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REPRESENTATIONS AND OCCUPATIONS: SHEPHERDS'

CHOICES IN SARDINIA

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ABSTRACT

In Telemula, a highland village of Sardinia, Italy, the concept of `modernity' has been assigned a positive moral meaning which is used in opposition to the concept of `tradition'. This dissertation examines the phenomenological dimension of strategic repositionings deployed by local people, as they strive to represent themselves as *persone brave* [good persons]. Alternative representations of shepherds carry different moral connotations. Villagers who have to decide whether or not to become, or to continue to be shepherds, also wish to represent themselves positively. Thus, they manipulate the meanings which had been originally ascribed by national and supranational agencies, but that currently form part of the locals' world-views. In consequence, individuals participate in the multiplication of life-worlds and codes of meaning that they use in organising their own perceptions of life events and reflexive experience of self.

Résumé

A Telemula, un village des hautes terres de Sardaigne, on donne au concept de modernité une connotation morale très positive qui l'oppose au concept de tradition. Cette thèse examine la dimension phénoménologique des repositionnements stratégiques que les villageois manifestent, alors qu'ils essaient de se presenter comme des *persone brave* [bonnes gens]. La categorie "berger" comporte des significations alternatives auxquelles sont associées des connotations morales différentes. Les villageois qui ont décidé de devenir bergers ou non, ou de continuer à être, veulent pouvoir obtenir une image positive d'eux-mes. Ils le font en manipulant les systemes de sens, qui leur ont été imposés à l'origine par les instances nationales et supranationales, mais qui sont maintenant incorporés à la vision du monde locale. Ce faisant, les individus participent à la multiplication des mondes de l'expérience et des codes de signification qu'ils utilisent pour organiser la perception qu'ils des événements et l'expérience réflexive de soi.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

LIST OF ILLUSTRATION AND FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PLATES
(All plates are placed between pages 187-188)

MAP OF SARDINIA SHOWING THE OGLIASTRA AND THE SHAPE OF
TELEMULA (THE MAP DOES NOT SHOW THE EXACT LOCATION OF THE
VILLAGE'S TERRITORY).
Source: Gobbato (1979)

PREFACE

This dissertation looks at the relation between the phenomenological dimension of the reproduction of self-representations and occupational choice among pastoralist people of Telemula, Italy. Telemula is a village of 1200 inhabitants situated on the slope of a mountain, 700 mt above sea level, in the Ogliastra region. The village faces the east coast of central Sardinia (see Plate 1). The Ogliastra region is included in the Nuoro province, one of the four provinces into which the island is divided. In political and administrative terms, Telemula is subordinated to the *Comunità Montana n. 11* [Mountain Community 11] which corresponds geographically with the Ogliastra (see map). The administrative centre is in Lanusei, south of Telemula. The *Comunità Montana* is in turn part of Nuoro province, the capital of which is Nuoro city. Finally, the province is part of the Region Sardinia, one of the five regions with special status among the 20 that constitute the Italian nation.[1]

Long before the beginning of my doctoral programme at McGill I was interested in both the process by which the self of individuals is defined by social institutions, and the

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[1] The other Sardinian provinces are Oristano to the west, Sassari to the north and Cagliari to the south. The constitutional special status confers the regional government with power to legislate over (a) the administrative, economic and legal status of the public officers; (b) the communal boundaries; (c) urban and rural police; (d) agriculture, forests and their improvement; (e) public works; (f) urban planing; (g) public transport; (h) natural springs; (i) hunting and fishing; (j) public waters and lands; (k) industrial production and marketing (of salt and mining resources); (l) agricultural credit; (m) expropriation for public benefit; (n) production and distribution of electric energy; (o) sea transportation; hiring for public offices; (p) public welfare; (q) medical care; (r) public spectacles and other more (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1984).

individuals' appropriation of such representations. During the course of my specialisation as a family physician in Mérida, Mexico, I conducted research looking into the sexual practices of menopausal women within a social milieu highly permeated by the Catholic church's ideology. It was during this research that I came to realise the points of relation and departure between institutional ideologies and individuals' practices. My awareness of this dimension was furthered by my training in communication theory as proposed by Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1967). Their approach declines looking into psychodynamic processes and instead focuses on the practice of verbal and non-verbal communication as the means by which individuals establish consensus about the 'reality' of their social life.

During my MSc training in community health sciences at the University of Calgary I looked into the relation that exists between courses preparing workers for retirement and health status and practices after retirement. The quantitative nature of that programme provided me with the knowledge about the use and limitations of experimental and quasi-experimental research designs and allowed me to look at the mechanisms of difussion of institutional discourse and its incidence on individuals' practices.

For my PhD research I found that the local problematic of central Sardinia could afford a study of the relation between diverse national and supranational discourses and local practices. As my medical training had unfolded in a Mexican institution dedicated to the health problems of workers, I developed a strong interest in how this type of relationship is present in the everyday life of workers. Because the main target of the ideological rhetoric in Sardinia is 'the shepherd', I found it practical to focus on this specific population group. The present dissertation, then, brings together my long-term interests on interpersonal communication and the dialectic between institutional and local discourses

as they bear on people's everyday lives.

Before travelling to Sardinia in December of 1990, I began to become acquainted with the discussion surrounding the island's problems, through texts available to me in Montreal (mostly dissertations and Italian books dated from the mid 1970s). In my readings about Sardinia I found what I thought to be a paradoxical situation: shepherding has become, through the twentieth century, one of the most successful economic activities on the island (Idda 1982). However, in spite of the economic success of the pastoralist sector, shepherds have come to be seen by the Italian and regional governments, as well as by other Sardinians, as people with little social worth (Berger 1986; Schweizer 1988).

These bibliographic sources suggested that, being placed in the lowest of the social ranks, shepherds found themselves in a context in which women were refusing to marry them, further reducing the social appeal of the profession (ibid; Meloni 1984; Magliocco forthcoming). It became increasingly clear to me that those who arrive at that stage of their lives when they have to choose a career find themselves amidst multiple representations of work and workers from different sectors of the economy. All occupational representations appeared to be assigned a moral value and the one that seemed to prevail regarding the shepherd had a negative moral content. The Italian state (i.e. the national and regional governments) has defined the shepherd of central Sardinia as criminal and culturally `backward'. On these grounds I formulated the following questions: Can a negative representation of the shepherd override the apparent economic rationality of choosing to become one such producer? What are the diverse representations of the shepherd in the local and institutional discourses? How are these representations different (if they are) from one another? How do shepherds see themselves (i.e. what constitutes their self-image)? How do non-shepherd villagers see the shepherds? It was with

these questions in mind that I set out for the field.

I arrived in Sardinia on December 22, 1990. My wife and fellow researcher Gabriela Vargas-Cetina had been on the island for five months and was already fluent in Italian. For her own research she had chosen to compare two villages of which one (Telemula) had no cooperatives and the other (Bardia)[2] was seen as the most progressive village in the infamous Nuoro province in central Sardinia. Both villages are situated in the *zona delinquente* [criminal area] of Sardinia, which in turn is part of the larger Italian *Questione Meridionale* ["southern problem"].

I spent Christmas eve at a large village feast in Telemula where young people of the two local opposing factions had gathered trying to reconcile their political differences. Vargas-Cetina was already well known in the village and many young people expected to meet her husband. They met me that night. I suppose I met them too: in one single feast I was introduced to a number of people ranging between 200 and 300. Their faces and voices blended and I immediately forgot their names. Next day many of them were disappointed when I did not remember their names or failed to recognise them on the street.

After having had the opportunity to visit several villages of Nuoro province and having spent time in both Telemula and Bardia, I thought Telemula to be a good site for the focus of my research for the following reasons: first, the village is characterised by a heterogeneous occupational

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[2] Both Vargas-Cetina and I have decided to employ pseudonyms in referring to the villages where we conducted our research so as to respect the anonymity of our informants. Telemula, Bardia and Cala Fuili (a separate section of Bardia), and their genitives Telemulese/i and Bardiese/i are used all throughout the text to refer to the places and their inhabitants respectively. All person names are also pseudonyms, unless otherwise indicated. 'Telemula' is the pseudonym that Bodemann (1979) and Ostow (1985) assigned to this same village in their writings.

structure. Upon my arrival I learned with Vargas-Cetina's help (I was not fluent in Italian yet) that some of my new acquaintances worked as bricklayers or masons. Others worked in industrial plants in the near-by Sardinian east coast. Still others worked in restaurants and hotels, and some were employed in public offices. Some among the young people were going to university in the main cities of Sardinia and in Rome. Second, the everyday importance of contrasting moral representations of the villagers: when we first stayed in Bardia (a larger village in the north of Ogliastra seen as `the most progressive village of Nuoro', with a population six times larger than that of Telemula) I found out that some Bardiesi strive to underline the wealth of their own community.  In Telemula the opposite seemed to be the true: It was seen as an example of a `backward' village and within the village individuals stressed, in discourse and practice, the equal worth of all in the village.

I spent the next 45 days in Bardia where Vargas-Cetina was conducting research and I continued learning Italian. There I started to visit shepherds' work stations [ovili]. I soon became fluent enough Italian to communicate with the local people and continued to visit Telemula every so often. Then we moved back to Telemula, where we stayed for eight months. These were months in which our contacts were largely confined within the boundaries of the community. We realised, first in Bardia and later in Telemula, that shepherds were aware of the role that the EEC (European Economic Community) and the state play in shaping the destiny of their occupation.[3] Both entities generate funds (subsidies) aimed to encourage or discourage specific economic enterprises.

In talking to Telemulesi I realised that some villagers

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[3] Both the EEC and the Italian state are complex political, administrative and economic entities. The complexity of their structure and policies are outlined below in chapters One to Five.

describe themselves as *arretrati* [lagging behind] in relation to neighbouring communities, and particularly in relation to Bardia. In villages neighbouring Telemula, that we visited at that time, we were told with regret that it was bad we had chosen such a `backward' [*arretrato*] place to live in and conduct our research.

Talking to Telemulese shepherds about governmental and EEC regulations we came to be as confused as shepherds were about institutional programmes and their possible long-term effects on the local economy. It was only after a trip to Cagliari in the summer of 1991, when we met Remo Dettori, employed in the agency for agricultural development, that our information about policies and subsidies started to take shape and become more systematic.[4] When we moved to Cala Fuili, a section of Bardia, in October 15 of 1991, we continued to visit our friends in Telemula and updated our information about events and processes in the village.

During our stay in Cala Fuili our closeness to the provincial capital of Nuoro enabled us to establish contact with bureaucrats from diverse agencies, who helped us to obtain access to documents and to gain some perspective on the views that bureaucrats hold about Telemulesi in particular, and Ogliastrini in general. In Bardia, Vargas-Cetina and I contacted the persons in charge of the dairy plant with which Telemulesi are affiliated through a milk cooperative from the Ogliastra. Thanks to this circumstance I could also gain a glimpse into the processes whereby Telemulesi shepherds were being sometimes included in, sometimes excluded from, regional designs.

In Telemula I found that villagers see themselves in a different way from the way in which neighbouring populations portray them: It is a dynamic rather than a static village.

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[4] This is his real name, which he agreed we could print in our dissertations.

The community has been changing dramatically since the 1960s.
From an economy based on pastoralism, the current labour force
is equally divided by economic sector with a third of the
villagers employed respectively in agropastoralism (farming
and pastoralism combined), industries and services. Schooling
is compulsory up to the equivalent of grade eight for both men
and women. All houses in the village own at least one
television set.

Most household goods are available to the Telemulesi and
families do buy them. The cars Telemulesi drive range from
four-wheel drives that shepherds use to go to their *ovili*
[work sites] to sports models that, in particular, industrial
and service workers drive to work. Shepherds were finding
spouses just as well as other workers and some shepherds (like
other labourers) had not been able to marry yet in spite of
being in their mid-forties. A few local people told me that
shepherds were the cause of the village's *arretratezza*
[`backwardness'] but some shepherds claimed that they are
`modern' producers who are being prevented from advancing
economically and technologically by factors outside their
direct control. In light of these contrasting
self/representations, I found Telemula to be an ideal site to
look at the production and reproduction of representations and
their relation to choice of occupation.

In structuring their own social interaction within the
village and with outsiders, Telemulesi strategically
manipulate existing codes of expectations and norms for
behaviour. One code has been superimposed upon another (that
for convenience I call here `traditional') through a process
promoted and enhanced by government agencies. This code is
informed by the grand narrative of `modernisation'. I soon
realised the extent to which local people give in their daily
practice a moral content to their preferences and their
behaviour, and the extent to which the assessments of their
own social reality are morally charged. The concept *persona*

brava [good person] is used to define persons who show conformity with the norms and expectations of given ethical codes. However, their position in reference to these codes seem to change as individuals shift from one dimension of the everyday life to another. Self/representations[5] become moral categories. In this dissertation I illustrate the ways in which different representations are produced, and both the instrumental and non-instrumental ways in which local peoples position themselves in relation to others within and without the village within the moral sphere of meanings.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This dissertation brings together a materialist viewpoint regarding individuals' occupational choices in rural societies, and a phenomenological understanding of the way in which these same individuals interpret, manipulate and appropriate alternative representations of the self related to these choices. I do this through the close examination of individuals who currently practice pastoralism in Telemula, a mountain village in central Sardinia.

This is, to my knowledge, the first ethnography of an Ogliastra village that dwells on the phenomenological dimension of the construction and reproduction of self-representations. In examining different aspects of the everyday life of Telemulesi pastoralists, I relate the moral meanings that constitute local people's world-views to their choice of occupation.

Previous anthropological work on the Ogliastra has focused on everyday issues such as the political aspects of

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[5] Hereafter I write `self/representation' when I refer to both representations produced or legitimized by others about a particular person or group, and to the representation of one's self. On the other hand, `self-representation' refers to the individual's representation of his or her own self.

social organisation (Bodemann 1979), the factors that influence migration (Ostow 1985), the social and economic impact of tourism on mountain villagers (McVeigh 1992), and sheep rustling as a social form of exchange (Caltagirone 1989). Angioni's (1989) book provides comprehensive description of pastoralism in the 1960s. In the present work I deal with the production of representations based on shepherds' work and forms of sociability and how these representations influence occupational choice within the community. This approach has led me to examine the moral opposition between the categories of `modernity' and `tradition', which were first promoted by national and supranational agencies and later adopted in the local world-views. Hence, I illustrate how the experience of the life-world has led to the multiplication of meanings surrounding production practices and types of sociability.

Within this framework, my contribution is to demonstrate the ways in which local producers are able sometimes to represent themselves in a positive light. On some occasions, they achieve this through shifting the referential meaning of value categories that they apply in everyday social and productive life so as to be considered good persons [*persone brave*]. On other occasions, they claim for themselves the positive representations they have adopted from the institutional discourse in order to place themselves at a rhetorical time and space farther in the future from the one usually associated with their own village and its inhabitants.

I hope to demonstrate that the fragmentation of the life-world and the multiplication of world-views do not necessarily result in the fragmentation and decentring of the self. Individuals experience themselves as centred agents who shift their perspectives as they shift social and semantic contexts. At the same time, aiming to transcend a purely phenomenological approach, I demonstrate how individuals move within realms of meaning which constitute the taken-for-

granted of everyday life. Alternative realms of meaning are strategically used by actors to organise and assign a moral content and an experience of continuity to their own biographical self-representations.

I thank all of them for their friendship, our common socialising and for the possibility to agree and disagree on how to conduct anthropological studies. Some of them deserve special mention here: Karina Kielmann was always helpful and supportive. She read and commented on all essays and papers I wrote during my stay in McGill and did the final proofreading of this dissertation. During my stay in the field, Judi Snively took the burden of dealing with all my bureaucratic and banking affairs in Montreal and McGill. Leslie Butt proofread and commented on the introduction to this dissertation. In the field, Coleen McVeigh and Todd Shintani shared the Sardinian experience with us, helped us to deal emotionally with the cultural differences with the local population, and hosted us for two weeks when we returned to Montreal from Sardinia. Tracey Heatherington also shared the Sardinian experience with us, and proofread and commented on my first draft of this dissertation. Prof. Christine Jourdan, from Concordia University also lent me a hand during the final stages. At McGill, the secretaries Rose Marie Stano, Betty Dyckow and Dianne Mann were always helpful and willing to provide logistical advice. Special thanks to them.

While in Sardinia I also received helpful comments on my research from other MARE researchers: Philip C. Salzman, Lisa Edelsward, Gabriela Vargas-Cetina, Colleen McVeigh and Tracey Heatherington. I also met there Dan Bradburd and Maya Kennedy who also provided me with their friendship and comments on my work. Sabina Magliocco, whom I also met in Sardinia deserves special mention here for her friendship and for her very encouraging comments on my work.

Last but not least, I thank all our friends in Sardinia and Rome for granting us their hospitality as perhaps only Sardinians can do. As the list could be very long, I want to manifest my gratitude to all the villagers in Telemula, Bardia and Cala Fuili who let us learn about their lives and their concerns. Special thanks to the following Telemulesi: F. and

INTRODUCTION

"Sardinia: Group Photograph"
From *L'Unione Sarda*, Dec. 7, 1991:7
The text reads: "Shepherd, [industrial] worker,
on special welfare, unemployed, shepherd."

INTRODUCTION

Sardinia is an island situated in the centre of the western Mediterranean sea, to the west of the Italian peninsula. Geographically it is located between the 41° 15′ 42" and 38° 51′ 52" of longitude North, and between 8° 8′ 10" and 9° 50′ 8" of longitude East. It is 188 km from the coast of the Italian peninsula and encompasses a surface area of 24,089 km^2 (Pietracaprina 1982:23). Telemula is a small highland village of 1,200 inhabitants 20 km off the eastern coast of central Sardinia. One third of its population is engaged in pastoralist activities of which goatherding predominates over shepherding. The other two thirds of the active labour force of the village find employment in the secondary (industries, construction) and service (public offices, tourist facilities) sectors respectively. The following account presents some of the ethnographic and theoretical issues that constitute the focus of this dissertation.

An Occupational Story. I met Danilo during my stay in Telemula in 1990-1991. When I encountered him, he was unemployed and received an unemployment pension from the government that could have allowed him to spend his time idly in the village. Instead, Danilo was doing odd jobs during part of the winter and before spring he was employed by the *comune* [municipality] to fell trees and chop firewood for the community's supply. During the spring he was given a special unemployment pension (given to those who have been employed seasonally by the state), and had filed an application to work as a forest ranger in Costa Smeralda, the north-eastern tourist resort of Sardinia. While waiting for an answer, he continued to do odd jobs.

Danilo used to be a shepherd, but he never achieved independence. He was hired as a shepherd-hand [*servopastore*]

2

by local shepherds and sometimes by shepherds from other villages.[1]   He says that he found too much hardship in shepherding and decided to abandon that occupation altogether in order to look for employment in the public sector, aiming at a *posto fisso* [permanent job].   In 1991 he had already lived through six years of alternate periods of unemployment, seasonal underemployment and employment.   He often finds temporary jobs: as a *manovale* (agricultural hand or bricklayer), as a member of crews in charge of cleaning forests and felling trees for firewood for other Telemulesi. In everyday interaction, he presents himself aggressively in relation to other men and as a gentleman and educated person in his relation to women, at the same time emphasising his manliness.   His experience as a forest ranger in past summers has given him some degree of knowledge and understanding of meteorological and environmental discourses.   He repositions himself when talking to others by frequently shifting the conversation to the physics of changes in the weather and sometimes provides unrequested explanations about the technical characteristics of the local vegetation.   He employs specialized terminology that many of his listeners do not understand and find annoying.   Sometimes he bores, even upsets, his companions.   But he succeeds in underlining his own difference from other villagers.   He rhetorically positions himself in another metaphorical time and place: the modern time of urban discourse.

He had been, until that time, unable to obtain a *posto fisso*.   He explained to us why he believes it was difficult for him to find a permanent job in forest management in these

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[1]   As Angioni (1989:187-192) illustrates, being a *servopastore* [Sard *therakko*] implies the economic dependence and subordination of propertyless individual/s to an owner of land or livestock (or more often, both).   In Telemula, some shepherds admitted to having been poor in the past claiming, proudly, not to have ever been *therakkos(o)*.

terms:

> I want a *posto fisso* in Costa Smeralda. I would like to
> be hired at least as forest ranger, although I would
> prefer to be in forest management. However, it is
> difficult for us to get this kind of job in Costa
> Smeralda. Why? Because I am from the Nuorese [Nuoro
> province]. Those people [his potential employers]
> believe that we are all bandits in the Nuorese and that
> our presence [in Costa Smeralda] increases the likelihood
> of having rich people kidnapped.

Danilo continued to find seasonal employment and brief
contracts for odd jobs until the end of 1991 when the regional
government announced the opening of 50 permanent jobs in
reforestation for the inhabitants of Telemula. The local
administration put all applications (some say between 150 and
200) on a scale in which the ranking of individuals was
directly related to how long they had been unemployed. The
final decision dragged through most of 1992, increasing the
levels of local tension, since even a one-day job would have
deprived the aspiring worker from the possibility of a *posto
fisso* by erasing his or her name from the list of unemployed
applicants. Deprived of the possibility of earning their own
living, some decided to drop out of the competition and left
the village to go somewhere else to work. Danilo waited and
(according to a letter we received from a villager), in
September 1992 he finally achieved his much desired permanent
job [*posto fisso*].

Danilo's story brings forth some of the issues that I
deal with in this dissertation: (1) how the local community
has changed from a social and economic organisation based up
to the 1960s on agropastoralism, to one that privileges the
search for employment in the industrial and service sectors;
(2) how on the basis of representations that portray the Nuoro
province as the cradle of Sardinian criminality, individuals
at the local, regional and national levels justify, on the one
hand, the active intervention of governmental agencies. On
the other, how these negative representations of the Nuoro

4

inhabitant provide grounds for exclusionary hiring practices in `sensitive' points of the island (i.e. the tourism resort of Costa Smeralda that attracts international elite tourism). Trying to keep people away from shepherding, the regional and national governments promote alternative sources of employment and strive to modify (to `modernise' and to induce `rational') shepherding. I examine how the institutional discourse in combination with local practices has given rise to a contrasting set of `moral' images of the local population which come to inform local individuals' self/images; (3) how the institutional discourse employed to promote social change fosters alternative world-views that often conflict with local ones; (4) how local and `foreign' world-views produce diverse moral codes which are used by local people to justify their social and economic choices; and (5) how in spite of the multiplication of world-views and the segmentation of the everyday spheres, characteristic of a post-industrial society, individuals are able to centre their experience of the self as they focus on particular aspects of their own biographical (working) experience.

In this dissertation I illustrate these five processes drawing on ethnographic data I collected primarily in Telemula and secondarily in other Sardinian settlements. In the remaining parts of this introduction I discuss:

> (1) how social and economic change had affected the village since the 1950s; I place this instance of local change within the larger anthropological understanding in order to bring into focus the theoretical issues to be addressed in this dissertation;
>
> (2) the different approaches to understanding the `self', especially those which address the question whether the self is a coherent, unified, centred agent or a fragmented and decentred one;
>
> (3) the different understandings of ethics and morality in Telemula and its surroundings; and

(4) my choice of research techniques and methodology and the premises upon which these are based.

1. UNDERSTANDING CHANGE

Until the 1960s, Telemula was a predominantly agropastoral village. Since then, small and large industries have sprung up in the Ogliastra (the historical and geographical area that includes Telemula) and from the 1970s, a slow but steady development of coastal tourism facilities has provided local people with sources of employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. Central Sardinia is characterized by the national and regional governments as the epitome of cultural, economic and social backwardness. The development of industrial and service facilities was orchestrated by the government in order to induce individuals to abandon the agropastoral sector, seen as the source of all regional ills (Ruju 1982:70-71; De Murtas 1992).[2]

In the 1980s, the occupational structure of Italy, including Sardinia, changed significantly as the service sector came to employ more than 50% of the active labour, thereby announcing the arrival of a post-industrial era (De Masi 1986). In the meantime, the trope `modernity' (that is, the designation of lifestyles that, among other things, invoke

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[2] During the period immediately after World War II, the Italian and regional governments focused their efforts on the social and economic development of the island. Initially, the United States government provided funds for the reconstruction of Italy and contributed to the eradication of malaria in Sardinia in an effort to favour local modernization (Del Piano 1988). This disease had come to be seen as an obstacle for the development of the local population (Brown 1979). Later, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation devised projects for the development of Sardinia (OEEC 1960). These projects have been continued under the supervision of the EEC and the Italian and regional governments.

6

urban tastes, the technologisation of most realms of the everyday, and the immersion in consumer society) became common usage among Telemulesi and Sardinians. In the beginning of the 1990s, some writers stress the presence, even in small villages, of post-materialist values, such as the appreciation of nature as a value in itself (e.g. CENSIS 1991). Gradually, concerns of a seemingly post-materialist nature begin to shape some aspects of the local discourse.

Telemulesi do not question the fact that the times are changing. However, the framework in which they understand their own experience of change did not arise from within the village, but rather was taken from the state's definition of `modernity'. After World War II, the Italian government undertook the project of `modernising' Sardinia. The emerging Christian Democratic Party (DC) gained the political control of Italy through the support of the Catholic church mobilised against the threat of communism. The DC's project was to initiate the process of agrarian reform and industrialisation of the nation (Ginsborg 1989). With funds from the United States and other European nations the Italian and Sardinian governments were able to promote the concept of `modernity' as a socially desirable status for the whole population.[3] The notion of `modernity' came to be one of the important elements of the hegemonic discourse of the state.

Making reference to the Italian experience, Gramsci (1971:258) uses the concept of `ethical State' to describe the administrative goal of "rais[ing] the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level..." He saw the intellectual class (teachers, public servants, the military), during this stage of national change, as tied to the dominant classes (ibid 245). The concept of hegemony implies not the forceful (military) imposition of practices or

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[3] The documents cited in Chapters One to Four illustrate this statement.

7

world-views, but rather the population's active appropriation of the moral standards fostered by the State. The process of hegemony that Gramsci described continues to take place in contemporary Italy, and Sardinia is no exception to this. Even if the Italian and Sardinian governments started promoting the trope of `modernity', large segments of the urban and rural population accepted and fostered practices consonant with it.

The term `State' has in Italy a rather heterogeneous content given that the agencies that collaborate openly with the parties in power are not usually associated with national administrations. In Italy the Catholic church has relentlessly supported the DC. Some politicians find themselves committed to supporting the ideology of the church that helped them to obtain their positions (Ginsborg 1989:471). School teachers have more often been associated with the project of the Italian state (Pira 1978) whose values they foster. Spotts and Wieser (1986:62, 143) have discussed how the Italian Radio and Television (*RAI, Radio Televisione Italiana*) was initially controlled by the DC and later also by the Italian Socialist (PSI) and Communist parties. Presently each of these parties control a number of newspapers and one of the three public television stations.[4] Not even the industrial plants are alien to the influence of political parties that form the state coalition. As Spotts and Wieser (1986:136-139) illustrate, government funds are earmarked for associations of industrialists and private banks. It is in view of the participation of the church, the political parties, the mass media, the school and the multiple national and regional government agencies in the general project of `modernisation' that I understand the `State's promotion' of

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[4] The private channels are also said to be linked to political parties. The TV channels of Berlusconi's FININVEST are reportedly tied to the DC and the PSI (*L'Espresso* Jan 10, 1993:38-40).

the `modernity' trope.

The grand narrative of `modernisation' (of global nature, although its origins lie in the industrialised nations), and its trope `modernity', have become part of the local understanding of the villagers' own social life. It is the institutional discourse that first defined the local ways of life as `traditional' and thus, `backward' and primitive. The opposition between `tradition' and `modernity' has been promoted by government bureaucrats, priests, teachers and the mass media who praise and promote the ideal of `modern' urban lifestyles and practices. Telemulesi are aware that in neighbouring villages not so different from their own, they are called a *paese arretrato* [a `backward' village]. During feasts or when they visit other villages, their outside friends jokingly tell the Telemulesi: *voi siete arretrati* [you are a `backward' people]. Rhetorically, Telemula is represented as a village in which people have remained in the past. Often Telemulesi challenge this image by asserting their own `modernity'. However, they often explain their economic and political shortcomings telling us and other foreigners: *noi siamo arretrati* [we are lagging behind]. In stating this they imply that even though they are not as `modern' as people from other villages and the city are, they are, nevertheless, willing to become so.

The concepts `modernity' and `tradition', as employed in the local discourse, are reflections of their use in the institutional grand narrative of modernisation. Within the community, `tradition' and `modernity' are moral shifters that enable individuals to define differences in position between themselves and fellow villagers and/or outsiders [*ir istransus/u*, Sard. outsiders, strangers]. The concept of `shifters' has been proposed by Silverstein (1976) and Galaty (1982). In their writings a *shifter* is a term that has more than one referent or that embodies multiple meanings. In different contexts the value content of the term shifts from

9

one meaning to another. For example, as Galaty (1982) illustrates, the term `Maasai' includes and excludes different groups according to the quality of the relationship between the speaker and those to whom s/he refers. Silverstein (1976) writes that in verbal communication the past tense refers to a time prior to the one in which the statement is made. In explaining the way shifters act, he adds:

> [T]emporal categories, and past tense in particular, compare the time for which the proposition of a referential speech event is asserting something with the time of the referential speech event itself. So the referential meaning of any categorial type `tense' to which we want to assign the several tokens depends upon a comparison of the time referred to with the time of utterance in each speech event incorporating the token. (ibid:24)

In my use of the term shifter I further expand the meaning given to verbal tenses by Silverstein to terms which make reference to a temporal status (such as `being modern' or `traditional'). Here, I accept that shifters are terms that have multiple meanings that vary with the context and propose that the term enables the individual to reposition him or herself within a rhetorical universe. That is, in appropriating a particular content of a referential `term' (e.g. `modern' as the content of the concept of `good person'), individuals rhetorically shift their own position from one `time' to another, instead of questioning the possible meanings of the term.

Given the `allochronic' (Fabian 1983) dimension of the terms, in Telemula the concepts of `modernity' and `tradition' acquire a strategic dimension in their everyday use. The content of the concept `modernity' may vary from one person to another and from one to another context. However, when an individual calls him or herself `modern' or `traditional' s/he does it in a temporal opposition by which the `traditional' person is positioned in the past. These repositionings acquire, in their everyday use, connotations of a moral

nature.

I want to stress, however, that changes in the way local people express their social, cultural, economic and political preferences are closely linked to the shifting experience and meanings of social reality. The village underwent drastic transformations at the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s when the national and regional governments directly intervened in regional socio-economic processes. The emergence of industrial work and the expansion of service jobs in the region were accompanied by material changes in the village (roads, electricity, commodities) as well as changes in social interaction as the village became less dependent on agropastoral rhythms for their daily and yearly social organisation. This is explored in detail in the chapters of this dissertation.

In what follows I outline how social scientists have come to see social change in the last two decades by looking at theories that provide a framework for understanding three different dimensions of such changes during the late twentieth Century: the structural shift from industrial to post-industrial societies (Bell 1976 [1973]); the cultural shift from materialist to post-materialist values (Inglehart 1977; 1990); and the postmodern crisis of the foundations of knowledge, both about society and self (Lyotard 1984). This outline provides a framework for the theoretical interpretation of the process of the proliferation of moral codes in Telemula.

A)   The Morality of Social Change.   Steward (1967:21) contends that "the term [modernisation] is neutral." However, as suggested by Fabian (1983) and Sanderson (1990), theories of social change convey moral and political judgments, and provide grounds for establishing hierarchies of existing cultures.   Attempts to ascribe a neutral, descriptive connotation to the concept of social evolution (e.g. Habermas

11

1979) do not eliminate the moral implications of the classification of societies. In anthropology, moral implications underlie the theories of social change (or evolution) advanced by different scholars.

For Boas (1962 [1928]:153-157) the main contrast between `primitive' and `modern' cultures could be verified in terms of increasing social complexity, individual independence, secularization and rationalisation (i.e. the development of science understood as the search for regularities in causal relations). After World War II anthropologists started to focus on technological change as the standard by which to judge the complexity of different cultures. This was the period in which industrialised countries expanded their economic and political control over `underdeveloped' nations, often by non-military means (Latouche 1992). Anthropologists were quick to recognise the introduction of technology as one of the means by which to bring about social and economic change:

> It is clear that a new technology must mean in many ways a new structure of social relations ... Whether they [workers] live in slums or in Garden City, their linkage with an industrial technology governs not only their employment but also their family life, their recreation, and their religious ties. (Firth 1964 [1948]:183)

Speaking of the perception of `underdeveloped' peoples current in his time, Firth (ibid:184) noted that development did not only get prizes for efficiency and industry but also obtained moral approval from fellow villagers while those who resisted change came to be seen as enemies of progress. In his manual for facilitating change in `traditional' societies, Foster (1964) accords an instrumental, positive value to the promotion of technological change:

> Associated with every technical and material change there is a corresponding change in the attitudes, the thoughts, the values, the beliefs and the behaviors of the people who are affected by the material change. (ibid:3)

However, Foster warns the reader that "the urge for

12

development and the willingness to change are not equally present in all peoples" (ibid:4). He sees cultures changing by borrowing from other ones. The countryside changes in virtue of the appeal of, and the positive value ascribed to, urban innovations (ibid:25-31). Change, in Foster's view, is positively valued by all but some peoples resist change because the economic sacrifice involved is too great (ibid:60).

> Steward (1967:4) defines `modernisation' as the
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> cultural transformations that result from the factors and processes that are distinctive of the contemporary industrial world. It means more than culture change, for change may be essentially cumulative when culture traits are merely incorporated into the existing pattern of society. Modernization is evolutionary in that basic structures and patterns are altered.

In contrasting `traditional' to `modern' societies, he adds that in the former, individuals are prevented from accumulating surplus, individual effort is discouraged, and private land tenure is opposed. `Traditional' patterns of cooperation and sharing are opposed to the `modern' logic of individual maximization of profit.

The views of these scholars mirror, to some extent, the official rhetoric of the time. In Chapters One to Five, I illustrate how the Italian government and the European Community participated in this discursive definition of peoples inhabiting the margins of Europe (see Herzfeld 1987b for the Greek experience). Central Sardinians of the Nuoro province, in particular, were perceived to be `traditional', and were assigned the negative connotation of being `backward' and resistant to modernisation. It is unquestionable that some of the above characterisations of non-modern peoples could be made to apply to central Sardinians in general, and to Telemulesi in particular. Scholars who have focused on the discrete definition of their general social traits have portrayed Telemulesi as attached to communal land tenure

13

strongly opposing privatization and the alienation of communal use. (See also Heatherington (forthcoming) for an illustration of this opposition in another Ogliastra village) Telemulesi can also be seen as emphasising egalitarian and communalistic practices, although they may prove to be attracted by urban lifestyles (see in particular Chapters Three to Seven below).

One of the issues I discuss in this dissertation is that the permanence of `traditional' practices and world-views is not the result of an `unwillingness to change' but rather of an unequal application of state policies in the region. Villagers in Telemula can be seen as split into two broad factions: one that favours the `modernisation' of the village, and another that supports the permanence of customary practices and regulations.  However, individuals in the latter group are not affectively attached to `traditional' practices. Rather, they claim to defend the interests of the agropastoral group in face of what they perceive to be the government's effort to undermine their livelihood: the privatisation of the scarce, good-quality lands of the village would necessarily favour a few (with political patrons) and would leave the rest unprotected, forcing them to abandon the pastoral sector in a region of high unemployment.

The views on change outlined above characterize the anthropologists' views of modernisation in the 1950s and 1960s. Since that period, industrial societies of northern Europe and America have experienced drastic changes in their occupational structures and world-views. Before examining how these changes are understood I outline some recent explanations of change in pastoral societies.

B) Change in Pastoralist Societies. In looking at change among nomadic pastoralists, Salzman (1980) proposes that all

cultures have institutional alternatives for change.[5] In his view (ibid 1980:4), every society has

> alternative organizational forms, alternative productive activities, alternative value orientations, alternative forms of property control. This results in fluidity and variability, as people switch back and forth between activities, between organizational forms, and between priorities. This model exemplifies loose integration ... In consequence society is to some significant degree flexible and adaptable, able to shift from less to more appropriate alternatives in response to pressures and exigencies.

Cultures can change by de-activating a customary organisation of practices and mobilising another one. Salzman finds continuity in this change: a given society does not become a different one, but rather manifests its own flexibility and variability (ibid:6).

An important direction in which a pastoralist society may change is sedentarisation. As discussed below, given that transhumance has been defined as the source of crime in Sardinia, the Italian state's project of modernisation of the island has among its objectives the sedentarisation of shepherds. Salzman (ibid:10) defines sedentarisation as the change from nomadism to sedentism ("the settled, immobile location of the household during the annual round of productive activities"). He outlines, following Barth (1961), three models of sedentarisation: the "drought and decline" model explains sedentarisation as a consequence of the loss of flocks resulting from natural disasters; the "defeat and degradation" model explains the military forced sedentarisation of nomadic groups that are perceived by

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[5] Sardinian shepherds are not nomadic. Their households are situated in the village and shepherds move their animals back and forth from the lowlands to the high plateau. The government project of sedentarisation foresees the establishment of permanent stock breeding units for shepherds so as to eliminate the seasonal movement of flocks and the criminal acts associated with it (sheep rustling and/or kidnapping) (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1976).

15

governments as political threats; and the "failure and fall-away" model looks at pastoralists who cannot reach success and relinquish their animals in order to look for another occupation (Salzman 1980:12). He also proposes a fourth model "adaptation and response" in which change is seen as a "voluntary, uncoerced shift from one available pattern to another in response to changing pressures, constraints, and opportunities both internal and external to the society" (ibid:14). As I discuss below, none of these models seems to fully explain the progressive sedentarisation of shepherds in Sardinia.

Partly in agreement with Salzman, Galaty (1981:6-7) describes change in pastoralist societies. Like Salzman, he recognises the role that the state may play in bringing change into pastoralism. However, he stresses the role that the introduction of pastoralists in the market has in changing animal husbandry (ibid:8). Telemulesi shepherds in particular, and those of the Ogliastra and Barbagia in general, have been immersed in the dairy market for nearly one century. According to an old shepherd, in the 1930s and 1940s, French and Italian peninsular wholesalers wandered on the Supramonte [high plateau] buying the whole cheese production of local shepherds and imposing changes in the manufacturing procedures. Later, the emergence of *caseifici* [dairy plants], private and cooperative, provided an outlet for the shepherds' milk production. Local shepherds started, as Galaty notes for the east African case, to produce *for* the market and to acquire goods *from* the market (Galaty 1981). The management of milk and cheese production and the perception of the flock shifted to that of an instrument to produce goods to sell in the market in order to buy other commodities from the market. Although the commercialisation of livestock products emerges as an important factor in understanding change in pastoralist practices in central Sardinia, it is only one of the elements that have induced its

16

transformation. The active intervention of the state, as discussed below, has played an important role in modifying both the perceptions on, and practices of, shepherding.

More recently, Boyazoglu and Flamant (1990) have proposed three models for understanding changes in pastoralist societies of the Mediterranean. In looking at the circum-Mediterranean region they postulate the evolution from traditional to modern systems of land use as a result of the de-stabilization of the relation between the *hortus* (area dedicated in each village for growing household vegetables and fruits), the *ager* (lands for the cultivation of grain) and the *saltus* (forest and bushes used for grazing).[6] The first pattern of change that these authors describe regards the northern shore of the Mediterranean. Change is related, in their opinion, to the reduction of the rural population in the mountains with the subsequent break- up of the community. On one hand, tourist development in the coast and lowlands has deprived shepherds of `traditional' pastures. On the other, improved irrigation has increased the extension of the *hortus* at the expense of the *ager* (which was abandoned by migrants) making lands unavailable for pastures. While the *saltus* has grown, shepherds lack lands in the lowlands for winter grazing. These processes have combined to bring about a transformation of pastoralism.

The second pattern of change which the authors use to describe the processes occurring in the vast Spanish plains relates to the expansion of cereal cultivation and the decrease of fallow lands. In this case, changes lead to the increased mechanisation and the intensification of flock management (ibid:378-379). The third pattern applies to northern Africa and Turkey where the increase of population has induced both the sedentarisation of nomadic shepherds and

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[6] The authors borrow this terminology from the antique Latin terminology, also used in Sardinian in the past.

17

the development of cereal production (ibid:379).

None of these models seems to explain the changes occurring in the Nuoro province of Sardinia in general and the Ogliastra and Telemula in particular, where the decline of agriculture brought by emigration and the import of cheap grain favoured, along with an expansion in the demand for *pecorino* cheese, the expansion of transhumant pastoralism from the end of last century to the 1970s (Bussa 1978; Setzi and Antoniacci 1988). Salzman's suggestive theoretical models (derived mainly from nomadic groups in the Middle East and the southern shore of the Mediterranean) seem to imply a situation of rational choice in which the pastoralists, in a context of constraints and pressures, choose among alternative practices informed by the old and the new state of affairs. In Sardinia there has been, every so often, military intervention in order to control criminal activities (usually linked to shepherds) but no direct military action has been taken to enforce sedentarisation.[7] In individual (or familial) instances, some have abandoned shepherding during a drought, or an epizootic, or simply because the shepherd was unable to succeed in the job, but the scale of these phenomena does not justify the extent of changes in Sardinia. Rather, the Italian state and the EEC have acted through the regional government to provide incentives to abandon shepherding and to promote, among those who choose to remain as shepherds, the adoption of sedentary practices of animal husbandry. In other words, the EEC, the national and regional governments actively pursue, for different reasons (the EEC in the name of efficiency and the Italian state in the name of social peace), the project of reducing the number of individuals in the agropastoral sector and of enhancing the sedentarisation of

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[7] The EEC and state's intervention varies from one to another country. For example, Chan (1991) points out that in Greece the EEC has created economic incentives that favour pastoral transhumance.

the remaining ones. Shepherds from the region, even if not all, have accepted the institutional definition of `modern' animal husbandry. Some have established sedentary farms (see Murru-Corriga 1990a) and others have obtained funds to improve pastures through cooperatives (as in the case of Bardia). However shepherds in the Ogliastra have been placed in a paradoxical situation: on the one hand, many shepherds (both young and middle aged) are willing to sedentarise and to adopt new technology (but they are required to have their own land for farms); on the other, the Ogliastra region's natural pastures are of such poor quality as to discourage the government from spending great amounts of money to improve them. Thus, lands remain communal and shepherds find themselves constrained to continue the practice of transhumance and unable to adopt `modern' technology. The government continues to promote the trope of `modernity' which most Telemulese shepherds are unable to achieve in their current condition, that is, if they remain shepherds.

In contrast to what Boyazoglu and Flamant (1990) have found in Mediterranean Europe, tourist services have expanded in a limited form on the Ogliastra coast. The abandonment of the *ager* has not resulted in an expansion of the *hortus*, as most families use their small portions of land in the valley for winter pastures and for spring cultivation of small amounts of grain. In Telemula there is an increased availability of pastures (expansion of the *saltus*) for local shepherds which favours the practice of short transhumance within the confines of the community. Given the impracticability of substantive improvements in most of the Ogliastra pastures, the regional government continues to discourage Ogliastrini from agropastoral activities and, in compensation, it strives to generate occupational alternatives for local peoples. This has resulted in the development of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy in the Ogliastra. As a consequence of this process, Telemulesi and

other Ogliastrini find themselves faced with the choice of different occupations and, thus, different life-styles. These may contribute to the emergence of alternative moral and sociocultural world-views.

C) **The Process of Post-Industrialisation.** The intervention of the national and regional governments in Sardinia, in particular in the Ogliastra region, has been characterized by overt strategies steering toward a radical transformation of the local socioeconomic practices and `backward' [arretrata] culture. The Italian and Sardinian administrations justified their open intervention as arising from the need to `modernise' the local population. However, since the end of World War II, the state's[8] project for the development of the nation has followed an unstable course. In the 1960s, the state promoted a policy of industrialisation which was then viewed as the best instrument to modernise Italian culture and to improve the economy of the South [*Mezzogiorno*] (Bocella 1982; Gribauldi 1991). As this project proved to be unsuccessful, the government shifted the focus of its intervention towards modernising agropastoral production and encouraged the development of tourist facilities on the island's coasts (Del Piano 1971; Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1976). As these sectors of the economy proved to be insufficient to cover the employment needs of Sardinians, the government enhanced the growth of the public sector in order to provide a surrogate source of employment for the growing numbers of unemployed Sardinians. This policy is, by the same token, instrumental in the achievement of greater political control of the population as jobs are allocated on political grounds in a system known locally as *lotizzazione*

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[8] Hereafter I refer to the state as a shorthand for the local, regional and national governments.

20

[distribution] (Castelli 1992; Saba 1976; Spotts and Wieser 1986).[9]

As the variety of occupations has expanded at the local level, Telemulesi are faced with a wider range of occupations to choose from. In the 1960s and 1970s, Telemulesi actively pursued jobs in the industrial sector of the Italian mainland and the other European Community countries. Since the 1980s, villagers have pursued employment both in the private and public service sectors of the economy. The enrolment of villagers in such occupations has brought about a change of social and economic routines and practices in the everyday life of individuals within the community. The village has changed from a primarily agropastoral disposition in the 1950s to an increasing preference for the service sector in the 1990s. The adoption of different practices by different villagers can be seen as leading to the consolidation of emerging forms of habitus (internalised structures of practices, Bourdieu 1977) and to the adoption of different world-views in which individuals' socioeconomic choices are morally ground. The process of sociocultural change (`modernisation') engenders a multiplicity of possible articulations of everyday practices and world-views (Berger, Berger and Kellner 1973).

Bell (1976:xii, xvi-xviii) stresses that the shift to a

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[9] As Saba (1976:8), Castelli (1992) and Spotts and Wieser (1986:67) have described, the Italian state is now constituted by the union of several political parties. The distribution of administrative and political positions is made on the basis of the percentages of votes that each of those parties reach during the general elections. State payroll positions are allocated on a proportional basis according to aspiring employees' allegiance to particular factions within each party. See also *L'Espresso*, "*Il Cnr? Nessuno Lo Lottizi*," Jan. 17, 1993, on the allocation of directive positions in National Science Institutes on the basis of affiliation to the Christian Democracy and the Italian Socialist Party. These parties hold the largest percentage of votes in the latest government coalition.

post-industrial society is characterized by several aspects, of which the development of the service sector (De Masi 1986) is only one. Bell (1976) points out that each historical stage of society has developed its corresponding service sector. What is specific to services in a post-industrial society is the development of specialist services based on knowledge and information. In contrast, an industrial society develops services to cater to the need for infrastructure (e.g roads) and to supply services for productive industries and their workers. In Chapters Three and Four, I describe which types of industrial and service jobs are available for Telemulesi and other Ogliastra villagers. Suffice it to say here that most Telemulesi employed in the service sector find employment as cleaning or kitchen staff in tourist facilities and as crew persons in the maintenance of roads and reforestation. Sardinia has come to develop a post-industrial economic structure. Regional development is characterized by the rise of jobs in the industrial sector and in service to industries and populations. Given that the Ogliastra lies within a post-industrial nation, Telemulesi have come to hold alternative moral world-views that arise from the process of sociocultural change.

Looking at another dimension of the process of sociocultural change Inglehart (1977:22; 1990) suggests that the transition to a post-materialist moral code is possible only once the material needs of most citizens are satisfied. It is the presence of a post-industrial economy that allows for the emergence of post-materialist values. Post-industrial societies are characterized by a level of economic growth that ensures a high income for workers. The presence of an efficient welfare system increases opportunities for individuals to achieve higher education and there is an enhanced influence of mass media in everyday life. All these features, which mediate the satisfaction of individuals' material needs, favour the development of post-materialist

22

values (Inglehart 1977:8-11). Post-materialist values are expressed in the emergence of (1) *belonging and esteem* needs which find expression in the demand for less impersonal societies and more voice in the government, the community and jobs; (2) *intellectual* needs expressed in the value assigned to ideas and free speech; and (3) *aesthetic* needs expressed in the longing for beautiful cities and the preservation of nature (ibid:42). In a follow-up report, Inglehart contends that international processes have confirmed the shift, in post-industrial societies, towards post-materialist values (Inglehart 1990:4-5 and *passim*).

Within this conceptual framework, De Masi (1986) claims that Italy reached the post-industrial stage in 1980. For Sardinia, Weingrod and Morin (1971) and Saba (1976) suggest that during this general process, the local shepherds surpassed the stage of a peasant culture.[10] In this context, can it be said that Telemulesi have adopted post-materialist world-view and values? Bell (1976:xvi) has suggested that it is characteristic of post-industrial societies not to cancel previous social and economic forms, but rather to allow for their simultaneous existence within the same national territory. It is not my purpose to establish here whether or not Italy has developed as a post-industrial economy (on this discussion see De Masi 1986; Vaccarini 1990; Paci 1991). I argue, however, that central Sardinians, Telemulesi in particular, cannot be seen as holding post-materialist world-views. Some researchers have been able to diagnose the presence of a post-materialist world-view in Sardinia after detecting the presence of one single value defined as such in

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[10] I do not share the evolutionary assumptions of these writers. My present discussion aims at illustrating factors that may contribute to the shift in local codes of meaning. The concepts of `post-industrial society', `post-materialist values' and `postmodern condition' describe the general processes of change of the socioeconomic structure, cultural meanings and claims to knowledge respectively.

the academic community. For example, the report of a survey conducted by CENSIS (*Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali* [Centre for Social Investment Studies] 1991) announced the emergence of post-materialist values in Sardinia, on the basis of the great concern for the environment expressed by a large number of respondents. However, as I discuss below following Inglehart (1977) `appreciation for the environment' can be considered post-materialist when it refers to a world-view in which individuals assign nature an intrinsic rather than instrumental value. The way in which Telemulesi view the environment has an instrumental orientation related to the fact that it is from their surrounding environment that they obtain part of their livelihood. Delogu (1991:42, 45) suggests that a postmodern world-view is slowly gaining ground in Sardinia through the influence of mass media. This is perhaps the case for urban groups where `nature' is found outside the everyday experience and most `material needs' can be satisfied within their immediate surroundings.

While in the eyes of social observers Italy has become post-industrial, and Italians have adopted post-materialist values, in Telemula a materialist orientation seems to prevail: there is the impinging need to produce jobs in the region and to sustain the villagers' economic income, and the need, expressed both by the state and local peoples, to control crime. Both of these concerns are of a material rather than a post-material nature as, in general terms, Inglehart (1977:42) suggests. I illustrate in a later section how the influence of mass media has prompted Telemulesi in general and shepherds in particular, to re-define the persistence of *arretrate* working conditions (because of the continuing practice of transhumance and lack of technological devices) and their preference for `authentic' foodstuffs as part of a `modern' world-view. This appears to constitute a rhetorical strategy for producing a positive self-representation rather than a shift in value orientation toward

24

post-materialism.

In the literature, postmodernism is often associated with the rise of post-industrial societies and the development of post-materialist world-views (e.g. Lyotard 1984). In dealing with the concept of postmodernity, Jameson (1984), Barcellona (1990), Aronowitz (1992) and Gorz (1992) posit a continuity between modern and postmodern stages of society. These authors view postmodernity as the increasing internationalization of capital and commoditization of social relations. That is, they see postmodernity as an advanced stage in the development of capitalism. In contrast, authors within the postmodern framework understand postmodernity as a process of rupture with pre-established ways of understanding the relation between knowledge and reality. Lyotard (1984; 1987) and his followers conceive postmodernity as an epochal breaking away from modern, rational, enlightenment thought. From the standpoint of postmodernity, the position that authors such as Jameson, Barcellona, Aronowitz and Gorz adopt is seen as informed by the evolutionist (perhaps even teleological) grand narrative of modernisation. Focusing on the production and legitimation of knowledge, Lyotard (1984:xxiii) defines as `modern'

> any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse of this kind [philosophy] making an explicit appeal to some grand narrative, such as the dialectics of Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth.

In contrast, he defines the postmodern standpoint as an "incredulity toward metanarratives" (ibid:xxiv). A postmodern society, he contends, lacks legitimate metanarratives. In consequence, technology becomes an instrument for organising social interaction (ibid). In sum, Lyotard (ibid:*passim*) suggests that `Western' society is already in an advanced state of atomization where each individual narrative need not agree with the others. In consequence, scientific knowledge,

25

particularly that of society, can no longer find its
legitimation in any of the existing grand narratives that
purport to explain the totality of society. The individuals'
experience and knowledge of society become highly fragmented
as do its representations.

I question the applicability of Lyotard's view for
understanding rural societies in central Sardinia. As Harvey
(1989:3) points out, the term postmodernism emerged "when a
certain shifting [could] be detected in the way in which
problems of urban life were talked about in both popular and
academic circles [emphasis added]." The concepts of
simulacrum, of architectonic and other aesthetic experiences
described by Jameson (1984) as characteristic of the
postmodern condition are also particular of an urban milieu.
It is in this context that the postmodern experience of the
loss of the self in the `chain of signifiers', that
Baudrillard (1979, 1981) calls `hyper-reality', occurs. As I
demonstrate throughout this dissertation, this is not the case
for the Telemulese experience of the self. Not because they
are anchored in a time previous to `postmodernity', but rather
because they do not live within the urban context that fosters
the `postmodern condition'. In the next section I discuss how
the multiplication of world-views and value-orientations is
related to the multiplication of the habitus, that is, of the
articulations of material and social practices. This
discussion can serve to provide a framework for understanding
the moral construction of the self.

2. THE MORALITY OF SOCIAL LIFE

As the EEC, the Italian and Sardinian governments promoted the
development of Sardinia and actively fostered sociocultural
change, the concept of `modernity' came to be the moral
category used to rhetorically define the position that
different individuals and groups occupy in the village. As

26

the institutional (i.e. governmental) definition of `modernity' gained acceptance in the village, those who refuse to, or cannot reproduce the `modern' code are seen as *arretrati* [`backward']. The moral content of the opposition between `modernity' and `tradition' helps to redefine the individuals' positions in metaphorical space and time orientations: the `traditional' individual is locally seen, and is defined by the government, as anchored in the past and the `modern' one as being future-oriented. At the same time, the `traditional' subject is seen as fixed to rural customs while the `modern' one strives to adjust his/her behaviour and demeanour to urban models.[11] I now outline how morality and values have been approached by anthropologists, and I then propose a materialist conceptualization of values and morality grounded in the everyday practices of individuals.

The examination of values and the role they play in the belief system of different cultures has been an ever present concern in anthropology. However, very few attempts have been undertaken to provide a systematic theory of values. I contend that one of the main limitations of such *understanding* of values arises from the goal to produce a quasi-natural scientific approach to *explain* cultural phenomena.[12] This orientation emerges from the ambition to produce universal, broad generalizations about values across cultures. To legitimate this endeavour, anthropologists have often had to

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[11] In discussing textual strategies in anthropological writing, Fabian (1983) calls this the `denial of coevalness'. Here I extend the concept to include the rhetorical strategies utilised by individuals during everyday interaction and by the state in the production of representations of rural dwellers. See also Herzfeld' (1987b) discussion of the construction of Greek `identity'.

[12] I refer here to the distinction established among others by Habermas (1988) between the positivistic, nomological approach that looks for explanatory causes and a hermeneutic approach that seeks an understanding of cultural phenomena.

27

assume a natural, quasi-biological (or plainly biological) origin of values. Kroeber (1952 [1949]:137) stresses the natural character of moral codes in order to explain their cultural diversity: "standards or value-systems conceived as parts of nature are necessarily temporal and spatial, phenomenal, relative, and comparative."

Vogt and Albert (1966:6) define values as being normative, implicit or explicit, persistent through time and organised in culturally distinctive patterns. Their understanding is based on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's study of value orientations. The latter (1961:4) propose the concept of `value-orientation', which in some regards closely corresponds to my own understanding of values. They state:

> *Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process - the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements - which give order and direction to the ever flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of common human problems.* (Their italics.)

It is consonant with my findings that individuals establish a practical, material hierarchy of values in a broad range of patterns. Values are, as Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck suggest, structured along axiological oppositions oriented by notions of human nature (the good and the bad person), individuals' practical relation to nature (instrumental or in harmony), their relation to time (past against future), their practical (being against doing) and relational orientations (community against individualistic) (ibid:11-20). However, I disagree with their premises that these orientations have a natural, biological source. These authors criticize the emphasis on cultural uniqueness they find in some studies contending that those authors "have ignored the fundamental fact of the universality of some human problems and its correlate that human societies have found for some problems approximately the same answers" (ibid:3). Based on the studies by the biologist

28

Tinbergen [*The Study of Instinct*, 1951] they claim that behaviourial direction is biologically predetermined (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:7). It is on this basis that they maintain that systems of (moral) meanings are different only in patterning (ibid:4). In contrast, I agree with Heller (1978) that instinctual and natural dispositions are of little relevance for the understanding of cultural processes and phenomena.

The understanding of values as essences has continued to influence later studies. Bolton et al. (1976:469-473) look at Andean pastoralists in order to replicate the African studies by Goldschmidt (1971) and Edgerton (1971). Bolton and collaborators attempted to measure, in quasi-laboratory conditions, pastoralists' aggression, self-reliance, cooperation, need for achievement, responsibility, independence, obedience and time needed for decision-making so as to establish a profile of pastoral personality. The problem with this study and others similar to it is the assumption that, across cultures, individuals (pastoralists) respond in similar ways to the same objects and situations leaving little room for contextually-shaped responses and preferences.

Another problem with the understanding of values and personality as natural properties is the normative/evaluative stand taken by researchers notwithstanding their frequent claims that they are value-free commentators. Inkeles's paper (1975) is a good illustration of this position. He contends that among the many causes of unequal socioeconomic development among nations of the world, one should not forget the attitudes and capacities of local peoples. His argument is worth quoting at length:

> Mounting evidence suggests that it is impossible for a state to move into the twentieth century if its people continue to live, in effect in an earlier era. A *modern* nation needs participating citizens, men and women who take interest in public affairs ... In their turn, modern

29

institutions need individuals who can keep to fixed schedules, observe abstract rules, make judgments on the basis of objective evidence, and follow authorities legitimated not by traditional or religious sanctions but by technical competence. The complex production tasks of the *industrial order*, which are the basis of modern social systems, also make their demands. Workers must be able to accept both an elaborate division of labour and the need to coordinate their activities with a large number of others in the work force. Rewards based on technical competence and objective standards of performance, on strict hierarchies of authority responsive to the imperatives of machine production, and on the separation of product and produce, are all part of this milieu, and require particular personal properties of those who are to master its requirements (Inkeles 1975:324).

Couched in a language of 'objective' imperative 'needs', Inkeles' understanding of the universal unfolding of modernity, through the shift from 'traditional' to 'modern' personality, is of a normative nature (ibid:325). In his view, it is through the mediation of schools, but primarily of industrial work, that individuals are likely to unfold their modern personality (ibid:*passim*). This view clearly assumes a desired direction for change and a normative understanding of which instruments are to induce this transformation.

Throughout this dissertation I argue that in Telemula villagers are faced with the choice between two representations of themselves which emerge from the grand narrative of 'modernisation'. They can express in their practices a preference either for what the Italian and regional governments propose as a positive, future-oriented ('modern') code of behaviours or, in contrast, a 'traditional' code anchored-in-the-past. Rather than looking at the shepherds' personalities, I focus on individuals' expression of preferences in the different spheres of everyday life (i.e. the economic sphere including work and consumer practices, the sphere of the family and that of sociability). These preferences are informed by the individuals' world-views which, in turn, are expressed in relation to the objective

30

social and material conditions in which they live. That is, in relation to what individuals perceive as objects or practices that they can actually choose from. Individuals' preferences are oriented by, and express, moral codes which find expression in everyday social and work practices.

Life-worlds are related to world-views. That is, according to the phenomenological perspective in philosophy, one's standing in the world gives the individual a particular set of experiences which contribute to shaping his or her perception of the material and social world surrounding him/her. Given the pluralization of the life-worlds and the inter-subjective character of individuals' experience, local people are able to grasp the content of alternative world-views. From this arises the possibility of world-views with a heterogeneous content. Individuals choose from alternative lifestyles and manifest their preferences in different realms of everyday life.

However, individuals do not choose which values they will incorporate into their moral world-view (Heller 1972:35). Rather, they express their values through practical preferences for objects, relations, persons, routines and lifestyles. In this context, following Heller (1974:24), I see values expressed in individuals' preferences within the dimension of social praxis. Values are not inherent in what an individual appraises. Rather, they are the meaning that the subject (and the group to which he belongs) bestows upon events, relations, persons, objects, routines and life-styles. It is in his or her choices that the individual expresses his or her moral code.

I also follow Heller (1975:136) in understanding `morality' as a practical viewpoint. That is, an individual's or group's values are contained in a world-view and are meant to be used in social praxis when individuals (or groups) confront a choice of alternatives. Given the multiplication of alternative life-worlds, individuals are aware of the

31

existence of various moral codes which can be used to legitimise their actions. However values are not instrumentally chosen from alternative moral codes.[13] Values are internalised through a person's practices and become the standard that s/he uses to measure her/his own preferences and those of others (ibid:136-142). That is, the moral subject universalises (i.e. generalises in a normative manner) her/his moral world-view judging all other individuals according to her/his own moral code. However, s/he cannot but be aware of the existence of other moral standards, and thus of the 'particular' nature of her/his own code. In a context in which multiple moral codes exist, an individual may internalise values derived from different codes which manifest their conflictive character only in the moment of a choice, when opposing values are 'activated'. It is my contention that values are culturally bound and that they emerge, are internalised and are modified during everyday practice through the lives of individuals. They change constantly within the same village, and often for the same group or individual. In examining the different realms of the everyday life in Telemula, I stress the value preferences expressed by different villagers. In the conclusions I will demonstrate how these preferences can be articulated within the framework of what Heller (1974) calls 'orientative categories' of value.[14]

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[13] This does not exclude the possibility that some individuals may claim to participate of a given value for the instrumental purpose of repositioning him/herself within his/her own society. But these values are not internalized.

[14] While I tend to agree in general terms with Heller's analysis of morality and values, I reject the ontological premises that she derives from Lukacs (1976) and Markus (1978). Also, Habermas'(1990) ontological and phylogenetic understanding of ethics is contrary to my understanding of values, even though I share his view that the legitimacy of values is established through inter-subjective processes of communication.

I have chosen to focus on the practical dimension of everyday preferences through which values are expressed. This is because I believe that values emerge (or are reproduced) in individuals' choices among alternative `objects' in the (material) worlds of (transformed) nature and of social relations. The subjective understanding of these preferences constitutes the mental and affective dimensions of practical choices. In order to grasp the moral meaning of individuals' choices and preferences, I judged it necessary to establish inter-subjective communication with the villagers and to share the experience of multiple everyday practices with them (despite the fact that the quality of my experiences was analogous rather than homologous with theirs). This is one strategy by which one can strive to provide the local point of view (Geertz 1984) even though I am aware that this ultimately constitutes a partial and incomplete representation of local subjectivity. It is in their practices that individuals also express their affective states and manifest their (value) preferences.

The context in which this research was conducted is that of a village (Telemula), and a region (Ogliastra) encompassing it. Since the 1960s, both areas have undergone a process of industrialisation and later of post-industrialisation. The labour market is now highly diversified in relation to the occupational alternatives that Telemulesi faced in the 1950s. This has brought about a `pluralisation of the life-worlds' (Berger, Berger and Kellner 1973). The differences in routines, behaviourial expectations, social and working practices brought about by the emergence of alternative occupations have resulted in a diversification of the possibilities for structuring the spheres of everyday life.[15]

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[15] Berger, Berger and Kellner (1973) follow Schutz (1970) in calling life-world the whole of individual's experiences of other persons, objects and events while in pursuit of practical goals. See also Schutz and Luckmann (1973) and

In what follows I explore how the pluralization of life-worlds and moral world-views influences the perception of individuals' representations of their own and other selves.

3. THE UNITY OF THE SELF

The advent of post-industrial societies and postmodernity has been accompanied by a questioning of the concepts of the `self' and of `subjectivity' (Sass 1987; Cadava, Connor and Nancy, ed. 1991). Post-industrial society and the human condition of postmodernity have multiplied the fields of experience and meaning within which individuals live. This condition is purported to bring about the loss of the centre of subjectivity: in postmodern life, one's self comes to be lived as the juxtaposition of several fragments of experience which the individual is unable to articulate into a coherent whole (Derrida 1978:279; Gergen 1991; Rorty 1989:25). In Lyotard's (1984:15) trope, the self is reduced to a nodal point inserted in communication circuits through which multiple messages pass.

Accepting the premise of postmodernity, some Italian scholars have provided two contrasting responses: some view the multiplication of life-worlds and world-views as threatening the sense of social and individual life (Bodei 1987; Moravia 1987; Possenti 1987). For some of these scholars, individuals need to give direction to their lives and meaning to their experiences and propose that a turn to Christian religion would be adequate for these purposes (Possenti 1987; Poupard 1987). However, thinkers from Nietzschean stands rejoice in the final demise of arbitrary meanings of the `self' (Vattimo 1981, 1985).

Habermas (1987). The term has the same meaning to the concept of the `everyday life' employed by Heller (1975). I use both terms interchangeably.

34

Recently the view has emerged that perhaps the demise of the category of `self` by post-structuralist authors was hurried. As Sass (1992:17) ironically writes:

> It is true that in the most avant-garde fields of the human studies (in literary theory and French psychoanalysis, for example), this modern turn to the "self" has been superseded by theoretical strategies that aim to destroy the claims of this secular god. But even in these quarters - the realms of "postmodernism" and "poststructuralism" - selfhood remains a central obsession: ..., many who claim to disbelieve in the self seem to take an inordinate delight in dancing round its burning image.

In this author's view the postmodernist trope, in denying that the thinking subject can truly grasp the outer world, gives up the possibility of overcoming alienation (ibid:49). Gloege (1992:76) criticizes the postmodern notion of the `indeterminacy of the self' as concealing the historical dimension of the textual and economic production and reproduction of power inequalities. In turn, while acknowledging the existence of multiple views about the `self', Howe (1992:266) claims that whatever their contents, they open alternatives for the improvement of the human condition.

The postmodern discourse on the self has not remained enclosed within the fields of philosophy and literary criticism. Anthropological studies of notions of the self have had different orientations, sometimes stressing the importance of emotions, sometimes of the body, of symbols, often relying on psychological and psychoanalytic theories, and sometimes on the biological (bodily) grounding of experience (e.g. Jackson 1987).[16] Postmodern critics have

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[16] I have reviewed elsewhere the philosophical and anthropological spectrums of studies on the self (Ayora-Diaz 1990). It suffices to mention here the influential articles on the body by Mauss (1973) and by Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987); the volumes edited by Shweder and Levine (1984) exploring interpretive and relativistic models; the one by

targeted the essentialist and totalising assumptions of psychological and psychoanalytic understandings of the person (Gergen 1989; Parker 1989; Rose 1989). This discourse has been taken up by some anthropologists who propose a postmodern critique of current understandings of the self.

Examining the experiences of workers in a pastry shop in Japan Kondo (1990) understands what I believe is her own fragmented experience of the lives of her co-workers and research subjects as the fragmentation of their selves. She views the diversity of positions they occupy in different spheres of the everyday as a juxtaposition of fragmentary experiences which workers cannot put into a coherent whole. Ewing (1990) interprets inconsistencies during speech situations, in which the subject shifts from one viewpoint to another, as the fragmentation of the self. Perhaps because her informant does not show schizoid traits, she infers that the experience of wholeness is an illusion.

Against this trend, I contend that there are reasons not to assume as a given that individuals have a fragmented and incoherent experience of self. If one looks at the characterization of the postmodern condition, illustrated, for example, by Lyotard (1984) and Gergen (1991), it is clear that the experience of postmodernity corresponds to everyday experiences in urban environments which are highly pervaded by information networks. These are not reduced to the semi-passive relation established with television sets and radio receivers, but rather to the active insertion of the individual within a net of communicative devices such as fax machines, telephones, cellular phones that saturate selves with multiple, unconnected bits of information. Furthermore,

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White and Kirkpatrick (1985) with a psychoanalytic orientation; the symbolic analysis by Fernandez (1985); Turner and Bruner's book (1986) focusing on experience; and the volume on emotions and the self by Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990).

the saturation of the self is supplemented by the large diversity of persons with whom the overburdened self has to deal on an everyday basis.

This condition seems to describe the experience of persons inscribed primarily in multiple systems of meaning. That is, individuals who deal with great amounts of information and communications written, oral, or/and visual. This does not seem to be the case, for example, of pastry workers who are inscribed in precise working hierarchies that reproduce that of the Japanese patriarchal family (Kondo 1990).

On the basis of my research in Telemula, I argue that the trope of the fragmentation and incoherence of selves does not apply to the experience of workers who deal in instrumental ways with nature on an everyday basis (or for whom the immediacy of the possibilities of returning into such occupations is great).[17] The individuals' everyday, repetitive engagement in the transformation of nature provides them with the experience of continuity and purposefulness in their actions.

The centring of the experience of self can be understood as multilayered. That is, by the experience of continuity of the physical existence of one's own body, and by the internalisation of values from multiple systems of meaning present in the individual's social environment. With Jackson (1987) I believe that the experience of one's self has a bodily basis. Contrary to him, however, I contend that the centring and the bestowing of wholeness and meaning on the self occur in the framework of systems of meaning that precede the existence of the subject, and accompany him or her through his or her life (even though this framework may have an unstable and changing nature).

The adult subject (with an adult body) is experientially

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[17] As the cartoon that opens this introduction suggests.

37

and biologically different from her/himself when a child. However, s/he can recognise her/himself as a continuous being through time. There is, on the one hand, the experience of possessing a viewpoint, a position in which the individual stands in order to grasp the meaning of the world (Heller 1992). On the other hand, the experience of the passing of time and of one's own past provide individuals a sense of continuity and accumulation of skills and knowledge (Schutz and Luckmann 1973; Giddens 1981, 1991; Friedman 1992).

What Ewing (1990) and Kondo (1990) see as a multiplicity of selves that the individual deploys in different spheres of the everyday can be understood, from a phenomenological framework, as a shifting of relevances (Schutz and Luckmann 1973; Giddens 1981). That is, the individual is socialised, beginning at birth, into systems of meaning that are specific to given dimensions of social interaction. The individual, according to the context, is able to shift from one to another sphere of meaning without losing the experience of wholeness (which is `real' rather than an illusion of it). At the same time, through his or her life, the individual performs tasks which are not directly relevant to his/her life project. In these cases, the individual can deal with the contingent everyday needs without being constrained to abandon his or her general life-project.

At a practical, everyday level, and transcending (without eliminating) the phenomenological realm, the concept of the `habitus' as a system of dispositions into which the individual is socialised, is useful for understanding the tactics and strategies of everyday social interaction (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; De Certeau 1984; Fiske 1992). The habitus learned throughout the individual's life is transposed to different realms of practice. Even though one's own habitus can be seen as emerging primarily from the skills one has to develop in his/her working life, and the tactics and strategies learned in the context of kinship and working

38

relations, the individual applies his/her learned dispositions in different spheres of social life. Giddens (1990, 1991) and Featherstone (1991) analyze the consequences of choosing a given lifestyle in structuring one's own social practices and in giving meaning to the experience of one's own self.[18] Through the chapters of this dissertation I illustrate how, in Telemula, to choose an occupation is to choose a lifestyle.

In a modernist analysis of the construction of the self, Goldschmidt (1990) advances the concept of `career'. This concept permits us to understand the internalisation of values and representations and the creation of dispositions as a long-life endeavour which finds articulation in the working history of individuals. In Goldschmidt's view, as in mine with respect to the Telemulesi, it is the life-long individual experience of the sphere of work (as a potential worker and later as such) that provides the grounds for the subjective unity of the self.

In the realm of discursive meanings, Crapanzano (1992a, 1992b) discusses the textual strategies employed by subjects in different fields in order to centre their own experiences of self. The temporal dimension of narration helps the speaker (or writer) to produce, in his/her own present, the centre of his or her past experiences and his or her projects for the future. As I demonstrate below, the Telemulese worker employs textual strategies in which the past is articulated with the experience of the present, centring both the individual's and group's historical experiences and grounding their expectations for possible futures. In agreement with Spivak (1990:52), my own strategy in dealing with fields of meaning is not to take them for granted, but to demonstrate the historical and political processes by which representations of the self are produced and reproduced.

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[18] See Willis 1977 for an example of choice of work and lifestyle among the Hammertown working class, in England.

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In the final section of this introduction I discuss, on the basis of my theoretical assumptions, what I consider to be an adequate methodological approach to reaching an understanding of the issues of this dissertation. In order to do this I also outline in which ways individuals in Telemula impose their selves upon many aspects of the collection and the representation of the data.

4. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

In the novel *Il Figlio di Bakunin* [*Bakunin's Son*] (Atzeni 1991), Sergio takes his tape recorder to a village in the south of Sardinia and sets himself to the task of eliciting information about Tullio Saba, alias "Bakunin." Sergio knows nothing about this person and randomly starts questioning people about his origins, acts and fate. After knocking at someone's door he obtains the following answer:

> I don't remember any Saba. [I worked for] forty years in mining at St. Giovanni. Not one Saba. The Saba I know used to make shoes, but nobody in the mines. ...

The informant then recalls one Saba. He says he worked there for three years and later he became rich and died. He continues:

> He left a dairy plant in Arbus as inheritance. His son gambled and lost it to Wilson in a poker game. Wilson then sold it to someone else in Arbus and became a millionaire.
>   Don't you know Wilson? He is the son of Peppi Mustazzolu. Wilson. He is famous. But, do you people know somebody in Cagliari? Wilson is a gambler, one of those who know every single cards and billiards' trick. He now lives in Aristanis ... An intelligent man: he lived because there are stupid people. ... (Atzeni 1991:14).[19]

The informant continues to expand the story about Wilson

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[19] In this dissertation, all translations of Italian texts are mine unless otherwise specified.

disregarding the fact that Sergio had gone there to inquire about Tullio Saba. Sergio continues his search for information. He collects the most varied comments on `Bakunin': he is short, he is tall, he is good, he is evil, he died young, he emigrated. At the end he finds the `truth' about `Bakunin'. Or does he?

I see this story as an allegory of the situations one faces as an anthropologist in central Sardinia. The reasons are not limited to the possible defects of the informants' memory (even though this was sometimes the case). For example, one evening in a shepherd's work-site I had this short conversation:

> IAD: So, how many sheep do you have now in your flock?
> TONNINO: You know? These months are very bad for the shepherd. The summer is very dry and the sun burns the pastures. These are bad months for production.
> IAD: How much milk can you produce these months?
> TONNINO: We have to be doing repairs everyday in this place. There is always a wall, a door, something that needs to be fixed ...

Frequent obstacles to the gathering of information could be attributed to the local values of *omertà* [the rule of silence] and of *furbizia* [cunning].[20] The former creates the expectation that one should not speak about third persons. If the researcher is gathering information to write about, how can s/he be expected to respect such rules? We were seen as likely to disclose dealings and other information which could be strategically used in the community. In the village it is a common understanding that `knowledge is power'. Who among the local people would betray this local norm and give information about a third person (or volunteer information

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[20] Campbell (1964:239) describes the distrust that shepherds have for government officials in charge of gathering information about the village. Given the frequent identification of the anthropologist as a spy or as working for the government, villagers may have also used evasive answers to avoid disclosing information regarding their own persons and others.

about themselves) to the anthropologist?

The mistrust of the local people must have been furthered by our compliance with established ethical rules of anthropological research: Vargas-Cetina and I openly stated the reasons of our presence in the village and when we were asked, for example, about our income we provided sincere answers. In contrast, the *furbi* Telemulesi, in particular the shepherds, have systematically reported false numbers of animals in different offices. We encountered problems in gaining access to communal records. Later we were told that some *comune* workers are registered as agricultural workers in order to receive subsidies. Administrative workers in the community may have had a vested interest in preventing us from studying them. Given our open and frank answers to their inquires about our economic resources, it became clear to them that any information provided to us would become public knowledge if someone else questioned us about it. We did not want to enter into open conflict with the locals and we gave up the goal of looking at communal records. We decided to try to obtain the data by indirect means without creating conflict.

Only a few Telemulesi were willing to provide us with personal economic information after four months of our stay in the village under the condition that we not disclose it. Politicians refused to be have their interviews taped. When the interview was taped, even persons who came to be seen in the community as our close friends told me misleading information about facts they were aware I knew. It was their view that I could know the facts, but they should not be physically registered. For example, I once interviewed one of my close friends who is a shepherd. I had once helped him to count his animals when he drove them to the corral [*recinto*]. The interview was conducted about one month later. After learning that he had started five years earlier with a small flock of fifty head of livestock, I asked what the current

42

size was. He responded giving a number that underestimated the actual size of his flock by one third. This experience (and others similar to it) served to confirm my impression that a survey of the population would be highly inaccurate. Earlier during my stay in Telemula, I had been told by villagers how they make *fessi* [stupid] people out of those who have come to conduct surveys. They showed much pride in telling us how they have misinformed researchers and government officials in their own and other villages. This perception of the relation between respondents and surveyors was confirmed by bureaucrats in Ogliastra and Nuoro, the capital of the province. We were told that misleading information is a given and that they are usually forced to work with whatever data they can obtain. Bureaucrats we met claimed to lack the means to verify the information collected during the application of questionnaires.

In order to collect information for this dissertation I found it necessary to engage in intensive participant observation. This meant that, in the context of an agropastoral village, I (usually with Vargas-Cetina) participated in most of the everyday activities of the community: I got up early to go with shepherds to their work-sites, was taught to milk goats, and how to make cheese. I did the transhumance (moving the flocks from the valley to the high plateau and viceversa) by foot with the shepherds and helped them to clean and set up the summer work-site, helped sheep-shearing and in grape harvests, in weeding and harvesting agricultural fields. Vargas-Cetina and I walked with our friends, every evening, along the main streets of the village in the ritual *passeggiàta* [stroll] and went to the bar with them. These rituals of sociability are of a quasi-compulsory nature in the village, and proved useful for gathering information. It was during the evening walk and in the bars that villagers reached agreements on the timing of different aspects of the yearly cycles of production. It was

in the bars that the village feasts were planned and organised. Customers often reached consensus in the bar about proposals for the communal administration (or opposition to other proposals). Little by little our local friends taught us the local rules, and later expected us to abide by them.

Ethnographic Writing and the Hermeneutic Approach. Since the early 1980s it has become commonplace to criticize both the fieldwork process and the writing of ethnographies. According to Clifford (1988) anthropologists have developed their own literary formula to obtain legitimation, claiming authority for their statements in an ethnographic text on the grounds of `having been there' (see also Pratt 1986). Clifford also contends that the authorial fashioning of the ethnographer derives from the power inequalities existing between the anthropologist and the informants. The generalizing style of the anthropologist erases the multiple voices that have shaped the ethnography and only the detached voice of the observer remains. Drawing from Bakhtin's (1981) literary theories, Clifford (1988:46-50) prescribes a polyphonic form of writing ethnographies in which the multiplicity of voices can be distinguished. Clifford (1988), Marcus and Fisher (1986) and Tyler (1986) plead for experimental ways of writing ethnographies in order to release the ethnographer from the constraints of `traditional' writing. In their plea they favour reflexive and dialogical styles of writing.

Crapanzano (1986, 1992a) and Rabinow (1986) have already criticized the limits of the dialogical approach showing how the anthropologist can continue to exert his/her power on the informants by controlling the writing of the text. In turn, in the Sardinian context, Magliocco (1992) has exposed the limitations and possible dangers of both reflexive and dialogical approaches by revealing the way in which her writings have been instrumentally used by opposing political

44

legitimacy of what has come to be seen as an oxymoronic concept (Clifford 1988:36): `participant observation'.

The contrast often established between nomological and hermeneutic approaches in the social sciences sets, on the one hand, the search for causal, law-like regularities, and on the other, the particularity of the meanings surrounding a given cultural phenomenon (Habermas 1988). Participation is not a requirement in the nomological approach, but is a necessity in the hermeneutic process. Clifford (1988:36-37) accepts this much, but nevertheless, he finds interpretive efforts wanting. Habermas (1984, 1990) stresses the importance of the participation of the social scientist in intersubjective communication (see also Jackson 1989). As Habermas writes in *Reconstruction and Interpretation in the Social Sciences* (1990) and *The Theory of Communicative Action* (1984), the finding of regularities in linguistic phenomena (such as collections of statements in surveys) is insufficient for understanding the meaning of utterances. It is only by engaging in communication with the subjects of a culture, that the researcher can comprehend the contextual meaning of speech acts. The participants in communicative action, including the anthropologist, can reach an agreement about the meaning of the content in their communications.[21]

If this study were to remain within the boundaries of the phenomenological tradition I would propose that the experience of the self is grounded in the experience of the body. This is the position adopted by Jackson (1989) who claims the primacy of the body over socially constructed meanings. However, taking my lead from Brown (1987) and Habermas (1990), I conceive the individual as born in a world in which the universe/s of meaning antecede him/her and have already

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[21] Habermas shares this assumption with Gadamer (1989), while Derrida (1989) questions the truthfulness and the good will of the participants in communicative exchanges.

45

universe/s of meaning antecede him/her and have already established his or her position within the social text. The position of the individual is not fixed, and tropes are strategically used to reposition oneself within the fabric of society (see Ricoeur 1977 and Fernandez 1986 for the social importance of tropes). I examine in the chapters of this dissertation how the state agencies and the local people strategically use different metaphors in order to legitimate their actions and/or their demands, and how, at the local level, tropes are used to demarcate the differences and similarities that exist among villagers.

Finally, regarding the prescription of dialogical writing, I find myself as Hermes the messenger (Crapanzano 1992). In order not to challenge the norms and expectations of the villagers who hosted me and allowed me to share part of their lives, I have to mediate between the `senders' and the `receivers' of the message. In order to prevent conflict from arising, and to reduce the risk of disclosing the identity of particular subjects, I have decided to adopt a descriptive style of writing and to conceal the identities of the community and speakers quoted throughout the document.

This dissertation is divided into three parts followed by a conclusion. In the first part I provide a historical context for the production and reproduction of the prevalent tropes employed to portray the Telemulese in particular and the Sardinian in general. In Chapter One I explore the local and institutional hi/stories that ground the representations of the shepherds and the policies that are legitimised with them. In Chapters Two, Three and Four I explore the impact of these policies on the diversification of occupations in central Sardinia and the diversity of images that are grounded on them. In part II, Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I describe the organisation of shepherding work both outside the village and within the family. As I demonstrate through the first

46

seven chapters, the diversity of lifestyles gives origin to possible sources of conflict. In the third part, in Chapter Eight, I describe the mechanisms used to prevent open conflict from arising and in the last chapter I describe how all factors explored converge in the act of occupational choice. In the conclusions I propose an understanding of individuals' occupational choices within the framework of contrasting value-laden representations of the shepherd and of the various possible articulations of moral codes.

PART I

THE PLAY OF TROPES AND THE PRODUCTION OF MORAL IMAGES

Build roads roads roads; look for, collect,
discipline the waters, rationalise livestock
raising progressively expanding cultivation;
fill the landscape of villages with peaks of
farmhouses and silos, rooting man to the soil;
enrich and multiply sources of energy creating
the conditions for a serious industrial
development; build schools schools schools
creating the conditions for school attendance;
then you will have a new Barbagia, a new
Ogliastra, a new Sardinia. The diagnosis is
therefore clear cut: asociality. The therapy
is as well clear and decisive: sociality,
civilisation. On the mountains of central
Sardinia history has remained still for
centuries; let us make it now march with giant
steps.

Gonario Pinna, 1954. Quoted in
S. Cambosu *Il Supramonte di
Orgosolo*, 1955:107.

CHAPTER ONE
TROPES OF PLACE AND TIME: IMAGES AND POLICY-MAKING

Barbagia, the place where barbarians live. Since the
times of the Roman empire, central Sardinia was identified as
a territory in which locals presented strong opposition to
foreign colonisation. In opposition, the space of civilised
Sardinia, where locals had allowed Romans to settle was then
called *Romania* (Meloni 1982:21). Sardinia, in the centre of
the Mediterranean, was an important site-post for empires
striving to spread sometimes to the shores of north Africa,
sometimes to the shores of southern Europe. Phoenicians,
Romans, Arabs, Spaniards and others passed by and settled in
the Sardinian valleys (Anatra 1982; Boscolo 1982; Casula 1982;
Melis 1982; Sotgiu 1982; Terrosu-Asole 1982b; Tore 1982). All
invaders found strong opposition from Sardinians, many of
whom, the saying goes, migrated to the mountains and there
kept the foreign powers at bay (Le Lannou 1971:107).

The mountains were the refuge where Sardinians maintained
their freedom. Braudel (1966:39) notes that the price
Sardinians paid was to remain isolated from general European
historical processes:

> In Sardinia, as in Lunigiana and Calabria, and everywhere
> where observation (when it is possible) reveals a hiatus
> between the society and the broad movements of history –
> if social archaisms (the vendetta among others)
> persisted, it was above all for the simple reason that
> mountains are mountains: that is, primarily an obstacle,
> and therefore also a refuge, a land of the free. For
> there men can live out of reach of the pressures and
> tyrannies of civilization: its social and political
> order, its monetary economy.

The image of isolation maintains its currency even today and
has been further expanded to include all of Sardinia:
insularity and isolation are seen as the causes of Sardinia's
economic and social underachievement. Although this view has

49

been recently challenged by Merler (1992) and Niihara (1992).[1]

In our trips to neighbouring coastal villages Telemula, a mountain village, was often referred to as a *paese arretrato* [a `backward' village].[2] Telemulesi themselves have come to see their own reduced access to services and goods within the boundaries of the village as the cause and effect of their *arretratezza* [lagging behind].

In this part, I examine (1) the way in which different images of central Sardinians in general and Telemulesi in particular are produced; (2) the practical/strategic use of (self) representations within the village and the region, and (3) the way in which representations have been incorporated into a governmental rhetoric that justifies the implementation of policies which aim at developing the region and the village. This discussion provides the framework for understanding the historical transformation of the region and the emergence of, and the tension among, different moral world-views. In this chapter I focus, on the historical/mythical origins of local moral attributes; in Chapter Two on the permanence of communal land ownership; and in Chapters Three and Four on the emergence in the Ogliastra region of occupations in the industrial and service sectors of the economy. These three historical themes and processes can be seen as sources of the present images by which Telemulesi are represented by others and by which they represent themselves.

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[1] A similar account is given for the isolation of the Skafiot in Greece. These shepherds also fought against the foreign invaders and became marginalised in relation to the Greek state (Damer 1988:295-296).

[2] Throughout this dissertation, the word `backward' is used as a reflection of the local use in everyday speech situations. That is, the way in which Telemulesi define themselves and/or other peoples.

1. TROPES OF PLACE AND TIME: HI/STORIES OF A MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY

The traces of the origin of Telemula are lost in a remote past. The village first figures in official documents from 1316, when it is listed as one of the rent-paying subjects to the Crown of Pisa (Cocco 1989:15). However, *nuraghi* [remains of buildings from a pre-historic civilisation] in several points of what constitutes today Telemula's territory, provide testimony to human presence in the area since about 3000 B.C.E. (ibid:9-10). In our everyday conversations with villagers they did not express much concern about their origins. The presence of ancient archaeological remains provides an element for proof of their right to stay in the place and gives a temporal dimension to their identity as `Telemulesi'. Stories about a more recent time period provide mirrors in which villagers see themselves and perceive the `nature' of their moral constitution. The following stories, part of the local common knowledge, inform a general image which is shared to a greater or lesser extent by most villagers.

A) `We are *Furbi*'[3] or How We Came to Have the Territory We Have. Telemula has one of the largest *comuni* [communities' territories][4] of the Ogliastra. With a total of 11,498.12

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[3] *Furbo* can be translated as `cunning'. The concept has competitive, aggressive connotations. The *furbo/a* person must be able to deceive his/her opponent and still maintain an appearance of fairness. It is usually seen as a positive moral trait in the agropastoral world (Blok 1974; Schneider and Schneider 1976; Schweizer 1988). This attribute is similar to *poniria* described by Friedl (1962) in Vasilika, Greece.

[4] The word *comune* in Italian means all: the municipal building, the municipal administration, the community's territory.

ha, or 119.42 km^2, Telemula ranks 6th in size among the 23 communities of the Ogliastra region (Boi et al. n.d.). The village is surrounded by the territories of six other communities. Explaining their unequal extensions of territory, the 25 year-old son of a shepherd told me this story about the trick that Telemulesi played on the villagers from Lotzorai (a lowland village).

In medieval times, according to this informant, it was customary to define the communal boundaries of two villages following a procedure that both parties found acceptable. At some point in the middle ages, villagers of both Telemula and Lotzorai gathered to establish what would be their shared territorial limits. After much discussion, the two parties settled on a date in which groups from each village would stand by the central village church and wait for the first crow of the rooster to start walking in the direction of the other village's centre. It was agreed that the point where both parties would meet, would set the legitimate territorial boundaries.

On the appointed night witnesses of each community joined the others' party to insure that there were no violations of the agreed agenda. However, early during the night, while all waited for the rooster's crow, the Telemulesi distracted the watchmen from the other village and one Telemulese introduced granulated salt in the rooster's behind. Under the effect of the salt the rooster started its crows earlier than usual. The rooster's crows marked the beginning of the march of the Telemulese party towards Lotzorai. Party and witnesses walked together until they met the group from Lotzorai, 20 kilometres away from the centre of Telemula and 3-5 kilometres away from Lotzorai.

Villagers did not mention how they established their boundaries with other neighbouring *comuni*. It is a fact, however, that Lotzorai has one of the smallest communal surfaces in the whole Ogliastra (17 km^2 or 1700 ha) (Boi et

52

al. n.d.:56).

B) How We Came to Have More Pastures, or, The Advantages of Solidarity. Telemulesi have customarily practised winter transhumance to grazing lands in low valleys of the southern Campidano in the province of Cagliari. Although they also took their animals to the west coast in what is today the province of Oristano and to the hills of southern Baronia, older informants say that Telemulesi as well as other Ogliastrini, more often took their animals to the Quirra zone in the south. Telemulesi and other Ogliastrini villagers claim that their customary rights to usufruct pasture lands in the south date back to the Middle Ages. Cocco (1989) describes the relationship of Ogliastrini villages to Quirra as one of subordination. The Count of Quirra represented the Aragonese Crown and, beginning in the second half of the fourteenth century, was in charge of exacting rents from the villages in Ogliastra. It was only in 1579 that Telemula sent a representative to the council to request access to winter pastures in the zone of Quirra. It appears that before that time Telemulesi were able to cover their needs for winter pastures within the boundaries of their territory (ibid:17). One gathers from Cocco's account that Telemulesi and other Ogliastrini villagers gained access to those pastures because it was the Count's responsibility to solve the problem of his serfs. The version offered by Telemulesi of how they obtained access to lands in the south represents villagers in a different light.[5]

A middle-aged goatherd told us that in the past the Marques (not a Count) wanted to marry a noble woman. Her father opposed their marriage and demanded from the Marques

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[5] We were told this story several times with small variations. The following account is partially based on Vargas-Cetina's unpublished field notes.

that, in order to receive his daughter's hand, he should arrive at the bride-to-be's house in an oxen cart. However, there was no road to go to the woman's house. The Marques of Quirra asked his servants from the Ogliastra, including Telemula, to build a road that enabled him to arrive to the house in question. Once the Ogliastrini completed the road he was able to marry and ever since the couple lived together in a castle on the peak of a mountain. Years later, she was kidnapped and her captors demanded a large ransom. The Marques asked the rent-paying villages of Ogliastra to provide the sum, the villagers raised the total amount and she was released. In gratitude, the Marques divided part of his lands among the communities that helped him in both his troubles: Arzana, Telemula and Villagrande Strisaili.

Through this story Telemulesi represent themselves and other Ogliastrini as united with the Marques in his interests. This solidarity between servants and lord strategically stresses a sense of equality between both parts and intends to conceal the subordination of the villagers to the feudal ruler.[6] In this light, Telemulesi are able to represent themselves as `good persons' and allegorically refer to the advantages of balancing interpersonal and inter-village relations.

C) How We Became More People and Enlarged our Lands: The Disadvantages of Conflict. In a more recent time (1844), the territories and populations of Telemula and Urzulei expanded as the *Salto di Manurri* was split between the two communities (*salto* is a word used to design the grazing area for animals not used in agricultural work, see Boyazoglu and Flamant 1990). I have not found any historical account of the causes

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[6] See also Holmes (1989) who looks at the establishment of clientelist ties between landowners and propertyless peasants as a strategy by which the latter disguise their unequal power relations.

of the dissolution of this community and its territory. Cocco (1989:6) writes that in 1844 Manurri was divided and 40% of tne territory became part of Telemula and the rest passed to Urzulei.

A woman in her fifties, married to a shepherd, claims to be the grand-daughter of people who came from Manurri. The brief account that she gave us of the process by which Manurri disintegrated echoes that of other informants in the village. This woman says that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, two Manurri families entered into conflict and became involved in a *fàida* [blood feud] that was born in a confrontation over a woman's behaviour. At a feast, a woman who was already *fidanzata* [engaged] was asked to dance by an unmarried man. She refused to dance as it would have constituted a demonstration of unfaithfulness toward her fiance. But the refused man felt her refusal to be a personal affront and took revenge by murdering one of her relatives, thus giving rise to the last *fàida* in Manurri. As usual in family feuds in Sardinia, at the beginning of the conflict, only those directly affected fought against each other. However, at some point, other Manurresi became involved and steadily the whole village began to side with one or the other family. The violence between these two factions reached such a proportion that the village faced annihilation. Unable to reach an agreement that would bring peace to the community, the survivors opted to abandon the village and its lands. Members of one faction migrated to near-by Urzulei and the rest joined Telemula. There ensued a division of the territory according to the percentage of survivors moving to each village. Today, the remains of this village, visible from the valley road that links Telemula and Urzulei, give testimony to the effects of blood feuds in the Ogliastra.

These three stories collected in Telemula illustrate the strategic repositioning of villagers in relation to

surrounding villages and to the island as a whole. The stories articulate local values in a positive representation of the villagers: the solidarity and the *furbizia* [cunning] of their ancestors and the peaceful nature of present-day Telemulesi are the virtues of the local population. The images reflected from these discursive mirrors are strategic devices opposed to the negative images that are produced in the mirrors of the Institutional discourse. The latter has had the tendency to associate the inhabitant of the *zona interna* [internal zone, central Sardinia] with the images of the *bandito* [bandit], and the *latitante* [fugitive]. As discussed below, these images have informed and continue to inform the design of national and regional policies targeting the development and modernisation of Barbagians.

D) The Scribes' Gaze: The Lazy Native and the Shepherd-Bandits. Outsiders to Sardinia, Ogliastra and Telemula have given different accounts of the local populations. Many of them provided portraits of central Sardinians which in the hands of powerful institutions have legitimised the intervention of different states. The local populations have often perceived the acts of these institutions and their agents as foreign and contrary to the local processes and needs. In this section I examine some of the representations of the local population of the *zona interna* which have informed government policies since the first half of the nineteenth century.

In a report published in Turin (Casalis 1833), Telemula was described as an agropastoral community with 387 inhabitants, of which 50 were shepherds and 50 peasants. Casalis described the local level of production as low considering the relation between yields and natural resources. It is noteworthy that the numbers of sheep and goats registered at that time are close to current ones (see below, Table 2.2). Casalis (ibid:1225) judged the low productivity

56

of Telemulesi to be the result of a "lack of diligence, and it should be said, inertia and stupidity [of the] inhabitants of this village." He suggested at the end of his report that a willing investor would get high profits from the villagers and at the same time "help these poor people who should then become inclined to work and become diligent" (ibid:1226). He added that some other measures such as the establishment of agricultural and industrial colonies would be useful for the exploitation of local resources (ibid:1226-1227).

Sardinians, particularly those of central Sardinia, have been historically perceived as uncivilised and lazy. In 1718, the Viceroy for the Piedmont Kingdom, Doria del Maro, found central Sardinia isolated from the rest of the island and in extreme conditions of poverty. He stated that the reasons for their poverty were "to be found in these peoples' nature itself: poor, enemies of toil, fierce and devoted to vice" (quoted in Sotgiu 1982:66). In 1847, Baudy di Vesme was commissioned by the King of Savoy to survey the island's economic problems, and referred to them as an effect of the uncivilised character of shepherds: "shepherds are the kind of people most difficult to civilise and to prevent from disturbing social life ... shepherding is incompatible with agriculture" (quoted in Melis 1982:115-116).

Shepherds came to be "the Sardinian Problem." Their practices were seen as primitive and their isolation in the mountains and valleys was used to explain their anti-social character. Their assaults on agricultural communities were seen as the source of the island's economic ills, when disputes over land induced shepherds to raid lowland communities [bardanas]. In these pillaging assaults mountain villagers aimed to capture agricultural products and livestock (Niceforo 1977 [1897]). Shepherds opposed the 1820s Editto delle chiudende [enclosures law] and in an uprising in Nuoro they demanded a return to the old practices of communal lands. The Su connotu ['back to what is known'] revolt came to be the

57

preferred example of shepherds' conservatism (Melis 1982:120; Clark 1990:424). Violent encounters between the police and the shepherds contributed to the birth, in governmental discourse, of the problem of banditism. The Italian state intervened with repressive measures and by the end of the nineteenth century ordered massive arrests in mountain villages. In 1899, a battle between the carabinieri and bandits took place in the mountains of Oliena and Orgosolo (Melis 1982:122-123).

Niceforo, an Italian criminologist, travelled to Sardinia by the end of the 1800s. Influenced by Lombroso's theories, he explained the high levels of criminality in Barbagia as emerging from a combination of biological (racial) and sociocultural factors. He gave, nonetheless, more weight to the biological sources which he saw as emerging from a strong black African biological component of the local peoples (Niceforo 1977).[7] Although Telemula is one of the least violent villages of Ogliastra (there have been 14 murders between 1600 and the 1980s, Cocco 1989:27), Niceforo (1977:25) described the village as one of the `infected cells' from the Ogliastra which propagate the `moral malaria' to the rest of the *zona interna* [`Internal Area'], that he called the *zona delinquente* [criminal area].

A cultural explanation of the phenomenon of criminality was offered by Pigliaru (1975 [1959]) who underlined the presence of a culturally valid moral/legal code in the Barbagia: the Barbagian vendetta code [*codice della vendetta barbaricina*]. On the basis of interviews conducted in his natal Orune he provided a formal legal structure for customary practices and presented them as a legal code [*ordinamento giuridico*]. This code described the tradition-based rules for

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[7] Some current scholars have discussed the influence of race-, class- and gender-biased views which informed and continue to inform biological theories of social behaviour (see Schiebinger 1987; Gallagher 1987).

social behaviour in Barbagia. It also described the cases in which deviation would entail a socially sanctioned revenge [*vendetta*], which may have included the physical elimination of the person.

In a different vein, following Hobsbawn (1959), Marongiu (1981) offers a socio-political interpretation of Sardinian criminality. He looks at the shepherd-bandit within a historical context in order to demonstrate the shepherds' underprivileged and weak political position within their own society. This political weakness has proven a handicap to the shepherds as state policies often run contrary to their interests. The chronic experience of subordination has been the source of individualized responses contesting state measures. Marongiu argues that the motif of the isolated bandit fighting for his own interests cannot lend support to the representation of the Sardinian bandit as a pre-revolutionary fighter against foreign oppression, as promoted by the leftist neo-Sardist movement and later by the separatist *Partito Sardo d'Azione Nazionale* [PSd'Az, National Action Party] (see Clark 1990:452-453).

The image of the shepherd-bandit continues to appeal to the public imagination. In 1992, after the release of a child kidnapped in Sardinia, the national press published special reports on the event. A national weekly provided a map of Barbagia with the heading "The Map of Sardinian Banditism." Pointing arrows connected the names of *latitanti* [fugitives] with their villages of origin (*Epoca*, Jul. 22, 1992:32). In turn, *L'Espresso*, another national magazine, described attacks on municipal buildings and the police in different villages of central Sardinia as an orchestrated chain of events linked to a separatist project. The magazine established the analogy with other nationalistic movements east of Europe by calling the island *Sardistan* (*L'Espresso*, Aug. 30, 1992:30-31). It should be said, however, that voting patterns suggest a

decline rather than a strengthening of the separatist PSd'Az,[8] and as the reporter recognises, no group has claimed responsibility for those attacks. This would hardly support the speculative hypothesis of a systematic resistance to the Italian state, even if it suggests isolated acts of opposition to administrative measures.

The elements examined thus far inform the representations of central Sardinians and affect the everyday life of Barbagians in general and Telemulesi in particular at two different levels. At one level these images influence the perceptions that villagers have of themselves. The aspects that villagers internalise, in turn, play a role in guiding and modifying their social and economic practices. At another level, the acceptance of these representations by public officers contributes to informing the content of policies designed to develop what they call `marginal areas' (ERSAT 1991). These two levels can be seen as intertwined given that current practices of Barbagians reinforce the image with which they are perceived in the administrative centres of the island. At the same time, their subjection to administrative rules gives villagers incentives to try to maximise benefits from the state's will to help small communities. In the next section I illustrate the local strategic use of socially legitimated representations. In the last section of this chapter I briefly describe the way in which representations of central Sardinians have contributed to shape social and economic policies.

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[8] In the national elections to the Parliament and the Commons house of April 5-6, 1992, the PSd'Az reached only 8.7% of the Sardinian vote declining from the 14.1% obtained in the national elections of 1987 and from the 12.4% in the Regional vote of 1989 (*L'Unione Sarda*, April 7, 1992:1).

2. IMAGES AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

All images illustrated in this chapter are currently used by locals and outsiders as stereotypical representations of Sardinians. Local villagers may characterise the whole village, or a group within it, as criminal, *furbo*, individualistic and/or hospitable. In using these images, individuals position themselves in relation to others within or without the community. As I show here, the moral definition of a person or a group corresponds to actual and/or expected social practices. In this section I focus on the `cunning' [*furbo*] villager. This image is illustrated by two aspects of social interaction: clientelism and deception. Both are employed by local peoples in order to re-define their relation to the state and thus re-position themselves as `more clever', because more `*furbi*', than the government agents. These practices are enacted *against* a state that negatively defines Barbagians. Villagers are thus enabled to see themselves as *furbi* in a world divided between the *furbi* and the *fessi* [cunning and stupid people].

In general terms, the *furbo* Telemulese is someone who can take advantage of another person while simultaneously pretending and making the other believe that no deception is involved. This is seen as a positive trait as long as the victim does not belong to the *furbo/a's* group (of friends, neighbours, villagers). Thus, deceiving villagers from Lotzorai or outsiders, especially those who work for the state, gives Telemulesi grounds for a positive group self-representation. The practice of clientelism at the local level stands in an ambiguous position. On the one hand, patrons are seen as means to obtain benefits from the state. There are many people working for the government who can act as patrons and, in consequence, the individual has to rely on his/her own *furbizia* to find the most suitable one in order to advance one's own interests. On the other hand, advancing

61

one's own interests implies that others who compete for the same resources are not *furbi* enough to advance their own causes. This constitutes, as discussed below, a source of conflict given that it stresses, at the village level, differences in access to sources of political power that later translate into economic differences.

Throughout this century Italy has experienced an uneven industrial and economic development. While the North developed a strong industrial base, the South, including Sicily and Sardinia remained based on agricultural production. After World War II, the Christian Democratic Italian government introduced a policy of welfarism that subsidized consumption levels in the south. Members of the DC often became the brokers between the local community and the state (Bocella 1982; Gribaudi 1991; Sabetti 1984). The administration of funds for political purposes favoured the growth of the bureaucracy which provided jobs in the South and administered funds used to obtain votes (Cazzola 1992; Martino 1992 Pennisi 1992).[9]

Bodemann (1979; 1990) has examined the formation of a power elite in Telemula. The allocation of jobs and clientelist favours were dispensed through the manipulation of kinship ties. This strategy allowed a local faction, with greater economic power, to overcome the opposing faction whose power had been based on access to land. The practice of clientelism has favoured general distrust, and today obtaining a job is seen as the result of actual or imagined patronage ties.

In Telemula clientelism is perceived as a common

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[9] The `broker' role that representatives of the `traditional' society have played in dealing with the government has been examined by Blok (1974), Schneider and Schneider (1976), Arlacchi (1983) and Gribaudi (1991). Silverman (1991 [1969]), however, suggests that contact with brokers outside the village has weakened the power of the local ones.

practice. The village is clearly divided into two factions. One of these dominates the administration of the *comune* and, in consequence, controls the subsidies and jobs that the region offers to deal with what is seen as a chronic problem of unemployment (*La Programmazione in Sardegna*, 1992). The other group has been displaced from positions of power and is currently reduced to contesting the decisions of the mayor and other councillors. The following two examples illustrate how local peoples perceive clientelism as the only possible strategy to obtain privileges from the state. The communal administration of Telemula is building a restaurant near one of the natural springs above the village with funds from the Region of Sardinia. The Region stipulates that after the construction of the facilities, these must be given for management to a youth cooperative. Management is officially open to competition between or among local cooperatives. There are no cooperatives in existence yet, but as some young people of the faction opposing the current administration claim, it has been already decided who will get the facilities for management. Several villagers said that the locale will be given to a livestock raiser who is a relative of the village's mayor.

A government agency managing a project developed by the Region Sardinia foresees the hiring of 50 Telemulesi for reforestation and cleaning of forests. The project is part of a more general programme discussed in Chapter Three which aims both to reduce the number of those involved in shepherding and to create alternative occupations which would ensure a steady income to villagers. The project establishes that villagers will be hired according to a ranking based on individual merits (length of time unemployed and shepherds who are

displaced from their customary pasture lands).[10] However, most Telemulesi we talked to felt certain that these positions would be given to people close to the current administration of the village.

In these as in other instances in which clientelism was perceived to be the means to achieve benefits, informants did not provide `proofs' for their accusations. Individuals often mentioned the possibility of clientelism, sometimes through innuendo and other times strongly suggesting that it was the mechanism for dealing with some issues. Contrary to the view presented by some authors who associate clientelism with the DC, the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Social-Democratic Party (e.g. Bocella 1982; Gribaudi 1991), Telemulesi define all politicians as *mafiosi*, that is, as brokers.

Clientelism is a factor that creates space for the second trait of the *furbo*, i.e. deception. Deception is an accepted practice as long as it does not hurt the interests of a fellow villager, and skills at deceiving agents of the state confirm the *furbizia* of individuals.   It is often the cas.., in Telemula as elsewhere, that villagers cheat the Region and other administrative agencies with the compliance or acquiescence of the local administration. As in patronage relations between shepherds and state among the Sarakatsani (Campbell 1964), both the local administration and the police (carabinieri and others) turn a blind eye to some illegitimate (sometimes illegal) practices. In Telemula and other villages of Barbagia and Baronia we were told by both shepherds and officers that shepherds adjust the number of the animals they register according to the benefits they can obtain. For example, when shepherds have to register their animals in

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[10] The area administered for the *Foresta Demaniale* for reforestation includes 2,000 Ha of Telemula's territory in the area neighbouring Orgosolo and Urzulei.

order to pay the rate for their right to use communal pastures, they register small flocks. If they should register their flock in a different agency in order to gain access to funds from the Region and the European Community, they tend to inflate the size of their flock. They can do this because different agencies are in charge of each task, and agencies do not cross-check their records. Some mechanisms are supposed to be in effect to check for irregular practices, but falsification of numbers continues to be widespread, involving shepherds and government officials alike.

The extent of this practice is illustrated by the publication of an advertisement in Sardinia during March 1992. After the national agriculture and livestock census of 1991, the National Federation of Italian Farmers (COLDIRETTI) announced that following a European Community ruling (EEC Nº 3031/89) it had to conduct a census of all means and resources in the agropastoral sector. It urged shepherds to provide accurate numbers underlining that the information was going to be used exclusively for statistical and planning purposes. It also underlined that individuals should not fill out forms other than their own (*L'Unione Sarda*, March 15, 1992:22).

Inflating numbers is, however, not a practice exclusive to Sardinians. It mirrors a custom diffuse even at high governmental levels as in two illustrations: in one example a whole community had falsified the records of livestock in order to obtain subsidies from the EEC (*L'Unione Sarda*, Aug. 18, 1981:4, article "*Le Pecore Fantasme*"). In another, an EEC political scandal concerning the Italian milk statistics resulted from systematic under-reporting. In Cesarò, Catania, villagers had registered 100,000 head of livestock. EEC officials found it strange that a village with 5,000 inhabitants could keep such a large number of animals. The organisation sent an officer to verify the numbers and found only 5000 head of livestock. The second example concerns a scandal, within the EEC, which involved the Italian National

65

Statistics Institute (ISTAT). According to reports in the national press, as the EEC had reduced the quota of milk production for Italy. ISTAT generated numbers under-reporting the actual levels of National production (*La Reppublica*, March 15/16, 1992:52). Once this deception was discovered, Italian producers faced the risk of being constrained to pay a fine to the EEC for 1,100 million Lire (about CAN $1,100,000) for producing above the quota allowed by the EEC (*La Reppublica*, March 17,1992:48).

These cases illustrate the generalized practice of adjusting numbers in order to obtain monies from governmental and international agencies. At the local level people either under- or over-report their livestock but produce more milk and dairy products than they are supposed to do according to their registered resources. As officers collect the data and do not check for reliability of the information, they find themselves constrained, later, to report lower or higher levels of production than those actually achieved. This lack of verification, in turn, is understood in the context of clientelist practices. Because those in charge of collecting the data and the agencies in charge of processing information are affiliated with political parties, turning a blind eye to irregularities in reporting practices results in benefits for both sides. Shepherds are able to claim subsidies and political parties can claim votes in exchange for their economic favours (see Vargas-Cetina 1992).

Being *furbo* is seen at the local level as a positive individual attribute and simultaneously defines the state and its agents as *fessi*. Cunning, however, acquires a negative meaning when the word *troppo* [too much] qualifies the term `furbo'. That is, the person is said to be *troppo furbo/a* when s/he attempts to advance her/his interests at the expense of fellow villagers, and political or family groups. The following case illustrates this local ethical assessment. For reasons to be examined in Chapter Three, some villagers are

66

listed as unemployed in the employment office while they
continue to work either as *servopastori*, bricklayers and/or as
lumberjacks felling trees for firewood. When the *comune*
opened its offices to receive applications for jobs in
reforestation, underemployed Telemulesi also requested to be
considered for the job openings. Most people applying for the
positions lacked secure jobs and many were seasonally employed
in different jobs. Some were irregularly involved in
agropastoral, construction or service activities. Some
villagers were upset because some shepherds had also filed
applications. Contrary to other underemployed fellow
villagers, shepherds secure, to a greater or lesser extent, an
income throughout the year. Some Telemulesi saw their
applications as a demonstration of the shepherds' greed. They
were perceived as being *troppo furbi* since they were trying to
obtain jobs at the expense of other Telemulesi perceived as
being in more need to secure a position than shepherds
themselves.[11]

3. MAKING POLICIES FOR THE BANDITS

Sardinians have long been portrayed as a fierce population.
The Sassari Brigade, of mythical proportions in the local
popular imagination, was the only ethnically-based Italian
platoon fighting in the trenches during World War I. It was
formed on the assumption that the soldiers' biological and
racial traits would ensure ferociousness during the fight

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[11] It should be noted that some relatives of those
calling shepherds *troppo furbi* had also applied for the same
jobs. Shepherds were also threatening their relatives'
ambitions. Actually, we were told by a public officer in
Ogliastra that the law gives shepherds priority in the hiring
process.

(Marrocu 1990:347).[12]   Later, Lei-Spano (1975 [1922]) identified the sources of social and economic problems of Sardinians (including the rise of criminality) in the deficient administration of the Italian state and in endogenous causes such as the local high levels of criminality in the agropastoral world.   The types of criminality of central Sardinia had been historically associated with conflicts over land and livestock between agricultural and shepherding communities or among shepherding villages (Meloni 1988). In aiming at the improvement of economic conditions of Sardinia, the tactics employed by the fascist government to improve lands failed in the face of a non-cooperative absentee landowning class. The Italian government relied then on the efforts of colonists coming from Rome and Venice to improve lands expropriated and distributed by the *Ente Ferrarese di Colonizzazione* [Ferrarese Agency for Colonisation] (Pala 1988:245).

The *Ente per la Trasformazione Fondiaria e Agraria in Sardegna*, ETFAS [Sardinian Land Reform and Agricultural Extension Agency] was formed in 1951 after the Law of Agrarian Reform of 1950. It reflected, in the institutional discourse, the ideal of achieving modernity. ETFAS was to provide technical assistance to render rural life more `evolved' and `modern' (ibid:246-249).   Earlier, the government (in collaboration with the Rockefeller foundation) had eradicated malaria from the island in an effort to trigger social and economic development (Melis 1982:138). According to Brown (1979) this mono-causal hypothesis proved to be mistaken, as the eradication of malaria did not suffice to improve the economic conditions of the island.

Economic and social conditions on the island worsened

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[12] The platoon would later become a symbol for the promotion of regional identity and the ideological foundations of the *Partito Sardo d'Azione* (Melis 1982:130; Clark 1990:391).

during the 1960s. The government provided monies to the Region Sardinia and subsequently the Region approved the law for the *Piano di Rinascita*, a project for the `Renaissance' of the island. The project focused on industrial development that was assumed to accelerate the modernisation of the local population (Del Piano 1971). The EEC funded a pilot project in the area of Oristano in order to bring social and technical development and `to open the minds of the local population just as much as the land and natural resources of the country' (OEEC 1960:11). Several `development poles' were privileged for advancing industrial production. In the Ogliastra, Arbatax, a fraction[13] of Tortolì, received funds to start a paper mill which began to work and provide jobs to people of the zone in 1964 (Lo Monaco 1965).

The problem of criminality increased in the second half of the 1960s as governmental answers proved to be insufficient in solving the social and economic ills of the island. At the time, shepherds were often involved in the kidnapping of persons for ransom (Melis 1982:140). In 1966, Pinna (1983:23-25) made reference to the poor conditions in which Sardinian shepherds worked stressing the fact that the scarcity of adequate pastures was inducing shepherds to leave the island; those who stayed were left in the hands of continental industrialists who controlled the dairy business. Pinna exhorted the government to radically transform the patterns of land tenure in order to abolish transhumant pastoralism, which he saw as the source of sheep rustling and other forms of criminality (ibid:29-31).

Criminality and banditism came to be seen as an obstacle for the success of the *Piano di Rinascita*. The source of these problems was located in `the general backwardness of the

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[13] Arbatax has approximately 1000 inhabitants and provides most services. The settlement is administered and overseen by the communal government of the larger village (Tortolì in this instance).

region and the continued practice of transhumance' (Pirastu in Peretti 1986:xix). Thereupon the Parliament ordered an enquiry to find out the causes of delinquency in Sardinia. The final report of the Medici Enquiry [*Inchiesta Medici*] suggested that the *Piano di Rinascita* be used as an instrument for change in Barbagia. The report concluded that it was urgent to transform 'semi-nomadism' into sedentary pastoralism and suggested that there should be: (1) a shift in emphasis, in the *Piano di Rinascita*, from industrial projects to agricultural ones; (2) measures to ensure the efficiency and promptness of the legal system while enhancing the role of 'traditional' authority and the carabinieri; (3) an efficient coordination of all administrative levels (from local to national agencies); (4) the promotion of the role of schools; and (5) measures to preserve the island's cultural heritage [*patrimonio culturale*] (Manconi 1982:184; *Inchiesta Medici* cited in Clark 1990:448). The *Inchiesta Medici* contributed to shaping the second *Piano di Rinascita* and the Agropastoral Reform of 1974. Both the *inchiesta* and the *Piano* aimed at inducing radical change of the agropastoral world (Peretti 1986:xix; Sini 1982; Sirigu 1986:xvii). The consequences of these laws for the local economy of Telemula are examined in the next chapters.

Within Telemula, many villagers have internalised the opposition between 'modern' and 'traditional' promoted by the national and regional administrations. Telemulesi employ the negative connotation of 'backward' to describe members of another group or community who are seen as reproducing 'primitive' or 'archaic' practices. The less negative connotation of 'lagging behind' is intended when individuals describe their own group. In the latter instance, the word *arretrato* has the descriptive effect of saying 'we are lagging behind'. Often, as it is illustrated below, the use of 'backward' to describe a group of people implies that the speaker is aiming to reposition her/himself at a level

70

superior to that of those whom s/he describes. In the second case, the acknowledgment of the fact that one's own village or group lags behind expresses the view that while it may be true that one's own group lacks some `modern' traits they, nevertheless, desire them. That is, they are not totally accountable for their `defect'. In the view of local shepherds who strive to become `modern' they remain *arretrati* because the regional and communal administrations have not given them the opportunity to `advance' economically and socially. They can reach this conclusion as they have witnessed the allocation of funds to neighbouring villages both in the mountains and the coast. In this context the word *arretrato/a* is used by local individuals to strategically position themselves in relation to a different `other'. That is, calling fellow shepherds who oppose `modernisation' *arretrati*, the `modern' shepherd claims a position morally superior to that of other villagers. In calling themselves *arretrati*, they recognise the distance existing between themselves and villagers of `modern' villages.

4. DISCUSSION: THE SHEPHERD IN THE HOUSE OF MIRRORS.

Each of the tropes illustrated in this chapter supports a value-laden image of the shepherd. The place of the Barbagia and the Ogliastra in history and institutional discourse plays a role in shaping everyday local practices and moral world-views. It is as though the shepherd stands in a house of mirrors: whichever way he turns, he finds a mirror which reflects his own distorted image. One mirror represents him as a culturally `backward' and individualistic; another reflects the image of a hero who protects the island from foreign potencies; in one mirror he sees himself as *furbo*, hospitable, friendly, but the next one reflects the image of a client subordinated to the interests of his political patrons. Should he subscribe any of them? The shepherd

71

`knows´ that he is all of these images the mirrors reflect and simultaneously `knows´ that no mirror gives the whole reflection. He is not a `fragmented´, `decentred´ shepherd. Rather, the shepherd is socially positioned within this construction of mirrors and, depending on the practical context, strategically uses them as categorial shifters of his own image in order to achieve short and long term projects.

Each image of the shepherd is charged with a moral value. In everyday practice the shepherd internalises aspects of those reflections and makes them part of his own self. In seeing his own image reflected in discourses, the shepherd comes to terms with the morally positive and negative connotations of what he has, to some extent, chosen and, to some extent, been constrained to accept as his life-style.[14] Strategically the shepherd (as well as other co-villagers) uses the shifter *furbo* to portray himself in a positive light.[15] The Telemulese shepherd positions himself above lowland villagers and the state in an opposition between *furbi* and *fessi* (see also Herzfeld 1985). It may be that lowland peoples and the state define mountain dwellers as `backward´ [*arretrati*], but in turn, the Telemulesi have grounds for perceiving themselves as superior to those in the valley and

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[14] Here I am following Featherstone (1991) and Giddens (1991) in understanding a life-style as a choice of productive and consumerist patterns. This implies that Telemulesi have more than one alternative social and economic code of behaviour, and that during their lives they are faced with choices in a context that sometimes constrains their decisions. This is, however, one of the issues to be discussed throughout this dissertation.

[15] In everyday rhetorical practices, local peoples use value-laden concepts in order to shift their positions within a structure of meanings: if the regional administration provides a negative representation of the local shepherd, the shepherd tries to represent himself in a positive light stressing other value-laden categories. Thus, shepherds can reposition themselves in relation to others in institutional and local textual spaces.

to the state officers. The story of how Telemulesi gained pasture rights in the *Salto di Quirra* underlines the local claim to egalitarianism. Their story aims to demonstrate the mutual dependency and reciprocity between feudal lords and servants. The Marques may have had the lands, but he depended on the Ogliastra peoples to reach his objectives. The event is described as a rather equal exchange of favours.

The story of the feud in Manurri is an allegory that can be understood in reference to the current political division of Telemula. Regardless of the elements of truth in the story, it provides present-day villagers with a moral message that stresses the risks of an escalation of violence. Some villagers hinted that at some point, in 1986 or 1987, the internal factionalism of the community had led to a general braw¹ in the centre of the village. Other strategic aggressions included the shooting of bullets at the houses of some villagers whose role in the conflict made them look like potential leaders of the opposition to the administration. The presence of descendants from Manurri is a continuous reminder of the consequences of blood feuds.[16]

Finally, the acceptance of illegitimate and/or illegal practices as matter-of-fact, and the image of pastoral villages as prone to delinquency, promotes or validates the practices of clientelism and altering of livestock and agricultural records. Most Telemulesi do not see fellow villagers as criminals or prone to criminality. Cheating on the government is an action seen as legitimate given that the state has abundant economic resources that villagers lack. However, echoing the government's discourse, some Telemulesi define other co-villagers as *arretrati* [backward] because of these values and because of their persistent practice of

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[16] I do not question the possibility that in other times and social and economic circumstances the story may receive a different allegoric function.

routines that the `modernisation' rhetoric has framed as `archaic' and anti-modern.

Contrasting images of the *persona brava* [good person] emerge at this point. A `good person' is one who does what the community expects him/her to do. Being a *persona brava* conveys, according to the context, an expectation to treat all guests well, but also to respond violently to an act of aggression.[17]   A *persona brava* prefers, in some cases, authentic practices and objects [*genuino/a*][18] and in others prefers to give a positive judgment to `modern' practices and commodities. In Chapter Two I examine the tension between the morally laden categories of `authentic' and `modern' in the local discourse as they relate to communal land tenure. I discuss this issue within the context of institutional discourses and practices.

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[17] In other parts of Barbagia, the gloss for the *persona brava* is that of *balente*. That is, a person who in any situation shows his/her worth as a human being by behaving according to the expectations of his/her group. However, the term is often charged with negative connotations of arrogance and a penchant for physical violence (Berger 1986).

[18] Telemulesi sometimes judge some practices and some co-villagers as `traditional'. More often, however, they describe practices, goods and resources as *genuini/e* [authentic] which they value positively because of their role in linking the place and its inhabitants to the past.

CHAPTER TWO
TROPES OF TIME IN PLACE: MODERNISATION AND TRADITION
IN LAND USE

In the present and the following two chapters I examine the effects of the epochal trope of `modernity' on local representations of selves and others. I demonstrate how the introduction and adoption of this trope in the local discourse has been accompanied by changes in the local moral codes used to assess and judge the moral value of co-villagers and outsiders. In doing this I also demonstrate the shifting content of the moral category used to define a given individual as a *persona brava*. In this chapter I focus on the moral value of land and the way in which individuals' relation to communal property is used to allegorically represent both one-self and the `other' villager. As is demonstrated, individuals position themselves in a different metaphorical time (modernity, or the future) from which they judge the position of fellow villagers.

1. THE LAND AND THE VILLAGER

A) A Spatial View. When travelling to Telemula on the road from the lowlands, one can see the village's territory, in the valley, fenced and divided into small plots. In some enclosures sheep are grazing; other fields are being cultivated, mainly by women, as horticultural gardens to grow vegetables for family consumption and sometimes for exchange with other Telemulesi; some fields are small vineyards that the villagers keep in order to make their own family wine or to sell the grapes to a nearby processing plant. As one advances upwards to the village, the fences gradually disappear and one faces the rocky hills and arid territory of Telemula that constitute its communal lands. In arriving at the village, one can see the settlement surrounded by small

terrazze [terraces, plots of land] which some families use to supplement their household vegetable production. Many terraces have been abandoned after a ten-year period of drought in which Telemulesi women obtained nothing from the work and time invested in cleaning and sowing them. During 1990-1991 the rains returned and some terraces greened again. Others were simply abandoned. Terraces are privately owned by local families and these fragments of land, like the enclosed lands of the valley, are transmitted from one generation to another as part of the inheritance.[1]

If one travels to Telemula from neighbouring mountain villages one can follow the paved roads along the mountain side or, coming from some villages in the west of the island, one can travel on the Supramonte's [high plateau] unpaved roads. On the surface of the communal lands of the Supramonte, one finds no fences. The landscape is semi-arid and rocky. *Ovili*, the shepherds' and animals' shelters and corrals, rise up near trees and natural springs. Pigs, sheep, goats and undernourished-looking indigenous cows freely roam these natural pastures rich in thyme, rosemary and *macchia mediterranea* [Mediterranean bushscrub].[2] Communal lands constitute about 75% of the village's territory and are the source of both positive and negative representations of those who benefit from them, particularly shepherds.

B) Lands as Mirrors. In both the popular imagination and the profiles drawn by some scholars, shepherds are

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[1] Terrace plots are inherited under a matrilineal transmission pattern.

[2] Telemulesi keep a few cattle of an indigenous race in order to obtain subsidies allocated for the preservation of indigenous species. Villagers do not milk these animals and let them feed almost exclusively on natural pastures. When the animal's weight reaches about a quarter of a ton, it is usually sold to the local butcher.

acknowledged to possess a vast knowledge of the topography (and toponymy) of the entire territory and sometimes, the territory beyond their village in the places where they take their animals during the winter (see for example Angioni 1989). This vast knowledge of the territory is often associated, by non-shepherds, with criminal practices. As we were often told: `they know all the holes and pits in the ground, all the bushes in the Supramonte. When they steal animals or they kidnap a person, they always know where to hide and not to be found'. While it is a fact that shepherds do know the territory where they take their animals to graze, and that they share a local knowledge charting almost each variation of the territory, the shepherds we met (including the older ones) seemed to be mainly familiar with the obvious orographic variations outside their grazing pastures, relying on persons from other villages when they need to pass through other communal territories. For example, an old shepherd told me that when he had to take his animals to the south of the island he was not familiar with the lands he had to pass through. Several shepherds travelled together and on their way they found open and closed paths. Interacting with the villagers of places where they passed, they found the shortest and best paths to reach their destinations.

The everyday practice of shepherding in communal lands has enabled shepherds to accumulate great knowledge of the territory fostering a sense of common identity: they perceive the communal lands they use as `their' land. This may lead to the desire to continue communal land-use as a morally `correct' attitude. However, according to some local shepherds the practice of shepherding in communal pastures presents some disadvantages: (1) Some claim that the quality of pastures cannot be improved. As they see it, neither shepherds nor the state are willing to invest funds in improvements that, as it assumed by the villagers, nobody will take care of. The *comune* [local administration] once closed

77

a portion of the *supramonte* to allow the grass to grow and unknown persons tore the fences in several points allowing animals to graze there as they believe they cannot be restrained from using a land is their right to use. In consequence, (2) the livestock has to graze on large extensions of land which imply, as a young shepherd put it, that `animals walk so much in order to eat what they need everyday to survive, that by the end of the day they have consumed all the nutrients that they were supposed to gain'. These shepherds see grazing in communal lands as one of the causes of low milk production by their animals. (3) Some shepherds complain that the government requires, in order to provide funds to private entrepreneurs for improving the land and pastures, that they possess a portion of land of at least five ha for a number of years. (See Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1962, articles 3 and 8 for the law that so establishes). As most lands in Telemula are communal property, and private property is usually of small size, individual shepherds are excluded from these benefits.

At the same time, communal lands have some advantages for some Telemulesi: (1) a number of families keep small flocks of animals grazing without needing to invest much time in their care and are thus able to supplement their diet with meat and milk. (2) Some Telemulesi have suggested that co-villagers who are not shepherds, and occupy administrative and political positions, keep animals on the communal lands only in order to claim EEC subsidies without ever having to care for the animals or the needs of families who are totally dependent on shepherding. Finally, (3) the availability of communal lands for shepherds functions for some as a cushion which allows them to return to shepherding when they are laid off or when seasonal employment ends.

Those full-time shepherds who resent the disadvantages of communal lands have come to develop a desire and need for either privatization of communal lands or for the

78

establishment of regulations which would allow them to obtain land on lease for long periods of time. These shepherds are individuals who often describe themselves as `modern`, and explain the resistance of other Telemulesi as arising, in some instances, from what they see as selfish interests and, in other, from their *arretratezza* [with the negative connotation of `backwardness`]. It is in this context that individuals' relation to the land can be seen as one of the elements which constitute the basis for defining one's own identity within the village. The positioning of individuals in relation to the land is crossed by a temporal dimension which situates one's self-image and the representation of others in terms of a `time` distance between villagers. Those individuals that `modern` villagers define as *arretrati*, are perceived as linked to the past and as of a conservative nature. `Modern` shepherds, in turn, perceive themselves as looking toward the future. They live in a present which is characterised by the need for technological improvements and for transformation of the economic structure of the village.[3] In the next section I examine how this trope emerges and becomes inscribed in the institutional discourse of those designing policies and how it has come to influence the way in which locals see themselves and other co-villagers.

2. LET'S CHANGE THE SUBJECT: THE MODERNISATION OF THE INTERNAL ZONE

In Chapter One I examined the influence that the image of the shepherd-criminal had on the design of policies for the

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[3] I do not mean that individuals who in this context stress their `modernity` conform to a monolithic moral code in all dimensions of their everyday life. As is demonstrated in later chapters, the same individuals who stress the value of the authentic [*genuino*] and traditional in some spheres of their life, use other categories (e.g. `modern`) to judge elements of others, such as work.

79

internal/criminal zone of the Barbagia.[4] The *Inchiesta Medici* had contributed to shaping the second *Piano di Rinascita* and later influenced the design of the Agropastoral Reform of 1974-1976. This reform of the agropastoral sector aimed at transforming and 'modernising' the social and economic environments in which shepherding was practised. It conferred on ETFAS the task of conducting surveys to determine, in *comuni* which requested it, the current local resources, infrastructure and development needs. On the basis of these surveys [*piani di valorizzazione*] agents from ETFAS[5] could propose the creation of one of two types of administrative units: *Monti dei Pascoli* [collectively managed pastures] or *Aziende Speciali* [Special Interest Areas]. The new law ruled, for the cases where *Monti dei Pascoli* could be implemented, the distribution of lands to favour the establishment of stable productive firms, the promotion of cooperatives, and the provision of cooperatives with improved pasture lands. Agronomists and other technicians were to provide assistance to ensure the success of the newly created firms. With regard to *Aziende Speciali* ETFAS offered technical assistance to improve communal lands and to conduct, where necessary, reforestation, and to promote cooperatives and other forms of association for production at the local level (*Regione Autonoma della Sardegna* 1976:778). In 1989, an internal document of ERSAT assessing its own organisational achievements established that the presence in the Nuoro province of 76% of all Sardinian cooperatives was an indication of positive development from the area's 'archaic conditions' (ERSAT 1989:6).

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[4] Niceforo (1897) referred to the area of Barbagia and Ogliastra in the Nuoro province as the *zona delinquente* [criminal zone].

[5] In 1989 ETFAS changed its name to ERSAT, *Ente Regionale di Sviluppo e Assistenza Tecnica* [Regional Agency for Development and Technical Assistance] (Pala 1982:252).

The status of *Azienda Speciale* was requested for the communal territory of six communities in the Ogliastra: Arzana, Gairo, Seui, Telemula, Ussassai and Villagrande Strisaili. These communities are characterised by large extensions of communal lands used mainly for pasture, low soil fertility, degraded forests and abundant bushscrub. The same document states that only three surveys had been completed and only Villagrande's study and need assessment had been approved. In fact, Villagrande started to receive monetary instalments in 1984 (ibid:15-17), while as of 1992, Telemula's project had been approved but it had not yet received any funds. ERSAT also places the onus on local communities for not having yet put their projects in action because their peoples resist changes in 'traditional' forms of communal use (ibid:16).[6]

It is in the context of these laws and on the premises upon which social and economic development was to be promoted in the Nuoro province that Telemula became an *Azienda Speciale*. Less than one fourth (22.27%) of the village's territory is private lands, which are of small dimensions, while the rest remains communal and used mainly for pastures and for the winter supply of firewood. Table 2.1 illustrates the extent of fragmentation of land in Telemula as of 1986.

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[6] In non-official communication, an administrator of the political left told us in Nuoro that when the Nuorese was *lotizzato*, the Christian Democracy, which dominates ERSAT, was allowed to constitute *Aziende Speciali* in Ogliastra in exchange for a leftist control of cooperatives in the north of the province.

Order of extension Hectares	Units		Surface (ha)	
	N.	%	N.	%
Less than 0.99	54	24.77	34	0.96
From 1 to 1.99	71	32.56	103	2.85
" 2 to 4.99	71	32.56	217	6.00
" 5 to 9.99	15	6.8	94	2.60
" 10 to 19.99	2	0.97	29	0.80
" 20 to 49.99	3	1.37	118	3.26
50 or more	2	0.97	3018	83.53
Totals	218	100.00	3613	100.00

Table 2.1 Surface of Private lands in Telemula
Source: ERSAT n.d.a: 17.

The project for the *Azienda Speciale* in Telemula concerns the 9,496 ha of communal lands (77.63% of the total territory). Because of the quality of the communal soil and landscape, which is rocky, hilly, with steep mountain sides, and low soil fertility, communal lands in Telemula are used mainly for pastures. Also, the characteristics of the terrain favour the herding of goats able to graze on the scarce blades of grass emerging from steep rocks and hills. This is reflected in the local livestock records which show an inverse relation in the proportions of livestock types in contrast with the general statistics for Sardinia where, as a whole, sheep outnumber goats.[7] The following table lists the variation of livestock in Telemula from 1980 to 1991. In each case, with the exception of 1860, the count is based on the

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[7] The island's inventory of livestock showed, at the end of December 1990, the presence in Sardinia of 3,878,447 sheep, 315,000 goats and 352,000 cattle (Concas 1990:37; ERSAT 1991:51). Although, as suggested in Chapter One, statistics regarding livestock seem to be highly unreliable, we were able to observe the abundance of goats in Telemula's territory as opposed to the number of sheep. However, it was impossible to establish the magnitude of the discrepancy between `real' and `official' figures.

community's records as of Dec. 31st of each year.

Year	Bovine	Ovine	Caprine
1860	400	3,300	4,000
1980	489	3,979	5,457
1981	518	2,760	4,835
1982	522	2,765	5,091
1983	688	2,656	4,307
1984	773	2,842	4,972
1985	803	2,911	3,904
1986	919	3,003	4,811
1987	1020	3,316	4,927
1988	983	3,296	5,018
1989	962	3,775	6,062
1990	931	3,701	6,430
1991	1036	4,097	6,705

Table 2.2 Livestock in Telemula, 1860, 1980-1991.
From Casalis (1865) and Telemula's Livestock Registry.

The importance of shepherding in the local economy is suggested by the fact that in 1986, in Telemula, 155 individuals or 46% of the total active labour of the village was engaged in agropastoral production. Of these 55 men were engaged in livestock raising (ERSAT n.d.a:6-7).[8] On the basis of the survey conducted in Telemula, ERSAT technicians concluded that local shepherds were resistant and unprepared for their organisation in formal cooperatives. The surveyors concluded that the government could best invest its funds only in the improvement of pastures, in building better permanent shelters [ovili], and in improving energy and water supplies for the ovili so as to improve the working conditions of

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[8] Local women, in Sardinia as in other parts of Italy, are registered in the comune [municipality] as agricultural workers. They attend only their own gardens and their official working category gains them access to agricultural subsidies and pensions (such as maternity and, later, retirement). We were told that fewer women than those registered actually do agricultural chores, however, all of them obtain EEC and regional subsidies.

shepherds (ERSAT n.d.b:2, 6). In agreement with the law for Agropastoral Reform, the project for the village is aimed at improving the communal lands so as to abolish transhumance. ERSAT sees this as possible because, on the one hand, shepherds will be hired (and therefore they will have to abandon shepherding) to improve the communal pastures and for reforestation work. On the other hand, transhumance would become unnecessary once the availability of local pastures increases and the competition for communal resources decreases (ibid:47-48).

In practice, the Region funded the construction of shelters for shepherds and livestock with monies from the EEC as part of the Pilot Project `Ogliastra'. In following EEC regulations, the Region Sardinia established a Pilot Programme which would involve four communities in Ogliastra: Arzana, Telemula, Villagrande Strisaili and Urzulei. These were identified as part of an area (the Nuoro province) in which "[there is] a more striking underdevelopment and in which past efforts have affected neither the territory nor the social base" (*Ente di Sviluppo in Sardegna* n.d. [1982?]:1). Under the project of *Azienda Speciale*, the local administration expects to build three more shelters as well as water reservoirs and fountains (ERSAT n.d.b:27-30).

In sum, in the eyes of government agents, Ogliastrini in general and Telemulesi in particular had remained anchored to the past and villagers could not, by themselves, modernise their own economic and cultural practices. The poor quality of Telemula's communal territory would need large investments of funds to be improved, making any effort to improve pastures economically `irrational' given the presence of better soil conditions in Sardinian lowlands. Government agents, however, chose to justify their decision to put Telemula in the category *Azienda Speciale* on the grounds of their `resistance to organising into cooperatives [and] to accepting change in the customary communal use of lands' (ERSAT n.d.b:2).

84

If Telemula's territory would have been defined as apt for the development of *Monti dei Pascoli*, ERSAT would have had to promote cooperatives and to provide a shepherds' cooperative with the best communal lands in order to ensure a high return on the investment. In the institutional discourse, cooperatives, technology, better pastures and continuous technical assistance are the defining traits of `modern' productive practices. Telemulesi, portrayed as linked to `archaic productive practices' provided the opposite representation. Government officials defined Telemula as having both unsuitable lands and unsuitable subjects for improvement. As surveyors put it, the `subject' had to be changed gradually by other means and wait until generational replacement would fulfil the task that ERSAT agents alone would be unable to accomplish, that is, of making the local people willing actors of their own transformation: "We are all convinced that all our actions should be developed gradually in correspondence to the growth of men [*sic*], from whom is requested their active participation as actors" (*Ente di Sviluppo in Sardegna* n.d.:46).

I found an example of this general attitude toward the Ogliastrini during one village's feast in the summer of 1991. As the local administration is building a tourist facility near the village, they decided to organise a *sagra del prosciutto*[9] to show their gratitude to regional officers. During a large *pranzo* [lunch meal] some officers demonstrated a condescending attitude toward the local people who served them (I was helping my local friends to serve their guests and one of the visitors despotically ordered me and other friends to hurry up in serving the tables). When later during the meal my identity as a foreign researcher was made clear to all visitors, one officer in charge of allocating funds to support

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[9] A feast for celebrating the virtues of the local prosciutto and advertising it to outside consumers.

85

agrotourism told me, partly in English and partly in Spanish, that he thinks that the Telemulesi and other mountain peoples lack the skills and the imagination to progress (economically):

> Look at these people. *Poveretti* [poor them]. 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 life style that it is wrong. These people have a simple life and we should not push on them programmes 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 is fine. They do not want to progress. [They] want to stay like this, happy, maybe it is us who are wrong.

It is difficult to know how widespread this nostalgic (Herzfeld 1990) and condescending view is among bureaucrats and government agents. However, the choice of the status *Azienda Speciale,* on the basis of real or imagined characteristics of the local population, meant for local producers that their lands would have to remain communal in order to gain access to public monies. The *Azienda Speciale* project implied that even though the lands would be improved, they would not be improved to the same extent as the *Monti dei Pascoli.* No cooperatives of producers could be formed, either, given that there were no suitable lands to insure high enough levels of production. Therefore, in order to account for the lack of public investment on Telemula's land in technical (i.e. quality of land) terms, ERSAT officers chose to put the accent on the human element. Defining the villagers as unwilling to change their productive practices and to engage in cooperative production allowed the government to legitimise its preferential socio-economic policy. However, the metaphorical implications of the `modern'/`tradition' dichotomy in the institutional discourse have permeated the local world-views and discourses. As representations of the `modern' and the `traditional' become

86

taken for granted, the local discourse rhetorically employs
the categories to induce the metaphorical repositioning of
different individuals.

3. POLITICAL TROPES OF TIME: `MODERNITY' VERSUS `TRADITION'

The local debate on the destiny of communal lands reflects the
metaphorical positioning of individuals in a discontinuous
opposition between `modern' and `traditional' villagers that
implies an allochronic relationship (Fabian 1983). I call it
discontinuous in accordance with the way Telemulesi themselves
define their positions, that is, as resulting from a break in
which `modern' individuals abandoned the time in which
`traditional' ones remained anchored. The time-shifting
rhetoric of individuals suggests a metaphor of departure by
which individuals shift their position from a rhetorical past
to the future time of `modernity'. However, sometimes local
peoples' discourse reflects a shift in perspective usually
related to strategic, instrumental actions as in different
contexts, `modern' subjects were willing to adopt the
perspective of the `traditional' co-villager (Galaty 1982;
Silverstein 1976).

Some `modern' shepherds point their fingers at
individuals in the local administration whose personal
interest is to maintain the communal status of lands in order
to gain economic benefits. Members of the current group in
power in the community argue that the conservation of lands as
communal is done for the public benefit. Lands have always
been communal and because of this they have been the
traditional source of spices such as thyme and rosemary,
mushrooms for cooking at home, firewood during the winter,
chestnuts and acorns for the pigs, and pastures for the
flocks. Furthermore, in the past, the communal tenure of
lands allowed both agriculturalists and shepherds to insure
their economic and biological survival through interrelated

production practices. These individuals suggest that if the communal territory was to be privatized, the first individuals arriving and applying for lands would obtain the best land at the expense of the other villagers who then would be unable to satisfy their basic needs.

'Modern' shepherds complain about the communal use of land, arguing that since the land belongs to everybody in the village, it belongs to no one in particular. They say that as full-time shepherds they depend on the success of their enterprise for their economic and biological survival. They see the permanence of communal land use as preventing them from improving the territory and affecting their cash income. In their view, communal lands bring lower levels of profit than private lands would. Some shepherds told us their reasons for holding this view: (1) A young shepherd said that if he was to improve the communal lands where his animals graze, he would have no right to prevent other shepherds' animals from grazing there. In consequence, pigs, which are seen as having a very destructive effect on the soil and on the pastures on which they freely roam, would inevitably damage any land he tried to improve. He says that he cannot trust the good will of other shepherds to ensure the success of his initiative. (2) A second young shepherd emphasised that he wishes to enlarge his flock, to use electric milkers and to manage an economically successful firm. As he owns no lands he is unable even to apply for government funds to make improvements. (3) When most shepherds had applied for solar panels,[10] a middle aged shepherd stated that he was not even

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[10] The project for the local *Azienda Speciale* calls for the provision of electricity to the *ovili* in the communal territory. However, we were told, because of the Park Project that should include Telemula, and because the *comune* has not yet received funds for the project, they still lack electricity. In 1991, the Region provided shepherds with subsidized solar panels to those who requested them. The shepherd paid between 500 thousand and 1.5 million Lire and

thinking of applying for such gadgets when his sheep were in need of better pastures. (4) Another young shepherd regretted that in the times of the older shepherds, when the agricultural rotation system [*biddazzone*] was in effect, the community ruled when to go to the Supramonte and when to descend to the valleys. These resolutions were binding and in this way shepherds allowed the pastures to regenerate. As the rotation system has been abandoned, he says, now everybody goes up and down when it best suits them without concern for allowing the vegetation to grow. As he put it: "There are always people going up and down: *non si capisce niente!*" [it is confusing!]. This shepherd sees himself as `modern' and his complaint must be understood as referring to an `irrational' (i.e. inefficient) de-regulated use of pastures rather than as a nostalgic view of a `traditional' past.

In response to the opinions advanced by (self-defined) `modern' shepherds, an older shepherd opposed the enclosure of lands because he understands that a process of transformation of land tenure would imply the revoking of use-rights for him and other old shepherds: "If they enclose pastures, where would I take my flock?" He says that if lands were privatized, younger shepherds would be given priority and would be able to obtain better pastures. A young shepherd who has worked this far mostly as a *servopastore*, opposes change in land management because, as he sees it, he has been constrained (because of better pay elsewhere) to work as a *servopastore* outside Telemula and with non-Telemulesi shepherds. He maintains that if privatization would occur, whenever he manages to have his own flock and to return to Telemula he would have no access to pastures for his flock.

There is opposition to change among non-shepherds too.

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the government the remaining 17 million of the cost. The batteries provide energy enough to light 9 light bulbs and to run a small fridge.

A young man, a student, complains that too much land has been enclosed in the valley in the past few years. He regrets this because, in his opinion, it is the communal management of lands which characterises Telemula. A migrant worker regrets the general changes in the local economy which he sees as the rejection of a more `traditional' and picturesque lifestyle. Individuals who work full-time in other economic sectors benefit from communal pastures and oppose change toward enclosed lands. One technician [operaio] said: "if they [the shepherds] get the right to enclose communal lands, then I also have the right to enclose a portion of them and make of it what suits me." He added that not even their status as full-time shepherds should guarantee them priority in the distribution of lands, if the other villagers ever allow it to happen.

The views opposing the change of communal into private ownership or property seem to be based, for some, in the assumption that unfair elements would affect any process of land distribution and, for others, in a nostalgic view of the traditional Telemula.[11] However, other positions relate to the opposition of `modern' and `traditional' in a rather indirect manner. They have more to do with the individual's positioning in the local political structure (both formal and informal): one village councillor once proudly told us that in the last council he had attended (in December 1991) they had `stopped' the shepherds from achieving their goal of obtaining permission to enclose lands. Although this person has relatives who are shepherds, he belongs to a political faction

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[11] This nostalgic view, as Herzfeld (1990) points out, creates the image of an `unspoiled and irrecoverable past' to which individuals attribute harmonic virtues and assign a positive moral meaning.

opposed to the one to which these `modern' shepherds belong.[12]

So far the differences between self-perceived `modern' and `traditional' individuals suggest the image of a gap. Some Telemulesi have come to define a *persona brava* according to his/her relation to the land. The communal ownership of land is an important element in village-based identity. It is not *the* identity-defining concept, but in conjunction with other practices and values it legitimates one of the representations of the `good person'. Those persons who `modern' Telemulesi see as *arretrati* [backwards], find a confirmation of their sense of belonging in the use of communal lands. Telemulesi used to work the land communally. The agricultural rotation system mentioned above, *biddazzone*, coordinated the activities of both shepherds and agriculturalists. The agriculturalist thus allowed lands to fallow and the shepherds' flocks fed in more nutritive pastures. The manure from the livestock fertilized the soil and favoured better agricultural yields. Older Telemulesi find a sense of common identity in those communal practices which emerged from the need to share the land equally among all villagers. The process of social interaction in a given place and time and the communal organisation of the use of space in a time-framework favours the experience of `presence' in social life as described in a general sense by Giddens (1981:38). This process in turn legitimates the local values of solidarity and equality among community members. The shepherds' understanding has already been disrupted by the collapse of agriculture in the village. Further changes are

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[12] There are shepherds who see themselves as `modern' and others as `traditional' in both political factions. The `modern' shepherds in both groups have not been able to join together because of their diverging political affiliations and at that time those pushing for change were shepherds outside the power sphere.

perceived by the older generations as threatening to what remains of the social code.

'Modern' villagers see themselves as belonging to the same place for other reasons. They also see traditional shepherds as belonging to another time, and thus they call them *arretrati*. 'Traditional' subjects are seen as living in a time and a place that one can leave only by breaking with the past. The concept of 'modernity' is a shifter that individuals rhetorically use to position themselves in relation to other villagers. It is also linked to a position of power (social, economic, and/or political). An individual who often insists that he is a 'modern' shepherd, but who perceives himself to be constrained to follow inefficient practices by his *arretrati* co-villagers, told me that he supports the idea of privatising lands. This he saw as having beneficial effects for the control of criminality, particularly sheep rustling, and for eliminating the need to do transhumance. He points out that sheep rustling is a rare occurrence and few animals are stolen when it happens. He claims that the absence of fences favours this type of criminality and says that he believes that the right to enclose lands will help to eradicate the problem. He complained bitterly that non-shepherds linked to the mayor keep animals on the Supramonte freely roaming (to obtain regional and/or EEC subsidies) making his work more difficult and preventing him from furthering his technological and economic interests. He stressed the unfairness of his predicament which he explains as emerging from clientelism and the political clout that some other villagers enjoy. In conversations he often insists that it is necessary to enclose and improve lands. Because he finds the 'traditional' Telemulesi shepherds resistant to these changes, he claims to be disappointed in shepherding as practised in Telemula and to be looking for another employment, a secure job in the public sector [*un posto fisso*]. I asked him what would he do if he

obtains a full-time job outside shepherding. To this he replied: "Ha! Then I would oppose the enclosure of lands. I would try to safeguard my right to enjoy the existence of communal pastures so as to be able to obtain an extra income just as others do now."

The preceding example suggests that this Telemuiese, as well as other co-villagers, choose to shift from one perspective to another for strategic and instrumental reasons without necessarily experiencing a moral contradiction. Rather than the reflection of a fragmented self, this indicates a particular experiential state in which values from both spheres are internalised. When envisioning a shift in social and economic position the shepherd could also envision a change in view about land management. The experience of contradiction can be countered by a sense of biographical continuity: while he is a shepherd, as a *persona brava*, he is expected, by his relevant groups (family, *cricca* [group of friends], political faction) to be `modern', to desire change and innovation in technology and economic practices. However, if he is able to change occupation, he is expected to be active in defending practices which can advance his own and his family's (or group of friends' and political faction's) economic and political interests. Envisioning `a' future plays an important role in providing continuity and coherence to the projects of the individual, drawing from the biographical experience the sense of a centred agent, a self. Before shifting economic roles, the individual sets short and long term goals for himself. He can experience `modernity' by efficiently fulfilling his everyday chores being aware, that to achieve full `modern' status, he still needs to secure other material conditions in the future (real[13] and

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[13] By `real future' I mean the individual's expectation that his biographical experience will be extended beyond the lived instant.

93

metaphorical). He is also aware that as he shifts his position in the occupational spectrum, his short and long term plans change too. Because these goals are part of one's life-project, they do not constitute aspects of different fragments of individual selves, but are rather coherent in the context of the self-project.[14]

In sum, even though it can be said that some Telemulesi derive a sense of identity from the permanence of communal lands, I contend that their relation to land management has a more material base. Both `modern' and `traditional' shepherds are trying to obtain benefits from the territory. The former derive part of their moral identity as *persone brave* from their will to transform land tenure and make statements that aim at legitimising their self-image as `modern'; the `traditional' shepherds derive their identity as Telemulesi in part from the conservation of communal property, and their ability to prevent self-defined `modern' villagers from changing the economic basis of their survival. Their self-image as *persone brave* is legitimated by values from another moral world-view. The case of the `modern' shepherd who seeks to leave the occupation can be seen as an instance in which some Telemulesi rhetorically position themselves as `modern' if the image advances their economic interest. These are the different forms in which villagers relate to land: Communal lands are positive because they ensure the biological, economic and social reproduction of persons and their families. Given the difficulties in transforming the practices of livestock husbandry in Telemula, some villagers seem satisfied to provide for their basic needs. Other wish to advance economically and socially and wish for `move toward the future'. In both cases it is their material interests

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[14] I have here expanded the meaning of the concept of `shifting relevances' as developed by Giddens (1981:35), that is, the ability to focus on everyday contingent needs without abandoning one's own long-term projects.

94

that inform their world-views and choices.

4. DISCUSSION: FROM SUBJECT FOR CHANGE TO SUBJECT OF CHANGE

I have demonstrated how the legitimation of a representation
of the shepherd as bandit has come to inform the design of
policy-making in and for Sardinia. The province of Nuoro has
been historically perceived as the cradle of criminality in
the island. Criminality has been linked to the continuation
of traditional practices which left the population anchored in
a cultural mode fixed in a remote past (See Antonetti,
Cecchini and Fresi's `Shepherds Like 2000 Years Ago', 1977).
The shepherd and his environment are subject to the gaze and
normative projects of institutions. The official discourse
has fixed in written texts the image of a shepherd linked to
a natural environment (as opposed to a socialised one) which
has favoured his inclination to crime. The shepherds' assumed
knowledge of the territory allowed them to escape from the
law; their transhumance practices favoured sheep rustling and
other criminal acts such as thefts and robberies
(Amministrazione Provinciale di Nuoro 1980). The *Inchiesta
Medici*'s final document registered this argument, and the
second *Piano di Rinascita* and the Agropastoral reform enacted
the `modernisation' discourse: it was necessary to eliminate
transhumance, to encourage the sedentarisation of shepherds,
in order to help them advance up the social, cultural and
economic ladder. Modernisation of the `archaic' subject and
his working environment became the goal of the administration
and rhetorically grounded the trope by which Telemulesi as
well as other Nuoresi continue to be perceived.

Development agencies promoted the institutional image of
the `modern' in the villages: good pastures, technical
assistance, formal cooperative organisation of production,
sedentary pastoralism. An essential part of this discourse
was defining as `archaic' and `backward' any organisation of

95

shepherding work which lies outside the boundaries of the institutional understanding of `modern'. The subject for change has now become the subject of change: many Telemulesi, including shepherds, have internalised the moral, normativ₋ discourse of `modernity'. These individuals express the ambition of changing the practice of shepherding both socially and technically and they voice their proposals in public meetings.

Another local group of shepherds and often their children are aware that their practices, now defined as `ancient', have insured their survival, physical and otherwise, and see no need to change what has been proven to function well. They respond to their institutional definition as *arretrati* with acts of *furbizia* and reject the possibility of change in local land management. Communal lands can still guarantee the possibility of survival in times of economic crisis when individuals are likely to lose their jobs from other economic sectors. Accepting to change land tenure would mean loosing a safety device for one's own family and co-villagers.

Furthermore, as will be shown below in Chapters Five and Six, equality and the resulting obliteration of difference is an important component of the local moral code. In communal lands all shepherds have the same chances and all are prevented from achieving an economic status that would position them above fellow villagers. In the instance of private lands, those who initiate more informed improvements and those who fail to have private lands will occupy different extremes of the economic and social ladder. In the view of those who defend communal management of the land, the *persona brava* does not try to exceed fellow villagers. In the view of `modern' shepherds, the *persona brava* strives to better his

own standards of living and to use more `rational'[15] economic practices and devices. However, he also tries not to exceed the others.

Telemulesi emphasise the equal value of all villagers. This emphasis on equality can be seen as a strategy to reduce the possibilities of open conflict. Council meetings become the legitimate arena to express different opinions in a public setting. Villagers are able, in this context, to vent their anger and frustration at each other's efforts either to change the status quo or to preserve it. In other public spaces they avoid talking about their conflicting views. To us, they expressed their wish to change in the more private domain of the *ovile* or their houses. In the next two chapters I describe the effects of the trope of modernisation in policies targeting the occupational structure of the area and the village. As occupations have changed (since the early 1960s) values and villagers' self-representations have also changed. The choice of different occupational sectors modifies, on the one hand, individuals' life-styles and, on the other, their behavioral expectations and the expectations they place upon co-villagers.

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[15] Tambiah (1990) has discussed the emergence of the concept of rationality in Western discourse. Here, the term `rational' encompasses aspects of the villagers' discourse that emphasise the expectation to achieve higher yields from a lower physical effort. It implies the use of better pastures and fodder to increase production, the elimination of transhumance and the use of technology.

CHAPTER THREE

TROPES OF TIME IN PLAY: MODERNISATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF
THE SECONDARY SECTOR IN THE ECONOMY

Telemula is a village with a strong agropastoral basis. However, as could be expected, members of the local labour force are employed in activities other than agriculture and shepherding. In addition, the local importance of agropastoral activities seems to be declining since the 1960s (see below, this chapter). Villagers are now employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, and different kind of workers can be seen every day in the local businesses and streets. In the secondary sector, Telemulesi often find employment in construction firms or they are employed by co-villagers. Looking around the village one finds most houses in different stages of construction. As the families expand and children strive to *sistemarsi* [to settle down], new rooms are added to the house or new houses are built from the ground up. The demand for construction workers is satisfied within the confines of the village: most bricklayers and masons working in the building and reshaping of houses are Telemulesi themselves.

At noon, one can witness the local economic diversification: the village's bars are filled with shepherds and agricultural labourers returning from their pastures and fields as well as with road maintenance workers from the village who work in the *cantiere* [work pools] of the village or of other neighbouring towns, and *muratori* [masons] taking a break from work. At this time of the day, some of the local bureaucrats who are permanent employees of the *comune*, and the owners and employees of the local small businesses take a break from work and have a coffee or an appetizer at the bar and fraternise with other villagers.

Walking on the streets one finds, near the village's road that leads to the valley, a small hotel with a restaurant and

bar. Three more bars, near the main village's church and the springs in the piazza *s'istrada*'s [the street] provide jobs to Telemulesi in the local service sector. In addition to these jobs one can add those of people working in the drugstore, the small credit agency, post office, a news stand, one general hardware business, and four general stores. A physician who was born in another village and married a local woman gives medical attention in the not yet functioning public library (in 1989 gusts of wind blew the clinic's roof away and it had not been fixed when we left Sardinia in June 1992).

Later during the evening, some villagers employed as *operai* [workers] in the *cartiera* [paper mill] and welders from the platforms from Arbatax in the coast join their groups of friends for their daily socialising. During the summer, groups of Telemulesi return from the coastal and lowland villages where they are employed in jobs in the catering industry for tourists. Most of these people work as kitchen help, waiters and waitresses or in the cleaning of rooms. During the winter and spring, the group of villagers who work seasonally felling trees for the village's supply of firewood return to the settlement and join their friends in the bars or piazzas.

Observing the everyday working and social activities in the village one realizes that, in spite of the occupational diversification, most Telemulesi hold low-skill jobs. These two facts have social significance for the local moral discourse. On the one hand, different occupations give rise to both the adoption of different everyday routines and the perception of `difference'. On the other, the similarity in level of skills allows villagers to stress the value of social equality. The awareness of the equal economic worth of their occupations during their daily social interaction constitutes what Altheide and Johnson (1992) call the `tacit knowledge' of a group and what Schutz and Luckmann (1973) call the `horizon of the taken-for-granted'. Villagers do not make explicit

claims about the equal value of their occupations. Rather, in their everyday social practice they legitimise their equal value as `Telemulesi'. Groups of friends [cricca in singular, cricche in plural] are formed by members of different occupations and by both men and women, stressing, in the social text, the egalitarian nature of the village.

Nevertheless, tensions emerge during daily social life that reflect the conflictual nature of their economic activities. These conflicts can be understood as reflections of the enactment of the modernising trope. In the past villagers may have followed a set of social norms ensuring the possibility of concealing individual differences in social and economic power. (I am aware that this is, however, difficult to assess.) The concealment of differences could have been ensured, to some extent, by the similar economic and social status of agricultural and pastoral workers. The villagers' choice to work in different sectors of the economy has transformed the occupational structure of the village. The choice of different occupations has the effect of putting the egalitarian nature of social interaction into question. This questioning arises from the choice of a different life-style which accompanies alternative economic activities. The different nature of jobs requires villagers to adjust to different social schedules and demands that individuals conform to a certain demeanour or style of dressing that enters into conflict with what is considered to be acceptable by other villagers. Those who distinguish themselves from the `common' Telemulese are accused by their co-villagers of prepotenza [arrogance]. The acceptance and learning of a different habit can be seen as conducive to the internalisation of a world-view that corresponds to the newly acquired habit. This gives the individual a diverse stand-point from which to assess the rights and wrongs of his/her social and economic environment. As more villagers work in other sectors of the economy, more people internalise values

100

and articulate moral codes in ways alien to the `traditional' person. Modernity, and perhaps postmodernity, now comes to inform the perceptions that some villagers have of their own society and fellow villagers.

Here I first examine the context in which policies have aimed to change in order to bring modernity into the internal (`criminal') zone. Then I describe the policies designed to develop Barbagia and Ogliastra and their effects upon the occupational structure. I conclude the chapter by demonstrating that changes in moral views and practices of Telemulesi relate to the influence that the epochal trope of `modernity' exerts on the way villagers see themselves and others.

1. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE `OTHER'

I have already examined the process by which the inhabitants from the Nuoro province have come to be seen as prone to delinquency. This construction of the `other' from Barbagia and Ogliastra has been grounded in the premise that `backward' social, economic and cultural environments favour the emergence of criminal behaviour. Before examining the policies designed to transform this `poor' environment I stress here how the Ogliastrini in general and the Telemulesi in particular have been described in the institutional discourse in order to justify the industrialisation of the region.

Since unemployment has been recognised as a negative characteristic of Sardinia's economy, the Italian state has chosen to actively participate in the creation of jobs. To achieve this, government officers have devised direct strategies such as the creation of subsidies for employers that reduce the cost of hiring and training new workers (see Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1991a). The regional government has also promoted cooperatives (by increasing the

101

availability of subsidies) and other collective forms of production. As an indirect strategy, the national and regional governments have extended compulsory education partly for reducing the demand for jobs. The regional government has also encouraged the acceptance of part-time jobs so as to be able to create the conditions for employing a large segment of the population for shorter periods of time (Loy 1988a:30). The industrial sector is seen as having failed to expand the local productive structure in spite of strong economic support received from the state (national and regional administration) (Selis 1988:61).

Sardinia has transformed into a post-industrial society as in 1986 the service sector employed 59.9% of the island's active labour. At the same time, the percentage of agropastoral workers declined to 16.1% (ibid:89). Contrary to these tendencies in the Sardinian economy as a whole, 60% of the territory continues to be used for grazing in the internal zone and 18,000 shepherds keep one third of the total ovine livestock of Italy (ibid:117). The Sardinian industrial sector is poorly developed and as of 1986 it provided employment to 66,400 workers (ibid:122). In the Ogliastra the paper mill functions irregularly (up to 1991) keeping workers in *cassa integrazione guadagno* [funds to supplement income], an institution that permits semi-displaced workers to receive a full salary.[1]

In Ogliastra one finds a process of change by which the population has experienced the radical transformation from a pre-industrial into a post-industrial type of economic

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[1] When Italian industries fail or enter a stage of low labour demand, workers are not always discharged from their jobs. This is especially true when the business in question provides employment to people in depressed areas. The state provides funds that are made available to these workers so that they will not inflate the ranks of the unemployed. In 1987, a total of 168 Sardinian firms kept 8,169 workers in *cassa integrazione* (Pinna 1988:158-159).

structure without ever having consolidated an industrial sector. As the primary sector is increasingly abandoned and the secondary sector proves unable to satisfy the demand for jobs, the state has fostered employment in the service sector (ibid:132). This transformation has implied, for the local peoples, the transition from lifestyles locally seen as `traditional' and fitting to rural populations toward the adoption of lifestyles characteristic of urban environments. The latter find a favourable ground in communities that are more exposed to outside influences, such as coastal villages, where visitors and the mass media promote world-views typical of industrialised and post-industrialised centres. Table 3.1 illustrates the development of employment in different economic sectors of the island from 1980 to 1988.

The Local Instance. Telemula in the Ogliastra is included in the administrative unit *Comunità Montana N. 11* [Mountain Community n. 11], formed in 1976, that coincides with the geographical area of Ogliastra (ETFAS n.d.:1). In a survey conducted in the communities included in the Ogliastra Pilot Project, Loy (1988b) describes the labour force in these communities as almost equally divided by sector (31% in agropastoralism, 32.5% in industries and 36.5% in service jobs) (ibid:35-36). He found 80% of the population between 14 and 24 years of age registered in the employment agency.[2] In these villages women are more likely than men to obtain jobs in the public sector: 35% of the female in contrast to 15% of the male labour force are employed by the state (ibid:41). In Telemula, in 1986, 92 villagers were employed in the service

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[2] Unemployed local people have to register in the unemployment office in order to be given priority in the case of contests for public jobs (if they are eligible) and to have the right to unemployment pensions. Fourteen is the minimum legal age to have access to a job and 29 is the maximum age to receive job incentives for young workers (Loy 1988b:37).

sector accounting for a 28% of the total active labour force of the village (334 of which 247 male and 87 female). Forty six per cent of the active labour (155 individuals) were employed in the agropastoral sector and the remaining in `diverse crafts' (ERSAT n.d.a:10).

Year	Agr.	Ind.	Serv.	Total
1980	84000	135000	256000	475000
1981	87000	136000	259000	482000
1982	74000	125000	273000	472000
1983	72000	129000	273000	474000
1984	78000	122000	280000	479000
1985	72000	120000	278000	470000
1986	66000	118000	300000	485000
1987	69000	114000	316000	499000
1988	71000	121000	317000	509000

Table 3.1 Employment in All Sectors in Sardinia: 1980-1988
Source: CENSIS (1991:9)

In general, the level of education is low in the village: from 1200 inhabitants, nine (0.75%) Telemulesi have a university degree; 38 (3.16%) a technical diploma, 294 (24.5%) have completed high school; 375 (31.25%) completed elementary school and 68 (5.66%) are illiterate (ibid). The national percentages are, respectively, 2.6, 11.5, 23.8, 58.8 and 3.1 (ISTAT 1991:22). In the village there are one kindergarten, one elementary school and the equivalent of junior high school (media). Senior high school [media superiore] education is sought in neighbouring villages and university education in the large Sardinian cities or on continental Italy.

These are the conditions in which Telemulesi lived up to 1991, during my fieldwork. Not only has shepherding remained one of the most stable and important sectors of the economy, but it has continued to be attached to what the institutional discourse defined as outdated practices: transhumance and productive practices which rely on `outdated' technology. Before the 1980s the Italian and Sardinian governments began

to direct funds to Ogliastra targeting the development of industries and services in order to induce social and economic development. The portrait provided by ERSAT (n.d.a; n.d.b) and Loy (1988b) illustrates the lack of success of previous measures to develop the local environment. Loy suggests that the development of tourist facilities could be a strategy of coping with local unemployment and leading to the gradual abandonment of shepherding, since other policies thus far have failed.

2. THE MAKE-UP OF THE `TRADITIONAL' ECONOMIC SUBJECT

The implementation of policies and the gradual internalisation of values attached to new occupations has brought into the village different views about social and economic life that articulate with, or become super-imposed on, what I call here a `traditional' set of values.[3] In a context such as that of Telemula before the 1960s, some of the characteristics of everyday life were the economic uncertainty and risk attached to productive practices highly dependent on natural conditions. Villagers were compelled to face these circumstances by relying on their own individual, physical effort to ensure their own and their families' survival. In doing so they came to develop a desire for economic stability and security. I examine here two preferences that have emerged from their `traditional' economy: in the first place I describe the importance of becoming *sistemato/a* and second, I examine the importance given to physical work in defining the moral `goodness' of individuals.

As the possibilities that local people will find employment in occupations in the industrial and service sector

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[3] For convenience I call here `traditional' a set of practices or moral views that, according to local people, have a trans-generational validity although it was not my purpose to assess the time of their emergence.

105

increase, villagers are targeting positions in *posti fissi* [permanent jobs]. In Telemula, as in other villages in the province of Nuoro, to be *sistemato/a*, that is, to achieve economic security, stability and independence is one of the conditions one has to fulfil in order to be recognised as an adult person. Among Telemulesi (both men and women) it is difficult to conceive the possibility of finding a spouse if one has not become *sistemato/a*. However, being *sistemato/a* is not sufficient for guaranteeing an individual's marriage. Personal preferences and orientations make individuals' choices complex. A young woman told me: "For myself as well as for other women, to consider marrying a man in Telemula, I would expect him to have a secure income, a house and a car. A man who does not have all of these [economic] attributes cannot expect to find a woman willing to be his partner." For a women to be *sistemata* means, if she is single, to have obtained a permanent job in the public sector or to live in a relatively wealthy family which can provide for her needs. She may also be seen by her co-villagers as *sistemata* if she marries a *sistemato* man.

A shepherd with a large flock (the perceived minimum number to achieve self-sufficiency is between 100 and 120 head of ovine or caprine stock), who has a regular income, has built a house and possesses a car comes to be seen as *sistemato*. Construction workers, workmen in an industry and those with public jobs who have achieved the same material success are also locally seen as *sistemati*. This achievement of economic success and independence rather than the type of job are what legitimate a person's status as *sistemato/a*. Those who work in permanent jobs in the industrial and service sectors are seen as having achieved economic independence and as being able to assume familial responsibilities. In the case of local agropastoral workers it is common knowledge that even during low production years shepherds receive subsidies from the regional government of Sardinia and the EEC, which

ensure their economic independence and compensate for the general instability that characterises their occupation.

'Work' continues to be seen, in Telemula, as an important category of value. This is especially true of the physical work performed by shepherds, agriculturalists, construction and industry workers. The economic instability of Ogliastra allows us to understand the increasing value attached to job security. The *posto fisso*, either in the public or private sector, is locally seen as ensuring the individual and his or her own family a certain level of economic security that other jobs are seen as lacking. While some shepherds may be seen as *sistemati*, it is possible to find that some villagers judge shepherding and agriculture in general as lacking economic stability. This is in part due to the fact that, at the local level, EEC and regional policies are often perceived as contradictory and villagers find it difficult to understand them.[4] The complexity and heterogeneity of these policies gives the shepherd or aspiring shepherds a sense of insecurity, leading relatives and co-villagers alike to view shepherding as an occupation for which it is difficult to forecast the future, especially with regard to its profitability. Telemulesi are unable to foresee if it is the EEC and Italian government's aim to eliminate shepherding altogether or to make it a more viable economic activity. For some shepherds, the sense of insecurity is increased by the awareness that members of the local administration continue to oppose change in the tenure of communal land, refusing to

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[4] The EEC has designed general economic policies, the application of which, at the local level, is often perceived as contradictory and confusing: for example, there is a subsidy paid for each head of livestock, and simultaneously (since the end of 1991), a subsidy paid to reduce their flock size. There are also subsidies to eliminate vineyards and subsidies to plant them. Local producers (and some provincial officers) told us that they find themselves frequently confused by the heterogeneity of rules and policies.

allow the enclosure of pastures which some of these individuals see as a condition for increasing the likelihood for economic success.

The changing self/perception of the local subjects and of the meaning they give to `work' is illustrated by the CENSIS report (1991:44-45), a survey conducted in 133 Sardinian communities, which points out that 73.3% of a sample of Sardinians give higher priority to job security than any other characteristic of work. The report underlines that there is a shift to post-materialist values illustrated by the fact that 71.2% of those sampled valued as very important `decisional autonomy' in their jobs, 67.6% a pleasant work environment, 66% the possibility of using one's knowledge and capability, and 63.5% good interpersonal relations. I believe it would be difficult to support the presence of a post-materialist world-view in Telemula and some of the mountain communities that surround it. CENSIS' findings are, however, suggestive of a shift in the manipulation of meanings and values taking place in the area. In changing the meaning of their customary practices (e.g. `the shepherd who enjoys contact with nature' for `the shepherd who works isolated from society in the Supramonte') primary producers may adopt one (or more) post-materialist values to legitimise their own positive self-representations placing themselves in the same rhetorical time of other Italians.

The survey also showed that only 33% of respondents gave importance to the possibility of building a `career'. In a region where the educational level, professional training of workers, and institutional support are rather low, it is comprehensible that individuals aspire to job security rather than to a career. One component of the government and EEC policies has been to create conditions that would ensure both low migration and a level of income near the national average (Bocella 1982). Subject to these policies, some Telemulesi have chosen to work in industries and services, favouring the

coexistence in the village of workers from all three sectors of the economy. In choosing other occupations individuals also experience their choice as one of life-style and moral codes more in harmony with the rhythms and environment which now frame and order their lives according to norms. The next two sections illustrate how this takes place.

3. BUILDING A `MODERN' SUBJECT: THE EMERGENCE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

The *Piano di Rinascita* [project for the economic Renaissance of Sardinia] emerged from a series of debates in the 1950s as a plan for inducing the modernisation of the island in the 1960s. The institutional discourse promoted industrialisation as the best strategy in overcoming economic and social `underdevelopment' (Del Piano 1971:45-46). Early in the 1950s, in agreement with the national and regional governments' view, several homogeneous zones were identified and targeted for the rapid improvement of their levels of occupation and income (ibid:61). In the early 1960s, as these policies were shown to be unsuccessful, the project was seen as misdirected and, as in the rest of Southern Italy, a policy of `development poles' was enacted. The programme was directed, in contrast to the earlier plan, to favour zones within areas defined as `underdeveloped'. The choice of sites for industrialisation was grounded on the availability of local infrastructure and resources (Gribaudi 1991:117-126). In Ogliastra, Arbatax was considered a good choice because of the presence of a port. A paper mill which made ample use of regional development funds was established by several private companies (Lo Monaco 1965:143). The paper mill was vaunted as an adequate instrument for improving the living conditions of the Ogliastra in general (ibid:144). To construct the complex, between 1,000 and 1,400 workers were employed. According to the original project, the mill would have been

109

able, eventually, to offer 450 permanent job positions (ibid:157). This industrial complex began to work in 1964 (ibid:155). Since the mill started producing, some Telemulesi have found employment there. However, as a result of the high cost of production, the industrial complex faced a financial crisis in 1980 (Ruju 1982:70-71) and since then, many of its workers have been placed in *cassa integrazione guadagno* [income supplement funds]. Currently, the paper mill faces the possibility of closure as the EEC and the Italian and regional administrations threaten to cut the supply of funds (*L'Unione Sarda*, June 26, 1991:7).

Within the general project of the *Piano di Rinascita* and in coordination with international agreements, the Sardinian government created the conditions for the emergence of other industrial jobs in the area. Giving great emphasis to youth employment, the regional law N. 28 of June 7, 1984 establishes that the Sardinia administration will cover expenses up to 60% of the costs for the acquisition, creation, adaptation and management of receiving (tourist) structures (*Regione Autonoma della Sardegna* 1991a:18-40). This law also favours the promotion of agro-tourism. That is, the integration of shore and mountain tourism, perceived as a strategy which can economically favour mountain communities such as Telemula. The Sardinia government offers up to 100% of the costs if the establishment is given for management to a youth group or to a cooperative (ibid:88-89).

The law on `Active Labour Policy' of Oct. 24, 1988, N. 33 targeted professional training and qualification of individuals as well as the promotion of jobs in accordance with the needs of the local market. The law emphasised the necessity of protecting individuals' occupations, the promotion of cooperation, the encouragement of territorial mobility, and the need to encourage the employment of the young (between 18 and 40 years of age), women and handicapped persons (ibid:3-4). Under this law, businesses employing

young people can obtain 40% of the costs for employment for a maximum of two years (ibid). This subsidy to employment has favoured the employment of local people in several small industries in Ogliastra.

These policies aiming at promoting industrial and service work are found in agreement with the objectives of the *Piano di Rinascita* and the advice from the *Inchiesta Medici*: to develop the economically-marginal regions both economically and socially, and to encourage the abandonment of pastoralism. With the emergence of the paper mill and other small industrial firms in Ogliastra, a growing number of Telemulesi have been able to engage in low skilled industrial and service work.

A) The Strategic Enactments of the Modernising Trope. The main axis Telemulesi employ in order to judge a co-villager's working life is the category of `good' versus `non-good' worker (*lei/lui è brava/o* = s/he is [a] good [worker] or *lei/lui non è brava/o* = s/he is not [a] good [worker]). The person seen as *brava/o* [good] is that who performs her or his job in such a way that satisfies the job's requirements in the manner accepted as more efficient or sound according to the context.

Physical work is seen as more `real' than non-physical work. Some adult female villagers find employment in the service sector of the coast as part of cleaning or kitchen staffs. Within Telemula, their co-villagers have often told us that these persons are *persone brave*: they work hard. Their work is physical and implies the endurance of long working schedules (sometimes more than 12 h). In a conversation between two women, one employed in public administration and another in a hotel, the latter told us a detailed account of her daily routine cleaning chambers and the kitchen and stressed the great amount of physical effort. She said that she has to travel every day to the coast where

111

once arriving at the hotel, she has an assigned quota of rooms to clean. Given that chambermaids have a short time to put the rooms in order, they have to clean and make the beds efficiently and quickly. Working in pairs, one cleans the bathroom while another makes the beds and starts cleaning the room. Once they finish that part of the daily work they have to clean the kitchen and all the kitchenware. At the end of the working day, she still has to travel back home. The office worker probably understood the account as an emphasis on the value of physical work as compared to that of an office job as she rapidly tried to re-position herself by stressing that although her job was not physical it exhausted her every day. She underlined that her office job is burdensome and fatiguing at a psychological rather than at a physical level.

The ambiguous and sometimes conflicting perception of the value different occupations have and of the worker's abilities to find a secure job is illustrated in this anecdote: Danilo, like many other co-villagers, is seasonally underemployed or unemployed (in 1988, the rate of unemployment in Sardinia reached 19.8%).[5] The relative scarcity of jobs in the area provides the grounds for the local acceptance of the fact that some co-villagers are unemployed. Danilo has developed some specialized technical skills but the jobs he can find in reforestation, construction and other physical occupations are of a temporary or seasonal nature. Other co-villagers say that they are aware it is not his fault that he is unemployed but it is rather an effect of external elements that he cannot control (for example the whims of employers and the seasonal `nature' of most jobs in tourism and forest management). In this and in other cases, the state of unemployment is not negatively judged. However, as the following anecdote shows,

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[5] I do not have the figures for the village's rate of unemployment but I know of many villagers who were unemployed at different seasons of the year.

in some cases the condition can be used to re-define the position of speakers in opposition.

One evening in March, 1991, we were sitting in a bar with Danilo, two female service workers and a carabiniere. Danilo commented sarcastically that the job of the carabiniere is not really `work' and that it is useless given that the only thing they do is to drive their cars around the whole day ["*voi siete soltanto in giro tutto il giorno*"]. The officer, a non-villager, preferred not to answer, but one of the women snapped at him stressing that police work is as useful as any other job and he had no right to claim that the policeman was doing a worthless job since he himself, unemployed at the time, was a social parasite. Danilo did not reply and to prevent the confrontation from escalating the rest of us at the table turned to a new topic of conversation.

This example illustrates an existing opposition between, on the one hand, agropastoral and industrial jobs (and to some extent cleaning staff), and on the other, public service work. This opposition corresponds to the opposition between physical and non-physical work. In the eyes of some informants who work in shepherding and industries, theirs is `real' work, because of its physical nature, while that of those working in non-physically demanding public administration is not `real' work. In judging different occupations individuals aim to position themselves in a morally superior level than that of the other workers, as Danilo's statement illustrates. In response, some service workers emphasise the stressful and demanding nature of their jobs. Public service workers, instead, stress the importance of their role in dealing with local and regional authorities for the benefit of fellow villagers. In the anecdote about Danilo, a more aggressive repositioning framed what is often perceived as a morally neutral condition (unemployment in the village) in an explicitly negative frame. After all, several Telemulesi work

in the different police forces of Italy.[6]

   B) Jobs in the Secondary Sector and the Moral World-View.
Table 3.2 describes the occupational structure of the village.
Although the numbers in the Table would suggest otherwise, in
my own experience the most common occupation found by
Telemulesi men in the secondary sector is construction work.[7]
The internal division of labour in this sub-sector has changed
with the advent of modern technology in construction and the
introduction of new building materials. According to an old
retired mason, up to the 1960s, there were in Telemula
tagliapietre (stonecutters), *muratori* (masons) and *manovali*
(bricklayers). The stonecutter was an important figure, given
that he (stonecutters were always men in Telemula) supplied
the material needed for construction. His job was to cut out
the granite blocks used to build houses in the community
before the introduction of cement blocks. According to this
same informant, work in construction was generally considered
very heavy and was better paid than agricultural work (he says
that in 1930, the rates were of 2.5 and 10 Lire per day for
agricultural and construction work respectively). Once roads
were built and communications with other villages had
improved, the role of the stonecutter lost importance. The

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   [6] There are in Italy four different police bodies: the
military proper; the Carabinieri, part of the military but
with functions that entail control of populations (often in
charge of *posti di blocco* [check points] to screen for illegal
weapons or other criminal acts; the *polizia* [civilian police]
which employs both men and women and has the same functions as
the carabinieri; and the *guardia di finanza* [tax police] which
in check-points screens for transportation of illegal or
dangerous goods and checks documents to identify tax evaders.

   [7] Most of the information on the secondary sector was
collected during talks with shepherds who have been, at some
point, bricklayers and during informal conversations with
bricklayers and masons of the village. No formal interviewing
of members of the secondary sector was conducted.

114

ex-*muratore* added that at that time, a mason's work consisted of building the walls with the granite bricks cut by the stonecutters. They had a daily quota of three square meters of one-meter thick wall a day. Once light materials were introduced, the stonecutter's job disappeared and the job of masons became less burdensome.

Manovali [bricklayers] are placed at the lowest rank of the construction hierarchy. They have to undergo training for an unspecified number of years before being certified as masons. Some bricklayers described to me the current procedure to achieve the level of mason: first, they have to find employment as *manovali* in order to attain the necessary knowledge, skills and experience for a mason's job. Work as *manovale* usually consists of mixing the cement, carrying bricks or heavy bags of cement and sand, and following the mason's orders. The bricklayer has to look for a job either in a private or public firm for variable periods of time. If the bricklayer proves to be skilful performing the job, the employer can give him a certificate that establishes his aptitude as a mason. In order to obtain a job as mason, the person first has to take this certificate to the union offices, sometimes to Tortolì, sometimes to Lanusei where, if it is accepted by the administration, he then is recognised as a mason and can henceforth legally aspire to be hired as such.

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Primary Sector:			
Livestock raisers (1)	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
Workmen (operai) (2)	154	1	155
TOTAL	**174**	**1**	**175**
Tertiary Sector:			
Public service	19	12	31
Other (3)	66	19	85
Professional	3	0	3
TOTAL	**88**	**31**	**111**
Inactive Population			
Retired persons	138	185	233
Students	88	89	177
Housewives (4)	–	264	264

(1)   The census did not distinguish by type of livestock.
(2)   Industrial workers in or outside Telemula.
(3)   This includes cleaning and kitchen staff, drivers, guards, etc.
(4)   Most housewives in Telemula also perform agricultural work. This number also includes 86 single women who declared themselves *casalinghe*, that is, they employ their time in domestic chores. A few women we know they are registered as *casalinghe* actually do not have any domestic responsibilities and spend much time socialising. Given that the surveyors lumped all these women together, it is impossible to know who among these women are really `inactive labour'.

Table 3.2 Frequency of Occupations in Telemula: 1990.
Source: Telemula's voters' register as of Dec. 10, 1990.

This procedure is expected for most jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors, especially in the case of low skill jobs. But local *manovali* say they are usually victims of the arbitrary decisions of union employees. One bricklayer told me that different employers have given him the certificate that should allow him to obtain the *qualifica* of mason. However, each time that he takes the document to Tortolì, the employee who receives him at the window refuses, without explanation, to upgrade him as the employer recommends. Another seasonal worker told me that he had been running into the same sort of problems to obtain his *qualifica* until the day that he became very upset about the way he was being treated. Emphasising his manliness, he said he caught the employee by the shirt's neck and lifted him from the chair, threatening to beat him up if the *qualifica* was not processed and granted. Apparently he obtained the *qualifica* he had gone for.

The title of mason gives the person the possibility to be hired in Telemula and neighbouring villages where construction firms exist and well-paid jobs are offered to qualified workers. These jobs are less irregular than for bricklayers who, in addition, are exposed to longer periods of unemployment through the year. A social disadvantage for the bricklayer is that, as he faces longer periods of unemployment and work instability, it becomes nearly impossible for him to achieve the status of *sistemato*.

The seasonal bricklayer finds himself constrained to alternate this job with some other occupations. Many persons, employed during the winter in the local workers' pool felling trees for firewood, are drawn from the unemployed bricklayers and masons. These jobs are financed by the regional government through the local administration as a public job in service for the community. When the winter is over they become unemployed once more. However, they receive the benefit of a special unemployment pension [*pensione speciale*]

117

which, according to a local worker (a bricklayer and seasonal forest worker), can reach the monthly amount of one and a half million Lire for three to four months (about CAN $1500.00 monthly). This pension does not prevent many of these workers from engaging in odd jobs (underemployed: sometimes hired to chop firewood for a co-villager and sometimes as bricklayers in or outside the village, often short-term contracts) while they receive it, while others may choose to continue building their own houses in order to get one step closer to being *sistemati*.

Some bricklayers may never be promoted to the mason rank. They alternate episodes of employment with unemployment, or underemployment in other jobs such as agricultural help, *servopastore*, felling trees during the winter, helping in a kitchen during the tourism season, or simply helping the family in diverse chores. In the latter case their activities only reduce the work-load per capita within the household rather than contribute to increasing the household's income: in some cases a returning son joins his father in the care of the flock, or a man helps his brother to build a road to the *ovile* or a shelter in the mountain; sometimes a returning daughter joins the mother in domestic and agricultural chores. None of these activities contributes to the individual or familial income. They are seen as temporary occupations while the individual finds more stable employment. What these persons strive to demonstrate is that they may be unemployed but that they are not avoiding work. They stress, in their practices, the importance they give to physical work and state that their unemployment is not a result of their own defects but rather of impersonal processes outside their control. Telemulesi say that if the government would fund public works in the community or provide funds to update primary production, they would have more possibilities to find employment.

Some small industries in neighbouring villages provide

118

seasonal industrial jobs to some villagers. A small sweatshop in Tortolì, owned by a Telemulese, gives jobs to some local women. An employee described the job as one of abuse of their labour (*ci sfruttano troppo*). She said that they are usually hired for a trial period of one month in which they have to perform up to very high levels set by the owner. During that period they had to sew 75 or 80 shirts per hour in a Taylorian structure of work: one sews on side of the shirt, one the other, another sews the shirt's neck and so on. Often the employee gives up after a couple of weeks, unable to stand the rhythm imposed by the owner, and abandons the job without being paid for the work done. Those who persist and approximate the expected level, may wait up to three month before receiving their first payment, as was the case of my informant. She also underlined that she does not know of anyone who has ever reached the efficiency level set by the proprietor. Consequently, she said, there are no workers who receive a full salary. In addition to this textile industry, a small shoe-factory in Lotzorai also offers low-skilled industrial jobs. During the time of my fieldwork, I was aware of only one Telemulese working there: a shepherd who started to work part-time during the summer, and who by the beginning of 1992 had completely abandoned shepherding to work full-time in the factory.

According to the voters' register, five villagers work in the paper mill situated in Arbatax. They have been in *Cassa Integrazione Guadagno* for about one year, and get reduced incomes from this source in compensation as well as the benefits of not being completely discharged from their jobs. As in the case of those who receive special unemployment pensions, some of these semi-unemployed persons [*cassaintegrati*] engage in odd jobs in order to supplement their income. There is in Arbatax an industry for building oil platforms (*Intermare*) which provides employment to a few Telemulesi welders, mechanics and electricians (in Table 3.2

119

all these are included in the category *operaio*).

In general terms, jobs in the secondary sector, especially public or industrial ones, are seen as desirable because they provide a secure income. Although these jobs can also be subject to the market and lack long term security, they are seen as `secure' because they provide a more or less fixed salary, usually allow more free time, as is the case of free weekends, and have a fixed work schedule which allows the worker to plan non-working activities. These workers, including masons and bricklayers, are seen as being more `real' workers than some service employees or unemployed individuals, especially because of the physical effort they are required to perform. Secure income and guaranteed free time are characteristic of jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors and seen as lacking in shepherding. However, for reasons discussed in the following chapter, some jobs in the tertiary sector, unlike local industrial and semi-industrial jobs, are assigned a negative value because of aspects considered demeaning to the person.

The aspects of social life and the nuances introduced in the social interaction by the schedules and demeanours imposed by jobs in the secondary sector of the economy are explored below in Chapters Four, Seven and Eight. Here, however, it is important to highlight the fact that, contrary to the case of jobs in the agropastoral economy, construction and industrial jobs provide individuals with attributes that induce a positive self-representation: they have a working schedule which allows them to plan their activities for the rest of the day as well as for holidays. They have most weekends free and can enjoy the money they earn from their job. They often stress the clean nature of their jobs (usually cleaner than that of agriculture and shepherding). In sum, they are seen, by others and by themselves, as having secure incomes that ensure high consumption levels, and abundant free time to socialise and spend their money. These workers share some

similarities with those in the service sector, but they diverge in other aspects. In the following chapter I focus on the emergence of jobs in the service sector and the expectations that local people have of these jobs. In the final part of the chapter I discuss the consequences of the rhetorical positioning of individuals within the local moral universe on the basis of their different occupations and life-styles.

CHAPTER FOUR

TIME TROPES IN PLAY: THE MAKING OF A POST-INDUSTRIAL SUBJECT

1. THE GROWTH OF THE SERVICE SECTOR

The development of local industry was accompanied by the parallel growth of a service sector destined to cater to the needs of both employers and workers. As Bell (1976) has remarked, each economic stage (pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial) develops its own service sector, and the services developed in the eastern coast of Nuoro province can be characterised as mainly serving industries and the local population. In Ogliastra, people from several villages descend to the coast to work in retail stores, restaurants, transportation and other small service firms. The tourist industry is still striving to expand and the regional government of Sardinia is promoting the development of agro-tourism, that is, mountain tourism in which shepherds and agriculturalists can act as hosts.

In response to the high levels of local unemployment the Italian government has allowed the public sector to expand to levels that, as in much of Italy, favour inefficiency and clientelism (Castelli 1992; Saba 1976). In December 1990, that is, during the low season for tourism, 85 Telemulesi were employed in service facilities. This number corresponds to 34% of all active labour in the village (see Table 3.2). The number of Telemulesi with public jobs continues to grow as more villagers reach the required educational level and enter the regional contests for such positions (in some cases completed senior high school, in others a university degree).

In 1990, 31 persons, or 28% of those employed in service activities were working for the state. During 1991, we saw five more Telemulesi being hired by the state. The regional government is currently involved in the promotion of two types of jobs perceived as instrumental in reducing the number of

122

shepherds in the area and for promoting their sedentarisation. These are government jobs in reforestation and the promotion of agro-tourism. While the latter does not imply the establishment of technologically modern firms, it promotes a type of economic activity that enables the authorities to know where individuals of a particular occupational group are at given times. It also allows individuals, through their association with urban, `modern' visitors, to see themselves as socially advanced. These jobs imply a set of practices that relate to both the conservation (or improvement) of the natural environment and tourism. A reflexive process is present in the way in which the institutional discourse interacts with local discourses. Subjects undergo the development of skills which form part of an emerging `habitus' (in the sense indicated by Bourdieu 1977). As individuals learn the `correct' strategies to maintain or improve the environment, they internalise aspects of the institutional discourse that underline, by contrast, what is seen as their co-villagers' outdated and destructive views of nature. Simultaneously they learn to see themselves as possessing specialised knowledge and skills which position them in a time "ahead" of other Telemulesi. In the process, some tensions emerge from the process of re-definitions of values. The behaviours of both the `modernised' and `traditional' villagers legitimise those aspects of the government's view that stress the need for cultural change. In this chapter I first describe the emergence of laws to promote occupations in the service sector. I then proceed to describe the values that the institutional rhetoric brings into the local moral codes and the ways in which tensions emerge between moral codes and are resolved.

A) **Institutional Tropes and Local Practices.** The total forest area of Sardinia is 468,553 ha (the total area of Sardinia is 2,408,900 ha). These forests are seen as highly

fragmented and degraded. Their state is often explained as the result of cultural practices related to pastoralism such as overgrazing, `irrational' felling of trees and vandalistic acts such as forest fires (Moi 1977; Beccu 1990:29).[1] However, Terrosu-Asole (1982:47) contends that large scale deforestation began with the end of feudalism on the island. After several by-laws with which the government aimed at abolishing feudalism, feudal lords sold away large forests to the company in charge of building the railroad network on the Italian peninsula and to other continental dealers in order to make additional profits before surrendering control over the lands. After the abolition of feudalism the Italian state continued to sell Sardinian forests until the years 1897-1910 when the regional government started to propose projects for reforestation (ibid). In the 1980s, after the crisis of the paper mill of Arbatax, some of the local projects for reforestation have involved the cultivation of trees suitable for industrial use (Ruju 1982; *L'Unione Sarda* Nov. 24, 1991:22). Shepherds are locally seen as the authors of forest fires. A shepherd explained to me that sometimes, in the past, they burned parts of forests, especially where there were many bushes which made it difficult for animals to graze. At times, the fire grew out of control and extended to other fields. Local shepherds say they are aware of a current law which prevents shepherds from gaining access to a region for a period of five years after a fire. In their opinion, this law makes it foolish to use fires to recapture pastures. One shepherd contends that it is people who want shepherds to leave the valley who start the fires. During the summer of

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[1] In a song we heard during a feast in Lotzorai, a neighbouring village, the locally famous *Duo Puggione* sang about forest fires. Before the song, the singers addressed the local shepherds and pleaded for the abandoning of such a damaging practice. During the warm months the newspaper often runs cartoons depicting shepherds as arsonists (*L'Unione Sarda* Aug. 22, 1991:24; Sep. 11, 1991:21).

1991 there was only one big fire in the territory of Telemula. Only one Telemulese (a mentally handicapped youth) suggested to us that it could have been a shepherd who started the fire.[2] Other villagers, even among non-shepherd families, blamed the tourists who "are burning Sardinia out of envy for its natural beauty."

In 1956, the *Azienda Foreste Demaniali della Regione Sardegna*, AFDRS [Agency for Communal Forests of the Sardinia Region] was founded with the purposes of: a) providing care and management of the silvicultural and pastoral resources of the Region; b) identifying problems related to the forests and mountains and supplying appropriate strategies to solve them; c) providing technical assistance to agencies or communities that would request it; d) favouring tourism in the estates under the management of the AFDRS; and e) managing and administering parks which would be developed in the future (Beccu 1990:30). The AFDRS currently has under its management and administration a total surface of 82,067 ha, of which 19,151 are located in the province of Nuoro (ibid:31).

The National Parks Project envisions an area of 59,102 ha for the Gennargentu Park which includes at least part of the territories of Aritzo, Arzana, Baunei, Desulo, Bardia, Fonni, Gairo, Oliena, Orgosolo, Seui, Telemula, Urzulei, Ussassai and Villagrande Strisaili (*Enti Locali* 1990:59). Since 1989, the AFDRS has become a potential source of employment and subsidies for the Sardinian internal zone. In June 7, 1989, the Law n. 31 for the Institution and Management of Parks, Reserves, Natural Monuments, and Areas of Particular Relevance for Nature and the Environment, identified, potentially, nine natural parks, 60 natural reserves, 24 natural monuments and 16 areas of ecological interest in Sardinia. In accordance

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[2] In referring to this person's handicap I do not intend to disqualify his opinion. He seems to have felt less constrained to conceal thoughts that other co-villagers would not admit.

with the general project of modernising the Nuoro province, the park project foresees the possibility of inducing social and economic development in the internal zone through the transfer of funds to the inhabitants of the area (see Casula 1990:5). To gain access to these funds, communal administrations have to request a survey to determine the pertinence of local projects in the sectors of agriculture, forestry, fire prevention, defence of the soil, air and water, the development of measures against pollution, the recovery of historical centres and preservation of rural buildings, and tourism. It is the view of government officers that such projects will have the effect of enhancing the value of local activities and occupations, and furthering the management of these areas by local administrations and agencies (Giannasi 1990:7; Masnata 1990:10).

The Park Project also aims at enhancing the value of forests in the territories of the communities included in the plan. In order to achieve this goal, works of reforestation were projected to begin as of the second half of February 1992, but they were only begun, according to a letter we received from a Telemulese shepherd, in the fall of 1992. In December of 1991, the project of reforestation for the Ogliastra was authorised and AFDRS was empowered to hire 500 persons for this activity in the region of whom 25 in Arzana, 50 in Cardeddu, 80 in Gairo, 25 in Jerzu, 40 in Seui, 50 in Telemula, 40 in Tertenia, 50 in Ulassai, 80 in Urzulei and 50 in Villagrande Strisaili (*L'Unione Sarda*, Dec. 14, 1991:28). As mentioned above, local people expect that the local and regional government will hire workers on the basis of clientelism rather than on the basis of merit.[3]

The above-mentioned laws (N. 28 of June 7, 1984 and N. 33

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[3] For a more detailed account of the response to the park in a Sardinian village, see Heatherington, forthcoming MA thesis.

of Oct. 24, 1988) were meant to encourage the emergence of local initiatives for agro-tourism firms and for the creation of youth cooperatives. Both of these are seen as having the double effect of creating jobs in the area (thus improving the social and economic environment) and of luring people away from shepherding. As one result of these new policies, Telemula's administration is building a *punto di ristoro* [tourist facility] near a natural spring on a mountainside above the village. Administrators view the location as advantageous because it features a panoramic view of the communal valley and the Arbatax coast. The management of the facilities is, according to the law, to be entrusted to a youth group or a cooperative after a competition among applicants. However, even now, long before the facilities are finished, some villagers who are part of the faction opposed to the current administration, claim to know that these facilities will be given to a certain group (not yet formed) headed by a local livestock raiser. I was told that he is a relative of the current mayor of the village. He is known to have been working seasonally in mountain tourism attracting some clients from the coast and bringing them to the village's territory in the Supramonte.

These insinuations of politically grounded favouritism are framed in a local discourse in which clientelism is seen as a taken-for-granted practice. It was not difficult for local villagers to establish the linkage between the creation of employment in reforestation and the coming elections of April 1992. In a visit to Sardinia, Giulio Andreotti, at the time the Italian Prime Minister who was running for re-election, authorized the spending of L350 Billion (CAN $350,000,000.00) in subsidies for all Sardinian productive sectors, especially for the improvement of structures and the creation of jobs (*L'Unione Sarda* March 25, 1992:5). Since all monies that arrive in the village are administered by the local council, many Telemulesi firmly believe that the

distribution of jobs, be they permanent or seasonal, will be carried out on the basis of personal favours and/or political commitments [*lotizzazione*].

B) Epochal Repositioning and Moral Shifts. In Telemula as well as in the rest of the province of Nuoro, the tertiary sector of the economy has shown steady annual growth surpassing the 50% threshold in 1980 alone (Selis 1988:89). In 1991, at the time of my fieldwork in the village, 111 individuals out of 349 active workers were employed in service jobs accounting for 31.8% of the local labour force (see Table 3.2). With the increasing importance of beach and agro-tourism, villagers show themselves to be more willing to enter the tertiary sector of the economy. This economic behaviour partly demonstrates the effect that governmental promotion of tourism has on local economic choices. An example of the regional government's view concerning the `correct' strategy to develop the Ogliastra is the report written by a group of Sardinian researchers, who conducted a survey in the communities of the *Progetto Pilota Ogliastra*. They concluded that villagers from these communities (Arzana, Telemula, Urzulei and Villagrande Strisaili) should direct their efforts towards tourist services (*La Nuova Sardegna*, Nov. 2, 1991:19). The journalist comments on the text provided by the researchers:

> After examining different aspects of life in [the four communities] ... one faces a socio-economic reality that `presents the traits of underdevelopment'. ... In this context -one reads in the report- [we need] a programme of social and economic intervention aimed at triggering cultural change and, therefore, likely to introduce an element of economic dynamism into a reality thus far static. [For this purpose], one cannot neglect the role that developing tourist structures can represent. (Ibid)

As in other instances, these suggestions for local socio-economic change are validated by the emphasis that the institutional discourse puts on `rational' surveys of the

128

local conditions and potential. Nevertheless, as it is illustrated in this section, the values associated with these more 'modern' practices often conflict with the local perceptions of who a *persona brava* is.

During daily social interaction Telemulesi stress the egalitarian nature of the community: they say to consider all co-villagers equal and the generalised character of their exchanges underlines the similar value of all individuals and of the commodities and services involved in daily exchange (see Chapters Seven and Eight). The *persona brava* does not behave towards others as if s/he has a different social, economic (or else) value than the 'other'. This general moral expectation defies the logic of exchange expected by customers of service businesses who often establish a depersonalised relationship with workers and, consciously or not, establish a superordinate position with regard to the workers (see Gorz 1992).

Telemulesi seeking employment in the tourist industry as kitchen helpers, waiters or waitresses or as cleaning staff usually lack skills to be employed in other sectors. While some accept the hierarchical relationship built into the service sector, others reject it and enter into constant conflict with clients or with their employers. The value given to personalised relationships and egalitarianism seems to override, in some cases, the performance of their expected roles. A young woman who worked during the summer of 1991 as a member of the cleaning staff of a facility on the eastern coast of Sardinia, used to tell us anecdotes about her relationship with some clients. In her anecdotes she positioned herself as an equal to the customers of the facilities by emphasising the personalised interaction she established with them. She would not make reference to any type of hierarchical interaction and did not tell stories that would disclose her subordinate position as an employee. She claims to have established a good friendship relation with

129

some customers and says that in her free time she socialised with them, going out together and sometimes inviting them for dinner to her apartment. In other anecdotes she told us of instances in which she underlined her equal social positioning to customers who would dare to question the egalitarian nature of their relationship. These are instances in which she got very upset because "users did not show respect for [her] work." She told us of one instance in which a group of customers returning from the beach dirtied the floors of the bathroom she had just finished cleaning. She claims that she expressed anger at the users and ordered them to clean what they had dirtied. In another instance, she claims, convinced the manager of the resort to evict one client because she had failed to show respect for her work and continued to dirty everything she had cleaned.

Other Telemulesi who work in restaurants or hotels geared to the tourist have come to terms with the visitors' expectations of service. Antonio, who works each summer on the coast as a waiter or as a kitchen help confines himself to doing his job as well as circumstances allow him. He, as well as other Telemulesi, tends to conceal the fact that he has a subordinate position in relation to customers of the facilities where he works. Employees find the opportunity to reproduce and legitimate the value of egalitarianism by entering uncomplicated professional interaction with consumers of services while maintaining an egalitarian relationship among themselves.

Within Telemula itself, those who serve clients at the bar often establish egalitarian non-servile relationships as a result of having grown up together with their own customers as co-villagers or as members of a *cricca*. Bar-tenders often drink with their patrons and occasionally pay for rounds of drinks. Their behaviour shifts their position from that of an unequal servant to that of a friend who is in charge of the distribution of one type of goods. In a few instances,

however, some industrial workers have harassed the local bar-tenders[4] because of their informal demeanour. Half jokingly and half seriously some persons, who have lived or work outside the village, represent themselves as belonging to an era ahead of their own co-villagers and complain that one of the main problems Telemulesi face is their own unprofessional, informal attitude. In positioning themselves in a specific (moral) future, they point out the `non-professional demeanour' of the bartenders who behave differently from those working in a different place (the city) and time (modernity). They say that in `real' (urban) bars, the bartender and/or the waiters and waitresses acknowledge the importance of their customers. These `urban' Telemulesi contend that, unlike local service workers, modern/urban workers are `professional' in their service. In so doing, these local persons demonstrate their possession of a different set of criteria by which to judge the performance of their fellow villagers and underline their more progressive character. While physically in the same locale as their friends, their attitudes represent their claim to be `ahead' in time.

The following example illustrates how widespread the perception of service work as a synonym of servitude and subordination is among central Sardinians. In a discussion among university students from the centre and south of the island (one Telemulese among them), the general opinion of the Barbagians and the Telemulese was that in essence, performing a job in the service sector made the worker a `servant' and deprived her/him of human dignity because s/he is totally subordinated to the customer. Only the southern Sardinian refused to believe that attention to clients in hotels and restaurants was equivalent to servitude, and to accept the consequent individual loss of dignity. Our friends from

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[4] In Telemula the bar-tenders also serve their clients as waiters or waitresses.

central Sardinia claimed that, furthermore, not only were these workers servile at work, but that their work favours the internalisation of a submissive demeanour that these individuals carry over even to their everyday life outside work.

Villagers place a great emphasis on egalitarianism within the community. This value forms an important part of the local moral code and of Telemulese self-image in that it conceals individual and group differences (see also Chapter Eight). Within this framework, villagers see themselves as being all equal, preventing the establishment of hierarchies within groups and the community. Distinctively, the value given to egalitarianism and the parallel refusal of a servile demeanour seem to run contrary to the institutional logic that promotes and encourages the creation of service work. Nevertheless, growing numbers of Telemulesi and other Barbagians are seeking employment in tourism firms. Some have adopted relational strategies that allow them to filter out the experience of inequality and subordination to clients in favour of the experience of equality among workers. These strategies enable them to accept the obligation to serve others while reproducing and internalising the values of egalitarianism, facilitating their search for service jobs which in the long term may help them to *sistemarsi*.

Some Telemulesi have started their own small seasonal businesses in agro-tourism within the communal territory. Within this economic activity villagers are able to legitimise their claim to be on an equal footing with the client and validate the importance of egalitarianism. This legitimation is achieved on the grounds of the highly personalised interaction they establish with their customers. In a `typical' interaction in the agro-tourism business, a visitor, who does not know the local territory and ignores where to find natural beauties or where dangerous sites are, enters into a personal relationship with a local entrepreneur

132

(usually a shepherd) who is recognised as knowledgeable about the territory (thus reminding the visitor the image of the shepherd/bandit and potential kidnapper).[2] The latter guides the visitors and treats them as guests. He shows them the archaeological remains and the natural attractions on the communal territory. In the early afternoon the guide leads them to his *ovile* where a partner has butchered an old goat or sheep or perhaps a supernumerary lamb or kid. There the tourists are offered roasted meat in the local style along with the shepherds' home-made wine and *ovile*-made cheese. Within the small group formed by tourists/guests and shepherds/hosts all create an atmosphere of friendship that legitimises the equal value of all participants in the interaction. At the end of the day, the guests/tourists pay a rate of about L50,000 (CAN $ 50.00) each as a token recognition for the hospitality of the local shepherds. In some instances, to avoid the risk of running into unequal exchanges, local shepherds offer this service only to friends or acquaintances from other Sardinian regions who are unlikely to question the local moral code.

This type of institutionalised interaction encouraged by regional laws permits a double re-positioning of local subjects. On the one hand, they establish a personal relation with their customers in which a `feeling' of mutual `friendship' confirms the egalitarian nature of the interaction. On the other hand, these shepherds legitimise their claims to be more `modern' than other villagers: they do what the government defines as a `modern' and correct economic practice and engage in equal relationships with `modern',

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[2] In several occasions when we attended *spuntini* organized by shepherds in which urbanites were present as guests, these often made jokes about their being in risk of being kidnapped for ransom. These comments clearly bothered the shepherds/hosts.

urban individuals.[3]

Agro-tourism, however, can only be perceived as an alternative seasonal job. On the Sardinian coast the winter can be unpleasant to the tourist because of the high level of humidity, the cool temperatures (often times between seven and 14 degrees Celsius), and the lack of central heating in the houses. According to friends of ours who work in tourist facilities, Sardinian ski resorts are insufficient to satisfy even the local demand. As a consequence, the profitable tourist season starts only at the end of the spring, ending with the month of September. This is the period of the year when most Italians take their annual holidays. Telemulesi who find employment in the service sector usually move to the eastern Sardinian coast: Arbatax, Santa Maria Navarrese, or Costa Smeralda. Some are bricklayers who find a seasonal job as kitchen help, agricultural workers who obtain cleaning jobs, and some are students who obtain cleaning, serving and kitchen jobs. A few villagers migrate during the summer to the Italian peninsula for the same kind of jobs. There are only two young women, that I am aware of, who work in peninsular tourist resorts during the winter.

As in the case of industrial work, villagers engage in lower-skilled jobs in the service sector. Informants have told me that the work load is usually heavy because hotels, restaurants and camping sites are usually under-staffed in relation to the level of demand they meet. It is common that tourism businesses offer room and board to their employees who come from far away places. These workers, including Telemulesi on the peninsula and in Costa Smeralda, have very little free time during the season to spend their earnings and are able to save money which later they use to cover their

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[3] I demonstrate the egalitarian nature that hospitality has for the locals below in Chapter Eight and in Ayora-Diaz (1992).

expenses in the village during months of unemployment, or in some instances, to support their own studies in Cagliari, Nuoro or some Italian cities. A disadvantage of this type of employment is its seasonality. This characteristic is seen as preventing individuals from securing an income throughout the year and prevents them from *sistemarsi* very quickly.[4]

Employment in reforestation is likely to emerge from two different sources. The local project for the *Azienda Speciale* includes a programme for reforestation and the AFDRS has opened 50 positions for the same kind of employment. The jobs from *Azienda Speciale*, according to a local council member, have the disadvantage that they are only seasonal and depend on the periodic renewal of funds from the region.[5] An administrator from another *comune* said that the AFDRS project foresees the creation of alternative jobs for shepherds and in some communities the hiring of a few shepherds within the forest area in order to insure the equilibrium of the ecosystem. As he jokingly said: "*Il pastore è come il panda! Bisogna protegerlo perche è una specie in via d'estinzione*" [shepherds are like the panda! We have to protect them because they are on the brink of extinction]. Employment to be created by the AFDRS, in contrast to the jobs created by the project of *Azienda Speciale*, is of a permanent nature.

Other permanent service jobs available to the locals are also supported with public monies: road maintenance and public service. The state-run agency, ANAS [*Azienda Nazionale*

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[4] McVeigh (1992) has explored the case of a Sardinian community where pastoralism and tourism allow goatherds to have complementary seasonal occupations. This is not the case in Telemula because shepherds' *ovili* are far away from the coast and up to now mountain tourism is scarce in the area.

[5] A council member from a neighbouring village has told us that they have started their project, but after the first instalment of monies the Region has not authorized further funds. Now employees of the programme face the possibility of becoming unemployed soon.

Autonoma delle Strade, State Highways Authority], is in charge of road maintenance throughout the national territory. At the local level, this agency hires persons from the unemployment pool of the Ogliastra. Local people aspire to these state-paid positions because they are *posti fissi* [permanent jobs] that individuals can keep until retirement age. Although the job often entails physical work to be performed in adverse weather conditions, it is not perceived to be as physically demanding as shepherding or construction work, and is seen as having the advantage of providing economic stability. Employees have to keep the road and its sides clean and to repair them. Telemulesi who apply for these jobs list themselves as unemployed in the employment agency in Tortolì even though some of them work as full time shepherds or as bricklayers while waiting for the employer's decision.

Permanent non-physical public service jobs, in turn, have been obtained by Telemulesi in different government paid institutions: in the armed forces, administration and in schools. All these jobs are usually perceived as real possibilities for individuals who have achieved at least a senior high school diploma, and to those who have access to an *accozzo* [recommendation of a clientelist nature]. While there are surely persons who have gained access to these jobs by their own merit, these public, bureaucratic jobs are often perceived by villagers as accessible only through clientelist interventions (for Italy as a whole, see Castelli 1992). For example, in January 1992, ERSAT, the agency for agro-pastoral development publicised the availability of 187 positions, and received 91,209 applications to choose from. A Telemulese woman told us that she had applied for one of the 30 typist positions and that she felt insecure about the results, even though she had an *accozzo*: there were 9,006 applicants in

136

competition for the typist jobs.[6] This woman said that there were so many applicants for so few a number of jobs that surely those with the strongest patrons behind them would get the positions.[7]

Winning the *concorso* (contest for an available job position) is not always enough to ensure that one will start to work. In some instances the person has to be well connected in the political structure at the local or regional level to begin work promptly or to be hired at all. A person we knew who won a contest for a public job had to wait for about one year before being finally given employment. In the meantime, s/he[8] often worked in the position for which s/he had won the competition without receiving the corresponding salary. For nearly one year this person was on constant call to update files, and to process documents and other bureaucratic chores. This aspiring worker was said to be in a situation in which s/he would have been refused the job if s/he would have failed to respond to the calls. Local public employees claim that administrative work is very stressful because they are frequently overburdened by the excessive demands placed upon them by the people they assist.

The different police corps are often an alternative for

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[6] According to *La Nuova Sardegna* (Jan. 16, 1991:1, 11) there were actually 9605 applications to fill the 30 openings for typists. The same newspaper item underlines that at the time there were, in Sardinia, 218,000 individuals registered as unemployed and made reference to a previous massive flood of applications when in 1988, 64,000 Sardinians applied for 760 openings for forest rangers (ibid:11).

[7] On Feb. 20th the competition was temporarily stopped amidst allegations that the composition of the committee in charge of assessing the applicants were politicians and not ERSAT functionaries (*L'Unione Sarda*, Feb. 21, 1992:7).

[8] I use here `s/he' in order not to disclose the identity of the person in question. Giving up the actual gender and the place where this happened would reveal to some Sardinian readers the identity of this person.

the villagers. These sources of employment are seen as
offering dangerous jobs, especially when agents are assigned
to areas of high criminality. An informant described the
advantages of police work as a regular income and the
possibility of obtaining a retirement pension after 15 years
of employment. There are Telemulesi in the army, Carabinieri,
Police, and Tax Guard forces, and both male and female
villagers continue to apply for such jobs. A woman who works
as a cleaning person during the tourist season told me that
although she would like to apply for a job in the Police force
but she has not done so until now because it would entail
attending courses and she does not feel like returning to
school any more. Another woman is currently attending the
courses to take the test for admission to the police forces
and some other men and women we knew are applying or have
applied without success.[9]

Teaching at the elementary and high school level is an
alternative foreseen by some Telemulesi engaged in university
studies. Although they live in an urban environment, they
have surrounded themselves with people from the rural villages
of the Nuoro province. Many of them aspire to find jobs
either as public employees or as teachers in the Ogliastra in
a village that would allow them to work there on an everyday
basis while keeping their residence in their own community.

State intervention in job security both in the secondary
and tertiary sectors of the economy has led many workers to
rely on public monies and subsidies in order to secure an
income. In everyday conversation they claim that it is their

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[9] A requirement for joining the armed forces is not to
have a criminal record. A shepherd from the village told me
that this requirement can sometimes be overlooked, but it was
not in his case because, at some point, a non-identified co-
villager intervened to prevent him from getting one such job.
Although there were officials willing to overlook his record
of small robberies committed when he was a teenager, his
fellow villager was successful in his purpose.

right as individuals, and an obligation of the state, to have jobs created and a right of individuals to be given subsidies for agricultural and artisanal production and income supplements.[10] This position seems to contradict the value they give to work, especially physical work, as well as to personal independence. The rhetorical use of the notion of individual rights in a post-industrial state illustrates another strategy local individuals employ to redefine their own moral value within the context of the village or even of the island. Work, physical or not, continues to be positively valued and villagers stress their right to work. However, villagers are aware that many of these jobs are funded with subsidies from the Italian government and the EEC. In stressing their wish to achieve a full-time working status Telemulesi represent themselves in a positive framework: they want to be workers and achieve economic independence and self-sufficiency. They want to be seen as *persone brave*. Underlining the positive dimension of their demand for jobs, they minimise the fact that the source of these jobs is the Italian welfare state and that some (many Telemulesi would say `most') achieve their jobs only through the actions of political brokers.[11] In this perspective, the wish to have a permanent job can be seen as related to the desire of insuring their own consumer needs rather than to the need of achieving self-realisation through work. In what follows I discuss how the trope `modernity' has contributed in shaping alternative perceptions of the meaning that physical work and

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[10] There is a policy of family income-supplement whereby families are given monthly pay cheques if their total income falls under the national poverty line (Campopiano 1971:20, 172).

[11] Pugliese (1985) has discussed how public works, including reforestation, are part of the welfare program of the Italian government. Through these measures, the government seeks to ensure that rural people will have an income level similar to the national average.

consumer practices have in the village.

2. THE EPOCHAL TRANSFORMATION OF MORALITY

The shifting positions of some members of the community, who
move into metaphorical urban spaces and (future) `modern'
times, is reflected in their adoption of demeanours and
practices that underline their separateness from the `other'
(past-linked) villagers. These `others' have been defined by
the institutional discourse as anchored in a by-gone time and
attached to practices that irrevocably tie them to a rural
space. The `modernity' trope mediates the emergence of
differences among villagers at several interactive levels and,
in underlining differences among villagers, creates a (social)
space for the expression of tensions between `modern' and
`traditional' moral codes. Here I describe the tensions that
emerge in the space of everyday social action as a result of
the tension between `modern' and `traditional' world-views as
they are reflected in the changing meaning of work and money.

A) The Changing Value of Work. The expansion of
employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the
economy has fostered, locally, the desire to secure income and
free time increasingly seen as characteristics of the
sistemato/a person among villagers. The everyday and yearly
experience of agropastoral workers before the 1960s was one of
insecurity and risk as well as of toil. According to the
older shepherds, the scarcity of adequate pastures in the
community forced them to practice transhumance to distant
lands. Even on those lands, as a result of their poor
quality, shepherds were often unable to produce enough in
order to pay their winter leases. Natural variations in the
weather and epizootic outbreaks recurrently decimated their
flocks bringing some shepherds into extreme poverty. Both
agriculture and shepherding entailed everyday work in the

140

fields or with the flocks. Villagers found time to socialise
during the summer months when the intensity of their everyday
work declined. The village's (as well as neighbouring
villages') annual feasts are still scheduled during the warm
months of the year.

Since the 1960s, as villagers started to move to the
coast to work, first in industrial and later in service
businesses, Telemulesi found it possible to work shorter days
and weeks (working eight to twelve hours a day for five to six
days of the week) and, to secure an income throughout the
year. Industrial and service workers were then seen returning
to the village in the early evening having completed their
working day. Shepherds, in contrast, had to stay during the
winter by their flocks in order to protect the herd, watching
their animals giving birth (and assisting them when necessary)
and protecting their pastures. Industrial and service workers
were able to spend most of the weekend socialising with their
friends while shepherds were forced to go and work in their
ovili. Furthermore, industrial workers had set periods of
holidays in which they continued to receive a salary in spite
of their temporary absence from the job. Shepherding did not
provide individuals this benefit. Although service workers
spend part of the year unemployed, they receive a monthly
amount of cash in the form of unemployment pensions and can
work with their own families or informally in occasional jobs.

The moral value of work allows individuals to represent
themselves in a positive light. However, with the emergence
of less physically demanding occupations and the increasing
value assigned to permanent jobs, `physical work' does not
suffice to ground a positive image of the shepherds as equal
to that of the growing numbers of dependent employees. Some
old shepherds employ repositioning strategies aiming to attain
a minimum sense of equality to other villagers. They lend
importance to (a) their own continuous engagement in physical
work, (b) the intensity of their work and (c) their

141

independence from employers. However, the pertinence of this world-view is questioned by some younger villagers. As described in Chapters Five and Six, `traditional' shepherds adhere to practices that younger, more `modern', shepherds see as inefficient and irrational in that they imply unnecessary work. The superfluousness of practices associated with the older shepherds' world-view and values are defined by `modern' villagers in terms of the disproportion between physical investment of work and its economic results. `Traditional' shepherds regret that young shepherds, just as well as other villagers, "do not like to work any more and they are only looking for reasons to work less." An older shepherd explained this decreasing attachment to work as a result of the economic affluence that has characterised the Ogliastra for the last 30 years. He stressed the importance of knowing how to extract products from nature, making reference to the younger villagers' preference for industrial and service employment and their reliance on the market: "This [the current state of affairs] is not bad in itself, but what will happen if the time of affluence ends? The young will not know how to cope with this event."

Shepherds and agriculturalists as well as owners of small businesses in the village re-position themselves stressing those aspects of their work which are locally valued. For example, they underline the fact that they do not have to follow work rhythms imposed by employers. Agropastoral workers underline that their working conditions are egalitarian as opposed to hierarchically structured, as in industrial and service businesses. Also, they often stress the fact they are not subordinated to others saying: "*noi non abbiamo padroni, noi siamo i padroni*" [we have no masters, we are the masters].

These rhetorical movements of self-repositioning can be understood as a strategy followed by `traditional' villagers to counter the allochronic tropes displayed by `modern'

142

villagers, and by agropastoral workers who reposition themselves vis-a-vis other workers in the industrial and service sectors. In so doing the `traditional' Telemulesi try to re-establish an egalitarian ground on which one type of employment is seen as having one type of benefits while the other has a different set of advantages. Other strategies used both to emphasise differences and to reconcile different moral codes are described in the following chapters. I describe now how the moral meaning of money intersects with that of work in this changing context.

B) Monetary Re-Placements. According to some older informants, there was a time (before the 1960s) when money was scarce in Ogliastra in general and in Telemula in particular. But greater availability of money would have been of little benefit at that time since, as one villager put it: "There were no goods to be bought both in the village and on the coast. We needed some cash for medicines and a few other things, but money was generally unimportant." Shepherds were able to obtain some cash selling cheeses to wholesalers who travelled on the Supramonte.[12] In turn, agriculturalists were able to sell part of their grape and/or grain production. Within the village families strove to reach self-sufficiency and when it was not achieved local families exchanged their respective surplus products, making Telemula largely self-sufficient. Most families combined agricultural and pastoral production. The market began to change in the 1950s when

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[12] According to some older shepherds, these wholesalers bought the whole year's production of cheese from many shepherds in the Supramonte and then sold it to cheese merchants on the Italian peninsula. With the emergence of dairy plants in Ogliastra, and later with the enrolment of Telemulese shepherds in the milk cooperative, this marketing strategy was abandoned. Now those shepherds who do not belong to the cooperative give the cheese to their wives who then sell it to non-shepherding families in Telemula, and to those who come from neighbouring villages.

143

money was used to buy the few products they could find in the Tortoli market such as stoves and gas, textiles, shoes, rifles. After the 1960s, when electricity was brought to the village, Telemulese began to purchase refrigerators, radios, and later, cars and television sets. This expansion of the local market of commodities increased the local need for cash.

The emergence of industrial and service firms inaugurated the presence in the village of full-time workers who obtained only cash for their work and who possessed, by local standards, extraordinary amounts of free time which remained invariant with the seasons. Many used their free time to help their families in the cultivation of the valleys or in the herding of the flock on the Supramonte. Steadily, however, as the local and the coastal market of goods expanded, villagers were able to spend both their free time and cash. This allowed some to reposition themselves as affluent villagers, stressing their differences from other Telemulesi. The choice of an occupation in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy was, at the time, accompanied by the choice of a consumerist life-style.

With the enactment of the EEC agricultural policies in the region, differences in life-style have been disappearing, but some still persist. While the shepherd and the agricultural worker have the opportunity to spend cash on consumer goods, as other villagers, most of the day they walk around the village or the supramonte and valley in working clothes. The agro-pastoral worker can be pin-pointed in a village by his dressing style: black corduroy pants, dark green military shirts or jackets, and boots. On the contrary, industrial and service workers dress in a more urban style. A villager we know, who is employed in a coastal industry, hardly wears the same pair of shoes more than twice every week. His trousers and shirts, as well as those of other industrial and service workers, are usually of recognisable good quality (designer brand names). Given that they drive on

144

paved roads rather than on the supramonte, they have different requirement for the model of car they buy and they can afford sports models. They often wear jewelry around their necks and wrists. Some shepherds dress in the same style when they have completed their working day. However, in everyday community life, when an industrial or service worker goes to the street, s/he is already dressing urban style while shepherds dress in their working garments most of the day.

In the recently established consumerist dimension of interaction money mediates the relationships among individuals. Money can be used both to emphasise one's own assimilation within the `modern' world of consumerism, and to underline one's adherence to the local value of egalitarianism. Some villagers surround themselves with consumer goods that they share with their *cricca* in order to promote a feeling of comradeship and equality. During a feast, an individual displayed his recently acquired camera and became the centre of attention of his group of friends. He showed friends how to use the sophisticated gadget and allowed them to take some shots. He explicitly compared his expensive model to the more primitive one belonging to the visiting anthropologists and stressed his communitarian values by sharing the camera with his friends. He is a *persona brava*. Not even his physical handicap (sequel of a spinal chord injury) places him in a subordinate position: he works as a travelling peddler, driving his specially equipped car. He stresses his egalitarian character by not trying to position himself above, or as dependent on, his friends.

Most young villagers who own cars have installed brand name stereos in their cars and buy `modern' music: tapes by Bruce Springsteen, Pink Floyd, Enigma, Eddie Brickell and Italian musicians: Zucchero Forlani, Lucio Dalla, Fabrizio D'Andrè, Paolo Conte and Di Gregori. On warm nights when the *cricca* gathers in the piazza, one of them brings his/her car and blasts the music for the benefit of their friends. With

145

their cars they drive friends without cars to villages where there are feasts, or to coastal villages to visit bars or to eat pizza.

Office workers, in general, but especially those who work in the village, are expected to dress at work in an urban style. In consequence, these workers are driven to stress their difference from other villagers who come to the offices during the day often dressed in their working garments. The latter often accuse office workers of being *prepotenti* [arrogant] because their demeanour is perceived as questioning the egalitarian ideology of the community: they are seen as underlining their privileged position in buying and wearing an expensive wardrobe. This negative judgment is also conferred on shepherds and other workers who stress their will to reposition themselves in the rhetorical temporal and spatial dimensions of `modernity' (e.g. in a conspicuous expenditure of free-time).

The combination of free time and money to spend on consumer goods allows industrial and service workers to place themselves in a time (future, modernity) and space (urban) different to the time and space where agropastoral workers and most other villagers are seen to have remain fixed. The choice of economic activity and consequently of different schedules and consumerist practices mediates the monetary repositioning of villagers in a reality separate from that of their fellow villagers. From their own perspective, `modern' practices and modern attitudes define the *persona brava*. However, as illustrated in Chapters Seven and Eight, they are willing (because of the positive meaning other preferences have) to legitimate some of the values that inform the `traditional' moral code.

3. DISCUSSION

As illustrated in these first four chapters, the institutional

146

discourse has emphasised the allochronic (Fabian 1983) distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' individuals and practices in order to establish the position of the local community within the moral rhetoric of social and economic advancement. Representing local people as anchored in a negatively valued 'archaic' and 'traditional' world of irrational and 'backward' social, cultural and economic practices, the institutional discourse legitimises the national and regional governments' social, economic and political intervention in the area. Opposing it to the traditional world, this same discourse has assigned a positive value to 'modern' organisations of life and economic activities which are based on the acceptance of technological innovation and goods, and has stressed the benefits of social and cultural change. In this light, for the Telemulese, becoming 'modern' implies the dissociation from the 'traditional' agropastoral world and practices.

In the way in which the state has been described first by Weber (1947) and later by Foucault (1977), Turner (1984) and Giddens (1981; 1990), the Italian and Sardinian governments have taken advantage of the progressive rationalisation of the social and economic organisation of space and time. That is, the national and regional governments have achieved a reduction of transhumance movements and encouraged a shift to occupations in which workers are confined to given spaces for determined times. This process has created the possibility for government officers to achieve a potential control over vast spaces and populations (although clientelist relations may influence the enactment of such possibilities, i.e. finding criminals or preventing crime).[13] By normatively

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[13] However, control is achieved neither through a 'panopticon' (Foucault 1977) nor by the exercise of force. Rather, the state achieves this goal through personalised, clientelist exchange of favours between local peoples and authorities, as well as through the willing adoption (Foucault

defining what the `rational' use of lands is (for example where to have pastures and where to have forests, and when), and what practices are rational or not (for example staying overnight at the *ovile*, or having a car and spending free time and money every night in the village), and encouraging the internalisation of these moral rules, the local populations behave to a greater or lesser extent in predictable ways. This degree of predictability permits government officers to narrow the scope of their search for possible criminal or deviant actors. For example, when any crime was reported in Telemula, the Carabinieri systematically searched the houses of specific individuals. With the enactment of the grand narrative of `modernisation' in Ogliastra, an economically and culturally depressed area, individuals have experienced a gradual transformation in their moral world-views as regards the legitimacy of cultural practices.

I do not mean here that individuals are passively transformed by an institutional discourse. On the contrary, I contend that there is a reciprocal interaction between local practices and discourses and institutional ones that suggest the reflexivity of the modernising project (see Giddens 1990). One premise that helps to understand the process of internalisation of `modern' moral codes is the recognition of the presence of asymmetrical relations of power between the local population and the state. It is the Italian state that controls access to funds necessary to ensure the survival of individuals and groups in a commoditised society; this same state is supported, and has its policies enforced (to a greater or lesser extent) by armed forces; and finally, the state also designs policies for change which are discursively supported by a group of experts who produce a `rational' and scientific knowledge of the populations, their needs and the

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1988a, 1988b), by the local people, of lifestyles promoted by the government and the mass media as positive.

148

directions in which change should be induced.

The abstract knowledge that the state possesses legitimises the representation of the inhabitants of the Sardinian internal zone as a population which is culturally `backward', economically and technologically underdeveloped, and prone to criminality. This representation is, in turn, grounded in the description of actual social phenomena of which the magnitude may or may have not been exaggerated.[14] The State, consequently, promotes strategies aiming at abolishing the conditions that foster criminality. Shepherding, defined by the *Inchiesta Medici* and by local politicians as the source of `backwardness' and criminality, must change and individuals must be drawn away from shepherding. The project of industrialising and developing the service sector in the internal zone has constituted one of the prime strategies of the state (the national and regional governments in interaction with the EEC).

Faced with a wider choice of occupations, local people have directed their attention toward alternative sources of employment. In doing so, they have changed their working rhythms and the character of their social life. With the formation of a new `habitus' they have come to internalise the `modern' values that inform their world-view. As local practices precipitated policies from the state, the state encouraged local peoples, in a reflexive manner, to see their

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[14] While by the end of the nineteenth century Sardinia was characterized by high levels of criminality, in the late twentieth century other regions such as Sicily and Calabria show higher levels of criminality. Sardinians continue to be represented as kidnappers or bandits and often the media emphasizes their presence in criminal groups. In one case a group of Italians was arrested on the peninsula but only the regional origin of the Sardinians was stressed (*L'Unione Sarda*, May 10, 1991:1). Similarly, during 1991 there was not one case of kidnapping. However, the presence of Sardinians in other instances of crime in Italy was always stressed in contrast to that of other Italians.

'traditional' co-villagers in a morally negative light. Some have internalised elements of the 'modern' moral code legitimating their own positioning in the morally 'right' urban and temporal side of modernity and view their 'traditional' co-villagers as anchored in the morally negative world of the past. These (self) perceptions bring elements into the village's social life that are the source of tensions among local people. I illustrate in part III how in local everyday practices villagers manage to reconcile diverging moral codes and world-views. Here I stress that a common category locally used to define individuals as morally correct agents is that of the *persona brava*.

The 'good person' is a concept with a variously structured content. Different persons or even the same person in different contexts can be defined as 'good' even though the moral values informing their practices may be different. There are, on the one hand, 'good traditional' persons and 'good modern' persons. On the other hand, some persons are 'good' because they are able to position themselves adequately and strategically change their temporal and spatial orientation according to the context. Piero sees himself as a good shepherd because when every morning he arrives at his *ovile* he first sees his solar panels (that confirm his 'modernity') that give power to his fridge and the lights which enable him to work better (see plate 2). Later he will use his car to carry the milk to the cooperative truck and then, dressed in working garments, conspicuously will spend his free time in the village with his friends until lunch time. At lunch time he will praise the authentic [*genuino*] nature of the foodstuff and beverages at the table. That same night he will dress in clean, brand-name clothing to host friends from a neighbouring village who are coming to the yearly feast for the patron saint of the village. He will drive his car the 50 metres to the main piazza and will demonstrate his traditional hospitality by paying, together

150

with his local *cricca*, for all the drinks of the visiting group of friends. Within the moral code hold by his *cricca*, Piero cannot but be seen as a *persona brava*. He does what he is expected to do in each occasion. That is what makes him *bravo* in the eyes of his group.

Is Piero's self split into different fragments that find expression in contexts when he is expected either to be modern or when he is expected to be more faithful to local traditional practices? Are his practices de-centred? I contend that villagers have internalised values that correspond to different moral world-views and that they strategically articulate them into a coherent (for the self) moral code that allows the person to reposition him or herself in different metaphorical times and places. The unitary experience of one's own life (self-development) is instrumental in providing the sense of unity and coherence to one's own self. The moral world-views they employ to judge their own and others' practices and preferences are coherent articulations of short and long term personal projects. The centre of each experience is the individual who has internalised values rooted in the multiple institutional discourses by which local peoples and their practices have been ethically repositioned. Each individual has articulated the local moral code in various ways but within the framework of the concept of the `good' [*bravo/a*] person. This constitutes the central defining value that structures and reconciles elements from different fields of meaning.

I describe, in Part II, the agro-pastoral world. As will be evident in Chapters Five and Six, local shepherds do not see themselves as all homogeneously anchored in an `archaic', `backwards' time and place. The epochal trope of `modernity' has also permeated the economic sphere of pastoralist work and gives rise to social contrasts in which epochal positionings define different local moral world-views. In Chapter Seven I describe how the family mediates between the realms of work

and society before examining in Part III the aspects of social life that create and reduce conflict.

PART II

POSITIONINGS OF WORK AND TIME: THE CREATION OF IMAGES OF THE SHEPHERD

"Each task required high skills since, for example, [the shepherd] cannot watch over, nor lead the flock to pasture if he does not learn first how to modulate the voice in a certain way in order to transmit orders to the animals, ... therefore, one [the shepherd] needs to know his sheep one by one, to know their names and their distinctive, objective traits; must be able to recognize them during the night by their bleating or the sound of their bells (*sa metalla*); must acquire the sense of position he should have in relation to the flock or to possible thieves; must always be able to find different hideaways in which to find shelter during day and night; must know how to assist the sheep during birth to release the animal, if necessary, from the placenta (*sa sicundina*); he must know the plants and herbs and be able to understand 'the signs' (*sos sinnos*), beyond those from the animals, from the sky, the day and the night. And it is not enough to know this if one is afraid of the shadows and whispers of the night, and if during emergencies one is unable to immediately take up the rifle and efficiently shoot at the target, or to throw rocks with fatal precision, to run tirelessly, jumping with decision dangerous obstacles and more. The description of the index of a hypothetical manual (...) of the perfect Barbagian shepherd would demand a whole book. The education bestowed upon the *theracu* [servant shepherd] was not only technical but philosophical and moral; ... it was an education of 360 degrees of the life and labour of the man who was the shepherd.

M. Pira, *La Rivolta dell'Oggetto* (1978:378-379)

CHAPTER FIVE

SHEPHERDS' WORK: THE REPRODUCTION AND PRODUCTION
OF SELF/REPRESENTATIONS.   THE SHORT CYCLE

The epigraph that opens this section makes reference to what Pira (1978) called the informal school of the shepherd. In such a school (the Supramonte and the *ovile*) the shepherd learned how to perform each aspect of his work and, with these practices, the moral world-view that enabled shepherds to understand their natural and social environment.   In Pira's view, this adaptive schooling had been disrupted by the imposition of formal schools in Sardinia with programmes developed by outsiders to foster skills which are inappropriate for the islanders' environment.   The effect of school and the mass media has inevitably come to transform the representation of the shepherd, suggesting a possible `technological' shepherd and pushing the heroic image of the all enduring `traditional' shepherd into the past.[1]   I examined in Part I how the production and reproduction of images of the central Sardinian in general, and the Telemulese shepherd in particular, are shaped to a large extent by the grand narrative of `modernisation' promoted by the government. The trope has proven pervasive in most aspects of the everyday practice of Telemulesi.   The organisation of shepherds' work has been one of the main targets of the institutional strategy to encourage `socio-political and cultural development' in the internal zone.   I have already discussed the conclusions of the *Inchiesta Medici* and the policies that derived from it. Most policies for the Ogliastra region aim at reducing (or

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[1] The poster advertising the conference on Mediterranean Pastoralism in Nuoro (Nov. 1991) reflects the contrasting images of the Sardinian shepherd.   It depicts an android-like shepherd (futuristic) dressed with a simple toga and holding a wooden flute (past) while walking during the night.   The sky is patched with both stars (nostalgic) and telecommunication satellites (modernity).

154

eliminating altogether) the practice of transhumance and the total number of shepherds. Those same policies encourage the adoption of 'modern' productive practices both in organisation and use of technology among those who remain as shepherds. The skills described by Pira, and later by Bandinu (1983) and Angioni (1989) are made obsolete through their replacement with technology.

How does this discourse affect, on the one hand, the organisation of shepherds' work, and on the other the self/representations of pastoralist peoples in Telemula? Is the trope of modernisation so pervasive that each choice is morally driven by a desire to position one-self in either the past (of 'tradition') or the future (of modernity)? I first describe, in this chapter, the short cycle (the everyday organisation) of pastoralist work and then, in the following chapter, the long (yearly) cycle of production. In looking at the working practices of shepherds (as well as other Telemulesi) one finds, as Heller (1974:34) suggests, that not all choices or preferences are morally informed. For example, it is morally inconsequential with which sheep (or goat) a shepherd chooses to start milking his animals; it is also morally inconsequential whether one or another shepherd of a team decides to take the milk, any given day, to hand it in to the cooperative's truck. However, for local shepherds it has a moral meaning whether one is or not a member of the cooperative, if one uses fodder to feed one's animals, whether one does the transhumance by foot or by truck, or abandons it altogether. All of these choices are ethically informed by the grand narrative of modernisation.

There is, as well, another aspect of the shepherds's work that produces a positive self-representation: the development of skills that enhance a sense of physical superiority that sets shepherds apart from the other villagers. As I show in this and the following chapters, this aspect forms part of the everyday taken-for-granted in the social interaction between

155

shepherds and male non-shepherds. Although many of the
shepherds' skills are not directly related to the modernising
trope, they can be seen as indirectly informed by the same
moral world-view. In describing the shepherds' work I present
the ways in which different choices relate, directly or not,
to the modernity code.

I have described the aspects of the institutional
discourse that have become accepted at the local level as
standards by which to judge the performance of local workers.
Communal property greatly shapes the organisation of animal
husbandry both on an everyday and yearly basis. I examine
here the role that two elements of the modernity time-trope
(private lands and cooperatives) have in the configuration of
self/representations.[2]   Self/representations   of   the
Telemulese shepherd are grounded in both the current material
configuration   of   individuals'   working   practices
(`traditional') and, for some shepherds, on their espousal of
a moral world-view that calls for a different (`modern')
organisation of work. Throughout this second part of the
dissertation I examine how moral values are embodied during
the shepherds' experience of their lives as working selves.
The notion of the habitus is called upon to understand how the
`structuring structures' of animal husbandry in communal
lands, in the absence of formal cooperative organisations,
contribute   to   creating   individuals'   `transposable
dispositions' (Bourdieu 1990) toward current and alternative
forms of shepherding and other forms of labour or sociability.
During work individuals internalise (embody) ethical
assessments of right and wrong ways of being a shepherd which
are then reproduced in everyday practice. In my view,
however, the embodiment of social rules and moral norms does

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[2]   Throughout   this   dissertation   I   speak   of
self/representations when I refer to both how one represents
one's own self and how they are represented by others; on the
other hand, self-representations refer only to the former.

156

not result in the individuals' experience of a bodily centre of the self. Rather, I understand the body as solely the grounds upon which shepherds construct the experience of their working selves. It is the experience of one's own life (biography), as a present that joins past with future possibilities, that provides individuals with a sense of unity and coherence of self.

In this chapter I first outline the effects that the EEC and the national and regional governments have on shepherding at the local level. I describe then the organisation of the shepherds' work day, pointing out when and where they find the elements that they use to give a basis to both positive and negative self-images. As already stated, some sources of self-representations are related only indirectly to the rhetoric of modernisation.

1. MORE ON `SHAPING THE SUBJECT': SUPRANATIONAL AND NATIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE `BACKWARD' SARDINIAN

The economic transformation of Sardinia and the internal zone has been partly supported with the help of EEC funds. From a policy aiming at transforming the structure of European agrarian production based on individual projects in the 1960s, the EEC shifted policies in the 1970s to financing projects that favour general development. In the 1970s the EEC encouraged technological modernisation and professional training for agricultural enterprises. Later, in the 1980s, the role of the EEC further expanded into the improvement of production and marketing facilities (Ekelmans and Smeets 1990:1-6).[3] Sardinia has been the target of policies aiming

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[3] The Region of Sardinia can draw from three sources of subsidies from the EEC: the *Fondo Europeo Agricolo di Orientamento e Garanzia*, FEAOG [European Agricultural Fund for planning and guaranty]; the *Fondo Sociale Europeo* FSE [European Social Fund] and the *Fondo Europeo di Sviluppo*

at developing the island since the early 1960s, as the report *Pilot-Area in Sardinia* (OEEC 1960) illustrates.

In 1988, the EEC determined that those European regions in which the internal gross product remains below 75% of the European Community's average can apply for EEC funds (Ekelmans and Smeets 1990:17). In these regions, in order to receive assets, the agricultural worker has to demonstrate that s/he obtains at least 50% of her/his total income from agriculture. Since 1990, people employed in forestry, tourism, handcrafts and ecological endeavours were considered eligible to receive funds if they derive at least 50% of their income from such activities. The funds amount to 60,606 ECU per individual or to 121,212 ECU per firm for a period of six years (ibid:37-42).

More funds were made available for the development of Sardinia and other Mediterranean regions in 1988, when the EEC devised the PIM, *Progetto Integrato Mediterraneo*, [Mediterranean Integral Project]. Sardinian agriculture and fishing have been assigned 53% of the total funds allocated to the region in order to develop rural infrastructure, to conduct reforestation and to renew the current livestock industry. This document stresses the need for diversifying the economy in the receiving regions (*Commissione delle Comunità Europee* n.d.:78-81).

Shepherds receive other types of funds stemming from the EEC. An ERSAT officer told us that a programme of economic compensation was created in 1987 to help agriculturalists and shepherds recover from the effects of a major drought. This money was made available to those who requested it. In 1990,

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Regionale, FESR [European Fund for Regional Development founded between 1960 and 1975 for the modernisation of agrarian structures; for professional training, re-allocation and re-adaptation of workers; and to improve regional infrastructures respectively (see the EEC document by Ekelmans and Smeets 1990:9).

the EEC supplied funds to help shepherds acquire fodder to feed their flocks. Another subsidy destined for the agropastoral sector is the *indennità compensativa* [compensation benefit] given to agropastoral producers (in underprivileged areas) who own less than three hectares of land and to shepherds with less than 120 heads of livestock (Orefice 1992). As of the end of 1991, local shepherds could also apply for funds provided by the EEC to cut down milk production by 20% (*Gazzetta Ufficiale delle Comunità Europee*, April 27, 1988; Ekelmans and Smeets 1990). In order to receive the subsidy shepherds have to prove that they have reduced their flock size by presenting a certificate signed by the veterinary doctor who witnessed the slaughtering of animals (*Gazzetta Ufficiale delle Comunità Europee*, Dec. 21, 1990; *Decreto Ministeriale*, Feb. 8, 1990). However, as our informant admitted, few shepherds in the Nuoro province were informed about these funds by ERSAT officers (even though they are responsible for passing such information to agropastoral producers).

A three-year programme (1988-1990) of the Sardinian *Piano di Rinascita* added funds for central Sardinia for L35 billion (CAN $35 million) in order to reduce agricultural production (including livestock) and provided an equal amount in order to promote 'the integration of shore and mountain tourism'. It also provided L150 Billion (CAN $150 million) for reforestation which, as was shown in Chapter Four, aims at inducing people to abandon shepherding. The project earmarks for Ogliastra 12% of the total budget for the island (*Regione Autonoma della Sardegna* 1991b:65-71).

A) **Clientelism and Institutional Funds.** Local agropastoral workers do their best to obtain funds from the EEC and the government. However, access to funds is often mediated by access to information. The *indennità compensativa* has been in place long enough for most shepherds to apply for

159

such monies. Other funds appear only during emergency situations, for example, droughts. Others such as the EEC incentive to reduce production are available only to those close to the administration. While the only ERSAT officer, and mayor of Telemula refused to provide us with information about the distribution of subsidies, an officer in Bardia (from ERSAT too) explained to us the mechanism for obtaining funds.

According to this officer, it is common knowledge that most shepherds give false numbers of livestock and, thus, it is pointless to offer the subsidy to reduce flock-size. Most people have registered flocks larger than the ones they actually have. Shepherds can apply for funds and slaughter 20% of the flock they had registered and would still be able to enlarge their flocks and production to a higher level than the one they presently have. This officer did not inform anyone about the new subsidies, and says that those who knew got the information from another source.

In Telemula the situation appears to be the same. As an ERSAT officer, the mayor is supposed to possess information regarding subsidies available for local producers. However, local shepherds complained to us that he refuses to make suggestions about how to gain access to subsidies and how to improve pastures or production in general. One shepherd told me that they (the shepherds) were willing to change (to `modernise') but lack `ideas' as to how to achieve this purpose. When I asked him if the local administration provides them with advice, he answered, partly blaming himself (for his own unfamiliarity with the right means), and partly the administration because they refuse to provide information:

> The municipality? I told you. If I do not have ideas, why doesn't he [the mayor] give them to us? Why doesn't he open options for us? He [could] tell us: Hey! this is better. But no. It seems as if they [the administration] were not even from this village. He [the mayor] doesn't even see us, he doesn't give a damn. No, they expect that it will be us [pause] and they are right

[pause]. In a way they are right! We should stimulate them to give us something if we don't have ideas. They are, anyway, people like us. If you see that there is a hole in the ground and I don't see it, you tell me: "Look out! Otherwise you will fall." That is nice. However, they wait for you to fall into the hole, to pick you up [saying]: *meschineddu!* [Sard, "poor guy!"]. That is the way it is done in Telemula: *meschineddu*, but only after you fall.

This man, along with other fellow shepherds, has been lobbying for both the enclosure of communal lands and the creation of a shepherds' cooperative in the village. He often prizes himself on his `modernity' as a producer. If he is not yet `modern' in practice, he boasts of having `modern ideas' which are not understood by other villagers. He insists that by refusing to do what he and others like him suggest, other Telemulesi keep the village *arretrato*. I have discussed how individuals' stands on the issue of communal lands position them regarding moral view-points. In the following section I discuss how the idea of a cooperative also helps to define one's self-image as a good modern person against the rhetorical construction of an *arretrato* one.

B) The Cooperative Ideal. Within the grand narrative of modernisation promoted by the Italian state and the European Community, cooperatives have come to be seen as a `modern' form of productive and marketing organisation (Murtas 1978; Carrus 1982). The distinction created by the Agropastoral Reform of 1976 between *Aziende Speciali* and *Monti dei Pascoli* privileged the latter for the establishment of shepherds' cooperatives (*Gazzetta Ufficiale della Regione Sardegna* Regional Law 6/9/1976, N. 44). The better pastures in the communities that were assigned the status of `Monti dei Pascoli' increased the possibilities for receiving different kinds of subsidies and developing production cooperatives. As a result of the interaction between shepherds and the state

161

mediated by clientelist networks, these new conditions improved the opportunities for some communities rather than for others.

Bardia is one of the places where Telemulese shepherds take their animals for the winter. Some Telemulesi take their animals there every year. Bardia has gained the reputation, in central Sardinia, of being a 'modern' village where cooperatives thrive (Vargas-Cetina 1992 and forthcoming). Telemulesi driving to Nuoro, the provincial capital, may pass through Bardia's communal territory. From the road one can see the ever-green pastures where the cooperative flocks graze. Some Telemulese shepherds who do the transhumance to Bardia's communal territory keep their animals near the terrain of the cooperative. One of them, who wishes to enclose lands back in Telemula, keeps his animals during the winter on the private property of a Bardiese shepherd who will soon receive a large subsidy from the government to improve the pastures and shelters on his property. The Telemulese is aware that without private or enclosed land of his own he is unlikely to obtain funds and thus actively lobbies in his village for changes in land tenure.

Cooperatives receive large sums in subsidies from the regional government and the EEC for increasing and/or diversifying production and for updating their technology. The computerised irrigation of the cooperative *Su Cuile Mannu* in Bardia is a source of envy for non-Bardiesi and Bardiesi shepherds who do not form part of the cooperative (ibid). In addition to economic advantages, the cooperatives have a symbolic value which causes Telemulesi shepherds to long for their own co-operative. Those individuals who belong to cooperatives are invested with an aura of 'modernity' in the eyes of co-villagers and individuals from communities where cooperatives are lacking. In Ogliastra villages, the name of Bardia frequently arose as an example of 'modern' shepherding because of their technologised cooperative and large private

livestock raising units. The use of technology has eliminated the need to practice transhumance and greatly reduced the amount of physical work. The use of technology in itself is a source of a positive self-image for most shepherds who, whether 'modern' or 'traditional', spend money to acquire new gadgets not only for their households but also for their worksites (for example, binoculars, air pistols to slaughter pigs and cattle, small generators, tape recorders and colour television sets).

In order to obtain subsidies for cooperatives, Ogliastra shepherds, who are not members of a production cooperative, have joined a milk cooperative from a neighbouring village. This cooperative represents shepherds from Ogliastra in the Bardia cooperative. Every day, shepherds in Telemula and other villages of Ogliastra receive the visit of a truck (which is properly equipped to keep the milk refrigerated) from Bardia which is in charge of collecting the milk from members along the road. For two years Telemulesi turned in the milk to the cooperative's truck, which first arrived only in Urzulei and later in Telemula. In 1992, the Bardia cooperative shied away with the pretext that they could not afford the cost for transporting milk and requested the shepherds from Ogliastra to pay for it. The disagreement that ensued between Bardiese and Telemulese members of the cooperative was not resolved. In March of the same year, a cooperative from Orune, farther north from the Ogliastra than Bardia, decided to take up the Ogliastra milk.

As Telemulesi shepherds see it, the problem stems from not having their own cooperative. Their view is that the birth-giving period in the village where the milk cooperative is based was delayed this year. These shepherds (who direct the cooperative) did not want to start delivering the milk when the Bardia cooperative requested it as an early delivery of milk would have meant an inadequate feeding of their own kids and lambs. Thus, they opted for withdrawing from the

cooperative. Another issue arising in 1992 increased discontent among the Telemulesi. In December 1991, local shepherds gave some of their lambs and kids to slaughter to the Bardia cooperative (through the milk cooperative which mediates their relationship to Bardia's cooperative). They were only paid in March 1992, in other words, three months later, instead of immediately. The way they explain this (similarly to some Bardiesi who work in and for the Bardia cheese cooperative), is that the administration of the milk cooperative in Ogliastra was paid in due time. However, after paying their own co-villagers, the administration of the milk cooperative decided to keep the money intended for other Ogliastrini, including the Telemulesi, in short-term investment at the bank. Telemulesi blame both the administration of the milk cooperative, and their own inability to form a local cooperative for their economic troubles. `Modern' Telemulesi believe that a cooperative can be formed but they meet with the scepticism of fellow villagers who deny, almost as a matter of principle, that such an idea could crystallise in Telemula. Several middle-aged shepherds told us that Telemulesi are too individualistic and uncooperative to form a cooperative. `Modern' Telemulese shepherds describe those sceptical shepherds as *arretrati*. Once I told a `modern' shepherd that another local shepherd had rejected the idea of a cooperative in the village, and deemed it an illusion, that could never work. My `modern' friend was irritated by this view and exclaimed: "How does he know? No one can say that a cooperative cannot succeed in Telemula until we constitute one and it fails." Some `modern' shepherds understand the scepticism of other Telemulesi as an inability to perceive the possibilities for changing established practices. In contrast, `traditional' shepherds say that all throughout their lives have tried to change things and always encountered unsurmountable obstacles, both local and institutional. `Traditional' shepherds seem to have

164

given up hope for changes in local practices of shepherding and do not find the enthusiasm that the `modern' shepherds express to be justified.

'Modern' shepherds explain their economic instability and their lack of technology as emerging from both the permanence of communal pastures and the lack of cooperatives. Their view is that if individual shepherds were allowed to enclose land they could then request funds from the regional administration. With these funds they could gain access to technology which is in turn needed to raise their productive levels and to improve their life-style. The contrasting positions between sceptical `traditional' and pro-`modernity' shepherds is illustrated below. In their everyday work, Telemulesi shepherds often found the opportunity to emphasise how different it would be if lands were private and if they could improve their pastures. In the next section I describe the shepherds' work and the moral perception of its different aspects.

2. DESIRING SUBJECTS ON A DATED LANDSCAPE

Why `desiring' subjects? Why a `dated' landscape? A group of Telemulese shepherds have come to terms with the institutional discourse that depicts the `traditional' practice of shepherding as dated and anchored to archaic practices. The quote from Pira's *La Rivolta dell'Oggetto*, sympathetic toward shepherds, cannot avoid reproducing the representation of `traditional' shepherding as a dated practice when contrasted to the image of the `modern' shepherd.[4] As pointed out above, ERSAT justified the status of *Azienda Speciale* for

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[4] We did not have a TV set, but friends told us that one of the Fiat's commercial ads depicts a Sardinian shepherd herding his flock from his 4x4 car. In fact, within Bardia's production cooperative we saw some shepherds leading their flocks in such a way.

Telemula on the basis of a supposed local resistance to adopting modern technologies and forms of organisation. The EEC itself defines Sardinian agriculture as `traditional' because of the fragmentation of agricultural fields and the regional importance of agropastoralism (EEC 1988-I:3). The local practices of animal husbandry are considered inadequate and their effects on the nutrition and health of animals negative. The EEC stresses the need to `apply modern technology', that is electric milkers, to prevent infectious diseases in the Sardinian livestock (EEC 1988-II:9) and the need to both improve the network of roads in, and to provide electricity to mountain areas (ibid:61).

The representation of shepherding practices as `traditional' and `backward' does not remain at the level of official documents. This is illustrated in the following description of shepherds' work. A group of Telemulese shepherds are aware of such representations and have accepted them in order to justify their demands for the technological modernisation of their work. They constitute the `desiring subjects' of the present description. The space of their practices, the communal lands of the village, are what the institutional discourse defines, by association, as a `traditional' productive space.

A) Physical Work and the Creation of Positive Self-representations. In describing the landscape of Telemula, I pointed out that in the community's territory in the valley, Telemulesi own small plots of land. This part of the territory is private and private plots are of small proportions (Table 2.1). Most of these fields are small plots owned by local families and used for cultivation. The remaining lots are insufficient to cover the need for pastures for the flock during the winter (about one ha per head of livestock in natural pasture). Thus, the shepherd has to move his flock from one small plot of land to another on an

166

everyday basis. I am aware of only one group of shepherds
(three brothers) who own a piece of land large enough to allow
them to stay within the boundaries of their own property
during the winter.

The land on the Supramonte is communal. Since the early
1960s it has been used exclusively as pasture. This land is
of poor quality and characterised by the presence of abundant
bushscrub. It is used for pastures during the summer when the
valleys are too hot for the sheep. While goatherds keep their
flocks during the winter on the steep mountainsides around the
village, they also take their goats to the Supramonte during
the summer. The few cattle owned by Telemulesi stay most of
the year on the Supramonte, even though some livestock raisers
move them to the lowlands.[5] Pigs freely roam on the
Supramonte much to the dislike of shepherds and goatherds, who
blame pigs for the progressive worsening of the soil quality.
Walking on the Supramonte with shepherds, we were often shown
the damage that these animals produce during their search for
roots in the undersoil. On the island it is forbidden to keep
pigs on the communal lands. They can be kept only in pens and
'modern' livestock raisers enclose their few pigs. However,
among those specialised in pig husbandry some have large
numbers of animals that they do not enclose. The 'modern'
shepherds resent their fellow villagers' lack of compliance
with the law, as their pigs negatively affect the availability
of pastures on which sheep and goats depend. However, because
of the importance of omertà in Telemula, as in most of
Southern Italy (Arlacchi 1983; Blok 1974; Schneider and
Schneider 1976), no one dares to report the culprits to the

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[5] As Vargas-Cetina and I have already described elsewhere
(Ayora-Diaz and Vargas-Cetina 1991) Telemulesi shepherds used
to move their cattle to the lowlands. However, cattle are
decreasingly important for the local economy and only a few
are kept to be sold for meat to local butchers and to collect
a special subsidy from the EEC.

authorities.

In spite of the popular characterisation of the central Sardinian shepherd as diffident, we did not meet resistance when we asked permission to go visit different *ovili* [shepherd's shelters and corrals]. We met our shepherd friends in the local bars every night, and there we arranged to go the next day to one or another *ovile*. During the winter, when it stays dark until 6:30 or 7:00 AM, the shepherd or goatherd would ask us to meet him in the central piazza and from there we drove to the *ovile*. During the warm months, our appointment was usually between 5:00 and 5:30 AM, depending on the distance to the *ovile*.

One morning we met Marco at 5:00 AM in the central piazza *S'istrada*. He is a goatherd who has his *ovile* near the communal boundary with Urzulei. We drove to the Supramonte in his father's truck. Taking a winding road that goes for four km to the edge of the Supramonte, and then for eight more kilometres on a narrow paved road, we arrived at an unpaved path that we followed for a few more kilometres. About two km before arriving at the *ovile*, Marco's father identified a small `family' of goats (the flock of goats tends to split into small groups [*famiglie*] of about five animals each). Marco left the truck and ran into the bushes to direct his animals towards the *recinto* [corral] where he milks them every day. We arrived at the *ovile*, where his father opened the shelter's door, took out the containers for the milk and washed them with cold water and soap.[6] A few minutes later

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[6] As most *ovili*, these shepherds' shelter is usually a cement block construction of one room with one door and one window. Inside the shelter the owner keeps one bed, a table, pieces of wood he uses as chairs, bottles of wine, prosciutto, cheese, a stove, kitchenware, his container to heat the milk to make cheese, a large burner for making cheese, and canned food. Most shelters have a fireplace. In some *ovili*, shepherds have an extra room used for storage, but in others there is only one all-purpose room. The shelter is property of the shepherd, as long as he is a shepherd, but it gives him

Marco arrived with the `family' of goats. He still had to gather the rest of the flock (about 130 more) and drive it to the *recinto*. We joined him in this undertaking. The sun had started to rise, but it was not yet clear. According to goatherds, flocks have an established *giro* [grazing round] which allows the owner to know more or less where to find his flock at any given time. We walked up and down steep hills covered by bushscrub until we arrived at the area where Marco expected to find his flock. He ordered us to stop and said: "Let's listen to the radio." In the silence of the Supramonte we were able to hear the bells of animals around us. He said: "Those animals are not mine, they are Piero's, a shepherd from Bardia who has his *ovile* nearby." We walked some hundreds of meters onwards and the scene was repeated. This time, also without being able to see the animals, he said that the animals were those of another shepherd, this one from Telemula. The third time he identified his own flock and from that moment our work began. Since he was in better shape than we were, he ran up and down hills and through the bushscrub filled with thorns. We also ran shorter distances in different directions. Our common purpose was to prevent the animals from running away from the *ovile* and to lead them toward the *recinto*. Marco's father was waiting by the opened door. Calmly, the goats walked into the corral and Marco and his father took in the milk containers. By that time, Marco's cousin had started milking his goats that he found that day closer to the *ovile*.[7]

A goatherd and shepherd by this stage of the working day is able (often in solitude, but that day with two witnessing

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no right to exclusivity on the surrounding pastures.

[7] Shepherds follow a similar routine. However, sheep tend to stay in a single flock and, once the shepherd identifies their position, he only needs to guide them into the *recinto*.

anthropologists) to display two bodily abilities that distinguish him positively from the common Telemulesi. He has developed a sense of hearing that allows him to recognise, not only his own flock, but that of neighbouring shepherds. He also has proven his physical fitness, running up and down steep hills for several hundreds of meters, in order to get all animals into one single flock.

Most Telemulesi have shepherd relatives: an uncle, a cousin, perhaps one's godfather. Male villagers are aware of the skills shepherds have. Most Telemulesi (male and female) attribute the shepherds' way of walking within the village with straight, slightly open legs, to their everyday running on the Supramonte or on the steep mountainsides. However, only those male villagers who have helped a shepherd during the early morning at some point of their lives are aware of the developed sense of hearing they possess. Non-shepherds respect this skill.[8] There is, thus, at least among male villagers, a common knowledge and a shared representation of the shepherds' physical superiority above other Telemulesi.

I stress male recognition since female Telemulesi seem to be unaware of what shepherds' work involves. Once we were having a pizza in a restaurant with some young shepherds and female friends. During dinner, a young shepherd commented that a fellow shepherd had taken many years to develop his hearing: for some time he was unable to even identify his own flock. He and a goatherd stressed the importance of this physical ability as often the supramonte is covered by fog, and even during the day one cannot rely on one's eyes to find one's own animals. The daughter of a shepherd showed both surprise and amazement and confessed that even though a shepherd's daughter, she was completely unaware that shepherds

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[8] As I discuss below, during the transhumance, masons, bricklayers, university students, office workers and other villagers, may be recruited to help a shepherd friend move his animals.

170

had such skill. On another evening, a woman who was romantically interested in a young, economically successful shepherd, was intrigued about what shepherds do during the day at their *ovili*. She said she was completely unaware of the activities that shepherds perform everyday in their *ovili*. On that evening, our goatherd instructor proudly asked us to recite his everyday routine for her benefit. The local recognition of their skills confirms the shepherds' positive aspects of their own self-images. There are, however, some aspects that support a negative image and derive from the modernising trope.

B) **The Ambiguous Value of Physical Work.** Shepherds find, after moving their animals into the *recinti*, sources of both positive and negative self/representation. Keeping their flocks on communal territory constrains them to run everyday after the animals. Another disadvantage to working in communal lands is the lack of electricity at the work site. Shepherds milk their animals manually. Focusing on how shepherds reproduce positive aspects of their self-images, I describe the physical process for obtaining milk.

Tullio and Giulio are two brothers in their thirties who have been goatherding together for five years after having worked previously, as a mason and as a road maintenance crew man respectively. To milk their animals, they go into the *recinto* [corral] that they have built in their *ovile*. This corral is wide enough for their more than 200 milk goats to move freely inside from one to another corner. In order to start milking each of them grabs the first goat he finds at hand and puts it between his legs, with the animal's rear to the front of the goatherd's body. The goatherd then bends down low with straight legs and thorax. He squeezes the udders to obtain the milk. (Shepherds follow the same routine.) After having milked a number of goats, which are then returned to the larger flock, the goatherd can recognise

171

which goats he has milked and which ones he has not. He calls
the goats by name and they calmly come to the goatherd to be
milked. Goatherds can identify each animal[9] and by the end
check a few to see if more milk has `fallen down' to the
udder. After collecting about 150 litres of milk in this
manner every morning,[10] the goatherds take the milk out of
the *recinto* and let the animals out.

Fellow villagers know how much work is involved in the
mungitura [milking] of a large flock. In recent times, even
in the early 1980s, most families in Telemula kept a small
flock of about five *manalithe* [Sard for household goats] to
ensure a daily provision of milk for the household. The women
and children were in charge of grazing and milking these
animals. The technique of *mungitura* is the same for all
villagers and makes non-shepherds aware of the physical
requirements for a person to be able to milk a large flock.

Our friends Tullio and Giulio did not think of the
ability to milk as exclusive to shepherds, although they
thought of it more as a male skill that women could also
develop. This is illustrated in what follows. In our first
visits to their *ovile*, they asked us to remain still while
they milked so as not to scare the animals. After several
visits, the animals were accustomed to our presence and seemed
to have lost their fear of us. Then Tullio invited us to try

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[9] As among the Nuer for their cattle (Evans-Pritchard
1940:41-45) and the Corsican goatherds (Ravis-Giordani
1983:261-265), Telemulese shepherds and goatherds pride
themselves for the complex system of terms that allows them to
identify each animal on the basis of their colours or their
combinations.

[10] From January to May shepherds either process the milk
into cheese or give it to the milk cooperative; the production
of milk decreases during the spring and ceases during the
summer. During November and December the goats' and sheep's
offspring feed on the milk, and what is left does not suffice
to manufacture cheese or to grant the trips of the
cooperative's truck.

172

milking the goats. We followed the same technique they did, and for several days they patiently taught us how to milk the goats. We were then able to obtain with difficulty small amounts of milk from the goats. While Vargas-Cetina and I did not see any difference between what each of us obtained, our friends said that I was doing better. Giulio said: "Don't worry `Gabry', after all this is men's work.  It is only logical that Igor does better than you."  His soon-to-be father-in-law corrected him and stated that there is a shepherdess who works in a neighbouring village `and milks faster than any man'. Most shepherds in Telemula recognise that milking can be done by everybody in the village. Marco, Tullio and Giulio's father-in-law advised us to be patient and persist. In their opinion that is the only way to become efficient. Shepherds often told us of their early frustrations when, as children, they started milking the animals. They recalled how they would get goat's or sheep's excrement into the milk, thus wasting it, or how the animal sometimes kicked the container spilling all what had been milked.

Most villagers also acknowledge the endurance of goatherds and shepherds who milk at least 100 head of livestock every day. However, shepherds themselves, as well as non-shepherds are aware of the absence of technological means in the local *ovili*. Why do they not use electric milkers?

Goatherds and shepherds give common answers. In general terms, they tend to stress the uselessness of those machines and the advantages of manual *mungitura*. When they want to stress their positive image on the basis of what they do, they point out that, for the small flock that they have, they can finish milking their animals sooner than would be the case with the machine. A young shepherd told me:

> Look, I have to milk 100 sheep every day. To use a milker I first have to get the animals in position, then

I have to clean their udders, very clean because that is required for the machine. Then I have to connect the machine to their udders and make it work. Then I have to disconnect the machine from the udders of the animals, get another group of sheep and repeat the procedure. I don't want to brag, but for the number of sheep I have, I am good enough to finish milking them before one can complete the whole procedure with the milker.

Another shepherd told me that he finds it of benefit to milk by hand because the procedure allows him to identify animals which are developing an infection and to take measures to prevent the infection from spreading to other animals. Some unfortunate events seem to confirm the view of these shepherds. In 1992, during our stay in Bardia, a friend who has electric milkers was in trouble when at the beginning of the productive year his whole flock was affected by an infectious disease of the udder. When these cases occur at the beginning of the productive cycle the shepherd faces the loss of the entire year's product. He may be able to obtain compensation from the regional government, but his abilities as a good shepherd may be questioned.[11]

Goatherds give a further explanation for not using electric milkers: in spite of the fact that goatherds in other villages use electric milkers, some goatherds in Telemula claim that given the goat's intrinsic `want' for freedom of movement, it would be impossible to keep them still while using an electric milker. Shepherds point out that they want to adopt a more modern style of working including new technology. They insist, however, that for the very small flocks they own, they do not really need electric milkers. Electric milkers would not constitute a large expense for

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[11] A young Telemulese shepherd has been severely criticized by other shepherds who questioned his credentials of shepherd. His flock has fallen twice victim of an epizootic of mastitis and on different occasions other shepherds exclaimed: "that one is not really a shepherd!" and "he told you he is a shepherd? He is not, he knows nothing of shepherding."

shepherds since those who have electricity can apply for government subsidies to buy them. One shepherd, who takes his flock to Bardia, has friends with small flocks who already employ electric milkers. The problem, they point out, is the permanence of communal lands. First, having their animals grazing on communal pastures provides inadequate nourishment for even small flocks of 120 adult animals. According to a shepherd, with less than 300 animals it is pointless for him to buy an electric milker. `Modernity'-desiring shepherds wish to have enclosed lands where they can irrigate pastures and expand their flock size and productive levels; and, second, without the right to enclose lands they see themselves prevented by the local administration from bringing electricity to the *ovili*, improving pastures and having flocks large enough to warrant the use of electric milkers. They see themselves as having `modern' ideas, thus as being `modern' subjects.

Telemulesi goatherds and shepherds when asked what they need in order to decide to obtaining a milker mentioned one or more of the following requirements: (1) building adequate stalls where the milker can be well kept; (2) owning large flocks to insure that the machine will not go unused; (3) insuring a good supply of fodder and good pastures for the flock so that the levels of milk production will be high enough; and (4) electricity.

Lack of electricity is one reason for failed modernisation cited by those who would like to practice more `modern' production. During 1991, the regional government provided shepherds in the Ogliastra with subsidised solar panels.[12] Most winter *ovili* on the mountainside of Telemula are now supplied with a small set that provides enough energy

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[12] The cost of the solar panel and the installation is, according to some shepherds and goatherds, between 15 and 17 thousand CAN. The shepherd had to pay between CAN $1000 and 1500 and the regional government paid the rest.

to run a small refrigerator and to give light to the corrals and the shepherd's shelter. The day after Tullio and Giulio got their panels installed we were received in the *ovile* by a proud Giulio who announced: "Today we have entered the year 2000!". Solar panels (see Plate 2) like other technological gadgets allow modernity-desiring shepherds to envelop their own personæ with an aura of `modernity' that compensates for deficiencies they find in other aspects of their work.

There is a contrast between goatherds and shepherds in milking strategies.[13] Goatherds milk only in the morning and shepherds milk twice, in the morning and the evening. There are only a few goatherds who milk twice a day. Some goatherds told us that they used to milk twice a day but came to realize that the production level did not increase significantly enough to make the effort worthwhile. In consequence, most goatherds abandoned that practice in the early 1970s. All shepherds still milk twice a day convinced that their production levels are higher than when milking only once. In contrast to the goatherds' statement, a middle-aged shepherd said claimed: "It is only now that some goatherds are learning that is better and more `modern' to milk twice a day" (i.e. because they achieve higher levels of production and income) pointing to the few goatherds who still milk twice. What seems to lend support to the goatherds' version of the difference is the fact that in conversations with the children of goatherds I was told several times that they recall their fathers having milked twice a day but abandoning the practice `many years ago'. We saw no difference between the level of production achieved by goatherds milking once and shepherds

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[13] There is the technical aspect of the corral's shape. In general terms, the shepherd's corral is narrow and long. While milking, the shepherd moves a small fence that prevents sheep from escaping the milking to the front. Goatherds use broader corrals on the premise that goats cannot stand to be confined in small spaces (see Plates 4 and 5).

milking twice a day. The shepherd gets a small edge on the goatherd but at the cost of twice as much effort. Sheep's milk is worth more than goat's: since 1981, prices are at L1100 and 950 per litre of sheep's and goat's milk respectively.

For Telemulesi shepherds and goatherds, physical work confirms a positive aspect of their own image, which is the physical ability to perform strenuous work that other villagers could not with the same ease. On the other hand, they can also see themselves as anchored to an undesirable past of practices mediated by outdated technology. During the day they find more opportunities to see themselves through both positive and negative lenses.

C) The Cooperative as a Modernising Trope. By the time that shepherds finish milking their animals they are faced with alternatives that place them in different metaphorical times. The choice of what to do with the milk one produces is endowed with moral implications of `modernity' and `tradition'. If the shepherd has decided to join the milk cooperative, he adopts a set of practices and schedules that set him apart from the ones who do not belong to the association. During 1990, a shepherd who had joined the milk cooperative had to agree with his partner or a neighbouring shepherd to transport the milk to the truck which stopped on the road above Urzulei. In 1991, during the winter, the Bardia cooperative agreed to send the truck to collect the milk during on the lowland road to Telemula. Later, during the spring, when the shepherds had moved to the Supramonte, the truck arrived in Telemula itself to collect the milk. By 1992, the truck from Bardia stopped collecting milk from the Ogliastra. According to an agronomist from Bardia who works for the government, the EEC had decided to cut funds from the local cooperative in order to reduce the local production of cheese and milk, making it impossible to pay for the

177

transportation of milk from Ogliastra.

A shepherd who gives milk to the cooperative keeps a small amount every day to satisfy the needs of his own household and to give away (or sell) to close relatives or/and friends who do not have livestock. After driving to deliver the milk, the shepherd is able to dispose of the rest of the morning and most of the evening[14] with his friends in a bar, or going to the coastal villages to deal with the bureaucracy or to shop and spend the time with his friends. The amount of free time these shepherds find, on the one hand, makes them equal to other workers who boast about their leisure time as progress that makes them more `modern' and urban. On the other hand, the free time `modern' shepherds gain, stresses their difference from the `traditional' shepherd.

The `traditional' producer is represented negatively because he conforms to the individualistic image of `backward' Sardinians unable to see the advantages of working in cooperation with fellow shepherds. Also, the `traditional' shepherd has less free time to spend away from shepherding. He has to stay in the *ovile* and spend approximately two hours transforming the milk into cheese. The main reason why some shepherds have not joined the cooperative is held against them as a proof of their *arretratezza*: they do not own cars that could enable them to transport the milk to the cooperative's truck. Some middle-aged and elderly goatherds and shepherds have never learned to drive and have never bought a car. For example, a semi-retired elderly shepherd told me that cars became available to the Telemulesi in the 1960s. He says that he thought that the economic boom which enabled villagers to buy cars would not last long enough to make it worth buying one. He added that when he realised that the improvement of the Italian economy was long-lasting, he was already too old

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[14] If he is a goatherd. Shepherds will have to return to the *ovile* in the evening to milk for a second time.

to learn how to drive.

The knowledge of how to make cheese from milk is not exclusive to the `traditional' shepherd. Even those who belong to the cooperative know how to make cheese and do it during the spring when, because of the low production of milk, the truck stops collecting it. When I asked a shepherd what he would say is the most traditional aspect of his work, he said `to make cheese'. He added "there is no shepherd who does not know how to make cheese." This was also the opinion of some young shepherds and children of shepherds. On the occasion of a dinner in a pizzeria with some visitors from the Italian peninsula, the children of shepherds and a group of young shepherds who were hosting the visitors underlined the `tradition' of the shepherds' manufacture of cheese. One of them answered our comment that the manufacture of local cheese has changed several times during this century by saying that: "the techniques may change, but it is making cheese that is traditional."

Both `traditional' and `modern' shepherds stress the positive value of their occupation on the grounds of their own skills at making cheese. The procedure followed to manufacture cheese has not remained the same through time (see Plate 8). By the turn of the century, dairy industrialists from Rome established that if local shepherds would not follow a manufacturing technique favoured by the Italian buyers, they would stop buying the local cheese (Idda 1982:43). Currently, in making cheese, local shepherds heat the milk without boiling it. According to one old shepherd, cheese used to be made `in cold'. They only added *caglio* [rennet] to the milk to make it curdle. The cheese was made in a cork container. Later, when continental buyers demanded that the milk be heated, they shifted to metal (copper) containers which they heated with firewood. In the 1960s, shepherds started to use gas burners.

At present, `modern' shepherds do not see any advantage

179

in continuing to make cheese. The cooperative pays them L1100 and 950 per litre of sheep and goat milk respectively. Between six and eight litres of milk during the winter and about ten during the summer are needed to make one kilogram of cheese. On the local market one kilogram of fresh cheese fetches L10000 and 9000 per kilogram of sheep and goat cheese respectively (the prices for aged cheese are, respectively, at L12000 and 11000, that is L200 more expensive). To the amount of milk the shepherd has to add the hours of labour necessary to make one *forma* [wheel of cheese]. The way they see it, it is economically equivalent to sell the milk to the cooperative, obtaining also the advantage of gaining time free from the flock. During the winter of 1992, when the Bardia truck refused to collect the milk from Telemula, all local shepherds were constrained to make cheese themselves in their *ovili* or at home. On January of 1992, a young goatherd and some other young shepherds expressed their frustration at having to pay for their lack of a local cooperative. They said they were distressed about their scarce alternatives for marketing their cheese and milk given that, after three years of delivering their milk to Bardia's cooperative, they had become disconnected from other markets (such as regional buyers). In addition, since all shepherds and goatherds were making cheese, they feared the possibility of a drastic fall of the local prices of their products. They argued that the time to form a cooperative in Telemula had arrived.

Thus, being part of a cooperative has become a characteristic that defines the `modern' shepherd. In the absence of their own cooperative, they can only claim their modernity on the grounds of their affiliation with the outside milk cooperative. They can experience every day the advantages of belonging to it, by emphasising the contrast with `traditional' shepherds who are absent from the village while `modern' ones conspicuously spend their free time with friends in the local bars and piazzas.

180

D) **Feeding Modern Fodder.** The custom followed by most old shepherds and goatherds, after the *mungitura*, is to lead the animals back to the pastures where they start their everyday *giro* [round]. (Livestock raisers say that all types of animals follow a predictable grazing pattern of a more or less circular form.) With the gradual impoverishment of pastures in the Supramonte and valleys animals have to walk large distances in order to be able to feed.

The institutional discourse of `modernisation' has emphasised the need to upgrade production technologies and has established the increase of production as a standard for measuring producers' efficiency. The more a flock yields, the better. ERSAT (n.d.a) has pointed out the poor quality of pastures in Telemula and the need to provide animals with fodder [*mangime*] to insure higher productive levels. Members of the different cooperatives in the Nuoro province obtain, in addition to better pastures, subsidies for buying fodder.

Telemulesi shepherds who want to be seen, or see themselves, as `modern', have started to give fodder to their animals. Usually immediately after the *mungitura*, the shepherd fills long parallel containers with both corn and broad beans [*granturco* and *fave* respectively]. Giving *mangime* to the flock not only may increase the daily yield of milk, but, as a few shepherds put it, it `teaches the animals that it is beneficial to be near the *ovile* every morning'. The use of fodder conditions the animals to end their daily *giro* near the corrals (within a perimeter of two kilometres), enabling the shepherds to find them more quickly and to spend less time looking for their animals in order to milk them. Some other shepherds randomly select a few animals to give them fodder, in order to bring them near the *ovile*, even though it is not enough to increase their overall milk production. Since Telemulesi shepherds do not have a cooperative, they have to pay for the fodder from their own pockets. An ERSAT officer told us that after a severe drought in 1988, Sardinian

shepherds were encouraged to apply to the provincial government for subsidized fodder. He says that not all shepherds applied at the time, either because they lacked the time or found the bureaucratic procedures too cumbersome. Shepherds who buy fodder to feed a small flock of about 150 sheep of goats spend, according to some shepherds, between L10 and 15 million (CAN $10 to 15,000) on a yearly basis. However, most non-shepherd Telemulesi believe that shepherds receive subsidies every year to buy fodder.

As fodder is expected to increase milk production, ERSAT has defined as *arretrata* the practice of feeding one's animals exclusively on natural pastures as many Telemulese shepherds continue to do. To stress their own `modernity' some local shepherds say that the exclusive reliance on natural pastures derives from stinginess and economically irresponsible ideas. A young shepherd, aimed at positioning himself establishing an allochronic relationship between his view and that of a Telemulese shepherd who had given him employment in the past as *servopastore* and who refused to buy fodder. To reposition himself he questioned the other's `traditional' mentality:

> ... I longed for a better pastoralism, more modern, more as it has become. He [his employer] ... Nothing. I had to work there [i.e. to put all his effort] or everything would have been lost ... even now, still in 1991, he has an idea, mmm beh! it is not an idea, that is *not to have any idea.* ... He is more concerned about the bottle than about his sheep.

During the interview, this shepherd stated that the situation of shepherds who want to follow a more `modern' type of livestock raising is becoming intolerable. All shepherds and government agents we spoke to in Sardinia, pointed out that the prices of cheese and milk have remained unchanged for the last ten years (from 1981 to 1991), while the price of other products such as wool and meat have actually dropped. Shepherds complain that, in contrast, the price of fodder has continued to rise. Even so, accepting the definition that

182

ERSAT officers propose, some shepherds establish a correspondence between giving fodder, the resulting increase in milk production, and `modernity'. They say they will cortinue buying the fodder from their own pockets because they wish to follow a more `modern' type of shepherding.

`Modern' and `traditional' shepherds distinguish among themselves by the way that they conceive their relation to their own flocks on the communal pastures. The `traditional' shepherd says that the shepherd is responsible for the flock and he herds his animals by leading them to the places where he knows that there are better pastures. He keeps the animals grazing by the *ovile* while he makes cheese, then he leads them during the day to different grazing areas. At lunch time, when it gets warmer during the summer, the shepherd returns with the flock to the *ovile*, leads the animals to the shade of a tree and gets some rest himself. When the temperature descends a few degrees, he again takes the animals to graze and brings them back for the evening *mungitura*. During the night the animals are left to graze in the vicinity of the *ovile* while the shepherd sleeps in his shelter. The next day, at 5:30 AM, he will again start his daily routine.[15]

In contrast, the `modern' shepherd refuses to follow his flock all day long. He says that the animals are `smart' enough to find the best available pastures for themselves. After feeding them fodder, he takes the animals to where they begin their *giro* and then they return to other chores or simply go to the village to spend their free time. In the

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[15] Even this routine represents a change from what was practised in their parents' generation. A shepherd of about 70 years of age told me that up to the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, he and others had to accompany their animals even during the night, taking turns with brothers who would escort the flock during the day. He says that this was a strategy to maximise the poor pastures in the Supramonte, until they `realized' that the pastures are the same at day and night and no benefit was obtained from such extended effort.

evening, the shepherd goes to find his flock to milk the sheep. Goatherds, in contrast, go a few times during the day to check if they still have all their animals, if one is in trouble, or if any has been stolen.[16] The old shepherds, looking at these routines, condemn the young `modern' shepherds as irresponsible towards the flock.  They contend that even if the shepherd does not have to fear the theft of his flock, he is still responsible for the welfare of the animals.  The `modern' shepherd is judged as unconcerned about his animals.

When going to check the flock, goatherds and shepherds also confirm the positive value of their physical skills. Besides the walking and listening the shepherd has to do in the morning to find the flock for the *mungitura*, he has to rely on his sight. In contrast to the morning walk, he does not need to get the flock together and thus he does not have to get close to the animals. He only needs to *see* them. In the Supramonte, Tullio and I walked through the plateau and then went up to the peak of a high hill. He announced that, because of the time of the day (about 13:00 h), he expected his goats to be at a given creek, drinking water. From the hill we were able to see the small dots that were his goats, some by the creek, some amidst the bushscrub, other on top of rocks. He asked me to remain silent while he made sure it was his flock. He recognised the bells of the animals and then

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[16] Sheep and goat rustling does not constitute a serious problem in Telemula now. Shepherds say that only the flocks that graze near the borders with Orgosolo and Urzulei are at risk (perhaps only by chance, but this is the area that will be managed by the AFDRS and from where shepherds will be excluded). Within the territory, it is only once in a while when someone gets one or two animals stolen. This is seen as a nuisance usually performed by growing boys [*"Sono ragazzatte"*]. As in Crete (Herzfeld 1985:166) in Telemula animal rustling is considered an act that young shepherds perform to demonstrate their manliness. However, in Telemula grown up men are expected to renounce such behaviour.

said that he was unable to hear the bell of one of his male goats, proceeding to count them. He said that if the animal was resting, in not moving it would not make noise. When he had doubts about whether a given animal was present, he would extract a set of powerful (30x50) binoculars from their case and use them to trace the animals. He found his flock complete and we walked back to the *ovile* and from there we drove back to the village's bar. There we met Giulio who had brought the milk to the truck of the cooperative. The next day Tullio and Giulio would exchange their tasks. In the early evening, before dusk, one of them goes to check, once more, that the flock is complete.

3. DISCUSSION

Every night, the village bars and/or piazzas are crowded with Telemulesi who gather in small *cricche*. Shepherds take part in most of them. There are only some noticeable absences: the `traditional' shepherds, and not only elderly, semi-retired shepherds. Franco, a young goatherd, says that there are many young Telemulesi shepherds who do not have the will to become `modern' producers and follow what their parents believe to be the best way of being shepherds. These young shepherds, he says, are as *arretrati* as their fathers since they continue to do the same sort of shepherding recommended by their parent/`teachers'. These young shepherds are often absent from the village, but take turns with brothers or their fathers to join and socialise with their friends. In contrast, the `modern' shepherd has free time to spend with his friends every night. These `modern' Telemulesi question the mental health of their `traditional' colleagues, for example, Michele's: "How can he [a 17 years old shepherd] prefer to spend all his evenings in the *ovile* rather than in the village with friends?"

The shepherd thus generates positive representations from

185

the organisation of his everyday work. Both 'modern' and 'traditional' shepherds have developed, to a greater or lesser extent, physical abilities that distinguish them from the rest of the village and which stress their own physical superiority. In addition, the 'modern' shepherd gains the non-shepherds' recognition of a positive representation because of his acceptance and adoption of modern technology (within the constraints of the environment where they work, i.e. lacking private lands and electricity) and practices such as giving fodder and not following the movements of his animals around the clock.

The 'modern' shepherds, in addition, claim to make greater economic profits from their adoption of technology and fodder, which also afford them more free time. Their free time and opportunity of spending money to acquire modern gadgets underline their 'modernity' in contrast to other livestock raisers. They can afford to update their 4x4 cars, and some even buy sport models to drive to their *ovili*.[17] They dress urban style, in expensive brand-name clothing in the darker colours that identify the shepherd. In the eyes of the community, the 'modern' shepherd is a *persona brava* because he takes good 'modern' care of his animals and spends his free time and money with friends.

In general terms, both 'modern' and 'traditional' shepherds perform material activities on an everyday basis from which they derive a positive self/representation. They give proof of extraordinary physical skills to which they themselves and other villagers assign a positive value.[18] Both 'modern' and 'traditional' shepherds, in different ways,

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[17] During the rainy season, a young goatherd wrecked his new sports car, inappropriate for the rough driving conditions in the Supramonte, in a pond of rain water.

[18] During the transhumance of goats we have seen goatherds run up almost completely vertical walls between two and three metres high.

186

show concern for their flocks, and claim to be good shepherds. However, the `modern' shepherd can claim to be better than the `traditional' one on the basis of his acceptance and adoption of technology and other productive practices. It is also the `modern' Telemulese who desires to organise a local cooperative in contrast to the `traditional' producer who tends to emphasise the `intrinsic' individualism of Telemulesi and be sceptical toward any new ideas such as shepherd cooperatives or the use of fodder that they must purchase from their own pocket. On the other hand, the `traditional' shepherd sees himself as more *bravo* than the `modern' shepherds because he shows more interest in the well-being of his animals taking them to the best available pastures. He continues to manufacture cheese in a `traditional' manner and, when in the village, avoids behaviours or demeanours that could be seen as representing claims of superiority above fellow villagers.

In the next chapter I describe the long cycle of shepherding in Telemula. I demonstrate how the opposition between traditional and modern types of shepherding is expressed in local discourse. The themes of communal property and cooperatives are important elements in the rhetoric that helps Telemulesi shepherds, in contrast to traditional producers, to place themselves in the `modern' era. I examine how during the winter period, with the birth-giving of animals and the following period of *svezzatura* [weaning], shepherds' work acquires a negative value in relation to other occupations.
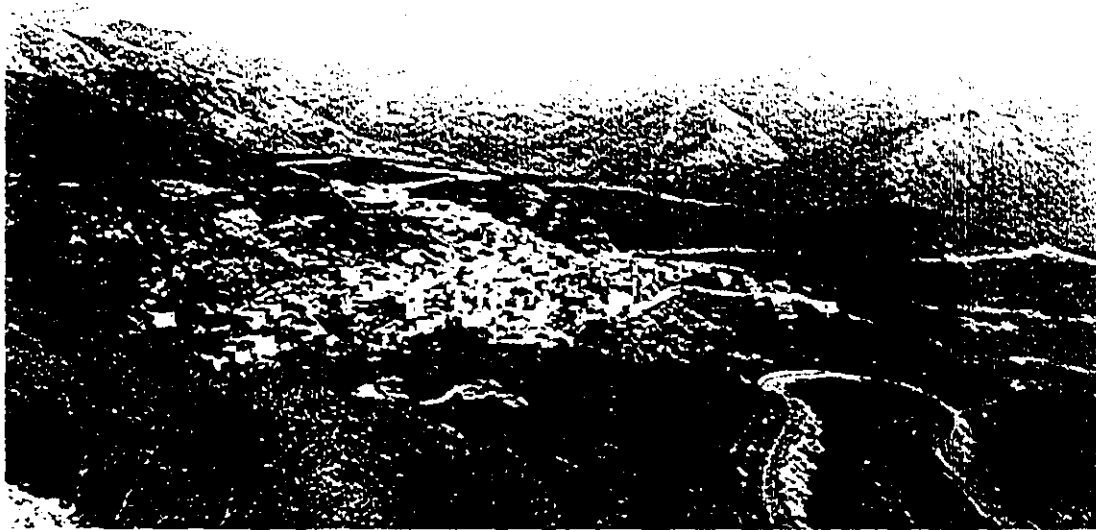
PLATE 1   A VIEW OF TELEMULA

PLATE 2   SOLAR PANELS FOR THE MODERN SHEPHERD

PLATE 3   GRAPE HARVEST IN TELEMULA'S VALLEY

PLATE 4 THE MILKING OF SHEEP IN TELEMULA

PLATE 5 THE MILKING OF GOATS IN TELEMULA

PLATE 6   MANUAL SHEARING IN TELEMULA

PLATE 7   ELECTRIC SHEARING IN ROME

PLATE 8   MAKING CHEESE AT THE OVILE IN TELEMULA

PLATE 9   GOAT TRANSHUMANCE ON THE SUPRAMONTE
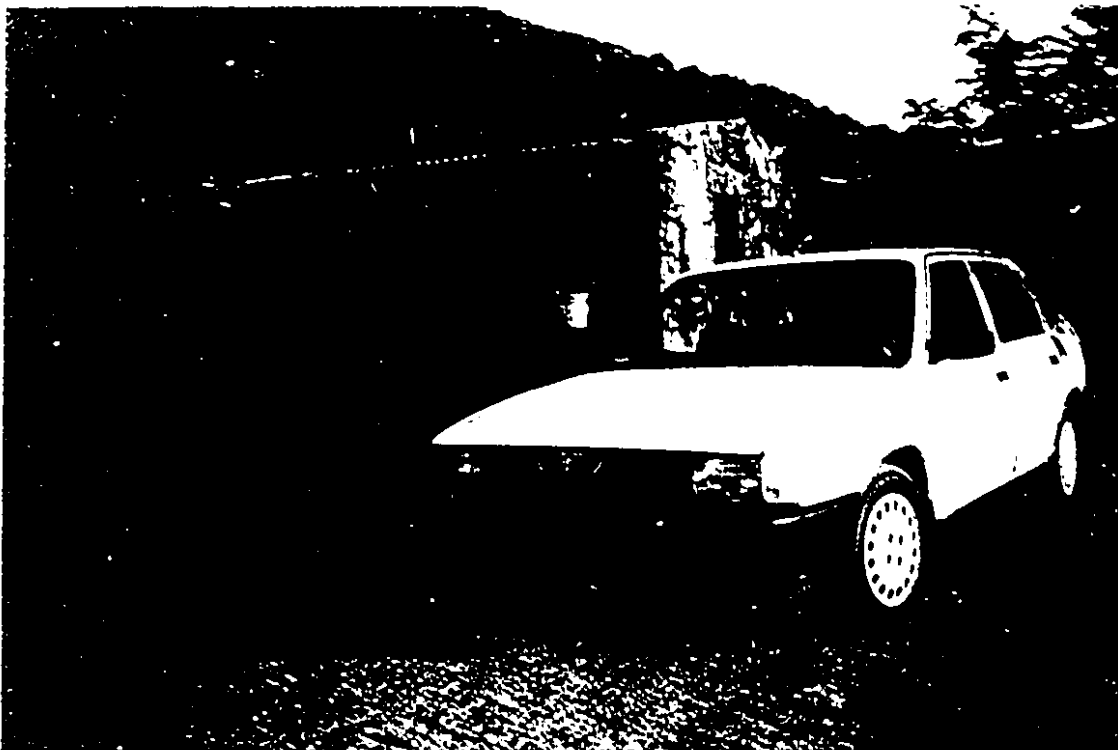
PLATE 10   A SHEPHERD'S OVILE AND ALFA ROMEO CAR
IN TELEMULA

PLATE 11   A SCENE FROM TELEMULA'S VILLAGE FEAST

CHAPTER SIX
SHEPHERD'S WORK: THE REPRODUCTION AND PRODUCTION
OF SELF/REPRESENTATIONS: THE LONG CYCLE

Looking at the image of the shepherd which emerges from the knowledge of their everyday practices, the positive value assigned to the physical aspects of their work, their adoption of modern technology and their affiliation with cooperatives, one perceives the traits that make of `modern' shepherds *persone brave*. Shepherds have access to subsidies from the EEC and the Italian and Sardinian governments and can join the milk cooperative so as to have their milk bought without having to worry about spending time manufacturing and marketing cheese. However, as I show in this chapter, when the long-term aspects of shepherding are taken into account, Telemulesi *who are not shepherds* see the occupation in a less positive light. Given the lack of political and economic support from the regional and national governments, some local shepherds conceive of shepherding in communal lands as the only feasible alternative. These `traditional' shepherds see themselves as *bravi* because of their self-reliance for supplying for their own family needs. It is also a morally positive trait, in their eyes, to support the maintenance of the communal land regime that ensure access to lands to all villagers regardless of political affiliation. Thus, they can see themselves as supporting the local values of egalitarianism and communitarism: all are members of the same community and all are equal to each other.

All shepherds can represent themselves positively on the basis of their physical capabilities. Nonetheless, for those who have yet to choose whether or not to become a shepherd, shepherding can be seen negatively because of traits they see as arising from the need to work in communal lands: first, because the communal pastures are of poor quality, Telemulese shepherds have to continue the practice of transhumance, thus,

enacting the trope of the *arretrato*, crime-prone shepherd. And, second, the birth-giving [*figliazione*] period is a time that conceals the distinctions between `modern' and `traditional' shepherds. During this period, `modern' and `traditional' shepherds alike have to spend most of the day and night in the *ovile* until the *figliazione* is over. The *figliazione* happens during the winter, when as a result of the cold temperatures most other Telemulesi gather inside the bars and the absence of most shepherds is conspicuous.

There is also a time in the yearly cycle when shepherds (but not goatherds) can gain some positive social status, even though their image is tainted by the simple technology involved in the event: the *tosatura* [sheep shearing]. In this chapter I describe the long cycle in a chronological order, that is, first the birth-giving and weaning of animals, followed by the *tosatura* and, lastly, the transhumance. I stress the aspects of these activities which give origin to both positive and negative representations of the shepherd. Once more, the trope that gives moral content to these practices is that of `modernity' versus `tradition', even though not all aspects of the shepherds' work may be judged according to that code. In the discussion of this chapter I emphasise how the Telemulese shepherd (both `modern' and `traditional') can organise his experiences into a coherent, non-fragmented experience that establishes a close link between his self-image and his occupational practices. The latter can be seen as organised into a changing habitus which favours the embodiment of local moral codes (Bourdieu 1977, 1990) within the biographical articulation of long-term and short-term projects (Schutz and Luckmann 1973; Giddens 1981).

1. THE BIRTH-GIVING PERIOD [*FIGLIAZIONE*] AND WEANING [*SVEZZATURA*]

During the summer, when the pastures are burnt by the sun, the

189

shepherd allows male and female animals of the flock to mix for the *monta* [impregnation] period. As animals become pregnant, the production of milk drastically drops and by the end of August, most shepherds and some goatherds have completely stopped milking their animals. Most shepherds prevent their animals from becoming pregnant more than once a year since this would negatively affect their production of milk. On the other hand, goatherds favour the pregnancy of some of their animals at two different times of the year. It is important to make the birth of animals coincide with the Christmas and New Year's festivities. The customary feast dish for the winter season in central Sardinia is roasted lamb or kid. If the timing of births is well planned, shepherds can make a good profit from these animals. A shepherd told me:

> I ... have started another type of shepherding, that is, a modern shepherding and I like to follow it. The outcome is better, that is, all accounting comes better in a modern shepherding, not in that old type [of shepherding] that some kind of people continue to practice. Thus, I put in the males [with the female sheep] on July 10th, so that they should give birth, at most on November 5th. ... If I want them on November 10th, then I put the males in on July 15th.

Goatherds also find a good market for their kids during the Easter festivities, and plan the pregnancy of a few of their animals for one time and the rest for the winter. In consequence, goatherds have at least a few animals to milk throughout the year while shepherds stop milking during the late summer months.

When the period of *figliazione* arrives, both shepherds and goatherds have to stay by their flocks most of the day and night. Each morning they identify which animals are likely to give birth that day, and enclose them in the *recinto*. They do not assist in the birth of the animals, but aim to prevent newborn lambs or kids falling prey to the few 'wolves' [*lupi*]

or other predators on the mountainside and on the valley.[1]

After the animal is born, shepherds and goatherds follow different routines; those of the goatherds are seen as more cumbersome. Shepherds put sheep and their respective lambs together and the latter are allowed to freely feed from their mother's milk. They stay together until weaning. Goatherds, in contrast, identify the mother goat and her kid and separate them. They do not allow the kids to follow their mothers to prevent losses that would ensue if they were to fall into a ravine. During the day the goat grazes with the rest of the flock, but at the time of feeding, the goatherd has to match each goat with its respective kid, since (they believe) in case of wrong-matching the goat would not let the kid suck the milk. The shepherd brings the goats one by one, and gets the kids from a small corral adjacent to the larger one. This difference in work is perceived as very important for both shepherds and goatherds. This is considered a negative aspect of goatherding; goatherds often complain about how difficult their occupation is because of this practice. A middle-aged shepherd told me that although he started as a goatherd by helping an uncle, he found the *figliazione* and weaning so demanding that he decided to sell the goats he already had and shift to sheep.[2]

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[1] There are no wolves in Sardinia. There are, however, two possible explanations for this statement: 1) their animals fall prey to other predators such as vultures and foxes [*volpe*]. Some old Telemulese shepherds are said to have practised magical procedures to prevent eagles from taking their lambs away; and, 2) given the local resistance to speaking about livestock rustling, they may have referred to animal thieves as *lupi*. Only one of our informants in Telemula ever admitted to having had his animals stolen. In Bardia, another informant said that a number of his lambs were stolen one night in January 1991.

[2] Shepherds and goatherds employed as *servopastori* are usually young and do not own a flock. At the end of each yearly contract they are given, as part of their pay, a variable number of animals. Telemulesi usually complain that

191

Shepherds and goatherds keep this routine with the animals for about three months in which they decide which animals will be left to enlarge the flock and which ones will be slaughtered. Those which will be left to live (both male and female animals) undergo the *svezzatura* [weaning] process. One to two months after their birth, kids are allowed to follow their mothers. To prevent the animal from feeding from its mother, the goatherd places a small piece of wood between its jaws and ties it to the back of the animal's head. This piece is moved to allow the kid to graze, and is completely removed only when the weaning has been completed.

A couple of young Telemulesi, who wanted to buy flocks to become shepherds, told me one was inclined to buy sheep, and the other considering the possibility of starting with goats. Both pointed out the burdensome aspect of the *svezzatura* as goatherds have to practice it. One said that the *svezzatura* is one factor that discourages him from getting goats, and he prefers sheep because of the higher price of sheep's products. The aspiring goatherd expressed misgivings about the *figliazione* and the *svezzatura*, but favoured goats because he could obtain almost as much profit as shepherds with less effort throughout the year.[3] That is, he considered an advantage the fact that he does not have to milk the animals twice a day and needs to spend less time with the flock in the communal territory.

Given that the shepherd has to be able to identify all his animals before the *figliazione*, an aspiring goatherd is very unlikely to buy a flock immediately before or during that

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they had to go as *therakkos/o* to other villages because the local shepherds and goatherds were stingy and paid with the lowest number of animals in Ogliastra.

[3] These considerations aside, ERSAT (n.d.a) describes the grazing quality of Telemula's territory as poor: the rocky landscape, steep hills and mountain sides are more appropriate for raising goats than sheep.

period. The goatherd has to rely on his good memory to be able to match up each kid with its respective mother. Once the period of *svezzatura* ends, the goatherd and shepherd are able to milk the whole flock and increase their levels of production. Each year, a number of lambs and kids are slaughtered for meat to be sold in the local market. In 1991, their average price was about L9000 per kilogram. However, some Telemulesi goatherds fear a crisis in the meat price as, during 1990, the meat market was flooded, they say, with *capreti* [kids, sing. *capreto*] from the Philippines at a price of L5000 per kg. Goatherds who know about and apply for it, can obtain a subsidy from the EEC/Region of Sardinia for each *capreto* they butcher, just as shepherds obtain subsidies for their butchered lambs.

Until recently, shepherds and goatherds had to work in their winter *ovili* without electric light. The *recinto* of a goatherd is often between seven and ten metres long and four to six wide. In contrast to shepherds' hastily built *recinti*, goatherds often put a roof on them, sometimes of wood, sometimes of metal sheets. Several posts support the roof. There the goatherd used to hang kerosene lamps which provided light during the early phases of the everyday routine of the *svezzatura* and the milking of the flock. Recently acquired solar panels have made kerosene lamps obsolete in 'modern' *ovili*, and shepherds who have not applied for their acquisition are now seen as lagging behind [*arretrati*]. From those solar panels, the 'modern' shepherds or goatherds obtain electricity to light the interior of their shelters during the winter nights when they have to stay in the *ovili*.

The shepherds' activities at this time of the year demonstrate non-shepherds and shepherds alike one of the disadvantages of shepherding as an occupation. In spite of the positive value given to hard work, because of the season's hardships and lack of free time, the shepherd fares negatively in contrast to other Telemulese who work in the secondary and

tertiary sectors of the economy. Some shepherds and goatherds, especially those who work in pairs (usually brothers, or father/son teams), manage to evenly divide their days in the village. Those who work alone are seldom seen in Telemula for a period of up to three months (from the beginning of November to the end of January). Both the traditional and the modernity-aspiring individuals are kept away from the settlement by their animals. The cooperative's truck does not come to collect milk during the winter, and shepherds and goatherds cannot afford to spend time in the village. Telemulesi can see other occupations as more desirable, indeed, than shepherding. Only in February, when the *svezzatura* is over and the surplus animals have been butchered, can the `modern' shepherd and goatherd join their friends in the local bars.

2. THE TOSATURA [SHEEP SHEARING]

This event occurs only once a year, at the beginning of the spring, before shepherds move their flocks back to the Supramonte. The local importance of this event is that it brings the experience of sociability and egalitarianism to the shepherd's work-site and allows local people to understate the fact that `old' technology is used during the event. *Pasquetta* [Easter monday] is another time of the year in which shepherds host other villagers; however, during the *tosatura* the informal organisation of cooperation brings together men and women and members of different occupations.

Most winter *ovili* in the valley lack lines to supply electricity. A few have small generators that provide enough energy to pump water out of the well and to provide light to the shepherd's shelter. Because winters can be cold even in the valleys (about five to seven degrees Celsius on cold nights) shepherds construct roofed shelters for their animals, particularly for their lambs. After January, most shepherds

194

return to Telemula during the night, but a few remain in their *ovili*, inattentive to the sociability of the village.

The day before the *tosatura*, in April or May, the shepherd with other shepherd friends, or his children, slaughters one or two lambs or a sheep. The meat is either kept in a small storage room by the shepherd's shelter, or in the shelter itself. The day of the *tosatura*, men and women come to participate in the work and the feast that ensues the shearing. Most *tosature* we went to (in Telemula, Villagrande Strisaili, Villanova Strisaili, Bardia and even in Rome) were similarly organised (see Plates 6 and 7).[4] The following description is based on the shearing of the flock owned by three Telemulese brothers: Mario, Marco and Manlio. Together they keep one of the largest flocks in the village and the division of labour and tasks of their *tosatura* is common to most *tosature* in Telemula. (The exception are the *tosature* of small flocks, less than 100 head of sheep, when the work is completed in a shorter time.) One of these three brothers told us that they have about 360 animals including lambs and adult livestock. A woman from the village, Marco's sister-in-law, told us proudly that theirs is the biggest feast that any single family organises in Telemula every year.

The day of the shearing, there were over 50 adults in the *ovile* who divided the tasks of the day among themselves.[5] The event was planned for the weekend, as most *tosature* are,

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[4] The *tosatura* in Rome, in May of 1992, was hosted by a Telemulese shepherd who is employed, for a salary, by a Roman entrepreneur. His fellow shepherds in the event were also Sardinians from Sassari, Olbia, Oristano and Villagrande Strisaili who have their flocks in the periphery of Rome. Most of the non-shepherd guests were Telemulesi who study or work in Rome.

[5] The day of this *tosatura* (April 28, 1991), our highest count of people at the table, during the *spuntino*, was 47 persons. However, the women in charge of serving the guests claimed that there were 68 persons between guests and hosts.

to enable non-shepherd villagers to attend the feast. The different shearing teams included, among other workers, a lawyer (from a non-shepherding family), construction and industrial workers, employees from the local administration, university students (some children of shepherds) and service workers (road maintenance workers and one forest ranger). Men and women are in charge of different chores: women are in charge of setting the tables and organising the banquet that follows the shearing. Young women are sent to wash the vegetables in the nearest stream or any other water source while the older ones cook the pasta and prepare the *antipasto* [appetizer] consisting of olives and sliced cured prosciutto. Another group of young women is sent to distribute beer, wine and water to the men shearing the sheep, and to pick up the wool that they have sheared.

Most men, in turn, regardless of their occupations, form two `teams': one goes to shear the lambs and another shears the adult sheep. In the *tosature* of small flocks, the few lambs are sheared first, and after a short break when the shepherds have some white wine and sweets, the team passes to shearing the adult sheep. Each team splits into two groups. One is in charge of capturing the sheep, tying their feet to immobilise them during the shearing. After the animal is sheared, one person of the same group, who does not shear, picks up the animal, unties it and returns it to the flock. The members of the other group are in charge of shearing the lambs. They do the *tosatura* manually, using *forbici* [shearers] with blades about 15 cm long. Some of the people participating in the work are shepherds themselves and there are often guests from other villages. All people present in the shearing are expected to participate in some of the work to be done. Refusing to do any part of the work is interpreted as a purposeful separation from the rest of the villagers and a claim to being superior to the others. In this, which was the first *tosatura* I witnessed, Vargas-Cetina

196

was invited to shear a sheep and received close supervision from Mario, one of the owners of the flock. At my initial refusal of the invitation to shear a sheep (whose wool was full of its own excrement) I was told: "so, have you come here only to drink and eat?" Later I agreed to shear a cleaner animal under the supervision of an impatient retired public servant who was not pleased with my slow shearing.

Telemulesi do not use electric shearers, even in the case of these three affluent shepherds. They are aware that the tools can be easily obtained in the coastal village of Tortoli, near their winter *ovili*. However, they suggest, even if they had the tools, their small generators would insufficient to supply the energy necessary to run several machines. While this is an obvious reason (and a very practical one) for not using them shepherds usually explain it in different terms. Some give the example of the more `modern' village of Bardia where, according to Telemulesi, the use of electric shearers is widespread. Telemulesi shepherds contend that when Bardiesi started to use electric tools, the sociability of the event was lost. As a few shepherds can shear the entire flock, they have stopped hosting co-villagers, much to the detriment of the town's social life. Other shepherds say that the machine actually slows down the shearing. It gets constantly clogged with the sheep's wool, forcing the shepherd to stop frequently to disconnect the wire and clean the blades. However, the main reason cited was the negative effect on the festive dimension of the event. A shepherd in Villanova Strisaili who has a portable generator and electric shearers has annual shearing feasts in which only manual shearers are used. In May 1992, he invited, as usual, people from other parts of the island. The previous day it had rained and there were also threatening clouds at the time of the *tosatura*. To prevent the feast from being rained out, he decided to accelerate the shearing and pass immediately to the celebration. He thus chose to use the electric shearers

197

run on electricity from a portable generator.

Within the village, non-shepherds exalt the shepherds' hospitality during the *tosatura*. Those who invite their friends every year are seen as *pastori bravi* [good shepherds, meaning good people]. Most Telemulesi are invited every year to participate in at least one *tosatura*. Shepherds of the same *cricca* avoid organising their shearing on the same date so as to be able to attend each other's feasts and in order not to split their common group of friends.

While women are in charge of organising the meal and most men are in charge of shearing the sheep, a small group, usually of retired elderly men, are in charge of roasting the meat to be consumed in the *spuntino*[6] that follows the work. Once the *tosatura* ends, all guests and hosts sit at the table. Women are in charge of serving the meal to all guests and later sit to eat. Guests are offered sausages, prosciutto, wine and *grappa* [brandy] made by the hosts and praised for their authenticity ["*questa è robba genuina*", this is authentic stuff]. The meat offered is cooked with salt only as, local villagers claim, the animals have eaten the herbs that otherwise would be necessary to add flavour to the dish. The feast continues until dusk, when the hosts renew the invitation for next year, for a date to be established next spring.

Because of these feasts, shepherds are seen by others and by themselves as performing morally correct social behaviour. In fact, not only do shepherds stress the importance of being hospitable towards non-relatives and people from other villages, but demonstrate their compliance with local norms. They have also reproduced a space where villagers and other people from the region, sometimes from elsewhere in the

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[6] *Spuntino* means a snack in Italian. However, in central Sardinia the word is used to mean outdoors banquets organized by shepherds and non-shepherds alike.

island, come to confirm the equal worth of all in the group, the cooperative and friendly nature of local shepherds. Furthermore, even though the *tosatura* does not comply with the institutional rhetoric that expects individuals to accept the use of new technology, the event, because of the sociability it involves, does not have the same kind of negative connotation as the transhumance, often linked to the phenomenon of criminality.

Nevertheless, outside the Ogliastra, in Bardia, Orune, Bitti, where shepherds have adopted electric tools to facilitate the shearing, Telemulesi are seen as *arretrati*. A group of Bardiesi shepherds supported their contention that Telemulesi shepherds are `backward' on the grounds that they persist in using manual shearers. They pointed to the more widespread use of electric shearers in Bardia. Friends from Orune and Bitti, non-shepherds themselves, pointed out in conversation how their co-villager shepherds were more `modern' than the Telemulesi because of the same reason. While it seems that in those villages some have stopped organising the feast for the *tosatura*, many shepherds continue to host their friends regardless of the use of electric shearers.

The *tosatura* is an event that permits Telemulesi shepherds to gain, locally, the recognition of having positive attitudes toward the rest of the community. However, the decision to hold a *tosatura* can also have an economic dimension. Aldo, a shepherd approaching retirement, told me during the *spuntino* of the *tosatura* of his own flock that it is better for him to organise a feast than to pay people to do the work. He put it on this terms:

> It is better for me to organise a *spuntino*. Each year there are a number of lambs I have to butcher that I can spare for the feast. If I had to pay workers to do the shearing, I would have to pay L60000 each per day of work. I would rather do a feast.

Lending support to this rationale is the fact that there

199

is very little demand for the locally produced wool. Antonio, a shepherd five years younger than Aldo, told me that in 1956, a kilogram of wool was worth L600 while a kilogram of cheese fetched L400. Antonio says that the price fell in 1981 when wool from other parts of the world, of better quality than the Sardinian product, invaded the European market. He remarked with indignation that, in 1981, shepherds were able to sell a kilogram of cheese at L10000 and the wool coats at L5000 and since then, the price of cheese has remained unchanged while that of wool has dropped to L400. Furthermore, in some cases, their usual buyers have refused to take the wool, even free of charge.

In light of the dimension of sociability it is clear that the rationale for organising a feast cannot be understood solely in economic terms. It would be more expensive for a shepherd to pay labourers for one day than to organise the *spuntino*. But the *spuntino* is more expensive than a shepherd shearing his sheep alone over several days (which some shepherds in Bardia and other villages do). The shepherd, however, keeps himself in a good social standing by hosting his friends and by re-creating the space for egalitarian social interaction.

Within the village no one holds the image of backwardness against the shepherd because of the use of manual shearers. The Telemulese and his friends in Rome sheared the flock with electric shearers. There was only one shepherd who sheared manually because the size of the generator only allowed the use of six electric tools. This shepherd explained that in Telemula shepherds continue to use manual shearers because they lack electricity in the *ovili*. I never heard another Telemulese refer to the local shepherds as `backward' because of the simple technology employed in the *tosatura*. After all, the non-shepherd Telemulese experiences the event as part of a festive occasion in which all stress the equality among villagers. The shepherd/host receives the social benefit of

being perceived as *bravo* since he has, in organising the gathering, confirmed his affiliation with the rest of the village. The positive effect that the *tosatura* has on the local representation of the shepherd is, however, countered by negative perceptions of the physical and time demands imposed by the *figliazione* and the transhumance.

3. THE TRANSHUMANCE [TRANSUMANZA]

Elsewhere (Ayora-Diaz and Vargas-Cetina 1991) I have described in more detail the reasons why Telemulesi shepherds continue to do the transhumance and the places where they take their animals. An Italian scholar has described the transhumance in central Sardinia, quoting Ravis-Giordani (n.d.), as *the* event that defines the life of Sardinian shepherds:

> To the shepherds who practice it, the transhumance is *a way of life* which involves, directly or indirectly, the whole community of the village. To those who wish to analyze it, it is "the visible vector of a complex of processes which transcend it, but whose articulation [the transhumance] reveals." (Caltagirone 1989:62, my emphasis)

In Caltagirone's view, the transhumance represents the symbolic centre that gives origin to the local world-view and the yearly event that determines the configuration of the village's social life. Telemulese shepherds, however, continue to practice the transhumance, not because it is `a way of life', but rather because, in the current conditions, they find themselves constrained to periodically move their animals from one to another part of the territory. The private land in the valley is very fragmented and many fields are used to grow vines and vegetables for household consumption. Not all shepherds own or can lease enough land in the valley to give adequate pasture to a flock throughout the winter. Some can and do take their animals to the valley, but others have to take their flocks to the communal or

201

private lands of neighbouring lowland communities. The winter on the Supramonte (often descending to subzero temperatures) is cold enough to threaten the survival of the flocks. There are very few shelters in the Supramonte of Telemula that could enable the survival of the flock during snow falls, and I am aware of only one Telemulese shepherd who stayed there for the winters of 1991 and 1992.

Maurizio's experiences can be used to illustrate the reasons why Telemulese shepherds do the transhumance, and how they do it. Maurizio is now a semi-retired shepherd. He is the oldest brother of Aldo, another shepherd approaching the time for retirement. They used to herd their flocks together until Maurizio decided that it was time for him to reduce his flock size. When they were very young, they used to conduct their flocks to San Vito, 150 km to the south of Telemula to spend the winter in warmer lands. He says that, at that time, one of the three brothers had to leave his brothers and animals in the Supramonte and travel to the south to contact land owners who planned to leave their agricultural lands in fallow. He had to agree on a price and the contract usually lasted from November to May. The agreement on a lease applied only for one winter. There was no commitment from the landowner to give the shepherd the land for grazing the following year/s, although sometimes the landowner did rent the land to the same shepherd again. In consequence, almost every year, one shepherd of each team had to travel south in order to agree on a lease contract. While the prices were not high (none of my informants remembered the sum they used to pay), Maurizio says that often, at the end of the winter, he and his brothers had not made enough money to pay the lease and had to sell several animals in order to complete the payment. This is because their permanence in the lowlands was marked by low production as it coincided with the *figliazione* and the care of the newborn animals. The trips to the south and back to the village took each approximately five days. On

202

days of travel shepherds had to rely on the hospitality of people in other villages through which they passed. There they sold the daily milk or cheese and obtained information about the most convenient paths to follow in order to arrive to their destinations.

After the winter, shepherds took their flocks back to the communal territory of Telemula. Up to the beginning of the 1960s, Telemulesi still practised the system of land rotation called *biddazzone*. This system involved the collective agreement to split the communal lands between Telemulesi agriculturalists and shepherds. Half of the lands both in the Supramonte and the valley were left to fallow and were used for grazing, and half were cultivated. In the areas devoted to grazing, local shepherds had already established their working area. They built *capanne* [conic, bell-like structures] made out of perishable materials where the shepherd inhabited and processed the milk. Given that the whole Supramonte of Telemula is communal, all local shepherds were able to bring their flocks back.

In the 1960s, when grain was massively imported in Sardinia, local agriculturalists abandoned their fields. At that same time, the Italian government supported the industrialisation of the north and migration ensued from the agricultural fields to northern Italy and other European countries (especially Belgium and Germany) (Ostow 1985). Shepherds consequently obtained access to a larger grazing area. However, the abandonment of agriculture brought, in an older shepherd's view, a drastic impoverishment of the quality of pastures.

In order to ensure more pastures for their flocks, many shepherds started to set fires in small wood patches and further impoverished the land. An ex-pasture neighbour of Maurizio, the goatherd Gesuino, told me that he used to take his animals to `one of the most beautiful spots of the Supramonte', *Giumpad'abba* [jumping water]. However, in the

1960s someone set the surrounding trees on fire and he decided to move to his current *ovile*. Another pair of goatherds now use *Giumpad'abba* during the summer but, Gesuino says, it is not as pleasant an environment as it was before.

As communal pasture area increased, Maurizio and Aldo, as most local shepherds, were then able to stay in Telemula's territory for the winter. However, many local shepherds and goatherds still have to continue searching for winter pastures elsewhere.[7] Maurizio and Aldo kept their flocks together dividing equally the products and profits. While in the valley, they had to herd their flocks, every day, from one small pasture to another. On the Supramonte, they could herd their flocks all day long without the complication of having to be worried about trespassing the fences of a vineyard or of a horticultural garden.

At the end of April or beginning of May, Maurizio has to take his flock to the Supramonte. In 1991 we helped him to move his small flock of 60 sheep. For young shepherds, we were told, it is necessary to have one individual per 50 sheep in order to achieve good control of the flock's movement. We had to walk 28 km up the mountain. After walking about ten km in the valley, we reached the path that led us upward to the high plateau. Maurizio decided to stop for a two-hour rest, perhaps because of his age (about 70), perhaps as a courtesy to the two anthropologists who helped him. We continued our ascent passing along narrow paths edging ravines of about 100 meters deep. After reaching the Supramonte we continued to

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[7] In general terms, in communal pastures prevails the rule `first come, first served'. However, there is also a recognized seniority right. The shepherd cannot own communal lands but may build his own shelter in the area of his preference. He is the only one who has the right to use such shelter, and may decide to share it with other shepherd friends. Given the poor quality of local pastures and the rights above mentioned, many newcomers to the job, and some more experienced who lack an *ovile* where to go, have to look for pastures elsewhere.

walk for about 15 km until we reached his *ovile*. He left
Vargas-Cetina and myself to watch over the flock near the
ovile and went to the compound to build, with his son, the
recinto where he has to milk his sheep. That day we gained
the reputation of being `good *servopastori*'. He proudly
introduced us to his *ovile*'s partner as *sos therakkoso
americanoso* [the American *servopastori*]. Later, during the
year, he and other shepherds asked us to help them in other
transhumance migrations.[8]

In the past, according to Sardinian authors, shepherds
who did the transhumance on foot had to beware of trespassing
agricultural fields (Ortu 1981; Meloni 1984; Angioni 1989;
Caltagirone 1989). With the abandonment of agriculture and
the fencing of private property, shepherds follow, as a
goatherd put it, "the shortest route." Given that goats are
more likely to ascend on steep mountain sides than sheep are,
goatherds can closely follow that rule of thumb. They start
at the mountain side and in a straight line they ascend to the
Supramonte (see Plate 9). Shepherds have to follow a rather
slow and winding path.

Most shepherds and goatherds do the transhumance in pairs
or with the help of other relatives who are also shepherds.
However, other Telemulesi are willing to join their shepherd
or goatherd friends for a weekend *passeggiàta* [stroll], which
in some cases covers about 60 km of paved and unpaved roads.
As a *muratore* told me: `I can enjoy doing this once every

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[8] Telemulesi shepherds and goatherds move their animals
six times during the year: (1) in April-May they take them to
the Supramonte; (2) after the harvest in July, shepherds and
goatherds take their animals to the valley to eat on the
stubble (the period is called *S'astule*, stubble); (3) two
weeks later they return to the Supramonte; (4) after the grape
harvest in September, only shepherds bring their sheep to eat
the vine leaves; (5) one or two weeks later they return to the
Supramonte; and (6) shortly before the *figliazione* they
descend to the mountainsides and the valley to spend there the
winter (Ayora-Diaz and Vargas-Cetina 1991).

year, but I would not like to be a shepherd and do it as many times as they have to'. The transhumance represents an undesirable aspect of shepherding for many non-shepherds, although some of them see their own participation in the event as a pleasant outing. Shepherds and goatherds, however, see themselves in a negative light because of the transhumance. The institutional discourse has permeated the local one, and the transhumant shepherd sees this practice as `backward'. To conceal the negative implications of continuing to do the transhumance, some shepherds assert their claim to `modernity' by making it faster or by transporting their animals by truck.[9]

The `traditional' shepherd, like Marco's father and Maurizio, prefers to conduct the animals at a slow pace. They believe that a fast pace can induce abortion in pregnant animals and increases the likelihood that their yield of milk will be reduced because of the effort. They also fear that in the fast ascension or descent, animals may fall into a ravine resulting in a great loss in economic terms. Young shepherds and goatherds do not see any advantage in walking slowly. We descended with Marco, his cousin and about 150 goats, from the Supramonte to the village (18 km) in two and a half hours. We all completed the run exhausted and breathless, but quickly, to Marco's satisfaction and his father's displeasure. Marco's father reprimanded him with the above listed objections, and Marco answered that if the animals are willing to run, it means that they can run. Marco claims that since making the same route in 12 hours would not increase his revenues, he cannot accept any other justification to slow the animals' pace down. When we went up the mountain with Tullio and Giulio, we completed the 16 km transhumance in about four

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[9] This clearly differs from the Glendiot case who, as Herzfeld (1985:30, 131) illustrates, counterpoise to the state's discourse a conviction of moral superiority.

hours with what seemed to me a regular, steady pace. Later, older shepherds told me that the transhumance with Tullio and Giulio was too fast for the welfare of the animals. The same day that we did the transhumance with Maurizio, his *vicino di pascolo* [pasture neighbour] also did his transhumance to the same destination. He says that it took him about five hours to complete it, and beside Maurizio's age, he sees no other reason as to why we took so long. He said that even sheep are able to maintain a good pace, and echoed Marco's economic rationale: walking slowly will not bring more economic profits. The goal of these 'modern' shepherds is to complete the transhumance as fast as possible. On the other hand, older shepherds contend that animals should be made to walk slowly to insure that all animals will arrive at their destination. Tullio, Giulio and Maurizio's *vicino di pascolo* moved their animals very quickly and on secondary paths. With Marco we ran along the highly trafficked paved road of the Supramonte under the gaze of fellow shepherds. For about two weeks, in the bars, old and middle aged shepherds criticized him for making the goats run so fast. He held to his own view and said that the other shepherds are not very smart in believing that the transhumance has always to be a slow stroll.

Shepherds, but not goatherds, can also transport their animals by truck.[10] This has the advantage of legitimating the shepherd's claim to have his feet on 'modern' times. The transhumance by truck is actually difficult. Since *ovili* lack loading ramps, the shepherd/s have to load the sheep by hand. The small trucks Telemulesi own cannot take more than 50 animals at a time and imply a minimum of three trips. The

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[10] Goatherds claim that in contrast to sheep, goats cannot be confined in small spaces without creating havoc and danger. On the other hand, they usually keep their animals at about 700 m above sea level and their walk to the summer *ovile* is shorter.

trip is on the Supramonte's unpaved roads and unfolds slowly. Each time a sheep squats, the truck has to be stopped and the shepherds make all animals stand up, otherwise, shepherds fear, the animal would die suffocated by the other sheep. After first taking the lambs with their respective mothers, the shepherds continue with the rest of the flock. A transhumance to Bardia in which Vargas-Cetina helped, took five hours per trip in spite of the short distance of 30 km that separate Bardia from Telemula. Shepherds who do not own a truck prefer to do the transhumance by foot rather than to rent one. Maurizio explained it in economic terms: renting a truck he would have to pay L200000 (CAN $200.00) for the trips in one day. With his small flock of 60 sheep, he would need the entire product of two days of labour only to pay for the rent of the vehicle. The way he sees it, it is better to do it by foot than to pay the lease of the truck. After all, 28-30 km is much shorter than the 150 km he used to walk when he was young.

The physical endurance of the shepherd is overshadowed by the government's definition of the transhumance as backward. Most shepherds told me that they continue to move their animals because they find themselves constrained by the poor pastures and the varying climate. 'Modern' shepherds affirm that they would gladly stop doing the transhumance.[11] Still, they insist that a condition for abandoning transhumance is the enclosure of communal lands. However, they see themselves as lacking the institutional support to achieve this objective. They say that no transhumance (sedentarisation) is better than transhumance, but while they are working toward

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[11] A few local shepherds do not move their animals. According to Tullio, if the goat/shepherd has less than 100 head of livestock, it makes no economic sense to move them. Shepherds, however, often have limited access to lands in the valley, and even with small flocks of 60 sheep (like Maurizio's), have to take them up and down the mountain.

that level of 'modernity' some have settled for representing themselves as 'modern' because they move their animals by truck. This is a more 'modern' strategy than to continue doing it by foot (as doing it faster is more 'modern' than a slower pace). The access that shepherds have to paved roads, their acquisition of cars, and their willingness to leave their animals alone at night have radically changed the experience of the transhumance (see Plate 10). It has been now more than 30 years since the transhumance became for Telemulese shepherds just one more aspect, even though a burdensome one, of the total cycle of production. In Telemula, in contrast to what Caltagirone (1989) finds in other communities of central Sardinia, I met no Telemulese shepherd, old or young, for whom the transhumance was a 'way of life'. Most said that they would be happy to stop moving their animals.

4. DISCUSSION: WORK AND REPRESENTATIONS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SELVES

The activities of shepherds and goatherds in Telemula, in contrast to non-shepherds, give rise to differences in their pattern of social interaction with fellow villagers. Their self/representation, on the basis of their daily and yearly routines, assigns moral values to individuals engaged in pastoralism. Shepherds' work receives contrasting assessments from other members of the community. On the one hand, the physical skills developed by shepherds and goatherds are taken, by shepherds as well as by other villagers, to show both their physical superiority and the positive value of physical work. On the other hand, physical, in contrast to the non-physical or less physically demanding work that industrial and service workers perform, shepherds see themselves and are seen by co-villagers as directly related to a negative idea of 'tradition'. The more physically demanding

209

the occupation is, the more `backward', in technology and organisation the occupation is. The shepherd is faced with both positive and negative self/representations emerging from the same activity. Can work be seen as the experience that articulates the characteristics or traits that constitute individuals' selves? Does shepherding in its double moral representation constitute a double centring of experience? How does the shepherd bestow, if he does, coherence on his life experience? I contend that the experience of the body in the process of work contributes to articulating the moral values that inform his self-representations. The body provides the material grounding of the experience of self, even though it does not become the dimension that centres the self. The concepts of `habitus' and `shifting relevances' are useful for understanding the process of centering and construction of shepherds' selves.

The current patterns of pastoralist production and the awareness of different alternatives for change favour the emergence of conflict between what is now defined by some as out-dated (`tradition') and what is conceived to be better (i.e. morally right) to choose, that is, `modern' organisation and technology. I have examined above how the communal lands have become the rhetorical space, super-imposed on the physical one, on which different villagers deploy repositioning strategies. Given the unchanged nature of land tenure in Telemula, `modern' shepherds strive to establish their relation to the desired future (modernity) through the acquisition of technological gadgets and the adoption of a few practices that have been institutionally defined as more `modern' and `rational' (such as use of fodder and affiliation with a cooperative). Given that the communal space is shared with `traditional' shepherds, `modern' ones strategically stress their difference by performing the same activities in different ways (quicker or motorized transhumance, leaving the flock alone in the pastures). The aspiring-to-modernity

210

shepherds establish different routines in their everyday work
and in their social life in the village in order to mark their
difference from `traditional' shepherds. As Bourdieu
(1990:291, n.5) suggests, it is individuals who have developed
a new habitus, in this case the `modern' ones, who can claim
moral superiority over the older ones (giving rise also to the
`moderns' `pursuit of authenticity'). The habitus they seek
to replace did not need to be justified, at least initially,
given that it constituted the taken-for-granted organisation
of work and sociability (ibid:63). In Telemula, those who
promote change have to establish the `goodness' of the new
practices in relation to the older ones.

The way social and work practices stand in the present
(1991-1992), the habitus of the shepherd contributes to
shaping his body, distinguishing him from other workers. I
have examined above the requirements of shepherds' work in the
supramonte. Their work demands that individuals run up and
down steep hills and amidst the Mediterranean bushscrub; they
have to manually milk at least 100 head of livestock a day.
In milking the animals they stand over the goats or sheep and
bend forward. Many non-shepherd, urban dwellers of Sardinia
know and explained to us the tactics for spotting a shepherd
in the crowd (shepherds may be aware of this representation
but never spoke to us about it): shepherds walk much faster
and at a steadier pace than the rest. They walk with slightly
open, straight legs, and their back slightly hyperextended, in
an almost aggressive pose. Their arms and forearms are much
more muscular than those of other workers such as masons,
bricklayers and industrial workers. Their work shapes their
bodies and informs their world-views. In developing their
habitus, the shepherd learns the `right' way of standing,
milking the animals, gathering the flock together, leading it
to and from different pastures. They learn the `right' time
to do the transhumance, and the `correct' timing to milk their
flocks and to allow the *monta* [impregnation of female

animals]. Living in the Supramonte for long periods, unprotected by the (distrusted) state, the shepherd learns the 'right' way of relating to known and unknown guests.

As the occupation has changed throughout the years, the discourses about the right way of being a shepherd have multiplied giving rise to an ambiguous characterisation of shepherding. That is, the same practices or attitude displayed by shepherds receive, according to the one who looks at them, either positive or negative evaluations. After World War II, the trope of 'modernity' reached central Sardinia. The state and its agents at the local level promoted a world-view that stressed the use of recent technology and the reduction of physical work.[12] Telemulesi shepherds who aspire to become 'modern' observe the changes in bodies and social routines that fellow villagers have undergone as they became employed in less physically demanding (more 'modern') occupations in the industrial and service sector. Most villagers gain respect, within the recently adopted moral code, on the basis of their new routines that define them as urban-like and future-oriented and therefore as *persone brave*. Shepherds instead gain respect because of their physical skills and prowess. These same traits, however, are what position him in a space and time still in the past. Those who have accepted the logic of 'modernity' long for a change in their productive strategies, modernising their technology and reducing their physical load of work. This, in turn, would contribute to re-shape their bodies, routines and thus

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[12] In literary writings, Ledda's (1975) *Padre Padrone* represents the life of shepherds in central Sardinia as one of violent 'backwardness' from which the protagonist is able to escape only through schooling in 'formal' institutions. Pira (1978:264) in his account of 'informal schools' says of Ledda's representations: "That father, owner of a few tens of sheep, even today in Barbagia would not be considered more than a *mannalitagliu* [herdsman of household animals], a true and proper *remitanu*, that is, a man of little [worth] ..."

reconstitute their habitus. Tullio said that when he failed
to continue in school, his father told him that there is, in
the world, a space to be filled by different kinds of workers,
and that his fate is to be a shepherd: "If there are no
shepherds, who will provide the meat, milk and cheese for the
others?" Tullio told me that his father might have been
right, but he regrets not having continued in school: "If I
had succeeded I would have, for sure, an easier life. Look at
yourself." Before becoming a shepherd, Tullio worked as
bricklayer for five years and tried, in the meantime, to find
a job in road maintenance or other service jobs. After being
unsuccessful, he turned to shepherding while continuing to
search for a different occupation. He had almost given up: he
did not apply for employment in reforestation even though his
brother did and he also had the right to do so. When I asked
him why he had not applied he only shrugged his shoulders and
said that he has to wait and see what will happen in the
future. He plans to continue shepherding and will work in
something else if he happens to `find' another job.

In this context we can see the importance of the concept
of `shifting relevances' proposed by Schutz and Luckmann
(1973:52-58) and taken up by Giddens (1981:35). The body and
the perception of its continuous existence provide the
material and phenomenological grounding for individual
experiences. The body changes through time, but past
experiences of the body are recalled as proper to the same
historical organism. In recalling his/her own biography the
subject can understand his or her present conditions as the
result of previous practices, choices, social relations. In
individuals' experience of time, the present is framed between
the memory of the past and the projects for the future. The
individual conceives of both short- and long-term goals. In
the everyday, the individual relates some of his/her practices
to long-term goals while other practices are seen only as the
contingent product of contingent conditions. The same

213

individual relates to his own practices as bounded by the now-present or related to his/her aspirations placed in the future.

The shepherd who does the transhumance on foot while speaking of his desire to be a sedentary livestock raiser is not a fragmented subject split between past and future. His perception of the `relevant' shifts from assessing practices he actually adopts to expressing a desirable condition. He is a shepherd who experiences his traditional practices as imposed upon him by `traditional' producers and the state which allows and legitimises the continuation of communal land use. His ambition and his moral world view are informed by the grand narrative of modernity. As discussed below, his appreciation for `authentic' foods and practices (such as religious feasts) do not contradict his `modern' world view. He finds in the current environmental discourse enough justification to continue giving a positive value to what is seen as `genuino' [authentic].

The shepherd's body (as that of other Telemulese workers) provides the ground for centring one's self. The individual articulates in it the history of previous, present and future habitus. In contrast to what Jackson (1989) suggests[13] I believe that the body is not the centre of the self. The body does not precede social meanings and practices. Rather, it is instilled with meaning by various (supranational, national and local) discourses. Preceding the physical existence of any given (living) human body, the social world assigns different meanings and values to individuals who inhabit rural and urban spaces. After birth individuals learn to use their bodies stressing the moral and social importance of `right'

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[13] Jackson (1989:122) contends that: "This subjugation of the bodily to the semantic is empirically untenable. In the first place, from both phylogenetic and ontogenetic points of view, thinking and communicating through the body precede and to a great extent always remain beyond speech."

behaviours, demeanours and poses in public. It may be true
that in each individual's development, non-verbal
communication antecedes verbal, discursive communication.
However, in the socialisation of the individual, different
discourses, inscribe upon the body (as upon a text) meanings
that can (and should) be read by the other (whether from
within or without the village).

Bourdieu's theory of the `habitus' takes from the
phenomenological tradition the idea of the embodiment of
practices (1977; 1990). He contends that the individual
embodies the norms of his/her society through a learning
process based on the observation of the practices of others
and the learning of the correct way of doing things in one's
own society (that is, the individual learns the meaning of his
actions as he practices them). The individual learns what is
`correct' not only by direct instructions, but also by
observation of others' practices (see also Heller 1974;
O'Neill 1989). Bourdieu (1990) suggests that the habitus is
simultaneously determining and determined by social and
individual practices. That is, while it tends to reproduce
established practices without changing them, it also creates
the possibilities for individual variation and innovation.
Referring to the Kabyle he claims that in the process of
social change, older individuals will tend to show a different
habitus than the one young people exhibit. Individuals who
produce a new habitus corresponding to what is defined as
`modern' practices, produce, by contrast, the `traditional'
habitus. That is, the promotion of new routines, practices or
world-views which stress the `out-dated' character of the old
ones. As Mauss (1973:73) had remarked earlier, the habitus
emphasises differences not only among individuals, but also
among societies and prestige groups.

Aiming to transcend the phenomenological limitations of
the strict representations of the immediate experience,
Bourdieu (ibid) contends that social and moral norms are

embodied through practice and the individual behaves according to internalised `structuring structures' which become his `predisposed dispositions'. Individuals' practices in space and through time also have social and moral meanings, and individuals have, in their habitus, the possibilities for conceiving change. The individual Telemulese shepherd, in formulating his own long-term and short-term projects takes into account the historical experiences of those who precede him. He experiences himself as the (moral) meaning-giving individual who can design his own career (Goldschmidt 1990). He perceives the social, material and economic constraints of his environment as obstacles to achieving his goals, and relates to meaningful `objects' as a meaningful subject. He is not a body who relates to his material or symbolic context. He is an experiential subject who, through his embodied habitus, relates to the world.

There is, to sum up, a conflict within different life-styles adopted, on the one hand, by the `modern' non-agropastoral subjects of the village in contrast to the `linked-to-the-past' shepherds. On the other hand, within the shepherd's group there is a conflict between individuals who desire a less physically demanding, cooperative-oriented, highly technologised pastoralism, and those who desire to maintain the status quo in order to defend their means of survival during times of crisis. The emergence and growth of the three economic sectors in Ogliastra gives rise to a conflict between individuals who have chosen to adopt a `modern' life-style and those who have chosen (or have been constrained) to retain a `traditional' one.

In this and the previous five chapters I have stressed how individuals' world-views enter into conflict on the basis of differences created by their different routines, and public behaviours, attitudes and demeanours: the different habitus that emerge in their everyday work. In the next three chapters I examine the strategies deployed by Telemulesi in

216

their everyday practice of sociality which aim to reduce the possibilities of conflict, sometimes successfully, sometimes less so. In the following chapter, I examine how the family mediates between the individual worker and the rest of the village in the spheres of work and sociability. I pay closer attention to the shepherd's family. In part III, I then turn to the social interaction between individuals of different occupations and genders in the village and examine how, during their social life, individuals emphasise the moral values of egalitarianism and communitarism within the moral definition of the `good person' [*persona brava*].

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE FAMILY: FROM PRODUCTION TO CONSUMPTION

In this chapter I explore the importance of the family unit for re/producing and legitimising values that pertain to general world-views which villagers use to strategically place themselves within either pre-modern or modern socioeconomic and cultural spheres of meaning. At the discursive and practical levels, the trope `modernity' has pervaded family relations. While in Telemula some families focus their activities on production directed to satisfy the basic household's needs, other families focus primarily on consumption. Thus, villagers establish a contrast between the `traditional', production oriented, and `modern', consumption-oriented, families. The way in which a given family structures its everyday productive and consumer practices is informed by the moral world-views of its members. What role does the family play in re/producing these moral codes?

Some local scholars contend, from different perspectives, that families are the primary and most important agency for the socialisation of individuals (Pitzalis-Acciaro 1978; Angioni 1990). In Telemula, however, the primary role of the family in legitimating values is now contested by other social institutions such as the school and the *cricca* which sometimes reproduce family values and in other instances question them offering alternative ones. On the one hand, the school has come to enforce the rhetoric of industrialisation and urbanisation as important components of `modernity'. On the other, the *cricca* sometimes enhances, sometimes discourages, its members from adopting practices that correspond to alternative models of work and sociability.

Studies about the structures and function of the family in Sardinian society have exposed the great range of variability that exists both throughout the island's territory and through time (Murru-Corriga 1990a; Oppo 1990a; Da Re

218

1991).   However,   some   researchers   have   portrayed   the
`traditional' Sardinian family as nuclear and uxorilocal (Oppo
1990b),   in which the mother has   a power   not   paralleled   in
other Mediterranean societies.[1]   The important role women
have   in Sardinian agropastoral villages has led some to
propose the hypothesis of a Sardinian "matriarchy" where women
rule community life in an environment defined as culturally
backwards and archaic.   In this `primitive' pastoral world,
women are described as having a primary role in perpetuating
family feuds and violence (Pitzalis-Acciaro 1979; Bandinu
1991, Follesa 1991).[2]

The image of the `archaic' pervades the representation of
`traditional'   Mediterranean   families   which   are   seen   as
overriding the subjectivity of individuals.   An individual
action is seen as no more than an instrument through which the
family operates.   On this   premise, Solinas   (1987:194-195)
contends that in traditional Mediterranean societies there is
no   individual   personality   and   therefore   individuals   lack
`biographies', that is, their experiences are generic rather
than specific to the individual. Contrary to Solinas' view of

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[1]   Cole's   (1991:40)   description   of   Vila   Chá's   women's
self-regard in Portugal parallels that of Sardinian women who
perform agricultural work.   However, as I illustrate below,
Sardinian women have been also characterised as having a power
that determines violent and criminal acts on the part of their
men.

[2] At the beginning of 1992, a child was kidnapped in
Sardinia.   Some researchers and the media continued to diffuse
the image of the Sardinian matriarch as responsible for the
reproduction of violence in Barbagia.   There were public
appeals to the `Barbagian mother' to stop with kidnapping and
family feuds, and some anthropologists, lawyers, sociologists
and historians were sent touring central Sardinia to promote
the `change of traditional cultural views' (See for example
among many articles of January and February *L'Unione Sarda*,
"Le Donne e una Nuova Balentìa Jan. 22, 1992;" *"Donne, Potete
Rompere il Labirinto dei Sequestri* Jan. 23, 1992;" in *La Nuova
Sardegna, "Le Sbarre Invisibili di una Complicità: Il dificile
Ruolo delle Donne in Barbagia"* Feb. 1, 1992).

generic villagers, I contend that even those who are seen as 'traditional' individuals within the community articulate their experiences in wholes that are specific to their own lives (see also Ginzburg 1980:xiv, xx).

In what follows I aim to provide a brief description of the structure and functions of the family in Telemula. I focus on the everyday interaction of individuals within their families and the community and the relation this has to the reproduction of local values and moral codes. I demonstrate the double role the family plays as situated between the private and public domains thus providing moral regulation for both the spheres of work and consumption. I first examine the conditions that allow Telemulesi to start a new family and the grounds upon which the family is founded.

1. FINDING A SPOUSE, FORMING A HOUSEHOLD

Contrary to what some researchers contend (Schweizer 1988; Meloni 1984), finding a spouse in Telemula is not an easy task for males and females, shepherds facing no particular disadvantages.[3] In general, both men and women aspire to neolocality and to form a nuclear family. However, in order to form a nuclear household, Telemulese men have first to own a house, and be employed or economically independent, that is, they have to *sistemarsi* [to settle down]. For example, a man in his mid-thirties remains single in spite of his efforts to court women of the village. He has often expressed his frustration at being unable to find a girlfriend. He started working as a *servopastore* but disliked pastoralism and

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[3] It is possible to find women in most communities who express their reluctance to marry shepherds (e.g. in Monteruju as described by Magliocco 1991). However, in our travels to villages of the Ogliastra region we observed that there were unmarried males [*scapoli*] and females [*nubile*] in all occupational categories. The reasons for remaining unmarried are multiple. I explore here some of the reasons.

220

abandoned it to engage in seasonal jobs in and outside the village. For the last 10 years he has been unable to find a permanent job which would allow him to *sistemarsi*, i.e. to build a house and offer a potential spouse economic security. He has explained his failure to find a wife in these terms: *"Non mi sono sistemato ancora"* [I have not been able to settle down yet -i.e. to find a secure job].

A construction worker in his early thirties has been unable to *sistemarsi* yet. He owns a car, is building his own house and is employed most of the year. However, the seasonal contracts on which he depends for work do not suffice to legitimise him as *sistemato*. Local women find him entertaining because of his constant jokes and genial character and describe him as a *bravo ragazzo* [a good boy]. However, he has not been able yet to engage in romantic liaisons with local women.

An unskilled female labourer who has managed to acquire a house and to buy a new car aspires to be recognised in the community as a good *massaia* [housekeeper]. She is actually seen as an extreme example of cleanliness and order. She is also considered as *una brava persona* [a good person] but has also been unable to, find a willing partner. She has demonstrated interest in a shepherd who is locally seen as *sistemato*. He has not yet responded positively to her romantic advances. In talking to us, several villagers suggested that they will surely form a couple, but the shepherd never expressed to me his thoughts about the matter (even though I asked him).

Another woman, with a university education, said that after having watched the kind of life women married to shepherds have to lead in her family, she would never consider marrying a shepherd. She is now in her thirties and she has married neither a shepherd nor a worker of any other category. She is not opposed to marriage in itself but does not seem to be able to find a local man who matches her expectations.

Women who have attended or now attend school elsewhere in the island or on the Italian peninsula show a changing perspective on the formation of their own future households. Reflecting changes in urban Italy, some women say that they would prefer to live with their partners without having to marry.[4] Nevertheless, they claim not to be completely against the idea of getting married.

Being a shepherd is not an obstacle to finding a spouse. Not marrying can be a personal choice. One shepherd who is seen as a good choice for marriage in the village has not engaged yet in any serious relationship in the village. He told me that, until recently (about 1989-1990), he had a more or less serious relationship with a female book-keeper in a coastal village. However, he thought that it was not yet the time to marry and decided to end up the affair. He said that each time he has an opportunity to start a relationship he feels insecure because, he says, marriage is a very serious affair. He affirms that marriage is supposed to last forever and that he had better be sure before he commits himself in a permanent relationship. He added emphatically: "You don't start something to later abandon it!"

Given the local norm to *sistemarsi* before marrying, age at marriage is often late in Telemula and sometimes the age difference between spouses is large. A shepherd who became *sistemato* in his forties was able to start a family in 1975. The age difference between him and his wife is 28 years. In his case several factors prevented him from marrying at an

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[4] Within the village most couples start an active sexual life before marrying and some live together a few years before marriage. However, the long-term project usually involves marriage. Only one man had refused to marry for many years. This lasted until his children began to suffer pressure because they could not share communal experiences with their friends (such as their baptism and confirmation which the priests had refused to perform because they were 'illegitimate' offspring).

earlier age. He is a `traditional' shepherd who spends long spans of time in his *ovile* and spends little time in the village. He has sporadic contacts with the rest of the community and this proved to be an obstacle to finding a spouse earlier in his life.

Another shepherd in his late forties who has remained single, is perceived as *sistemato*. However, he claims not to be interested in getting married. He lives in the house of his deceased parents and his domestic needs for food and cleaning are provided by an older, unmarried sister. In the sphere of domestic work she fulfils the responsibilities a wife would have to a married couple. That is, she does the cleaning of the house and of her brother's garments and takes care of the cheese he brings to the house for storage and marketing.

Remaining single could also be a personal preference, an individual choice in the context of the village. Two male industrial workers, one in his late thirties and the other in his early forties remain single in spite of having secure jobs, regular incomes, and having built their houses and purchased cars. One brags that he goes every year to thermal bath resorts in search of seasonal, brief romantic affairs, and although he does not claim to lack interest in marrying, he is not actively looking for a spouse. The other says he is uninterested in marrying a local woman because they are too authoritarian and selfish. He denied to be actively looking for a wife either in Telemula or in another village.

In everyday interaction, men and women meet within *cricche* on the streets or at the piazza and local bars. They organise *spuntini* and outings together to eat pizza in other villages. They dance together on the piazza during the summer religious feasts and indoors during the Christmas and New Year's Eve celebrations. While there is a tendency to marry within the village, men and women alike sometimes marry outsiders. Shepherds often take their animals to communal or

private lands in other villages and after work they go to the settlement where they meet local women. During our stay in Telemula, a local shepherd married a school teacher from a coastal village and another married a local woman, while still another made official his engagement to a woman in Bardia. Non-shepherds who work in construction in other villages or in small industries may meet non-Telemulese women and later marry them. Telemulese women who work in coastal resorts in Sardinia and in the Italian peninsula, like those who study in coastal villages or in cities of the island and the Italian peninsula, are likely to find spouses outside the village's boundaries.

In Telemula it is rare to find a man who marries without having a house, and thus has to move into his or her parent's home, or else into a rented house.[5] The local expectation and norm is that the man has to build his house before marrying. We are told that current laws have imposed constraints preventing the construction of houses that would bring an expansion of the settlement. Villagers complying with the requirement of neolocality use different strategies to surmount this legal obstacle: some fix up and furnish an abandoned house inherited from their grandparents; some build their house on family property where an old house had decayed; others, like Lorenzo in the following example, build an independent residence on top of their parents' house; some

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[5] As in other parts of Europe (Peristiany 1976:2), ideally, the Telemulese family is nuclear and aspires to neolocality. This is said to be the case, for example, in Fuenmayor (Gilmore 1980:156-157), and other villages in Andalusia, Spain (Pitt-Rivers 1971; Brandes 1980). In Cyprus, Greece, the relatives endow the daughter with a fully furnished house (Attalides 1976:81). The joint family composed of autonomous (but interdependent) households has been a common feature in Italian history (Oppo 1990a; Kertzer 1989; Kertzer and Hogan 1991). There are exceptions as, for example, Tittarelli (1991:280) describes the low frequency of nuclear households in nineteenth-century Perugia.

others have built their houses in the countryside on private family property.

Before marrying, Lorenzo had to start building his own house. As I discuss below, Lorenzo's choice of his house's location conveys the advantage of simplifying the organisation of the family division of labour. Lorenzo is a successful shepherd. Although he and his brother have only been shepherds for a short time (about eight years), they have managed to enlarge their flock. They belong to the Ogliastra milk cooperative, and gain a level of income that allows them each to build their houses, to purchase a car and to acquire the modern technology appropriate for working without electric lines in communal lands (solar panels, air compressors, binoculars).

In contrast, Michele and Susanna became *fidanzati*, initiating their sexual life while she continued to live in her parents' home and he at his parents'. Michele is also a successful shepherd. He works with his father and raises sheep, goats and cows. When he started courting Susanna he was not yet *sistemato*. He did not have a house yet. Before he acquired a house Susanna became pregnant and later gave birth. Given that Michele did not own yet a house, they did not marry. She moved into his parents' house while he continued to work toward building his own. Only when he was able to furnish a house (which he was given by his family) could they finally marry and move in.

Lorenzo and his brother's strategy of building their houses on their parents' house does not represent a unique case. Some agriculturalists and shepherds who have managed to enlarge their properties find it convenient to live near each other, creating joint families. They constitute independent nuclear families but live in proximity, favouring a joint organisation of work and the pooling of resources when necessary. Lorenzo and his brother have both built their independent households on top of their parents' house. Three

225

other local shepherds (brothers) also live in one building each having an independent household. Oppo (1990a) and Murru-Corriga (1990a) have demonstrated that this strategy is common in other communities of the Ogliastra and central Sardinia and Kertzer (1989) suggests that it is a frequent strategy in other agricultural places of Italy. Furthermore, according to Oppo (1990a:492), in the past this strategy was frequent enough to make independent households a rather exceptional aspiration in some villages in Barbagia.

2.   FAMILY ORGANISATION OF LABOUR: THE MORAL DIMENSION OF WORK

In Telemula one finds diverse perspectives about the role of men and women in the productive sphere. The `traditional' family, oriented toward production, involves all of its members at different stages of the yearly agricultural and pastoral cycles. Those who see themselves as `modern' see this organisation of the family as linked to a (negatively valued, `archaic') past in which Telemulesi families were all poor and needed the work of all to ensure their survival. In contrast, after the advent of what Mario, an old shepherd, calls the affluence that began in the 1960s, `modern' families strive to depend only on male work and to exclude women from primary productive activities. The agricultural chores, usually left to women, are now considered unnecessary given the permanent supply of green products on the market. Being able to consume, rather than to produce, comes to be better valued by those families that aspire to be recognised as `modern' within the community.

A) A `Traditional' Family.   The following account is based on my observations of the organisation of labour in Telemula's families of shepherds, agriculturalists and construction workers.   I place the emphasis on the values

226

individuals promote in order to insure the stability and the reproduction of the family. I call this family organisation rather than the household organisation of labour because, on the one hand, female work is not contained within the boundaries of the household or the village and, on the other, because other kin can be called upon when needed even though they do not form physical part of the `household'.

Women of `traditional' families, who work in the fields, belong to older demographic cohorts even though they obtain help from some of their young daughters or nieces. However, as I describe below, younger women and men increasingly consider female work undesirable. The gender and age division of labour of most pastoralist families we observed followed the same pattern. In what follows I focus on one family to illustrate the insertion of the family into the spheres of production and consumption.

Ilaria is now in her early sixties. She married Mario in 1963. He is a shepherd in his late sixties who spends most of his time with his flock since he believes it needs the continuous assistance of a shepherd. Once Mario finishes the manufacture of cheeses in his ovile, he brings them to his house. Ilaria, who spends most of her time in the village, is in charge of taking care of the cheese and its marketing. Every day, early in the morning, Ilaria will visit her *magazzino* [storage room] where she has to rotate the cheeses in order to prevent them from going rotten or cracking. Every few days she takes olive oil and oils the surface of the cheese forms. She (as well as all shepherds and their wives) says that the oil prevents bacteria [*battèri*] from `eating' the cheese. She sells the cheese in the village to friends and other co-villagers. Her husband's production has decreased as he has gradually cut down his flock size in preparation for retirement. Before the advent of cooperatives that came to Telemula to collect the milk, Mario, as well as other shepherds, sold sometimes their annual production of

cheese to wholesalers who approached them in their *ovili*.
Ilaria, as well as all other shepherd wives, had to take care
only of the cheeses set aside for home consumption and those
few destined for exchange with local non-pastoralist families.
As the figure of the wholesaler vanished, those who did not
join the cooperative came to rely on their wives for marketing
the product.

Ilaria and Mario have a nuclear, autonomous household.
However, Ilaria has some senile relatives (who live in another
house) to take care of. She takes turns with one sister, so
every other week Ilaria has to take care of them. She takes
this commitment into account in organising her other
activities outside the house. She is also in charge of the
family's *orto* [horticultural garden]. In the margins of
Telemula there are small terraces where families grow the
vegetables necessary for their household needs: lettuce,
tomatoes, potatoes, onions, garlic and green beans. Ilaria
has to go to the garden at different times of the year to
clean the soil from weeds and stones, to hoe and seed the
vegetables and to harvest them. She has a terrace in the
village and a small field in the valley, 20 kilometres away
from Telemula.

Ilaria tends her field in the valley when she goes to
look after her vineyard in another of their properties. She
and her husband presently have about 1000 old grape plants
near her husband's winter pastures. The vineyard also
requires constant cleaning of the soil and weeding. Weeds
grow fast and several times during the year she takes the 4:00
AM bus to the coast to go to the vineyard and weed it. She
has to detect the old, unproductive vines which may need an
innesto [graft], cut off the dead branches and, when the vines
start to blossom, cut the leaves off in order to favour the
ripening of the grapes. According to the frequency of rains,
she uses pesticides a minimum of three times after the grapes
blossom [*medicare la vigna*]. She does most of this work

alone, although sometimes her daughter may help. All of her children live outside the village pursuing university education.

Education does not exempt her children from being called upon to give a hand in times of need. In Ilaria's family, as well as in other families where children go to school or to university, children of both sexes are expected to help their fathers for the period of the *tosatura*, during the *vendémmia* [grape harvest] and male children for the transhumance. A son or daughter may be studying in Rome or Florence, Sassari or Cagliari and may have a test, but is expected to come and help when needed. Children are economically dependent on their parents until they complete their education. There are reciprocal obligations within the family and children have to help whenever additional labour is needed. We asked Ilaria on the occasion of the grape harvest of 1991 what would happen if her son could not come because of school. She affirmed categorically: "No way! He must come. If he does not, he will have nothing to eat!" [*No, no! Lui debbe venire, se no, lui non papa!* -verb *papae*, to eat in local Sard].

Both sons came for the grape harvest, one from Cagliari and the other from Rome (see Plate 3). In addition, she hired two *manovali* [agricultural workers] each for about L60000 per day (CAN $60.00). When work ended at about 15:00 h, a truck came from Telemula. A villager rents the truck for the transportation of the grapes to the village during the harvest period (September). He only drives and does not help to load or unload the truck.

Ilaria also bakes her own bread and makes sweets for festive occasions such as *Pasqua* [Easter], *Natale* [Christmas] and *Ferragosto* [August feast]. In an ideal situation, women often work in teams composed by their own sisters, sisters-in-law and/or neighbours. Daughters are called in for help if they live in the same village. However, often relatives live far away from the woman's household, and she has to form a

team with neighbours or in-laws. When women bake bread they start early in the morning, between 3:00 and 5:00 AM. They bake the bread for one single household at the time, rotating to another on the next occasion.[6] They make a round, flat dry white bread which can last for long periods. Shepherds store their supply in the *ovile* to be eaten on an everyday basis as supplement to the pasta, cheese and prosciutto that they consume for *pranzo*, the noon meal. Each other member of the baking team who comes to help bake the bread is given a small portion of freshly baked bread to take back home. Later, when the time to bake their own bread comes, each of them calls in all other members of the team who have the moral commitment of returning their labour.

In addition, Ilaria often bakes small amounts of bread for her children. This results from specific demands such as whole wheat bread for someone's diet, or *moddizzosu*, a soft, white potato bread. In these instances she bakes alone or with the help of her daughter. Telemulese men, whether shepherds, construction workers or others, do not participate in the baking of bread. In instances when I went to bake bread, a son or husband sometimes would join in out of curiosity. However, they do not usually help and are not expected to. The opposite holds true for daughters. If they are at home they are expected to help their mothers, not only in baking bread but also in the cleaning of the house and cooking. A young man said that he sometimes feels uneasy because he `knows' that it is wrong that only his sister is expected to help his mother, but he is aware that his mother cannot accept the sight of him doing house cleaning. If his father needs him in the *ovile*, he goes there, otherwise he is free to go at will to the bar and meet his friends.

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[6] The bread is called *carta musica* in Italian. It is called *pistoccu* in the Ogliastra and *pane carasau* in other parts of the Nuoro province.

B) **Hierarchical Relationships in the Family**. It has been argued that women in mountain communities have a greater decisional power concerning the use and control of economic resources and of social relations than men (Pitzalis-Acciaro 1978; Angioni 1990; Oppo 1990a). In `traditional' families where the man spends most of his life in the pastures or agricultural lands, women are always in charge of managing the family resources. They deal with the bureaucracy in order to make payments and to claim subsidies for production. They are in charge of selling cheese and agricultural products, and control the family's bank account. Women have discretionary power to decide on the amounts of money to be spent when there is need to buy something for the house, or to be sent to a child in another city. But this cannot said to be a `superior' power of women within the family. For example, Ilaria says that when Mario needs to spend money in order to improve his *ovile* or his flock's quality, he asks her for the money and she does not even question his assessment of such necessities. She explains: "it is his business, if he needs the money and we have it in the bank, he can spend it. After all, it is his money too." When Mario and other shepherds are in the village, they ask their wives for money in order to go to the bar. We could observe, however, that they do not perceive this occurrence as subordination or dependence on their wives. As one old informant (Maurizio) suggested, it is rather a matter of fact: women stay in the village where money is needed and men stay in the pastures where there is no need for money. Since women have the money in their purses they are the ones who supply men when they need it.

In contrast, the children of shepherds express some discomfort at their economic dependence on their parents. On the one hand, the labour market in Sardinia is insufficient to cover the employment needs of the younger population, and often young adults who continue their studies cannot find a

job to support themselves (and some do not even try). On the other hand, their parents do not expect them to look for a job. Sending one's children to school demonstrates that the family has the economic resources to do so. A family that does not send its children to school would be seen as unable to provide for their needs. This is the case of a young woman who is doing well in school but whose family cannot provide her with economic support and needs her to take care of her old mother. When someone does not perform well in school, the parents cannot be blamed for not supporting their children: it is seen as the child's own fault. As a result of these local expectations, even in their mid or late twenties (occasionally thirties), children in school have to ask their parents for money to pay for their rent, food supply and leisure activities. It is these young adults (male and female) who perceive their relation to their parents as one of subordination and obligation. One young adult confessed to us that he finds it troubling to have to ask his mother for money in order to drink with his friends. He and other friends suggest that, because their parents continue to support them through school, they cannot, under any circumstance, refuse to come and help them when they are called. Children recognise that they depend on their families' money for shelter and food and some resent the fact that they have to study hard to satisfy their families' expectations and that they have to comply with occasional requests for help at work.

Single young adults who work in agriculture as *manovali* or as shepherds with their parents do not seem to give the same meaning to their relation to their parents. They all continue to live together and to eat from the family's pooled budget rather than from 'their own' money. Those who work in shepherding with relatives, usually their fathers, do not experience conflict as a result of having to ask their mothers for money. After all, like their fathers, they have worked for that money, and it is as well a matter of convenience that

232

the mother administers it. Most of the money that these single children earn and/or help the family to accumulate is expected to be invested in building their own houses in order to *sistemarsi*. Both sons and daughters have rights of access to family monies in case of need for medicine, amusement, clothing, and the like. No one has privileged access to family resources on the basis of age or gender. However, expenses which are likely to improve productive and living conditions are favoured against those considered in a particular moment as more superficial.

C) **Modernising the Family: From Production to Consumption.** The gender and age division of labour characteristic of ʿtraditionalʾ Telemulese families has begun to change. With the construction of roads, the ownership of private vehicles and the greater availability of cash, families have an increased access to the market (in relation to what was the case even 20 years ago). The world-view concerning work and consumption of market goods of many newly forming families differs from ʿtraditionalʾ ones. The man who now forms a new household expects that his wife will become a full-time housewife, a *casalinga*. Up until the 1960s married women performed agricultural chores besides housekeeping.[7] For the recently married the value of women's work seems to have acquired different connotations. They perceive the village's immediate past as a ʿbackwardʾ time when villagers lived in poverty and dire need. It is in this context that Lorenzo understands why women were constrained to work in the fields. For a ʿmodernʾ couple who have achieved economic

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[7] The formal classification of the population census lists these women as *casalinghe*. However, their husbands seem to see them in a different light: they are perceived as co-workers: during an interview, a shepherd said that his wife is *casalinga*, as was his mother. He, however, qualified his statement: "you should not think that these are women who stay at home. They work in the fields and work very hard".

autonomy and a good standard of living there is no need for the wife to lead a life of hardship. They see themselves as having the economic resources to buy the products the household needs. A wife working outside would call into question the couple's economic success.

Another way of understanding a married woman's work outside the house is exemplified by the comments expressed about Francesco and Sebastiana. Francesco is a young successful goatherd who drives a sports car and dresses in elegant and expensive clothing. His wife finds her work in the service sector fulfilling and he does not object to her work. A single woman harshly criticised Sebastiana: she accused her of being a bad mother who was more concerned about earning some spare money than about providing the proper care for her child. This woman, who finds seasonal employment in the service sector as well, stated that she would stop working for others as soon as she marries so as to be able to spend all of her time attending to her children, her husband and her own house.

The positive value of the role of the *casalinga* [housekeeper] is shared as well by many young men. Often in conversation in bars or in the piazza, they expressed their dislike for the idea that their wives might work outside their households either in agriculture or any other job. A young shepherd said that when he marries he expects to be able to support his wife so that she will not need to work. He said his goal is to marry a woman who can be his wife-*casalinga*.

Maria, Lorenzo's wife, has never done any agricultural work. She may have helped relatives to pick olives or participated in grape harvests, but has not worked on the fields year-round. She firmly believes that to be a *brava* wife, she does not need to work intensively in the fields.

She can be a good wife by being a good *casalinga*.[8] She takes care of the cheese her husband brings home for their own consumption, keeps the house immaculately clean and cooks every day for her husband and any guests who may visit them. She does some embroidery for the house, and maintains her family and friendship ties visiting both relatives and friends. Lorenzo himself expects her not to do any work outside the house. He keeps a vineyard with his brother, who this far has taken the responsibility for tending it. Lorenzo gives him help during the harvest and wine making.

D) Changing Attitudes Toward Family Production. Agricultural work is not considered any easier than shepherding although it may be undervalued in other terms. For example, a retired mason told me that agriculture is a rather feminine chore and that he finds it only fair that women used to receive wages inferior to those of masons. However, other villagers respect women for the hardship of their lives. A young goatherd once confessed to us that he greatly dislikes working in the family vineyard. He added that he admires his mother's and other women's endurance: "they do this job all year round. I go there for only one day and end up more tired than after milking my goats." A university student confessed that once in a while, during the school year, he loses interest in his studies. He then said: "Fortunately I am called to give help to my family for the

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[8] Murru-Corriga (1990b) has described the distinction between the *mere è domu* and the *massaia*. The former is a woman who does not do agricultural chores, but may process the products (milk, meat and produce) men bring home. The latter is the woman who performs administrative functions of the household monetary resources and performs other tasks, often of agricultural nature, in the margin and/or outside the village. The *casalinga* is yet a third type of female figure who has practically no contact with men's or agricultural work and is concerned mainly with domestic chores and social visiting.

tosatura and the grape harvest. Then I realize the kind of life *I do not want to lead* and go back to school to study hard." I asked him if he envisions for himself some amount of physical work in the future and he answered that he hopes that once he gets his university degree he will not have to do agropastoral chores again. The son of another shepherd, in turn, told me that he would like to achieve a balance between physical and mental work. He explained that when he helps his father he comes into close contact with nature while the university alienates him from that world. He added that he would like to find a white-collar job near Telemula so as to be able to combine mental work with some physical chores.

Currently in Telemula and other neighbouring villages there are small cooperatives that produce *pistoccu* and relieve some families from one of their `traditional' tasks. Some families, especially young couples, rely now mostly on this supply in order to satisfy their own need for bread. The women of these families have ceased to bake bread and sweets. They explain that baking is superfluous work when it can be avoided by spending a few more Lire in the market. They say they are glad to avoid the effort of waking up early in the morning to bake bread. Their husbands do not complain about the quality of cooperative-made bread and are rather content with the product.

The conflict between `traditional' and `modern' world-views regarding a family's productive and consumptive practices finds expression in some young individuals born into `traditional' families who, by pursuing a university degree, have personally undertaken the `path to modernisation'. They continue to assign physical work a positive value and consider it, normatively, important for the self-realization of individuals. However, their views tend to give a rather nostalgic (Herzfeld 1990) value to `traditional life': they themselves are unwilling to permanently engage in physical work. A group of students from Telemula and the Ogliastra, in

Cagliari, expressed in conversation that they regretted that women are now abandoning `traditional' work. A woman in her thirties claimed that in relinquishing their `traditional' chores women would become subordinated to their husbands. She explained that when Telemulese women had to produce vegetables and bake bread they had achieved a level of autonomy that they have lost with their present status as *casalinghe*. She could not see how young women could find anything positive in leisure activities and insisted that it was important not to abandon their `traditional' productive chores. She scorned the village's *casalinghe* because `they sit scratching their bellies watching television and doing nothing instead of working to realise themselves'. She added that women in the Ogliastra needed to organise themselves into cooperative organisations to produce textiles, bread and other products (perhaps not realizing that it is precisely the presence of such firms and the subsequent commodification of textiles and bread that allows women to avoid traditional household production).[9] In her support, a young man stated that it was important to continue such `traditional' practices to prevent them from being lost for ever.

3. FAMILIAL CONSUMER PRACTICES: THE MORAL RELATION TO GOODS

The trope of modernisation ethically situates the preferences that individuals express for different kinds of goods. Both `traditional' and `modern' families have access to cash and commodities from the market. One needs no more than thirty minutes to arrive at the coast where one can buy products from the national and international markets. In choosing one type of product rather than another Telemulesi show their

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[9] Several factors prevent groups of Telemulesi from organising formal structures of cooperation. These are the subject of Vargas-Cetina (forthcoming).

acceptance of moral world-views that favour different positionings in rhetorical times and spaces. In this section I examine traditional and `modern' consumerist styles and demonstrate their link to the construction of individual's self/representations.

A) Traditional Consumer Practices. The current ecological discourse on natural foods and environments has been highly publicized in the Italian media. This has, as I demonstrate here, allowed `traditional' individuals and families to re-define their choices and represent themselves in a positive light. Most magazines and journals publish articles on the virtues of home-made staples and of `traditional' life practices. Most villagers read the newspapers at the bar. Somewhat fewer Telemulesi buy weekly magazines, but we found in local households copies of weekly magazines such as *Famiglia Cristiana* [Christian Family], *L'Espresso* and *Panorama*, and sometimes we also found them in shepherds' *ovili*.[10] Most shepherds have battery-powered radios in their *ovili* on which they listen to the news. The daily exposure to the media has fostered contact with ecological discourses which are locally deployed by peoples to rhetorically reposition themselves in favouring `authentic' (as opposed to `backward') goods. That is, informed by the `naturalist' ideology, shepherds (as well as other Telemulese) stress the positive aspect of their life and nutrition emphasising the absence of preservatives and the natural virtues of their food. In so doing, they understate the fact that their manufacturing procedures and type of diet has been described as `backward' by ERSAT and other government

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[10] In my daily visits to the news stand I could see that the weekly provision of magazines amounted to a maximum of five copies each, including issues representing the whole gamut of the political spectrum (each political party has its own popular weekly magazine if not its own newspaper).

agencies.[11]

Rather that adopting a new perspective on the environment, shepherds can now legitimise their preferences for `traditional' goods on the basis of the authenticity praised by naturalists. By shifting the name of their preferences they can legitimise their self-representation as `modern' rather than that of a group of people anchored in the past. An apt example in local social interactions is food. Food often has symbolic and moral connotations that make the expression of preference for a given type of food a moral choice.

Food symbolically marks the status of those who consume and produce it (Bourdieu 1984; Secondulfo 1990). Most pastoralist households produce their own vegetables and raise at least one pig a year for the household's yearly supply of prosciutto and bacon. These same families buy canned goods and industrial drinks. Individuals often eat canned meat, as is the case in the *ovile*: after finishing his morning work, the shepherd sits and opens a can of "Emmental" meat or tuna that he eats it with *pistoccu*. During his breakfast he often drinks industrially produced beer or another bottled drink. Some families offer these same canned products when they think that the amount of food may not have been enough to satisfy the guests.

These products are not perceived positively as `modern'. They are rather seen as a practical alternative in supplementing their diets. Families buy frozen fish and other already prepared foods. Most families in Telemula do not eat home-made pasta on an everyday basis but rather they buy an

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[11] This strategic play of contrasting moral definitions of objects is illustrated by Thompson (1979:35) who describes how one same building can be seen as either part of the glorious heritage or as a rat-infested slum depending on the class membership of its inhabitants. Herzfeld (1991:*passim*) shows a similar conflict of definitions in Rhetemnos, Greece.

industrially produced brand. When cooking, these families do not employ commercially prepared sauces. In eating and when offering a meal to guests, the hosts casually say that the sauce is prepared with tomatoes, onion and garlic grown in the family garden, olive oil home-made with the family olives, and cheese added to the pasta hand-made by a shepherd of the family. They praise their products and scorn industrially made sauces, stressing that undoubtedly unknown chemicals have been added to the jars.

Telemula's livestock is raised on natural pastures. In the mountain the pastures are rich in thyme and rosemary which give the meat a particular aroma and flavour. Telemulesi believe that adding spices or sauces to the meat would conceal its `authentic' flavour. This holds true also for their home made prosciutto and bacon which they cure without adding spices other than salt and, occasionally, black pepper or fennel seeds [*finocchio*].

Outsiders recognise the genuineness of Telemula's meats and wines. Some claim that they are among the best of the region matched only by those of other mountain villages in Ogliastra. Once, a Villagrandese admitted that their prosciutto is not the same after the last epizootic [*peste suina*] when most of his co-villagers ceased to raise their pigs on natural pastures. He said that nowadays (1991), Telemula's prosciutto has become better than the one produced in his own village.

On the grounds of ecological and naturalist discourse, originating in urban centres, Telemulesi have come to see their food habits as having positive value. They claim to have read that olive oil not only does not increase but actually reduces the blood levels of cholesterol and use it abundantly in their meals. They have also read that preservatives are chemicals with often unknown consequences for the individual's health; they are also aware of the high value that organically grown products obtain in the market and

they have come to see their own products as `organic' and their own eating habits as `authentic', based in nature. As the sister of a shepherd once told me, complaining about the low price local cheese obtains in the market, "the cheese made by Telemulesi shepherds should be more expensive. The manufacturing of cheese is artisanal and this work is usually well paid in other industries. Our animals feed on natural pastures [thus they have a better taste] and the cheese is made following traditional processes [i.e., it is `authentic', *genuino*]. It should be as expensive as many French cheeses." As a result of the shift in evaluative code, most Telemulesi do not have to change their food habits and manufacturing procedures. They have come to interpret their diets within a new (moral) code. The discourse on modernisation has led them to abandon many old practices which represented them as `backward'. The ecologist, naturalist discourse has legitimated in a new code what villagers have been doing for many years.

B) **Modern Consumer Practices.** Lorenzo has a two-year old sports model of the Volkswagen in front of his house. He drives his car to the next street to park it near the bar. There he and his friends exchange rounds of drinks. He is a successful shepherd, but cannot symbolically subordinate his friends by being the only one paying, thus they follow the established pattern of rounds. He married recently and his house is new. He has bought a large fridge and a freezer. He keeps his own wine, cheese and prosciutto in the family's *magazzino* [storage room]. He and his wife own a large colour television set and a VCR. New old-fashioned furniture decorates the living room and bedroom. The kitchen is furnished with a large stove and many electric appliances. They have fine glass- and silverware. Their house is supplied with many types of consumer goods, but is kept sober because they receive friends in the home and an ostentatious display

241

of exclusive goods could be seen as *prepotenza*. The house is well-kept and ordered but does not display abundant riches. As a female friend of theirs put it after visiting their house: "they have settled down very well" [*loro si son sistemati molto bene*].

Pietro is a young shepherd engaged to a woman from another town. He always dresses elegantly after work. He wears gold jewelry and drives an Alfa Romeo. Although he never drinks alcoholic beverages, he participates very often in the exchange of rounds in the bar. He often drives with his friends to coast villages to eat pizza or to visit other friends. Often he travels to Nuoro to buy new garments.

Francesco has a sports Renault. He is also a successful shepherd and married to a working woman. Their house has a large fireplace, deep freezer, one large television set, VCR, stereo system, electric appliances for the kitchen, gas cooking stove and a large fridge, carpets and wooden furniture. He and Pietro both dress above the local standard for shepherds and sometimes we heard people judging them as *prepotenti*. He and his wife are frequently described as *bravi* because they always help their families in agricultural work. During the grape and olive harvest, she obtains a permit to leave work in order to fulfil her familial responsibilities. Marcello, a livestock raiser (he has goats, sheep and cattle) has an extended family which includes his daughter's husband. They own two cars and a truck. The house has also electric appliances, a large TV set, VCR, and his children have a computer that is used exclusively for games.

Electric and electronic appliances are found in most households. Shepherds and other workers do not hesitate to buy modern cameras for their children when they request it. Most Telemulese are replacing their old black and white television sets with new colour ones. Computers are not alien to villagers. Some itinerant agents who sell them door to door came into the village and convinced parents to acquire

them with the promise that they would later get access to computer courses for their children. The latter never arrived and computers either go unused or are exclusively used for games.

In the dimension of personal care, both men and women travel either to Tortolì, Nuoro or Cagliari to acquire new garments: blouses, shirts, trousers, underwear, shoes. Each time that a man or woman acquires a new blouse, skirt or shirt s/he displays it during the *passeggiàta* or on the piazza. However, they take care not to overshadow other Telemulesi. New clothes seem to correspond to the same aesthetic norms: young women often wear miniskirts of dark colours and flowery blouses or white ones. Brands and quality could be different but there was not obvious differences in style. Women in their thirties often dress sober colours and only seldom miniskirts. More often they wear skirts to the knees and long-sleeve blouses. Older women wear darker colours even if flowery ones, and widows are always dressed in black cotton. Men, on the other hand, often dress in black corduroy. The use of this garment which originally distinguished shepherds from other workers in the Barbagia, has spread to members of most other occupations. Blue jeans are also common among both men and women. When wearing new clothes, even if expensive, most Telemulesi do not display in everyday sociability garments which are clearly more expensive than what other co-villagers wear: it would be a public claim to superior economic power.

Beyond the use and display of garments and appliances, Telemulesi express their values in their preference for the use of objects. Television sets in all houses seem to be an instrument to prove both the equality of all villagers who possess one and that they are willing to acquire 'modern' appliances. They also bear witness to the economic capacity to buy them. Television sets are turned on most of the day, producing only 'noise' in the communications among members of

243

the domestic unit and with visitors when they are around. Often no one pays attention to what happens on the screen. In some instances the television set is described as company. A shepherd's wife who spends most of her time alone says that she watches even shows she does not understand because the people on the screen give her company.

When actively watching television, some Telemulesi prefer to watch `live' studio shows of games and competitions (or sports when they are shown) and refuse to watch films or serial shows (although many women and men watch soap operas). A shepherd put it this way: "How can someone watch these shows? They are only lies, nothing of it never really happens. Look for example at the police shows: they [the police] always win, when have you seen this happen here? All lies!" On the other hand, live programmes, because of what is perceived as spontaneity are, in his view, authentic [genuini]. This preference for live programmes proved common to most households in Telemula, as we noted over the course of our visits. People would rather watch the news every hour than watch a film or show. Housewives often watch soap operas and have to stand the scornful comments of their husbands or their younger children who accused them of wasting their time watching shows that have nothing to do with their own lives. A young woman complained that the most popular soap opera of the year was made in the U.S. and showed `many wealthy people living experiences completely alien to Telemulesi'. She said she used to like Argentinean and Mexican soap operas because they are often about life in rural villages, and this made her feel closer to the events on screen. Nevertheless, as suggested above, many older men and women watch the U.S.-made soap opera and there are many youngsters who would interrupt any other social activity in order not to miss the day's episode.

A further aspect of watching television is concerned with its political implications. As the Italian television is

244

lottizzata (Spotts and Wieser 1986), the three official channels are identified with political parties. The Christian Democratic and other conservative parties' members watch RAI1, the Socialist RAI2 and the communist RAI3. When men and women were discussing events in the bar, the opinions of the (minority) communists were dismissed as biased information: "you should stop watching the communist channel, they are brainwashing you!" In families where there were sympathiser of more than one party, they would watch the news first on one channel and then in another. There are also private channels in Italy, but as it has been publicly disclosed, they have established strong political ties with the PSI and the DC (*L'Espresso* Oct. 11, 1992:74-76; Jan. 13, 1993:38-40).

VCRs have a limited use. While families may own one, there is no video rental business in Telemula and there are just a few in neighbouring villages. Some stores on the coast sell films, but then in Telemula people dislike the non-authentic nature of fiction. The result is that often families possess only one video tape, that of the couple's wedding. When more than one are owned they are the copies of one's children baptisms or weddings and sometimes the copy of a film made during a village's religious feast by a friend. We met only one Telemulese who owns a videocamera. A few families copied the programme of *Sardegna Canta* where Telemula was shown on a regional channel.[12]

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[12] *Sardegna Canta* is a weekly program in which one village is presented per show. The program focuses on the `traditional' customs of villagers and often makes people act as if some events were part of their everyday life. In Telemula the inhabitants were represented dressed in traditional costumes (which they seldom do); it was said that often men take their musical instruments to the piazza and spontaneously engage in dancing (this never happens either); they showed how *pane di ghiande* was made in the village (a meal, not bread, that was made with clay and acorns during times of grave scarcity of grain); and showed the local `witch doctor' who, according to some old Telemulesi, almost nobody visits any more.

The possession of modern objects by Telemulesi is instrumental in stressing equality within the village. Ownership also stresses the fact that people are not `backward' as they are often portrayed in other villages. They buy and use modern appliances, establishing links with the `modern' world. Opposing the representation of Telemula as a *paese molto povero* [a very poor village] fostered by other Sardinians, they represent themselves as villagers who have the economic resources to buy and use all kind of `modern' appliances which are socially desirable to own (e.g. computer, videocamera, large colour television sets). They also acquire and wear costly garments and display them during summer religious feasts in neighbouring villages and their own, as well as in outings to eat pizza or seafood. Their pattern of consumption can be seen also in light of the model that Douglas and Isherwood (1979) have suggested: Local consumption styles reflect people's involvement in different economic and cultural codes. As the emphasis is put on consumption of goods corresponding to the primary and secondary sectors of the economy, Telemulesi seem to comply with the cultural codes that confer meaning to products deriving from extractive and industrial sectors. The need for information technology is lower, and is more limited to a passive reception of information from magazines and television news.[13]

4. DISCUSSION

If different social and work habitus can bring differences in the patterns of social life and individual's self-representation, families which align with either `traditional'

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[13] By passivity I mean that subjects do not create the information even though, as Eco (1964; 1990) points out, subjects are active in their interpretations of information in the context of their own cultural code.

(productive) or `modern' (consumerist) moral codes provide the framework for understanding individuals' choices. A production-oriented family imposes on its members demands of a different nature from those of a family oriented toward the market. In spite of the fact that production-oriented families which depend on every member's participation in the work process have a positive value for most of their members, they are assigned a negative value by local `modern' persons. The negative perception of these families arises from what is perceived as dependency on the heavy labour it demands from all its members. As I have already discussed, it is this reliance on physical work to extract products from nature that is seen as establishing the links of these families to the past. This past is not the highly valued one of `authentic' lives, but to the past of `tradition' and `backwardness'.

The member of a `traditional' family shapes her/his social interaction in agreement with the demands that different productive cycles impose on her/him. In contrast, the worker of secondary and tertiary firms has set schedules that give her/his life stability and predictability. After planning an outing with a girlfriend to the beaches in Cagliari or Sassari, a student may be required to cancel his plans in order to come to Telemula to help his father in a transhumance or in a *tosatura*. These young men sometimes experience their participation in family work as an obligation rather than as another form of entertainment (as it is for children of public servants who come to enjoy the *spuntino* after the *tosatura*, or to get some exercise in a transhumance). The daughter in a `traditional' family is often required to stay at home and to help her mother bake or clean and with other domestic chores. In contrast the daughters of individuals who rely on the market can drive to the coast to enjoy the midday sun on the beach or just to have some fun on the streets of coastal villages. The obligations of the members of `traditional' families underline their

247

difference from `modern', urban-like villagers who can afford greater amounts of free time and a consumerist lifestyle.

Given that `modern' families have abandoned the performance of tasks that circumscribed its members to the household or to the agricultural fields, individuals can enjoy greater amounts of free time in comparison to members of `traditional' families. Some married young women got together to set up an all-female aerobics class where they meet three times a week to exercise. The image of the exercising person is made fashionable in the publicity of most Italian products and magazines promote its positive value. Individuals who work most of the day in the valley or on the Supramonte claim that they do not to feel the need to join a gym. However, some single women who work cleaning facilities on the coast have joined their friends in the aerobics class and wear their sports garments during the *passeggiàta*. In general, the use of leisure time clearly stresses the social distinction that exists between `traditional' and `modern' families. In some cases, this distinction has encouraged young men to abandon shepherding aiming to attain a similar life-style (see below, chapter Nine).

`Modern' local subjects are willing to adopt behaviours and looks that are associated to the representation of life in an urban setting. The adoption of urban-like life-styles, including the use of free time, working routines and consumer practices is instrumentally used to legitimise their claims to `modernity'. These subjects also aim at re-creating the urban space within the village or the Ogliastra region. They do this by patronising a local gymnasium, visiting restaurants on the coast, shopping in the large stores in the valley, acquiring jewelry and walking in the town environment of tourist settlements in the coast.

The `traditional' Telemulese strives to stress his/her acceptance of `modernity' by showing his/her preference for `authentic' products (which `modern' individuals show too).

248

After all, genuine products are assigned a positive value in 'modern', urban milieus in contrast to industrially-produced ones. Also the travelling to the coast of 'traditional' Telemulesi, to the same facilities where 'modern' Telemulesi go, is affected by their participation in work cycles. The timing of their trips and the amounts of money they can spend vary with the season of the year, while those families with a steady, regular income, suffer little annual variation. Also, the 'traditional' family members assign a positive value to their family organisation on the basis of their internal solidarity and cooperation. They place much emphasis on physical work and during the year they gather together in the fields or the Supramonte for working and for celebrating different religious feasts or the conclusion of certain stages of the yearly productive cycle.

As more members of 'traditional' families find a place in the urban future, they introduce changes in the family's organisation of work and consumption and favour the development of a 'modern' habitus and moral world-view. The contrast of habitus and moral world-views at the local level offer the grounds for potential conflict between different local groups. On the one hand the family mediates the transition to 'modernity'. On the other hand, compliance with established patterns of social interaction reduces the possibilities for open conflict. In Part III I describe the everyday strategies that sanction social peace within the village. These are strategies based on the local values that stress a sense of communitarian identification and of egalitarianism. In Chapter Eight I focus on the everyday socialisation among village members, and in Chapter Nine I look at the role that moral values and representations have in the individual's choice of occupation.

PART III

MORAL SELF/REPRESENTATIONS AND CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

The economic conditions in Anzelinu's family had deteriorated. The attempt at shepherding had failed. His father and brothers, who had stayed in the village, were clearly unable to become shepherds: they had been born peasants.

After the test teacher Periti wanted to direct Anzelinu to a technical school ... His relatives could not afford this expense. However, pressed by the teacher they decided to undertake further sacrifices if he was to strive to perform well in school. In any case, the decision rested with Anzelinu. His mother and teacher urged him:

— So, you must decide Anzelí, school or work?

— Work, — answered Anzelinu, in a whisper, but with determination.

He had a lump in his throat. His mother sighed, relieved. The teacher, who well understood the boy's choice, saluted the mother and left the house.

A. Carta *Anzelinu* (1981:187-188).

Now even a shepherd wants to go to high school! Ah! Ah! Ah! But this is madness. One who still stinks of sheep. Where have we come to?

...

He is a shepherd's son! He must follow everybody else's path, not that of the wealthy. He must work his ass off, everyday, just as we do. Who does he think he is?

G. Ledda *Padre Padrone* (1975:210)

CHAPTER EIGHT
PRACTICES AND IMAGES: LOCAL MORALITY AND
CONFLICT AVOIDANCE

In Parts I and II I have examined the different local representations of the shepherd as well as those of other groups of workers. The epigraphs that open Part III are taken from two novels written in Sardinia by Sardinians. Both are of an autobiographical nature and develop the same theme: the epic process of becoming a `modern' subject from a basic natural individual (i.e. a shepherd). Both Anzelinu and Gavino (from Carta's and Ledda's novels respectively) are born in agropastoral families, the former in the north, the latter in the centre of Sardinia. They endure the harsh life of shepherds' children until they realize that education could release them from the chains of the `archaic' pastoralist cultural environment. Both meet resistance from their relatives and their co-villagers, but at the end both will be able to achieve technical degrees and abandon the milieu in which they were born.[1]

In these novels as in the everyday life of many villagers in Telemula and other central Sardinian villages, the general contrast between shepherds and non shepherds is, in general terms, articulated by the notions of `tradition' and `modernity'. However, ethically, both `modern' and `traditional' subjects can be considered as `good persons' [persone brave] according to their conformity to behaviourial performances and expectations within their own group. I have described the local image of shepherds' life as one of

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[1] Later, both Ledda and Carta returned to settle in their native villages. People who have met them claim that their accounts are farfetched and that they are abnormal persons (in a pathological sense): they were unable to adjust to their own environment and that is why they first went to school and later wrote their novels.

hardship, of rigid ties to `archaic' practices and spaces, and of small amounts of free time. This general representation emerges, through contrast with practices and spatial uses adopted by other Telemulesi that correspond to the model of `modernity'. These practices stress the scheduled nature of work and free time and the ensured regularity of an income. The body of the worker in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy is differently shaped from that of the agropastoral worker (man or woman). Their routines are different, as are their rhythms of social life: shepherds follow patterns that change through the year and non-shepherds have a regular, ordered style of social interaction.

The young Telemulese who aspires to find a position in the job market is faced with the fact that his/her choice of occupation will shape his/her position in practical and rhetorical spaces and times. Choice of occupation implies the choice of a life-style as well as one of self-representation. In consequence, choice of occupation is both an economic choice and a choice of position in the local and extra-local discursive textual spaces of symbolic meanings. The double choice itself is informed by the meanings attached to one's own (perceived) position within the village and the community as an individual of moral worth (a *persona brava*). In this chapter I focus on the aspects of social interaction that serve to construct contrasting representations of the `modern' and `traditional' Telemulese and the general concept of the *persona brava* with which both types of persons can be perceived. I first examine the aggressive traits which the `traditional' villager is attributed, and later examine, by contrast, the behaviour expected of the emerging `modern' Ogliastrino/a. I also focus on the local strategies of conflict avoidance and management and, finally, I examine the practice of hospitality as it stresses the moral meaning locally given to a sense of egalitarianism and communal identity. I contend that, at the local level, the emphasis

252

put on these values is used to reduce the possibility of conflict resulting from the increasing divergence of individuals' habitus which, in turn, arise from different economic and social practices.

1. SOURCES OF CONFLICT: SPATIAL STRATEGIES

I have indicated above that Telemulesi meet their friends on the streets and the piazzas of the village. In the local moral code, the stress on egalitarianism and communal solidarity is rhetorically used in defining the `good person'. In accordance with these values, cricche, families and political groups expect that members will not emphasise their differences and will avoid open conflict. However, the difference in work schedules and routines find expression in differences in individuals' physical appearance and demeanour. In adapting to a more urban style of behaviour, Telemulesi who represent themselves as `modern' claim to respect a peaceful code of interaction, while agropastoral workers represented as `traditional' are seen to follow an aggressive code. I briefly outline here the different use of space displayed by shepherds and non-shepherds within the communal boundaries.

   A) Aggressiveness on the Streets. Both the institutional and local discourses identify criminality and violence with the agropastoral world. As discussed above, it is the `traditional' agropastoral world that has been identified as the source of violent traits. Often, the behaviour of shepherds seen as `traditional' within the village conforms to these discursive expectations. During our stay in Sardinia, the only Telemulesi who ever had problems with the law belonged to a `traditional' cricca made up exclusively of pastori (both shepherds and goatherds). Their behaviour on the streets when relating to other Telemulesi was often perceived as confrontational and disrespectful of the local

norms of public life.

In contrast to urban-like `modern' villagers, including one group of shepherds, the `traditional' livestock raiser underscores his connection to the rural milieu in almost every moment of his public life. The `traditional' shepherd emphasises his aggressive disposition through his dressing style: he wears, day and night, working boots, black corduroy pants and green military shirts. The shepherd often rolls the sleeves up to display his developed arms and forearms and walks or stands up in a seemingly defiant pose.

One man, son of a shepherd himself, told me of the origins of this dressing style. According to Tizio, it was first in Orgosolo that shepherds wore this combination of garments for work. He said that Orgolesi shepherds are the model of the *balente* [Sard. gloss for talented, skilful; however the term is often used with the negative connotation of ruthless]. The black corduroy pants are locally called *pantaloni coraggiosi* [brave-man pants] because of the contained potential violence they are meant to symbolize. Shepherds from Orgosolo are reputed for their aggressiveness and are represented as the archetype of the Sardinian criminal (Niceforo 1977; Hobsbawm 1959; Braudel 1966). The imitation of the Orgosolo dressing style was locally meant to signify the shepherds' physical power and violent potential in order to impose a fearful respect on other villagers and on outsiders. The dressing style was copied not only in Telemula but also elsewhere in central Sardinia. Non-shepherds tend to perceive the staging of a Wild West scene when they witness the gathering of a group of shepherds at the bar. Tizio ironically commented: "Telemulesi shepherds want to look like cowboys." In another instance, a young woman, with whom I travelled from Cagliari to central Sardinia, told me upon learning about my interest in Sardinian shepherds: "Do you realize the similarity between Texas and central Sardinia?" When I asked her to explain she said: "Like in Far-West films,

254

when one enters a Sardinian bar [in Baronia and Barbagia], one finds all these rough-looking men drinking beer in men-only groups."

Other villagers have made similar statements when during the *passeggiàta* we found the *cricca* of young `traditional' shepherds walking along the street. In Telemula as in most of Southern Italy, in the early evening when villagers have finished their everyday chores, men and women go out to the main street of the village for a walk. This is called the *passeggiàta* [stroll, walk] and has a quasi-compulsory nature. All expect to meet their friends at that time and those who regularly fail to show up are seen as *prepotenti* who place themselves above the rest of the community. Most shepherds (`modern' and `traditional' alike) meet at the piazza and excuse themselves from joining the walk by stressing that they have already walked enough in the Supramonte. A group of young shepherds (aged between 15 and 25), however, participate in the walk. A few join gender mixed groups, but one small group of six shepherds used to walk the street in a men-only *cricca*. These young men walk in the middle of the street enacting a `Wild West' performance: they walk side by side with their particular cadence stressing a threatening image. They do not allow others to pass and force groups which they meet on the street to split in order to pass, or else to form compact groups which do not obstruct their path. They are sometimes noisy and boisterous and in crossing some groups they utter in Sardinian (what I think are) indirect offensive messages.[2] Other times during the *passeggiàta*, they drive their car on the streets at an intimidating speed and when

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[2] Occasionally, while walking with our friends, we met this group of shepherds. Someone among them would say something in Sardinian (which I did not understand) allowing our friends to hear it. As our friends showed to be uneasy but failed to respond, I figured out that the comment was not addressed to them but nevertheless referred to them. A reply from our friends would have resulted in an open confrontation.

they find a car that has stopped so that the driver can address a group of pedestrians, they stop near the rear of the car and start beeping furiously.[3] In a few instances, when the driver did not yield the street immediately, they repeatedly hit the rear of his car until he was compelled to leave. Most other witnesses showed non-verbal disapproval of their actions but not one dared to protest or to respond to their aggressions. Even though conflict avoidance seems to be a general rule in Telemula, the aggressive, intimidatory behaviour of 'traditional' shepherds was underlined by the passive response of other villagers who wish to stress their own urban demeanour.

B) Aggressiveness in the Bar. After the *passeggiàta*, friends walk into one of the bars. Members of the political group which controls the *comune* are customers in the bars to the east, and the opposition in those of the centre of the village. Each bar has a set closing day during the week and only one of them is legally allowed to deal in cigarettes. The sale of cigarettes is controlled by the state and only establishments with permits can sell them. Thus even those who belong to the opposite group, have to come often into this specific bar to buy their supply of cigarettes. Sometimes, when their favourite bar is closed, they stay in the *tabacchino* [in other places is called *tabaccàio* and *tabaccherìa*, that is, the legal site to purchase cigarettes].

Most customers in the central bars sit and drink alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages while they play cards or engage in conversation. While in recent times women patronize all bars, those in the centre are more open to their presence

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[3] Usually, in small villages and in cities like Nuoro, other drivers show great amounts of patience with drivers who stop to briefly talk to someone else. Sometimes long lines of cars form and only if the driver in the front takes a very long time do the others protest with their horns.

and women take active part in the daily exchange of rounds in the bars. No one is committed to order alcoholic beverages even though all are expected to accept the offer of a drink of some sort. Sometimes, late at night, when women have returned home, some young men engage in aggressive games. For example, in a wrestling match, each individual tries to outdo the other by putting his opponent's back on the floor. Often, after one has been defeated, he tries to obtain revenge and the game increases in aggressiveness and violence until the other members of the group placate them.

During our stay in Telemula, in three instances the group of `traditional' shepherds were involved in *risse* [brawls] in the *tabacchino* in which, we were told, they destroyed part of the furniture. These brawls involved only members of the same *cricca* who became violent after drinking much alcohol. The police were not called, according to some informants, because one of the offenders is a relative of the owner's wife. The only brawl we witnessed occurred after a small group of customers had drunk several beers. They started playing aggressively putting crushed potato chips into each other's shirts. At our table, we were engaged in conversation about other topics so that we did not see why the game turned into a fist fight. Unexpectedly, one of the men in the neighbouring table got up with his glass and threw it at his friend. Then they wrestled on the floor getting cuts from the broken glass. Later they threatened each other with chairs and bottles until the owner announced he was going to call the carabinieri (the owner's wife's relative was not in that group). Our shepherd friends at the table showed indifference, and the non-shepherd ones confessed to have been shaken by the episode just as we were. A woman said that these `traditional' shepherds (all from the same political faction) "are savages." Even in aggressive games that `modern' Telemulesi play at the bar, they are expected to control extreme forms of violence. They can push and kick and

257

throw sugar or potato chips at each other; however, they avoid engaging in fist fights. In this attitude they mark themselves as different from `arretrati' villagers.

C) **Aggressiveness on the Supramonte.** Most Telemulesi shepherds stated that animal rustling in Telemula ceased to be a serious problem in the 1960s. According to some, it is still a possibility in the territory bordering northern Barbagian communities. The problem most confront is having one or two sheep or goats stolen during the night. These events are seen as *ragazzatte*, that is, as childish actions that young men undertake in order to prove their *balentia* [manliness] (see Herzfeld 1985 for a similar understanding in Crete).[4] No shepherd can prove that a specific person (or group of persons) stole the animals, and the police are usually not called to solve the problem. When many animals are stolen, the shepherd whose animals were rustled takes the initiative to find the animals. As a young shepherd said:

> It is stressful to arrive at the *ovile* and realize that your flock is incomplete. Then, it is a nuisance to spend lots of time looking for the animals. But the real problem starts when you find them, because an arrangement has to be found with the thieves, and sometimes they refuse to return the animals or to pay back. Then is when the problem start.

One of the grave aspects of this violation of private property takes place when breaking an important rule from the `traditional' Barbadian code. It is locally said: `*Ruba solo chi ruba a casa'* [a thief is one who steals in his own home] (see also Schweizer 1988:99). That is, if someone needs to `acquire' more animals, one has to leave the boundaries of the

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[4] Similarly to what Herzfeld (1985) shows for the Glendiot, in looking at central Sardinia, Caltagirone (1989) suggests that sheep rustling was also a strategy to initiate economic and social exchanges with peoples of other villages that sometimes enabled the shepherd to find a spouse outside their own village.

community to find them; then the action is perceived as legitimate. In this view it is morally wrong to steal animals from one's own fellow villagers. An old shepherd said that the rustler is expected to go beyond the boundaries of the nearest communities so as to avoid conflict with one's own neighbours. He must travel to communities which are not in direct geographical contact with one's own. The group of young (`balenti') Telemulese shepherds, instead, are seen as showing contempt for fellow villagers in breaking this rule.[5] According to one shepherd, even if this is not heard of in the village, these `traditional' shepherds have caused problems for almost everybody in the Supramonte and are resented by most Telemulesi who keep livestock in communal lands. We were also told that in a couple of instances this group of shepherds, after drinking, went out on a shooting rampage, wounding the animals of other shepherds. All these events have triggered a local condemnation of their behaviour and their attitude toward their own co-villagers.

Two episodes contributed to further strain their position within the village. One evening they did not stop at a *posto di blocco* [check post] of the carabinieri in a coastal village. The police regularly places check posts to prevent or control the trafficking of weapons or drugs as well as terrorism and other criminal acts in southern Italy, and especially in Sardinia. After forcing the *posto di blocco*, the young Telemulesi were finally stopped and when their car was searched the police found a *mitra* (machine gun) and *passamontagne* [balaclava helmets]. When next day the news

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[5] I was not given any evidence that these shepherds were guilty of all acts described below. Villagers tended to point at them each time that something occurred in the village or the Supramonte. What is relevant here is the local perception that `traditional' shepherds show lack of respect for the local moral code (both `modern' and `traditional' codes). It seems that the general disapproval of their demeanour loosened the rule of *omertà* and got villagers talking about them.

spread in the village, a woman relative of one of the shepherds defended her own kinsman, placing the blame on the bad influence that the others have on him. She added that this is the kind of action that you can expect from shepherds: "they are like animals: they spend too much time among animals" [*Sono bestie. Spendono troppo tempo fra le bestie*].[6] The group was put in jail for over a month and was then released.

A last event that was attributed to them and that contributed to the enforcement of local strategies of control occurred after another drinking night. We were told that they had grabbed an old handicapped man who was waiting for the 4:00 AM bus to go to his agricultural field in the valley and forced him to drink alcohol. One informant suspected that this abusive behaviour was seen as a pressing indicator of the need for strict measures to control the behaviour of these young men.

The strategy was the threat of death. One morning the walls of the village's cemetery displayed the names of the members of the *cricca* and a cross beside each name. The composite explanation offered by different villagers is that they had upset too many people in Telemula and in other villages. So many people were upset at them that if they were eliminated it would be impossible to identify the executioner. They had violated too many rules and they had showed themselves unrepentant about each fact even when they had been identified as the actual culprits. The abuse of the elder was seen as a result of excessive contempt for other villagers.

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[6] Padiglione (1989:17-21) shows how common is in the literature the view that associates shepherds' behaviour to their prolonged contact with the animals. See for example the statement cited by Padiglione (ibid:20) from Ledda's (1977:157) popular novel *Padre Padrone*: "My father, like all other shepherds, had lived always in the middle of the animal world. He had ended by accepting as his own that animal way of life."

We were told that, in the local code, the meaning of the message on the walls was that of a death sentence. An informant showed much concern because in all neighbouring villages where such lists have been made public, all those listed were eventually murdered. S/he added that s/he expected that the message was printed by local people rather than by outsiders. If the former was the case, it could be only a warning announcing: "If you do not calm down, you will be killed." It is possible that the list of names was only a warning given that all those listed began to behave according to the local expectations, one of them even quit drinking, and none of them had been murdered after three months; finally some migrated outside Telemula searching for jobs elsewhere and others were helped by local people to become integrated once more to the community.

It is the case, thus, that those suspected of illegal or deviants acts are shepherds. In spite of the fact that they are only a small group (six persons) among the total of 55 shepherds in the community, shepherds in general are seen as *arretrati*, and the efforts of many of them who strive to be seen as `modern' subjects are thus undermined. Some, like the woman above, perceive all shepherds as *arretrati* and animal-like. However, most villagers inform their point of view about shepherds from the peaceful basis of their daily interaction in conflict-free environments. In the next section of this chapter I describe the importance of exchanging rounds and hospitality to stress the sense of communitarism and egalitarianism within the village as strategies to prevent open conflict.

2. STRATEGIES OF CONFLICT AVOIDANCE

In everyday social life, Telemulesi follow routines that aim to reduce the possibilities for open conflict. Villagers who claim to follow a Telemulese style of interaction strive to

maintain a sense of equal worth among villagers and to ratify, when necessary, a sense of identity among the other villagers. The latter may be demonstrated in the claims of equal social worth within the family, a *cricca*, the political group, the village, the region or Sardinia. That is, the boundaries of individuals' identity shift according to the particular instance of interaction (see Herzfeld 1985, 1987 who makes the same point for rural Greece). The exchange of rounds in the village's bars and the practice of hospitality in the regional context illustrate the enactment of these values.

A) Being Together, Being Equal. Telemulesi reduce the likelihood of conflict by not patronising bars that are frequented by the political faction opposite to their own. On the one hand, the physical absence of opponents removes confrontational potential; on the other, within each bar, different *cricche* reproduce an ambience of equality and communal identity. That is, all those who relate to each other every evening of the year in each bar and during the *passeggiàta* are members of the same political faction of the village and share similar political and economic interests (and/or patrons). During their daily interaction they strive to maintain egalitarian relation with those within the same bar.

There are, in all, four bars of the village frequented by both `modern' and `traditional' customers. While the appearance of equality is stressed, different workers display different demeanours. `Modern' customers who are more likely to patronise the bars in the village's centre, reunite in groups of male and female friends every evening whereas `traditional' ones are more likely to associate in exclusively

male groups.[7]   Some `modernity'-aspiring men may find
themselves alone on any given evening if their female friends
decide to get an all-women group together in someone's home or
to drive to the valley to visit friends.

After the *passeggiàta*, friends enter the bar. Randomly,
one member of the *crìcca* calls the waiter (female bar-tenders
and waitresses usually work in the morning) and offers the
giro [round]. Under all circumstances, when just arrived to
the bar, all members of the *crìcca* are expected to accept the
offer. However, in these groups, both men and women can order
non-alcoholic drinks, candy, ice cream, or potato chips. Once
all at the table have finished what they ordered, another (man
or woman) offers the following round. By the third round some
members of the group (especially women) may refuse to accept
the offer without fear of offending the one offering. There
is usually some insistence from the host but friends can
refuse, usually adducing that they have to go to eat with the
family, that they have to work, or that they are full. The
host usually ends up accepting his/her friends' excuses. Men
are expected to accept more drinks even if not necessarily
alcoholic ones.

In *crìcche* of `traditional' shepherds, on the other hand,
everybody at the table is expected to order beer (rather than
wine, which is usually drunk at home). A refusal to accept a
drink is interpreted as the guest's refusal to validate the
host's claims of friendship ties. His offer is not welcomed.

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[7] According to some young Telemulese women, in the past
women were expected not to go to the bar even though they were
not forbidden to do so. As more local women went to coastal
villages and to Sardinian and other Italian cities to study
and/or work, they started to force their entry into what,
until then, was a male domain. They met much resistance from
parents and brothers, but about ten years earlier, the
restrictions loosened and in the `modern' bars women were
readily accepted. In the `traditional' bars, until now (1992)
women go only in the morning during their breaks from work.
At night these establishments become male-only spaces.

263

In so doing, the guest's attitude is seen as either a statement of lack of friendship (or straight enmity) or as a claim of being unequal (usually superior) to the one who offers. For example, during one of the Telemula summer feasts, a group of `traditional' shepherds invited us to sit at their table. They were hosting a group from another village and were offering (and paying for) them one after another round of drinks. So as not to offend the Telemulese, the visitors accepted all rounds of beer requesting only to be allowed to drink slowly as they still had to drive back to their own villages to work early in the morning. At some point one local shepherd suggested that the visitors were refusing to follow the pace of the locals and one of the visitors firmly demanded to be allowed to drink at his own pace adding that they were not rejecting their hospitality. In another example, shortly after our arrival, unaware of the local rule, we refused to accept an offer. As foreigners we were thought ignorant of the local rules and our initial response was not taken badly, but usually another member of the group suggested to us: "you better accept" (meaning, it is not right to refuse, you make him cut a bad figure –lo fai fare brutta figura).

There is usually no exchange of drinks from one table to another even though all customers belong to the same faction of the village and they may even be close friends. The exchange of rounds is limited within each cricca. As mentioned above, each group of friends, among `modern' Telemulesi, is formed by men and women and by shepherds and non-shepherds. All accept each other's drinks and, in so doing, they stress that as Telemulesi all have the same social worth (even if they may exhibit economic differences).[8] The

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[8] Papataxiarchis (1991:159) points out that in Mouria, Greece, villagers also understate their economic differences within friendship groups. However, in contrast to Telemula, in Mouria political differences are not seen an obstacle for

264

'modern' shepherd feels more secure than the 'traditional' one in his position within the group and, when friends start to refuse drinks, he does not take it personally. After all, they are 'modern' just as the other friends are 'modern' industrial and service workers. On the other hand, the 'traditional' shepherd cannot claim that equal status. He has to be assured of his equality by acceptance of his offers, or else the refusal is interpreted as the guest's claim of superiority.

Thus, in daily interaction in the bars, Telemulesi stress their sense of equal social worth by taking turns offering rounds to their friends and by accepting these offers. In reenacting friendly relations within a friends-only bar, they can claim to have a sense of communal identity in which open conflict is excluded. In order to preserve the appearance of a conflict-free environment, they avoid crossing the political boundaries between bars. Within each bar, sometimes 'modern' and 'traditional' Telemulesi mix and according to which cricca one joins, one adjusts to the group's rules. Within the village, the concealment of differences (political, social, technological, of moral code) between the different factions is achieved by the partition of the village. In the instances of religious feasts (see Plate 11) in which visitors from outside the village come to Telemula, other strategies are deployed to prevent conflict from arising.

B) The Practice of Hospitality. Hospitality is a form of social exchange that legitimates, at the village and regional level, the ethical importance of equality and communal identity. Other authors have associated hospitality with more

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friendship (ibid). In turn, Herzfeld (1985:130) shows the ambivalence of drinking together which identifies in the same event friendship and rivalry, opposition and alliance. Lonergan (1984) has examined the association between drinking and sociability in another Sardinian town.

or less covert forms of aggression by which the host subordinates the guest in controlling the potential threat that the s/he represents (Pitt-Rivers 1971 [1954]; Gilmore 1987). Herzfeld (1980, 1987, 1992) has proposed looking at hospitality as a covert form of hostile interaction among individuals. However, instead of explaining the phenomenon in terms of the `honour and shame' complex, he suggests that `hospitality' can allow for legitimate generalizations regarding the Mediterranean area. Pitt-Rivers (1968) suggested, in looking at Homer's *Odyssey*, that in some contexts of the Mediterranean the guest may have the upper hand in relation to the host. In his *People of the Sierra* he shows that the host attempts to control the threatening guest in order to insure his/her own safety (1971 [1954]). I have shown elsewhere (Ayora-Diaz 1992) that the shepherd's relation to unexpected guests in the Supramonte of Telemula falls under this type of `defensive hospitality'. By looking at the regional context of patterns of exchange of hospitality attentions in Ogliastra in particular and Sardinia in general one can see the friendly meaning given to hospitality in the everyday life of Telemulesi. That is, this type of social exchanges aim at legitimating affective and/or social links among individuals and/or groups.

Rounds of drinks at the bar tend to have a generalised character within the *cricca* (if one looks at the exchange of rounds in any single day) given that in a large group of friends, it is possible that not all will offer before the group breaks down to go home for dinner or to rest for the night. However, the exchange of drinks tends to be balanced in the long term. All members of a *cricca* who do not offer one evening will offer the next one. In exchanging drinks, Telemulesi strive to reinforce their sense of being equal members of the same community.

This same moral code regulates the local exchange of visits to each other's house. Married friends meet less often

266

at the bar than unmarried ones. They visit each other at home with a certain frequency, and their exchange of visits is balanced in the long run. Not being visited by a friend calls into question the friendship itself. Women are often in each other's house to talk, to bake bread together, to watch soap operas, or simply to have coffee after *pranzo*. Men visit each other, usually before or after *pranzo*, to have an *aperitivo* [aperitif] before the main meal or a coffee and an *amazza cafè* [lit. coffee killer] which is usually an *amaro* [bitter liquor] or *acqua vite* [brandy]. There is no accounting of who has visited whom how many times; however, it is expected that those visited will return the courtesy [*la cortesia*]. In returning the visit one reproduces and legitimates the friendship links between individuals and/or families and confirms their equal worth and their sense of common identity.

When an individual hosts a co-villager in an informal, everyday context, s/he expects the visitor to respect the family members and to accept what s/he offers for drinks or food. In unexpected visits, the male guest is usually offered an alcoholic drink, usually home made wine, grappa or industrially produced beer. Women are first offered coffee or non-alcoholic drinks and only after meals they are offered an *amazza cafè*. The guest is expected to accept the offering, although men can request a non-alcoholic beverage and women an alcoholic one. Water is not offered nor requested: "*L'acqua è gratuita, la porta anche la pioggia*" [water is free, even the rain brings it]. Preference is given to home-made products unless the family does not produce them. Besides drinks, the guests are offered a candy or a piece of cake (for about four months -three before and one after Christmas- *panetone*, a butter cake, is offered in most households). When the visitor arrives at meal time, and this seldom happens, s/he is offered a share of the meal that has been cooked for the day, be it a soup [*un minestrone*] or pasta [*pasta asciutta*]. In more formal events, when the family receives

267

one or a group of expected guests, they are offered a full meal, usually consisting of home-made prosciutto and home-pickled olives, the local style of ravioli [*culurgionese*], salad and *carne arrosto* [roasted meat]. Just as the host expects the guest to accept the offers from the family, the guest expects the host to treat him/her that way. When the roles are exchanged, the reciprocal expectations remain.

It is only by looking at the local practice of hospitality as a single event which begins and ends in the same place and time that one can perceive it as an aggressive asymmetrical event. The appearance is that the guest is subordinated to the host who endlessly imposes on him all kinds of foods and drinks. The aspect of aggression is reduced when the observer considers changes in time and space that are expected in the exchange of social roles. The present-host expects that when he visits (in the future) the present-guest, s/he will be hosted in accordance with the same rules. The visit may be reciprocated months later, but the exchange of roles and the reciprocity of expectations prevents them of representing hospitality as tacit aggression. On the contrary, the long-term balance of the social exchange serves to reproduce, in time and space, and in the eyes of the community the equal worth of all participants.

From the exchange of rounds and visits, Telemulese derive a sense of all being equal within the village as well as a sense of membership to the group (village, political faction, *cricca*). This meaning is reproduced on a larger scale when one looks at the practice of hospitality from one village to another. In the first case, individuals find legitimacy for their claim of being all Telemulesi of equal worth. In the second, they all find legitimacy for their claims of being all equal (Ogliastrini, Sardinians, Italians).

The appearance of this type of hospitality seems, once more, a type of aggression resulting of a power asymmetry: during religious feasts of each village, visitors from outside

268

are hosted by local *cricche*. The village pays for the religious celebrations and for the entertainment: they bring singers or musicians who perform the `traditional' *canto a tenores* [polyphonic chant], indigenous to the Nuoro province, or singers of *canto en re* [improvisations over guitar or accordion from Logudoro, in the north of the island]; or else, they bring poets from the south of the island who engage in a competition of witticisms around a theme provided by the local organising committee.[9] When visitors arrive, they are hosted by local friends or acquaintances who do not allow them to pay for their own drinks and are often taken to someone's house for a meal. While in the everyday context of social interaction a man may refuse to drink alcoholic beverages, in the context of the *festa* all are expected to share the merry experience of drinking together. By so doing, men reproduce their claims of friendship and insure that they will not try to take advantage of each other. If a man refuses to accept an alcoholic beverage, he is told: "*chi non beve in compagnia è un ladro o è una spia*" [s/he who refuses to drink with the party is either a thief or a spy]. Women are not constrained to drink alcoholic beverages though they are expected to accept all round-bound invitations (they can order juice, potato chips, ice cream or chocolates).[10]

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[9] The competition [*gara poetica*] goes on in Sardinian Campidanese or Logudorese which many local shepherds can follow given their historical practice of transhumance to the south and north of the island. This staged contests differ from earlier forms practised in the *ovili* as described by Mathias (1976).

[10] Local people take great pains not to offend female visitors. During one feast in 1991, one young shepherd was knifed (in the testicles according to some) by some male visitors. Rather than outrage at the visitors' action, some villagers defended the visitors and explained that the young Telemulese had probably offended a female guest. A shepherd told me making reference to the event: "You do not touch a woman [who is not yours] not even with a flower."

Following Pitt-Rivers (1971 [1954]) and Gilmore (1987) this form of hospitality can be understood as one in which the hosts attempt to control the potential threat that a foreigner signifies for the local isolated population. However, as already noted, most visitors are received by acquaintances or friends, and the population is not isolated any more (at least not for the last 70 years recalled by my older informant). The saying mentioned above makes reference to the possibility of *abiggeàto* [animal rustling]. Even if it has ceased to constitute a serious problem, during the feast most shepherds leave their flocks alone in the Supramonte and they are aware that some visitors could profit from the drunkenness of the hosts. However, in general terms, inter-village hospitality during the *festa* can be understood in a similar way as intra-village hospitality. The village becomes a metaphor for Ogliastra: each village is a house. Visiting another village is like visiting some friend at his/her house, one expects to be treated in agreement with the local rules, and the hosts expect that guests will be receptive to the local attention. When the visit is reciprocated on the occasion of a feast in another village the past-guests, who are now the hosts, hold the same sort of expectations. In this instance, as well, the exchange of courtesies has to be seen in a broader temporal and geographical context. In inter-village forms of hospitality, the friendship links between different house/villages are reproduced and the sense of equal worth between individuals of different villages is legitimated. At the same time, in reproducing the value of egalitarianism, people make (and legitimate) their claims of belonging to the same community (village/region). This general view is illustrated by the view that Telemulese and other mountain villagers have of people along the coast of the Ogliastra.

According to Telemulesi (and other Ogliastrini), because of the economic prosperity that tourism has brought to the coast, some coastal villagers now think themselves superior to

mountain villagers. As a result, they have ceased to respect the regional code of hospitality and do not attend to their sometime hosts in the expected manner. Telemulesi often complained that in visiting the coast they are not hosted by local people. While Telemulesi have opened the doors of their houses to visitors from the coast, they say that when they go to the coast, they are often refused even greetings, not to mention that they are not invited to eat into any one's house. During the summer of 1991, when we attended with our Telemulesi friends the *feste* of the coast, we observed that contrary to the norm in mountain villages, visitors had to pay for their own entertainment and exchange of drinks occurred mainly among people of different mountain villages. In one visit to a coastal village, our Telemulese friend was greeted by a local man who then invited all of us to go have a beer at a central bar. When he finished his drink, he left without even paying his own bill. This kind of experience is hold by Telemulesi and other mountain villagers as proof of the lack of hospitality in the prosperous lowlands. Because of the coastal economic prosperity, Telemulesi interpret the lack of respect for the regional moral code as emerging from a sense of superiority that coastal people have over mountain villagers.

In the interaction of villagers within Telemula and among peoples of different mountain villages, Telemulesi can find legitimation of a sense of equal worth and of common identity. As long as the same moral world-view is shared by different households within the village and by different villages within the region, Telemulesi can continue to make claims of equality and communitarism.

3. DISCUSSION

The emphasis put on equal social worth and the common identity of all Telemulesi, during everyday interaction, serves to

271

conceal, in practice and discourse, the social and economic differences that have emerged from different working habitus. In the evenings, it is the `traditional' shepherd who stresses his difference from all other villagers. `Modern' shepherds and non-shepherds dress in urban-like style with blue jeans, clean shirts and dressing shoes. `Traditional' shepherds always dress in their working garments and heavy shoes, in the dark colours that mark them apart for the other villagers. While they stress equality within their own group of `traditional' settlers, simultaneously they underline their rejection of the `modern' code of behaviour and representations. However, once the *passeggiàta* ends, each group is bounded by the walls of its own faction's favourite bars. In each of them, all customers stage performances which validate the perception of equal worth of all within the group and of a communal identity. Each of them claims to be *the* Telemulese: some claim to be the `authentic' Telemulese other that they are the `modern', future oriented Telemulese.

The image of the rough `traditional' and `authentic' image of the shepherd appeals to some young men because it symbolises manliness. Even though Telemulese find opportunities for employment outside shepherding, those opportunities are limited. Lacking stimuli to continue, most drop out of school and are faced with limited choices for low skill employment. Choosing the self-representation of the `traditional' shepherd, some are able to find revenge in rejecting the `modern' moral code.

In turn, other Telemulesi are attracted to the idea of `modernity' and, given that there are possibilities to be both shepherd and a `modern' person, they strive to "bring up to date" their working routines. Thus, young Telemulesi can experience **choice** when organising their own practice of animal husbandry. The skills and knowledge required of a shepherd are diffused in the village and can be developed through continuous practice. A man who does not come from a

272

shepherding family and has been a goatherd for only eight years told me, when I asked how he had learned different aspects of the job [mestiere]: "if you are from Telemula, almost by necessity, you have to learn how to milk. About the transhumance, by going to the bar every night to meet your friends you hear which ones are the convenient periods and you choose when to do it. These are not secrets!"

In interaction within the village with one's own friends, Telemulese shepherds do not find themselves excluded from the activities of non-shepherd villagers. All cricche are formed by shepherds, masons, industrial and service workers, and in by the few Telemulesi with university degrees. All are said to have the same social worth and one is as `Telemulese' as any other.[11] Given the absence of open discrimination against the shepherd, the unemployed and the underemployed, men do not find shepherding an undesirable occupation. As I have noted above, shepherds are recipient of many economic benefits from the state and the EEC. Also, given that it is not difficult to find animals in the market, shepherding can be seen as a possibility in times of crisis (thus local opposition to transforming communal land tenure). But the image of `backwardness' that now attached to shepherding has discouraged some individuals from considering that job, and has influenced some Telemulesi to abandon shepherding. In next chapter I examine the aspects of shepherding and other occupations that are perceived by Telemulesi as influencing their job choices.

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[11] The local administration which does not disclose information about subsidies or alternatives to improve pastoralism finds its link to the village questioned: "It seems that they were not even from this village" (from quote in Chapter Five).

CHAPTER NINE

SELF/REPRESENTATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Nowadays, Telemulesi, at least in theory, face multiple
alternatives to choose from when they decide to enter the job
market. The regional government, with the support of EEC and
national funds, has enhanced the industrial and service
sectors in the Ogliastra, thereby multiplying the
possibilities of employment for low-skilled workers. The
media has also influenced occupational choices by promoting
lifestyles and world-views that are proper of urban contexts
and, at by the same token, it has thwarted the value of rural
lifestyles (Lombardi 1990; Vaccarini 1990; Sani and Segatti
1990; Sciolla 1990). I have pointed out above that in
choosing a job, Telemulesi also choose a lifestyle and a
symbolic self-representation. In this chapter I illustrate
with examples how different individuals have chosen their
occupation and the relation of their choice to their
perception of the different representations of various
occupations.

I stress the interaction between the socio-historical
context and the phenomenological dimensions within the local
manifestations of general economic processes. Often, choices
relate to contingent factors of the everyday. However,
contingency only increases the complexity of, rather than
undermines, the individual's experience of voluntary agency.
In consequence, the individual can construct a unitary and
coherent self-representation through the articulation of
everyday contingent choices with his/her own life-long project
(which may, nevertheless be abstract enough to allow for
different possibilities, such as is the case with the category
of `modernity'). In this final chapter I first examine the
role that Telemulese families have in producing and
reproducing the values that favour different occupations.
Then I examine individual examples in which Telemulesi have

chosen to continue or to abandon the career of shepherding and
the perceived motives that ground (and give meaning to) their
choices.

1. THE FAMILY AND THE REPRODUCTION OF OCCUPATIONS

The rural household has been recognised by economic
anthropologists as playing an important role in the process of
economic decision making (including change of occupation)
(Nash 1968; Friedmann 1980; Scanzoni and Szinovacz 1980;
Durremberg 1984; Barlett 1989). Mediterranean families of
small producers often rely on the labour of their children for
accomplishing both agricultural and pastoralist tasks (Brogger
1971; Friedl 1962; Ravis-Giordani 1983; Salomone and Stanton
1986; Schweizer 1988). According to Scott (1976), in Malay
households, economic choices are motivated by the need to
reproduce the moral community so as to ensure, in turn, the
community's economic survival in times of scarcity. In
contrast, Popkin (1979) sees the household, on the basis of
his Vietnamese experience, as a rational decision-making unit.
Cheal (1989), in an attempt to reconcile both approaches
proposes that `moral' households exist in subsistence
economies while `political' households exist in societies
where relations are commoditised.

   In looking at the different status of occupations and the
phenomenon of occupational mobility, Coxon and Jones (1978;
1979) suggest that, in industrial societies, individuals
choose their jobs on the basis of the `internal
representations' they have of themselves and of the world. In
turn, Hachen (1990:321-322) describes three dimensions of
occupational choice: one dimension relates to the motivation
to upgrade one's own skills in order to obtain better jobs;
another relates to the macrosocial factors (cultural) that act
as constraints to obtaining access to jobs (such as gender or
age); and a final one relates to the availability of positions

275

in the area of the economy the individual prefers.

In the instance of Telemula and its inhabitants, we faced the complex reality resulting from the presence of what Weingrod and Morin (1971) call a post-peasant community within a post-industrial state. I have described above the views that have informed state intervention in the occupational structure of the area and the moral representation of agropastoral producers. In spite of massive economic help, unemployment levels are still high in Sardinia. In absence of `real' job opportunities [*posti fissi*], Ogliastrini often find themselves constrained to rely on animal husbandry, on the one hand, in order to insure their economic survival and, on the other, to avoid being locally classified as moral outcasts who decline work. In this section I illustrate the conflict that emerges between the family's desire to further the condition of its members and the socio-economic constraints that prevent individuals from advancing in their projects.

What is the role that Telemulesi families play in the reproduction of occupational categories in a context of changing attitudes toward physical work? With the following examples I demonstrate the possible effects of the family on the occupational (in)mobility of its members. Franco and Felice are the only two young male adults among the many children of Angelo and Cristina, a `traditional' couple. Angelo, a semi-retired livestock raiser, continues to have decisional power on the management of the flocks and other familial resources. As the older son Franco began to help his father with the flock earlier than Felice, the latter finds himself in an unstable role within the productive project of the household. The family's flock is of average size (about 150 head of livestock among sheep, cattle and goats) and adequate for the family's land. However, the magnitude of both land and animals are insufficient to justify Felice full-time involvement in the care of the flock. In consequence, he is often forced to search for seasonal jobs in small

276

industries in neighbouring villages and sometimes in road maintenance crews. He has told us that he would like to be a full-time shepherd with his brother, but the family does not need an extra-shepherd. He has expressed resentment at the fact that Franco is increasingly seen by his family and friends as the legitimate inheritor of the flock and of the responsibility for its management. Felice seems to be attracted by the `manliness' attached to the representation of the `traditional' shepherd. His brother is notorious among the rough local shepherds and Felice himself has been, I was told, involved in small robberies and in brawls in neighbouring villages.

Lorenzo and his brother Giuseppe are the children of a construction worker. Their father's father was a peasant and none of his children became shepherds. When their father was a teenager, he worked for a short time as a *servopastore*, but later abandoned this activity. When he retired, he bought a few goats to supply the milk, cheese and meat needed for his own family but could not be considered on this account a shepherd. In the meantime, Giuseppe and Lorenzo started to work seasonally in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. Two more brothers found *posti fissi* in the public sector. The father died at the time of the pastoralist boom when it was possible for shepherds to obtain multiple subsidies from the region. Given the possibilities of quickly achieving economic success, first Giuseppe and later Lorenzo decided to give shepherding a try. They abandoned their seasonal jobs and began to herd the family goats. Later they enlarged the flock, joined the milk cooperative, and since have achieved economic benefits that favour their self-representation as successful goatherds to the point that they are now locally seen as *sistemati*. However, according to them, in the last two years the EEC has been cutting funds for agriculture. Both brothers have begun to contemplate the possibility of either finding part-time jobs to supplement

277

their incomes, or abandoning shepherding altogether.

Adamo, a young shepherd, is the son of Piergiorgio, a construction worker. The latter once confessed to me that he detests everything related with shepherding. I met Piergiorgio when he was helping Adamo for a few weeks, and told me that he dislikes the fact that he had to come to the Supramonte to milk the goats and make cheese (because Adamo has not joined the cooperative). Piergiorgio added that he is averse even to the goats' odour and hoped that his son would be soon released from jail (he had been caught in the car with the machine gun mentioned above) so that he himself would be released from the burden of having to watch over the flock. He says that his son has been lured into shepherding because he grew up among and became member of a *cricca* formed exclusively by shepherds. He believes (or hopes) that sooner or later his son will realise that shepherding involves excessive hardship and will give up the flock. However, Adamo is attracted to shepherding because of the fearful respect he elicits from other villagers when he is with his rough friends. Other shepherds say that Adamo was not really aware of the commitment required by a flock when he decided to get into shepherding. When he was released from jail he continued to watch his small flock, but showed very little interest in keeping up with the rules of the `good shepherd': he arrives late to the *ovile*, takes little interest in the welfare of his flock and abandons the *ovile* as soon as he can in order to go drink with his friends. While the latter is a trait that also characterises `modern' shepherds, in his case such behaviour is locally interpreted in the context of his general attitude toward the flock. That is, he is seen as subordinating his duties as a `good worker' to his desire for entertainment.

Adriano, a retired construction worker, says that in his agriculturalist family, all male children at some point had to take care of the family's few animals, but no one had ever become a shepherd until his youngest brother decided to become

278

one. He says that he himself prefers to work in construction
and at the time one of his younger sons worked as a
bricklayer. Two other sons have *posti fissi* in the public
sector and his daughters find employment in the service
industry. He and his family keep a small agricultural field
where they grow their own vegetables, and every so often they
get a few sheep (in 1991 he obtained five) from his brother
for the family's supply of milk and meat. None of his
children has ever showed interest in becoming a shepherd even
though they have friends who are shepherds themselves. Marco,
the bricklayer, says that it is better to have scheduled days
of rest every week and that he finds much satisfaction in
looking at houses that were built with his own hands.

Three brothers who are all shepherds, Mario, Mauro and
Manlio were themselves the children of a shepherd. In their
youth they began to herd a common flock. Divergences about
the management of the flock brought the split of the team when
Mauro abandoned the team in order to shift from sheep to
goats. Recently, when Mario began to receive his agricultural
pension he decided to reduce his load of work. Since this
would have been of negative consequences for Manlio (who has
no extra income), they decided to split the animals, and Mario
sold half his share. Because of age, their interests diverge
now: Mario is planning to retire and currently he can work
less and still achieve the same level of income (his own
profits plus his pension). Manlio and his wife do not yet
have any pension, thus he is still interested in maintaining
the same flock size, at least until he becomes the recipient
of his own agricultural pension. Mauro's only son helps him
with his flock and has become a full-time goatherd himself.
Manlio's only son has a *posto fisso* in the public sector and
Mario's children go to university. Neither of these children
consider the prospect of becoming shepherds in the future.
While Mauro is content with his son's choice to become a
goatherd, Mario and Manlio are proud of the fact that neither

279

of their children needed to go into shepherding and lead the life of hardship they have had to live.

These cases illustrate the fact that socio-cultural change did not start with the younger generations. As in the case of Manlio and Mario, most Telemulesi identify the shepherds' lives with hardship and have developed a conception of the economic world which leads them to expect that the accumulation of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984:53-54) will bring social and economic benefits to their children. Mario and Manlio have encouraged their children to attend school and have given them economic support for their studies. Mario's children go to university, not only because they have accepted the positive value of scholarly education, but also because their parents had grown aware of the advantages of a university degree. Mario and his wife sometimes express their concern at the fact that one of their children is taking longer than expected to complete his studies in spite of their efforts (paying his tuition fees, lodging, house and trips) to ease his stay in the city.

In contrast, Angelo and Cristina, Franco and Felice's parents, see shepherding as a manly occupation. They are aware that education would have given their children many social and economic benefits. However, they failed courses in school and Angelo and his wife did not encourage them to try another type of school. Instead, they accepted Franco's decision to become a shepherd and have encouraged Felice to look for a different job. Angelo and Cristina have encouraged only their daughters to achieve some degree of education (senior high school) that would enable them to obtain jobs in the public or the service sectors, but they do not greatly encourage their male children to continue in school.

In addition to multiple influences from school and media, the parents' moral world-view plays a role in their children's choice of a career trajectory. Changes in the village's occupational structure and in individuals' ambition for

280

specific positions in the economy (their long-term project) relate to the preferences that parents demonstrate for alternative life-styles. The acceptance of world-views which stress the positive value of modern, urban professions, also conceive rural occupations as characterised by hardship and represent them as `backward' fostering, in some families, the preference for (`modernising') education. In families where shepherding is given a different connotation (such as a manliness), parents tend to encourage their children to continue with the family's heritage of animal husbandry.

Factors other than the family can have an effect on the individual's choice of occupation. Most individuals in the Telemulese active labour force have not advanced in school beyond the level of *media superiore* [senior high school]. Education and the liberal professions are not a choice open to most Telemulese who wish to stay in the village close to their families and friends, or want to avoid the seemingly hostile, impersonal environment of the Sardinian cities. Their low skills often prevent them from aspiring to jobs of high status and most can find employment only in construction, road maintenance, cleaning, helping in kitchens and, recently, in reforestation. In the next section I describe some instances of individuals who have entered or abandoned shepherding and the reasons they give to explain their choices. For Telemulesi the choice of shepherding as an occupation is sometimes experienced as such (an individual choice), and in other instances as rather contingent on the individual's life.

2. CHOOSING (OR BEING FORCED) TO BE A SHEPHERD

Alberto is the son of a goatherd. His older brother, Gianni, works tending the flock with his father. When Alberto dropped out of school because he had failed some courses, he went to the *ovile* to help his father and brother. He used to follow their instructions and behaved `properly' at work. However,

after having lived for a few years in Nuoro were he went to high school, he had developed a taste for costly clothing and an urban dressing style. Some of his own cohort friends have continued university education in Sardinia and on the Italian peninsula. After work, he would thoroughly clean himself at home and go out, elegantly dressed by local standards, to meet his friends for the evening *passeggiàta*. He began to be harassed by other shepherds who would tell him that a shepherd does not dress like he does, that it is not of men to dress that way. The other shepherds of his *cricca* often accused him of *prepotenza* [arrogance]. He says that he used to argue, establishing that while he agrees that at work he must dress as a shepherd, he believes that after working hours he should be free to dress as he wishes. He complains that his arguments were always dismissed by the other shepherds who always harassed him. He says that he came to realize that if he wanted to be a shepherd in Telemula he would have had to give up his interest in `good looks'. On the contrary, if he would change his occupation he would be able to justify his preferred dressing style.[1]

He obtained the economic support from his father to go back to Nuoro city where he undertook some short courses in order to become an itinerant representative for regional companies. He was ready to take a job but all positions required the employee to own his/her own car. Once more, with his family's economic support, he bought a used car and found employment in the Ogliastra. Given the public expectations of his new job it became legitimate to dress elegantly every day and every evening and to lead a more urban lifestyle. He

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[1] This man is younger than the other shepherds from his political faction who dress elegantly, and who are nevertheless also seen as arrogant. In shifting occupation he also shifted political allegiances and joined a *cricca* of `modern' villagers who were more accepting of his personal desires.

claimed to be satisfied to be able to realise his desires, even though the job did not offer him possibilities for advancement. He added that if he was to stay in the company he would always have to continue being an itinerant seller. He said that he would like in the future to have his own business, and this kind of job would allow him to be known in the region.

However, during the summer of 1991 his old car began to have mechanical problems and soon he was prevented from travelling. He could not afford the repairs to his car and had to earn the money necessary to pay for it and for his expensive personal style. Given that he had no training to undertake any other kind of job, reluctantly, by the fall of 1991 he joined his father and brother at the *ovile*. When we left Sardinia in June 1992, he was still working as a goatherd and he could not foresee the end of this stage.

For Alberto, the local moral world-view that stresses the egalitarian appearance of all shepherds contradicted his own preferences. His own preferences are informed by the discourse on `modernity' and the desirability of urban lifestyles. His demeanour in socialising follows urban, middle class representations diffused through the media. He stresses the need to respect individual preferences even if they imply underlining differences among villagers. Shepherding means to him the contrary of what his moral world-view incline him to choose. He experiences his involvement in the world of shepherding as a constraint imposed by circumstances outside his direct control. However, his forced choice to return to the *ovile* is experienced as a contingent event that compels him to postpone fulfilling his long-term preference for living according to `modern' urban codes of meaning.

Andrea shares with Alberto the experience of shepherding as a forced choice. When I first arrived to Telemula he was employed as a *servopastore* by a local shepherd. He, unlike

Alberto, is not interested in urban looks or `modern' life-styles. He has been driven out of shepherding because he found the hardships of the job inordinate given the level of economic benefits he could obtain from it. Since Andrea lacks skills to obtain better paid jobs, he is interested in finding an alternative job that can afford him the same level of income as shepherding, avoiding the hardship. He left shepherding in the fall of 1991 to start working in odd jobs as a truck driver and as bricklayer. He was unable, however, to find stable employment and his income was subject to unexpected fluctuations. Not qualified enough to apply for public jobs and lacking the resources to start his own business, he decided at the beginning of 1992 to return to shepherding. However, this time he wants to buy his own flock of goats and work independently: "I want to be my own boss," he told us. Given his acknowledged limitations in education and experience and the scarcity of secure jobs in the regional job market, he has found himself constrained to return to shepherding. His choice has little to do with the opposition between `modern' and `traditional' world-views. He is rather concerned with insuring his own economic well-being with the least possible physical work. Perhaps this attitude will induce him in the future to choose as a goatherd what are now accepted (both locally and institutionally) to be `modern' productive techniques.

Umberto has been working now for about ten years as a goatherd. He is often employed as *servopastore* in Telemula and in other villages. When the flock's level of production decreases during the summer, he leaves the animals and goes to work as a waiter in restaurants of the coast. He told us that he had chosen to be a goatherd in order to obtain a steady income that would allow him to support his younger brother through school. He describes his choice as a `sacrifice'. He had to give up, temporarily, his own aspirations to become a `modern' Telemulese in order to enable his kin to achieve such

status. He has said that he would have liked to be something else, to have continued in school. Then he would have achieved a better standard of living. Now he says that he feels that his vocation is to be a waiter. He has to work as a goatherd for most of the year because the tourism season is too short on the Ogliastra coast. He claims he enjoys goatherding. He told me that he likes dealing with goats and that he finds much satisfaction in working. When I had just met him he had broken an arm jumping off a rock in the Supramonte. The healing process kept him away from work for about two months in which he often complained to me of his forced inactivity: `I have worked all my life, I cannot stand being in the village doing nothing'. He says that it is important to work in order to realise oneself.

Now that his brother has completed his studies (as a lawyer), Umberto is making the move to abandon goatherding. In the summer of 1991 he found employment in a restaurant on the coast as waiter and kitchen help. At the end of the year he helped his relatives with the transhumance of their goats, but did not stay with the flocks. He continued to work as a waiter on the coast and was in search of a more secure position in catering services. He says he finds much satisfaction as a waiter. He says it is a challenge to arrive at the restaurant and to face 100 tables that he has to clean and set in a limited amount of time. He cleans the floor and lays the tables [apparechiare i tavoli]. Then he has to attend to the customers, presenting a professional demeanour. His reputation as a serious waiter is locally growing and he was hired, in 1991, to direct the organisation of the feast of a Telemulese shepherd's wedding.

Umberto foresaw for himself, back in the past, a life-style different from that of shepherds. When, as a result of the economic limitations of the family, one member had to support the rest, he chose temporarily to `sacrifice' his own long-term project and engage in shepherding. This was a

285

pragmatic choice that would enable his brother to complete school even though it meant to put his own goals on hold. His short-term experiences could be articulated into his own general plan that he is now expecting to fulfil.

Before exploring the meaning of these stories I outline Francesco's occupational choice. Francesco and his brother are goatherds who inherited flock and occupation from their father. Francesco has never been anything but a goatherd. He is now approaching the age of 55 and says that he never considered jobs other than goatherding. He has joined and gives the milk of his animals to the cooperative, owns a car, spends his free time in the village with his friends in the bar and/or the piazza, and says he is not interested thus far in marrying. During the 1960s Giorgio, one of his coeval shepherds, tried to abandon shepherding when the regional government began a reforestation project in Telemula [*un cantiere di rimboschimento*]. Giorgio gave up his flock and started to work regularly in reforestation. After a couple of years the regional government ceased to provide funds for the project, the jobs were closed and Giorgio found himself married with children and unemployed. In a context of scarce occupational alternatives during the early 1960s he was soon forced to buy sheep again and to resume shepherding.

Francesco points at Giorgio's troubles (and other villagers like him) who tried to `escape' from the *mestiere* and had, eventually, to surrender their hopes and return to their flocks. He says:

> I am happy working as a goatherd. I get the money I need, I can spend time in Telemula with my friends and travel once a year. Why would I think of abandoning my goats? Look at all those who tried to leave and had to start again from scratch. I have not stopped being a shepherd and I have been able to build up my flock and my position in the village [*sistemarmi*]. I am fine with my flock. Why should I try different things?

His view reflects the uncertainty with which Telemulesi face the policies that the government has implemented in the

286

Ogliastra. Before the AFRDS took under its management the reforestation of the area, small projects such as those included in the *Aziende Speciali* depended on the regularity with which the regional government provided funds. If they ceased, the workers were immediately off the job and had to rely on locally available resources (even though they receive for four months a special unemployment pension which according to one recipient is close to CAN $1500.00 every month). Francesco may not be wealthier than Giorgio and other shepherds who tried to relinquish shepherding in the past. However, he avoided suffering the frustrations the others experienced and, contrary to Giorgio and others in his circumstances, he has nothing to be resentful of. He is able to represent himself as a `modern' goatherd who intends to follow (what the state has defined as) `rational' and `modern' productive strategies.

As all these cases demonstrate, the experience of choice of occupation among Telemulese shepherds is informed by the multiple representations of the shepherd in the local and institutional discourses. Choice is also informed by moral categories that often refer to the opposition between `modern' and `traditional' world-views. Sometimes these moral representations refer directly to the perception of the job in itself, sometimes to the life-style that the occupation affords to the individual.

3. DISCUSSION: REPRESENTATIONS, VALUES AND CHOICE

The examples of occupational choice I have given in this chapter illustrate some of the possible multiple articulations of aspects of the local moral world-views that result in the individual experience of economic choice. I have examined throughout this dissertation the representations and practices that mediate the emergence, internalisation and reproduction of moral perceptions. The instances described in this chapter

287

illustrate the enactment of moral preferences in the economic sphere. Even though I was unable to ascertain it for all cases discussed here, I believe it is possible to say that although the Telemulese family does not have an exclusive role in the socialisation of individuals and the creation of alternative moral codes it still plays an important role in informing each individual's choice of occupation.

The concept of the *persona brava* as an ethical category is broad enough to enable its use to define persons who occupy contrasting axiological positions. A Telemulese may adopt either a `modern' or `traditional' world-view and still be seen by his meaningful peers as *bravo/a*. For local people who have come to be identified as `traditional' subjects in the institutional and local rhetoric of modernity, the term *bravura* comes to be closely related to the moral connotation of the term *balentia*. That is, the *bravo/a* person is the one who behaves according to an ethical and social code that stresses *furbizia*, aggressiveness, (often) violent practices and manliness. The individual expects to be considered by others as the `right' kind of human being by fulfilling these behaviourial and moral expectations. These individuals' attributes are hardly justified in occupations of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy but are locally legitimised in the agropastoral sector: the `traditional' shepherd is a legitimate self/representation of the aggressive, manly villager.

In turn, the emerging and institutionally sanctioned definition of *bravura*, stresses the individual's link to `modern' representations. That is, a `modern' subject is one who works in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy and adopts a seemingly urban life-style, moderate manners, accepts and acquires new technology and increases the rationality of his/her productive life. It is through the adoption of new technology and the acceptance of organisational forms of production and marketing defined as

288

'modern' that some local shepherds aspire to be seen as 'good persons'. The 'modern' shepherd tries to keep a mild demeanour and to control his aggressiveness (unless the context requires him to be aggressive).

In consequence, the desire to be seen locally as *bravo/a* does not lead individuals to one restricted choice. The contrast in local world-views is structured by the moral meaning attached to the representations of the 'modern' and the 'traditional'. Franco, Felice and Adamo have chosen to be in the agropastoral sector and to conform to the moral code of behaviour that stresses aggressiveness, manliness, *furbizia* and contempt for the weak. In so doing, they are locally perceived as 'traditional' shepherds. Lorenzo, Giuseppe and Francesco have chosen to be shepherds but they emphasise their acceptance of 'modern' productive techniques and organisations, and urban demeanours. They stress their 'modernity'. Alberto and Umberto, in contrast, view shepherding as an economic activity in which they cannot fulfil their desire to be 'modern'. They prefer to look for jobs in the service sector, but they often find themselves in the predicament of having to return to the *ovile*.

The families of these individuals mediate and contribute to legitimate moral representations of diverse occupations. In some instances, structural aspects of the family induce the person to choose a given job. Franco and Felice have always been instructed by their mother not to let anybody take advantage of them. In our visits to their household, the mother often talked about real and imagined offenses that, she stressed, should be answered by revenge [*vendetta*]. In the few cases of murder that occurred in neighbouring villages, during conversation, their parents underlined the need to be *furbi* and murder one's opponent before he can act. In one occasion, Angelo (Franco and Felice's father) told Vargas-Cetina that a man who was murdered in a neighbouring village had been *fesso* [stupid]: his brother had been murdered by

another group. In accordance to the local code, he was expected to take revenge by murdering one individual of the executioner's family or *cricca*. Angelo said that the recent victim wanted to be certain of who had murdered his brother. The executioner knew this about him, so that his passivity had resulted in his own death. In this family, the children whose ambition it is to become shepherds are induced to adopt the `traditional' world-view. Franco and Felice, who work as shepherds, have adopted this code and are often the subject of conversations in which co-villagers stress their `backwardness'.

Because Mario and Manlio have come to see their own life as shepherds, as characterised by hardship and having constrained them to lead the life-style of *arretrati*, they desire a different life-style for their children. `Modernity' and the occupations associated with such status seem to offer the conditions in which their children can lead `better' lives. In consequence, they have worked for the last 30 years in order to support the education of their children and to ease their access to positions in the public sector. Umberto `chose' to be a shepherd in order to facilitate the schooling of his younger brother. He himself would have liked to go to school, but in the absence of other kin who could support them, he had to undertake the responsibility for his brother, who was doing very well in school.

In other instances examined here in which the family has striven to prevent their children from becoming shepherds, one has succeeded and the other seems to have, at least temporarily, failed. These are families in which there is no direct shepherd ancestor: Adamo, the son of a mason, is a goatherd in spite of the wishes of his father who would rather see him working in construction, away from his violent friends. Adriano claims not to understand what compelled his younger brother to become a shepherd. He is a *muratore* and no one else in his family had ever been a shepherd. He has

290

favoured his children's preference for employment in construction and in the public sector. Contrary to Piergiorgio, he has succeeded in his goal.

Most of the individuals whose choices to remain in or to abandon shepherding I have examined were born after 1960, when Telemula became the recipient of the economic incentives provided by the *Piano di Rinascita*, the regional government and the EEC. The local discourse on shepherding and other occupational alternatives began, at that time, to be informed by the institutional discourse on development and modernisation. The 'traditional' moral code, so far the taken-for-granted of social interaction, was put into question by the ideal of 'modernity' first promoted and enhanced by the state (consonant with the industrialised European society), and later internalised by the local population. Within this discourse, the taken-for-granted image of the shepherd became defined as 'backward' and crime-prone.

The choice to be a shepherd and to follow 'traditional' practices such as transhumance and the adoption of low-efficiency technological practices was defined as morally wrong. The right choices were defined by the state: sedentarisation, adoption of technology and cooperative forms of organisation of production and marketing. More 'modern' still, was employment in the industrial and service sectors; to be less dependent on the whims of nature and to rely more on the 'modern' state. Some Telemulese have refused to relinquish their 'traditional' understanding of production and social relations, while some other Telemulesi have chosen to adopt as their own the institutional imagery. Today, Telemulesi choose their occupation within the framework of local understanding of what is morally correct. Choosing an occupation means choosing a life-style and a style of self-representation.

In the context of multiple determinations (local and institutional moralities, families, friends, inter-village

291

relations) individuals experience their choice as their own choice of occupational career. They are moral agents who choose their own working career and their own consumer style: they choose a way to represent themselves. Their choices may imply the subordination of long-term projects (eg. to become `modern' villagers) to the contingencies of the everyday (eg. having to produce according to `traditional' norms while the local economy changes). The phenomenological concept of shifting relevances is of heuristic importance in providing an understanding of the local individuals' experience of choice as being coherent (and subjectively centred) over the span of their lives. For example, Umberto/shepherd and Umberto/waiter are the same moral agent. Each of these occupations is instrumental to his purposes (supporting his brother, becoming `modern') and are his (contingent) choices rather than fragments of his own subjectivity. Nevertheless, he is also seen as an expression of the conflict of local world-views and life-worlds. His shifting from `modernity' to `tradition' and then to `modernity' again have been described by a fellow villager who studies social sciences in the following terms:

> *Lui è la chiave di lettura di questo conflitto irrisòlto in paese fra il vecchio e il nuovo. Lui voleva andare in scuola e diventare qualcuno. Invece, ...* [He is the living remainder of the not yet solved conflict between the old and the new. He wanted to go to school and become somebody. Instead, ...-unfinished sentence]

To conclude, individuals display their preference for different occupations on the basis of the existing moral representations of economic subjects. Given that the local discourse has been permeated by the institutional discourse grounded in the rhetoric of `modernity', individual choices are informed by the moral representations of agents as either `modern' or `traditional'. I have already discussed the elements that constitute each representation. Suffice it to say here that individuals simultaneously choose an occupation, a life-style and a mode of self-representation. This is a

moral choice that publicly certifies the individual's allegiance to the past (`tradition' and `backwardness') or his/her inclination toward the future (`modernity').

In the following conclusion I propose a model for understanding individuals' occupational choices in a context of multiple codes of meaning and contrasting morally charged representations. Finally, I discuss how within this framework local peoples structure their experiences of self into their own representations as centred and coherent agents.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSION

In concluding this dissertation, I discuss (1) the plurality of representations of the local producers and their sources; (2) the multiplication of moral codes adopted by Telemulesi as new habitus emerge from alternative occupations; (3) the relation between moral world-views and the choice of occupations; and finally, (4) the way in which, in the context of personal life experiences, occupational choices contribute to give coherence to, and centre the experience of the self. Since I have already illustrated these issues throughout the chapters, here I summarize the main arguments presented in this thesis.

1. The Plurality of Self/Representations. How are the images of the `traditional' and `modern' shepherds produced? The shepherd in central Sardinia has constituted, throughout this century, the image that the EEC, the Italian and regional governments have used to represent the `backward' rural population of the island. The rhetoric of `modernisation' justified the direct intervention of those agencies in order to modify the social, economic and cultural conditions prevalent there. After World War II, the Sardinian shepherd continued to practice animal husbandry in ways viewed as archaic and outdated (Antonetti, Cecchini and Fresi 1977; Bandinu 1983; Setzi and Antoniacci 1988). Livestock rustling was rampant in the region and later, by the end of the 1960s, Sardinian shepherds became involved in the prospering criminal activity of kidnapping. The *Inchiesta Medici* singled out shepherds as criminal agents and identified the source of `backwardness' in the practice of transhumance.[1] The

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[1] The representation of pastoralist workers as violent and inclined to criminality has continued today. Earlier, Pigliaru (1975) provided a cultural explanation of the phenomenon. Now, there is some search for adequate

agropastoral reform which started in 1974 and the resulting modifications to the Renaissance Project triggered regional policies which aimed at inducing a rapid transformation of pastoralism, discouraging some Sardinians from remaining as shepherds, encouraging the search for other types of labour and encouraging the sedentarisation of the remaining shepherds.

Government bureaucrats, politicians in all parties, school teachers, and the mass media, all promoted the trope of `modernity': a rhetorical device grounded in the general project of industrialising Italy. To be `modern' was to abandon `rurality' as a lifestyle and to adopt urban practices. Industrial plants were expected to be the instrument to change local mentalities and practices (Lo Monaco 1965; Del Piano 1971; Schweizer 1988; De Murtas 1992:18). The image of the `traditional' worker emerged in contrast to the image of the `modern' one. In the past, perhaps, `tradition' was a category used to legitimise the authority of the elders. However, with the rapid social and economic change of the region, the term became associated with the image of the rural villager anchored in the past. `Modernity' and `tradition' came to occupy the extremes of an axiological opposition employed to define the `good person'. To the eyes of the regional and national governments, the `good person' could be only the `modern' individual and the `shepherd bandit' came to be the archetype of the `traditional' Sardinian (Antonetti, Cecchini and Fresi 1977; Berger 1986; Clark 1990).

Promoting first the industrialisation of the Ogliastra, and later enhancing the growth of job opportunities in the secondary and the tertiary sectors of the economy, the

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explanations in terms of Freudian deep psychological processes (e.g. Bandinu 1991; Follesa 1991, 1992; Funari and Aparo 1991).

regional administration encouraged and favoured the adoption, among local peoples, of urban lifestyles and routines. Those employed in industrial plants resorts and service outlets adopted lifestyles that the mass media contributes to portray as `modern'. `Tradition' and lifestyles associated with the concept were assigned a negative meaning.

From diverse viewpoints, some writers perpetuate the image of the shepherd as individualistic by stressing the year-long isolation of the shepherd in the Supramonte and valleys (Antonetti, Cecchini and Fresi 1977; Melis 1989). However, at the local level, Telemulesi manipulate the meanings of the categories others employ to characterise them. Villagers call others `individualistic' with the negative connotation of anti-social, but can also call themselves `individualistic' meaning that they are independent and self-reliant.

Within the community, two distinct groups of shepherds have taken up for themselves the definition of either `modern' or `traditional' producers. The `modern' ones see themselves as `lagging behind' in modernity, relative to the shepherds in other communities, particularly in Bardia, but already in a time ahead of those local producers who have now been cast, by themselves and others, as `traditional'. Telemulesi who keep their flocks in communal pastures and practice the transhumance find space in the institutional rhetoric to define themselves as `modern' on the basis of their aspirations and preferences in other spheres of the everyday life. The Telemulese shepherd is aware that the regional government promotes cooperatives as the `modern' form of work and market organisation. In consequence, Telemulese shepherds wishing to represent themselves as `modern' are active in advancing proposals for organising a local cooperative. In looking at Bardia's cooperative they see the advantages that its members have acquired: all year-round green pastures, computerised irrigation (`modern' technology), sedentarised

production, higher levels of production and profit, and less hardship in the organisation of work. Since Telemulesi lack the enclosed lands required to form a cooperative, local shepherds strive to convince fellow villagers that the enclosure of communal lands would bring benefits to the whole village.

Among those Telemulesi who aspire to become `modern' by abandoning `primitive' forms of production, some reject the idea of communal organisations and consensus. For example Alberto, whose short working trajectory was described in the previous chapter, resents the communalistic ideology of his co-villagers. A summer night during which we were sitting at a table by the piazza, Vargas-Cetina was asked what she had found so far for her final report. She said that it had been most interesting for her to see that Telemulesi keep their seemingly friendly forms of reciprocity and mutual obligations. He answered:

> Exactly! That is what holds us back [è *quello che ci frega!*]. We should be able to take our things wherever we want instead of having to give them or sell them to our friends. We should be able to sell [them] to whoever pays us the most.

He claims that the village can progress only by means of cumulative individual efforts. To him, given that shepherding is an occupation that requires the establishment of reciprocal obligations, it cannot help Telemulesi to overcome their `backwardness'.

The number of Telemulesi employed in service jobs increased during the last decade (see Chapter Three). With these jobs, individuals who work in tourism and who are employed by the AFDRS for reforestation and maintenance of natural resources have become more immersed in the environmental discourse of the urban, post-materialist code. In consequence, the shepherds are able to legitimate both their occupation as rural producers (working as shepherds during the winter and in tourism during the summer) or their

298

preference for `traditional' products. Both `modern' and `traditional' producers coincide in their preferences for specific types of foodstuffs. However, they re-interpret these similar preferences from their divergent self-evaluation and representation as either `modern' or `traditional' persons. While `modern' shepherds, industrial and service workers see themselves as counterpoised to the `traditional' pastoralists, the differences in behaviour and lifestyles are not always readily apparent. As the `traditional' villager, the `modern' service worker praises the natural, organic, authentic virtue of the local home-made prosciutto, cheese, and wines. The `traditional' shepherd, in turn, praises his job in post-materialist terms: it allows him to be in close contact with nature and to conduct a physically active life, breathing pure air and drinking pure, natural spring water. After all, the Telemulesi are all year round surrounded by an environment that visitors long for and which they can enjoy only for short periods of the year. Telemulesi claim to be so privileged, that in their view, visitors envy them. Thus, during the summer of 1991, after some forest fires in the Ogliastra, a villager told us that those fires had been probably started by the German tourists who resent the fact that Sardinians are blessed with a life surrounded by uncorrupted nature.[2]

The institutional discourse has been retaken and interpreted by the Telemulesi within the framework of local codes. (See Eco 1964, 1990 for a discussion on interpretations alternative to the meaning intended by the sender of the message.) Different persons have internalised

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[2] Other Telemulesi resent the interest that urban dwellers express in creating a park in the Ogliastra. The daughter of a shepherd once told us: "[urban dwellers] want us to live here in primitive ways so that they can enjoy their park for the weekend. And this happens after they have destroyed the environment of the cities where they live."

different values through practices that correspond to the lifestyles they have chosen. The differences in social and working practices can be seen as corresponding to different articulation of values in distinct hierarchies. In the next section I discuss loosely following Heller's (1974) model, how different moral codes are structured in Telemula.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF VALUES

The multiplication of lifestyles in Telemula and the multiplication of occupational choices are both aspects of the same phenomenon. The scheduling of one's work mediates the organisation of routines, practices and activities in the sphere of sociability. In consequence, when an individual chooses an occupation, s/he is aware that the ensuing lifestyle legitimates a certain self/representation. This image of the self has a strategic value in claiming the legitimacy of her/his position in the social text. In the context of the Ogliastra, a job is not just a job. Unless practised in an already defined (`modern') way, shepherds' and agriculturalists' work is represented as primitive and archaic. `Modern' jobs are those performed in industrial and service firms. By extension, those who work in such enterprises are seen as `modern' people.

The individual's practices in social and working life become a vehicle (although not the only one) by which values are both internalised and expressed. As social and working routines multiply, alternative everyday self-perceptions and representations emerge and multiply. That is, each individual can have an experience of the spheres of work and sociability different from that of other fellow villagers (or workers). In turn, the possibilities for adopting different legitimate world-views also multiply. Different individuals within the village choose different jobs and, with them, different ways to structure the extent and quality of their social

300

interaction. In expressing, orally or in practice, their preference for certain types of objects, persons, processes or relations to other persons and the material world, individuals express their moral views.

There are more than one alternative for representing oneself as either `modern' or `traditional'. Furthermore, some may even make their moral choices regardless of this axiological opposition, legitimising their choices on the grounds of other moral codes. In each specific case, individuals direct their actions on the basis of an implicit hierarchy of values which is contingent on the historical context of the person and her/his group. As alternatives expand, so does the range of possible individual preferences. In consequence, each hierarchy has a heterogeneous value content. Given that during my fieldwork I found Telemulesi, more often than not, choosing on the basis of the values of the `modern' and the `traditional', in what follows I propose a model to describe how Telemulesi structure various value hierarchies on the basis of the opposition between `modern' and `traditional'. I stress, however, that this hierarchy can be seen only as a heuristic device and that other hierarchies exist (and are possible) which are historically contingent.[3] Thus, as Telemula and its inhabitants change, these hierarchies will change too.

The model of `orienting values' and their hierarchy as proposed by Heller (1974:43) is of heuristic value here and will help me to provide descriptive representations of the structures of different moral codes found among Telemulesi. Villagers manifest their values in the expression of their

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[3] However, during my fieldwork, Telemulesi referred more often to the opposition between `modernity' and `tradition' than to any other one. Thus, I was able to obtain only fragmentary information on other codes. In consequence, I cannot present in this dissertation a hierarchy of values as well defined as the ones with which I here deal.

preferences. The primary value-category, which pervades and provides meaning to all others, is the opposition between good and bad. In the representations that exist in Telemula, these values are contained in the contrasting orientative categories of the `good' and the `bad' person [the *persona brava,* and the *persona non brava,* respectively]. These categories are very general and exhibit a highly variable content which, according to the particular standpoint of the subject, can designate persons with opposed beliefs, behavioral traits and demeanours. That is, for the `modern' group of villagers, the `traditional' Telemulesi represent the negative image of the moral opposition, whereas for the `traditional' one, it is the `modern' villager and shepherd who represent the negative pole of their axiological evaluations.

Subordinated to the primary category, moral perceptions and perceived representations are used to direct the actions of the individual in the relevant domains of the everyday life such as work, the family and sociability. Heller (1974:44) proposes a list of values of a universal nature which do not seem relevant for the Telemulesi structure of the everyday. In making use of her model I have substituted the assumptions of ontological determination by one of social interaction within a specific context. In Telemula, the primary axiological opposition that can be seen as directing and legitimising preferences in most spheres of the life-world, is that between `modern' and `traditional'. According to each particular group of villagers, the `good worker' may be either `modern' or `traditional'. These categories inform the judgments on the organisation of the family, work and sociality. For example, the `traditional' shepherd assigns a positive value to his own working practices, which he sees as tied to his responsibility toward the animals, and judges negatively what he perceives to be the irresponsible practices of the `modern' shepherd. He believes that collective forms of flock management and dairy production are detrimental to

the animals' health and the quality of cheese and sees himself as properly individualistic regarding his own way to manage his flock. In the sphere of sociability, this same shepherd considers himself to be oriented toward the community and perceives the `modern' shepherd as negatively individualistic.

In the domain of the family, the `traditional' shepherd assigns a positive value to productive cooperation within the family that leads to economic self-sufficiency and, in contrast, criticizes the dependence of `modern' shepherds and their families on market supplies. A dependence that can be seen as arising from the lack of intra-familial solidarity and the lack of skills for primary production. In turn, the `modern' shepherd assigns a positive value to the comfort that other members of his family obtain from their exemption of productive activities and sees in a negative light the life of hardship that `traditional' families lead.

The perceived representations of one's and others' selves are used to evaluate and direct actions in each particular sphere of the everyday and are subordinated, in practice, to the moral evaluations and orientative categories. For example, the `traditional' shepherd assigns a positive value to spending most of the day with the flock, and taking care of it. This is what makes him a responsible producer (moral evaluation) and a *persona brava* (orientative category). By the same token, the `traditional' shepherd assigns a positive value to the preservation of communal lands (perceived representation) as part of a communalistic orientation (moral evaluation) that allows him to represent his self as a *persona brava* (orientative category). As I suggested above, the difficulty with the hierarchy in the schema proposed by Heller is that she sees the development of values as having an ontological and universal nature, thus concealing the historical and contextual specificity of moral preferences. I also depart from her views in that she understand values as separating the individual from the experience of the everyday

life (Heller 1974:114). In contrast, I understand individuals' values as arising precisely from the different domains of the everyday. In expressing preferences in each domain (economic, social, political, familial) the individual enacts his or her moral world-view. In consequence, an individual's or a group of producers' preferences contribute to reproduce his or their own representations and assign them a moral content. By viewing values in a socio-historical context one can understand how, in Telemula, in the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the orientative category of the `modern' person has become important for defining one's own position in the rhetorical space and time of either `modernity' or `tradition'.  Practices, discourses, and many other preferences are morally legitimised by the value of `modernity' just as others are defined as `traditional' sometimes negatively, sometimes positively.

Broadly speaking (and acknowledging the existence of other less common moral representations) there are, in Telemula, three dominant images of the *persona brava* held by three different groups of people: (1) the group that defends the local social and cultural status quo (i.e. communal lands and the ideology of egalitarism), and their current political privileges, defining its members as `good' if they comply with the moral code that the state defines as `traditional'; (2) the group of agropastoral producers which has also accepted the state's definition of the `good modern person' defines as good the villagers who support local and institutional strategies of modernisation; and (3) the group of Telemulesi who see no possibility of becoming `modern' (and thus `good') as long as one remains involved in agropastoral production.

The presence of these three general hierarchies of value allows Telemulesi to express their preferences often for the same objects, persons, relationships, events and practices while repositioning themselves in qualitatively different rhetorical spaces and times. For example, the choice for

304

home-made prosciutto, wine, dairies and breads can be seen as the expression of a preference for food products manufactured according to long-time established practices (`traditional'). Or else, they can be preferred because of their `authentic' nature: they are natural and organic (`modern') products to which no preservatives, chemicals or artificial substances were added during their manufacture.

The same value can be used to stress the positive attributes of one group and the negative ones of another. For example, the `modern' worker of the service and industrial sectors assigns a positive value to his/her preference for `individualist' practices because they demonstrate his/her own self-reliance. On the other hand, this same person defines negatively the `traditional' shepherd because of his individualism. That is, because he is seen as working in isolation, being aggressive and uncooperative. The `modern' person also assigns a positive value to his/her compliance with community rules because he or she is hospitable, friendly, egalitarian and law (or rule) abiding. By the same token, he or she sees the `traditional' agropastoral producer in a negative light because he or she maintains the customary reciprocal obligations for the exchange of products and labour. These assessments usually conceal the fact that the `traditional' Telemulese also gives a positive value to the practice of hospitality and to the expressions of friendliness, egalitarianism and the compliance with local rules (`traditional' ones). In Figure 1 I provide a schematic representation of the articulation of orientative categories, domains of the everyday life, and the representations that emerge from them. The hierarchies of values held by the two groups of agropastoral producers and by industrial and service workers in general are represented in figures 2, 3 and 4.

Value Category	Domains	Orientative Categories for Possible Self Representations
GOOD	Work	Good `Traditional' Shepherd Good `Modern' Shepherd
	Sociability	Good `traditional' Telemulese Good `Modern' Telemulese
BAD	Work	Bad `Traditional' Shepherd Bad `Modern' Shepherd
	Sociability	Bad `Traditional' Telemulese Bad `Modern' Telemulese

Fig. 1 Values, Domains and Representations

Orientative Category	Moral Evaluation of Self and Others in Specific Domains	Perceived Everyday Representations of Self and Others
Good Traditional Agropastoralist (+)	WORK: Responsibility (Individualistic Regarding Production)	Full Time Involvement with the Flock Concern for the Welfare of the Animals Self-Reliant `Traditional' Manufacture of Foodstuffs Work-Oriented
	FAMILY	Self-sufficiency Family Solidarity
	SOCIABILITY: Communalism (Generous Regarding Social Interaction)	Hospitality Friendliness Egalitarianism Defence of Communal Land Use Furbo (Against the State and other Sources of Authority)
Bad Modern Shepherd (-)	WORK: Irresponsibility (Communalist Regarding Production)	Profit-Oriented Careless about the Flock Dependent on Others (Cooperatives and State Subsidies)
	FAMILY: (Dependence on Market)	Leisure-Oriented Lack of Familial Solidarity
	SOCIABILITY: Individualistic (Selfish Regarding Social Interaction)	Unconcerned about The Welfare of Other Villagers Arrogant: Emphasis on Difference from Other Villagers

Fig. 2   Orientative Values Used by the `Traditional' Shepherd.

307

Orientative Category	Moral Evaluation of Self and Others in Specific Domains	Perceived Everyday Representations of Self and Others
Good `Modern' Shepherd (+)	WORK: Cooperation and Rationalization of Production	Pro-Cooperative Solidarity Sharing Egalitarianism Adoption of Technology Enclosure of Lands Improvement of Pastures Control of Nature
	FAMILY: Comfort	Leisure-Oriented Consumer (Market) Oriented Ecologically-Minded
	SOCIABILITY: Communalism	Hospitality Friendliness Publicness Law-Abiding Authenticity of Foodstuffs Close Contact to Nature
Tradition (Equal to Archaic) (-)	WORK: Individualist and Irrational Producer	Isolated Producer Contrary to the Enclosure of Land Low Technology Poor use of Fodder Controlled by Nature
	FAMILY: Hardship	Work-Oriented Unconcerned About The Ecology
	SOCIABILITY: Poor Communalism	Disrespectful Toward the Law (and Local Norms) Omertà Aggressive

Fig. 3   Orientative Values Used by the Modern Shepherd.

Orientative Category	Moral Evaluation of Self and Others in Specific Domains	Perceived Everyday Representations of Self and Others
Modern Good Person (+)	WORK: Individualism	Self-Reliant Self-Centred Structured Work Secure Salary Commodity-Oriented Abundant Free-Time
	FAMILY: Comfort	Leisure-Oriented Market (Consumer) Oriented Nature-Minded Organic Foodstuffs
	SOCIABILITY: Communalism	Egalitarianism Hospitality Publicness Friendliness Law-Abiding

Bad Traditional Person
(-)
	WORK:
	Dependency and
	Isolationism
		Excessive Informal
		    Obligations
		Dependency on Other
		    Villagers in
		    Order to Complete
		    Projects
		Anti-Cooperative
		Isolated Producer
		Dependent on
		    Natural Cycles of
		    the Flock and
		    Agriculture

	FAMILY: Hardship	Work-Oriented Unconcerned About the Ecology
	SOCIABILITY	Aggressiveness Poor Sociability

Fig. 4   Orientative Values Used by the Modern Industrial and Service Worker

While the values and valued practices listed on the tables are abstractions, they are grounded on the individuals' practices within and outside the village. The life-worlds of individuals working in different occupations in Telemula or other villages of the Ogliastra are structured according to the different types of habitus that are developed in each socioeconomic activity. For example, when Alberto decided to abandon shepherding he was rejecting a lifestyle which implied conformity to certain dressing codes and rules of aggressive interaction. He was not rejecting the working routines involved in the tending of flocks. He prefers to dress elegantly, to dispose of free-time and money to enjoy it, and to exhibit a mild-mannered demeanour. In his view, shepherding would have precluded him from becoming `modern'.

When Tullio and Giulio decided to start their career as goatherds they were enticed by the numerous subsidies that the state promised to pastoralists willing to modernise their activities. They believed that it was possible, within Telemula, to find the space to be both pastoralists and `modern' persons. They only needed to gain access to lands for enclosure and government subsidies for acquiring technology to improve the local pastures. As time has proven them wrong, partly because of the marginal importance of the Ogliastra and partly because of the resistance of other villagers, they are now looking for jobs outside shepherding.

The possibility of different kinds of work gives Telemulesi the opportunity to live differently. The spheres of the life-world multiply and also alternative life-worlds emerge. Individuals then learn to articulate their values in different hierarchies and their moral world-views grow apart. Telemulesi can see themselves as standing on, and see (judge) the others from their rhetorical positioning in, `modernity'. The trope of `modernity' is a rhetorical tool that legitimates the claim for differences in worth between the speaker and other villagers.

310

Thus, in a context in which the representations of different producers (and consumers) have multiplied, representations of the self are assigned a value content. The latter is credited on the basis of real or imagined traits seen as arising from different types of work. The discourse that emphasises the grand narrative of modernisation promotes the ideal of modernity characterised by urban lifestyles and by the rationalisation of productive practices. It also assigns a positive value to having access to a secure income and free time to spend it. Modernity brings goods and expands markets. In contrast, the regional and national governments, the mass media and local groups reproduce the discursive image of the `traditional' producer as an isolated and inefficient producer who rejects technological advances. These images have been accepted and reproduced by villagers who use the institutional rhetoric in order to establish the type of relationship that exists among groups of villagers. The young Telemulese who aspires to find a job and *sistemarsi*, and later to marry, is faced with morally-laden occupational alternatives. Often, he finds himself constrained to work temporarily as a shepherd while looking for another job. Can these individuals be seen as experiencing a fragmented self? Can they provide a sense of coherence to the scattered experiences from different spheres of the everyday? I propose tentative answers to these questions in the following, last section of this conclusion.

3. OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES AND SELF-CENTRING

On the basis of the phenomenological experience of choice, Telemulesi can see their own lives as the continuous unfolding of a self-project. Telemula, in its particular historical, political and economic dimensions, is the context in which villagers have to satisfy their material and non-material needs. The rapid transition of Italy from an industrial to a

311

post-industrial economy has affected very little the local strategies for procuring one's own economic survival. Pastoralism, as an occupational choice, has declined in importance: it is now practised by only one third of the active labour force of the village. However, it remains present as an economic alternative for those who are forced out of their jobs in other sectors of the economy. It is clear that present-day Telemulesi actively search for jobs in industries and services in order to, on the one hand, secure a permanent job (with the added benefits of free-time, secure salaries, retirement and other fringe benefits), and on the other, to legitimise a lifestyle that provides the subject with the rhetorical means to claim the status of a `modern' person.

The preferences expressed by individuals in their choices of occupation and lifestyle inform their own moral self-representations. Telemulesi can choose to shift practices and, consequently, self-representation, or they may choose to show allegiance to the group that shares their practices and world view and thus, be seen as *bravo/a* by his/her peers. Representations, with their specific moral content, inform the occupational choice of Telemulesi. One cannot choose only to be a shepherd: he has to adjust to `traditional' or `modern' expectations posited either by one segment of the local community or by another segment of the local community and the state, respectively. Individuals in their thirties have been socialised under the influence of the mass media, the school, political parties, the Church and agents of the regional government's agricultural reform agency (ERSAT). Individuals' attitudes toward different occupations began to be shaped in the early stages of their lives. For some, a long-term self-project is oriented by the desire to become a `modern' Italian citizen. For others, who have to struggle to secure the permanence of communal privileges in order to ensure their own survival, the project of `modernity' becomes subordinated to

312

the satisfaction of material needs. Thus, they choose to maintain `traditional' practices and organisation of work.[4] Two thirds of the local active population now find employment outside the agropastoral sector. These two thirds of the village's population profit from the benefits of short daily working schedules, free time and secure employment, and legitimate their self-representation as `modern' subjects.

In speaking about themselves, Telemulesi develop textual strategies which confer coherence and unity to their lives. Their own biographical experiences are structured in terms of the lived time in which the past, the present and the future constitute a single whole rather than disconnected fragments of the lived. The worker, even when working in a disliked activity, can legitimate his or her own agency by claiming to have performed an active choice (even though recognising a multiplicity of constraints that narrows his or her possible choices).

During work the individual reproduces everyday practices that are consistent through time: the shepherd who every day herds his flock, milks the animals, and makes cheese (or gives the milk to the cooperative), the industrial worker who every day drives to the plant, and the service worker who every day cleans a certain number of rooms, do experience continuity in their lives. The community's expectations for sociability are binding for all villagers and every evening Telemulesi join their friends in the piazzas or in the daily walk along the main street. Each evening groups of friends go together to the bar and exchange rounds of drinks. Individuals experience work and sociability, two of the main spheres of local social

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[4] This does not mean that individuals are always concerned about their self-representations as either `modern' or `traditional'. The ability to shift relevances means that individuals can be dedicated to their everyday tasks paying attention, when relevant, to the life-long project of becoming `modern' or of maintaining a `traditional' attitude.

life, as repetitive and consistent through time even though they introduce changes as they gain access to more recent technologies and knowledge. The organisation of life-worlds within the village favours the integration of experiences in whole, integrated selves. The family, as a realm of the life-world, participates in the realms of both work and sociability enhancing the individuals' experience of an integrated self.

Finally, Telemulesi workers, in narrating their own life experiences, link not only their own personal past to their experience of the present, but see it also in the context of their historical experience as a people. The EEC and the Italian and regional governments are seen as providing opportunities for advancing toward `modernity' and, sometimes, as withdrawing their support in order to favour other villages. To their representatives, Telemula is a continuous entity through time just as each villager is the same self from birth to death. One can define him- or herself in terms of a metaphorical concept: "I am a modern shepherd" or "I am a modern villager." One legitimises these claims on the basis of one's own preferences: "I buy my own fodder," "I want to enclose lands," "I want to improve pastures," "each one should mind his own business, otherwise we will not progress." I suggest that the expression of one's own preferences and the experience of the will to change or to maintain the status quo constitute the experiential centre of the individual. This centre is textual, full of meaning and morally informed.

To sum up, the representations of the Telemulese are multiple and their content is morally defined. In general terms, the axiological opposition between the `modern' and the `traditional' codes have come to dominate the discursive realm of the everyday and has permeated all other spheres. One's choice cannot be claimed neutral. Choices of occupation and, in consequence, of lifestyle are morally informed preferences. The formation of a given habitus (modern or traditional)

314

provides bodily and practical (meaningful social and productive) grounds for the experience of the present as the centre of one's own self.

Since we left Sardinia in June 1992 several events of both a general and a particular nature have occurred in Italy and Telemula. The illegitimate partitioning of benefits on the basis of political affiliation (*lotizzazione*) has come under attack from the Italian magistrates. The pressure put on Italy by the EEC to strictly adhere to the Community's agricultural programmes has weakened the economy of the region by reducing the flow of public monies. Nevertheless, in the early fall of 1992, the AFDRS hired, on a permanent basis, 50 Telemulesi, men and women, to clean the small local forest and to plant new trees. We were informed by a shepherd, in a letter, that some Telemulesi men gave up shepherding and joined the ranks of reforestation workers. Others have abandoned the village in search of work elsewhere, while one by one, some of those shepherds left in the village give up (perhaps temporarily) their flocks in order to try out industrial and/or service jobs.

Thus far the Italian and regional governments seem to be achieving the purpose of resolving the *questione sarda* [the Sardinian Problem] by putting an end to transhumant pastoralism. In some villages such as Bardia, they have succeeded in sedentarising most shepherds, in others such as Telemula they have succeeded in discouraging shepherds from staying in the job, while inducing them to find employment in industrial and service businesses. It is increasingly difficult for shepherds in the marginal regions of the Nuorese to legitimise their claims to be `modern'. Perhaps jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, subsidised with government funds, will give them the opportunity to become legitimate `modern' subjects. Perhaps the process of post-industrialisation will finally alienate Telemulesi from

the need to deal with nature in an instrumental way, will favour the postmodernisation of members of the village, and bring the decentring and fragmentation of selves. These issues could be explored in the future by myself and by other researchers.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFDRS   *Azienda Forestale Demaniale Regionale Sarda* (Sardinian Agency for the management of Communal Forests)

ANAS   *Azienda Nazionale Autonoma delle Strade* (National Roads Agency)

CENSIS   *Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali* (Center for Social Investment Studies)

DC   *Democrazia Cristiana* (Christian Democratic Party)

EEC   European Economic Community

ERSAT   *Ente Regionale di Sviluppo e Assistenza Tecnica* (Regional Agency for development and technical assistance)

ETFAS   *Ente per la Trasformazione Agraria e Fondiaria in Sardegna* (Sardinian Agency for Land and Agricultural Development)

ISTAT   *Istituto Centrale di Statistica* (Central Statistics Institute)

PSd'Az   *Partito Sardo d'Azione* (Sardinian Party for Action)

PSDI   *Partito Socialdemocratico Italiano* (Italian Social Democratic Party)

PSI   *Partito Socialista Italiano* (Italian Socialist Party)

Arretrato/a/i/e, It.	`Backward', lagging behind
Arretratezza, It.	`Backwardness'
Arrosto, It.	Roast
Azienda Speciale, It.	Special Interest Area
Balente, It.	Someone who does what s/he is expected to do. Currently with the negative connotation of `ruthless'
Balentia, It.	Manliness
Bandito (pl. banditi), It.	Bandit
Biddazzone, Sard	Rotational use of communal lands
Casalinga, it.	Housewife
Crìcca (pl. crìcche), It.	Gang, group of friends
Comune, It.	Municipal building, council and territory
Fàida, It.	Feud
Fidanzato/a	Engaged
Furbo/a, It.	Cunning
Genuino/a, It.	Authentic, genuine
Latitante, It.	Fugitive
Lotizzato, It.	Distributed
Lotizzazione, It.	Clientelist distribution of resources.
Magazzeno, It.	Storage room
Mangime, It.	Fodder
Manovale, It.	Agricultural help and bricklayer
Mezzogiorno, It.	South of Italy

Monte dei Pascoli	Collectively Managed Pastures
Mungitura, It.	Milking
Muratore, It.	Mason
Omertà, It.	Silence code in Southern Italy
Orzo, It.	Barley
Ovile, It.	Shepherds' and animals' shelter
Passeggiata, It.	Walk, stroll
Persona brava, It.	Good person
Pistoccu, Sard. (Ogliastra)	Flat wheat bread
Posto Fisso, It.	Permanent employment
Prepotente (pl. prepotenti), It.	Arrogant
Qualifica, It.	Certificate
Recinto, It.	Corral, enclosure for the animals
Servopastore, It.	Shepherd hand, servant. Implies a relation of subordination in Telemula and other Sardinian villages [Sard, therakko]
Sistemarse, It.	To settle down
Sistemato/a, It.	Someone who has settled down
S'istrada, Sard.	Road
Spuntino, It.	Snack, in central Sardinia a banquet held outdoors
Supramonte, It.	High plateau
Svezzatura, It.	Weaning
Tosatura, It.	Shearing
Vendetta, It.	Violent revenge

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