
Introduction

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Pastoralism as Biocultural Heritage

Pastoralism is one of the most widespread and ancient forms of human subsistence, and one of the most studied by anthropologists. Indeed, much research has been dedicated to this practice even after the economic and political debate increasingly shifted to peasantry and agriculture as the pivotal rural activity from the end of the nineteenth century onwards (Herskovits 1926; Evans-Pritchard 1940; Barth 1961; Campbell 1964; Cole and Wolf 1974; Digard 1981; Ingold 1980; Herzfeld 1985, 1990; Angioni 1989; Galaty and Douglas 1990; Lewis 1961). Transhumance, in turn, is a particular form of husbandry and a knowledge-practice system essentially based on the seasonal movement of shepherds and herders together with their animals in search of grasslands, moving from the mountain to the plain as well as from inland and even mountainous regions to the large pasturages next to the coasts and back. This particular way of raising animals simultaneously defines a form of land use and a way of knowing/defining spaces and landscapes in many different parts of the world (European and non-European) and involving many different species animals (sheep, cows, horses, reindeer, camelids, and so on). This practice provides not only food and other products derived from animals but also provides a range of ecosystem services and common goods such as: a profound maintenance of local areas, a regeneration of the biodiversity of the land and of the animal lines being raised, and the continuation of specific forms of social organization and environmental resource management that are frequently held up today as an alternative to the unsustainability of industrial farming and breeding systems. In many European regions, scholars have documented the presence of transhumant populations since pre-Roman times: these populations are responsible for having profoundly shaped Europe's agrarian landscape and generating a network of cross-regional and cross-border mobility that also underlies the very first exchanges among European populations and cultures (Aime, Allovio, and

Viazzo 2001; Costello and Svensson 2018). At the same time, this practice has given rise to a powerful grammar of spaces, with its own logic, rules, timing, and interactions in which “footprints (are) akin to words or to punctuation” (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 9; Palladino 2017; Bindi 2020).

Although intensive and sedentary livestock farming has clearly become dominant in the last few decades in Europe, as in many other rural regions of the world, we find many groups of shepherds and herders still engaged in this kind of activity with their specific rules, ways of life, and systems of beliefs. Given that a significant component of traditional shepherds and herders practice more or less extensive forms of transhumance, several classical studies have associated pastoral communities with nomadism/semi-nomadism. This framing sometimes ends up casting ethnographies of these groups as research on nomadic knowledge-practice systems more than studies of a specific way of livestock breeding. It is true that pastoralist communities usually move with their livestock from drylands or cold mountainous regions to more temperate and fertile ones, following the availability of grasslands and more favorable climactic conditions. Nonetheless, the focus of their “life world” should not be considered the nomadic experience, but rather their deep knowledge of territories and routes, their expert management of animals rooted in centuries-old traditions, and the consistent social organization and division of labor that this movement entails.

Transhumance as a whole encompasses biodiversity conservation and enhancement, capillary maintenance of the lands, the protection of ancient forms of settlement often connected with wise and sustainable uses of resources (water, soil, pastures) and traditional forms of cooperation and economic circularity that could today be reconsidered and updated in a profitable way.

More recently, sheep, cattle, and other livestock breeding has been transformed or influenced by processes of modernization, mechanization, and intensive milk/meat/wool production (Arhem 1984; Aronson 1980; Asad 1970; Chatty 1986; Ingold 1980; Nori and Scoones 2019; Salzman and Galaty 1990; Schlee 1989; Scoones 1995; Viazzo 1989). This has generated aspects of uncertainty, discontinuity, and change in practices, a shift in knowledge transmission and a vast socioeconomic transformation. Nonetheless, in many European countries the practice of transhumance still exists as an efficient form of extensive farming that profoundly influences the landscape, biodiversity conservation, raw-material processing, particular uses of vernacular architecture, traditional social structures, systems of knowledge, and practices at large. It is probably in this sense that Tim Ingold opportunely indicates in the Foreword to this volume the “spirit of coexistence” as a possible perspective central to every current of revi-

talization of extensive and traditional pastoralism in Europe and invites us to “relearn from the animals and from those who herd them, how to become grazers ourselves.”

As a traditional and extensive form of livestock farming, transhumance is particularly relevant for inner, mountainous, insular, and fragile areas that play a concrete role of monitoring and safeguarding local areas, combatting the risk of increasing abandonment and environmental degradation. Over the centuries, sheep farming has been known and appreciated above all for its products. In addition to wool, which has lost much of its economic relevance, this system also provides important products from a nutritional point of view, the result of organic production strategies that meet high standards of animal welfare and health. Frequently, pastoral products also represent real sites for preserving local traditions, as demonstrated by the increase in PDO (Protected Designation of Origin) and PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) products, particularly in Europe. Meanwhile, traditional and extensive pastoralism is considered to be more sustainable, healthy, and respectful of the environment and animals and people than other forms of animal rearing, especially since the COVID-19 pandemic has brought to our attention the greatly enhanced risks of viral contagion through contact with highly polluted areas exploited by intensive industrial farming (May, Romberger, and Poole 2019).

This focus on health and sustainability is currently encompassed in the framework of the “One Health” approach, a sort of radical shift in the concept of healthcare developed to respond to contemporary global challenges. This approach promotes “the integration of human, environmental, and animal health through transdisciplinary cooperation and communication and [it seeks] to understand the complex disease interactions between microbes, domesticated animals and wildlife, humans, and their environments as brought about by ongoing globalized networking processes” (Rock et al. 2009). The aim of this approach is to design and implement programs, policies, laws, and research focused on achieving more effective outcomes in terms of public health (food safety, control of zoonoses, combatting antibiotic resistance, and so on). Such a shift represents a significant challenge for traditional pastoralists and transhumant populations in particular as they are obliged to deal with new risks and dramatic environmental and societal changes. In this sense, the “one health” approach is also connected on the one hand to a profound reconceptualization of the contemporary human-animal relationship (Aisher and Damoradaran 2016) and, on the other hand, to a radical critique of both the post-capitalist exploitation of livestock and the “pet-ization” and reification of animals in the urban framework and global market (Tsing Lowenhaupt 2000; Wolf 2015).

Meanwhile, the sustainability of extensive pastoralism is also threatened by the structural distinction between protected areas and pastoral areas (Chapter 3), a situation characterized by intense and significant frictions and an almost ideological as well as rhetorical opposition between environmentalists and pastoralists. In particular, herders face a growing risk of damage from predation connected to the greater proximity and growth of protected areas and parks, spaces in which efforts are underway to repopulate big carnivores (wolves and bears). Such repopulation policies have led to increased attacks on flocks and herds, causing conspicuous losses for the pastoralists who have chosen to continue breeding, rendering their livelihoods less and less certain and sustainable. In reality, pastoralism is by definition a system of meta-biodiversity because, given that this cultural practice is an important form of diversity, it thrives on the biodiversity of the environment in which it operates. A shepherd cannot produce in a degraded environment. This is why many natural parks and protected areas are established in or next to pastoral areas. Today, protected areas and grazing activities alike perform similar functions and meet common objectives: they offer ecosystem services and contribute to protecting and regenerating mountain environments and biodiversity. They even contribute to enhancing the tourist opportunities of certain areas, although tourists are sometimes kept at a distance from grazing flocks and herds due to the risks associated with the presence of predators, thereby impeding the kind of healthy relationships and exchanges that would be typical of this type of production.

Nonetheless, it has been widely documented that shepherds and herders are returning to various European regions (Battaglini et al. 2017; Fabre 2017; Brisebarre, Fabre, and Lebaudy 2009). Those engaged in maintaining and revitalizing the practice of transhumance as well as extensive breeding are therefore creating a potentially beneficial financial resource for depopulated internal and rural areas of Europe and, as such, a powerful tool for enhancing community resilience in the face of abandonment (Adger 2000; Folke 2006; Norris et al. 2008; Wilson 2012; Steiner and Markantoni 2013; Nori and Scoones 2019). Today's pastoral routes and communities thus offer an opportunity for close-grained ethnographies of local development and challenging opportunities for monitoring cultural landscapes (Bender 2001; Müller, Sutter, Wohlgemuth 2019; Müller 2021) as well as vast transformations in this knowledge-practice system. In particular, the practice of transhumance presents an ancient and traditional "life world" deeply rooted in ancient traditions and Indigenous cultures, such as in many peripheral and mountainous inland areas of Europe (Chapters 5, 6, and 12), often coupled with an increasing idealization of ancestralism, exotism, and essentialism in representing pastoral communities (Chap-

ter 7). At the same time, it must be recognized that this knowledge-practice system has been able to endure, despite many uncertainties and difficulties, the passage of time and the influence of late modern, post-capitalist economic trends by rediscovering itself in the light of contemporary ecological, animal-rights, and community-oriented concerns and as a potential tourist attraction.

Pastoralism, and particularly transhumance, in the past represented a traditional and efficient way of responding to hostile environmental conditions; today, these forms of livestock farming seem to address and suggest new directions for adaptation to contemporary changes. The heritage turn thus seems to offer an antidote to the devaluation of the knowledge forms and practices connected with pastoralism that occurred in past decades.

Discontinuities and Transformations

In the last few years, the inclusion of transhumance in the UNESCO ICH List as “the seasonal droving of livestock across migratory routes in the Mediterranean and the Alps” has brought about a dramatic shift in ways of breeding and a deep transformation in traditional forms of pastoralism, now framed as a new global heritage item (Bendix, Eggert, and Peselman 2012). In Europe, the debate on forms of synergy between natural and cultural heritage is especially focused on habitat and landscape conservation (Magnaghi 2010). Research in this area has found transhumance to constitute a biocultural heritage element at the convergence of traditional knowledge and values systems, cultural and environmental landscapes and biodiversity, and an associated customary legal code encompassing a resilient way of earning a livelihood. In European and Mediterranean regions historically involved in transhumance, for example, this practice has deeply influenced both the social structures and ways of life of many people, including their kinship relations, symbolic representations, and settlements (Delavigne and Roy 2004). Moreover, this research on transhumant pathways is connected to the relatively recent debate in the social sciences, landscape design and planning, rural economy and environmental studies on inner areas and their revitalization and sustainable development (De Rossi 2019) that recognizes such spaces as “systemic margins” (Sassen 2014: 238) in which people are able to experiment with new forms of local economy, new ways of belonging and a potential new fundamental economy (Yuval-Davis 2006; Mee and Wright 2009; Wright 2014; Barbera et al. 2016).

This collective volume attempts to make sense of a multi-situated ethnography of transhumance heritagization processes with particular ref-

erence to the European regions involved in the recent (December 2019) inclusion of transhumance in the UNESCO ICH List and considering the ongoing move to extend UNESCO recognition to France, Spain, Albania, Croatia, and Romania as well. All the chapters presented in this volume are based on specific ethnographic research including interviews, participant observation, and the ethnographer/anthropologist's involvement in planning regeneration processes and sustainable development, as well as "ecosystem resilience" (Chapters 1, 5, and 6) initiatives, in the local areas under investigation. At the same time, these chapters display a more conceptual and critical approach to ways of representing and "packaging" transhumance, an approach based on a revived articulation between past and present (Chapters 8 and 12).

Some of these cases focus on the recent revitalization of transhumance and pastoralism as a cultural/tourist issue (Chapters 6 and 13), the ambivalent recognition of this form of biocultural heritage within the framework of ICH Lists as part of the "mise en forme" of cultural practices and landscapes (Chapters 3 and 7), and as a matter of communities' participation in the heritagization process. Indeed, transhumance is increasingly considered a tourist attraction more than a real agropastoral practice. With this "heritage-turn," there has been a growth of slow tourism in pastoral areas (Carnegie and McCabe 2008; Melotti 2013; Debarbieux et al. 2014; Monlor and Soy 2015) while pastoral landscapes and their relative products have been commodified (Korf, Hagman, and Emmenegger 2015; Kilburn 2018). Most of the discussions and projects launched in local communities around this practice are also grappling with the influence of national or even supranational levels of government and, more generally, are unfolding in the framework of development processes and the top-down exploitation of local areas (Maffi 2007; Rapport 2007; Bindi 2013). Driven by politics of acknowledgment and recognition, there has been more attention granted to communities' land ownership claims and demands to participate in the management of resources, particularly in the inner and more peripheral regions of various countries.

The inclusion of transhumance in the UNESCO ICH List and associated projects aimed at reviving pastoralism are currently being promoted and discussed in the framework of the participative governance of development processes. This arena includes organizations such as the FAO Pastoralist Knowledge Hub and transnational UNESCO group aimed at implementing the Safeguarding Plan for Transhumance as an Intangible Cultural Heritage (to date including only the European Regional Steering Group, but with the idea of extending membership to non-European countries as well) as well as discursive spaces such as discussions about CAP (Common Agriculture Policy) and the founding definition of the new Ru-

ral Development Programs being drafted in each EU country. These frameworks and policies impact pastoralism and transhumance in very different ways: by empowering individuals and informal groups, at times; by building capacity and enhancing community initiatives; and by stratifying the various levels of governance involved in local development processes. It is thus impossible not to include discussion of policy among the multiple aspects of an anthropological analysis of this practice. Today, the arena of transhumance is a crowded space involving many actors as well recurring conflict and frictions between conservationist and development-oriented currents; at times, this arena is characterized by increasingly and almost exclusively heritagized interpretations and narratives of the practice, framed as a tourist attraction to be appreciated as a networks of walkways (not even accompanied by animals, in some cases), a staging that evokes only a life world represented through the tones of nostalgic, folkloric storytelling.

The main aim of this volume is to present a range of ethnographic cases of different transhumant communities around Europe. These cases represent a powerful repertoire of local-level adjustments, local/supralocal policy mediation, and cogent accounts of highly local forms of interactions: between farmers and pastoralists; between lifestyles based on mobility and the sedentariness of late-modernity; between a deeply rooted notion of cultural landscape and the use of the environment as a simple resource provider; between a circular, cooperative and shared perception of family agriculture and husbandry and the “extractivist” logics of standardization and maximization typical of agri-food production; and, last but not least, between a human-animal bond based on coexistence (Haraway 2008; Davis, Maurstad, and Cowles 2013) and cooperation and an objectivizing lens that reifies notions of domestication and animal welfare.

A Multi-Situated and Pluri-Disciplinary Outlook

The anthropological approach to pastoralism has always been focused on practices, the transmission of knowledge and skills, and pastoralists’ dynamic, productive but also harmonious relationship with the surrounding environment and their cooperative and mutually sustaining interaction with farmed animals as well as their deep knowledge of the biodiversity characterizing their surroundings. At the same time, it has become clear that understanding all these aspects requires a more holistic, broad-based approach capable of simultaneously considering multiple elements: the landscapes of pastoralism, the different breeds being raised, various techniques for transforming raw materials, and the broader historical, environmental, and cultural value of this biocultural heritage.

In this volume, therefore, we have tried to provide a panorama of different environmental contexts in Europe from a multidisciplinary point of observation. The authors present critical reconsiderations of this practice that range in focus from pastoralism in the Central Pyrenees (Chapter 4) to the Maison of Transhumance in France (Chapter 3); from Sami reindeer herding communities in the Finnish Arctic region (Chapter 11) to the pastoral communities of the Italian islands of Sardinia and Sicilia (Chapter 12) as well as several other cases of transhumance and extensive farming in Italy (Chapters 2, 6, and 7) and along the border with Slovenia (Chapter 10); chapters also address other European mountainous regions such as Romania (Chapter 9), Poland (Chapter 8), Albania (Chapter 5), Greece (Chapter 1), and Bosnia Herzegovina (Chapter 13).

The first section of the volume is essentially centered on formulating a multifocal definition of different forms of pastoralism in Europe as a biocultural heritage issue. In some cases, the chapters are not necessarily focused on using a specifically anthropological gaze; rather, the authors deliberately engage issues relating to the sustainability of the sector and the interaction between ecosystem components and the overall environmental value of pastoral practice. One example of this is the chapter dedicated to the structure of sheep and goat transhumance and its multifunctional value in contemporary Greece. A keen analysis of animal husbandry modernization and continuity is provided by Athanasios Ragkos (Chapter 1) in his observation of the practice of alternating between more intensive, mechanized livestock breeding methods in winter and more extensive, ancient pastoral behaviors in summer, albeit while maintaining traditional forms of social and economic labor organization. Working on the three main concepts of land, labor, and capital, Ragkos analyzes transhumance's modernization process and its ambivalent relationship to market conditions and traditional elements, aspects which are linked, for example, to alternative marketing as in Colombino and Powers's chapter (Chapter 6). Ragkos's attention to rangelands management and related conflicts is a comparative and close look at the increasing bureaucratization and commodification of pastoral routes and the illegal granting of permits on CAP-established grazing areas, a tendency also seen in Italy (Chapter 7).

In the case of the Piemonte Region of Italy, Dino Genovese, Ippolito Ostellino, and Luca Maria Battaglini (Chapter 2) describe vagrant pastoralism in its dynamic points of contact with the protected area of Collina Po, a site where traditional farming activities coexist with a renewed and multifunctional way of inhabiting the land. This coexistence of different lifestyles generates more or less latent conflicts, at times revealing a mutual incomprehension between forms of subsistence and mixed land use

as practiced by farmers and shepherds, for example, as well as divergent representations of the landscape. Moreover, there is a persistent inability to recognize the ecosystem services provided by herders and shepherds and their contribution to the maintenance and valorization of landscapes (Chapters 1, 4, and 8).

A similar ambivalent coexistence between pastoralism and protected areas is addressed in the chapter by Jean-Claude Duclos and Patrick Fabre (Chapter 3) dedicated to the Maison of Transhumance and its efforts to safeguard pastoral culture activities in an area that nearly overlaps with the Crau Natural Reserve. Multiple methods of protection and land use come up against each other in this area, raising debates and giving rise to different processes of valorization in a multi-actor and multilevel context of local-area governance and heritagizing practices. This region that historically hosts transhumance is currently governed by layers of conservation and valorization frameworks (a national park, a regional natural park, and a natural reserve), and even the practice itself is the object of a huge heritagization effort aimed at transmitting and preserving traditional pastoralism and recognizing “the symbiotic relationship between the soil and the herd (that) has played a major part in the organization and management of the protection of the dry Crau” (Chapter 3 p. 9). In this sense, investing in transhumance conservation and valorization entails going beyond the “sanctuary model” hitherto characterizing the late-modern logic of protecting natural areas as generators of autonomous economies.

Historical changes in the way human activities shape the natural environment are likewise investigated in Lluís Ferrer and Ferran Pons-Raga’s chapter on the reintroduction of bears and the restoration of local shepherding practices in the Central Pyrenees (Chapter 4). In this case as well, the return of bears as a symbol of wilderness in a particular area is considered the environmental hallmark of biodiversity conservation coupled with the recuperation of traditional pastoral practices and an essentially re-wilded/re-naturalized landscape. At the scale of local actors, however, such projects appear quite top-down and imposed from above, with shepherds excluded from any real participation in the governance of local sustainable development. The restoration project thus takes the form of a reinterpretation of the past in an environmentalist key, played out within a powerful heritagizing framework and local-area regeneration logics that prove essentially hegemonic and not at all participatory. The ambivalent coexistence of pastures and protected areas with the consequent increase in medium-large predators is one of the most controversial issues in the management of pastoral areas, a point of conflict that generates a great deal of uncertainty as also outlined in other chapters in this volume (Chapters 1, 3, and 9).

Martine Wolff's chapter on traditional pastoralism in the Northern Albanian region of Kelmend focuses on shepherds' harmonious, balanced relationships with animals, the environment and the landscape as well as the prevailing "mythopoesis" of the shepherd as a heritage-keeper and key stabilizer for economically and socially marginal parts of the Albanian mountains. Part of this ongoing ethnographic effort involves preparing a dossier to submit Albanian transhumance for consideration as part of the process of extending UNESCO ICH List recognition. Shepherds consider this an empowering process as well as an opportunity to think about the permanence and sustainability of a vagrant pastoral practice in the new, ambivalent heritage framework.

Extensive pastoralism is also explored as an alternative food network in the chapter by Annalisa Colombino and Jeffrey John Powers based on research among the Alms of South Tyrol/Alto Adige, at the borders of Austria, Switzerland, and Italy. Traditional vertical transhumance and everyday life in Alms are conceptualized as a small, local production system based on a complex set of sustainable agriculture and biodiversity conservation practices as well as high-quality cheese-making. The authors find that the Alms's "diverse economy" is developing new networks and circuits of distribution and building a resilient practice of local heritage. Such resilient practices are also revealed to be valuable in other local examples, such as the Polish village of Koniaków (Chapter 8).

The chapters comprising the second section of the volume are focused on the changes and challenges faced by various European pastoral communities in the face of the heritage turn, as represented by recent discourses on mountainous, peripheral, and inner regions with highly cultivated and bred biodiversity as a form of ecologically and socioculturally sustainable agri-food production. At the same time, the chapters in this section adopt different points of view to reflect on the crucial valorization of the specific pastoral practice of transhumance as a UNESCO intangible heritage and their "discontinuities and transformations."

Chapter 7 outlines the sociocultural and economic transformations underlying the progressive definition and interpretation of transhumance as biocultural heritage in the European cultural and touristic scenario and the multilevel governance questions posed by its inclusion in the UNESCO ICH List, but also by the plan for safeguarding sheep tracks and traditional pastoral landscapes with particular reference to several Italian cases. In recent years, transhumance has been deeply heritagized through many different forms of "touristization" and the commodification of typical products of herding practices (milk, meat, and wool). At the same time, this increasingly diffused storytelling is accompanied by controversial uses of pastoral routes and pastures as well as the proliferation of illegal

permits on pastures, a trend made possible in some ways by the intricacies of the CAP itself (Calandra 2019; Mencini 2021). This trend is posing challenges to efforts to support pastoral activities, an area that has never really been resolved in European agricultural policy and least of all in Italian policies for this sector.

An extremely interesting example of recent pastoral revitalization is provided by Katarzyna Marcol and Maciej Kurcz in Chapter 8. Typical Carpathian comanaged farming, grazing, and milk production (*salasz*) in which several shepherds' flocks are brought together under the supervision of a *baca* (chief shepherd) is interrogated through a sharp ethnographic investigation of the Koniaków village in the Beskid Mountains and specifically one family's entrepreneurial project (Maria and Piotr Kohut). The authors outline the points of alternating continuity and disruption in the practice and transmission of traditional form of animal husbandry and cheese-production as well as ambitious efforts to transform transhumance into a powerful driver of local-area valorization and tourist development. Moreover, the revival of traditional local forms of pastoralism empowers local actors to define and reconsider their common cultural identity while restoring and rewriting local collective memory. This takes place by rebuilding an embedded, shared past, which includes grappling with the strong, unique effects of the pandemic with its profound repercussions on cooperation and exchange among shepherds and collectively acknowledging the value of their common cultural heritage.

The chapter by Cosmin Marius Ivaşcu and Anamaria Iuga presents the specific case of the Maramureş region in Romania. After outlining the different types of pastoral activities in this area and historical systems of familiar and labor organization, the authors describe the pastoral calendar in Maramureş as a way of understanding resource and environmental management, embedded local customs and ceremonial events, and the interdependent relationship between agricultural and pastoral activities essentially aimed at achieving food and economic self-sufficiency. Several dramatic changes, such as collectivization drives under the communist regime, forced shepherds in several villages to increase their productivity in order to meet not only their needs but also the state's requirements. The fall of communism brought other major changes, with many young shepherds and farmers adapting to new conditions and work strategies by migrating to EU countries, using new types of grassland and cultivation techniques, and substantially decreasing the size of their flocks after 1990. As a result, the old vagrant pastoralist system has transformed into a more sedentary one. Nonetheless, local communities continue to consider the maintenance of transhumant practices as a way of conserving typical landscapes with their embedded memories. Moreover, the chapter stresses

the value of a multidisciplinary approach to extensive pastoralism, a point also asserted in several other chapters (Chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, and 10).

Amidst such discontinuities and transformations, Špela Ledinek Lozej examines the progressive decline of mountain pasturage connected to the increase in lowland agriculture in another border area, the Italian region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia (bordering Slovenia). She finds that the introduction of new animal breeds less adapted to mountain pastures, intense depopulation and urbanization, and the abandonment of agropastoral activities has caused alpine pasturing and dairy grazing to become largely economically and socially unsustainable. Today, different models for the use and management of environmental and agropastoral resources in the region need to be integrated with broader economic and social frameworks such as productive intensification (forage and dairy production) while also addressing the changing governance of local areas, as also outlined in other chapters (Chapters 2 and 7). At the same time, this ethnography highlights multifunctional extensification (a shift to catering, accommodations), heritage revitalization, and new forms of cooperation and solidarity-based agriculture linked by a “new passion for work and life in the Alps” and the mountains more generally, a narrative that is currently one of the most successful (Bindi 2021; Chapters 1, 6, 7, and 13).

Seasonal reindeer transhumance in Finnish Lapland, a very traditional knowledge-practice system rooted in the Sámi homeland, is the focus of the chapter by Nuccio Mazzullo and Hannah Strauss-Mazzullo. The paper begins by describing the contemporary routines of Sámi reindeer herding juxtaposed with a brief overview of the historical and administrative limitations that have constrained old practices. At the same time, the authors outline some technological innovations that have enabled the Sámi people to adapt in different ways to modern environmental and socioeconomic transformations, such as new form of pastoral economy and reorienting their practices towards tourism. The chapter also identifies conflicts and forms of ambivalence in relation to various efforts to protect and valorize local biocultural heritage such as, for example, the risks and uncertainties caused by the increase of predators in grazing areas that seriously jeopardizes the economic sustainability of reindeer husbandry, as also outlined in other chapters of the book (Chapters 2 and 4).

Discontinuities are likewise at the center of Sebastiano Mannia’s deep rethinking of transhumance as a cultural and touristic heritage item as well as a mode of production and a specific way to use rural landscape and spaces. Based on the dynamics of contemporary markets and policies, the ethnography focuses on two insular regions—Sardinia and Sicily. In the first, pastoralism is still very widespread and thriving while in the second transhumance and extensive farming are presently affected by vari-

ous critical issues as well as bureaucratic regulations that complicate the entire supply chain in many areas. Through his ethnographic accounts, the author outlines how transhumance continues to represent a traditional form of husbandry and milk, meat and wool production in both regions. He shows, moreover, that the increasing heritagization of the practice has recently led to its refunctionalization and tourist “*événementalisation*” and brought it under the management of several stakeholders such as Local Action Groups, Social Promotion Associations, or other forms of local culture and identity activism. Similar trends can be seen in the ethnographic examples of the Beskids Mountains (Chapter 8) or, more recently and to a more partial extent, in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Chapter 13).

The last chapter, by Manca Filak and Žiga Gorišek, emphasizes the value of transhumance and traditional pastoralism as a special tourist resource and driver in the locality of Lukomir in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, located on the southern slopes of the Bjelašnica mountain massif. Using visual ethnography, the chapter shows how tourism represents an innovative strategy of survival and preservation for transhumant and traditional pastoral practices as well as a driver for modernization in the region and community. Through tourism, Lukomir is represented as a particularly authentic, traditional, isolated, and remote “ethno” village, thereby building a narrative about this almost mythic locality as a “bay of peace” (the literal translation of the name Lukomir). Everyday life and traditional gestures and practices thus become objects of video-documentation, a process that also engenders new agency in terms of constructing the meaning of places and identity self-definition. The varied reactions to tourism at the local level range from rejection to acceptance, but on Bjelašnica this has not led to the abandonment or rejection of transhumance. In some cases, the coexistence of traditional pastoralism and tourism represents an opportunity to continue practicing transhumance and to use this practice as a basis for promoting tourism in the area despite emigration and depopulation, the privatization of public spaces, legal constraints and, more recently, the kind of implications stemming from the pandemic also outlined in Marcol and Kurcz’s and Mannia’s final remarks (Chapters 8 and 12).

Between a Commodifying Gaze and “Responsustainable” Tourism

Modernization processes have progressively represented pastoralism and transhumant farming practices in particular as obsolete and backward life worlds, thereby pushing heritage-keepers towards sedentary and increas-

ingly intensive livestock-rearing systems. In fact, the new market logics cast traditional pastoralism as a potentially unproductive technique and a hindrance to the economic growth of the regions in which it has historically been practiced. The very idea of extensive pastoralism is framed as somehow in contradiction with economic logics based on intensive, sedentary agro-food production, “extractivism,” and the exploitation of local natural resources beyond considerations of environmental and social regeneration and the sustainability of production practices. In a neoliberal market, the local knowledge deeply rooted in both the experience and practices of traditional and transhumant shepherds are usually considered insufficient to guarantee necessary earnings given the decrease in production costs. Indeed, this view wholly overlooks the reproducibility of the landscape and environment and its permanence over time thanks to grazing farming, and grants even less consideration to the potentially higher quality of the food or other products produced in pastures. In addition, until recently little or no attention has been paid to the quality of life of the animals being farmed. Given these persistent blind spots, a focus on extensive pastoralism and transhumance currently represents an important cautionary tale and opportunity to reflect on both the limits of development and the need to rethink the entire agro-food production chain.

At the opposite end of this continuum lies the denigrating logic characterizing transhumance as an unsustainable hindrance in relation to contemporary life. Today in particular, traditional pastoralism and transhumance are increasingly represented according to the rose-colored, romantic cliché that casts them as a form of life existing in harmonious balance with nature and through exoticizing, folkloric rhetoric expressed through tropes of “the good savage,” lost authenticity, and “structural nostalgia” (Herzfeld 2004). In this framing, transhumant shepherds are represented as the guardians of an atavistic, picturesque rural past that is bent and molded to the rhetoric of pro-tourist narratives. Increasingly, it is also embraced by projects for the sustainable development of peripheral mountainous and inner areas driven by the more or less formal organizations and groups involved in development processes. This narrative has gained even more prominence with the COVID-19 pandemic because of the focus on small villages and remote areas as a respite from the excessive crowding and unsustainability of metropolitan life (Bindi 2021).

The pastoral “other”—imagined as existing cozily in its supposed ahistorical immobility, the opposite pole to the civilization of urban and post-capitalist consumption—has become a good imaginary for the travel industry to narrate and evoke, in keeping with recent tourism trends focused on greater contact with nature and close relationships with local populations. Transhumant paths have thus been heritagized and com-

moditized as primarily an asset of the landscape and local areas after having been constrained and governed by national laws (environmental and cultural protection rules set by ministries). They have been subsequently transformed into tourist routes involving fewer shepherds and, above all, fewer animals; in this way they become traces of a lost landscape, signs of a narrated map of the past. The visual arts, media, and web designers have also adopted this approach, adapting the memory of pastoralism for the tourism industry and articulating it in the form of a narrative reenactment, an event, and an attractive destination.

Given these shifts, contemporary extensive pastoralism spaces can be considered “friction zones” (Tsing Lowenhaupt 2000). On one hand, in fact, modern intensive agro-farming and “extractivism” has led to the increasing abandonment and disuse of transhumant landscapes and has upset the kind of production conditions—and especial human-animal interactions—typical of extensive pastoralism. At the same time, in many cases these repackaged pastoral routes and sites are reshaped as recovered lands, deeply heritagized at the intersection of multiple, conflicting moral regimes and economic systems.

Some more recent multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary analyses approach responsible tourism (Mihalic 2016) as the cornerstone of a new framework in which the traditional agricultural sector might become multifunctional and potentially sustainable, characterized by mobile and minimal structures, sustainable production methods and raw material processing, and forms of distribution proximity involving short supply chains distinguished by agroecological and socially responsible consumption as well as growing attention on the welfare of farmed animals. Heritage communities and environmentalist groups and associations are at the forefront of supporting sustainable development as they seek to develop strategies to recover and use pastoral spaces and the transhumant past in new ways. Through political recovery and rhetorical valorization, this biocultural heritage can be redefined as a common good in the global value chain in keeping with its inclusion in the UNESCO ICH List. Such a redefinition generates contemporary discourses on transhumance preservation and valorization as part of the debate on the limits of neoliberal economics and new moral imperatives to safeguard biocultural heritage while also preserving the environment and landscape. Transhumance is thus re-signified to be consumed as a “spectacle,” with its “biopolitical function . . . within the neoliberal state . . . , decommissioned, remediated, and repurposed as ground(s) for popular recreation” (Krupar 2016: 116). Viewed in this way, extensive pastoralism becomes a field at the intersection of multidisciplinary and multiscale research with highly local questions; a field positioned between past and future predicaments unfolding

through fragmentation, disembedding and reassembling processes in a “zone of awkward engagement” (Tsing Lowenhaupt 2004); a field comprised of ecological activism, cultural heritage enhancement, and tourism promotion in a contemporary conflicting scenario.

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