

TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHLAND SARDINIA
An Economic and Socio-Cultural Impact Study of Tourism in Baunei

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN HIGHLAND SARDINIA

ABSTRACT

Tourism is being promoted as an economic development strategy world-wide. It is seen as particularly suitable for creating employment in areas which lack alternative development options. This study examines the economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism on Baunei, a community located on the eastern coast of Sardinia. The research shows that the type of tourism found in Baunei (i.e. locally controlled and small-scale) is providing benefits to local people without causing significant economic disruption or social conflict. The fact that residents are actively seeking to develop tourism in their area is perhaps the best indication that tourism is not acting as a disruptive force in Baunei.

RÉSUMÉ

Le tourisme est promu à travers le monde comme véhicule de développement économique. L'industrie touristique est perçue comme étant porteuse surtout au niveau de création d'emploi dans les régions défavorisées qui manquent autre stratégie de développement. La présente étude examine les impacts socio-culturels ainsi qu'économiques du tourisme sur la communauté de Baunei, un village situé sur la côte est de la Sardaigne. La recherche démontre que le genre de tourisme que l'on retrouve à Baunei - petite échelle, auto-gestionné - bénéficie la population locale sans bouleverser profondément l'activité économique traditionnelle ou créer de conflits sociaux. Le fait que les villageois encouragent le développement touristique dans leur région est une forte indication que le tourisme, tel qu'il est à Baunei, ne constitue pas une force perturbatrice.

To my parents, who taught me to believe in myself, and to my husband, Todd, who proved to be the best companion a fieldworker could have.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

THE TOURISM REVOLUTION

In 1989, delegates at The Hague spoke of a 'tourism revolution' sweeping the globe (Garrison 1989:4). Already the world's second largest trade item, tourism is predicted to become the world's number one export by the year 2000, as earnings from it surpass even those generated by trade in oil (de Kadt 1979a:2; Garrison 1989:4).¹ The number of travellers, estimated at one and a half billion annually in 1982, is expected to increase by more than 40% in the 1990s (De Los Santos 1982:207; Garrison 1989:6; Smith 1989:4).

Whereas in the past, tourism was restricted to those privileged few who had both the time and money to travel at leisure,² today, an ever-increasing number of people world-wide are tourists at some point in their lives (Mathieson and Wall 1982:1). The transformation of tourism from a limited to a commonly pursued leisure activity began in the years following the Second World War. Rising disposable incomes, increased leisure time following a general reduction in working hours, reduced costs of transportation resulting from technological advances, improved and increased infrastructural development, and increased economic progress in developing areas have all contributed to this surge in tourist traffic (De Los Santos 1982:207).

Today, there is no question that tourism has become an accepted and accessible part of life for many people, particularly in the western world. Not only is it unlikely to disappear in the foreseeable future, but, as was noted above, the number of people travelling for leisure purposes will undoubtedly continue to rise. For the world's destination areas, this holds a number of implications.

¹ Johnston, in the introduction to Cultural Survival Quarterly 14(1) ("Breaking Out of the Tourist Trap") claims that tourism is already the world's largest export earner, having already surpassed both the weapons and oil industries (1990:2).

² For detailed discussions of the history of tourism, see Graburn (1989) and Nash (1989).

TOURISM AS AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Increasingly, governments, researchers and other concerned groups are supporting and promoting tourism as an economic development strategy (Mathieson and Wall 1982:183). Historically, tourism has contributed to the economic growth of many nations. At the end of World War II, revenues from tourism helped to rebuild the war-torn economies of Europe (Hawkins 1982:166). Today, the tourism sector continues to hold economic potential for the world's developing areas, and leading international development agencies, such as the World Bank and UNESCO, are funding projects aimed at promoting tourism (de Kadt 1979a; Nuñez 1989:267). Since 1980, for example, the United Nations Development Programme has committed as much as \$28.5 million to assist tourism projects in no less than 49 member states (Garrison 1989:6).

One of the leading causes for the promotion of tourism is the sector's ability to generate employment (Catei 1987:202-203; Bjønness 1983:264; Marsh 1987:25; Hawkins 1982:173; De Los Santos 1982:220; de Kadt 1979a:11). According to the World Tourism Organization, tourism is a major new source of jobs in developing nations, and a report from the U.S. based Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates asserts that, "Travel and tourism is the largest industry in the world in terms of employment" (Garrison 1989:4).

Tourism differs from other export activities in that, rather than generating products that are transported to the marketplace, it attracts consumers (i.e. tourists) who obtain goods and services in the destination areas. Because of this, the sector also generates indirect employment in the construction, manufacturing and processing sectors. This brings added benefits to developing areas, in that it increases incomes in these other sectors and eases some of the pressure on high unemployment rates (De Los Santos 1982:212, 214; de Kadt 1979a:11; Smaoui 1979:102). It is largely for these reasons that tourism has been hailed as the new miracle cure for many of the world's developing areas.

SOCIAL RESEARCH AND TOURISM

Because of its promise of economic gains, tourism is being promoted as an economic development strategy in locations world-wide, often at rapid rates. Researchers, however, are now questioning policies that are oriented exclusively towards securing economic advancement (Bjonness 1983:264). Emanuel de Kadt (1979b:38) claims that

an earlier simple faith in the merits of economic growth as such has given way to questions about the balance of that growth and the distribution of material benefits.

Moreover, the very definition of development as something essentially economic is being challenged, and attention is coming to rest increasingly on its social, political and human dimensions.

Scholars from a number of disciplines have begun to voice concern over the possible repercussions of tourism on other dimensions of society. As Mathieson and Wall (1982:183) have noted,

The unprecedented expansion of tourism has given rise to a multitude of economic, environmental and social impacts which are concentrated in destination areas. These effects have become pronounced with changes in the volume and character of the tourist industry.

On the basis of current research, some scholars contend that tourism is having negative effects on local communities, effects which are felt in the economic as well as the social and environmental realms (see Bjonness 1983:263; Pizam 1978:8; and Prasad 1987:10). The type and extent of these impacts are linked to a number of factors, such as the type of tourism being promoted, the rate of growth of the sector, the economic and socio-cultural attributes of local communities, and the extent to which local control is maintained over tourism resources.

In light of this, it becomes essential that research be carried out focusing on specific case studies, to determine the impact of tourism on those areas. Only in this way is it possible to assess whether tourism is suitable for promoting sustainable development in those areas. Greenwood (1989:171-72) notes,

This nascent critical literature is useful because it places tourism-related development in the analytical perspective from which a variety of different development strategies are being reviewed.

Anthropologists have, among other things, been concentrating their efforts on understanding the socio-economic effects that tourism generates, particularly on host communities (Greenwood 1989:171). Of particular concern is how culture-specific variables (such as traditional economic pursuits for example) are affected by the tourism sector, and the way which cultural norms and values (e.g., concepts of hospitality) change as a result of tourism. Armed with information of these kinds, concerned groups, particularly host communities, will be better prepared to make sound decisions about the tourism sector in particular, and development issues in general. Hawkins (1982:vi) writes,

Tourism management must begin with a broad understanding of the social, cultural, and environmental factors which may positively or negatively influence tourism and its contribution to the host country's population and to its visitors. Once this understanding has been achieved, then it is appropriate that steps be taken to manage tourism effectively with the proper utilization of technology, productivity enhancement, and human resource development.

THE STUDY: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON BAUNEI

Baunei is a highland community located in the Ogliastra region of Sardinia. Increasingly over the last 15 years, and especially within the last five, efforts have been made at expanding the tourism sector. These efforts are coming from a number of divergent bodies, including both local entrepreneurs and the municipal government office. The touristic potential of the area has not been lost on the regional and Italian governments, who are also interested in promoting tourism in the area by way of establishing a national park, the borders of which would encompass the entire community of Baunei (see for example, Colomo and Ticca 1987:296, 320; Giannase 1990; and Masnata 1990).

The growing interest in developing Baunei as a tourist centre, shown by both local as well as regional and national bodies, has heightened the need for understanding the potential impacts of tourism development on the host community, particularly in light of the rapidity with which the sector is being promoted. The economic and socio-cultural implications of tourism, noted in other areas of the world, call into question tourism's suitability as a strategy

for promoting sustainable development. It is with this in mind that this study examines the economic, social and cultural impacts of tourism on Baunei. The research emphasizes local reactions to the development of tourism in the territory, as well as local perceptions of the changes taking place as a result of that development.

Chapter One describes the physical, economic and social settings of Baunei, in order that the tourism sector may be understood within the context of the broader community. Chapter Two discusses tourism in Baunei. After briefly outlining the growth of tourism in Sardinia, existing tourism facilities in Baunei are described, as are the initiatives undertaken by the municipal government to promote tourism in the community. The next two chapters then focus on the economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism on Baunei. Emphasis is put on the fact that, although tourism is indeed bringing about changes in the community, local residents are adaptively responding to those changes, and local social cohesion is being maintained. This observation is reinforced by the reactions of the local people themselves, who welcome the continued development of tourism in their community. Chapter Five goes on to note, however, that continued promotion of tourism could, in fact, lead to local conflict in the future.

Methodology and Timeframe

Fieldwork was carried out between July, 1990 and May, 1991. For the first two months, I concentrated on acquainting myself with the Ogliastra region in general, and the community in particular. Preliminary mapping of tourist facilities was also done at this time, and contacts with individuals involved in the sector were made. This initial period was also used to improve my language skills and understanding of local norms and customs.

September to December was devoted to the gathering of information.³ During this time, structured interviews were carried out with 50 owners and employees of tourism enterprises to see who was participating in the tourism sector and from where they were coming. This would serve to assess the extent of local participation in the sector, to determine whether local people are benefitting from employment opportunities generated by tourism, and the degree of local control maintained over tourism establishments. Education and work histories were also obtained to help assess the skill-levels of people working in tourism. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were carried out both with community members involved and uninvolved in the tourism sector, to elicit local perceptions of tourism development in Baunei, and to understand what local people perceive as the economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the community.

During the months of February and March, a questionnaire was distributed, also to assess the opinions, attitudes, and desires of local people concerning community development in general and the development of tourism in particular. A variant of this questionnaire was also given to students enrolled in a tourism course offered by the community of Baunei, in order to determine who was participating in this course and what their opinions were about tourism development in Baunei. Demographic information was also taken from municipal records during this time, to help form a demographic overview of the community. Both the local library and local newspapers also supplied some information pertaining to tourism in Sardinia. Analysis of the data was begun while still in the field, which gave me the opportunity to fill in gaps in the data and clear up inconsistencies and misunderstandings as they arose.

³ A number of interviews were also conducted during the months of July and August, including all interviews with individuals living outside the community of Baunei. Admittedly, my language skills were considerably less-developed during this period, and thus, these earlier interviews were, on the whole, less informative and fruitful. Although I believe my capability for gathering factual information such as demographic variables and education and work backgrounds was sufficient at this time, information of a more abstract kind, such as opinions and attitudes concerning tourism development is, for the most part, lacking in these earlier interviews.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SETTING

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The island of Sardinia is the second largest island in the Mediterranean, having a surface area of 24,090 km² which consists mainly of hills and mountains (ESIT 1990). Situated 112 nautical miles southwest of mainland Italy and approximately 120 miles due north of Africa, it is the most distant of all Italian islands (Carlson 1987:50). It is also the least densely-populated region of the country, with only 1.5 million inhabitants (ISTAT 1991:38).

Sardinia has historically suffered the attentions of a host of conquerors, including the ancient Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, Byzantines and Arabs. Later, the marine republics of Pisa and Genoa would each attempt to colonise the island, followed by the Aragonese, Spanish and Savoians (Schweizer 1988; ESIT 1990). Finally, in 1861, Sardinia was incorporated into the newly formed Italian State, and is now one of the five "autonomous regions" of the country (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 1984:102).

The Region

Sardinia is politically divided into four provinces: Cagliari, Nuoro, Oristano, and Sassari. The province of Nuoro, which is located in the center of the island, is characterized by low population size and density. Averaging only 2700 inhabitants per village, Nuoro in fact has the lowest population density of all of Italy's provinces (Moss 1979:3).

The community of Baunei is situated in the Ogliastra, a highland region on the eastern coast of Nuoro province. Historically, frequent invasions by sea, combined with malaria along the coast, forced inhabitants to establish communities in the mountainous interior of the zone (Schweizer 1988:8; Schirru 1984:21-22). In response to the nature of the terrain, pastoral communities emerged whose inhabitants derived their main source of livelihood from the herding of sheep and goats. Agriculture was also practised to satisfy basic household needs.

Today, the majority of communities within the Ogliastro region (as well as throughout the island) are still predominantly agro-pastoral, although the importance of either agriculture or pastoralism varies greatly between regions as well as communities.

The Comune of Baunei¹

In Sardinia, the word *comune* refers to both the village proper, where the majority of inhabitants reside, as well as to a larger territory encompassing both the village and its open lands.² Although a law was passed in 1820³ which authorized the privatization of land and thus altered landholding patterns in much of Sardinia, Baunei (like many communities in the Ogliastro) continues to hold large tracts of communal property. Baunei in fact controls the largest communal territory in the Ogliastro zone. Of a total 22,000 hectares in Baunei, only 2,000 are reported to be privately owned (Bàrranu 1989).

The main village, like most Ogliastran villages, is located inland. It lies perched on the side of a mountain 480 meters above sea-level. It is a nucleated settlement, featuring a dense agglomeration of households surrounded by pastures and fields. Although traditionally all inhabitants lived within the confines of this mountain village, a satellite town has developed along the coast.⁴ A short drive down a winding mountain road delivers one to this smaller hamlet, known as Santa Maria Navarese. Santa Maria is officially part of the greater *Comune* of Baunei and shares the same community government with its larger counterpart. Having been

¹ The *Comune* of Baunei lies within the district of Tortolì, and is considered a part of the diocese of Lanusei. It is bordered to the north by Dorgali, to the west by Urzulei, Talana and Triei, by Lotzorai to the south, and by the Tyrrhenian Sea to the east (Usai 1968:7).

² The word *comune* translates into "municipality" or "commune".

³ See Berger (1981) for a more detailed discussion of this law and its effects on Sardinian communities, particularly in reference to the pastoral mode of production.

⁴ Schirru (1984:25) writes that although the origins of the hamlet are quite ancient, only recently has it been developed to any significant degree.

predominantly peopled by former residents of Baunei proper, the inhabitants of Santa Maria Navarese continue to maintain close social and familial ties with the mountain community.

Until recently, very few people lived in Santa Maria Navarese year-round. Within the last 15-20 years, however, the number of permanent residents has grown considerably. Of the 4,216 registered residents of Baunei, approximately one-fourth (1,348) are now living in Santa Maria permanently. Local reports estimate that as little as 15 years ago, less than 200 people had their primary dwelling on the coast. In addition to Santa Maria's permanent residents, many mountain-dwelling Baunesi maintain second homes on the coast. These are used predominantly in the summertime, with the owners returning to Baunei for the winter months.⁵

THE ECONOMIC SETTING

Like most communities in the highland regions of Sardinia, Baunei's economy was, until recently, predominantly based on subsistence-oriented agro-pastoralism. Every person interviewed whose ancestors originated from Baunei declared that their grandfathers were either *contadini* (cultivators), *pastori* (shepherds) or both, many explaining that "everyone at that time was engaged in agriculture and/or pastoralism". In addition, many stated that their fathers were also involved in shepherding at some point in their lives, often as young men in their teens and twenties.

The Traditional Economy: Agro-Pastoralism in Baunei

In contrast to other villages in the surrounding area where sheep production generally dominated, Baunei's pastoral economy was, and still is, mainly centered on goats. This preference for goats over sheep is largely a result of the geological make-up of Baunei's

⁵ Many of these summer homes were originally cottages used by families when working in their fields which have been renovated and improved over time.

territory, which consists in large part of calcareous materials, mainly limestone. Because of the porous nature of the terrain, rainfall, which is sparse⁶, is quickly absorbed into the ground. As a result, the terrain is very dry in comparison to that of neighbouring communities, with little available pasture suitable for sheep. A Baunei shepherd jokingly remarked, "The sheep have only to look at the territory of Baunei and they die!". By contrast, Baunei's land is generally well-suited to the needs of goats. In fact, one shepherd went so far as to say that, not only is Baunei's territory suited to goat herding, but it is ideal for it.⁷ More than one informant reported that the pasture available in Baunei makes goat meat particularly succulent and desirable, and indeed, goat meat from Baunei has a certain local fame, reportedly fetching higher prices than goat meat from other areas.

In spite of the predominance of goats in Baunei's pastoral economy, there are a number of local herders who also raise sheep, some exclusively so. Generally, however, sheep are pastured down on the plains, where grasses are more abundant, while goats are herded up on the mountain, on communally-owned *pascolo brado* (natural pasture). For the most part, the sheep are grazed on private property owned or rented by the shepherds, in nearby communities such as Triei, Lotzorai, and Girasole.⁸

Other domestic animals kept in Baunei include cattle, pigs, and chickens. Some families also keep a few rabbits, donkeys and perhaps a horse or two. These animals, however, are considerably fewer in number, and are principally allocated for household use. The following

⁶ Schirru notes, "The average precipitation for the Ogliastra region oscillates between 250 and 600 mm/year; on the whole, this quantity would be sufficient for the zone, but its unfavourable distribution throughout space and time renders it inadequate for the region's needs (Schirru 1984:12, my translation; see also Usai 1968:7).

⁷ To illustrate this, he told the story of one herder who had sold his flock to a shepherd in another part of Sardinia. As the story goes, within a year the entire flock had perished. Apparently the land where the flock was taken sported a type of plant that, at a certain time of year, becomes lethal to goats.

⁸ There are exceptions to this rule. Indeed, one shepherd maintains as many as 400 sheep on communal land located in the highland, *Marghine*, region of Baunei.

table shows the distribution of the principal domestic animals in Baunei. The figures were taken from the 1990 Fourth General Agricultural Census, (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, Italia), and are based on 675 enterprises surveyed.⁹

TABLE 1. TOTAL NUMBER OF PRINCIPAL DOMESTIC ANIMALS OWNED BY BAUNESI

| BOVINE & BUFFALO | SHEEP | GOATS | PIGS |
|---------------------|-------|-------|------|
| 1012 | 3548 | 4952 | 1078 |

Figures taken from communal records compiled for the 4th General Agricultural Census, *Comune* of Baunei, February 1991.

As the figures show, there are 40% more goats than sheep found in Baunei. The table also shows that there are significantly fewer pigs and cows (78% and 80% less respectively) in comparison with goats. This reflects the fact that goats and sheep are herded for commercial as well as for subsistence purposes, whereas pigs and bovines are mainly kept for household use.

As agricultural production in Baunei has always been primarily oriented to fulfilling family subsistence needs, commercial farming is strictly limited. On the whole, the territory of Baunei is poorly suited for agriculture. As was noted above, much of Baunei's land is both arid and calcareous in nature, conditions unfavourable for crop production. Because of the poor quality of available soil, many Baunesi retain private landholdings in other towns for agricultural purposes. Figures taken from communal records show that only 21% of all private landholdings devoted to agricultural production are held within the *Comune* of Baunei, whereas an overwhelming 79% are owned in neighbouring communities. The following table shows the

⁹ The Census surveyed 675 *aziende*, which translates as "enterprises". For the most part, however, an "enterprise" is equivalent to a household, although in some cases two (or more) households combine their animals and labour to form only one *azienda*. (The Census actually surveyed 676 *aziende*, but as one of these was the *Comune* and thus included communal property, communal employees, etc., it has been excluded here.)

distribution of privately-owned agricultural land held by residents of Baunei. Landholdings are generally very small and dispersed, averaging less than a hectare, with most families owning more than one plot.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE LAND HELD BY RESIDENTS OF BAUNEI

| COMMUNITY | TOTAL HECTARES OWNED BY BAUNESI ALLOTTED FOR AGRICULTURAL USE |
|-----------|--|
| Baunei | 267.87 |
| Trici | 693.80 |
| Lotzorai | 169.28 |
| Girasole | 98.07 |
| Talana | 45.91 |
| Tortoli | 2.40 |
| Urzulei | 1.20 |

Figures taken from communal records compiled for the 4th General Agricultural Census, *Comune* of Baunei, February 1991.

There is really no clear demarcation existing between the occupational category of farmer vs. shepherd in Baunei. As many informants pointed out, historically, people were engaged in both herding and cultivating activities simultaneously, as self-sufficiency was held in high esteem.¹⁰ This was possible because of a long-standing custom in Baunei for herders to cooperate with each other in the management of their flocks. The system was such that shepherds would alternate between cultivating their own fields and looking after the combined herds of their own and their partner's animals. While one tended the flock, the other was free

¹⁰ Most families are said, however, to have placed a greater emphasis on pastoral pursuits, although in some cases it was the other way round.

to work in his fields. This division of labour afforded people a high degree of self-sufficiency in food production that would not have been possible for pastoralists working alone (see also Schirru 1984:25). This system of cooperation is still in force today, and it not only affords herders the opportunity to engage in agriculture, as it did in the past, but also to take advantage of other, more recently available economic possibilities as well. For instance, one full-time herder works four months of every year planting trees, while his partner looks after his flocks.

The Changing Economy: The Decline of Pastoralism

The last 40 years have seen a major shift in the occupational structure of the local community. Prior to the Second World War, almost all Baunesi were employed as pastoralists and/or agriculturalists. Since the 1950s, however, there has been a rapid trend away from these sectors. Data taken from National Census records shows that, for the province of Nuoro, the percentage of people employed in the traditional sector declined from 67.5% in 1951 to 19.8% in 1981 (Petrosino 1988, Table 2). Today, although an exact figure is unavailable, the total number of full-time¹¹ pastoralists in Baunei hovers somewhere around 30.

The pastoral sector declined mainly in response to changing economic conditions on the island. As Sardinia lost much of its previous isolation vis-à-vis the rest of Italy and the world in general, the island shifted towards a market-oriented economy. As commercial goods became increasingly available, island residents, including the people of Baunei, felt a growing need for disposable cash incomes (Ostow 1985:52). Petrosino (1988:4), describing "the growing dependency of the Sardinian economy on the national economy", writes,

¹¹ Note that this refers specifically to full-time, commercial pastoralists, i.e. those whose main economic activity is pastoralism and who sell goods produced through their animals. This distinction is necessary as many families still tend small herds, largely for home consumption, while family members are mainly employed otherwise.

financial resources resulting from the growth of available revenue in Sardinia go almost exclusively for the consumption of goods made in northern Italy.

The demand for money to buy newly available consumer items partially accounts for why large numbers of Baunesi opted out of the pastoral system in the years following WWII. A number of informants, when asked why either they or their forefathers chose to leave the pastoral sector, replied that they were not making a satisfactory income. A number of older men reported that they were initially pastoralists, but sold off their herds to take up wage employment. Tonino is a typical example.¹² He is a 54 year old man from Baunei who began working as a shepherd at the age of 12, helping his father tend his flocks. When he was 20 years old, he went to work as a *servo pastore* (a hired shepherd), and continued as such for five years. In that five year period, he accumulated 50 goats, and then went to work independently. He teamed up with three other shepherds, who between them had 200 goats. The following year, Tonino left Baunei to work in Switzerland, where he worked as a labourer for three years. During this time, he paid his partners to work his share of the herd. In 1968, Tonino left the pastoral sector altogether, selling his animals to a herder from another part of Sardinia, in order to take up paid employment. He said,

At this time, the pastoral economy was very bad. There was no one to buy the products, and no one had any money, yet we all had need of money. I didn't yet have a car, almost no one did at that time. Instead, I used to walk 23 km to reach my *ovile* (sheep station), and sometimes I would spend a whole month up there, away from the village. It was a very hard life.

With the money earned abroad, Tonino built his house and bought a car. When he returned to Baunei, he worked as a day labourer, and planted trees in the *Comune* for six months of the year. He is now retired and has begun shepherding again, although more as a pastime than as a serious economic endeavour, keeping 30 goats and some pigs for household use.

¹² Please note that the personal names of all informants cited in the text have been changed to protect the individual's identity.

The decline of pastoralism in Baunei is not representative of the entire Ogliastra region, however. The pastoral sectors of Talana and Villagrande Strisaili, for example, are reportedly still quite active. (See Lorenzo Idda (1982) and Berger (1986) for detailed discussions of the success of contemporary sheep production in Sardinia.) Villagrande Strisaili, for instance, which maintains a population roughly equal to that of Baunei, has approximately five times as many active pastoralists, (150 shepherds in comparison with the 30 or so of Baunei) (Edelsward, personal communication). This difference may be explained by the fact that, as was noted above, goats are mainly herded in Baunei, whereas the other communities pasture mostly sheep. Although there has been a profitable market for sheep cheese in both continental Europe and North America, where the cheese commands a good price, the same is not true of goat cheese. Although coops do sell the product (Ayora-Diaz, personal communication), there is not the same large international demand for it.¹³ Most cheese produced in Baunei is, in fact, sold locally, either to fellow Baunesi or to local stores. Thus, it appears that sheep and goat production are governed by differing market forces, making one a profitable, cash-supplying enterprise but not the other.¹⁴ A number of Baunei shepherds also reported that they were unable to attain support from EEC sources as goat herders, although equivalent funding was provided to sheep pastoralists in these other communities.

The different conditions governing the two types of pastoralism, combined with the increased desire for cash resources, explains why many Baunei shepherds no longer viewed pastoralism as a viable economic strategy, while their counterparts in other communities did.

¹³ Berger (1986:340) notes that the success of Sardinian sheep cheese on the international market is related to the decline of cheese production in other parts of Europe.

¹⁴ This statement needs some qualification. Most shepherds interviewed reported that they were making a satisfactory income from pastoralism today. When asked, then, why so many herders opted out in the 1960s if the living was good, all replied that today it is possible to make a living with pastoralism because there are only a few shepherds left and competition is reduced. In the past, however, as everyone was a *pastore*, there was no market for the products.

Where sheep production dominates, pastoralism continues to be a profitable, cash-earning enterprise that is able to meet the needs of the newly formed consumer society.

Another factor that has undoubtedly contributed to the decline of pastoralism in Baunei is the often held conception that pastoralism is an unattractive occupation. This attitude derives from the fact that pastoralism requires long, hard hours year-round, and allows little time off. The work itself involves vigorous manual labour, and because of the proximity to animals, it is often seen as dirty and undignified. Further, because the work site is out of town, down in the countryside or up on the mountain, most days are spent in solitude, which is viewed by many as psychologically strenuous and unpleasant.¹⁵ One young man of 32, whose father had been a *pastore* and had, upon retirement, sold off his herd, told me,

I could have kept the animals myself, but that would have meant spending the rest of my life working year-round, day in and day out, with never a vacation and only goats for company. I'm the kind of person who needs people and excitement. It just didn't seem to be the right kind of occupation for me. Besides, you can't really make a good living that way anymore, so I told my father to go ahead and sell the flock. I went to work in Germany instead, and when I came back, I bought a truck and now that's what I do. I'm a truck driver.

Thus, the negative view of pastoralism held by many has no doubt encouraged the decline of the sector as a full-time occupation in Baunei.¹⁶

Finally, an increase in industrial and service industries in Sardinia, combined with a rise in labour migration to continental Italy and abroad,¹⁷ provided the necessary labour opportunities for people seeking employment in other sectors.¹⁸ The following table shows

¹⁵ Note, however, that the widespread adoption of motorized transport in the 1960s has greatly reduced the isolation of pastoralists within the countryside.

¹⁶ See Bodeman (1979), Lonergan (1984), Berger (1986), and Schweizer (1988) for more on this subject.

¹⁷ Petrosino (1988:4) writes that between 1951 and 1971, of a population of about 1.5 million, no less than 220,000 people left Sardinia for labour purposes.

¹⁸ See Schweizer (1988) for an in-depth discussion of industrial expansion in Sardinia, and Ostow (1988) for a detailed account of the role of labour migration in a highland pastoral community. Although her study focuses on a neighbouring town, its experience closely mirrors

the expansion of the industrial and service sectors in the province of Nuoro between the years 1951 and 1981. Although, in 1951, agriculture (including pastoralism) accounted for 67.5% of all jobs, by 1981 the tertiary sector had become the most important sector in terms of employment. Combined with industry, these two sectors accounted for over 80% of all jobs held in 1981, with the traditional sector accounting for only 19.8%.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGES OF LABOUR FORCE IN THE PROVINCE OF NUORO 1951-1981

| OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 |
|--|------|------|------|------|
| AGRICULTURE AND FISHING | 67.5 | 45.8 | 31.5 | 19.8 |
| INDUSTRIAL SECTOR | 14.7 | 30.8 | 30.3 | 31.3 |
| OTHER (transport, trade, credit, public administration and services) | 17.8 | 23.5 | 38.2 | 48.9 |

Source: ISTAT CENSIMENTO 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 in Petrosino 1988.

Ostow (1985:57-58) summarizes,

The postwar years, then, have seen in Sardinia - and in Telemula and its neighbouring villages in particular - the continued downgrading, but not the complete elimination of traditional economic activities - pastoralism, agriculture, and handicraft - and the consequent freeing of more and more labor power.

As traditional activities lost their attraction, and as the number of jobs in the industrial and service sectors grew, employment in the latter sectors increasingly drew larger segments of the population. For example, the paper factory in Arbatax has provided a number of local jobs. The construction of the airport in Tortoli (now completed), the tourist port in Santa Maria Navarese, and the tunnel along the state highway (SS125) within Baunei's confines, have all furnished temporary employment for those seeking an alternative to agriculture and/or pastoralism. Also, beginning in the 1960s, a great many Baunesi have gone abroad to work,

that of Baunei.

particularly in Germany and/or Belgium. As will be shown later, the growth of the tourism sector at the end of the 1960s also provided employment opportunities.

Today, Baunei residents are employed in various occupations. Communal records list as many as 48 different occupational categories represented by the citizens of Baunei (see Appendix I). Although a quick perusal shows that some categories listed have been duplicated (e.g. the masculine and feminine of 'shopclerk' (commesso/commissa) are categorized separately), and others are not rightly occupations as such (e.g. unemployed and invalid), the list itself suffices to demonstrate the growth in occupational diversity that has taken place within Baunei over the last 40 years.¹⁹

The Traditional Economy Today

Although the last four decades have indeed seen a great diversification in the local occupational structure, most families are nevertheless still involved to some extent in agriculture and/or pastoralism, and rely for a good part of their subsistence needs on goods produced by themselves or, to a smaller extent, by hired labourers. Table 4 illustrates the extent of this continued involvement by Baunei households in the traditional economic sphere.

¹⁹ According to at least one Baunese, this shift in occupational choice has contributed to the growth of Santa Maria Navarese as a permanent place of residence. Upon asking a resident of the coastal settlement why the hamlet has been subject to such expansion in recent years, he replied that, unlike yesteryear, when most people were principally either cultivators or pastoralists, many people today had jobs either outside of Baunei in larger, nearby centers, or in Santa Maria Navarese itself, particularly in the tourism sector. These people, he said, found it more convenient to live in Santa Maria Navarese, as it gave them easier access to their work and to other coastal towns. "You can get to work much quicker without having to navigate those difficult mountain roads, especially during bad weather". He himself works full-time at the paper factory in Arbatax, and his wife runs a tourism shop in Santa Maria Navarese.

TABLE 4. AGRICULTURAL PATTERNS IN BAUNEI

| Total No. Enterprises | Total Area Cultivated (hectares) | Total No. Enterprises Cultivating Vines | Total Area Devoted to Vines (hectares) | Days Worked by Family Members | Days Worked by Hired Labour |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 675 | 1027.13 | 599 | 275.89 | 71,573 | 2,182 |

Figures taken from communal records compiled for the 4th General Agricultural Census, *Comune* of Baunei, February 1991.

As the above table shows, of a total 675 enterprises in Baunei, no less than 599, or 89% are currently cultivating grapes, mostly for private use in wine-making. The table also shows that most of the agricultural work is being done by family members themselves, as opposed to hired labourers. According to these figures, as much as 97% of all agricultural labour is being performed by the family. In addition, most families interviewed also owned some animals, of the types described above. The extent of animal ownership varies considerably from household to household, and is generally dependent on the inclination and availability of its members. For example, a number of younger families where both spouses were employed outside of the home were found to keep no animals whatsoever. However, these people often retained access to some fresh produce, usually via other family members. Barter is another means by which a family can procure items not produced by itself. Some informants who owned no animals reported that they would trade other items, such as wine or animal feed, for goods produced by shepherds. Paolo, a 42 year old labourer, said,

I have a lot of agricultural land down in the valley but no time for animals. So I cultivate vines, from which I make wine for myself and for others who don't have enough themselves to last the year. I also plant oats, which is really great because I don't even have to harvest it. The shepherd just comes along with his sheep who eat it all up, right there in my field. In return, I get cheese and sometimes meat. I never have to buy cheese myself.

As stated above, the majority of goods produced by families is destined for home consumption. Fruit and vegetables make up a large proportion of produce cultivated. The following is a list of produce grown by one Baunei family which typifies the situation of many

others. The family is made up of a husband and wife (both in their 60s), one unmarried daughter, and one married daughter (including her husband and child). [They actually comprise two separate households]. The food, which covers most of the family's fruit and vegetable needs, is grown on three separate pieces of land, two of which are located in Triei, the other in Lotzorai. In addition to the produce shown, the family also owns 3 roosters, 7 chickens and 4 pigs, all of which are kept for family use. They have no sheep or goats, although some families keep a few of these, mainly for the milk and cheese produced.

TABLE 5. LIST OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE GROWN BY BAUNEI FAMILY

| | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| potatoes | lettuce | apricots |
| tomatoes | corn (for livestock) | peaches |
| beans (two types) | peppers | figs |
| onions | eggplant | pears |
| garlic | cauliflower | apples |
| zucchini | cucumber | oranges/mandarins |
| peas | olives (eaten as well as pressed for oil) | grapes (for wine) |

In the past, there was a distinct sexual division of labour between agricultural and pastoral activities, with men attending to the animals and women performing a large part of the agricultural labour. Today women are considerably less involved in production activities. Over the last 10 to 15 years, there has been a notable change, with younger women no longer going regularly to the fields as in the past.²⁰ Although women still help out during the grape harvest and other busy periods, the burden of agricultural labour has largely fallen on the men.

²⁰ Note that this change refers specifically to the younger generation, as older women, for the most part, continue to work regularly in the fields. Whether younger women will take up this agricultural work when they themselves have families to feed, or when their own mothers' are no longer able to supply them with garden produce, is unknown.

When asked why this was so, Maria, a Baunei woman in her fifties, replied that the adoption of motorized agricultural machines has affected the sexual division of labour regarding cultivation practices. She said,

Before, we women used to do most of the agricultural work. We would walk every day, sometimes 10 or 15 miles, to our fields, where we would work all day before walking back up the mountain. I myself used to do this, working in my own fields and those of others, as a hired labourer. Things have changed now though, I guess within the last 10 or 15 years. Today, most of the work is done by men, I think because we now have machines to do a lot of the work, and these are always handled by men. Some young women still work on the land, though some also as labourers, like my daughter here [she is 25 years old], but most only do so during the grape harvest, or maybe to gather olives.

Salvatore, age 43, said,

Nowadays, women don't work in the fields like they used to. When I was young, women did a lot of the agricultural work, although men of course cultivated too. Today, they [women] either work outside, or stay in the home. Sure, they come down to harvest the grapes, but that is more like a festival. It is a time for amusement and fun, it is not serious work.

Thus, the last 10 to 15 years has seen a shift in the sexual division of labour, at least as far as agriculture is concerned. Whereas in the past, women took on much of the agricultural burden, today men are responsible for cultivation, while continuing to be responsible for pastoral activities.²¹

Underemployment: The Hidden Problem

Baunei, like many Sardinian communities, suffers from high unemployment rates. As of 1985, 21.6% of the labour force of Sardinia was reportedly looking for work (Petrosino 1988, Table graph 3). Although there is no official unemployment rate available for Baunei per se, communal records, dated December 1989, list a total of 462 individuals as being unemployed or "seeking employment". When only the active population of Baunei is considered (i.e. those

²¹ Whether men are mainly cultivating their traditional crops of vines and tree fruits, or whether they are also responsible for crops traditionally grown by women, is uncertain and requires further research.

14 years of age and over) the local unemployment rate hovers somewhere around 13%.²² However, when the number of pensioners, invalids and housewives are subtracted from the total number of inhabitants 14 years old and over, a more accurate rate of unemployment emerges, which reaches as high as 22.4%, surpassing the regional unemployment rate.

Although unemployment is a serious problem for the *Comune* of Baunei, employment figures, which may list someone as actively employed, are unreliable and actually mask a more serious problem: the nature of employment available to community members. Often, the work available to Baunei residents is of a temporary or seasonal nature. Many residents work as day labourers in agriculture or as helper's to *muratore* (bricklayers), for example, and thus are only hired for short periods at a time. As will be outlined in greater detail later, the jobs generated by tourism are mostly seasonal in nature, and employment on construction projects are temporary at best. (The many employed in building the port in Santa Maria Navarese, for example, or the tunnel along the SS125, will be unemployed as soon as the projects are completed, probably within the next two to three years.) Thus, labour opportunities are often insecure and temporary, and leave a great many residents, particularly young people, out of work much of the time. The high unemployment rates outlined above are thus aggravated by severe underemployment in the area. When one considers the social problems that can result when young people are left inactive and unproductive, the severity of the situation is heightened.²³

²² Salzman points out that there is some question whether counting employment (or unemployment) from age 14 is very realistic or useful. Further, many people sign up as unemployed to be eligible for state benefits of various kinds, even though they may have steady and full-time work. Finally, we may or may not wish to accept the current local definition of employment as a *posto fisso*, a permanent secure position for life (Salzman, personal communication).

²³ It is important to note, however, that the agricultural and pastoral sectors absorb, to some extent, this otherwise unused labour power.

THE SOCIAL SETTING

Linguistic Patterns

The first language of many Baunese, as in much of the rest of Sardinia, is Sardo, which is indigenous to Sardinia and distinct from Italian.²⁴ Sardo is the language of the home, and is spoken almost exclusively in family contexts and amongst friends. In the past, Italian was first encountered in school, where it was taught as the official, national language. Thus, some of the older Baunesi, who never attended school or received little education, speak no Italian at all. Most people today, however, especially those under 60 years of age, are fluently bilingual, and children are usually taught at least some Italian before entering grade school. Although Italian is now firmly entrenched in the younger generations, many, including individuals in their 20s and 30s, claim that they are not comfortable with the Italian language and only speak "naturally" when conversing in Sardo. A number of my friends reported that they find it strange to speak Italian amongst themselves, because it makes them feel "self-conscious" and "foolish". As other authors have noted, the use of Italian is generally limited to encounters with officials and foreigners who do not speak Sardo.²⁵

Sardo holds symbolic significance for many Baunesi, who take great pride in having a language that differs from that of their continental cousins. It is, no doubt, a way through which local people identify and distinguish themselves (i.e. maintain "otherness") from the outside world. Language is also a means through which Sards distinguish themselves from other Sards. Sardo is made up of a number of dialects (*campidanese*, *barbaricino*, *logudorese*, *sassarese* and *gallurese*), each of which varies from community to community, even between

²⁴ There is controversy in Sardinia as to whether Sardo is a distinct language or a dialect of Italian. While the State authorities maintain the latter view, local people often take great pains to point out that Sardo is a language in its own right.

²⁵ There is some evidence to suggest that, at least in some Ogliastran communities, the relative use of Sardo is linked to education, class and gender differences (Salzman, personal communication). Whether this is the case in Baunei, I do not know, but it is a definite possibility and a topic worthy of future research.

close neighbours (Colomo 1984:51). In fact, localized versions of Sardo can differ to the point that some people claim they can tell what town a person is from merely by hearing them speak, while others go so far as to say they have trouble understanding some regional dialects. For the most part, however, local versions of Sardo are mutually comprehensible, and in contexts where Sards from neighbouring communities were socializing with Baunei residents, I usually found them to be conversing in Sardo.

Patterns of Social Interaction

There are five major arenas where a good deal of social interaction takes place, each of which is governed to some extent by age and gender: the walk, the bar, the street and shops, the *cantina*, and the home.

The five arenas can be roughly divided into two basic groups based on the degree of familiarity between individual participants. Contact between individuals or groups of individuals in the first three spheres, (i.e., the walk, the bar, and the street and shops), are of a distinctly less intimate nature compared with the latter two places, (the *cantina* and the home). The first three are public spaces that may be used by anyone, although age and sex may influence participation in these areas. Individuals in these arenas meet and interact with a wide range of people, including both close friends and lesser known acquaintances. The *cantina* and the home, however, are generally reserved for social interaction of a more familiar kind, for the most part between very close friends and family.

The Walk

The walk is a social ritual that occurs on a daily basis, offering the opportunity for individuals of different ages and sex to come into contact. As long as it is not raining, the street begins to fill, without fail, around 5:00 p.m. and remains busy until about 8:00 p.m., when

most people go home for dinner. The walk always takes place on the main street of the town, and not on the smaller lanes.²⁶

For anyone who has ever been on the main street of a Sardinian town at this time of the day, it is difficult not to notice the major transformation that takes place. What had been an empty, quiet space during the 'siesta' hours of the day (1:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.), becomes a seething mass of humanity promenading up and down the boulevard. Groups of people vie with cars and scooters for the right of passage. Voices raised in laughter mingle with the honking of horns, and shouts of "*oè, aio*" can be heard signalling some man to join his companions in a nearby bar.

The participants in this social arena consist predominantly of young people, although not exclusively so. On Sunday mornings particularly, when the Walk is also taken after church, the ritual attracts a wider social range. Both men and women are represented here, and it is one of the few socially sanctioned times, apart from special festivals and parties, when young unrelated people of different gender may interact and socialize without making a public statement of their being "attached". It is also a time when members of differing friendship groups will meet and socialize to some extent, before continuing on, either with each other or separately. People here generally walk in groups of two or more, with members of the same sex often linked arm in arm, (rarely with members of the opposite sex, for to do so would be equivalent to announcing an engagement). The walk is a time for light banter and joking among peers, or for more serious conversation of a public nature.

The Bar

The bars are also public spaces where people with varying degrees of intimacy will interact with one another. However, in Baunei at least, the bars seem to be more or less

²⁶ This custom is common throughout the mediterranean and Latin America.

relegated to the males of the town, with few females venturing therein.²⁷ When necessity does require that a woman enter a bar, (to buy a package of cigarettes, for example), then she will more likely than not make a hurried purchase and depart, declining offers of refreshment if any are forthcoming.

There are four notable exceptions to this rule, however. First of all, the time of day seems to be a significant factor governing the appropriateness of a woman's presence there. For instance, the morning hours will occasionally see women in the bars having coffee. Second, the particular bar itself also seems to play a role in its being patronized by the female sex. Although in the evening hours most bars will not be frequented by women, there is one bar in Baunei where young women do occasionally go, usually to drink non-alcoholic beverages. However, they do not generally stay as late as the men, with most women departing by 9:00 p.m. The third exception to this rule relates to the time of year. Although women do not often frequent the bar during the winter months, the summer season is entirely different, when many young women socialize at the bar, usually on the terrace. (This point will be discussed further in Chapter Five, in reference to the social impacts of tourism on the community.) Finally, on certain festive occasions, such as Christmas, New Year's, Carnival, Easter, or local festivals, for example, women will attend the parties held in these locales, dancing and socializing with their male counterparts until the wee hours of the morn.

Apart from these exceptions, the bars are predominantly the domain of men. They are frequented at various times of the day, from early in the morning, when many stop off before work for a cup of coffee, until closing time. The busiest times, however, are usually before a dinner hour, such as from noon until 1:00 a.m., and 6:00 to 8:00 p.m., with the latter being the most popular time.

²⁷ Vargas-Cetina (personal communication) confirms that the same is generally true for the neighbouring town of Dorgali, but is not so in nearby Talana, where young women apparently mix freely in the bars with men.

The bar is probably one of the most important social arenas for men of various ages. It is, in fact, the only public place in Baunei where men can gather regularly, particularly young, unmarried men who do not generally entertain in the home.²⁸ It is here, in the bar, that contacts are made between individuals and friendships are constantly renewed. When in the bar, no one ever buys a drink solely for themselves. People drink in groups, with individuals taking turns buying rounds. This pattern seems to be typical for many Sardinian towns (Vargas-Cetina, personal communication; see also Moss 1979 and Berger 1986). Moss (1979:22) writes,

Each man must offer one round of drinks and must accept to drink in each round offered by the others. No one can be left out of a round, not even women on the very rare occasions they are present.

Some authors suggests that the act of drinking symbolizes the equality of the men participating. According to Berger (1986:228-9), to refuse a proffered drink from someone is to deny equality with that individual and is considered as a claim to superior status. It is extremely insulting to the offerer, especially given the public setting of the bar. Moss (1979:21) notes that men will only move into the bar with other men considered equal in status:

for an inferior, temporarily attached to the group, to suggest such a move (into the bar) is to invite a refusal phrased as a denial of thirst or wish to wait for someone else, or to split the group into those who are prepared to drink with him and those who are not.

Apart from the entertainment that the locale provides, the bar is also important for economic reasons. Throughout the course of an evening's socializing, individuals gather and exchange pieces of information that are often important in making economic decisions. Although Moss points out that shepherds are perhaps more dependent on such exchanges of information than others, many wage workers also seek out and are in need of the information circulating here. One bricklayer, for example, told me that he not only went to the bars to be with his friends and to socialize, but to find work for himself. Through contacts made in this

²⁸ The only times I ever saw friends socializing in an unmarried person's home was when their parents were away at the time.

social environment, he would acquire new contracts to keep himself employed. The same situation applies to day labourers and other temporary workers. (See McVeigh 1988, for a more detailed discussion of the relationship between sociability and economics in contemporary Sardinia.)

The Street and Shops

Although women do not generally frequent the bars, there are other public spaces where they meet and interact on a regular basis, namely the street and the shops. Contrary to the bars though, which are patronized more during the early evening hours, the streets and shops are busiest during the day time, particularly during the morning hours before the large mid-day meal.

It is in the public space of the streets and the shops that women of all ages have the opportunity to mingle with their fellow townspeople and catch up on the latest news. Although these spaces are also open to men, it is usually women who do the shopping and thus make greatest use of the stores and the market square for social as well as economic purposes. Also, upon encountering a friend or relative out in the street, men are more likely to move into a bar to talk, whereas women are commonly seen clustered in small groups along the street, or standing under a neighbour's window chatting.

Female socializing in public arenas, like that of male's, can also be linked to economic practices. As was noted above, much of the social interaction between women occurs during the fulfilment of economic responsibilities, such as while shopping, for instance. Women will also join forces when going out to collect kindling, for example, or when baking bread.²⁹

²⁹ In the past, the fountains were an additional public arena for women, used under the guise of fetching water and washing clothes, but as most homes are now equipped with running water, the importance of this space as a conduit for social interaction has diminished considerably.

The Cantina

The *cantina*, like the bar, is also predominantly a male realm, but unlike the bar, the *cantina* is a private space reserved for entertaining close male friends and relatives. A *cantina* (wine cellar) is a garage or barn-like place, where the family's wine, cheese and hams are generally stored, along with agricultural tools, spare parts, and other paraphernalia that garages or barns typically hold. It is more likely than not a dreary, cold, undecorated place, which may or may not be equipped with a fireplace. If, however, a fireplace is lacking, that particular *cantina* will be used less frequently for social purposes, and never as the location for a *spuntino*.

A *spuntino* is a festive-like occasion when men, particularly young, unmarried ones, gather with their close friends for a feast. They are usually held in someone's *cantina*, but sometimes are organized as a picnic in the countryside. Whether planned or impromptu get-togethers, meat is always roasted (accounting for the necessity of the fireplace), and eaten along with *pistoccu* (the local unleavened bread) and lots of wine. Cheese generally follows, along with coffee and perhaps *grappa*, a strong spirit distilled from the pressed remains of grapes used for wine.

Although in appearance, the *cantina* is usually anything but comfortable, the social atmosphere while guests are present is decidedly so. It is a place where male friendship is celebrated and comradery prevails. Here, one is free to "let one's hair down" so to speak, away from the prying eyes of the general public. Women do not participate here, except on very rare occasions.³⁰

³⁰ At over 30 *spuntini* which I attended, women (other than myself) were present on only two occasions: One of these was a hunting *spuntino*, where the daughters (11 and 15 years old respectively) of a hunter attended. The other *spuntino* was in celebration of a recent marriage, which was attended by close friends and relatives of the couple. A number of women were present, including the wives of a number of the groom's male friends. On both these occasions, the women helped serve the meal and left earlier than most of the men (except for the bride and her sister at the wedding *spuntino*), and sat clustered together apart from the men.

The Home

Just as the *cantina* is the domain of male Baunesi (particularly young, unmarried ones), and the locus for close-knit social interaction, so the home is for women of the community. Like the *cantina*, the home is a private space that is used in entertaining one's close associates. It is the place where secrets are shared and where people feel free to express themselves. Although married men may also at times use the home for entertaining guests, it is a privilege more frequently exercised by women who lack access to the bars and *cantina*. Thus, women are both more likely to visit as well as to receive friends in the home. However, married women, who have their own homes and do not live with their parents, are more likely to entertain their friends at home than are single women, who generally live with parents or relatives until marriage (and rarely, if ever, alone). Young unmarried females will instead congregate at the home of a married friend, or will walk together on the street, or sit for short periods in the bar (mostly in the summer and out on the terrace of one particular bar, as was noted above). As mentioned, unmarried men rarely if ever entertain their friends at home, unless their parents are absent, and are more likely to visit the bars in search of friends than to seek them out at home.

The home is also the place where couples entertain together. Festive occasions, such as Christmas, New Year's, Baptism's, etc. are generally the nucleus around which the entertainment is organized, but sometimes people are invited simply to share a meal or to come by for coffee. All such times, however, are reserved for intimate acquaintances, such as close friends and family, preserving the home as a private sphere, even on more public occasions.

Although this brief review does not exhaust the entire repertoire of social arenas that are patronized by Baunesi, (the church and school, for example, have not been discussed here), it does provide a picture of the most important and frequently used locales, as well as the ones available in Baunei (lacking in the village are the discotheque and cinema). Before ending this

section, however, there are two additional things worth mentioning, in reference to previous discussions found within the literature that deal with social interaction in Sardinia. The first refers to comments concerning the lack of sociability between members of different occupational categories. Both Schweizer and Lonergan, for example, note that relations between various occupational groups are either sporadic, tense, or simply lacking, with differences noted between shepherds, workers and intellectuals in the former case, and *pastori* vs. non-*pastori* in the latter (see Schweizer 1988 and Lonergan 1984). Lonergan (1984:71), for instance, relates that in the village where he studied, *pastori* are not very welcome in bars and when *pastori* and non-*pastori* are found within the same social setting, social interaction between them is either at a minimum or simply non-existent. Berger (1986:150), although noting that *pastori* move freely in the bars and other public settings, nonetheless writes,

Barbagian shepherds are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community separate from, and in opposition to, agriculturalists, campidanesi, and townsmen.

I personally did not notice any such divisions in the case of Baunei, at least in reference to interaction in the bars. It appeared as though people of different categories socialize freely with one another, regardless of both age and work status. This is perhaps because, as noted earlier, many people who today are not engaged in full-time pastoralism, nonetheless still maintain a limited number of animals for household needs, and most are still cultivating a large portion of agricultural produce for home consumption. Thus, there is no distinct demarcation existing between *pastori* and non-*pastori* in Baunei.

Some writers have also referred to a severe conflict existing between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Sardinia (note the above quote from Berger, for example; see also Schweizer 1988:10). Again, this does not seem to apply to the case of Baunei, probably because, as was mentioned earlier, there really is no clear division between the two groups.³¹

³¹ Ayora-Diaz (personal communication) also found that socialization does not appear to be linked to occupation in Talana. However, some division was noted in Dorgali, but this division was not so clear cut, nor was it observed in all bars.

CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM IN BAUNEI

Tourism is seen as particularly attractive for those areas which have limited economic resources, and which are viewed as unsuitable for modern industrial inputs. Largely due to the mountainous topography of the island¹ and the reliance on agro-pastoralism by local inhabitants, Sardinia has often been portrayed as a 'backward' region of Italy (see, for example, Bodeman 1979 and Schweizer 1988). The internal, highland areas of the island have been considered as the most problematic zones, in both social and economic terms (Schweizer 1988:16). In these areas, which are characterized by a general lack of infrastructure, low industrial development, high unemployment and underemployment rates, and the continuing dependence of large segments of the population on traditional economic activities (e.g. domestic agriculture and pastoralism), tourism is being hailed as a remedy for economic ills (Ostow 1985:29; Schweizer 1988:14, 221). Colomo and Ticca (1987) go so far as to say that the very future of the island is dependent on the development of its touristic resources. Regardless of the merit of this assertion, there is no doubt that the national, regional and local governments concerned are increasingly considering tourism as a suitable economic development strategy for the island.

¹ In discussing the rural development of mountain regions, Lampe (1983:125) notes, "the particular constraints which arise from the geographic situation and the difficulties in building up the necessary infrastructure should be stressed...A basic requirement for investment into infrastructure is adequate economic potential...Unfortunately, most mountainous areas lack those resources which can be utilized economically".

THE GROWTH OF TOURISM IN SARDINIA

Sardinia, like the rest of the world in general, witnessed a touristic boom in the years following World War II, when tourists from the European continent began arriving in large numbers (Solinas 1982:95). Price (1982:99) writes that in 1954, for example, the presence of foreign tourists augmented by as much as 64%.

There are two main factors that account for the rise of mass tourism in Sardinia at this time. The first and possibly most significant factor refers to the eradication of malaria from the lowland regions. Historically, the low-lying plains of the island, including those in the Ogliastra, were plagued with malaria, making these areas unhealthy for human habitation. Following the Second World War, efforts by the Rockefeller Foundation proved successful in eliminating malaria from Sardinia (Solinas 1982:95; Schweizer 1988:11). Once the lowlands were freed of the infestation, coastal development took off, including the development of the Ogliastra coast which was reputed to be, up until this time, one of the most unhealthy regions in Sardinia² (Schirru 1984:28-29). The emergence of communities along the coasts, including Santa Maria Navarese in the *Comune* of Baunei, paved the way for the development of tourism.³

Also contributing to the growth of tourism are increased and improved infrastructural developments, both between the island and the mainland, as well as within Sardinia itself. The inaccessibility of the island, particularly its inland regions, assured that its communities

² Echoes of this can still be heard today. A number of Baunesi who own second homes in the coastal settlement explained that although they enjoy spending time in Santa Maria during the summer, it is better to return to Baunei during the winter season. Antonina, age 20, explained, "The air is not healthy in Santa Maria during the winter months. Up in Baunei, on the mountain, it is much cleaner and much better for you".

³ Presumably, of course, the growth of tourism in the area has also influenced the development of Santa Maria Navarese. As services are improved and expanded, the hamlet has increasingly become more attractive as a permanent place of residence. Further, as more people become involved with the sector, the desire to live close by their workplace will effect the growth of the town.

maintained a relatively high degree of isolation until fairly recently. Schweizer (1988:11) writes,

Communications between the villages as well as between the island and the mainland were poor. The construction of roads and railways proceeded extremely slowly. By the mid-nineteenth century there were only six ships in a month between Sardinia and Genoa.

Improved communication and transportation facilities following the Second World War eliminated much of the island's previous isolation, thus facilitating the growth of tourism. Ostow (1985:51) writes,

1950 saw the establishment of the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*, an Italian government agency charged with developing the South, largely through massive infusions of funds for the improvement of infrastructure and the establishment of local industries.⁴

Initiatives in the Ogliastro, such as the construction of a state highway (the SS125) that links Cagliari and Olbia (two major Sardinian port centers), and the opening of an airport in Tortoli in 1989, have increased tourist traffic to the area. According to a local periodical,

The small aircraft of Air Sardinia, with routes for Cagliari, Roma, [and] Bergamo, in 1989 have transported a good 20,000 passengers, giving new breath to the tourist industry of the coast and the internal areas of Sardinia (*L'Ogliastro*, Nov. 1990:12, my translation).⁵

The proximity of Baunei to this airport and the ferry port in Arbatax (which receives tourists by the thousands during the summer rush), and the *Comune's* position along the major eastern highway, has aided the local tourism sector by ensuring access for tourists visiting the island.

⁴ Schweizer nonetheless notes, "Even today communications with the mainland, and the high cost of transportation, remain a serious problem for the economy of Sardinia" (Schweizer 1988:11).

⁵ Note that this airport closed down in November of 1990.

BAUNEI'S TOURISM SECTOR⁶

Though Baunei's territory is rich in the kind of natural resources that attract tourists,⁷ the local tourism sector has developed relatively slowly in comparison with many other destinations on the island. Whereas these other locales began promoting tourism shortly following the Second World War, it was not until the late 1960s, early 1970s, that tourism began to emerge in Baunei. A sample of 20 tourism enterprises, which includes bars, hotels, and tourist shops, shows that 75% of these were initiated only within the last 15 years (see Table 6). The oldest one, a hotel-restaurant, has been in operation for just over 20 years. By comparison, Cala Gonone, the coastal hamlet of the neighbouring *Comune* of Dorgali, has been a major tourist attraction for over 40 years,⁸ as have the more famous tourist resorts on the Costa Smeralda (see, for example, Carlson 1987).

⁶ Note that this discussion will refer only to those structures that lie within the confines of the municipality of Baunei. The small hamlet of Tancau, which is officially a part of Lotzorai, lies directly adjacent to Santa Maria Navarese, and can be considered geographically as part of the same town. In fact, in locally available tourist brochures, its businesses are advertised as being in Santa Maria Navarese, and of course all tourists in the area have access to services available in both locales. However, because Baunei has no political control over the structures in Tancau, (namely 2 hotels with bar/restaurants, one campground, one restaurant/bar, and 3 bars), they have not been included in this study.

⁷ The vast stretch of coastal land controlled by the *Comune*, complete with caves, beaches, and warm waters, and the pristine nature of the mountainous hinterland, make Baunei an alluring location for both sun worshipper and adventure-trekker alike.

⁸ There is some indication that competition exists between Dorgali and Baunei, specifically in reference to tourism. A number of Baunesi claimed that Dorgali had, in the past, tried to appropriate parts of Baunei's coastal land, and even advertised in tourism brochures some of Baunei's beaches. Members of the cooperative at Cala Luna each take one week turns guarding the restaurant/bar during the off-season, to avoid vandalism by competitors from Cala Gonone. They claim that this has happened in the past, and that at one time they even received bomb threats. Cala Gonone is the coastal hamlet of Dorgali, located at the northern end of Baunei's coastal stretch, and is only a five minute boat ride from Cala Luna.

TABLE 6. APPROXIMATE AGE OF SAMPLED TOURISM ESTABLISHMENTS IN BAUNEI

| No. of years in operation | 0-5 | 6-10 | 11-15 | 15+ | Total |
|---------------------------|-----|------|-------|-----|-------|
| No. of establishments | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 20 |

As pastoral activities declined in the early 1960s, and as labour opportunities abroad dried up in the mid-70s (see Ostow 1985:21), increasing numbers of Baunesi sought out opportunities in tourism. In this way, the sector's capacity to accommodate visitors began to expand. As one Baunese put it, "Baunei has been slowly shifting from a pastoral to a tourism-oriented town".

There is no doubt that tourism is gaining ever increasing importance in Baunei's economy. Still, the sector is small and relatively underdeveloped. Though local residents estimate that the population more than doubles during the summer months, the territory receives few visitors compared with other areas nearby (Tortoli and Dorgali, for instance).⁹ Also, as local people themselves pointed out, Baunei has only a limited number of receiving structures in place to accomodate tourists.¹⁰ During the summer season of 1990, there were only three moderate-sized hotels (between 10-50 rooms), 15 restaurants and 26 bars operating in the *Comune* of Baunei (see Appendix II). Only five shops were geared predominantly to the

⁹ For general estimates of the number of tourists to Baunei and Dorgali, see page 60, footnote #4.

¹⁰ It is difficult to define, with any satisfaction, the term "tourist establishment". Obviously, there are a number of local businesses that, although they cater to tourists in the summer months, are not necessarily set up with this purpose in mind. Grocer's markets and a number of the local bars are good examples. Equally true is that some enterprises organized specifically to service tourists are also used by local inhabitants. The pedal boat rentals and beach bars in Baunei are cases in point. Further, some types of establishments lend themselves more easily than others to determining if they are likely to be frequented by tourists or by local residents. Hotels, for instance, are unlikely to be needed by community members, and furniture stores no doubt benefit little from the tourist market. Bars, on the other hand, are very likely to be frequented by both residents and visitors alike. Finally, some shops, although they are open year-round and offer goods and supplies aimed at the local consumer, also sell specific goods aimed at the tourist market, particularly during the summer months (e.g. souvenirs, postcards, film, etc.) Because of the difficulty in knowing which establishments are specifically tourism-based, an exact figure of those operating was not possible to obtain.

tourist market, although a number of others did carry tourist goods (i.e. artisan wares, postcards, film, etc.) in addition to other products.¹¹ Additional services included: three boat rental outlets and one bicycle rental; an agency offering boat transportation to the various beaches along the coast; an outdoor cinema organized one night a week; and a group of young people who offered guided tours of the inland territories (although as far as I know, this service was not used by tourists throughout the entire season). The *Comune* also ran a small campground at a beach site on Baunei's coast, and, for the first time in the summer of 1989, opened a tourism information office in Baunei. This was reopened in late summer of 1990 by a group of tourism students who ran it on a volunteer basis (the same students who also offered guided tours of the territory). The majority of these establishments are located in Santa Maria Navarese.¹²

A number of Baunesi expressed feelings of frustration over the slow development of the tourism sector in their community. Mario, a 46 year old factory worker, remarked,

We here in Baunei really missed the boat. While we were sleeping lazily beside our goats, the people in Dorgali were busy developing the infrastructure needed to attract tourists. Now look. Even though we have many beaches which are far more beautiful, they are getting all the tourist business and we are still poor. We were stupid then, and we are paying for it now.

Guiseppe, a 28 year old tourist bar owner, commented,

¹¹ I distinguish between the five "tourist" shops and others, on the basis that the former carry goods mainly consumed by tourists, while the others also sell products generally consumed by local inhabitants (e.g. kitchen wares, office supplies, etc.). Three of the five tourist shops sold mainly locally produced artisan goods, as well as postcards, film, etc. Of the remaining two, one sold beach wear and summer clothing, the other jewelry. That the five shops identified are specifically tourism-based is supported by the fact that they are all operated seasonally, while the other shops are open year-round.

¹² For instance, all three hotels are located in Santa Maria, as are all rental operations and most tourist shops. More than half of the restaurants are also located here (9 of 15), whereas only two operate in Baunei proper. The remaining four are located in isolated spots on communal territory. Of the 26 bars located in the *Comune*, exactly half (13) are in Santa Maria, nine are in Baunei, and the remaining four are again in the outlying territory.

One of the major problems to date is that so far there is very little infrastructural development in Baunei to accomodate tourists, such as hotels and restaurants. There is also nothing here to entertain them, like discos or movie houses. And even what we do have is poorly organized, having been developed on a sort of ad hoc basis, by people who don't really know anything about the sector. Most of the people are former *muratori* (masons), *manovali* (bricklayers or labourers) or *pastori* (pastoralists), who just improvise to take advantage of what they can. We need more to attract potential tourists to Baunei, as well as to entertain them and keep them here once they arrive.

As the above comments illustrate, local people are interested in promoting tourism in the hopes that it will provide some relief to the economic problems plaguing the community, particularly given the high unemployment and underemployment rates. One local tourism operator said,

Tourism is not only a good thing for Baunei, it is the only thing. Here, we have no industry, and pastoralism and agriculture are no longer viable pursuits. Tourism seems to be our only remaining option for developing a viable, self-sustaining economy, one which will provide jobs for the so many of us who are out of work.

Both the municipal government and residents alike feel that tourism is one of the most salient economic options open to the *Comune*, especially given the limited alternatives available. The survey I conducted in February and March of 1991 revealed that local people are overwhelmingly positive about tourism and welcome its continuing development in their community (see Appendix III). Of the 43 people surveyed, 37 (86%) responded that tourism was a positive development in Baunei, whereas only 2 (5%) felt it was negative. (Two others felt it was both positive and negative, one person said they did not know, and one simply did not answer the question.) When asked whether the development of tourism should be increased, decreased, slowed or stopped altogether in their territory, as many as 41 (95%) responded that it should be increased. No one felt it should be decreased or stopped, although one person thought it should be slowed, and one person did not know.

The municipal government is actively seeking to develop the tourism resources of Baunei, and has implemented a number of initiatives to help promote the sector. For example, in 1987 and 1988, hiking trails were blazed and mapped in the inland, mountainous zones,

linking various beaches along the coast. These efforts resulted in the publication of a tourist map in 1989, which can be purchased for a nominal fee (L5,000 or approx. \$5.00 CAN in 1990). Also in 1989, the *Comune* opened for the first time a tourism information office in Santa Maria Navarese. As stated above, this office was reopened in 1990, but on a volunteer basis. In a further effort to develop its touristic resources, the *Comune* initiated a tourism course to train local inhabitants in touristic management.¹³ In December 1990, the *Comune* also organized, in collaboration with Turismo Verde (Green Tourism) [a tourism association in Sardinia], a conference on agro-tourism, which was held in Baunei. The conference was attended by over 100 representatives of various organizations, ranging from the local to the national level (including tourism ministers, mayors from surrounding municipalities, representatives from tourism associations and private tourism operators). Finally, the *Comune* has undertaken the construction of a tourist port in Santa Maria Navarese, in the hopes of attracting more visitors to the area and increasing employment in the sector. This port is planned to accomodate 350 boats, and is expected to be completed by 1993.

Obviously, the community of Baunei is looking to build up its tourism infrastructure with the aim of promoting economic development in Baunei.¹⁴ However, studies have shown

¹³ A six month course was given in Baunei between July and December 1989, and a second course was offered between October 1990 and March 1991. 20 residents between the ages of 18 and 30 were selected from the *Comune* of Baunei to participate (only 15 of the original 20 attended the second course). The subjects covered included English, geography and history of Sardinia, horseback riding, photography, forestry, *animazione turistiche* (touristic animation), and first-aid. During the first course, the students also went on a trip to France for eight days, three days of which were spent in a private home to familiarize them with the concept of agro-tourism. The *Comune* sought the help of ENAIP, a private organization, in this endeavor. Additional sponsorship was also obtained from the Regione Sarda and the European Economic Community. The course was given as a man-power initiative, for unemployed people to get training that would lead to their future employment. All students were paid L200,000 (approximately \$200 CAN) by the regional government while they attended the course.

¹⁴ Note that other groups outside of Baunei, both at the regional and national levels, are interested in exploiting Baunei's tourism potential. For example, there is now a proposal to establish a national park to promote tourism in the area, a park whose borders would encompass the entire territory of Baunei. (This park was first proposed in 1968, but due to the negative response of various local communities, the plans were shelved. See Bodeman 1979, for a

that the benefits derived from pursuing tourism as an economic development strategy are often accompanied by other, more harmful impacts (economic, social and environmental). Case studies have also shown that even the most obvious benefits, such as employment and income generation for the local community, do not always ensue. Such findings would call into question the soundness of promoting tourism as a sustainable development initiative. With this in mind, the next two chapters examine some of the economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism on Baunei to date.

detailed discussion of the proposed park and resulting reactions at that time. See also Colomo and Ticca 1987:69-74). The reemergence of the park issue has sparked intense debate, both within and outside Baunei, and has contributed to confrontations within the community. Unfortunately, limitations of space do not allow us to discuss the issue here, but the fact that the park is of such local concern underscores the importance of tourism in the area, and heightens the need to properly understand the full implications of the development of that sector.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TOURISM ON BAUNEI

As the previous chapter shows, tourism is actively being promoted as an economic development strategy in Baunei. Similar to many communities around the world, accent is being placed on the potential benefits of the sector, particularly in terms of the employment it can generate. This is not surprising: Emanuel de Kadt (1979:11) writes,

The most obvious and immediate benefit of tourism is the creation of jobs and the opportunity for people to increase their income and standard of living.

Too often, however, the economic advantages of tourism have been overemphasized, largely because a significant number of tourism studies have been conducted by governments and agencies who take the position that tourism is a positive, viable solution for difficult economic problems (Mathieson and Wall 1982:184). Obviously, there is need for a balanced view of the economic impacts that tourism generates.

In the following pages, I address a number of factors discussed in the literature that have been shown to contract the contributions that tourism can make to the local economy. For example, the question "who benefits?" has been raised. Studies have shown that when investment initiatives in tourism come from outside the destination area, profits generated by the sector are unlikely to be filtered back into the local community for further development. Also, low skill levels associated with underdeveloped areas often result in many of the best jobs being taken up by foreigners (see, for example, Karan and Mather 1985:94). Both of these factors subsequently reduce the benefits gained by the community when tourism is promoted. With this in mind, the study looks at whether the local people of Baunei are able to take advantage of the opportunities generated by tourism in their community, or whether outside agents are the ones mainly profiting from the increase in economic activity.

Also of concern is the issue of seasonality. Some authors question the desirability of employment generated by tourism, given that the seasonal nature of the sector in many destination areas results in high seasonal unemployment. This, they argue, often affects the

poorest people of a community (see, for example, De Los Santos 1982:213). This chapter, then, establishes the affect of seasonality on Baunei's tourism sector and the people employed by it.

Finally, the study examines the relationship between the traditional economy (i.e. the pastoral sector) and tourism in Baunei. Rising employment in tourism is said to weaken the traditional sector, by competing for limited manpower resources (see, for example, Prasad 1987:11; and Cater 1987:215). This situation is either lessened or worsened depending on the annual cycle of each (see, for example, De Los Santos 1982:213; and Bjønness 1983:269). The study seeks to determine whether tourism and pastoralism are complementary activities, or whether the increase in touristic activity is having adverse effects on the pastoral sector of Baunei.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN BAUNEI: WHO BENEFITS?

Although, as outlined in the previous chapter, there are difficulties in classifying establishments as specifically tourism-based, there is no doubt that increased tourism in the territory has prompted the opening of a number of enterprises within the *Comune* (e.g. artisan shops, bars, restaurants, hotels, boat and bicycle rental outlets, etc.) However, an increase in economic activity in no way guarantees that local people are in control of these enterprises, nor does it necessarily mean that residents gain from the employment and income generated.

Ownership Patterns

It is argued that because tourism is a capital intensive initiative, funds needed to develop the sector are often unavailable locally. When this is the case, investments must come

from outsiders¹ who subsequently take the profits out of the local milieu, leaving little behind for the resident population in the way of "economic development". While benefitting little economically, local inhabitants nonetheless "suffer" the consequences of tourism development (i.e. in terms of the over-crowding, and increased pollution levels that are often associated with tourism in an area).

Although other destinations in Sardinia may fit this scenario (the resort areas on the Costa Smeralda, for example, and, closer to Baunei, the "tourist clubs" of nearby Arbatax), the tourist sector of Baunei does not seem to have suffered thus far from such extractive exploitation. Data gathered from the various bars, hotels, and restaurants operating in the *Comune* show that of the total 28 establishments, 26 (93%) are owned and operated by local residents of Baunei (see Appendix II). Of a further eight tourist shops and/or boat rental outlets for which data are available, seven of these are owned and run by community members. Therefore, of a total 36 establishments that deal to some extent with the tourist market, 92% are owned by residents of Baunei.

It would appear, then, that at least in Baunei, the majority of investment initiatives to date have been taken by local residents themselves. There are a number of factors that may account for this. First, many of the tourist locales do not seem to have required a high degree of initial capital expenditure. As noted above, there are only three small hotels within the *Comune*, and there are no large tourist complexes that would require a great deal of investment. For the most part, existing structures are small, low-cost enterprises. All of the *ristoranti tipici* (restaurants offering local culinary specialities), for instance, which are built in the style of traditional *ovili* (shepherds' huts), are mostly constructed out of locally available materials, such

¹ Because funds can be secured from national or international sources, local constraints do not necessarily hamper the development of tourist facilities, provided that the area is sufficiently endowed with adequate natural resources (i.e. nice beaches, warm weather, and sufficient infrastructure) (de Kadt 1979a:6).

as stone and wood, which require little capital expenditure to secure. Further, they were built by the owners themselves, which further cut down the cost of initial investment.

Organizational patterns may also play a role in allowing local people to invest in tourism facilities. As many as one-third of all bars, restaurants, and hotels (9 of 28) are run either as cooperatives² (three) or as *società* (partnerships) (six). When only those businesses that are seasonally operated are considered, this figure rises to 80% (8 of 10). By dividing the costs among a number of individuals, these businesses have reduced the initial capital required per person.

Landholding patterns typical to the *Comune* may also help account for the high rate of local ownership of tourism establishments in Baunei. At least seven of the 28 businesses discussed above (25%) are located on communal land.³ In addition, all three of the boat rental outlets operate on public beaches (also communal property), as does the ticket office of the ferry service. The municipality grants a 20 year lease for the use of the land on which enterprises are situated, which is renewable at the end of the period. In return for use of the land, only a minimal fee in the form of a land tax is paid.⁴ Thus, these enterprises are not subjected to high property rents that would otherwise cut into profits.

Another condition regarding land ownership patterns is that many families own at least some property in Baunei and/or Santa Maria Navarese. Of the privately owned businesses, many of these are located on land already belonging to the proprietor. This, of course, further reduces investment costs. One woman's shop, for instance, is located on the bottom floor of her

² The number of cooperatives was initially greater, but some of them are now classified as *società*. Cooperatives, by law, are required to have at least nine active members. Because some of the enterprises did not supply enough work for all members, some people dropped out.

³ Interestingly, all three coops are included here, as well as three of the six *società*.

⁴ Reports varied as to the actual amount paid. One informant reported paying L1,000,000 (approx. \$1,000 CAN) per annum, while another said the tax was only L550,000 (approx. \$550 CAN) per year. In any case, it is obvious that the sum is minimal.

parents' home. Although she still has to pay government tax on the store, she avoids having to pay rent.⁵ On the whole, it seems that proprietors pay little if any rent for their enterprises, which cuts down on the necessary capital required to operate a business.

The following cases illustrate the small amount of capital which may actually be required to get a business started.

Giuseppe, who is 33 years old, started a restaurant nine years ago with eight other residents of the *Comune*. He recalls having invested only L2,500,000 to L3,000,000 (\$2,500-\$3,000 CAN) at the outset, which would mean that approximately L15,000,000 to L18,000,000 were required to get the business started, as each member invested equally.

Patrizia is 25 years old and runs a tourist shop in Santa Maria Navarese. She reports having used an initial capital of approximately L6,000,000 (\$6,000 CAN) to start her business, which was first opened in the summer of 1989. The money was given to her by her parents, and no other financial assistance was required, although some relatives did give her things to decorate the store with.⁶ With the L6,000,000, she bought the necessary equipment to open her store, including a cash register, a counter and shelves, and the articles she would sell.

To summarize then, unlike many areas where outside forces dominate over tourism, the tourist sector of Baunei is predominantly controlled by local entrepreneurs. This means that the profits accrued from the sector are more likely to remain within the community, to the benefit of the entire town. It is probable that the small scale of existing structures, their organizational patterns, and land holding patterns in Baunei have all fostered the build up of the tourism sector using predominantly local capital.

⁵ Even for those who do pay rent however, the cost seems to be quite affordable. Although rents no doubt vary, one proprietor reported charging his tenant approximately L2,500,000 (approx. \$2,500 CAN) per year for shop space. This is about the same price for an average apartment in Baunei, if it is rented on a yearly basis. (As will be shown, rental rates for apartments taken on a monthly basis during the tourist season are usually inflated by 100% or more).

⁶ Note that other tourism operators also reported having secured similar financial assistance from family members, usually parents, to help get them started. In all cases, these monies were not repaid; rather, it was expected that family members, especially parents, would help a person establish themselves in business. This support from family members no doubt contributes to local people's ability to bear the costs of investing in the tourism sector.

Employment Patterns

The tourism sector has also been criticized on the basis that, because skill levels in underdeveloped areas are often low, many of the best jobs are taken by outsiders, who have the necessary qualifications to fill the positions. When this occurs, the benefits obtained by the local populace are reduced (Karan and Mather 1985:94; de Kadt 1979a:12).

Again, I found that this particular critique does not apply to Baunei, where the majority of labour opportunities are being given to local residents. Of the 50 people interviewed in 1990-91 who were working in tourism enterprises, only seven (14%) originated from outside the community. Even these people, however, were residents of nearby communities such as Trici, Talana, Villagrande, and Tortoli. They were all hired employees, so that of the total 29 employees interviewed, 24% were non-Baunesi. Of the seven, all but one were employed seasonally.⁷ Comments elicited from the survey taken in February and March of 1991 indicate that local residents are aware that tourism has generated local employment in Baunei. When asked to specify what were the economic impacts of tourism in Baunei, 22 survey respondents indicated that the sector has prompted the creation of jobs within the *Comune* (58% of a total 38 written comments, or 51% of all 43 respondents).⁸

What partially accounts for the high rate of local employment in Baunei compared with some other destination areas is that, first of all, many of the cases cited in the literature are dealing with developing countries in the Third World. Although Baunei is located in an underdeveloped region of Italy, conditions here are different from those typical of Third World countries. For example, the average level of education in Baunei is very high compared with many of the world's developing areas. Of 42 people employed in tourism for which

⁷ Five were employed as waiters, and one was a ticket seller for the boat service. The full-time employee was a *pizzaiolo* (pizza-maker) in a restaurant in Santa Maria.

⁸ An additional 15 respondents (39% of the 38 comments, or 35% of all respondents) cited related impacts, such as increased prosperity and income, economic growth, and development of the receiving structures and the commerce sector (see Appendix III).

educational data was obtained, 98% had received the *media* diploma (the minimum schooling required by the State, equivalent to grade 8); 52% had at least some *superiore* (grades 9 through 13), with 36% having received the high school leaving diploma; and 7% had studied at least one year at university, although no one as yet had received a degree. The high level of education of local residents compared to many Third World areas has undoubtedly contributed to the high rate of local employment in tourism. People with this much schooling usually have enough literacy skills to work in positions generally associated with tourism enterprises (such as shop clerks, waiters, ticket sellers, etc.)

Resident bilingualism no doubt also plays a role in securing jobs for local people. Although no official data exist which would indicate the language spoken by tourists, my own research as well as data collected by Baunei's Tourism Information Office both suggest that the majority of visitors are Italian-speaking.⁹ Although most people in Baunei speak Sardo as a first language, the majority of individuals under 60 years of age are bilingual (i.e. fluent in both Sardo and Italian). Because of the high rate of labour migration away from Baunei, a number of local people also speak a third language, mainly German or French.¹⁰ Thus,

⁹ Of 342 individuals who applied for excursion permits between July 28 and September 12, 1990, 92% were found to be Italian-born (which includes both mainland Italians and fellow Sards), which suggests that most tourists visiting the area speak at least some Italian. (Although 1469 visitors were actually issued excursion permits, reliable information was only available for 342 individuals. This is because permits are issued on a group basis, and only one representative from each party was required to make an application.) It is important to note that this data is based only on those tourists who applied for permits, and thus excludes visitors who either did not make excursions, or who did not obtain the required permit. Thus, the figures do not necessarily reflect the overall tourist population in Baunei. Informants working in the tourism sector, for instance, estimated that the tourist population roughly consists of 70% Italians and 30% foreign nationals (the majority of whom are German). The low percentage of foreign nationals represented in the tourism office's sample compared with estimations made by local individuals, may be explained by the fact that all notices posted around Baunei, stating that tourists must register for inland excursion permits, are written exclusively in Italian. Anyone not familiar with the language would have no way of knowing that a permit is required, and thus, non-Italians are the least likely of all visitors to apply for them. Thus, in this particular sample, they are probably underrepresented.

¹⁰ Local people claim that the majority of foreign tourists are German.

language barriers would not seem to be a major factor inhibiting local people from working in the tourist sector.

Finally, the fact that most businesses are owned by local people in Baunei undoubtedly affects the high rate of local employment in tourism. Of the 29 employees interviewed, 59% (17) were in some way related to the owners. Of those remaining, many reported having friendship ties with the owners, or family and/or friendship ties with other employees. This is not all that surprising when one considers the population size of Baunei and the fact that, in the past, there was a high rate of village endogamy. In a town of this size, many villagers are connected by kin ties, and if not, are familiar with one another at least to some degree. These factors have no doubt then contributed to the high rate of resident employment in tourism enterprises.

Thus, although outsiders have often benefitted from employment opportunities generated by tourism in other destination areas, this is not the case in Baunei, where most tourism jobs are being filled by local people. The high level of schooling obtained by residents compared with many developing areas, and the characteristic bilingualism of most Baunesi, are undoubtedly factors influencing this. No doubt, the fact that most tourism businesses are owned by fellow residents of the *Comune* also influences the high rate of local employment in tourism.

Indirect Employment and Income Generation

Tourism is also providing a number of indirect economic benefits to the local community. Some shops which do not cater specifically to tourists, such as grocery stores for instance, stand to gain from the additional business generated by visitors. For example, one shop clerk reported that every summer, when the people from the mountain settlement who have second homes on the coast leave for Santa Maria Navarese, a significant amount of revenue goes with them. However, the additional business generated by tourists compensates

for this loss, so that profits earned in summer and winter generally even out. She added, "Without the tourists in the summertime though, business would be pretty slow".

A number of communal jobs have also been created as a result of increased tourism in the area. For instance, for the summer of 1990, the *Comune* hired four tourism students to work as *guardia ecologiche* (ecological guards), to clean and protect the beaches and inland areas of the territory.¹¹ These "guards" are responsible for ensuring that the inland and coastal areas of the *Comune* are respected by residents and tourists alike, and have the authority to impose fines of up to \$300 on anyone found to be abusing communal regulations.

The renting of private apartments to tourists has also provided economic benefits to local people. Although there are few hotels in Baunei, a substantial number of residents have built apartments (usually adjoining their own homes) which they rent out to tourists. This is usually done as a supplementary activity to their regular work. This practice can be quite lucrative, as the following case demonstrates.

Maria and Tonino own two apartments which they rent out to tourists during the summer in Santa Maria Navarese. One is on the ground floor of their home, and can house three to four people. The other, on the second floor, is slightly larger, accomodating five people. They themselves live on the top floor of the building. For the months of July and August, these apartments are rented for L1,000,000/month (approx. \$1,000 CAN) and L1,500,000/month (approx. \$1,500 CAN) respectively. For June and September, they are rented for slightly less, as the demand for housing is not so great at this time.

The prices quoted above are standard rates for apartments in Baunei during the tourist season, although apartments in the mountain community are usually a little less expensive. During the rest of the year, the rates drop significantly (by approximately 100%) to between L150,000 and L200,000 (approx. \$150 - \$200 CAN) per month, reflecting the decreased demand for housing during this time. When one considers that the income from these apartments is not generally

¹¹ The four students worked along side three other "guards", who are full-time employees of the *Comune*.

declared, (and thus not subject to government taxes), the impact on household income generation can be quite substantial.

The local construction industry has also benefitted from the increase of tourism in the area, particularly in Santa Maria Navarese, where construction has grown rapidly over the last 10 to 15 years. The proliferation of tourist apartments described above, for instance, has stimulated the industry, and, on a grander scale, a tourist port is now under construction which supplies a number of local people with employment.

Thus, as we can see, local people are benefitting from the increased economic activity generated by tourism in Baunei. The study revealed that initiatives in the sector are being taken by local entrepreneurs, who are more likely than outsiders to reinvest profits back into the local community. Employment opportunities are also being seized by residents, who have the necessary skills to work in the tourism sector. Finally, residents are benefitting indirectly from tourism, by way of increased income to store and apartment owners, and increased employment in construction and other sectors.

THE TOURIST SEASON: EFFECTS ON EMPLOYMENT GENERATION

When looking at the employment generated by tourism, it is important to consider whether the sector is subject to seasonal fluctuations. When this is the case, actual employment opportunities change.

Various authors point out that tourism generates high seasonal unemployment which generally affects those employees most in need of the work. De Los Santos (1982:213) reports that according to one UN study,

lay-offs during off-season usually total around 25 per cent and are drawn from the lowest paid, least skilled workers. This seasonal displacement of workers is further aggravated in the less developed regions of the country.

The seasonal nature of tourism has led some authors to maintain that capital invested into the build-up of facilities that are being used only part of the time is a wasteful use of limited resources, resources which could otherwise be used in promoting more effective development projects (Yokota 1982:i; De Los Santos 1982:213). In light of these observations, the study outlines whether touristic seasonality is an issue in Baunei, and if so, to what extent it is affecting local employment and the local economy.

Like many tourist destinations around the world, Baunei does not receive visitors regularly throughout the year. The majority of tourists come only in the summer and it is the rare visitor who is seen in the winter months. The tourist season in Baunei usually starts in April, but there are few tourists at this time. In an average year, things will begin to pick up towards the end of June, with businesses getting increasingly busy during the month of July. In August, the season peaks, and come September there is once again only a small stream of tourists flowing into the area. This dries into a trickle come October, heralding the "dead months" of November through April.

This pattern of seasonality means a number of things regarding the impact of tourism on employment. First of all, because most tourists visit Baunei during a short, concentrated period in the summer, many enterprises operate on a seasonal basis only. Although some open as early as April and close as late as October, the majority operate for a three to four month period, between June and September. Thus, the employment that is generated through the tourism sector is mostly temporary in nature, and results in a high degree of underemployment during the off-season. Out of 50 people interviewed who had worked in tourism related enterprises during the summer of 1990 (58% and 42% were employees and owners respectively), 90% were found to be employed only seasonally in these establishments. This suggests there are a large number of persons left jobless at the end of every tourist season, including the proprietors of seasonal establishments.

Even the summer season, however, does not provide steady employment for many individuals, because the four to six months which mark the tourist season are not uniform in terms of the number of visitors received, the amount of employment generated, and the total income earned from tourism.

The number of jobs generated by tourism varies from month to month, and thus merely stating the length of the tourist season and the number of jobs created is misleading for acquiring a clear picture of the sector's actual impact on job production (and consequently of its potential for alleviating unemployment). Take, for instance, the following case. A restaurant, which opened in April and closed at the end of September, provided employment for nine people during the 1990 tourist season. Five of the nine were joint-owners of the restaurant and worked the entire season. Of the four employees, one was hired for a three month period (from mid-June to mid-September), and the remaining three workers were hired for the month of August only. Thus, of the total nine people who worked in the restaurant in 1990, only five (or slightly more than half) were employed for the entire season.

Few people, then, actually find employment for the entire period, and many work for only one month in twelve. This is because, although the tourist season in Baunei lasts from April to October, the peak period both begins and ends in August, when all of Italy takes a vacation. For a relatively brief time, known locally as ferragosto, thousands of tourists from Italy and abroad flock to Sardinia for their share of 'fun in the sun'. It is during this time that businesses really flourish and the employment of local labour is at its maximum. One shop owner reported that in 1990, her shop grossed as much income during the hectic days of August (basically a 14-21 day period), as it did during the rest of the season combined (i.e. June, July and September). This boom period is short lived however. By the end of the third week of August, around the 20th to 25th, many tourists leave for home, and the territory settles back into its more accustomed tranquility.

The high rate of seasonal unemployment generated by tourism is offset somewhat by the fact that many of the sector's paid employees are students who, in any case, return to school during the slack period. Of 45 people interviewed who were employed seasonally, as many as 32% were students. Of those remaining, many have other work, which they either combine with their tourism jobs in the summer, or which they take up when the tourist season ends. For example, 6.8% of those sampled are full-time pastoralists. A further 9% work in hotels, restaurants, and/or bars either nearby or abroad which operate year-round, and another 23% reported working in other sectors of the economy, as shopkeepers, electricians, road workers, day labourers, agricultural labourers, *forestale* (foresters), etc.¹² Thus, of the 90% seasonal workers, only 29.5% reported being unemployed during the off-season. Even this figure is mitigated somewhat by the fact that many partake in subsistence-oriented agriculture or pastoralism during this time, and thus are, at least part of the time, economically active.

Thus, although the seasonal nature of tourism in Baunei does not stimulate year-round employment opportunities in the sector, it does generate at least some employment on a seasonal basis. In this way, unemployment and underemployment are seasonally alleviated by tourism. Further, many of the people seasonally employed in the sector take up other work opportunities during the rest of the year.

TOURISM AND THE PASTORAL SECTOR: FRIEND OR FOE?

Studies have shown that tourism can have detrimental effects on the traditional sector of host communities. The argument goes that tourism competes with agriculture and pastoralism for available manpower resources, and thus, as more and more people take up jobs

¹² Many of these people, however, actually labour only part-time or off and on during the winter, and thus do not have regular, secure work.

in the tourism sector, the traditional economy is weakened for lack of labour power, a situation which may be lessened or worsened according to the seasonal timing of the respective sectors (Prasad 1987:11; Cater 1987:215; Bjønness 1983:265-269).¹³

There is no doubt that the tourism sector of Baunei provides an alternative to pastoralism, and thus, in this way, it may be argued that the growth of tourism contributes to the decline of the traditional economy. However, it is not at all clear that local residents have been abandoning the pastoral sector directly as a result of increased employment opportunities in tourism. The decline of pastoralism, as shown earlier, began in the early 1960s when labour opportunities in the industrial and service sectors opened up in Sardinia and mainland Europe. The tourism sector, in contrast, began to take shape only a decade later, during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Thus, the decline of the traditional sector preceded the growth of tourism in the territory.

It is probable that employment in tourism, rather than causing the deterioration of the pastoral sector in Baunei, served as an alternative to labour migration abroad. By taking up jobs in tourism, residents who no longer felt pastoralism to be a viable option could still remain in the area. Ostow (1985:113-114), whose research was conducted in a nearby village, writes,

In Belgium and Northern Italy almost all the Telemulesi told me that they would have much preferred to remain in the village and would never have migrated had they been able to think of any way of supporting themselves at home.

One Baunese who works full-time, year-round in a restaurant/bar, was asked whether tourism has had any economic impacts on Baunei. He replied,

Tourism has given work to us here in our own town. I work here (in the restaurant) and because of this I don't need to go abroad to find work.

¹³ This, in turn, can bring about additional negative consequences, because as people produce less, the need for food imports grows, which then creates a greater need for cash resources. This, it is argued, ultimately leads to dependency on outside market forces beyond the control of local people (see, for example, Prasad 1987:13).

The newly growing tourism sector, then, which began to develop when labour migration was at its peak, may have given at least some residents, who had already abandoned pastoralism, the opportunity to stay in Baunei.

Thus, although the tourism sector does provide alternative employment to pastoralism, its growth has not necessarily resulted in the decline of the traditional economy. In fact, the data suggest that the tourism and pastoral sectors are quite complementary. A number of people working in tourism are also engaged as full-time pastoralists, and others, although themselves not *pastori*, work with their shepherd fathers during the off-season months.

What makes this possible is that the seasonal production cycles of tourism and pastoralism are largely compatible with one another (see Schweizer 1988, for a detailed description of the pastoral production cycle). The busy season for shepherds generally begins around November, when the animals start birthing (November - January). This coincides with the beginning of the "dead-months" for tourism, which fall between November and April. People who work in tourism are generally free to engage in pastoral pursuits during the crucial periods of the production cycle, when their labour is most urgently required. Likewise, summer is the least busy time for pastoralists, particularly August, when the animals have stopped giving milk. Although they still have to tend to the animals on a daily basis, during the day the animals are left to graze on *pascolo brado* (natural pasture or uncultivated land) without supervision. It is possible, then, to combine the two activities without sacrificing one for the other.¹⁴ More than this, the two sectors may actually help sustain one another, by alternately providing employment and income to workers during the respective slow seasons.

For the most part, we have seen that at least some of the factors which can serve to offset the more obvious benefits of tourism do not seem to be applicable to the case of Baunei.

¹⁴ The partnerships of many shepherds, as discussed in Chapter 3, make combining the two activities even more viable.

Observations suggest that local people have been able to take economic advantage of the opportunities generated by tourism, in the sense that they are largely in control of existing tourism establishments, and are profiting from the employment that has been created in the community. Although seasonality is a factor in Baunei which does lead to high seasonal unemployment rates, the negative consequences of this are countered somewhat by the fact that many of the people who are employed in tourism are students and a number of others have regular off-season work in other sectors of the economy. In addition, informal work in the subsistence sector absorbs some of the labour capacity of those who are laid off annually, which softens the harsh reality of seasonal unemployment. Finally, I have also shown that tourism does not seem to be the main factor determining the decline of pastoralism in Baunei. If anything, tourism is often compatible with pastoralism, in that the annual cycles of both sectors allow residents to combine the two activities. Tourism and pastoralism may actually contribute to the viability of one another, by providing workers from both sectors with supplementary work and income during their respective slack periods.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACT OF TOURISM ON BAUNEI¹

Social and cultural impacts resulting from tourism are more difficult to measure than economic ones (Wilson 1979:235). Other influences, such as television, education, and emigration, for example, also play a role in bringing about social change (see de Kadt 1979a:12). Mathieson and Wall (1982:160) write,

The tourist analyst faces severe difficulties in separating the effects of tourism on host cultures from those changes induced by other causes. Tourism represents only one form of exposure of hosts to elements of societies with a different culture. It appears that tourism is able to accelerate cultural change but the effects are not endemic to tourism and some of the modifications mentioned in the literature may reflect a series of changes, not all of which are the result of tourism.

Because of the difficulty in pinpointing social changes resulting exclusively from tourism, early studies concentrated mainly on the economic benefits generated by the sector (Pizam 1978:8; Mathieson and Wall 1982:157). Only gradually did researchers also begin to report on other impacts associated with the growth of tourism, focusing on the social, cultural and physical effects as well, particularly on host communities (Johnston 1990:2). In this chapter, we will examine some of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the resident population of Baunei. In accordance with Wolf's view, socio-cultural impacts are here viewed as "people impacts" (Mathieson and Wall 1982:133). That is, we are concerned with the ways in which the people of Baunei, their values, behaviour, and traditions, are being affected by the advent of tourism in the territory. Specifically, we will look at three factors which are often described in the literature as being vulnerable to tourism: cultural identity; local attitudes and social behaviour; and community cohesiveness.

¹ I would like to thank Deborah Sick, B.S. Baviskar, and Don Attwood for their comments and suggestions on this chapter.

TOURISM'S IMPACT ON LOCAL CULTURAL IDENTITY

There is a variety of ways that people fix and maintain their identity within a group, and, at the same time, set themselves apart from other groups. In Baunei, local people distinguish between themselves and outsiders through particular modes of behaviour thought to be definitive of the "true" Sard. Foods eaten or not eaten, for instance, or styles of dress are specific examples. Two less tangible but equally relevant examples, and the ones we will explore here, are hospitality and language patterns.

By examining how tourism affects these two factors, we will address the question of how tourism affects perceptions of cultural identity. It would seem that tourism acts on two distinct levels. On the one hand, tourism can actually help local people affirm conceptions of themselves. The tourists, who provide continued examples of "otherness" with which local residents can contrast themselves and their behaviour, enable residents to fix their identity within a group. On the other hand, tourism can undermine established notions of cultural identity, by changing the ways that local people think and behave.

Traditional Hospitality in a Changing World

In Sardinia, particularly in the small pastoral villages of the highlands, outsiders are normally treated with cautious respect when encountered in the village. People generally agree that to ignore a visitor or to mistreat him is poor behaviour on the part of the hosts (i.e. the resident villagers), which can reflect badly on the village as a whole. The rule of thumb is that visitors should be treated as guests, not strangers, when in the bar, which generally means that they should not have to pay for their drinks. Time and time again I was told that I could not pay (not even for rounds I ordered myself), or that I should be served first, because I was the *straniera* (stranger). Schweizer (1988:4), commenting on his own experience in a Sardinian village, writes,

All villagers were very anxious to abide by traditional rules of hospitality. During my entire stay in the village I never paid in the bars except when I was there completely alone.

Some writers suggest that this form of hospitality is a product of the pastoral system (e.g. Herzfeld 1987:79; Campbell 1964:38). Animal theft was a constant danger for pastoralists in the past, and still is to some extent. Because most thefts involved men from other villages, the treatment of visitors was crucial for a number of reasons. First, it was in the best interest of residents not to offend a visitor, for fear of any reprisal which might ensue (loss of one's herd, for example, or, in extreme cases, murder). Second, friendship networks in other villages were seen as strategic resources which pastoralists could draw upon if a theft should occur. Men from other villages could help locate stolen animals, and often acted as mediators in negotiations between a victim and the perpetrators. Thus, it was considered advantageous to treat strangers or acquaintances from other villages well, because their goodwill might be needed at a later date (Berger 1986:235). The expression of hospitality is more than just a way to ensure friendly relations between people, however. Just as in Greece, where "the very idea of hospitality has come to signify being Greek" (Herzfeld 1987:84), traditional expressions of hospitality are identified by local people in Baunei as something uniquely "Sard". In this way, they play a large role in helping people identify with the larger community. To a certain degree, local people equate being hospitable with being Sard. This is particularly evident when people distinguish between their own behaviour and that of foreigners.² Some individuals who had lived abroad commented on the lack of hospitality extended to them by their host communities. The behaviour of the foreigners was often described as rude and unfriendly, which contrasted greatly with the courtesy and hospitality typically expressed by Sard. Gino, who had lived and worked abroad for twelve years, commented,

² It is important to note that hospitality occurs on a number of different levels, depending on who it is one is being hospitable to. In this discussion, we are referring only to hospitality shown to non-villagers, and not that which is extended to neighbours or extended family members in the home.

In Germany, you can go into a bar and have not one person speak to you or offer you a beer. In Sardinia, this would never happen.

How will traditional forms of hospitality hold up in the face of tourism? On the surface, tourism does not automatically threaten traditional hospitality. Indeed, it may even stimulate its expression, by supplying an array of outsiders for local people to be hospitable to. Further, the presence of a large number of tourists may foster the need for local people to affirm their own sense of identity, in contrast to that of the foreigners (see, for example, Herzfeld 1987:84; also Boissevain and Inglott 1979:277). Because hospitality is a way in which Sards distinguish between themselves and outsiders, tourism can, in this way, act to encourage the expression of traditional hospitality.

Some authors, however, suggest that the sheer number of tourists flocking to destination areas discourages traditional expressions of hospitality. It is argued that informal human relations are increasingly commercialized, turning once spontaneous acts into commodities which can be bought and sold (de Kadt 1979a:14,62; Noronha 1979:177; Goering 1990:20). Although the stage of tourism development is noted to affect the degree to which such behaviour is brought into the economic sphere³, most participants of the 1976 Joint Unesco-World Bank Seminar on the Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism, for instance, agreed that commercialization of human relations is inevitable (de Kadt 1979a:62).

In Baunei, norms governing the contemporary expression of hospitality do appear to be changing, and given the intensity of tourist traffic there each summer, this is, perhaps, not surprising. As described in the previous chapter, most tourists visit the territory during the summer months, between June and September. Although official figures are unavailable, local sources estimate that the population more than doubles at this time. One person reported that

³ Various authors have noted that the initial enthusiasm of locals for the tourists during the early phases of tourism development can dissipate into increased impersonalism, resentment, and commercialization as the sector grows and the absolute number of tourists expands (see, for example, de Kadt 1979a:62 and Mathieson and Wall 1982:140).

for the period known locally as *ferragosto*, when tourism is at its peak, the territory could host as many as 20,000 people.⁴ If local estimations are correct, then throughout the tourist season, the number of visitors in Baunei is equal to or greater than the number of permanent residents. With so many visitors frequenting the area, it is no longer possible or even desirable, at least from an economic point of view, to be hospitable (in the traditional sense of the word) to every visitor who enters the bar. There are just too many visitors to properly welcome and treat. Under these conditions, individuals servicing the tourists become the primary agents responsible for extending "hospitality", and in this way, hospitality becomes commercialized. Thus, tourism has indeed affected hospitality patterns in Baunei, in that the responsibility for extending it has shifted from the general public to professional representatives, thus transforming hospitality into a service for which payment is expected in exchange.

Greenwood relates that when commercialization of a culture occurs, acts which once had meaning for people lose their significance. He writes,

While some aspects of culture have wider ramifications than others, what must be remembered is that culture in its very essence is something that people believe in implicitly. By making it part of the tourism package, it is turned into an explicit and paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way it was before. Thus, commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives (1989:179).

If this is the case, it could be argued that tourism, by transforming hospitality into a commercial activity in Baunei, undermines local perceptions of cultural identity, given that hospitality is a way that people identify themselves, and distinguish their own behaviour from that of others. However, my own observations in Baunei suggest that the matter is not so clear cut. Although the expression of hospitality has, in a sense, become commercialized with the

⁴ Estimates varied considerably on this matter, with the most conservative given at 6,000, and the highest at 20,000. Observations made by Vargas-Cetina and Ayora-Diaz (personal communication) in the neighboring *Comune* of Dorgali, however, suggest that the latter figure is probably accurate. They report that during the tourist season, there may be as many as 40,000 tourists in Dorgali at any one time.

advent of tourism, I would argue that this condition is dependent on two factors: The season and the category of the individual as defined by residents themselves.

The time of year seems to affect how a stranger is received. When I first arrived in Baunei, the tourist season was in full swing. During this time, I was normally left on my own when in the bars, and was rarely invited to drink with local residents. However, from October onwards, when the tourist season had ended and when I was, quite literally, the only non-resident left in town, not once did I visit a bar and not be offered a drink by someone or a group of people already there. This latter scenario closely fits the traditional pattern of hospitality outlined earlier. It would seem then, that during the off-season, when the number of non-residents is minimal, traditional hospitality patterns are still in force.

My own observations also suggest that, like the Balinese, who have learned to differentiate between local and tourist audiences so as not to compromise the meanings and values inherent in traditional art forms (Noronha 1979:201), local Baunesi have responded to the pressure which tourism imposes on hospitality by not treating all non-residents alike. It seems that differing categories of *stranieri* have been conceptualized, distinguishing between tourists and other non-residents who visit the town. By differentiating on this basis, traditional hospitality can and is still offered to people from other areas no matter what the season, in cases where strangers are recognizably not tourists. At these times, norms governing traditional hospitality are brought into play, and, in fact, local people often measure one another using hospitality as an indication of proper behaviour. Frequently, after I had visited someone in the village, other people would inquire, "How were you treated? Did they treat you well? Did they feed you? What did you eat? What did you drink?", etc. After responding, judgements would be passed on how well I had been received, whether this was typical of the family, etc. Entire villages would also be rated in the same way. One informant said, "The

people of Trici are very fine people. Whenever I go there, I never have to buy a drink for myself or anyone else".⁵

Thus, it appears that although local expressions of hospitality have changed somewhat in response to tourism, this change is governed by the season of the year, responding to variations in the number of foreigners present in the community, and the category in which a person is placed, with local people seeming to distinguish between "tourist" and "other non-residents". In this case, the commoditization of hospitality applies mainly to the new category of "tourist", whose presence is felt predominantly during the summer months between June and September. Other "strangers" continue to be treated according to the more traditional rules which govern hospitality patterns, allowing community members to maintain a degree of cultural continuity.

All this would suggest that the changes taking place in respect to hospitality, far from representing a threat to local cultural identity as some authors would imply, are indications that the people of Baunei are adaptively responding to the new conditions brought about by the increase of tourism in their territory.

⁵ Although tourists were distinguished from other categories of non-residents in some nearby locales (Talana and Trici, for example), not all towns in the area seemed to follow this rule. Observations made by Igor Ayora-Diaz, a fellow member of the M.A.R.E. team, confirm that although the values governing traditional hospitality patterns still hold in Talana, this does not seem to be the case for nearby Tortoli. He reports that on several occasions, while visiting Tortoli with friends from Talana, the Talanesi were not hosted by resident acquaintances. In fact, on one visit, a resident from Tortoli actually left the Talanesi to pay the round which he himself had offered the group (Ayora-Diaz, personal communication). On each occasion, the Talanesi commented on the "poor" behaviour of the people of Tortoli, confirming that the values governing hospitality are still considered to be important to them, and a means by which people's behaviour can be measured. What may account for the differences in behaviour noted here, is that, whereas Baunei, Trici, and Talana are all small, isolated locations which have only recently been exposed to tourism, Tortoli is a much larger center that has grown rapidly over the last twenty years, and which has been receiving tourists for decades. This may have resulted in a relative loss of cohesiveness of the community, with the result that behaviour may be much less regulated by traditional values normally maintained and enforced by other community members. This may have implications for the future impacts of tourism on Baunei, particularly if the growth of the sector is not controlled.

"I Am What I Speak"

Language is a fundamental part of the social and cultural package of any society, and as a vehicle for communication, it serves to define group boundaries within which individuals participate (Wagner in Mathieson and Wall 1982:154). It also serves as a mechanism through which individuals identify themselves as part of a wider community. As outlined earlier, the first language of most Baunesi is Sardo, a language indigenous to Sardinia and distinct from Italian. Because Sardo is spoken only on the island, it holds symbolic significance for many Sardinians, acting as a means by which local people identify with the larger island community. Simultaneously, it enables island residents to distinguish themselves from mainland Italians and foreigners, as well as from each other (i.e. fellow Sards).

It has been noted that in situations of cultural contact, use of the local language can act as a measurement of the continuing strength of local cultural identity, as well as a determinant of the degree to which a community has been socially assimilated (Mathieson and Wall 1982:154). Though the majority of Baunei residents are bilingual, speaking both Sardo and Italian, the indigenous language is the one most commonly used between community members. Most Baunesi who were asked claimed they felt more comfortable speaking Sardo than Italian, and were best able to express themselves using this language. On this basis, one could argue that Baunesi still identify strongly with the local culture, and that the assimilation of the community into the wider Italian nation is still relatively weak.

How does tourism affect language and, by extension, cultural identity? Mathieson and Wall were able to identify only two studies which looked at the effects of tourism on the use of language (1982:154). According to these authors, "both studies indicate that tourism acts to displace the indigenous language by that of the tourists" (1982:155). They add that a decrease in the use of the local language disrupts existing social patterns and local social and cultural identities (1982:156).

My own observations suggest that although tourism may increase the frequency with which local people use the tourists' language, this does not necessarily lead to disruptions in social patterns and cultural identities. As explained earlier, most tourists who visit Baunei speak Italian, and there is no doubt that Italian is more widely spoken by local people today than it was in the past. Although many older people in their sixties and seventies claim that they do not speak Italian, or at least not well (to my ear, however, their Italian sounded fine), and those now in their eighties and nineties often do not speak Italian at all, most individuals under 60 years old are fluent in both Italian and Sardo. The generation now in their reproductive years (18-40) is simultaneously teaching both languages to their offspring, so that most of these children will become fluently bilingual before they reach school age. This contrasts with older generations, who generally did not learn Italian until they entered the school system.

Tourism no doubt plays a role in promoting the use of Italian, in that it increases both the opportunity and need for local people, particularly those employed in the tourism sector, to speak the language, both for social as well as economic reasons (e.g. the need and desire to meet and service tourists, who are predominantly Italian speaking). However, tourism is not the only factor influencing residents' use of the national language: education, television, radio and newspapers all play a role.⁶ It is also not clear that an increase in the use of Italian necessarily causes disruptions in the use of the indigenous language. My own experience showed that Sardo was often used purposely to exclude foreigners from conversations that local people did not want to include them in. In this way, Sardo became a "secret" language which enabled villagers to maintain a degree of privacy even whilst inundated by large numbers of visitors. It also served to demarcate the local inhabitants very clearly from the tourists, which could very well reinforce local cultural identity and strengthen communal bonds. This suggests

⁶ School is conducted exclusively in Italian, and even Sardinian radio and television networks broadcast in the national language.

that both the use of the native language and the maintenance of cultural identity are not necessarily disrupted by tourism, even if the presence of tourists leads to an increase in the use of the tourist language (see also Wilson 1979:231 for a similar observation).

Thus, it appears that local cultural identity has not been seriously threatened by the advent of tourism *per se* in Baunei, at least not at this stage of its development. Although the frequency with which hospitality is expressed has altered in response to tourism, this is mainly due to the fact that residents simply can no longer extend hospitality to all visitors in the bar, given the large number of tourists in Baunei throughout the summer months. As we saw, this change in hospitality appears to be regulated by both the season of the year and the category of the visitor as defined by local people themselves. Under the right circumstances, traditional forms of hospitality are still the norm, expressions of which are still valued by community members. In relation to language patterns and cultural identity, although local people are using Italian more frequently today than was the custom in the past, tourism is but one factor influencing this behaviour. In any case, the increased use of Italian does not seem to have disrupted local cultural identities. In fact, the presence of tourists may actually be emphasizing the symbolic role that language plays in maintaining such identity, by giving residents the opportunity to use Sardo as a "secret" language with which to exclude all non-Sard.

TOURISM'S IMPACT ON LOCAL ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

One of the major ways that tourism is thought to affect host communities is by introducing foreign ways of thinking and behaving into societies that have hitherto been relatively isolated. Such changes occur as a result of direct interaction between locals and tourists, or, on a wider scale, through what is known as the "demonstration effect", whereby residents' attitudes, values and behaviour are influenced through observations of the tourists (de Kadt 1979a:64-65; see also Mathieson and Wall 1982:143-144). It is in these ways that

tourism is credited with bringing about changes in moral attitudes and sexual behaviour, for example (Andronicou 1979:248; Boissevain and Inglott 1979:283; Archer (1978) in Mathieson and Wall 1982:149).

Direct Encounters: Local Men and Female Tourists

Direct encounters between tourists and local people are said to take place far less frequently than one might expect. Infrequent though they may be, such encounters are probably the most powerful means through which tourism can have socio-cultural impacts on local people. Those who experience the most contact with tourists are, not surprisingly, the ones employed by the tourist sector, or other service industries which tourists use (e.g., grocery stores, petrol stations, etc.) (de Kadt 1979a:13; Nettekoven 1979:138; Boissevain and Inglott 1979:280). Although no official figures are available which indicate who is employed in tourist establishments in Baunei, my own research revealed that many are young, unmarried individuals, often students looking for summer employment. Observations also indicated that there are more men working in the sector than women.⁷ All this suggests that, as in many tourist destinations the world over, the young people of Baunei, particularly males, are most likely to experience direct contact with tourists, and thus are more prone to be influenced in their behaviour and way of thinking by the presence of tourists in the territory.

A number of authors note that outside of the service sector, direct contacts between tourists and residents are otherwise limited to chance meetings on the beach, at bars or at nightclubs, and are most likely to be experienced by young males who often seek to have affairs with unattached female tourists (Boissevain and Inglott 1979:280; Nettekoven 1979:138, and Andronicou 1979:248). In Baunei, young men do tend to meet informally with tourists more frequently than other residents, and many do have relationships with tourist girls during

⁷ Of the 50 people interviewed who were employed in the tourism sector, 37 (74%) were single, 41 (82%) were under 35 years old, 39 (78%) were male, and 14 (28%) were students.

the summer months.⁸ These encounters do not seem to be frowned upon by the community in general, but at least some young women strongly disapprove. Further, it appears that these relationships are affecting young men's and women's perceptions of foreign women, and in some cases may even be having an impact on relations between the sexes.⁹

The Female Perspective

On three separate occasions, I took part in conversations with local women in their twenties, who were discussing the behaviour of their male counterparts during the tourist season.¹⁰ They were referring specifically to the fact that local men often consorted with female tourists during this time. On all three occasions, the girls expressed disapproval regarding young men's liaisons with these women. The general consensus was that the behaviour of the young men was foolish and immature, and insensitive to the women themselves (that is, the local women). One particularly volatile and expressive individual put it the following way:

The summertime comes, the tourists arrive, and the men all of a sudden go crazy over these foreign girls. Suddenly, we don't see them anymore. They're too busy chasing these women. It's disgusting.

The animosity that these women expressed was not reserved solely for the local men, however. I sensed that much resentment was also directed at the female tourists themselves, who were

⁸ I have no information as to whether local women have affairs with male tourists, but it would be naive to assume that they do not. Wilson's study in the Seychelles, for example, showed that local women also sought out contact with tourists, often in hopes of finding a foreign husband, or simply to be entertained (de Kadt 1979a:63). However, given the strong rein in Mediterranean society on female sexuality (see, for example, Davis 1977:92,98; Gilmore 1987; Giovannini 1987), I would guess that such occurrences are less frequent and more discreet.

⁹ I would like to note that the views I am about to relate are in no way intended to reflect the opinions of all Baunese, nor even the majority of young men and women. Indeed, I have no way of knowing the extent to which such opinions are held. However, the viewpoints expressed were supported by several individuals on a number of occasions and I consider them worthy of note here.

¹⁰ Two of these discussions took place amongst a group of friends, and the third was during a private conversation between myself and a girlfriend. At no time did I initiate the topic myself.

seen as "loose" and morally incorrect.¹¹ One informant went so far as to say that all foreign women were "puttane", meaning whores, and had few moral values.¹² Interestingly, non-Italians, particularly Germans, were seen to be the worst offenders, exhibiting most shamelessly the kind of "easy" behaviour that attracted the young men.¹³

Obviously, at least some local women do have strong feelings regarding the relationships that occur between local men and female tourists, and generally disapprove of their occurrence. As the following case illustrates, these encounters are, in at least some instances, directly affecting social relations between the two sexes in Baunei. Pina, who is 28 years old and single, reported that she had finally broken up with her boyfriend of 10 years, because every summer, without fail, he would suddenly stop seeking her company, after which she would begin hearing stories of how he had taken up with one tourist or another. Only after the winter set in and the tourists went home would he begin seeking her company again. She reported that she felt so furious and degraded by this behaviour that she could not put up with it any longer and so she ended the relationship.

The Male Perspective

Local women are not the only people whose perceptions of tourists (at least female tourists) are influenced by these encounters. It seems that some young men are also being affected by what they see as differences in behaviour between the girls they meet during the summer, and the young women they know at home. In these instances, the foreign women are

¹¹ Boissevain and Inglott (1979:276) observed that Maltese women expressed a similar resentment towards female tourists, who were also felt to monopolize the attentions of local men during the summer.

¹² When she considered that I, as a foreigner, might take offense to the remark, she quickly pointed out, not without some embarrassment, that she did not consider me in the same category as these other women, as I was a friend and therefore not a tourist.

¹³ Other authors have noted the stereotyping which can result from tourist-host encounters. See, for example, Boissevain and Inglott 1979:283-284; Rivers (1973) and Cohen (1971) in Mathieson and Wall 1982:143; and Herzfeld 1987:82.

often seen as exotic and cosmopolitan, representing a way of life superior to the small town existence they know. Some men complained that local girls were too close-minded and limiting, wanting only to get married and have families. They seemed to represent restriction and responsibility, whereas the foreign women represented excitement with no ties.¹⁴ Obviously, not all young men feel this way. In fact, in my own experience, only a handful of men expressed such views. Nonetheless, at least some young men are being influenced by what they perceive as differences in values and behaviour between local and foreign women. Such perceptions can also have an impact on social relations between the sexes. A few men said that they would never marry a local woman, but were hoping to find girlfriends from outside Sardinia with whom to settle down.

By bringing new people into the area with different backgrounds and alternative world views, tourism is having a social impact on the host population of Baunei, if only by widening the range of experiences young people may encounter. The reactions expressed here by both men and women indicate that stereotyping of tourists is happening to some degree, and they

¹⁴ Local men may be drawn to female tourists for a number of reasons. One attraction that tourists hold is that any relationship with them is almost certainly temporary, given the fact that the summer will eventually end and the tourist will go home. Thus, an end to the affair is more or less inevitable, after which both parties can once again resume their lives amongst friends and families. Messy breakups or hard feelings are less likely, and the fact that there is little chance of running into the person ever again, let alone on a regular basis, further lessens any discomfort that splitting up can bring. Further, the tourist is less likely to want a long-term, serious relationship in the first place, which reduces the danger of encountering any such demands. There is less fear of wounding someone deeply if things do not go smoothly, and thus also less fear of possible retribution, by both the girl and her family and friends. Affairs with local women, on the other hand, do not offer any of the above-mentioned advantages. If a relationship is begun which does not work out, it is highly unlikely that the other person will simply go away. Further, in a small community with only 4000 people, there is every likelihood that the two share mutual friends. The discomfort that this may bring means that the costs of a failed relationship are greater with someone from one's own community than with someone from outside, particularly someone who is just passing through. Of course, there are also greater potential benefits if the relationship does work out, but when one is young and not yet thinking seriously of settling down, this may not be at the top of one's priority list. All this boils down to the fact that people have more of a stake in other people from their own communities, than they do with people from outside. They have to be more careful in choosing a companion, and are less able to be carefree and spontaneous when entering a relationship.

lend some support to the argument that tourism can lead to increasing resentment of the tourist population by the host community, as shown by the female reaction to the tourist girls. There is also some evidence to suggest that social relations between the two sexes in Baunei are being affected. However, my survey data suggest that as yet, such occurrences are limited, and on the whole, residents welcome the opportunity to socialize with people from outside the community.¹⁵ Eighty-six percent of respondents (19 out of 22) who gave written commentaries when asked to identify social changes taking place in Baunei as a result of tourism, answered that tourism was having a positive social effect by exposing them to new people, and new ways of thinking (see Appendix III). By comparison, only 14% (3 out of 22) felt that the increased social interaction was a negative consequence. (Even so, two of these three responded positively as well as negatively). Here are a few examples of what respondents wrote (refer to Appendix III for the original version in Italian):

Tourism permits the exchange of ideas with cultures different from ours, and thus, [permits] progress (25 year old single female).

It is bringing noteworthy positive social changes because, above all else, there is less and less isolation and therefore tourism is promoting exchanges between diverse cultures which are very useful for the formation of a society [which is] increasingly vital and active (29 year old single male).

[There has been positive change] because [tourism] has taught people to exchange ideas. [There has been negative change] because people look to imitate habits (customs) different from our own (30 year old married male).

The presence of tourists has allowed significant broadening of horizons in comparison to other isolated zones (20 year old single male).

I believe that all Baunesi, especially the young people, in the last years are more open from having made new acquaintances (25 year old single male).

With the influence of people from other cultures, there has been some change on the part of people (especially in Santa Maria Navarese). This change has been negative because it makes people forget the good (healthy) life of the town, to imitate the bad lifestyle of the city or of countries in which they have forgotten the principles of respect of traditions (29 year old married male).

¹⁵ Note that this data is somewhat skewed however, by the fact that the majority of respondents are under 35 years old and are male.

These comments suggest that as yet, the other, somewhat more negative consequences outlined above are outweighed by what inhabitants view as the positive benefits of tourism. Still, the fact that some negative repercussions are occurring may serve as a warning for the future.

The Indirect Encounter: Women and Bars in Baunei

Research from other destination areas shows that, on the whole, most local people experience little if any direct contact with tourists, and thus are informed only indirectly, usually through observation, about tourist behaviour (Nettekoven 1979:138). However, it is in this way, through what is known as the "demonstration effect", that tourism can modify local behaviour, and even, in some cases, divide a local community (Mathieson and Wall 1982:144). In Baunei, there is some evidence to suggest that the presence of tourists is affecting the social behaviour of local people, by demonstrating to residents new ways of thinking and behaving. Among other things, there has been some change in the behaviour of women in the bars during the summer, which contrasts with patterns exhibited during the winter months.

As outlined in Chapter One, a good deal of public socializing in Baunei takes place in bars. Although they are frequented predominantly by men, women also use this space to some degree. However, in contrast to men, who visit the bars regularly throughout the year, women's attendance there varies considerably between the summer and winter seasons.

Throughout the winter months, most women do not visit the bars regularly, and when they do, they generally leave by 8 p.m., the standard dinner hour of many households. Although there are no regulations restricting women from frequenting the bars, many of my girlfriends, when asked why they did not make more use of this space, replied that they did not feel perfectly comfortable in the bars, particularly given that so many men were present and were drinking.¹⁶ They did note, however, that the summertime was different, and that

¹⁶ Many women in Baunei do not drink alcohol, at least not publicly, and those who do usually drink very little.

they did regularly visit the bar during these months. My own observations supported this latter statement.

Throughout the summer of 1990, the bars were regularly filled in the evening hours with both male and female clients. There is no doubt that tourists made up a large number of women in the bars at that time. However, local women were also present, as they themselves confirmed. In addition to local women going to bars regularly in the summer, they would also stay out significantly later than they would during the winter. It was not unusual, for instance, to find young women in the bars as late as midnight or 1:00 a.m.

It is difficult to say precisely what accounts for the difference in behaviour exhibited between the summer and winter seasons. However, tourism may be influencing the change in local women's use of public space. First, it is likely that the behaviour of female tourists influences local women's own perceptions of whether it is appropriate to visit the bars. The fact that women from outside the community are socializing in these locations without experiencing any obvious negative repercussions may affect how local women perceive their own actions. Second, the presence of female tourists in the bars during the summertime partly masks local women's own visibility, and may cause them to feel more at ease in these locations than they would otherwise. The overall increase in the number of women present may also affect local women's perception of the bars themselves, in terms of the kind of space they represent. During the winter, when there are no tourists about, mostly men frequent the bars, reinforcing the notion that this is a "male space". However, when the summer arrives, bringing with it female tourists accustomed to socializing in bars, the sex ratio changes, and so too the feeling that these locations are reserved predominantly for men. This may add to the level of comfort experienced by local women in the bars at this time.

The presence of tourists during the summer may not be the only factor explaining women's presence in the bars though. The weather itself may partially account for the difference. During the summer, while the weather is warm and balmy, it is possible to sit out

on the terrace in the evening. This, in fact, is where most local women tend to gather, rather than inside the bar itself (which is predominantly male space). It is likely that not actually being in the bar allows women to feel more removed from the male clientele and less like they are challenging established norms governing the use of social space. As a result, they may feel comfortable to visit the bars under these conditions, conditions which do not normally exist during the winter, when it is too cold to sit outside in the evening. Also, other factors, such as television, emigration, and increased levels of education, are no doubt contributing to changing perceptions of what is considered as acceptable behaviour for women. Still, tourism is contributing to the social changes taking place in Baunei, in terms of women's actual behaviour in the bars, and, at a more general level, in terms of how social space is perceived and used by community members.

Once again, although tourism is affecting local attitudes and social behaviour in Baunei, these changes do not seem to be disrupting the local community to any significant degree, nor do they seem to be perceived as predominantly negative by the local community. As stated above, my survey showed that local people for the most part welcome the presence of tourists in the community, with many commenting on the positive benefits of being exposed to new ways of thinking and behaving. In addition, a number of young people told me that during the summer, because of the increase in people and activities brought on by tourism, there was much more to do in Baunei and so they were "less bored". They noted that there was nothing to do in Baunei during the winter, so they looked forward to the summer time and the increased social activity that tourism brings. Although some resentment of tourists was also expressed, particularly by young women towards female tourists, and male/female relations have been slightly affected, such occurrences appear to be fairly isolated as yet. Overall, the local community seems to be balancing the impacts of tourism in such a way as to have maintained, as yet, local social cohesiveness.

TOURISM'S IMPACT ON COMMUNITY COHESIVENESS

I would like to end this section by briefly exploring in more detail the potential consequences of tourism development on community solidarity in Baunei. Although, as was stated above, the community appears to be handling tourism development in such a way that cultural identity and communal bonds have not as yet been disrupted, there is some evidence to suggest that this could change in the future.

The Mountain Community vs. The Coastal Settlement

The majority of tourist activity in Baunei takes place not in Baunei proper, where most of the inhabitants reside, but in the smaller coastal settlement of Santa Maria Navarese. Although this concentration of tourist activity in Santa Maria is no doubt a result of its proximity to the sea, the pattern is now being reinforced by the coastal settlement's domination of existing tourism services. For example, Baunei's three hotels are all located in Santa Maria Navarese, and of the 15 restaurants that cater to tourists in the larger *Comune* of Baunei, more than half of these (nine) are located in the smaller settlement. Baunei proper, by comparison, boasts only two restaurants, one of which is poorly advertised and receives few tourists.¹⁷

Although the majority of tourists who visit the territory are predominantly interested in its seaside attributes (surf, sand, and sun), the sparseness of available services in Baunei proper impedes or discourages those tourists who may wish to remain in the mountain community from doing so. One German tourist, who was vacationing in Baunei for the first time in 1990, commented,

I took this apartment up on the mountain because I wanted the cooler air at night and because I wished to do some trekking while I'm here, so I thought it would be better. But really there is nothing here to do, not even any restaurants

¹⁷ The four remaining restaurants are all located on communal territory, outside the nucleated settlements.

except for the little pizzeria and the more expensive one down the road, which is a little far to walk when you're tired. I don't have a car here and the last bus from Santa Maria is at 7:00 or 7:30 p.m. I think. So what does one do? If I come back, I think next time I will stay down on the coast. At least there, there are things to do and are other tourists to talk to.

The lack of tourism infrastructure in Baunei proper has been noted by a number of its residents, some of whom complained that the economic gains to be had from the sector go mainly to those in Santa Maria. One survey respondent replied that he did not respond to the question asking what have been the impacts of tourism on Baunei, because, he said, there is no tourism in Baunei. He was, in this instance, making a distinction between coastal Santa Maria Navarese and the mountain community of Baunei, and he noted that almost all of the tourist activity was taking place down on the coast. When I asked him what he thought about this, he said that he felt it was bad for Baunei [proper] because its residents, particularly its shop and bar owners, were not able to capitalize on the tourist business they so badly needed.

This division between the tourism success of Santa Maria Navarese in comparison to that of its mountain neighbour is important in terms of its potential impact on community solidarity. As Santa Maria Navarese continues to grow and develop services of its own, it is possible that its residents may wish to separate from the larger *Comune* of Baunei and establish a *Comune* of their own in the future. I heard a number of residents speak to that effect on several occasions, with one informant, himself from Baunei proper, saying that a separation of the two communities was inevitable. Already, many residents from both settlements distinguish themselves from each other, and do not refer to themselves as coming from the same community.¹⁸ The informant noted above is a case in point. When asked about the impacts of tourism on Baunei, he distinguished "Baunei" as referring only to the mountain town and not to the whole territory. This also occurred with a number of other respondents who filled out

¹⁸ This only applies when speaking to people from the *Comune*. When speaking with outsiders (i.e. non-residents), people will still usually say they are from Baunei.

the questionnaire. The distinction being made by *Comune* members hints that people do not necessarily feel they are part of the same community.

As the needs of the coastal community grow, and as its capacity for self-sufficiency increases, and as the economic pursuits and interests of the two settlements continue to diverge, then it is not unlikely that political interests will also encourage the division of the present *Comune*. There is already some feeling of resentment and jealousy by those living in Baunei towards Santa Maria Navarese for its success in tourism, and some coastal residents also expressed negative attitudes toward the mountain settlement.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

Not surprisingly, the development of tourism in Baunei is having economic and socio-cultural repercussions on the local community. However, the changes observed so far do not seem to be causing significant disruptions within the community, and at least some local residents are benefitting from the economic opportunities generated by tourism.

In Chapter Three, it was shown that the majority of tourism enterprises are controlled by local entrepreneurs, which is significant for two reasons. Not only are the revenues generated by the sector going to local inhabitants, but the profits made are more likely to be reinvested back into the local economy, thus benefitting the entire community. It was suggested that the small scale of tourism ventures, their organizational patterns, and the land holding patterns typical of the *Comune*, make it possible for local people to invest in tourism. The research also revealed that most employees of these enterprises are local residents, which confirms that tourism is indeed stimulating employment in the community and contributing to the incomes of local people. Unlike some developing areas, particularly in the Third World, the resident population of Baunei has the necessary skills and language competence required to work in the tourism sector. The fact that most establishments are owned by fellow community members no doubt also contributes to the high rate of local employment in tourism. The research also established that local people are benefitting from the indirect employment and income generated by tourism, by way of increased activity in the construction and commercial sectors, and from the renting out of apartments to tourists.

Even though tourism is stimulating economic development in Baunei, the research showed that the benefits accrued are offset somewhat by the fact that the sector is subject to seasonal fluctuations. The sparsity of visitors throughout the winter months means that a significant portion of available tourism resources cannot be exploited year-round, and high seasonal unemployment is the norm. This brings into question the soundness of policies which

promote a sector whose resources can be used only part of the time. It also reduces the effectiveness of the sector's capacity to promote economic development in the area, as many residents are left without income or employment on a seasonal basis. However, as the data show, many of the employees affected by seasonality are students who, in any case, return to school in the fall. A number of others (such as pastoralists) have work in other sectors of the economy during the off season. Thus, the actual number of people who can be classified as seasonally unemployed is significantly less than the number of people who work on a seasonal basis only. The subsistence economy in Baunei further absorbs some of this labour power, which also mitigates the effect of seasonality.

This study also questioned the impact of tourism on the pastoral sector of the local economy. It was found that tourism does not interfere with pastoralism, and if anything, may actually contribute to the viability of the sector by providing employment and increased income to at least some pastoralists during the slow period in the annual cycle. Likewise, as stated above, pastoralism absorbs some of the labour of those individuals who become unemployed during tourism's off-season.

Chapter Four examined the socio-cultural impact of tourism on Baunei. By focusing on traditional hospitality patterns and language as mechanisms through which local people affirm conceptions of themselves, it was observed that cultural identity has not been seriously threatened by the advent of tourism in the community. It was found that although the expression of hospitality has changed somewhat in response to tourism, this change is dependent on specific circumstances, namely the season of the year and the category of the outsider as defined by local people. Under certain conditions, traditional hospitality is still being expressed, and evidence suggests that such expressions are still valued and considered meaningful by local people. An examination of language patterns showed that although Italian, the prominent tourist language, is being spoken more frequently by Baunesi today than was common in the past, this does not seem to have disrupted resident's use of Sardo, which is still

the language most commonly spoken amongst residents. In fact, the presence of outsiders who do not speak Sardo may actually be reinforcing local people's sense of themselves as a community distinct from others.

An examination of tourism's impact on local attitudes and social behaviour revealed that tourism is affecting how residents perceive the opposite sex and social relations in general. Contact between residents and tourists has widened the range of experiences of young people, particularly males, and has encouraged the stereotyping of tourists by both men and women alike. Although there is some evidence to suggest that romantic liaisons between local men and female tourists is causing resentment in local women and is having repercussions on social relations between the sexes in Baunei, on the whole, the resident community appears to welcome the contact with outsiders, which they view positively as a means through which to learn new ideas and exchange points of view.

Finally, tourism may be affecting women's social behaviour and use of social space in Baunei, which may influence overall sexual integration within the community. Women's presence in the bars was noted to differ markedly between the tourist season and the winter months, and it was suggested that the increased presence of female tourists during the summer may be encouraging women to visit the bars more frequently at this time. Other factors, however, such as prevailing weather conditions, for example, no doubt also contribute to this variation in behaviour and use of space.

Overall, it is felt that although economic and socio-cultural changes are indeed occurring as a result of tourism in Baunei, these changes have not disrupted the local community to any significant extent. A survey taken in February of 1990 showed that 95% of respondents (41 out of 43) were in favour of increasing tourism in Baunei. The fact that so many people want to encourage the development of the sector is, perhaps, the best indicator that tourism is not disrupting the community, at least not in a way that is perceived by community members as overwhelmingly undesirable.

The changes experienced by local communities as a result of tourism are often seen as either positive or negative. [The economic impacts are often seen as positive, whereas the social and environmental costs are usually portrayed in a negative light (Mathieson and Wall 1982:133,157)]. Obviously change is inevitable to any way of life, as no society is etched in stone. Cultures would change with or without the presence of tourism (Mathieson and Wall 1982:160), and the perception of whether change is good or bad is dependent on a number of factors, including one's point of view. What is important is how local people view the changes occurring in their community, and whether they themselves are choosing to develop tourism in their territory.

At least in Baunei, the local community appears to be meeting the challenge of tourism, by responding adaptively to the changes taking place. They seem to be maintaining a balance between their desire to develop tourism in the area, and the need to maintain local social cohesion. This view is supported by the voices of local people themselves, who see tourism and its development as a predominantly positive activity which they wish to promote and pursue. Like the Balinese society mentioned by de Kadt (1979:58), Baunei "appears to be sufficiently resilient to find a positive adaptation to this and other forms of modernization impinging on the society".

APPENDIX 1: FREQUENCY OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN BAUNEI

| | | | |
|---|-----|--|----|
| pensionato (pensioner) | 757 | operatore turistico (tourist operator) | 11 |
| casalinga (house wife) | 694 | panettiere/pastaio (baker/pastry chef) | 10 |
| studente (student) | 503 | cameriere (waiter) | 10 |
| disoccupato (unemployed) | 462 | escavatorista (excavator/digger) | 10 |
| scolaro (scholar) | 297 | maestra d'asilo (kindergarden teacher) | 9 |
| operaio (labourer) | 201 | falegname (carpenter) | 9 |
| bracciante agricolo (agricultural labourer) | 198 | cuoco (cook) | 8 |
| muratore (bricklayer) | 123 | suora (nun) | 7 |
| impiegato pubblico (public employee) | 73 | geometra (land surveyor) | 7 |
| insegnante (teacher) | 69 | medico (doctor) | 7 |
| commerciante (merchant/dealer) | 60 | esercente (merchant/dealer) | 7 |
| manovale (labourer) | 54 | operaio specializzato (specialized labourer) | 6 |
| invalido (invalid) | 49 | libero professionista (independent professional) | 6 |
| agricoltore (agriculturalist) | 47 | idraulico (plumber) | 5 |
| autista (driver) | 46 | elettricista (electrician) | 4 |
| impiegato privato (private employee) | 32 | imprenditore (contractor) | 4 |
| artigiano (artisan) | 28 | sacerdote (priest) | 4 |
| commessa (female shopclerk) | 25 | aiuto carpentiere (carpenter's apprentice) | 3 |
| allevatore (breeder) | 24 | commesso (male shopclerk) | 3 |
| appaltatore pulizia (cleaning contractor) | 19 | pittore (painter) | 2 |
| cantoniere (roadkeeper) | 19 | odontotecnico | 1 |
| meccanico (mechanic) | 14 | albergatrice (hotel keeper) | 1 |
| bidello (janitor) | 13 | veterinario (veterinary) | 1 |
| infermiera (nurse) | 12 | farmacista (pharmacist) | 1 |

Source: Communal records, Comune of Baunei, 1991. (Official figures dated December, 1989).

APPENDIX II: LIST OF HOTELS/RESTAURANTS/BARS IN THE COMUNE OF BAUNEI

| Name | Type | | | Location | | | Season | | Owner | | Organization | | |
|--------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|
| | H | R | B | SM | B | IL | S | Y | B | O | P | S | C |
| Agugliastra | x | x | x | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Hotel Santa Maria | x | x | x | x | | | x | | x | | x | | |
| Hotel Plamas | x | x | x | x | | | x | | x | | | x | |
| La Fontana | | x | x | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Grande Ranch | | x | x | x | | | x | | | x | x | | |
| Il Pozzo | | x | x | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Scoine | | x | x | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Sa Panada | | x | | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| La Gastronomica | | x | | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Golgo | | x | x | | | x | x | | x | | | | x |
| Pedra Longa | | x | x | | | x | x | | x | | | x | |
| Cala Sisine | | x | x | | | x | x | | x | | | | x |
| Cala Luna | | x | x | | | x | x | | x | | | | x |
| La Brace | | x | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Pisaneddu | | x | x | | x | | | x | x | | | x | |
| Blue Ice | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Bar Belvedere | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| San Pietro | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| no name | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Il Muflone | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Bar Dei Mille Lire | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Bar Muggiannu | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Bar "La Brace" | | | x | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Ok Bar | | | x | x | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| Bar Navarra | | | x | x | | | | x | | x | x | | |
| Sa Cadrea | | | x | x | | | x | | x | | | x | |
| L'Ogliastro | | | x | x | | | x | | x | | | x | |
| La Pineta | | | x | x | | | x | | x | | | x | |
| Total | 3 | 15 | 26 | 15 | 9 | 4 | 10 | 18 | 26 | 2 | 19 | 6 | 3 |

KEY: TYPE: H=hotel, R=restaurant, B=bar;

PLACE: SM=Santa Maria Navarese, B=Baunei, IL=isolated location;

SEASON: S=summer, Y=year-round;

OWNER: B=Baunei, O=other;

ORGANIZATION: P=private, S=societa' (partnership), C=cooperative.

APPENDIX III: TOURISM SURVEY

In February and March of 1991, 51 questionnaires were distributed to selected residents of Baunei to determine how individuals felt about the development of tourism in their territory. Respondents were allowed to take the questionnaire home to fill out in private,¹ and were advised not to supply their name so that responses would be anonymous. 43 completed questionnaires were obtained from the 51 handed out. Of the total 43 people sampled, 11 (1/4) were students of the tourism course being given in Baunei at the time.

The questionnaire was distributed more or less randomly, to anyone willing to participate in the survey. However, the results are not necessarily representative of all people in Baunei, given the small sample size. Still, they do give some indication of how residents view tourism and its development in Baunei.

THE RESPONSES

The following are responses obtained from the questionnaires. Bracketed numbers indicate the total number of people who replied affirmatively to a given choice. Combined, these numbers may exceed the total number of respondents (43), as people sometimes gave more than one answer to a question (if, for example, they felt a particular change was positive and negative, they would check off both choices).

Questions 2, 5, 7 and 8 also asked respondents to supply written commentary. These comments follow the quantified responses, and are organized according to whether they refer to economic, social, or environmental impacts. Each comment has been translated into English, with the original Italian highlighted in bold. Only the English translations have been edited, mainly for grammar and punctuation, but also for the purpose of clarity (additions are indicated by square brackets [...]). Comments appearing only in English indicates that the answer was verbally transmitted and thus originally transcribed in English by the researcher. The number preceeding each comment refers to a specific respondent, so that, for example, number 1 refers to the same individual in every case. Comments given by the tourism students have been differentiated from other respondents by assigning them a letter (A, B, C, etc.) instead of a number.

¹ The high literacy rates in Sardinia made this choice of research method possible.

QUANTITATIVE RESPONSES

Question 1

What do you think of the development of tourism in the territory of Baunei?
Che cosa pensa dello sviluppo turistico del territorio di Baunei?

- (39) It is a positive development
- (4) It is a negative development
- (1) I don't know
- (1) Did not answer the question

Question 2

What kind of change has the development of tourism brought to Baunei?
Che cambiamento ha apportato su Baunei, lo sviluppo del turismo?

- (37) A positive change
- (10) A negative change
- (2) No change
- (0) I don't know
- (1) Did not answer the question

Question 3

The development of tourism in Baunei should be:
Lo sviluppo del turismo nel territorio di Baunei deve essere:

- (41) Increased
- (0) Decreased
- (1) Slowed
- (0) Stopped
- (1) I don't know

Question 4

The development of the touristic port in Santa Maria Navarese is:
Lo sviluppo del porto turistico a Santa Maria Navarese e:

- (36) A positive development
- (3) A negative development
- (4) I don't know
- (1) Did not answer the question

Question 5

What kind of change could the touristic port in Santa Maria Navarese bring to Baunei?
Che cambiamento può apportare su Baunei, il porto turistico a Santa Maria Navarese?

- (37) A positive change
- (15) A negative change
- (2) No change
- (2) I don't know
- (2) Did not answer the question

Question 6

Would you give your consent to Baunei's territory becoming a:
Lei darebbe il suo sostegno affinché il territorio di Baunei venisse adibito a:

- (3) national park
- (26) communal park
- (12) no park
- (1) I don't know
- (1) Did not answer the question

Question 7

What kind of change could the development of the Parco Gennargentu [the national park] bring to Baunei? **Che cambiamento può apportare su Baunei, lo sviluppo del Parco Gennargentu?**

- (8) A positive change
- (20) A negative change
- (6) No change
- (8) I don't know
- (4) Did not answer the question

Question 8

What kind of change could the development of a communal park bring to the territory of Baunei? **Che cambiamento può apportare su Baunei, lo sviluppo di un parco comunale nel territorio di Baunei?**

- (27) A positive change
- (4) A negative change
- (1) No change
- (7) I don't know
- (3) Did not answer the question

COMMENTS: ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Question 2

If tourism has brought about economic changes in Baunei, what are they?

Se il turismo ha apportato i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 Greater economic influxes to Santa Maria Navarese for local appartments [rented out] to tourists. Greater returns for the commercial shops. **Maggiori flussi economici a Santa Maria Navarese per appartamenti locali a turisti. Maggiori introiti per gli esercizi commerciali.**
- #3 The opening of hotels, cooperatives, and societies [i.e. economic partnerships, companies]. **Apertura di alberghi, cooperative, e società.**
- #4 [Tourism creates] work for the bars, restaurants, etc. **Lavoro dei bar, ristoranti, ecc.**
- #5 [Tourism] has created new jobs, even if they are seasonal. **Ha creato nuovi posti di lavoro, anche se stagionali.**
- #6 [Because of tourism] there are cooperatives, houses for rent, we sell more in the stores, more tourists come and we make more money. **Ci sono cooperativi, case d'affitti, vendiamo più nei negozi, più turisti vengono e guadagniamo più soldi.**
- #7 New job positions for young people. Tourism has had a negative impact, in the sense that prices always go up in the summertime. Also, people think more about money than they used to. **Nuovi posti di lavoro per i giovani. Turismo ha avuto un impatto negativo, nel senso che le prezzi sempre aumentano nel estate. Anche, la gente pensa più ai soldi che prima.**
- #8 Tourism has brought new jobs to the commercial sector, the cooperatives, etc. **Il turismo ha apportato nuovi posti di lavoro nel campo commerciale, le cooperative, ecc.**
- #9 More work for young people. **Più occupazioni per i giovani.**
- #10 More income. **Più rendita.**
- #12 Tourism has increased [the number of] jobs for young people, and has increased the work for bars, restaurants, etc. **Turismo ha aumentato dei posti di lavoro per i ragazzi, e ha aumentato di lavoro per bar, ristoranti, ecc.**
- #13 Tourism structures give work to people. **Le strutture turistiche danno lavoro alla gente.**
- #14 [Tourism has brought] economic change in the commercial sector. **Cambiamento economico nel settore commerciale.**
- #15 Seasonal occupation for young people in a variety of appointments in the public locations of the coast. **Occupazione giovanile stagionale di varie decine di addetti nei locali pubblici della costa.**

- #16 Probably positive but very little because tourism has not yet been developed sufficiently in Baunei. **Probabilmente positivo ma poco, perché turismo non è ancora sviluppato sufficientemente a Baunei.**
- #17 It offers job positions. **Offre posti di lavoro.**
- #18 It has created some jobs. **Ha creato qualche posto di lavoro.**
- #20 More job possibilities. **Più possibilità di lavoro.**
- #21 Tourism has brought economic development to agriculture, to breeding, to pastoralism, to commerce and to the artisans. **Il turismo ha apportato uno sviluppo economico nell'agricoltura, nell'allevamento, nella pastorizia, nel commercio e nell'artigianato.**
- #22 In the summer season, there is major earnings in the commercial sector [as a result of tourism]. **Nella stagione estiva, c'è maggior guadagno nell'attività commerciale.**
- #24 More employment, even if it is only for 4 months of the year. In more prospects for the future. **Più occupazione, anche se solamente per 4 mesi all'anno. In più prospettive per il futuro.**
- #27 It is more correct to say that for now it is bringing [economic change] and we have need to push with all seriousness for touristic development to raise the economy of the town for the moment when this economy can no longer be based on pastoralism or agriculture, for the obvious conformation of the territory. **E più corretto dire che per ora li sta apportando e bisognerebbe puntare con scietà allo sviluppo turistico per sollevare l'economia del paese dal momento che quest'economia non si può basare sulla pastorizia o l'agricoltura per l'evidente conformazione del territorio.**
- #28 Jobs. **Posti di lavoro.**
- #29 An influx of money with consequent benefits for some productive sectors. **Un afflusso di danaro con conseguente beneficio di alcuni settori produttivi.**
- #30 More work. **Più lavoro.**
- #31 New enterprises (creation) and occupations. **Nuova imprenditoria (creazione) e occupazione.**
- #32 It brings employment. **Porta occupazione.**
- [A] Economic because in the summer, there is much more activity, especially in the restaurants and in the houses that are for rent. **Economico perché d'estate, c'è molto più movimento, soprattutto nei ristoranti e case d'affitto.**
- [B] More money in the economy, money that goes to the stores, artisans, etc. There is more work for everyone. **Più soldi nell'economia, soldi che vanno ai negozi, artigiani, ecc. C'è più lavoro per tutti.**
- [C] With the creation of new and many jobs for most of the young people. **Con la creazione di nuovi e maggiori posti di occupazione per la maggior parte dei giovani.**

- [D] During the summer, many Baunese work in the tourist industry, and thus the economic [influence]. **Durante l'estate, molti Baunesi lavorano nell'industria turistica, e quindi l'economia.**
- [E] A degree of prosperity for many families. **Il grado di benessere per molte famiglie.**
- [F] Thanks to tourism, many young people have had work, and have been able to improve their economic positions. **Molti giovani grazie al turism hanno avuto un lavoro e hanno potuto migliorare la loro posizione economica.**
- [G] There has been an economic growth with the renting of private houses. **Si è avuto uno cresciuta economica con l'affitto delle case private.**
- [H] [There has been] a great number of seasonal jobs. **Un maggior numero di occupazione stagionale.**
- [I] An increase of receiving structures and commerce. **Un incremento di strutture ricettive e commercio.**
- [J] It has made possible, in part, the development of receiving services (hotels, restaurants, boarding houses), and the commercial sector. Small service-oriented organizations (charter boats, pedal boats, tourist guides) are also springing up. **Ha reso possibile in parte lo sviluppo dei servizi ricettivi (alberghi, ristoranti, pensioni) e del settore commerciale. Stanno nascendo anche piccole società di servizi (noleggio, gommoni, guide turistiche).**
- [K] During the summer seasons, new job positions are created in the tourist locals, for the young people of the town. **Durante le stagione estive, si sono creati nuovi posti di lavoro nelle località turistiche, per i giovani del paese.**

Question 5

If the port can bring about economic changes in Baunei, what are they?

Se il porto può apportare i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 Greater possibilities of interaction with people. **Maggiori possibilità di interscambio con le popolazioni.**
- #3 Money for the tourist operators. **Soldi per gli operatori turistici.**
- #4 Work for many people. **Lavoro per molte persone.**
- #5 It is creating new jobs. **Creando nuove occupazioni.**
- #6 More boats will come and bring more people. With more people, there will be more work and more money for us here in Baunei. **Più barche verranno e porteranno più gente. Con più gente, ci sarà più lavoro e più soldi per noi qui a Baunei.**
- #7 [The port will bring] an increase in tourism. **Aumento del turismo.**

- #8 Greater influx of rich tourists. **Maggiore afflusso di turisti ricchi.**
- #9 More people **Più gente.**
- #10 More income; more jobs **Più rendita; più posti di lavoro.**
- #12 Jobs for mechanics, guards, etc **Posti di lavoro per meccanici, guardiani, ecc.**
- #13 The port could be positive economically but there are still not the structures that they need. **Il porto può essere positivo economicamente, però non ci sono ancora le strutture che hanno bisogno.**
- #15 The occasion to renovate many of the houses that have been abandoned for years, as Santa Maria is caught unprepared and will not be able to satisfy the demand for lodgings **L'occasione per ristrutturare molt delle case abbandonate da anni, visto che Santa Maria colt inpreparata non riuscirà a soddisfare la domanda ricettiva.**
- #16 More tourists. **Più turisti.**
- #17 The port allows the increase of tourism. **Permette il potenziamento del turismo.**
- #18 A major touristic flow **Un maggiore afflusso turistico.**
- #19 There could be exchanges with the continent and, moreover, it could help tourism. **Avverrebbero scambi con il continente e inoltre aiuterebbe il turismo.**
- #20 New people and more money in circulation **Nuove persone e più soldi in circolazione.**
- #21 With the realization of the port, nautical tourism will be further developed, because the landing of many boats will constitute an entire local economy for tens of jobs in tourism and in fishing. **Con la realizzazione del porto si svilupperà sempre più il turismo nautico cosichè l'approdo di moltissime imbarcazioni, costituirà un'intera economia locale per decine di posti di lavoro nel turismo e nella pesce.**
- #22 More tourists, more money **Più turisti, più soldi.**
- #26 Economic changes (S M Navarese) with eventual renting of the houses. **Cambiamenti economici (S.M.Navarese) con eventuali affitti delle case.**
- #27 With the port will be born new economic initiatives, for example, more receiving structures. **Col porto nasceranno nuove iniziative economiche col esempio più ricettività'.**
- #28 It will create new jobs. **Si creano nuovi posti di lavoro.**
- #29 More opportunities of employment of the work force. **Maggiore opportunità di impiego di forza lavoro.**
- #31 More occupation and specialization in the sector. New services, activities, receiving centers (hotels, restaurants, pensions). **Maggior occupazione e specializzazioni nel settore. Nuovi servizi, occupativi, ricettivi (alberghi, ristoranti, pensioni).**
- #32 Employment. **Occupazione.**

- [A] More work, more people will stay in Baunei. More people, more money for the town
Più lavoro, più gente resteranno a Baunei. Più gente, più soldi per il paese.
- [B] More communication with other zones (both economic and social). With a port, people will stop and stay in Baunei, instead of going right on by to other towns along the coast.
Più comunicazione con altre zone (nel senso economico e sociale). Con un porto, la gente fermerà e resterà a Baunei, invece di continuare agli altri paesi.
- [C] Greater influx of people, and thus more money. **Maggiore afflusso di turisti e quindi, maggiori soldi.**
- [D] I believe that with the port in Santa Maria Navarese, will begin a new type of tourism, it is hoped one that is more lucrative. **Credo che col porto a Santa Maria Navarese, inizi ad arrivare un'altro tipo di turismo, si spera più ricco.**
- [E] Certainly the number of jobs would be increased. **Sicuramente i posti di lavoro saranno aumentato.**
- [H] The port will certainly bring a major influx of tourists, and at the same time, more money. **Sicuramente, porta un flusso turistico maggiore, e nello stesso tempo, più soldi.**
- [I] An increase in tourist traffic. **Aumento del traffico turistico.**
- [J] A major influx of tourists and thus, a major turn of money (value) **Un maggior afflusso di turisti e quindi, un maggior giro di valuta.**
- [K] There will be an increase in tourism that will not include anymore mass tourism which has been the case until now. This will benefit the categories of merchants, artisans, etc
Si avrà un incremento del turismo che non comprenderà più un turismo solo di massa come si è verificato fin'ora. Di ciò usufruiranno le categorie dei commercianti, dell'artigianato, ecc.

Question 7

If the [national] park can bring about economic changes in Baunei, what are they?
Se il parco [nazionale] può apportare i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 There will be if, included in the park's proposal, are measures for realistic and adequate financial backing in the legislation for the parks, and a serious programme concerning possible activities in the territory's internal zones. **Ci saranno se alla proposte parco saranno allegate proposte di finanziamenti realizzate adeguate sulle leggi per i parchi e una programmazione seria delle possibili attività al suo interno.**
- #3 I will not answer this question because I do not believe in the national park and thus, I do not want to consider its existence! **Non rispondo a questa domanda perché non credo nel parco nazionale e quindi, non voglio considerare la sua esistenza!**
- #4 [It will create] work for forest rangers **Lavoro per guardie forestali.**

- #7 [A national park] will hopefully create new job positions. **Creare, si spero, nuovi posti di lavoro.**
- #9 There will no longer be shepherds on the mountain, hunting, etc. **Non ci sarà più pastori sulla montagna, caccia, ecc.**
- #17 It would prevent the development of tourism in that it would not be possible to realize the necessary structures. **Impedirebbe lo sviluppo turistico, in quanto non si potrebbero realizzare le strutture necessarie.**
- #18 New work prospects. **Nuove prospettive di lavoro.**
- #19 Conflicts between the people of Baunei for possession of land. **Conflitto tra persone di Baunei per possedimenti terreni.**
- #24 For [the park] to bring any economic changes, Baunei requires hotels, boarding houses, etc. **Per poter apportare i cambiamenti economici, Baunei ha bisogno di alberghi, pensioni, ecc.**
- #31 Enrichment of few people, aboveall, I think, [people] not connected with the town. **Arricchimento di poca gente, altretutto penso estranea al paese.**
- #32 They bring only restrictions and no employment. **Portono solo vincoli e niente occupazione.**
- [A] [Negative] because it will block much activity, especially that of pastoralism. **Perché bloccherà molte attività, soprattutto quelle pastorale.**
- [C] The blocking of many employment activities. **Il blocco di molte attività lavorative.**
- [E] There will be few jobs, but maybe it will augment the flow of tourists. **Saranno pochi posti di lavoro ma forse aumenterebbe il flusso turistico.**
- [F] It would block many economic activities sending numerous families into a crisis. **Bloccherebbe molte attività economiche mandando in crisi numerose famiglie.**
- [I] Since in Baunei, there are no receiving structures, and there are too many restrictions so that there will be no economic progress. **Poiché a Baunei no ci sono strutture ricettive e ci sono troppi vincoli fatti a tavolino, no ci sarebbe nessun progressivo economico.**
- [K] With a state park, the shepherds would have to take their work elsewhere and the agriculturalists their land. Moreover, the people of Baunei would not be free to circulate in the mountains, etc. **Con un parco statale ai pastori verrebbe portato via il loro lavoro e ai contadini le loro terre. Inoltre, i Baunesi non sarebbero liberi di circolare nelle montagne, ecc.**

Question 8

If the [communal] park can bring about economic changes in Baunei, what are they?
 Se il parco [comunale] può apportare i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 The possibility of managing in a rational manner the services tied to the institution of a park. **La possibilità di gestire in maniera razionale i servizi legati all'istituzione di un parco.**
- #3 Rest stops, stables for animals, tourist structures. **Rifugi, stalle per il bestiame, strutture turistiche.**
- #4 [It will bring] work for forest rangers, and work for the young people. **Lavoro per guardie forestale e lavoro per i giovani.**
- #5 [A communal park] is creating new jobs, and is drawing tourists from all over the world. **Creando nuovi posti di lavoro e richiamando turisti da tutto il mondo.**
- #7 [A communal park] will hopefully create new job positions. **Creare si spero nuovi posti di lavoro.**
- #8 More jobs. **Più posti di lavoro.**
- #9 Much more work. **Molto più lavoro.**
- #10 It would create new jobs, and the profits would stay with us. **Verrebbero creati nuovi posti di lavoro, e i guadagni resterebbero a noi.**
- #13 It will open a number of diverse possibilities for the economy of the town and for public structures. **Aprirà numeri diversi possibilità per l'economia del paese e per gli strutturi pubblici.**
- #15 The creation of receiving tourist infrastructure towing into the impending future also other economic sectors and local products. **La creazione di infrastrutture ricettive turistiche trainanti in un imminente futuro anche per altri settori economici e produttivi locali.**
- #17 It would be an attraction for tourists. **Sarebbe un attrazione per i turisti.**
- #19 It could facilitate the touristic flow. **Agevolerebbe l'afflusso turistico.**
- #21 Managed by the Comune, it would give other jobs. **Gestito dal comune, darebbe altri posti di lavoro.**
- #24 More employment of the local population and not of people who come from outside. **Più occupazione della popolazione locale, e non persone che vengono dall'esterno.**
- #27 With the park would be born new initiatives which would guarantee many new jobs to the populace of the place. **Col parco nasceranno nuove iniziative che garantiranno molti e nuovi posti di lavoro alla popolazione del posto.**
- [C] New job placements. **Nuovi posti di lavoro.**

- [E] Always jobs, from the hotel owners to the little laborers, as well as the cleaning. **Sempre posti di lavoro dall'albergatore al piccolo operaio. Anche le pulizie.**
- [F] We will see created new structures made which respect the environment, where the majority of the population could work, and, most of all, people [of Baunei] would stay in the territory. **Si verrebbero a creare nuove strutture fatte nel rispetto dell'ambiente dove la maggior parte della popolazione potrebbe lavorare, e soprattutto, l'uomo resta nel territorio.**
- [G] A relevant development in all sectors, of major consequence would be occupation for us young people. **Un rilevante sviluppo in tutti i settori, di conseguenza maggiore occupazione per noi giovani.**
- [H] It will ration out the touristic influx, and thus, will lengthen the touristic season. **Potrebbe ad razionare il flusso turistico, e quindi ad allungare la stagione turistica.**
- [I] The construction of tourist structures, such as hotels, meeting centres, restored monuments, and the cleaning of trails, with jobs created for the people of the area. **costruzioni id strutture turistiche, come alberghi, centri di ritrovo, punti di ristoro, e pulizie dei sentieri, con occupazione per la gente del posto.**
- [J] Certainly a major number of jobs, and the possibility of creating others tied to the activities of the park. **Certamente un maggior numero di posti di lavoro e la maggior possibilità di crearne altri legati alle attività del parco.**
- [K] It will create many jobs, if the park is administered well, without sending the shepherds away from the territory and permitting the people of Baunei free admittance to the park. **Si creano molti posti di lavoro, se il parco è ben gestito, senza mandare via i pastori dal territorio e permettendo ai Baunesi il libero ingresso al parco.**

COMMENTS: SOCIAL IMPACTS

Question 2

If tourism has brought about social changes in Baunei, what are they?

Se il turismo ha apportato i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 The social changes are positive when we look at the great assests of social interaction, but [they are] negative when we see the values of the tourist population being assimilated into the local population. **I cambiamenti sociali sono positivi per quanto riguarda una maggiore disponibilit  al confronto sociale, ma negativi per quanto riguarda i valori delle popolazione turistico assimilati dalle popolazione locale.**
- #3 As a result of the economic incomes [gained from tourism], the children of these people can study and know new environments and new people. **In seguito alle entrate economiche, i figli di questi possono studiare e conoscere nuovi ambienti e nuova gente.**
- #6 With tourism, we know more people from outside, and in this way, we learn more about other cultures and other ways of thinking. **Con turismo, conosciamo pi  gente da fuori, e cos , impariamo pi  delle altre culture e altri modi di pensare.**
- #7 Tourism has effected the way people think in the sense that there is more communication with people from outside. But this effect has been more in Santa Maria Navarese rather than Baunei, because here [in Baunei] there is little tourism. **Il turismo ha avuto un impatto sul modo di pensare, nel senso che c'  pi  comunicazione con la gente di fuori. Per , questo impatto   stato pi  a Santa Maria Navarese che a Baunei, perch  qua c'  poco turismo.**
- #9 More money. **Pi  soldi.**
- #10 [Tourism] has changed the mentality [of the people] a little. **Ha cambiato un po' la mentalit .**
- #13 Tourism has brought about positive social change because now we have the opportunity to speak with more people. **Il turismo ha apportato i cambiamenti sociali positivi perch  adesso abbiamo l'opportunit  di parlare con pi  gente.**
- #17 Tourism permits the exchange of ideas with cultures different from ours, and thus, [permits] progress. **Permette lo scambio di idee con culture diverse dalla nostra e quindi il progresso.**
- #18 [Tourism has brought] a major opening of the minds [of the people]. **Una maggiore apertura mentale.**
- #22 Tourism has brought "civilization", e.g in manner of dressing, in the types of houses that are built, etc. **Il turismo ha apportato "civit ", es. nel vestire, tipo di costruzione, ecc.**
- #24 It [Baunei] has emerged from an agro-pastoral mentality to a mentality which is more in step with the times. **Si   uscita da una mentalit  agro pastorale ad una mentalit  pi  a passo con i tempi.**

- #27 It is bringing noteworthy positive social changes because, above all else, there is less and less isolation and therefore tourism is promoting exchanges between diverse cultures which are very useful for the formation of a society [which is] increasingly vital and active. **Sta apportando notevoli cambiamenti sociali positivi perchè prima di tutto c'è sempre meno isolamento e quindi il turismo sta promuovendo gli scambi tra culture diverse che sono molto utili alla formazione d'una società più giovane e attiva.**
- #30 Possibility of confronting new ways of thinking and new realities. The more open the mentality, the more open will be the social environment. **Possibilità di confrontare con nuove modi di pensare e con nuove realtà. Più aperto la mentalità, più aperto sarebbe l'ambiente sociale.**
- #31 Cultural exchanges with the peninsula. New ways of living. **Scambi culturali con la penisola. Nuovi modi di vivere.**
- #32 Development for the people. **Sviluppo per la gente.**
- [B] Social change is aided thanks to contact with different people, and thus, thanks to different cultures. **Il cambiamento sociale si è aiuto grazie al contatto con persone diverse, e quindi grazie alle diverse culture.**
- [C] First of all, [it has given us] a way to see things in a broader perspective, and, by consequence, an opening of the mind, in reference not only to "things" already existing, but to the creation of others. An exchange in ways of thinking with other people. **Innanzitutto un modo di vedere le cose molto più ampio, e di conseguenza un apertura mentale, rivolta, non solo alle "cose" già esistenti, ma alla creazioni di altre. Scambio di modi di pensare con altre persone.**
- [D] I believe that all Baunese, especially the young people, in the last years are more open from having made new acquaintances. **Credo che tutti i Baunesi, specialmente i giovani, negli ultimi anni, sono più aperti a fare nuovi conoscenze.**
- [E] For example, a person from Bauner was, in the past, very closed and also impervious to innovation. Now, with the contact with tourists, he is changing his way of being sociable and tolerant. **Per esempio, il Baunese prima, era molto chiuso e anche refrattario alle novità. Ora, con il contatto con i turisti, sta cambiando il suo modo di essere socievole e tollerante.**
- [F] The presence of tourists has allowed significant broadening of horizons in comparison to other isolated zones. **La presenza di turisti ha creato una maggiore apertura mentale rispetto ad altre zone isolate.**
- [H] [There has been positive change] because [tourism] has taught people to exchange ideas. [There has been negative change] because people look to imitate habits (customs) different from our own. **In bene perchè ha imparato la gente a scambiarsi le idee. In male perchè si cerca di imitare le usanze diverse dalle nostre.**

- [J] With the influence of people from other cultures, there has been some change on the part of people (especially in Santa Maria Navarese). This change has been negative because it makes people forget the good (healthy) life of the town, to imitate the bad lifestyle of the city or of countries in which they have forgotten the principles of respect of traditions. **Con l'influenza delle persone di cultura diversa, c'è stato qualche cambiamento da parte di persone (soprattutto a Santa Maria Navarese). Questo cambiamento è negativo perché fa dimenticare il vivere sano del paese, per imitare il vivere male di città o di paesi in cui sono dimenticati i principi del rispetto delle tradizioni.**

Question 5

If the port can bring about social changes in Baunei, what are they?
Se il porto può apportare i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 [These changes] will probably be more negative than positive. **Probabilmente più negativi che positivi.**
- #3 The acquaintance of new people and new mental awareness. **La conoscenza di nuova gente e nuove aperture mentali.**
- #6 Again, with the port as with tourism, we can know more people from outside, and in this way, we can know more about other cultures. **Ancora, col porto come col turismo, possiamo conoscere più gente da fuori, e così, possiamo conoscere più delle altre culture.**
- #9 There will be more people with more money. **Ci sarà più gente con più soldi.**
- #10 Like I already said, the port could change the mentality [of the people]. **Come ho già detto, potrebbe cambiare la mentalità.**
- #15 The drawing near of many Baunese to the sea, and consequently a relaunching of constructive rapport with the resident citizens of the hamlet. **Avvicinamento maggiore dei Baunesi al mare e conseguente riallaccio rapporti costruttivi con i concittadini residenti nella frazione.**
- #19 It [Baunei] could become a better known town, increasing tourism. **Diventerebbe un paese più conosciuto incrementando il turismo.**
- #22 More cultures different from ours. **Più culture diverse della nostra.**
- #28 Certainly with the port will arrive more people with whom to talk and know other new ideas. Also, unfortunately, there could also arrive other things (A.I.D.S.). **Sicuramente col porto arriverò più gente con cui parlare e conoscere altre nuove idee. Anche se purtroppo arriveranno anche altre cose (A.I.D.S.).**
- #29 The people who work find themselves more at ease, therefore [they will also feel this way] in society. **Le persone che lavorano si trovano più agio allora anche nella società.**

- [A] We can know more people, and in this way we can also learn. We can know how to work. **Possiamo conoscere più gente, e così, possiamo anche imparare. Possiamo conoscere lavorare.**
- [B] People used to go by Baunei but had no where to stop because there was no port. Now it will be possible to stop. Thus, we will have more contact with outsiders, and can learn more from others. **Prima, la gente passava Baunei, però non c'era un porto per fermare. Adesso, sarà possibile di fermare. Quidi, avremo più contatto con gli stranieri, e possiamo imparare più degli altri.**
- [C] Cultural exchanges. **Scambi culturali.**
- [J] The social changes could be negative because of the type of environment that can be created in port areas (theft, drugs, etc.) **I cambiamenti sociali può essere negativi a causa del tipo di ambiente che si può creare nei porti (furti, droga, ecc.).**
- [K] There will be an exchange between different cultures and people. **Ci sarà uno scambio tra culture e gente diverse.**

Question 7

If the [national] park can bring about social changes in Baunei, what are they?
Se il parco [nazionale] può apportare i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #12 [The national park] would not be received well. **Non verrebbe accolto bene.**
- #18 A confrontation with diverse entities. **Un confronto con entità diverse.**
- #31 Exasperation of the people, new restrictions, privations of liberty. **Esasperazione della gente, nuovi vincoli, privazione di libertà.**
- [F] Discontentment would grow among the people, resulting in acts of vendetta. **Crescerebbe il malcontento tra la popolazione portandola a compiere dei gesti di vendetta.**
- [J] A park outlined like this one of the Gennargentu, will constrict the person of Baunei from changing his culture, a thing that is certainly not positive. **Un parco prospettato come quello del Gennargentu costringerebbe l'uomo di Baunei a cambiare la sua cultura, un cosa non certamente positiva.**

Question 8

If the [communal] park can bring about social changes in Baunei, what are they?
Se il parco [comunale] può apportare i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 We could have a constructive confrontation between people of diverse origins, languages, and experiences. **Può esserci un confronto costruttivo tra persone di diverse provenienze, lingue, ed esperienza.**

- #9 It will change the mentality [of the people] **Cambierà la mentalità.**
- #15 Certainly exchange of ideas with potential tourists from other realities which will make us overcome our own reluctant mentality. **Sicuramente scambi di idee con potenziali turisti di altre realtà che ci farebbero superare la nostra mentalità restia.**
- #27 The same responses to the changes brought about by tourism **Stesse risposte dei cambiamenti che apportare il turismo.**
- [C] The exchange of different ways of thinking **Lo scambio di diversi modi di pensare.**
- [E] There are those [changes] tied to prosperity, thus, [the park] will certainly also change the way of living, especially free time. **Sono quelli legati al benessere quindi cambierebbe sicuramente anche il modo di vivere, soprattutto il tempo libero.**
- [H] [It will lead to the creation of] receiving structures, because in Baunei there are no accommodations available. **Strutture ricettive perché a Baunei, non c'è un posto letto.**
- [J] The Communal Park, bringing jobs and respecting and increasing the value also of the employment activities that are already in existence, can only bring positive changes. **Il parco comunale portando posti di lavoro e rispettando e valorizzando anche le attività lavorative già esistenti, non potrà che apportare cambiamenti positivi.**

COMMENTS: ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

Question 2

If tourism has brought about environmental changes in Baunei, what are they?

Se il turismo ha apportato i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #1 The large presence of tourists on the territory, in respect to the past, entails automatically a degradation of that same territory - e.g. fauna and flora. **La maggiore presenza di turisti sul territorio rispetto al passato, comporta automaticamente un degrado del territorio stesso - vedi fauna e flora.**
- #2 Given that the tourist flow is difficult to control as the environmental impact and the use of the territory is not adequate, frequently these changes are negative. **Essendo il flusso turistico difficile da controllare come impatto ambientale e uso del territorio non adeguato, spesso questi cambiamenti sono negativi.**
- #3 A little pollution of the beaches and in the water courses **Un po' d'inquinamento nelle spiagge e nei corsi d'acqua.**
- #10 Disfigurement of the countryside (garbage). **Deturpamento del paesaggio (immondizie).**
- #13 It has made us know how we should treat the environment. **Ha fatto conoscere come dobbiamo trattare l'ambiente.**
- #19 We have a cleaner territory. **Abbiamo il territorio più pulito.**
- #22 The majority of tourists have ruined the environment. **La maggior parte dei turisti ha fatto rovinare l'ambiente.**
- #24 More of an environmental impact on all of the territory and in a particular way on the beaches. **Più impatto ambientale su tutto il territorio e in particolare modo sulle spiagge.**
- #25 Great is the damage to the Baunesi and to their territory in question. [Tourism will] bring a waste of public funds which will end up in the hands of the politician on duty frequently forgetting words of the environmentalist. **Tanti è a danno dei Baunesi e del suo territorio in parole. Potere un sperpero di soldi pubblici che finiscono nelle mani del politico di turno spesso dimenticando parole del tipo ambiente.**
- #28 Undoubtedly an intense traffic of persons (which is not controlled) who leave behind garbage all over the place involves environmental degradation (even if it is minor) which, however, slowly but increasingly worsens. **Indubbiamente un traffico intenso di persone (non controllate) che lasciano rifiuti da tutte le parti comporta un degrado ambientale (anche se minore) che va, però, piano piano sempre aggravandosi.**
- #30 Tourism in our community teaches us that we have so far kept our territory well. Our patrimony has served us well and this will reinforce us to keep it this way and manage it intelligently.

- #31 I think none. As for the environment, it is just the same as we always knew it, whether us or our parents. **Penso nessuno. In quanto l'ambiente e tale e quale come l'abbiamo conosciuto sia noi che i genitori.**
- [B] Some tourists have brought negative changes because they spoil the environment by leaving garbage, lighting fires, etc. Others, however, have brought us *civilta'* (a concept which translates as "civilization", but which implies modern ways of thinking and behaving). **Una parte dei turisti hanno apportato cambiamenti negativi perché rovinano l'ambiente a cause delle immondeze, incendi, ecc. L'altra parte ha portato civilta'.**
- [F] Positive environmental changes have come about since the people of Baunei have understood that it is only by maintaining their territory in excellent condition that good touristic development can take place. **I cambiamenti ambientale sono avvenuti in buono poiché i Baunese hanno capito che solo mantenendo in ottime condizioni il loro territorio si può avere un buon sviluppo turistico.**
- [H] In august, many people arrive and leave behind alot of garbage thrown all over. **Ad agosto, arriva molta gente e lasciano molti rifiuti butati da per tutto.**

Question 5

If the port can bring about environmental changes in Baunei, what are they?
Se il porto può apportare i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 [The port] is a structure whose use should be rigorously controlled, possibly with an environmental monitoring station. **E una struttura il cui uso deve essere rigorosamente controllato, possibilmente con una stazione di monitoraggio ambientale.**
- #3 Again, pollution. **Ancora, inquinamento.**
- #5 An increase in the value of the coast and the hinterland. **Valutazione della costa e dell'entroterra.**
- #6 The port will contribute to the beauty of the environment to attract tourists but it will, certainly, disturb some of the surrounding environment. **Il port contribuirà alla bellezza dell'ambiente per attrarre i turisti, ma disturberà, certamente, un po' dell'ambiente in vicino.**
- #8 [The port will cause] more pollution. **Più inquinamento.**
- #9 The sea will be more dirty. **Più sporco il mare.**
- #10 Disfigurement of the environment because of the work [being done on the port] **Deturpamento dell'ambiente a causa dei lavori.**
- #13 Pollution of the sea. **Inquinamento del mare.**
- #18 Pollution. **Inquinamento.**

- #21 The natural inlet of the San Giovanni beach, with the port structure, will no longer be natural like it was. The operators will be concerned only with the tourist economy and will not be preoccupied with the pollution and the cementing which could ruin the conservation of the place, at least if the situation does not become controlled. **L'inseritura naturale della spiaggia di San Giovanni, con la struttura del porto, non sarà più naturale come prima. Gli operatori si occuperanno solo dell'economia turistica e non si preoccuperanno dell'inquinamento e della cementificazione che potrebbe rovinare la conservazione del luogo a meno che la situazione non venga controllata.**
- #24 It could bring environmental changes in a negative sense [because of] the mass of embarcations that will invade our beaches. **Può apportare cambiamenti ambientali in senso negativo per la massa di imbarcazioni che si riverseranno nelle nostre spiagge.**
- #28 In a port and in the surrounding seas one cannot pretend that there will be a clean sea. **In un porto e nei mari circostanti non si può pretendere che ci sia un mare pulito.**
- [B] More pollution of the water, beaches, etc. **Più inquinamento dell'acqua, delle spiagge, ecc.**
- [E] The beach and the sea are very beautiful without the cement and the diesel oil of the motors. **La spiaggia e il mare sono molto belli senza il cemento e la nafta dei motori.**
- [H] More pollution. **Più inquinamento.**
- [J] With the port, there will be a major impact on [the number of] boats, with the consequential dischargement of polluting substances in the sea. And the same change caused by the construction, having disfigured a corner of the sea that [was] certainly suggestive. This will be the price of progress! **Con il porto, ci sarà un maggiore impatto di natanti con il conseguente scarico di sostanze inquinanti nel mare. E lo stesso cambiamento causato con la costruzione, avendo deturpato un angolo di mare sicuramente suggestivo. Sarà il prezzo del progresso!**
- [K] With the construction of the port, a part of the cost of Santa Maria Navarese that is very beautiful disappears. Moreover, there will be greater pollution in the water of the place. **con la costruzione del porticciolo scompare una parte molto bella della costa di Santa Maria Navarese. Inoltre, si avrà un inquinamento maggiore nelle acque del posto.**

Question 7

If the [national] park can bring about environmental changes in Baunei, what are they?
Se il parco [nazional] può apportare i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 There would certainly be environmental advantages, but these should be understood and wanted by the local population, who have always been sensitive to the problems and have demonstrated this. **Ci sarebbero sicuramente vantaggi ambientali, ma questi devono essere capiti e voluti dalle popolazione locale che è stata sempre sensibile al problema e lo ha dimostrato.**
- #4 Development of the vegetation in the territory. **Sviluppo del verde nel territorio.**

- #10 It would result in the protection of nature. **Verrebbe salvaguardata la natura.**
- #18 Major protection of the flora and of the fauna. **Una maggiore tutela della flora e della fauna.**
- #24 I think that [a park] can not bring any environmental changes because [things] are already good the way they are. **Credo che non potrà apportare nessun cambiamento ambientale perché va già bene così.**
- #31 I think none. If ever, new installations not related to the environment. **Penso nessuno. Semmai, nuovi insediamenti non affini all' ambiente.**
- #32 It is fine the way it is. **Va bene com'è.**
- [A] It could certainly bring environmental change, because we would see the whole territory burn. **Quell'ambientale, sicuramente perché vedrà bruciare tutto il territorio.**
- [F] Because of the malcontentment of the populace, we would see destroyed that which until now we have conserved with care. **A causa del malcontento della popolazione, verrebbe distrutto ciò che fino ad ora abbiamo conservato con cura.**
- [H] On all points of view! **Su tutti i punti di vista!**
- [I] The repopulation of certain animal species, a cleaning of the forest underbrush, and control over the entrance of tourists. **Ripopolazione di alcune specie animali, pulizie di sottobosco foreste, controllo entrate dei turisti.**
- [K] I have some doubts concerning the administration of the Gennargentu Park by the State, for [the park] could become the summer residences of the ministers. **Ho alcuni dubbi sulle gestione del parco Gennargentu da parte dello Stato poiché potrebbe diventare la residenza estiva dei ministri.**

Question 8

If the [communal] park can bring about environmental changes in Baunei, what are they?
Se il parco [comunale] può apportare i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono?

- #2 A more rational management of the territory. **Una gestione più razionale del territorio.**
- #3 [The environment] would stay how it is now, the roads, mule tracks and watering places for the animals would be improved, and [there would be] supervision of the caves. **Restare così come è, migliorare strade, mulattiere e abbeveratoi per il bestiame, e sorveglianza alle grotte.**
- #4 Increase of the vegetation. **Incremento della vegetazione.**
- #8 Nature will be protected all the more. **La natura sarà tutelata maggiormente.**
- #10 It would protect the fauna and flora. **Si salvaguarderebbe fauna e flora.**

- #19 To protect the environment. **Tutelare l'ambiente.**
- #20 Major protection of the environmental possessions. **Maggiore tutela dei beni ambientali.**
- #21 It will allow the defense and the protection of the fauna, of the forest and of the flora of all of the territory. **Consentira' la difesa e la protezione della fauna del bosco e della flora di tutto il territorio.**
- #27 With a comunal park governed in an intelligent manner, both the protection of the territory as well as economic development is guaranteed. **Con un parco comunale gestito in modo intelligente si garantire ne lo salvaguardia del territorio ne lo sviluppo economico.**
- [A] I don't know, because it would depend on if it was done well or not. The pastoralists should be left alone, they should increase tourism structures, etc. **Non so, perché dipende si è fatto bene o non. Deve lasciare i pastori, aumentare i strutture di turismo, ecc.**
- [B] I don't know, because I have no other experience to compare it with. People here are generally against a park, but it will depend on the conditions presented. If it gives us work and includes us . . . who knows? I really don't know. **Non so, perché non ho un'altra esperienza per comparare. Di solito, la gente qua sono contro un parco, però, si dipende sui condizioni. Se si da lavoro a noi, e se siamo incluso . . . qui lo sa? Veramente, non so.**
- [E] The changes would be towards ecological protection. **I cambiamenti saranno per la tutela ecologica.**
- [F] Their would be better use made of our territory. **Ci sarebbe un migliore utilizzo del nostro territorio.**
- [G] There will be a major increase in the value of the environment. **Si avrebbe una maggiore valorizzazione del territorio.**
- [H] An increase in the value of the environment. **Valorizzazione del territorio.**
- [I] Control of the zone to safeguard the beaches, against littering, etc. **Controllo delle zone da salvaguardare, spiagge, pulizie, ecc.**

COMMENTS: GENERAL

- #2 Anything, to be wanted, aided and respected, should be chosen autonomously, otherwise, the phenomenon of "rejection" happens. The structures of the "Parco Comunale" should be discussed with the concerned population and should be held accountable to their basic indications for the programming of the above-mentioned park. Every attempt of imposition leads to the "rejection", and thus, to the destruction of the extraneous body. A park should be understood, justified and strongly wanted by the population concerned. **Qualsiasi cosa, per essere voluta, aiuto, e rispettato, deve essere scelta autonomamente, altrimenti si verifica il fenomeno del "rigetto". Le strutture "Parco Comunale" deve essere discusse con le popolazione interessate, e si deve tener conto delle loro indicazioni di base per le programmazione del suddetto parco. Ogni tentativo di imposizione porta al "rigetto" e quindi, alla distruzione del corpo estraneo. Un parco deve essere capito, giustificato, e fortemente voluto dalla popolazione interessata.**
- #3 I am against the national park because it starts from above and they do not know exactly what our needs are. The politicians want the park because they will separate the eventual millions between few people. **Sono contrario al parco nazionale perché imposta dall'alto e non conoscono esattamente i nostri bisogni. I politici vogliono il parco perché si dividono gli eventuali miliardi in pochi.**
- #12 I didn't write too much on the question of the park because I'm not really interested. **Non ho scritto molto sul questione del parco perché non sono molto interessato.**
- #13 Few people are prepared to give services to the tourists. Right now, tourism is growing too fast, and the people are not prepared to manage it as they should. **Poca gente sono preparata a dare i servizi ai turisti. Ora, il turismo cresce troppo in fretta, e la gente non sono preparate a dirigerlo come devono.**
- #14 A park in the communal territory of Baunei can only bring misfortune to the whole population. This is a tranquil town, with the territory populated by many shepherds and farmers. **Un parco nel territorio comunale di Baunei può portare soltanto disguidi su tutto la popolazione. Essendo un paese tranquille, col un territorio popolato da molti pastori e contadini.**
- #15 I agree to a proposal for a communal park under the following conditions. 1) amplification in a satisfactory manner of the demands of the [local] people in the Regulatory Plan; 2) recuperation and reorganization of the viability of the historical center [of the town]; 3) conservation of the civic uses of the territory, such as the supply of wood, hunting, etc.; 4) [the creation of] external access roads to Cala Sisine, Cala Luna, Forrola, with building spaces! **Condivido una proposta di Parco Comunale alle seguenti condizioni: 1) ampliamento in modo soddisfacente alle esigenze della popolazione nel Piano Regolatore; 2) recupero e riordino viabilità centro storico; 3) conservazione degli usi civici sul territorio come legnatico, caccia, ecc.; 4) strade esterne d'accesso a Cala Sisine, Cala Luna, Forrola, con spazi edificati!**
- #16 First of all, right now there is little tourism in Baunei. We would have to see first to know what changes there will be. Second, I believe that the park is not efficacious for the community of Baunei, in that it would allow only a few jobs, and at the same time would deprive the rest of the population of the great well-being and amusement, from which until now, the population has benefitted! For example, pastoralism, the supply of wood, hunting, etc. Therefore, the park would bring only a complex system of

restrictions depriving the people of Baunei from acting freely in the territory as they have always done, succeeding at the same time in protecting it [the territory]. **Prima, ora c'è poco turismo a Baunei. Dovremmo vedere prima per sapere che cambiamenti ci saranno. Secondo, io ritengo che il parco non sia efficace per il Comune di Baunei, in quanto comporterebbe solo pochi posti di lavoro, e nello stesso tempo priverrebbe il resto della popolazione del grande benessere e divertimenti, di cui fino adesso la popolazione ha usufruito! Per esempio, la pastorizia, legnatico, caccia, ecc. Dunque, il parco comporterebbe solo un complesso sistem di vincoli privando i Baunesi di agire liberamente sul territorio come ha sempre fatto riuscendo nello stesso tempo a salvaguardarlo.**

- #21 I don't know what changes the [national] park could bring, but nevertheless I am against its creation, because I believe that there is no need for it. The Comune of Baunei is trying in every way to conserve its natural patrimony by means of planning and programming of the territory. Speaking of tourism though, it could develop still more with new initiatives, such as boarding houses, inns, discotheques, cinemas, dancing, meeting places of entertainment and of amusement, not only for the young people but for all tourists who would like to have fun, and they would stay in Baunei or in Santa Maria Navarese instead of going to other towns close by, such as Tortolì, Arbatax, etc., and thus the earnings would stay with us! **Io non so cosa potrebbe cambiare il parco, ma tuttavia non sono d'accordo che venga fatto, perché credo non c'è ne sia bisogno. Il Comune di Baunei cerca in tutti i modi di conservare il suo patrimonio con la pianificazione e la programmazione del territorio. Parlando del turismo invece, si svilupperebbe ancora di più con nuove iniziative, come pensioni, locande, discoteche, cinema, balere, punti d'incontro di svago e di divertimento, non solo per i giovani ma per tutti i turisti che avrebbero voglia di divertirsi, sarebbero rimasti a Baunei o a Santa Maria Navarese anzi che andarsene in altri paesi vicini, come Tortolì, Arbatax, ecc., e quindi il guadagno rimarrebbe a noi!**
- #22 We have beautiful places, but they have not yet been taken advantage of because there are still no roads, etc. There would be more tourism if we could develop the territory. **Abbiamo posti belli, però non sono ancora sfruttati perché non ci sono ancora strade, ecc. Ci sarà più turismo se potremmo sviluppare il territorio.**
- #24 In all of Italy before, there was endless dividing of land, right until they were building on the shores of the sea. By contrast, Baunei has been able to conserve all of her natural environment, and now, in reward, we find ourselves fighting against the state and the region who want to steal all of our land. This is why in Baunei there is inculcated at this time an "anti-park" mentality, because in Baunei the state and the region have imposed only restrictions. **In tutta Italia prima ci sono state lottizzazioni a non finire, fin a costruire in riva al mare. Invece Baunei è riuscita a conservare tutto il suo ambiente naturali, è adesso come premio ci troviamo a combattere contro stato e regione che ci vogliono sottrarre tutto il nostro territorio. Ecco perché a Baunei si è inculcato in questo ultimo periodo una mentalità anti-parco, perché a Baunei lo stato e la regione ha dato solo vincoli.**
- #28 I am proud to be Sard. And I am even more proud to be born and to live in Baunei. We have a town with a territory (as you know) [which is] perhaps one of the most beautiful, and [within] which a person can only be happy to live and to be able to decide on what to do with this place. Now, a park which can bring work (?), which can socially change the town, which can make the environment be respected, should not be imposed by any person who has not been born and raised in Baunei. Because here my

father, my grandfather, and my ... have worked, they have done the "culo", doing all of the things that help [a person] survive, cutting plants and stones, pasturing sheep and goats, and we whose children [of these people] we are, we leave things how they had left them, how nature has created them, without [the need of] a person coming from outside Baunei, who comes to import a thing which we do not have. Sono orgoglioso di essere Sardo. E sono ancor più orgoglioso di essere nato e vivere a Baunei. Abbiamo un paese con un territorio (come sai) forse tra i più belli, e che una persona non può non essere contento di vivere e di poter decidere sul cosa fare di questo posto. Ora, un parco che può portare lavoro (?) che può cambiare socialmente il paese, che può far rispettare l'ambiente non deve essere imposto da nessuna persona che non sia nata e vissuta a Baunei. Perché qui mio padre, mio nonno, e mio ... hanno lavorato, si hanno fatto il "culo" facendo tutte quelle cose che servivano per sopravvivere tagliando piante e pietre pascolando pecore e capre e noi che figli siamo lasciamo le cose come c'è le hanno lasciate, come la natura le ha create senza che venga una persona di non Baunei che venga a imporci una cosa che noi non ce ne ...

- #29 In our culture there is no room for any ideas about parks conceived in such a way. The people of Baunei are firmly convinced that the interest that there is for their territory, theirs distinguishly protected, serves certain people only and exclusively, for the achievement of purposes that no one has envisioned with the interests of the Baunesi in mind. If the authorities or the people who want this park at all costs really would like to help us realistically out of our precarious economic and social condition, they would have already done much more before now and with other means than with only restrictions for the territory, or welfare, but with productive realities for which we have great need. Nella nostra cultura non trova spazio nessuna idea di parco concepita in quanto tale. I Baunesi sono fermamente convinti che l'interesse che c'è per il loro territorio, la loro egregiamente tutelato, serve a certa gente solo ed esclusivamente al raggiungimento di scopi che nulla hanno a che vedere con gli interessi dei Baunesi. Se veramente le autorità o le persone che vogliono a tutti i costi questo parco, volessero realmente aiutarci ad uscire da una condizione economica e sociale alquanto precaria, l'avrebbero già fatto molto prima di adesso e con altri mezzi che non fossero solo vincoli, per il territorio, o assistenzialismo ma con realtà produttive di cui abbiamo tanto bisogno.
- [D] Many people of Baunei have not yet understood that there already is a park, however, one that has not yielded the real economic advantages of a park. Molta gente di Baunei non ha ancora capito che il parco c'è già, senza però avere i vantaggi economici del parco vero e proprio.
- [K] The disadvantage for tourism development in Baunei was given by the numerous restrictions which weigh on the territory. Because of this, Baunei finds itself with no receiving structures to accommodate the demands of the tourists. With the national park, would deprive the citizens of their liberty. They would not be able to benefit from the civic uses (cutting of wood, etc.). Contrary to this, many think that the shepherds should stay in the territory, in that the territory is still whole and due to the fact that there has always been sentinels. If the situation stays as it is now, concerning the benefits of the territory of Baunei, it will be the towns of Dorgali and Tortolì, as it has happened in past years, who live off the shoulders of Baunei. Lo svantaggio per lo sviluppo turistico di Baunei è dato dei numerosi vincoli che gravitano sul territorio, per cui Baunei si trova a non avere ancora oggi alcune strutture ricettive in grado di far fronte alle domande da parte del turista. Col parco nazionale verrebbe a mancare ai cittadini la libertà vero e proprio. Essi non potrebbero usufruire degli usi civici (tagliare

legna, ecc.). Al contrario di questo molti pensano i pastori devono restare nel territorio, in quanto se il territorio è ancora integro è dovuto al fatto che essi ne sono state sempre le sentinelle. Se la situazione resta così come è ora ad usufruire del territorio di Baunei, saranno i paesi di Dorgali e Tortolì come è accaduto negli anni passati, che vivono alle spalle di Baunei.

QUESTIONARIO SU TURISMO A BAUNEI

Età: ____ **Luglio di nascita:** ____ Baunei **Residenza:** ____ Baunei
____ S.M.N. ____ S.M.N.
Sesso: ____ M ____ F ____ altro (Sardegna) ____ altro
____ altro (continente)

Stato civile: ___celibe/nubile **Abita con:** ___genitori
 ___sposato(a) ___marito/moglie
 ___divorziato(a) ___figli(e)
 ___vedovo(a) ___fratelli/sorelle
 ___altro

Ha figli(e)? Si No [se si, quanti? _____]

Ultimo anno scolastico frequentato con esito positivo
[es.elementare(3), media(2), etc.]:

Occupazione [se pensionato, segna qua___, e scriva professione esercitata prima del pensionamento]:

Ha già lavorato nell'ambiente turistico? (es. bar, ristorante, albergo, etc.) **Sì** **No**

Se sì, _____

- 1) Dove? _____
- 2) Che tipo di occupazione? _____
- 3) Quanto tempo ha lavorato lì? _____
- 4) Che tipo di rapporti aveva col datore di lavoro prima della Sua occupazione?
_____ di parentela _____ di amicizia
_____ professionale _____ nessuno rapporto
- 5) Aveva rapporti di parentela con altri dipendenti? Sì No

Altri membri della Sua famiglia lavorano in esercizi turistici?
 Si No Se sì, chi?

(The first page differed somewhat for the tourism students)

[illegible]

Stato civile: ___celibe/nubile **Abita con:** ___genitori
 ___sposato(a) ___marito/moglie
 ___divorziato(a) ___figli(e)
 ___vedovo(a) ___fratelli/sorelle
 ___altro

Ha figli(e)? Si No [se si, quanti? _____]

Ultimo anno scolastico frequentato con esito positivo
[es.elementare(3), media(2), etc.]:

Occupazione esercitata prima di frequentare il primo corso sul turismo a Baunei:

Occupazione(i) esercitata fra il primo e secondo corso sul turismo a Baunei:

Eventuali occupazioni esercitate durante lo svolgersi dei corsi turistici:

Possibile occupazione dopo lo svolgersi del corso turistico: _____

Occupazione desiderata:

Ha già lavorato nell'ambiente turistico? (es. bar, ristorante, albergo, etc.) **Sì** **No**

Se sì, _____

- 1) Dove? _____
- 2) Che tipo di occupazione? _____
- 3) Quanto tempo ha lavorato lì? _____
- 4) Che tipo di rapporti aveva col datore di lavoro prima della Sua occupazione?
_____ di parentela _____ di amicizia
_____ professionale _____ nessuno rapporto
- 5) Aveva rapporti di parentela con altri dipendenti? Sì No

Altri membri della Sua famiglia lavorano in esercizi turistici?
 Si No Se sì, chi?

SCHEMA FAMILIARE

Padre:

Età: _____ **Luogo di nascita:** _____ Baunei **Residenza:** _____ Baunei
 _____ S.M.N. _____ S.M.N.
 _____ altro (Sardegna) _____ altro
 _____ altro (continente)

Ultimo anno scolastico frequentato con esito positivo
[es.elementare(3), media(2), etc.]: _____

Occupazione [se pensionato, segna qua _____, e scriva professione esercitata prima del pensionamento]: _____

Madre:

Età: _____ **Luogo di nascita:** _____ Baunei **Residenza:** _____ Baunei
 _____ S.M.N. _____ S.M.N.
 _____ altro (Sardegna) _____ altro
 _____ altro (continente)

Ultimo anno scolastico frequentato con esito positivo
[es.elementare(3), media(2), etc.]: _____

Occupazione [se pensionato, segna qua _____, e scriva professione esercitata prima del pensionamento]: _____

Fratello/Sorella:

Età: _____ **Luogo di nascita:** _____ Baunei **Residenza:** _____ Baunei
 _____ S.M.N. _____ S.M.N.
Sesso: _____ M _____ F _____ altro (Sardegna) _____ altro
 _____ altro (continente)

Stato civile: _____ celibe/nubile **Abita con:** _____ genitori
 _____ sposato(a) _____ marito/moglie
 _____ divorziato(a) _____ figli(e)
 _____ vedovo(a) _____ fratelli/sorelle
 _____ altro

Ha figli(e)? _____ Si _____ No [se si, quanti? _____]

Ultimo anno scolastico frequentato con esito positivo
[es.elementare(3), media(2), etc.]: _____

Occupazione [se pensionato, segna qua _____, e scriva professione esercitata prima del pensionamento]: _____

Figlio/Figlia:

Età: _____ **Luogo di nascita:** _____ Baunei **Residenza:** _____ Baunei
 _____ S.M.N. _____ S.M.N.
Sesso: _____ M _____ F _____ altro (Sardegna) _____ altro
 _____ altro (continente)

Stato civile: _____ celibe/nubile **Abita con:** _____ genitori
 _____ sposato(a) _____ marito/moglie
 _____ divorziato(a) _____ figli(e)
 _____ vedovo(a) _____ fratelli/sorelle
 _____ altro

Ha figli(e)? _____ Si _____ No [se si, quanti? _____]

Ultimo anno scolastico frequentato con esito positivo
[es.elementare(3), media(2), etc.]: _____

Occupazione: _____

TURISMO A BAUNEI

1) Che cosa pensa dello sviluppo turistico del territorio di Baunei?

___ E uno sviluppo positivo

___ E uno sviluppo negativo

___ Non so

2) Che cambiamento ha apportato su Baunei, lo sviluppo del turismo?

___ Un cambiamento positivo

(se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)

___ Un cambiamento negativo

(se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)

___ Nessun cambiamento

___ Non so

Se il turismo ha apportato i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il turismo ha apportato i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il turismo ha apportato i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

3) Lo sviluppo del turismo nel territorio di Baunei deve essere:

___ potenziato

___ diminuito

___ rallentato

___ fermato

___ non so

4) Lo sviluppo del porto turistico a Santa Maria Navarese e:

___ uno sviluppo positivo

___ uno sviluppo negativo

___ Non so

5) Che cambiamento può apportare su Baunei, il porto turistico a Santa Maria Navarese?

___ Un cambiamento positivo

(se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)

___ Un cambiamento negativo

(se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)

___ Nessun cambiamento

___ Non so

Se il porto può apportare i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il porto può apportare i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il porto può apportare i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

6) **Lei darebbe il suo sostegno affinché il territorio di Baunei venisse adibito a:**

- ___ parco nazionale
 ___ parco comunale
 ___ niente parco
 ___ non so

7) **Che cambiamento può apportare su Baunei, lo sviluppo del Parco Gennargentu?**

- ___ Un cambiamento positivo
 (se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)
 ___ Un cambiamento negativo
 (se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)
 ___ Nessun cambiamento
 ___ Non so

Se il Parco può apportare i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il Parco può apportare i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il Parco può apportare i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

8) **Che cambiamento può apportare su Baunei, lo sviluppo di un Parco Comunale nel territorio di Baunei?**

- ___ Un cambiamento positivo
 (se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)
 ___ Un cambiamento negativo
 (se si, ___ economico, ___ sociale o ___ ambientale)
 ___ Nessun cambiamento
 ___ Non so

Se il Parco può apportare i cambiamenti economici su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il Parco può apportare i cambiamenti sociali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Se il Parco può apportare i cambiamenti ambientali su Baunei, quali sono? _____

Commenti:

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