambs, which had been stolen one night. The relationship of collaboration between Camilo and Luigi is similar to many other relationships of labour exchange in Bardia.

In the summer of 1992 Ayora-Diaz and I attended at *Su Cuile Mannu* a *tosatura* where Bilia, the owner of the flock being sheared, was a member of the cooperative. We had been invited by a shepherd who is married to Bilia's sister, and is not a member of the cooperative himself. As in other

tosature, this one provided an occasion for Bilia to organise a large banquet to which he invited his relatives and friends, many of whom came after the actual work of shearing. The shearing itself had been conducted only by shepherds, some of whom are not members of the shepherds' production cooperative. After the sheep had been sheared other guests arrived, including affinal relatives of Bilia's who had come to Bardia especially for the occasion.

Nanny, the shepherd who had invited us to this particular *tosatura* (that is, Bilia's brother in law), does not belong to the cooperative himself, but he and Bilia exchange help during the shearing of their sheep and at other times when it is necessary to call upon someone else to perform a task related to shepherding. We had occasion to attend a pig-slaughter party at Nanny's house, and Bilia was not invited to this particular feast in Nanny's house.

These examples are an indication of the complex patterns of reciprocity within which work at the cooperative takes place. The day-to-day functioning of the shepherds' production unit rests not only on the many facilities that the EEC and the regional government have provided for the cooperative, such as the availability of subsidies from the EEC for the support of the current prices of milk and *pecorino* cheese, subsidised fodder and grants for computerised irrigation, tractors, earth-moving caterpillars and other types of equipment. As important as these may be, the cooperative could not function the way it presently does if the many informal cooperation circuits in which its members participate were to be altered or destroyed. The cooperative has not created an environment where all the shepherds who are members would willingly engage in cooperation as one work unit. Instead, the members of the cooperative distrust each other and prefer to rely on help from their relatives and friends.

b. Processing: The *Caseificio Sociale*

The *caseificio sociale*, a cooperative dairy plant, was founded in 1971 with 100 members. In 1991 the cooperative had 318 individual members who supplied milk to the plant either individually or through several milk supply cooperatives that group individual milk producers from other localities.[19] This cooperative has members from several neighbouring villages and towns, and in 1992 it had a milk processing capacity of 40,000 litres per day. The dairy functions at full capacity between February and April, when it processes between 30 and 40,000 litres of milk a day, and after April begins to receive less milk, until it processes only about 10,000 litres of milk each day.

The dairy plant is located at the northern outskirts of the town, and it consists of several buildings and a large underground floor where the *pecorino* cheese is stored, aged, and prepared to be exported to the United States and to mainland Italy. In the past, the cooperative used to send the ready-for export cheese to the Macomer consortium, but in the last few years the association has increasingly chosen its own clients and marketed its own cheese. This cooperative also sells the cheese to the Bardia and Sardinia public in general through a small stand that is next to the building of the factory and through small-volume sales (quantities in kilograms, as opposed to the quantities in tons sold to medium-size and large buyers) as an additional service to its members.

The shepherds and the large livestock raisers who belong to it receive an 'advance' on the milk they have handed over to the plant once a month. At the end of the year, after the plant's accountants make the annual financial balance, the

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[19] One of these cooperatives, as described in the previous chapter, was the Ogliastra milk cooperative to which several Telemulesi shepherds belonged.

members receive the difference between what was paid to them through the year and the profits that their cheese obtained in the market. This is called a *conguaglio*, and in theory it would not be paid to the members if the international prices of cheese fell during the year.[20]

The plant has benefitted from several regional programs for the financing of agricultural cooperatives, and from grants *a fondo perduto* [non re-payable] since its creation. While in 1992 the cooperative lost its Ogliastran members, the association continues to bring in profits for its members. In 1992 the international market of cheese was highly depressed, as *pecorino* cheeses from Sardinia faced the competition of Argentinean and other cheeses of the same type in the United States and Canada. Shortly before our departure from Sardinia, the president of this cooperative told me that from the 10,000 Lire per kilogram of cheese that the cooperative could obtain in past years, they were willing to sell their stocks at 6,000 Lire per kilogram, if someone was willing to make large purchases.

Although most of the loans that the cooperative has obtained from the government through the years are partly exempt from repayment (the grant *a fondo perduto* may be between 25 and 50% of the total money granted to the cooperative each time), the association currently faces the repayment of loans made during the last three years for the expansion of its facilities and the installation of a whey dispenser. Whey is a by-product of *pecorino* and *ricotta* cheeses, which used to be wasted in the past. With the new facility for the keeping and dispensing of whey, through a faucet, the shepherds can now obtain free liquid whey to complement the diet of their animals, particularly of their

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[20] In theory the members would have to shoulder the expenses if the prices of cheese fell during the year. In practice, however, they are paid at least the advancement money each month and have been always paid *conguaglio* money.

pigs.

The main activities that the cooperative undertakes are three: the processing of milk into several types of cheese, the butchering of the lambs and kids that the shepherds will not keep for their flocks, and the supply of subsidised fodder to the shepherds who belong to the cooperative. Aside from these 'core' functions, the cooperative undertakes the marketing of the cheese and meat and provides veterinary assistance for the shepherds, in a program co-sponsored by this cooperative and *Su Cuile Mannu*.

The cooperative has been managed for 17 years by a bookkeeper who has the full time job of director of the cooperative. Since 1990, however, two shepherds who are brothers and are locally known as "the Kennedies" have become the presidents of the two main shepherd cooperatives of Bardia. These shepherds, who keep themselves informed of the international and regional prices and regulations of Sardinian shepherds' products, have demanded from the membership of the two cooperatives a high degree of involvement in the affairs of associations. The director of the *caseificio* has seen his functions not only diminished but also supervised by the highly critical eye of the current members of the steering committee and according to the local shepherds the cooperative, along with *Su Cuile Mannu*, is on its way to a brisk economic take off because of the better management that the current president has enforced.

The members of the cooperative elect their representatives every three years. Besides nine members who are elected to the administration, three people from outside, who are not members of the *caseificio* but live in Bardia, are elected to the steering committee. These three people from outside are nominated as the *colegio sindacale* and they are in charge of supervising the accounting of the cooperative, in order to provide an impartial opinion on the finances of the cooperative.

According to the president of the cooperative, each shepherd gives the plant between 15 and 20,000 litres of milk each year. The members of the *caseificio* have the obligation to hand in to the plant their total yields of milk after the dairy plant begins to function (usually in January or February) and until May. They are expected to hand in milk that has not been watered down or altered in any other way, and abide by the internal regulation of the cooperative.

The better economic management, however, does not seem to have modified the 'individual considerations' which some members of the *caseificio* enjoy. These have to do with the permission that some shepherds have to remain affiliated with the cooperative without abiding by all the obligations that membership is supposed to entail. For example, a goatherd who keeps his flock close to the tourism area of Cala Fuili belongs to the *caseificio* cooperative, but he does not hand in the milk from his goats. Instead, he prefers to make his own cheese and sell it to the tourists that come during the summer, charging higher prices for his cheese than what other shepherds obtain through the cooperative.

The closer watch on the director of the cooperative is not very likely to bring much higher revenues to the cooperative in the short term. This is so especially because of the low prices that *pecorino* cheese has today in the international markets, which the president of the cooperative himself admits is at its lowest in the last ten years. The new enforcement by the EEC in its cheese quota for Sardinia and for Italy as a whole will probably mean that the shepherds will have to sell much of their stocks to AIMA, the EEC's supported storage system which pays the shepherds only the actual cost of their products without calculating a possible profit.

4. YOU ARE WORTH WHAT YOU GIVE

In Bardia the main clue to what to do during the exchange of things and informal cooperation is to remember what the other person or family has done for oneself or one's own family. During one of the major *feste campestri* that I described above the head of the local pro-loco committee asked me if I had learned anything about how the pastoralists cooperate in Bardia. I explained to this young professional that I was surprised to find that among Bardia pastoralists people always return what they are given including, on the one hand, things and food products and, on the other, help in terms of work. She said to me:

> "But this is not only among the pastoralists! My mother always tells me: "You give what you receive, plus a little bit more." We all do things this way."

Having said this, she added, puzzled, "But, is this not what everybody is supposed to do?" It became clear to me that she had never considered, not even while she lived in the city when she attended post-secondary institutions, that exchange among people could be any different.

A couple whom we knew were at some point truly worried about their financial situation. He worked as a *muratore* and she as a school teacher. They had married one year before and they already found themselves having to give expensive wedding presents to their friends who had previously given expensive gifts to them. Besides, they were being asked to work as volunteers in *feste campestri* during the summer, and they were incurring debts in order to keep their social commitments.

At some point Ayora-Diaz and I found ourselves short of money. We asked a shepherd and his wife, who are good friends of ours, to lend us some money for a few days. They apologized to us profusely for not being able to lend us money because they had just borrowed money themselves to pay for several gifts for two weddings, while they were attempting

to keep afloat the small business that the woman ran to supplement the family's income. They said to us, with some embarrassment, that they had taken loans from friends and relatives both to re-invest in the shop and to buy expensive presents.

The ways in which the value of 'help' was converted into equivalences in things was always mediated by money: in one occasion the wife of a *muratore*, a *casalinga* who stayed at home most of the day, had to attend a funeral. She called her niece (her mother's daughter's daughter) to babysit for a few hours. The young woman stayed with the two children for four hours, while the children's mother was away. The mother then tried to pay her niece the babysitting rate then current in Bardia (about 10 Canadian dollars an hour) but the niece declined the money. One morning I went to the mothers' apartment and I found her listening attentively to an itinerant vendor who was showing her fine lace linen. She explained to me that she was buying something for her niece and asked me to express my opinion as to which piece of linen was more beautiful between two she liked. The woman explained to me that she was going to pay her niece by buying something for 40,000 Lire, given that she would not accept the money. A week later I learned that the niece had accepted the present and she had liked it very much.

Also, when the *ricotta* season came around I observed that the shepherds who gave ricotta away would often receive produce from their friends, also with a few days of delay. In one occasion a shepherd paid an artisan for his work at the shepherd's house with a he-goat, which the shepherd told the artisan was worth as much as the value of the repairs the artisan had performed. The goat turned out to be a stolen animal, and the artisan returned it to the original owner, without asking the shepherd for further compensation.

The family of a shepherd and a family headed by a couple who ran a handcraft store used to exchange little gifts among

themselves. What caught my attention about this particular relationship was the fact that the female heads of the two households often exchanged sweets of the same kind with one another, with two to four days in between. Here the exchange of like for like was not only even mediated by money, but instead the items being exchanged were practically the same: *amaretto* cookies, *fritelle di carnevale* and other home-made sweets. This was particularly interesting for me in light of what I had learned in Ogliastra: "you give what the other does not have." In Bardia, however, one gives because one wants to establish relations of friendship with others, and the exchanges in fact create dyadic relations in which each party expects to be treated as an equal through the exchange of comparable gifts or help. The demonstration of one's generosity calls for others' friendship and demonstrations of affection in kind and, very often, in money.

The cooperatives in Bardia, including the ones where the members are shepherds, reflect the ambivalence of Bardiesi before both gift exchange and market transactions. We have seen how in the case of the *caseificio*, shepherding families make use of their kinship networks in order to have their olives processed at the cooperative olive press. Also, in the Su Cuile Mannu cooperative, much of the work such as taking care of the sheep and milking takes place within partnerships of shepherds where one of the men is not a member of the cooperative. Shearing time is a season when the circuits of labour exchange for the shearing of sheep become activated, and these circuits often encompass individuals who have their animals within and outside the shepherds' production cooperative.

Among pastoralist families, the banquets at the end of work activities re-enforce the social links between the pastoralist family and the other shepherds. Also, the shepherds who host the banquets show their generosity by inviting their non-shepherd relatives and friends, who will

never ask them back for help in sheep shearing. This 'generosity', however, may be expected to be 'repaid' in the future in an equal way. The attendance of local and sometimes regional politicians lends the host the opportunity to strengthen his sphere of contacts in institutional settings, some of which may become strategically important in the near or not-so-near future.[21]

Cooperatives, then, function through a mixture of informal cooperation and business organisation. However, unlike what the literature relating cooperatives to patterns of informal cooperation would suggest (Nyerere 1967, Cliffe 1970, March and Taqqu 1986, Francia 1988), the cooperatives of Bardia are not the institutional result of previously existing circuits of informal cooperation. Rather, the cooperatives are cris-crossed by several circuits of informal cooperation, because the different members of each cooperative belong in different social circles and thus in different types of cooperation groups. Cooperatives are not treated as little (or medium-size) companies, where the employees work for a few hours with their fellow employees and then can socialise with their friends. In the cooperatives, and particularly in those of shepherds, the work itself is carried out within dyads or groups some of whose members may not be part of the associations' membership. The cooperatives, then, are institutional associations each superposed on several informal

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[21] The attitude of Bardiesi shepherds towards administrators and politicians is sharply different from that of the members of pastoralist families in Telemula. In Telemula there is a general dislike for anyone who is involved in politics beyond the limits of the village, and the way in which most people there refer to politicians in general is by saying that "*la politica è una mafia*" [politics are a form of organised patronage]. In Bardia, instead, there is more respect for political figures who are seen as important for the village and valuable as contacts. While in Telemula politicians are treated with distrust, in Bardia they are treated with respect and shown friendly acceptance.

cooperation groups, while these groups at the same time transcend the limits of the cooperatives.

At this point the cooperatives in Bardia are not exactly institutions imposed from above on the locals, but rather a mixture between what the original projects for cooperatives in the area were, and what the locals have made of them by appropriating the available resources and incorporating them into the larger forms of social relations and exchange of goods, money and informal cooperation. In the next chapter I will contrast the patterns of exchange obtaining in Telemula and Bardia, in the light of the current literature on the anthropology of exchange.

CHAPTER TEN: THE LOGIC OF MONEY AND THE LOGIC OF THE GIFT

1. EQUALITY AND THE GIFT

From the description in the preceding two chapters of informal cooperation, labour organization within shepherds' cooperatives and the ways in which people exchange gifts and socialise together, it is possible to see that both in Telemula and in Bardia the locals try to establish an appearance of social equality through exchange. The ways in which this appearance of equality is established, however, are different in the two settlements.

Recent literature on exchange has tended to focus on how the social practices surrounding gifts and informal cooperation re-enforce rank and social inequality. Bourdieu (1977) has shown how in Algeria the way in which exchange takes place underscores the social differences of those entering the transactions: those who have a higher status will be expected to either correspond to a gift or even to a murder through the manipulation of time and the force of the riposte: one who acknowledges a small gift through an excessively large one is emphasizing the differences and insulting the original gift giver. It is also possible to insult someone by putting him or her in a position from which he or she cannot respond. One can also establish her or his high social status by not reciprocating a gift because it was received from someone who is too low in the social prestige scale (Bourdieu 1977:13).

Kan (1989) shows how, during the nineteenth century, participation in the Haida potlatch also implied a public demonstration of social differentiation. High chiefs and the aristocracy would not accept gifts that had been set aside for them, so as to show the materially disinterested character of their participation in the festivities. In this way, by denying any material interest behind their participation, they would establish both their social superiority and their pure

affection for the organiser and sponsor of the ceremony.

Both in Telemula and in Bardia, however, gift-giving and informal cooperation are ways in which the locals try to breach the social and economic inequalities created by the different types of employment opportunities available to them, and the different sources from which they can draw cash earnings in one or another way. In both settlements people are expected to be generous, and the display of generosity has become more important in Bardia than in Telemula because in this town gift-giving has acquired a competitive character which is absent from the reciprocity patterns prevailing in the village.

Contrary to prevailing ideologies, both in Telemula and in Bardia the recent past seems to have been one of more visible inequality among the locals, as some families controlled more resources in land than others and they were in a position to hire, and therefore to dispense patronage, among the agropastoral producers. Today the agro-pastoral producers have been released from these forms of patronage affecting their access to land and therefore from their previous dependency from a few families, an ethic of equality among all the locals is enacted everyday through different forms of gift and labour exchange.

In Telemula the way in which the locals attempt to create an appearance of social equality is through the generalisation of exchange of gifts and of favours in terms of cooperation arrangements, a share code of 'fair exchange' and the systematic denial, at the rhetorical level, of the need for counter-gifts. Each gift or each instance of 'help' is treated by the locals as an original gift, and the instances where labourers receive a cash payment for their work are re-framed as being only given a token of one's appreciation in the form of money. The de-commoditization of things in favour of the 'socialisation' of exchange, however, hides actual exchange processes taking place whereby gifts are 'charged' or

matched as counter-gifts in food, produce, money, commodities or informal cooperation.

Young shepherds and the young daughters in pastoralist families partake of the larger processes taking place in the village. These younger people, many of them self-proclaimed 'modern' individuals, say that they would like to see the current patterns of exchange dismantled. However, having no experience of what a completely free-market of produce, dairy products, services and wages would be like, they often react with disbelief and are shocked at the 'unfairness' committed by those who actually put these ideas into practice.

In terms of the rhetorical models which guide exchange in everyday practice it is possible to assert that for most Telemulesi of the older generations there is no real difference between what Gregory (1982) has characterised as "the gift" and "the commodity" economies: the exchange of things, including commodities and money, as well as the informal exchange of labour, is constantly re-taken to the domain of the gift. However, there are two different types of exchange moralities, both of which involve products from the family self-provisioning activities, from the market, gifts and labour: 'fair exchange', based on *correttezza*, and 'unfair exchange', based on greed and cunning in detriment of one's equals.

The guiding principles for exchange which younger people from the 'modern' faction of the village propose, instead, attempt to endow with profit and the de-personalization of commercial transactions with positive moral connotations. In other words, they believe that the logic of the market can be fair. In practice, however, it is possible to say that none of these models is truly followed by the villagers in their everyday life, and the way in which they justify their own actions by invoking one or the other only shows the pervasiveness of both the 'fair exchange' and the market economies in the social and economic everyday life of the

villagers.

In Bardia, on the other hand, the separation between the gift and the commercial transaction is clearer, although here again people manipulate the two of them rhetorically in order to recast their own actions within the two different logic domains. In Bardia money is the main 'shifter' between commercial deals and gifts, since it is both given away as a token of affection between two individuals or families, but also re-draws the lines between gifts and those things to be exchanged according to the price systems and thus to their 'fair' value. Friendships where money changes hands are said to be those of close friends where the two parties will enter fairly-conducted deals and thus, by favouring each other (often by knowingly cheating the tax collector) will remain within the sphere of gifts.

Besides being a 'shifter', money is also used as a conveyer between the spheres of gifts of things and gifts of labour. Since it is offered as part of the demonstration of affection, it is often de-monetised and endowed with a positive moral significance. However, when someone feels that the 'token' due to her or him for some 'gift' or 'help' is not adequate, trouble is likely to ensue between individuals or families. In Bardia something relatively similar to Gregory's conceptualization of two types of economy is at hand. However, the two involve the exchange of the same types of things, of labour and of money. The 'gift' economy and the 'commercial' economy, however, work at odds with one another.

Many years ago Scarlett Epstein (1962) pointed at the similarities between the system by which Melanesian Big Men accrued prestige and the capitalist economy: one has to invest something in order to reap a profit. However, judging from the example of prestige-building in Bardia, which I find relatively similar to that of the Melanesian Big Men, I find that the gift economy and the commercial economy are based on opposite social principles.

Purely commercial transactions rest on a logic of profit, whereby the entrepreneur tries to maximize her or his earnings. In Bardia at least, the gift economy rests on a very different logic, the logic of generosity, whereby you are worth what you give. The entrepreneur of the gift seeks to maximize his or her debts. By the logic of profit one is worth what one has that can be turned into liquid assets. By the logic of the gift one is worth what one gives. In Bardia, as in Melanesia, prestige and profit might converge, but the social meanings of the two types of investment are very different: while the logic of the market creates the mutual alienation of the transactors, since it sanctions the search for profit, the logic of the gift creates emotional bonds between the giver and the receiver because the 'balancing' of the accounts is expected to take place within 'fair exchange'. The gift, however, creates inequality as the receiver enters a debt with the giver. The 'commercial' tones of gift-giving in Bardia, namely the careful calculation of equivalences, should be seen as a collective effort to redress this social effect of gift exchange between two parties.

In the end, Bardiesi's systematic 're-payment' of gifts transactions while aiming at keeping ahead of the original giver results in a mirage of equality that in fact has the covert effect of widening the inequalities between transactors. While the apparent effect of gift and 'help' exchange seems to underline each transactor's equality, this particular pattern of exchange only reproduces and re-enforces the economic inequality of the parties that engage in gift and labour exchange, since those who give counter-gifts are asked to give back equivalent things or labour regardless of their economic capacities. A teacher friend of mine had to borrow money to make gifts through the year to those friends who had made her expensive presents for her birthday. The shepherd and his entrepreneurial wife whom I mentioned in chapter nine had to borrow money, even at the expense of failing to re-

invest in her small shop, because several of their relatives married that year and they were expected to make expensive presents. These are good examples of how individuals often find the exacting exchange structures being a burden on their financial and work capabilities.

The way pastoralist families engage in cooperation circuits is different in Telemula and Bardia, mainly because of the agro-pastoral character of Telemulesi shepherds' families and the specialised character of primary and craft production in Bardia. While women in Telemula engage in agriculture and men help them whenever they have time free from their flocks, shepherds' wives and daughters in Bardia, as I have already described, are engaged marginally if at all in primary production. Also, the nature of labour exchange circuits in Telemula is more varied than in Bardia because of the size difference between the two settlements. While in Telemula the shepherds often seek help among their non-shepherd friends for shepherding tasks such as the *tosatura* and the transhumance, in Bardia it is only shepherds who participate in this kind of work, although other people are invited to the banquets prepared on occasions requiring the concerted collaboration of more than two persons.

In Telemula not much of a difference is made between gifts in labour and gifts in things. In Bardia, on the other hand, gifts in labour are accounted for separately than gifts in things. In Telemula the circulation of commodities is usually re-framed by the locals as part of the circuits of gift exchange (including informal cooperation and gifts of things). In Bardia, the locals re-frame, according to the context, their exchange of things and labour either as gifts and help, or as commodities and wages. Even the payment of money in exchange for favours from the politicians is relatively different in the two communities.

While in Telemula politicians tend to help people to obtain jobs in the bureaucracy and to obtain permits and other

types of papers, in Bardia politicians and administrators are willing to engage in more time-consuming projects to help the locals to obtain funds for their private and cooperative enterprises. While in Telemula clientelism at the level of the village entails favouring one's friends who belong to one of the two existing factions, in Bardia local politicians compete for clients, regardless of people's affiliation to specific political parties or to local factions.

In Telemula the existing patterns of generalised exchange are earnestly maintained by at least part of the population, while in Bardia the patterns of generalised exchange do not go beyond the parental family, up to the third generation, and other than that the locals engage in carefully balanced reciprocity. In Bardia, the practice of corresponding to a gift of produce, of sweets or of any other products with a similar gift in a slightly higher quantity or price produces the inflation of gift debts.

While in Telemula money is systematically divested of its possible meaning as an impersonal means of exchange, in Bardia people see as legitimate the expectation of measuring affection in cash. In Bardia gifts are expected to represent their value in money, and the conveyance between things and labour can be fully made in monetary terms even when the exchange remains within the sphere of gifts. It is possible to say that in Bardia gifts are calculated in monetary terms in a way that is currently unthinkable in Telemula.

In Telemula there are many items that cannot enter the commodity sphere even if their owners or producers wanted to them do so. This is the case with the tomatoes and other local produce, which have no commercial value unless the producers barter them for other types of produce. Once, for example, a woman from Telemula told her husband, while we were helping her to harvest potatoes, that she intended to barter some of those potatoes with other vegetables or fruits when the vegetable truck came around next time. In Bardia these

exchanges are fully monetised because people already have established networks to sell their produce through either regular or underground channels.

While in Telemula Ayora-Diaz and I could be accepted practically as part of the community, this proved to be more difficult in Bardia perhaps because of the different forms in which exchange is understood and takes place. While in Telemula we did not have to reciprocate in the same terms in which we were given gifts, and people did not feel that they had the obligation to 'pay us back' for our help, in Bardia it was more difficult to convince people to let us help them because there was no way in which they could eventually repay us, unless we came to live in the community for a longer period of time.

The situation in which the ethnographers found ourselves in Bardia is similar to what Stanley Brandes (1977) reports about his own experience in a Castilian village, in Spain. Brandes says that people did not want to invite him to weddings because they could not pay him later for the money that he would be expected to offer to the couple as a gift. While in Telemula we were not expected to try to make countergifts, in Bardia it was difficult for us to be fully accepted because if we somehow became indebted or indebted someone, it was not clear that we could pay or be repaid.

Hyde (1979) and Derrida (1992) after him propose that the difference between the gift and the commodity is that the gift goes in a circle, while the commodity is bought and sold within primarily dyadic structures. Both in Telemula and in Bardia, but particularly so in Bardia, it is clear that this is not the case. In Bardia the gift 'contracts', as it were, go between two individuals or two families, and third parties are often excluded from the dyadic exchange of gifts. When someone gives a friend a present for his or her wedding, the present is supposed to reciprocate in a similar way at a similar type of occasion, be it the gift-giver's wedding or

the wedding of his children in the future.

The terms of reciprocal help are also different in the two communities. While in Telemula informal cooperation passes virtually unacknowledged in its specific forms and is taken as part of the more general forms of gift-giving, in Bardia reciprocal help can only be 'paid' in the same way. The current development of feasts that follow the same pattern of weddings may imply that the transference of wedding labour to feast labour could take place in the near future. However, as things stand, this is still inconceivable, and help at different occasions can only be reciprocated with the same kind of help at a similar occasion.

While in Bardia it used to be that people practised generalised exchange up to the third generation of descendants, I know of two instances where grandmothers or grandfathers are refusing to make their property or savings available to their grandchildren. These people are currently seen as very stingy by the rest of the local population (let alone their grandchildren), but this new trend may become seen favourably as it becomes increasingly frequent.

In Telemula the conflict between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' shepherds also finds expression over the ways to understand exchange. While the 'traditional' shepherds would like to keep the current haphazard forms of exchange, where careful accounting of the gifts and favours is not kept, the 'modern' shepherds would like to see these customs dismantled. They feel that it is unfair for someone who gives constantly not to have the certainty that something of similar value, or an equivalent amount of money will come in return for their gifts and favours. For the older people, however, the current exchange patterns seem to act as a form of social insurance, since people are expected to help out those who cannot help themselves.

While in Telemula the lack of accounting may create feelings of unfairness, in Bardia the strictly balanced forms

of exchange leave little room for ambivalence: you are worth exactly what you give to others (plus a little more, because you gave to them first). While in Telemula there is a vague scale that people follow for the giving of and expectations regarding gifts, in Bardia this scale is very precise and it works according to a 'closeness' hierarchy, again relatively similar to that registered by Brandes (1973) in rural Spain. While the Castilian scale is much more rigid, the principles involved are relatively similar to those that prevail in Bardia. In Spain the people who received wedding gifts are those who decide what will be given to them, but in Bardia it is still the people who give gifts who have the last word on what they will give the new couple.

In Telemula the younger generations of shepherds say they would like to see the gift economy increasingly subsumed by the commodity economy, while the older generations would like to see the commodity economy more broadly subsumed by the gift economy. From these contesting interpretation of the proper ways in which exchange ought to take place, the 'traditional' shepherds call the 'modern' ones greedy, while the modern ones call the traditional ones 'irrational'. As I have shown, however, even the most self-defined 'modern' and 'progressive' individuals resent the violation of current forms of generalised exchange.

Coming back to the idea of a re-creation of equality or inequality through exchange, it is worthwhile pointing out that in Algeria (Bourdieu 1977) and in nineteenth century Haida society (Kan 1989) the codes for behaviour during gift and informal cooperation exchange put the emphasis on existing social ranks and distinctions. In contrast, in Bardia and to some extent in Telemula, the establishing of rank hierarchies during gift exchange radiate from particular individuals or families and in each case the rank structure has an ego-centric rather than a fixed social character. That is, while the nobles of the Haida and the chiefs of Algeria are of

higher rank than most other individuals in their society and thus have to behave in pre-established and rather fixed ways during most exchanges, in rural Sardinia individuals enter exchange transactions according not to fixed social ranks but rather to their personal relation to the individuals or families who are the other party(-ies) in the transaction. In this way, exchange establishes the place of rural Sardinians and rural Spaniards within a hierarchy of affection and social duties based on kinship or friendship. In Algeria (Bourdieu 1977) as well as among the Haida as described by Kan (1989), exchange only re-enforces already established social hierarchies, which are relatively independent of the immediate affective relations at hand (except in those few cases when the exchange concerns chiefs or aristocrats and their close kinsfolk).

2. FROM WITHIN AND FROM WITHOUT

The ways in which the locals see their own exchange patterns as morally laden also have an impact on how they are perceived by people from other villages and towns. As the idiom of gift giving obscures the commercial character of many transactions in Telemula, exchange within the village appears as fully driven by generosity and by the creation and re-affirmation of social relations. This collective fiction leads the older villagers to be cynical about the younger generations, whom they see as selfish and lacking in communitarian spirit. From the point of view of those shepherds who have adopted the rhetoric of modernisation proposed by the government and the mass media, the existing forms of exchange that seemed to follow only the logic of the represent a social and an economic obstacle to the advancement of the more enterprising members of the village.

Those young adults who attend university, on the other hand, are often torn between the 'generosity' implications of the current forms of exchange in Telemula and what they

perceive as the total de-personalisation of social relations in the cities. They ponder the viewpoints of both their elders and the views of their young friends who have stayed in the village. However, they would like not to have to take sides between the two competing models for the circulation of things and people because they admire the length to which people go to deny interest in exchange and they also admire the entrepreneurial wishes of their friends.

Politicians and administrators who look at Telemula from outside, in taking literally the appearance of generalised generosity, find an excuse to define the village and its inhabitants as archaic and alien to the logic of market-driven society. The Telemulesi, by showing their generosity, only confirm before the eyes of strangers their 'backwardness' and their lack of entrepreneurship, and thus provide the officers and politicians with further excuses to perpetuate the village and the villagers' isolation.

Bardia, on the other hand, is seen by everyone as a modern setting, and the ways in which the exchange of things and people take place only confirm the moral superiority of the Bardiesi before everyone in the area and the entrepreneurial, 'progressive' characters of its population. The older generations stress the way in which generosity has not been eradicated by the new economic prosperity, and how everyone gives and thus merits to receive in turn. The younger generations of shepherds have found a way to combine sociability with profitability and are proud to show how commercial transactions always take place, at least within the boundaries of the village, according to the logic of the gift.

It is university students and graduates who are sceptical about how much gift giving in Bardia is actually driven by generosity, and they are ready to point out how those who give the most do so aiming at receiving back the most. In their view, the commoditization of the local economy has destroyed the true spirit of the gift. They take a cynical view at most

forms of gift-giving, although they find themselves compelled to initiate and reciprocate exchanges in the currently established manners. They would like to see exchange recognised as a truly commercialised form of interaction and 'unmask' the myth of gift giving, so as to stop being indebted and thus achieve a better control of their own economic resources. Or else, they would want to restore what they think was the generosity that existed in the pristine past. However, those Bardiesi university students or graduates who have visited Telemula have commented negatively on the villagers' patterns of exchange. Some of them have told me that what they see as an excessive generosity is a proof of the social backwardness of Telemula's inhabitants.

Administrators and politicians in looking at Bardia see the cunning and entrepreneurial character of the locals, and often refuse to see the ways in which gift-giving and informal cooperation circuits take over the formal settings of cooperatives and private commercial enterprises. When invited to banquets and festivities they are willing to recognise their indebtedness to the hosts, but the conspicuous displays of generosity that the Bardiesi set up are only seen as the proof of a profound religiosity and the kind of lavish life the Bardiesi have accomplish through their entrepreneurial activities.

Young people from Ogliastra villages, instead, look at the patterns of exchange existing in Bardia and they see exactly what the university students understand as treason against the logic of the gift. Their conclusion, however, is very different from that of the Bardiesi *letterati*. They admire the Bardiesi for their modernity, which they see as tied to the town-dwellers' ability to turn reciprocity circles into entrepreneurial ventures that bring economic rewards. What the Bardiesi *letterati* see as a form of cunning with bad moral connotations, young Ogliastrini see as the best example of the *intelligenzia* of the Bardiesi as a whole. For them,

the Bardiesi have managed to integrate their exchanges within both the logics of the market and of the gift.

3. INFORMAL COOPERATION AND COOPERATIVES

Both in Bardia and Telemula the option of cooperatives as modern production, marketing and even purchase alternatives have been fully accepted among one or more sectors of the population. In Telemula older people in pastoralist families would not like to see the cooperatives organised because of the factional divide prevalent in the village, which would necessarily imply that some people would be favoured and others would not. However, I believe that another important reason is that they understand that the cooperatives would end once and for all with the rhetoric of generalised exchange which people over 45 years of age promote. Telemula's population is only 1,200, and the establishment of cooperatives would engage a small group of people or even a large group of people, but not the entire population of Telemula in any case. The members of a cooperative would have to help each other before helping out anyone else.

The economic diversification of pastoralist households, in particular, would suffer a severe blow if cooperatives were formed in Telemula, because the advancement of the cooperative economic enterprise would require some degree of specialisation. As things stand now, pastoralist families are able to call on help from their relatives or friends at different times of the year and for very different activities. A shepherding or gardening cooperative would be a threat to the already established, even if mostly unacknowledged, circles of gift exchange, sociability and informal cooperation.

Much faith has been put in informal cooperation structures as a possible base for the creation of cooperatives (Nyerere 1967, Cliffe 1970, March and Taqqu 1986). However, the fact that cooperatives may represent a threat to informal

cooperation and thus informal cooperation itself may be an obstacle to the formation of cooperatives has not gone unrecognised (Migot-Adholla 1970, Essman and Uphoff 1984).

In Telemula the reduced numbers of the population residing in the village at any point in time may be an important factor in the lack of enthusiasm for formal cooperation among the pastoralist families. At the same time, the different rhetoric of development promoted by the EEC and by the Italian and Sardinian governments make cooperatives a very appealing option for young shepherds. These shepherds believe that if they form cooperative associations they will receive greater financial and technical assistance than what they are currently being offered.

The way in which the full force of the market economy has come to pervade social life in Sardinia has also modified the pre-existing patterns of cooperation. While in the past landed families became local patrons, this is not so any more. The current patterns of generalised reciprocity are also based on a recognition of this new situation whereby families can have differential access to resources through their cunning and their manipulation of information, often in settings detached from the milieu of the village. Since now it is money and the ways in which one can obtain services what matters, the two factions in the village are more closely formed around two possible *dattori di lavoro* [employers] who are the owners of two construction firms based in Telemula, and not around the closeness or the favours received from the local landed family.

The stress people currently put on the maintenance of the gift economy of generalised exchange, then, hides the economic preoccupations of the Telemulesi. If their appearance of equality and the bases for their claims to receive help from others were destroyed, would find themselves in a precarious situation where they could not afford to continue cultivating the land and tending the flocks in the same way. If social

differences based on economic differences were tolerated, the village would become truly fragmented and the illusion of equality would not be tenable any longer. In this case, it is important to recognise that it is the commodity economy that has strengthened gift exchange.

In Bardia cooperatives have greatly benefited and to some extent even re-enforced current patterns of gift exchange and informal cooperation. Cooperatives in Bardia, which started at the beginning of the century, were formed in a settlement where the activities of primary and other producers were already highly diversified. Furthermore, the cooperatives do not function in opposition to the patterns of informal cooperation but actually take advantage of them during their everyday activity.

Sahlins (1972) has proposed that people engage in different types of exchange according to the personal relations involved during the transactions. He proposes a continuum between generalised and what he calls "negative exchange;" that is, transactions undertaken in order to make profit. In Sahlins' view, exchange tends to be more generalised, and thus more generous, within the immediate family or primary kin group. As social distance increases among the transactors, exchange takes on more profit-like connotations. In his view, commerce often starts at the limit of the village.

Although in Telemula commerce does start at the limit of the village in many cases, in other cases it does not, such as when strangers are hosted by the locals when they step into the villages's bars. In Bardia, on the other hand, commerce never stops and it actually invades gift exchange, as things and informal cooperation, are carefully balanced within the limits of the village. Furthermore, while generalized reciprocity may seem to take place within the boundaries of groups of families directly linked to each other patrilaterally or matrilaterally (so that one of the heads of

one household is either the direct ascendant or descendant of the head of another), this exchange is also balanced, although more in a qualitative than in a quantitative sense, as the younger generations eventually take care of the older ones.

In Bardia, however, this intergenerational balanced exchange is probably bound to undergo major changes in the near future. The town now has one of the first homes for the elderly in central Sardinia. In those households where the two heads have full-time jobs are currently evaluating the possibility of letting the State take care of their elderly parents, as these can now spend the last years of their lives at the beautiful ville that have been built for them by the Thyrrenian sea.

CONCLUSION: FRAGMENTED SOCIETIES, CAPITALISM AND THE GIFT

1. PASTORALISM IN SARDINIA

The research project on which this dissertation was based focused on the dynamics of pastoral production in Sardinia, and particularly on the relationship between informal and formal cooperation among the pastoralists. I expected to find that the pastoralists had adapted to new social, economic and technological circumstances but were still attached to old production practices such as transhumance, and to cultural practices such the absence of men from their homes for part of the year. I thought that there would be an identifiable relationship between informal cooperation and formal cooperatives. From the work of Berger (1986) and Schweizer (1988) and others I had gathered that the shepherds of central Sardinia like to form exclusive social groups and show their distance from other people and other ways of life.

Instead of finding what I expected, I found that Sardinian pastoralism today cannot be understood in isolation from the larger social and economic processes of international capitalism, and from the web of social relations prevalent in each particular settlement and in Sardinia as a whole. I discovered that sheep- and goatherding activities in this region of the world now take place along a continuum between capital-intensive sheep farms (such as among the richest sedentary stockbreeders in Bardia) and poor alternatives to unemployment (such as among some pastoralists in Telemula and Bardia). I also discovered that the success or failure of shepherds' cooperatives in Sardinia is not related to informal cooperation practices.

Given that I started fieldwork first among the pastoralists and only later among bureaucrats and politicians, I experienced the impact of the EEC first through the eyes of pastoral families and learned about *furbizia*, *accozzi* and the manipulation of information as resources. Only later was I

able to learn about the conscious designs behind the policies and behind the ways in which they are applied. For the government of Italy and the Sardinian administration, pastoralism is not a way of life but a problem, or else a possible commercial asset and a cushion to widespread unemployment.

Both visions of the pastoral reality shape everyday social interaction in the highland villages and towns of central Sardinia. The discrimination that the bureaucrats and politicians effect regarding which settlements will receive public funds and privileges is reflected in the local's discourse about themselves and in the strategies they deploy to make the best out of their lot. While under the paternalistic gaze of the politicians the pastoralists become prospective clients, or else marginal people who continue to live in the past, from the standpoint of the shepherds and their families it is this paternalism that can be manipulated or that has to be surmounted to achieve one's ends.

There is no question that the protectionist policies of the EEC, the Italian State and the Sardinian administration account for the extension of pastoralism in central Sardinia. EEC supports for the price of milk and cheese, the subsidies to export and store cheese and the many programmes targeting agro-pastoral producers make sheep- and goatherding in Sardinia a viable economic activity. However, these same policies and subsidies are, perhaps inevitably, systematically translated into social relations and thus acquire political significance.

People in the villages and towns engage in heterogeneous economic activities, the public sector continues to grow, and the mass media and schools spread the image of a 'national culture', shaping the aspirations and dreams of those Sardinians born after the 1960s. In the meantime, national and regional politicians distribute unevenly the resources they control. As a result, individuals and families compete

for the favours of politicians and bureaucrats. *Furbizia* attitudes are based on the assumptions that public funds are fair game when one knows how to catch them, and that State and EEC policies are theoretically based on principles of universal access. The actual distribution of resources, however, is based on regional politics and clientelist networks.

In light of the materials here presented, it is clear that Bardiesi pastoralists, along with the Bardiesi population as a whole, have benefited more than the Telemulesi from the protectionist policies implemented in Sardinia. While in Telemula the incoming cash flows support subsistence agriculture, in Bardia the impact of commoditization and agro-pastoral policies has allowed many shepherds to give up transhumance and become primary producers in vertically integrated dairy production. Both in Bardia and in Telemula the formal economy is becoming increasingly difficult to enter, but the Bardiesi have many opportunities to use their informal reciprocity networks both to access the formal employment market and to find their way through the bureaucratic maze when trying to tap public funds. The Telemulesi shepherds, and non-shepherds alike, also rely on informal reciprocity networks to find jobs, but these jobs are often informal contracts in which the worker has little bargaining power regarding salary, working conditions or job benefits.

The phenomenon of the growth of the informal sector is not particular to Sardinia, but to most Western post-industrial societies (Mingione 1985, 1991, Lash and Urry 1987). In Sardinia, as in most of southern Italy, the specificity of the informal sector lies in the fact that it refers mainly to informal contracts, as opposed to the myriad activities it encompasses in third world countries (Mingione 1991).

jobs buy or receive from donors (through *sa ponidura*) a flock from which to make their living. Although the official discourse on agro-pastoral reform addresses or refers to "the shepherds," the actual husbandmen are often people who were employed in other occupations at one time or another, and not only sons of shepherds who themselves started herding at an early age. In fact, in Sardinia the formal discourse and policies regarding 'the shepherds' misses the point, as it reifies husbandmen as a distinct category of people who theoretically hold views and attitudes different from the rest of the Sardinian population.

'The shepherds', as I have shown in this dissertation, are a heterogeneous group. They belong in different social classes. The rich sedentary stockbreeders have increasingly less in common with the transhumant pastoralists than the first with small industrial entrepreneurs and the latter with the Sardinian population of unskilled labour. In both Telemula and Bardia people's sociability practices and their position in reciprocity networks reflect this emerging class stratification. However, and this is my main point in the second part of this dissertation, people in both settings are trying to keep economic differences from becoming social ones. In Telemula and Bardia people have turned exchange into a metaphor for the world they would like to live in. Through exchange Bardiesi and Telemulesi nostalgically evoke a world of equals, where one gives to one's neighbour instead of taking advantage of him or her.

2. EXCHANGE

Both in Telemula and Bardia exchange is a constant preoccupation among the locals, and people go to great lengths to maintain the flows of things, help and favours, and to display their hospitality both every day and during festive occasions. Exchange instances and discourse about exchange permeate most social relations, and create communities of

people who are in constant 'debt' with one another not only in a material but also in an affective way.

In Telemula the dominant collective fiction of exchange relations is that of generalized reciprocity. However, this fiction can only survive through the systematic re-interpretation of gifts, help and favours received as if they were original in their intention and not a riposte to the gifts, help or favours that the receiver originally paid to the current giver. The nostalgic notion of society which this exchange system evokes is very similar to Marx's characterization of the communist ideal as "to each according to his needs," to which phrase the Telemulesi seem to have added "and from each according to his possibilities." This moral meaning of exchange, which can never be fully achieved in practice, is now questioned by the young people's desire for profit, which brings along with it a moral connotation of "to each according to his wits."

Commodities and money have both entered the logic of the gift and have been appropriated by local people under local moral codes. While capitalism lures the potential consumer with hundreds of things to be desired, Telemulesi can only aspire to a limited share of the capitalist dream of richness, leisurely pleasure and endless entertainment. Gift exchange, on the other hand, offers Telemulesi the possibility of converting things and actions into affective relations which can invest their world with meaning beyond the material aspect of things. Things are divested of their material character, and included in a larger reciprocity sphere where things and labour are interchangeable because giving away things or help are ways to express emotional ties.

The inclusion in this world of meaning, however, does not come without a price. This price can be easily measured in money theoretically saved or theoretically gained, and these theoretical possibilities make it difficult for the participants in reciprocity circuits to maintain their

commitment to gift exchange. As a result, today Telemulesi are highly ambivalent about the advantages of the logic of the gift, as opposed to the logic of the commodity.

The Bardiesi, on the other hand, have created an ideal reciprocity system where everything has an exact equivalent, and while the Telemulesi strive to bring the market into the logic of the gift, they have no qualms in bringing the gift into the logic of the market and turning affective links into goods or amounts of liquid cash. In their nostalgic version of society, everyone should be treated as a full equal because everyone is equal to everyone else. Where the Telemulesi are willing to accept that individuals or families might have different resources and wealth, the exchange system in Bardia effaces wealth discrepancies as people calculate equivalences according to the theoretical significance of their kinship and affective ties.

In Bardia the logic of the market has permeated the logic of the gift. Things are only equivalent to other things, and help is equivalent only to one being helped in return. Money, however, mediates between the two categories of gifts and the value of things can be converted into the value of labour, since the two of them can be calculated in money. This exchange paradigm also creates a community of people with whom each individual identifies and enters exchange. As Bourdieu (1977) points out for Algeria, in Bardia you give because by giving you recognize the receiver as worthy of the exchange challenge; "The gift is a challenge which honours the man [or woman, or family] to whom it is addressed" (Bourdieu 1977:12).

As in Telemula, in Bardia the system does not always work in practice, but it works enough that many individuals and families have profited from it. Profit-oriented entrepreneurship has invaded the logic of the gift, probably pushing the limits of the distinctiveness between the gift and the commodity. The gift economy, as it has become monetized and profit-oriented, is widening the economic gap between the

richer and the poorer sectors of Bardia society. While the ideological motivation of gift exchange continue to be the social appearance of equality, its material effects are those of an ever-increasing economic inequality. In other words, the theoretical and actual effects of the gift and the market economy are increasingly at odds with each other.

It is because of these discrepancies between the ideology and the effects of gift giving in Bardia that young people now look at villages such as Telemula and wish their town could return, if it were possible to avoid the inconveniences of backwardness, to what from the distance looks like perfect generalized reciprocity: to each according to his or her needs, and from each according to her or his possibilities. Young people in Bardia, and especially young professionals who do not have as many resources as the older agro-pastoral producers or the men and women who specialize in commercial handicrafts, are hit harder by the Bardiesi collective expectations of gift giving and help reciprocity. They look at Telemula and do not find the onerous equivalences for things given and things received. From their standpoint, the Telemulesi have managed to remain outside the logic of the market.

The Telemulesi, on the other hand, do not hide their admiration for the Bardiesi. They point out that the Bardiesi have managed to master and thus to profit from trade and the cash economy. They see people getting rich, and they also see, from afar, a constant flow of goods and help among Bardiesi. The Bardiesi, Telemulesi say, are *bravissimi* because they work together in cooperatives, share things and exchange help so that everyone in Bardia continues to be rich and prosperous. Because they do not live day-to-day within Bardiesi practices of reciprocity, the Telemulesi do not see that the gift has become exploitative in Bardia, as it has been invaded by the logic of the commodity.

3. COOPERATION AND COOPERATIVES

What are the implications of the gift economy for the formation and continuation of cooperative relations? What is the significance of these relations in formal cooperation structures? According to the official ideology of the Italian federations of cooperatives, cooperative associations should be founded on premises of mutual help and support which are akin to generalized and balanced reciprocity networks. Each cooperative association is expected to rely on one such network, or on several of these networks which function according to the different tasks to be performed. In practice, however, the cooperative format is re-interpreted by central Sardinians to mean several things.

In Telemula the shepherds seem to believe in the message of the politicians who promote cooperatives. Telemulesi say that they cannot form cooperatives because they are too individualistic. When their cooperatives have failed they have blamed themselves for not having waited enough or trusted others enough, and they have overlooked the political dimension of their associations' failures. Not once have the Telemulesi been helped to form cooperatives. The failure of their associations cannot be seen in a mere inter-personal light. In fact, factionalism has played only a minor part in the disintegration of Telemulesi cooperative projects.

In Bardia, on the other hand, the shepherds and other Bardiesi do not treat the cooperatives as if the associations embodied the morality of reciprocity. The cooperatives are used in Bardia as economic assets offered by the State and the EEC, which enhance the resources of the local families and the particular individuals who are members in them. While the shepherds have joined the cooperative movement, their production practices rely on channels of informal help, which crisscross the cooperatives instead of being contained by them.

While Telemulesi pastoralists say that they cannot form cooperatives because they are suspicious of one another, they do not show much mutual suspicion when compared with the Bardiesi. Bardiesi pastoralists are very suspicious of their co-members in cooperatives, as they do not always have affective ties with them, do not cooperate with them during the work process or exchange gifts with them. This suspicion, however, is not detrimental to the cooperatives but instead keeps the members from free-riding excessively on the cooperatives' resources.

Informal cooperation patterns cannot be easily turned into cooperative associations in Sardinia. Furthermore, as in Telemula, the existence of strong informal cooperation might be an obstacle (although not unsurmountable, as we have seen) to the formation of cooperatives. Informal cooperation and cooperatives, at least in the Sardinian countryside, rest on sets of different assumptions. While informal cooperation is part of people's strategies to create a sense of community, in central Sardinia cooperatives as they function among the shepherds are a way to get a foothold in the commodity economy.

Cooperatives among the Bardiesi shepherds are not the result of the shepherds' ideological commitment to cooperation ideals, but of the favours which the politicians have granted Bardia, and the fear that the Italian State has of Sardinian Banditry. Banditry, whether real or imagined, spurs the national politicians' imagination and some shepherds, such as in Bardia, have gained from the politicians' fear of 'pastoral crime'.

4. CONCLUSION

This dissertation has tried to paint a picture of how international capitalism affects the everyday life of rural communities in Sardinia, and how people live their lives within the larger political, social and legal frameworks of

regional, state and supra-state institutions such as the EEC. Documents that were drafted in far-away central offices have important effects on the way in which people organize their lives. In Sardinia the EEC, national and regional state policies for agro-pastoralism take on a day-to-day dimension as people adjust their lives and activities around them. The effects are not always positive for the pastoralists, or for other rural producers and entrepreneurs, and in some case they can be truly detrimental when translated into political interactions.

In Telemula, the policies of the *Azienda Speciale* have created a "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968) of sorts. However, this is not the making of the shepherds themselves but of the political structures which have turned the use of communal lands into a 'free for all' access rule. While the idea of the *Azienda Speciale* is not necessarily a bad one, if it is supplemented by other policies and the use of the communal land is regulated by the direct producers, in Telemula the *Azienda Speciale* has only contributed to the exclusion of the village from most public investment schemes.

In Bardia, on the other hand, the policies of the agro-pastoral reform aimed at the sedentarization of the shepherds have, as the shepherds readily admit, raised the standards of living of pastoralist families. In this dissertation I have not tried to evaluate the positive or negative aspects of the policies and programmes themselves, but to show their impact on the production and consumption practices of the pastoralist families of Sardinia.

This portrait of Sardinian society is rapidly becoming obsolete. As Italian politicians and entrepreneurs are investigated for corruption and the public demands that things change, it is possible that what I witnessed in Sardinia and what I have accounted for in here were the last manifestations of an old social order in which pastoralism in Sardinia moved through the intricacies of politics, subsidies, the commodity

and the gift. International capitalism can manifest itself in local communities in almost unlimited forms. The ways in which it was lived and experienced in Telemula at the beginning of the 1990s are only two of them. Capitalism, however, will most certainly remain both as a threat and as a dream. As the Italian welfare state collapses, it is likely that people in highland Sardinian communities will continue to create nostalgic visions of themselves and others, and to trust that things could be improved somehow through the power of the gift.

GLOSSARY

Accozzo	(Italian) Political reccomendation to increase a client's possibilities to get a bureaucratic job. Plural *accozzi.*
Addio al celibato	(It.) Large banquet that takes place before religious weddings.
Assegni Familiari	(It.) Family allowance cheques.
Arretrato.	(It.) Backward.
Avanzzato.	(It) Advanced, modern.
Azienda Speciale	(It.) Special interest area, to be kept as communal property.
Bardiese.	(It.) A person from Bardia. Plural *Bardiesi.*
Biddazzone	(Sard) System of land rotation whereby the same part of the communal territory was first cultivated during one or two years and then left for pastures during the fallow years.
Caglio.	(It.) Also known as *quaglio*, it is the stomach of a goat's kid where milk has been allowed to ferment for at least two months. It is considered a delicacy and it may fetch prices as high as 20 to 40 Canadian dollars, or be given away for free, depending on the relationship between the goatherd and the buyer. Currently, it is one of the enticements to take up goatherding.
Carabinieri.	(It.) The Italian military police.
Casalina.	(It.) Housewife. A woman who does not work outside the house, and usually does not participate in agro-pastoral production.
Comune.	(It.) The municipal administration, the village or town, or the territory that belongs to a municipality, in Italian. Plural *comuni*

Contributi (It.) Subsidies directly paid in cash to individuals, cooperatives or other associations.

Correttezza. (It.) Fairness toward equals.

Crìcca (It.) Group of friends. Plural *crìcche.*

Fessa, fesso. (It.) Stupid, in Italian. Someone who lets others take advantage of him or her.

Formaggio marcio. (It.) Literally, rotten cheese, in Italian. Called *Su Cassu Marzu* in Sardinian. It is a cheese that has been allowed to grow maggots inside, and it is considered a delicacy. Served especially in large banquets during the summer.

Furbizzia. (It.) Cunning abilities, to be exercised against someone who has authority or is in a social status higher than oneself's.

Istranza, -u (Sard) Stranger. Someone from another community. Plural *i'istranzoso* or *i'istranzasa.*

Lottizzazione (It.) Distribution of bureaucratic offices among the political parties and their different factions.

Malattia. (It.) Shorthand for 'sick days', from "essere in malattia," which means "to be sick" in Italian.

Magazzeno (It.) Storage room, in Sardinia. A dialectological variation of the Italian *magazzino.*

Meri (It.) The owner of a flock, of a house or of a business, in Sardinian. It also means "the boss."

Mezzogiorno. (It.) Southern Italy.

Monte dei pascoli. (It.) Cooperative grazing lands for shepherds.

Oliveto (It.) Olive grove.

Ovile. (It.) Shelters for the shepherds, built in the area where their flocks graze. plural *ovili.*

Paese. (It.) Village or town. Plural *paesi.*

Pane Carasau. (It.) Flat bread, in the Baronia and Barbagia.

Pianura (It.) Plains. Valley of low altitude above sea level. In central Sardinia *campagna* is a synonim of *pianura.*

Pistoccu. (Sard) Flat bread, in the Ogliastra.

Polizia. (It.) The Italian civil police.

Servo pastore (It.) Someone who looks after someone else's flock, in Italian. Plural *servi pastori*

Theraco (Sard) Sheepherder who looks after someone else's flock. Plural *theracoso.* It. *servo pastore*

Theraca (Sard) In the past, a woman who did agricultural work or domestic chores for others.

Telemulese (Sard) A person from Telemula. Plural *Telemulesi.*

Tossatura (It.) Shearing of the sheep, in Italian.

Trigu (Sard) Durum wheat.

Tundere (Sard) To shear the sheep.

Vigna (It.) Vineyard, in Italian.

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