

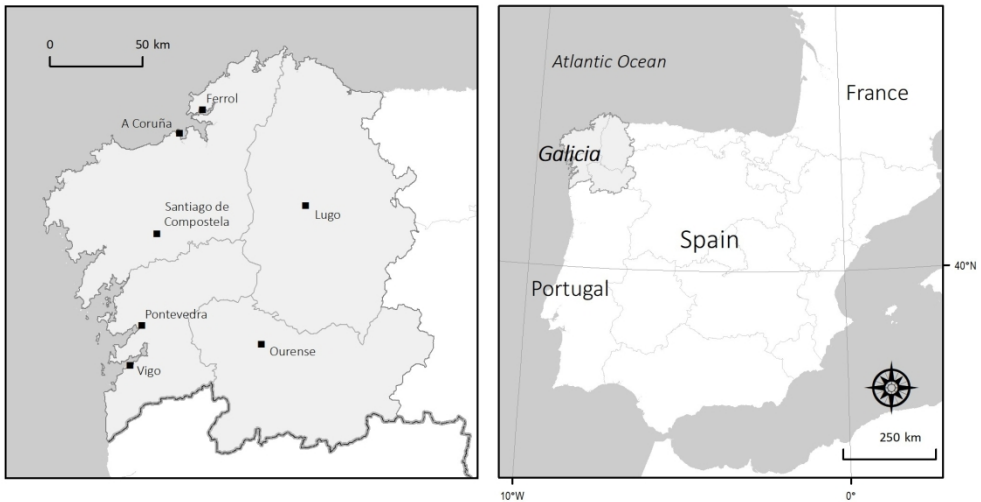


Landscape and Power: the Debate around Ugliness in Galicia (Spain)

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Abstract:	<p>The approval of the European Landscape Convention in 2000 placed landscape at the centre of the political debate and gave it visibility. At that time, a movement surrounding the concept of ugliness began in Galicia (Spain), which condemned the degradation of the Galician landscape as a result of public and private actions that destroy what is understood as the typical Galician landscape. The media and experts are actively involved in this discourse. In this article, we reflect on the concept of ugliness and relate it to policies of power that seek to confront the resistance of the Galician rural world. We analyse the links between the canonical Galician landscape, which dates back to the 19th century, and ugliness, as well as the current authorised landscape discourse.</p>

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Galicia and Spain

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Galician Rural Landscape

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Landscape and Power: the Debate around Ugliness in Galicia (Spain)

Abstract. The approval of the European Landscape Convention in 2000 placed landscape at the centre of the political debate and gave it visibility. At that time, a movement surrounding the concept of ugliness began in Galicia (Spain), which condemned the degradation of the Galician landscape as a result of public and private actions that destroy what is understood as the typical Galician landscape. The media and experts are actively involved in this discourse. In this article, we reflect on the concept of ugliness and relate it to policies of power that seek to confront the resistance of the Galician rural world. We analyse the links between the canonical Galician landscape, which dates back to the 19th century, and ugliness, as well as the current authorised landscape discourse.

Key Words: Ugliness; Landscape; Galicia; Power; Rural.

1. Introduction

The word *feísmo* (ugliness or ugly-ism) gained popularity in Galicia after a media outlet used it in 2001 to define the deterioration and destruction of the traditional landscape as a result of aggressive actions caused by a lack of planning discipline and - where they exist – lax planning rules (García Vidal, 2006). The Oxford Dictionary refers to Ugly or Ugliness as something unpleasant or repulsive. The ugly is that which breaks with established aesthetic canons. The values of aesthetics change over time, and therefore what is ugly or beautiful at one time can be the opposite at another, as Humberto Eco (2007) demonstrates in his *Storia della Bruttezza* (On Ugliness). Eco even claims that these concepts do not respond to aesthetic criteria but rather to the political and social

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3 world. Cultural relativism teaches us that the criteria of what is beautiful and what is ugly
4 can change over time and from one culture to another, but it should not justify that
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8 everything has the same aesthetic value (Pereiro, 2006)
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10 In the Galician version of Wikipedia (<https://gl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fe%C3%ADsmo>),
11 ugliness (feismo or ugly-ism) is defined as an architectural or urban style coined in
12 Galicia that is of dubious aesthetic value and that collides with aesthetic canons, affecting
13 both urban and rural areas. The term ugliness has, despite some resistance, been
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Since the popularisation of this concept, a movement against ugliness has emerged to
denounce the profound transformation of traditional Galician landscapes as a result of the
abandonment of rural areas, and actions that have little respect for tradition. Criticism of
ugliness takes, as its starting point, the prior existence of a canonical landscape inspired
by the interpretation of the work of the romantic poet Rosalia de Castro. By linking the
identity of Galicia to its rural character, it gives an extraordinary symbolism to ruralism.

In this article, we aim to relate ugliness with ideas of canonical landscape -which
conforms to what is established and understood as desirable- and we advance the concept
of Authorized Landscape Discourse-ALD, which institutionalises the landscape through
scientific work, regulations and other actions such as restoration and conservation,
naturalising practices and values, and that Smith (2006) has defined in relation to heritage
as Authorized Heritage Landscape (Smith, 2006), and Linkola (2015) has used to analyse
the National Valuable Landscape Areas in Finland. We will demonstrate that ugliness is
part of a power strategy aimed at imposing the cultural codes of the dominant elites. The
media is used to generate, naturalise, and disseminate the problem, while institutional
actors at various levels (from the regional to the European level) regulate and standardize

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3 it, and the experts who invest in the phenomenon with a scientific nature justify the need
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5 to intervene.
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8 From a methodological point of view, we will look at the main official documents
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10 approved by the Government of Galicia and inspired by the ELC. We will also pay
11
12 attention to the intense debate generated among intellectuals and academics on the
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14 question of ugliness. ~~Most of their views were discussed in the two forums on ugliness
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16 that took place in 2004 (Pérez & Paz, 2006) and 2007
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18 (<http://tv.uvigo.es/es/serial/38.html>). Another document we will use in this article is the
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20 Field Guide for the Interpretation of Ugliness in the Galician Landscape (Ramil &
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22 Ferreiro, 2015), published by the Institute for Biodiversity and Rural Development, which
23
24 is linked to the University of Santiago de Compostela and supported by the government
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26 of Galicia.~~ The contributions of all these reports, amplified by the media and accompanied
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28 by government actions, will serve as an argument for the linking of landscape with the
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30 discourse on ugliness being used as a power tool.
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36 37 **2. Landscape, Culture and Power**

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39 Landscape, ~~according to the ELC, means an area, as perceived by people. Such definition~~
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41 involves not only the physical elements of the territory but also its cultural representation
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43 (Daniels & Cosgrove, 1988). Or, according to Schama (1996, p. 61), “Landscapes are
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45 culture before they are nature”. It can therefore be said that the landscape is not neutral
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47 but is mediated by whoever describes it and sees it. As Mitchell (1994) points out, it is a
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49 means of cultural expression whose semiotic structure contains both meanings and values.
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51 In this sense, the construction of the landscape can be conceived as a strategy to highlight
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53 the characteristics of a territory, and also, therefore, the people who inhabit it. As
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55 Cosgrove (1984) points out, the landscape is a form of representing ourselves, as well as
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57 a form of representing ourselves against others.
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3 The symbolic values that dominant social groups associate with landscape (Lai, Hsu, &
4 Nepal, 2013) also reflect their economic interests. Authors such as Robbins, Meehan,
5 Gosnell and Gilbertz (2009) discuss the emergence of the New West in the United States
6 and the transformation associated with the arrival of new residents; these authors
7 highlight the preference for locations that are near protected areas. This 'greentrification'
8 (Smith and Phillips, 2001) even reflects economic and cultural interests that may give rise
9 to conflicts. Greider and Gardovich (1994, p.1) begin their article by saying, "Every river
10 is more than just a river". With this statement, they justify the central idea of their work:
11 that the physical, and also the human, environment is transformed into a landscape to
12 transmit an ideology that is rooted in culture.
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26 Nash (1970) refers to the American invention of national parks as one of the great
27 contributions to world civilisation. He also relates the emergence of national parks to
28 some fundamental questions of American identity, such as democracy and prosperity,
29 which allow the protection of extensive areas of public land; this incorporates the concept
30 of the preservation of wilderness as an example of civilisation (Nash, 1970). Burden
31 (2006, p. 14) refers to the symbolic landscapes whose meaning help create, maintain, and
32 circulate myths of a united national identity. **In this sense, and moving one step further**
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43 Kucan (2007) refers to Schama's (1996) classical work which relates landscape to national
44 identity, ~~-The author~~ stating that, alongside ideology and political strategy, the myths and
45 symbols that constitute a nation have an impact on the process of landscape planning.
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Landscape is a social construct in which the State's ideological apparatus intervenes,
including the media. **In this way**, and in her research on Slovenia, Kucan (2007) highlights
the use of landscape to reinforce the country's national identity, with ruralness becoming
the central element and natural beauty used as a metaphor, all within the context of deep
transformations.

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3 Bourdieu (1984) deals with the subject of the role of culture in the reproduction of social
4 structures. In his work *Distinction*, he demonstrates how cultural practices serve to
5 perpetuate systems of domination. In this sense, the ugly is identified with the vulgar,
6 while natural beauty is associated with aesthetic and moral values; both relate to different
7 social positions and unequal power relations. In his research, he shows that the highest
8 level of education is directly linked to certain aesthetic positions. Similarly, Vaughan
9 (2010) quotes Schiller to establish links between morality and social justice with the
10 aesthetic experience. The latter is a necessary condition for freedom, citizenship, and the
11 State (Vaughan, 2010).
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24 The idea of ugliness comprises some contradictions; its meaning is not purely aesthetic,
25 it is also linked to political and social criteria (Eco, 2007). The landscape as a metaphor
26 and reflection of a people (Cosgrove, 1984; Schama, 1996; Kucan, 2007), linked to its
27 identity, as stated in the ELC, cannot be ugly. Ugliness in association with that which is
28 repulsive and unpleasant, and the vulgar (Bordieu, 1984), as opposed to morals and social
29 justice (Vaughan, 2010), is not compatible with the idea of nation understood as an
30 imagined community (Anderson, 1983). Thus, Kucan (2007) points out the discrepancy
31 between reality and the image of the landscape that is conveyed in the case of Slovenia.
32 Daniels (1993, p. 5) is more explicit; the landscape as a national icon acts “as exemplars
33 of moral order and aesthetic harmony”.

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48 However, some authors, such as Gandy (2016) refers to unintentional landscapes, defined
49 for its emotions and different from the classical notion of landscape. Gallent and
50 Andersson (2007), approach the ugly landscape, to the fringe in which the rural loses its
51 features and is overwhelmed by urban growth that creates functional landscapes. It is
52 precisely this change in use that causes, at least partially, the change of perception;
53 technology and the artificialisation of land have much to do with this. Gallent and
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3 Andersson (2007) highlight the dynamic nature of aesthetics and the role of education
4 and long term cultural change in the process of re-evaluating aesthetic ideals, something
5 that cannot be forced, for example, through plans for the improvement of landscape
6 quality. This aesthetic enhancement is important as the image of an area determines its
7 attractiveness and therefore its ability to attract investment; landscape acts as a
8 representation of values. The solution is not to camouflage what we dislike if we do not
9 understand its meaning, combining aesthetics with functionality (Gallent & Andersson,
10 2007).

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Landscape plays an important role in the relationship between power and culture, and
their ability to reproduce social structures. Duineveld, Assche and Beunen (2017, p. 376),
inspired by Foucault, point out "that landscapes are moulded through power/knowledge
configurations, known through discourses". ~~Bermingham (1994, p. 77) tells us that
landscape, including the pictorial, "was a mode of political discourse". Mitchell (1994, p.
5) goes further and, among his nine thesis on landscape, claims that, "Landscape is not a
genre of art but a medium" (thesis 1), even comparing it to money (thesis 2). Although it
is found in all cultures (thesis 5), it is mainly associated with European imperialism (thesis
6); the "dreamworks" of imperialism (p. 10).~~ It could, therefore, be said that landscape is
an instrument of power. This does not mean that there are no individual perceptions, ~~as
noted by Stobbelaar and Pedrolì (2011) present the circle of landscape identity and divide
it into four quadrants, two of which are in the individual sphere whilst the other two are
in the collective. Although interesting, it fails to analyse how the personal identities of
landscape are mediated by the cultural impositions of the elites. In the same way, what
Stobbelaar and Pedrolì called Cultural-Spatial Landscape Identity, in essence a scientific
classification, could also respond to established preconceptions.~~

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3 Landscape, a cultural construction in itself, is subject to manipulation and control by
4 power. The medium used is the so-called canonical landscape. The approval of the
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7 **European Landscape Convention** (ELC) in the year 2000 was an important event, which
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10 went beyond the European framework. Egoz (2011) points out that the ELC introduces a
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12 moral argument to landscape, by linking it to social welfare: this author identifies it with
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14 the transcendence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The ELC marks the
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16 master lines that landscape policy must follow. Using this classification, canonical
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18 landscapes are set out, collecting not only natural but also cultural landscapes that are part
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20 of people's identities. Interpreting this helps to internalise and implies the concept of
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22 belonging and of a depository of the past (Caballero Sánchez, 2012). Landscape also has,
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24 in its origin, an aesthetic perspective (Zoido, 2012) that extends to ethics and politics, as
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26 it demonstrates the adoption of the ELC. In short, **it creates what Smith (2006) calls, in**
27
28 **relation to heritage, an Authorized Heritage Discourse-AHD that naturalises practices and**
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30 **values. The authorized heritage discourse (AHD) focuses attention on aesthetics. It refers**
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32 **to material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations must care for,**
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34 **protect and venerate so that they can be transmitted to future generations for their**
35
36 **'education', to forge a common sense of identity based on the past. Some of the key**
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38 **consequences of this discourse affect the constitution and legitimization of what heritage**
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40 **is, establishing who can speak on its behalf. (Smith, 2006, p.29). We have applied these**
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42 **considerations in the case of the landscape, proposing the ALD concept, to specifically**
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44 **consider the landscape as a heritage element.**
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52 Linkola (2015), in her research on Finland, related landscape to heritage within the
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54 context of AHD. The author points out (Linkola, 2015, p. 950) that, "The inventory treats
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56 landscapes as containers of historical features that are continuously labelled as heritage
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58 and, consequently, turned from something that is experienced individually into something
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3 public". Moreover, it is important to remember that the ELC has a broad understanding
4 of landscape. Thus, Article 2 states that the document content applies to "landscapes that
5 might be considered outstanding as well as everyday or degraded landscapes". We should
6 not, therefore, disregard "all contesting landscapes... that would tell us a great deal about
7 the rural change, social inequalities and, perhaps, conflicts" (Linkola, 2015, p. 951).
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12 In his work on the English countryside, Halfacree (1995), insists on the idyllic character
13 generated by social representation; he discusses the abstract concepts and concrete images
14 that have been used as part of the 'national environmental ideology' (Short, 1991).
15 Halfacree (1995) wondered how some representations become hegemonic. In this sense,
16 Saugeres (2002) not only relates landscape to power, but also makes it an instrument of
17 cultural power. He speaks of the dominant ideologies that legitimise and reproduce
18 structures. In this way, the meaning of landscape is created and reproduced around this
19 dominant ideology that articulates social reality. **It is in this sense that ugliness, as
20 analysed in this work, represents a fracture of this dominant ideology, a consequence of
21 changes in use, inequalities and conflicts between rural and urban areas.**
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39 **3. Building and Destroying the Landscape**

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42 ~~In the next two sections, we will systematise the depiction of ugliness in Galicia. First,~~
43 ~~we will highlight how the image of the landscape in Galicia has been built, from the 19th~~
44 ~~century to its current institutionalization. We will then concentrate on the debate around~~
45 ~~so-called ugliness, including an analysis of the main arguments that support the idea of~~
46 ~~the existence of ugliness, as well as the actions taken to try to fix it.~~
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54 ***3.1 Building a Landscape***

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57 Galicia is a Spanish region that is politically constituted as an autonomous community. It
58 is worth highlighting some of its features for the purpose of this article, namely its
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3 cultural, natural and political uniqueness. For example, it has its own language, closely
4 related to Portuguese, which represents the main element of its people's identity.
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6 Furthermore, its location in the North West corner of the Iberian Peninsula means it has
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8 a very humid climate, which generates green landscapes. It is also an area open to the sea
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10 with plenty of valleys and hills. ~~Because of its peripheral location it is relatively isolated~~
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12 ~~and~~ it has historically been considered to be poor and rural. This image was conveyed by
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14 travellers' books in the 19th century and reinforced by the intense migration to America
15
16 and Western Europe. Nevertheless, several pieces of research have dismantled many of
17
18 the clichés surrounding the region's economic backwardness and rurality (Dubert, 2016).
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24 **Figure 1. Galicia and Spain.**

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30 **Source: The authors.**

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33 The rural in Galicia has been at the centre of the identity discourse that began with
34 Romanticism, continued with pre-civil war Galician nationalism, and later adopted, for
35 its own benefit, by the Spanish nationalism (Miguélez-Carballeira, 2014). ~~The case of~~
36 ~~Galicia's ruralism was clearly captured in the Territory and Landscape forum organised~~
37 ~~by the Galician People's Museum in 2007 (Estévez & Fernández, p. 8). In that meeting,~~
38 ~~it was said that urban space represents an anomalous way of constructing the territory,~~
39 ~~and is therefore anti-identity.~~ The romantic poet Rosalia de Castro is coincidentally noted
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41 (López Sáñez, 2008; López Silvestre, 2005) as the first author to have used the word
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43 landscape in Galician (in 1863), initiating a discourse that tries to convey an ever-positive
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45 image; the landscape as a vehicle for the dignity of a People. The values attributed to the
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47 Rosalian landscape include rurality, sweetness, fertility, and productivity, among others
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49 (Miguélez-Carballeira, 2014). These characteristics have, since then, been identified as
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3 essential elements of the landscape of Galicia. The imagined visual representation of
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5 Galicia is always of a green, hilly, humid coastal territory that is abundant in forests,
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7 rivers, meadows, and calm estuaries. Other common features of the landscape include
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9 elements of popular heritage such as barns, farm fences, crosses, and stone houses, among
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11 others.
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15 Although the work of Rosalia de Castro, as the main representative of Galician literature,
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17 has been widely studied, it was not until recently that it was addressed directly in relation
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19 to nationalism and the landscape. Authors such as López Sáñez and Miguélez-
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21 Carballeira, in their books *Landscape and Nation* (2008) and *Galicia, a Sentimental*
22
23 *People?* (2014), outline a critical discourse about the manipulation of de Castro's work,
24
25 as well as how it has been read, both from within and outside Galicia. Although there are
26
27 subtle differences between these authors, their main argument is that the work of de
28
29 Castro has been used to create a canonical landscape image of Galicia with the
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31 predominance of rural values; sensitivity, femininity, and therefore submissiveness. It is
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33 a view held by the state and by outsiders, according to authors such as Cosgrove (1984)
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35 and Burden (2006).
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42 The recovery of democracy in the second half of the 1970s and the consideration of
43
44 Galicia as a historical nation were important from the point of view of landscape. Since
45
46 the 1980s, successive Galician governments have, repeatedly and regardless of their
47
48 political party, tried to link themselves culturally with historical Galician nationalism,
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50 often using the figure of Rosalia de Castro. De Castro, who had been deprived of her
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52 nationalist discourse (López Sáñez, 2008; Miguélez-Carballeira 2014), is unanimously
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3 acknowledged as the greatest symbol of Galician culture and identity¹. Some of the most
4 widely known clichés associated with Galicia are related to her, including landscape; for
5 example, rurality, tradition, and sentimentalism. As Álvaro Domingues has stated, it is a
6 landscape built by a rural society, destined to rest forever in the verses of Rosalía
7 (Domínguez, 2006, p. 87).
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12 López and Lois (2007) revisit the representation of the Galician landscape from the 19th
13 century to the present day. They point out that the prevailing iconographic elements
14 during most of the 20th century were the same as those of the 19th century. These have
15 continued since the 1980s, when the process of political de-centralization in Spain
16 assigned considerable decision-making power to the regions. Rurality is one of the
17 characteristics that has persisted over time (Lopez & Lois, 2007). For these authors, the
18 idea of landscape in Galicia is rooted in the social imaginary based on two elements;
19 tradition and rurality.
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34 This tradition, analysed by López and Lois (2007), can also be seen in the field of public
35 policy. In 2008, the regional government passed Act 7/2008 for the protection of the
36 landscape. The first sentence in this Act is: “One of the main characteristics of Galicia is
37 its rich landscape”². Next, with a poetic tone that reflects the synecdoche, hyperbole, and
38 synaesthesia referred to by López and Lois (2007), the physical framework is related to
39 traditional forms of occupying the territory. Further on, the clichés of backwardness and
40 emigration are used to justify the rapid changes that are posing a threat to that inheritance;
41 the public administration is therefore obliged to preserve the landscape and its meaning.
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57 ¹ Rosalia de Castro is the most popular Galician among Galician people, according to a
58 survey carried out in 2005:

59 <http://www.lavozdegalicia.es/hemeroteca/2005/07/23/3923103.shtml>

60 ² http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/2008/20080718/Anuncio2FAFA_es.html

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3 Following Act 7/2008, the Galician government began developing a series of measures
4 to protect the landscape. The Galician Strategy of the Landscape was passed in 2011. A
5 catalogue of landscapes was also made; a basic tool that could be used to make an
6 inventory, to diagnose it, and protect it. Finally, several catalogues and practical
7 intervention guides were published, such as the Guide of Good Practices for Intervening
8 in Rural Areas³. The purpose of that particular publication was to achieve balance and
9 harmony between modernity and traditional forms of territorial occupation.

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12 As well as the development of laws and support documents, it is also worth considering
13 the way the media function as disseminators of what is good and what is bad, and of what
14 is supposed to be common sense. The canonical landscape that used to be part of the
15 collective imagination is transformed in the ALD, as it is in the AHD, which promotes,
16 universalises, and naturalises certain elite Western values, usually associated with the
17 concepts of nation and class (Smith, 2006). The heritagisation of landscape discourse in
18 Galicia is reflected in the fact that the backlash against ugliness focuses on specific
19 elements that are considered to be in dissonance with historical reality: dwellings and
20 annexes, farm closures, or the abandonment of crops. These three basic elements of the
21 rural landscape are interpreted in the light of traditional heritage. It is therefore necessary
22 to protect and preserve them whilst ignoring the meaning of the contested landscapes to
23 which Linkola referred (2015).

24 ***3.2 Destroy a Landscape***

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26 Ugliness in Galicia has been defined as a social disorder of a society in transition, which
27 despises its heritage and ignores the codes of contemporary beauty (Baamonde, 2006, p.
28 86). A break between the past and the present, designed by the laws of the market (Alves,

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31 ³ All of these guides can be viewed at:
32 https://cmav.xunta.gal/organizacion/c/CMAOT_Instituto_Estudios_Territorio

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3 2006, p. 100). Understood as a process of landscape degradation due to multiple causes
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5 (the abandonment of fields, chaotic urbanism, or uncharacterisation of traditional heritage
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7 elements), it has been understood by some authors as a way to postpone the debate about
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9 the environment and the vital space of the cultures, and reduce it to a matter of appearance
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11 (Santiago, 2006) that has had a huge social impact.
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15 On the one hand, aside from politics, the discussion has been held by the most eminent
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17 figures of Galician science and culture, some of whom are internationally acknowledged
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19 in their respective fields. On the other hand, the active involvement of the media has been
20
21 very important. ~~Rejek (2013) talks about the invisible government, referring to the~~
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23 ~~influence of the media on people and their ability to normalise topics, thus having an~~
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25 ~~impact on social order.~~
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29 Images illustrating the problem of ugliness ~~have been prevalent in the media and~~ have
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31 focused primarily on individual elements that are considered to break the harmony of
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33 traditional landscapes. For example, Figure 2 shows a Galician rural landscape
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35 characterised by the loss of the traditional structure of the population centres, with new
36
37 houses being built on old farming land. A landscape characterised by the abandonment
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39 of a large part of the farming land, the emergence of forest plantations of foreign types of
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41 trees, the poor integration of traditional and modern building materials in gates and
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43 buildings, or the absolute mastery of building typologies outside the canonical housing
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45 model of Galicia. ~~a typical house of a returned migrant, the aesthetic of which greatly~~
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47 ~~deviates from that of the Galician farmhouse, stereotypically represented by the home of~~
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49 ~~Rosalía de Castro in Figure 2.~~
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56 Figure 2. Galician Rural Landscape.

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59 Source: The authors.
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3 ~~Figure 1: House of a returned migrant. Photo M.P.~~

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6 ~~Figure 2: Rosalia de Castro's Home Museum. Source <http://rosalia.gal/a-casa-museo/>~~

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9 ~~The latter will propose numerous measures to try to control and eradicate ugliness. For~~
10 ~~example, during the second decade of the 21st century, an advertising campaign was~~
11 ~~launched with the motto "The future of Galicia is up to us". Next to pictures of buildings~~
12 ~~as they currently exist were pictures of ideal buildings, each with the corresponding~~
13 ~~caption: "Well done"/ "Badly done".~~

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21 ~~If we take a look at the photographs in Figure 3 and their captions, two important elements~~
22 ~~stand out. Firstly, the motto places the burden of wrongdoing on collective shoulders:~~
23 ~~*Take care of what is yours; the Galician landscape is everybody's task.*~~ Secondly,
24 ~~Rosalia's image is clearly present, as can be seen from a comparison with Figure 3.~~
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26 ~~Indeed, the rehabilitation proposal shown in Figure 3 (above) is clearly inspired by the~~
27 ~~home of Rosalia de Castro, whose role in the creation of the canonical Galician landscape~~
28 ~~is fundamental.~~

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38 ~~As well as advertising campaigns,~~ The government of Galicia has passed legislation that
39 focuses on the landscape and combats ugliness. The wording and the spirit of the Galician
40 Act 7/2008 on the Protection of Landscape (2008) is inspired by the ELC. In spite of the
41 obvious similarities, there is at least one difference worth pointing out in the preamble to
42 both documents. The European document talks about the transformations of landscape as
43 a consequence of the evolution of production techniques or changes in the field of
44 regional and urban planning. The Galician regulation, meanwhile, refers to a sudden
45 change in uses and habits. This change is directly related to the social and economic
46 backwardness that produced a "strong degeneration of landscapes in very specific areas"
47 (Explanatory Memorandum of the Act 7/2008). This is an implicit admission of the
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3 existence of ugliness, and an explicit acceptance of the Galician socio-economic
4 backwardness theory. In both legal instruments, landscape is related to the quality of life
5 and the identity of the people, referring to their historical and heritage values. In the
6 Galician document, however, the differential elements appear more often. It is pointed
7 out that most traditional landscapes were a consequence of society acting according to
8 sustainability criteria; a society living in greater harmony with the environment.
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12 The role of the media as central players in the creation and dissemination of the problem
13 of ugliness is joined by that of experts as well as the actions of regional governments.
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17 **Among the instruments of the Government to fight ugliness are advertising campaigns.**

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20 During the second decade of the 21st century, an advertising campaign was launched with
21 the motto “The future of Galicia is up to us”. Next to pictures of buildings as they
22 currently exist were pictures of ideal buildings, each with the corresponding caption:
23 “Well done”/ “Badly done”.
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Figure 3: Galician government’s campaign against ugliness

These government actions have been reinforced by the commitment made by many academics and intellectuals. For example, the Guide for the Interpretation of Ugliness in the Galician Landscape (Ramil & Ferreiro, 2015) was published with the support of the government of Galicia and the University of Santiago. It is illustrated with images of various ugliness cases and tries to explain its causes and consequences. A reference to the harmony of the Rosalian landscape appears in the very first lines of the Guide. The authors also refer to other renowned writers to introduce the debate on how human action during the 20th century has degraded this idyllic rural world. The concept of ugliness that is used in this Guide is based on two principles: a) earlier landscape quality related to aesthetic canons that emerged in the 19th century; b) the degradation of those canons.

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3 The debates surrounding the causes of this phenomenon are many, but most of them
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5 converge in modernity.
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9 However, it has been in the forums on ugliness that experts have played the most
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11 important role. The publication that resulted from the first forum on ugliness in 2004
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13 (Pérez & Paz, 2006) recalls the intense debate that took place between specialists from
14
15 different fields of knowledge. Urban growth, speculation, and minimal government
16
17 control are often cited as causes. Focusing on the countryside, Caamaño (2006) also
18
19 blames ugliness on the effects of migration, the dispersion of the population, and the lack
20
21 of attachment to traditional houses that is part of a wider absence of collective
22
23 consciousness, thus introducing a moral assessment linked to aesthetic harmony (Daniels,
24
25 1993). Regardless, according to this document, responsibility lies with public authorities
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27 and their inability to reverse the situation, both from the physical and social point of view.
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29 Ugliness is a "contagious disease that spreads ubiquitously at ease hiding more and more
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31 deeply the origin and the nature of the social anomaly or anomalies that make it possible"
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33 (Pérez & Paz, 2006, p. 9). It is therefore an issue that goes far beyond the aesthetic.
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39 One theme that was repeatedly cited during the forums on ugliness is emigration,
40
41 considered to be one of the main causes of ugliness by contributing to diminishing rural
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43 landscapes through both the houses and the traditional structure of hamlets. Migration is
44
45 considered to be responsible for both the abandonment of homes and fields and the
46
47 importation of non-Galician architectural models that are foreign to the Galician reality.
48
49 If poverty and backwardness is the cause of emigration, it is said that ostentation and bad
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51 taste are linked to returning emigrants ~~as we can see in Figure 2~~, in an biased
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53 ~~understanding of ugliness that tries to blame the victims of the actual process~~ (Sierra,
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55 2006).
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4. Discussion and Conclusions

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3 In recent years, the debate surrounding the landscape of Galicia has been intense. The
4 concept of landscape ugliness due to human intervention has been advanced by the media,
5 justified by experts, and recognised by the regional administration itself. As a cultural
6 concept, the construction of the Galician landscape has been linked to the idealised image
7 transmitted from the interpretation of the work of Rosalia de Castro, upon which myths
8 and symbols have been built. ~~Greider and Gardovich (1994) argue that the transformation~~
9 ~~of the physical and human environment into a landscape serves to transmit an ideology~~
10 ~~rooted in culture. According to authors such as Miguélez Carballera (2014) and López~~
11 ~~Sáñez (2008), the Rosalian vision is based on terms of domination of the nation state, in~~
12 ~~which the landscape of Galicia is a metaphor for submission.~~

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27 In the case of Galicia, we have observed how the debate on ugliness affects the
28 responsibilities of the rural world, developing a discourse that explores ideas derived from
29 the Rosalian rural idyll. The intense transformations of the Galician landscape are ~~not~~
30 analysed in connection with rural change, social inequalities and, indeed, conflicts
31 (Linkola, 2015). ~~As stated by X. L. Martínez (2006) at a time of great building activity in~~
32 ~~Galicia, the State at its different levels (national, regional, provincial and local) ignored~~
33 ~~the problem (Martínez, 2006, p 204).~~ But rather use classical ideas of historiography and
34 economics that link rural Galicia with economic backwardness and emigration. In short,
35 landscape degradation is directly connected to the rural inhabitant and the discourse of
36 power.

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It can be said that the question of ugliness in Galicia has served to legitimise the discourse
of power of the invisible government that Rojek (2013) discusses. Ugliness has proven
the capacity of the ~~media to help promote and give visibility to a problem to create and~~
~~normalise a problem.~~ Intellectual and scientific elites have accepted it as a proven truth,
as have public institutions.

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3 Although Galicia is now mostly an urban territory, there is a fetishisation of the rural
4 world. ~~that Gallent and Andersson (2007) discussed in the case of England, is reproduced~~
5 ~~here based on the rural idyll.~~ The social representation of Galician landscapes built around
6
7 this idealisation repeatedly involves the use of Rosalian images. ~~If we accept López~~
8 ~~Sánchez's (2008) and Miguélez-Carballeira's (2014) thesis,~~ We can say that ugliness is no
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10 more than another attempt to strengthen the idea of Galicia as being sentimental,
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12 feminine, and therefore submissive, and in need of patriarchal power to meet its needs
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14 (López Sánchez's (2008) and Miguélez-Carballeira's (2014). This explains the continuous
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16 emphasis on the government's role in guaranteeing the preservation of the landscape. ~~In~~
17
18 ~~addition, following Linkola (2015),~~ Landscape patrimonialisation turns the landscape into
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20 a matter of public interest and therefore part of the political discourse (Bermingham,
21
22 1994, Cosgrove, 1984, Linkola, 2015,).

23
24 ~~The landscape understood as cultural heritage is directly introduced into the discourse of~~
25
26 ~~power, making it an ideological concept (Cosgrove, 1984). Smith (2006) states that the~~
27
28 ~~use of heritage is often linked to power relations, legitimising or discrediting cultures.~~

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30 Understanding ugliness as a disturbing element of the landscape is part of a strategy of
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32 political dominance in line with Mitchell's (1994) association of it with European
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34 imperialism. In this case, it is the imperialism exercised by nation states to the extent that
35
36 the state is the space of history (Fernández Prieto, 1999). The subtitle of the ugliness
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38 forum publication (Pérez & Paz, 2006) clearly refers to this idea: Destroying a Country.

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40 Cultural studies have tended to consider the rural world as the core identity of the people
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42 (Pereiro, 2015; Gallent & Andersson, 2007). This is linked to landscapes as a legacy of
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44 the past that must be preserved, as can be seen from authors such as Cosgrove (1984) and
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46 Schama (1996), who argue that the landscape is a reflection and metaphor for the people.
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48 We can therefore say that the rural in Galicia has been a site of cultural resistance against
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3 previously mentioned, ugliness is an argument used by the elites to weaken and blame
4 rural communities.
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8 An example of these initiatives of resistance can be seen in the Cans Film Festival, whose
9 character is very similar to the Cannes Film Festival (in France), and which provides agro-
10 glamour for film screenings using the rural facilities of ugliness. In fact, the small village
11 of Cans is located in one of the main industrial areas of Galicia, where factories are
12 located alongside farming activities. ~~Within the context of the considerable~~
13 ~~transformation of the traditional landscape, this film festival has encouraged the local~~
14 ~~population to take part in this most creative of activities. One of its symbols is the small~~
15 ~~compact tractor being used to transport artists and organisers. These tractors are widely~~
16 ~~used in rural Galicia as they are very effective on smaller-sized plots of land.~~
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29 In an optimistic article, Bell, Lloyd and Vatovec (2010) refer to the importance of the
30 rural in contemporary society and make proposals for the recovery of its power. ~~These~~
31 ~~authors take on an earlier discussion by Bell (2007) concerning two notions that have~~
32 ~~swung the debate on the rural: the materialist and the idealist, or the first and second rural.~~
33 ~~To avoid the reductionism of a binary opposition between these two rural worlds, Bell~~
34 ~~(2007) proposes talking about the plural rural as a steady stream that seeks to balance~~
35 ~~these differences; thus the rural is no longer something static and passive, invalidating the~~
36 ~~premise that "Change happens to the rural; the rural does not create change" (Bell et al.,~~
37 ~~2010, p. 209). In this later work,~~ Bell et al. (2010) describe many examples of the
38 reactivation of rural society, and refer to Woods (2008) to highlight the increasing
39 prominence of social movements positioned around a new rural identity that includes
40 important urban allies linked to environmentalism and food sovereignty, among others.
41 Power is therefore, again, the protagonist. If the discourse of ugliness is articulated around
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3 an aesthetic and political appreciation of the dominant urban elites in Galicia, the answer
4 could be in the *plural rural* proposed by Bell et al. (2010).
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8 This article has sought to uncover the relationships between ugliness and ALD. The
9 concepts of hegemony and nation gain a prominent role in the contribution this discourse
10 makes to the assertion of identities and values. However, Smith (2006) points out that the
11 discourse around heritage can be changeable and open to opposition. It is therefore
12 necessary to recognise "the ideological and political underpinnings of the discourse"
13 (Smith, 2006: p. 299). The process of assimilation and dissemination of ugliness in the
14 Galician landscape was generated by the invisible government (Rojek 2013) of the media
15 in 2001; it was legitimised by the world of culture and science, particularly following the
16 1st Forum on Ugliness in 2004; and it was integrated into public policy in 2008 with the
17 Galician Act on the Protection of Landscape. An ALD was institutionalised from the
18 canonical image of the Galician landscape that originated from interpretations of Rosalia
19 de Castro's work. The consensus on ugliness and its causes reinforces the social
20 representation of the canonical landscape and the ALD.
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39 Ugliness is particularly linked to the rural environment and to small urban areas and urban
40 peripheries. The latter two spaces have developed due to migratory movements from the
41 countryside. Although there is an attempt to not blame rural populations for this ugliness,
42 responsibility ultimately lies with them as they are the promoters of the actions that cause
43 ugliness. This is an example of the old discourse, deeply rooted in Galicia, which links
44 economic backwardness with the rural world. **A rural world with a determined agrarian
45 order and a disappearing peasantry with its culture and landscape (Gallego, 2006, p. 107).**
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54 Ugliness, as part of the landscape, becomes an argument about power that legitimates and
55 reproduces existing structures (Saugeres, 2002). However, we believe that ugliness as an
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3 argument about power can be neutralised with the concept of plural rural introduced by
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5 Bell et al. (2010).
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"Landscape and Power: the Debate around Ugliness in Galicia (Spain)"

Reviewer: 1	Authors
<p>The author needs to focus on feismo. I see the book "Feismo ou como destruír un país" is quoted in the bibliography, but there is no evidence that the author has read it.</p>	<p>Following the reviewer's indications, several references to this publication have been introduced throughout the text. This work was the basic reference that inspired this work and has been constantly taken into account by the authors.</p>
<p>I don't see what landscape theory has to do with feismo, at least directly. If there is a relevant relationship, the author needs to explain why and how.</p>	<p>The text has attempted to link the theory of landscape with the concept of landscape ugliness. Feism applied to the rural landscape can be understood as nostalgia for the loss of a "more than perfect" past that only exists, or supposedly existed, as a discursive and imagined phenomenon (photography, cinema, literature,...) (Domingues, 2006, p. 87).</p>
<p>I'd avoid quoting Wikipedia unless it's necessary. The author can define it without even quoting; or s/he can provide short quotes from different authors that sum up the meaning of feismo.</p>	<p>We use Wikipedia as a generalized encyclopedia. We were interested to the extent that it provides a definition of a singular concept, not included in other encyclopedias or dictionaries. On the other hand, there are studies that indicate that Wikipedia has a level of confidence comparable to the British encyclopaedia. We use it exclusively as a popular definition. See this link, https://www.livescience.com/32950-how-accurate-is-wikipedia.html</p> <p>In addition, the text includes bibliographical citations in relation to the definition of ugliness: García Vidal, 2006; Ramil & Ferreiro, 2015).</p>
<p>PAGE 2: -30-37: I don't see how Rosalia fits into an article on feismo.</p>	<p>As argued in this paper, Rosalia de Castro is coincidentally noted (López Sández, 2008; López Silvestre, 2005) as the first author to have used the word landscape in Galician (in 1863), initiating a discourse that tries to convey an ever-positive image; the landscape as a vehicle for the dignity of a People.</p> <p>The values attributed to the Rosalian landscape include rurality, sweetness, fertility, and productivity, among others (Miguélez-Carballeira, 2014). These characteristics have, since then, been identified as essential elements of the landscape of Galicia. The word <i>feismo</i> is used to define the deterioration and destruction of this traditional landscape.</p> <p>In the Forum of Ugliness, Álvaro Domínguez, on the subject of landscape, states that, The landscape that rests eternally in Rosalía's verses has the status of being politically correct (Domingues, 2006, p 86)</p>

-40: "We aim to relegate ugliness..." I don't understand this.	The wording of the sentence has been redrafted to improve understanding.
-There's no need to say what the author is going to do; s/he just needs to discuss the topics in the Intro. That's enough to show what the article will examine. 45-54 is confusing.	The wording of the paragraph has been redrafted to improve understanding.
-The last paragraph of the introduction is unnecessary. The author will quote/discuss the documents mentioned when it's relevant. As it is, it's information that doesn't clarify anything and is boring to read.	The suggestion has been taken into account: the paragraph has been deleted.
-Section two is an overload of landscape theory; summaries of each source that don't belong in an article. They're very useful for the author to have on hand, but theory should be used only when it helps elucidate the subject. The typical modus operandi is to open a section with a theoretical reflection that is then used to explain something about the article's subject. Other authors, theories, quotes, etc. should never commandeer an article. The author's voice needs to be overwhelmingly dominant.	The authors wish to point out that this opinion contrasts sharply with that of reviewer 2: "A good and interesting paper, that articulates well the concept of ugly and ugliness within the related contexts of landscape perception, landscape change and policy-making. The arguments are well grounded in relevant academic literature and the case study is well developed". A comprehensive literary review has been carried out in order to provide a theoretical basis for the fact that landscape is a social construction in which the ideological apparatus of the State intervenes. The environment is transformed into landscape in order to transmit an ideology rooted in culture, and the landscape is used as a means to reinforce the national identity of the country. To this is added the theoretical foundation of the identification of ugliness with the vulgar, in order to understand how the national landscape icon is understood from certain social and power positions as an example of aesthetic harmony. This work also takes into consideration the critical positions that deepen the loss of the identity features of this aesthetic landscape-icon, and the reactions to this loss. However, the suggestion of reviewer 1 has been taken into account: the wording of section 2 has been reformulated to improve its integration into the objectives of the article, and to reinforce the author's voice.
-The intro of Section three is confusing and unnecessary. And I'd make a section of its own for both building landscape and destroying it.	The section has been reformulated following the reviewer's suggestions.
-The first paragraph Building distracts from the article's subject	The epigraph has been reformulated.

<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</p> <p>-The second paragraph also distracts because it has nothing to do with feismo. An examination of landscape in Rosalia's discourse is interesting, but I don't see the relevance of it for an analysis of feismo.</p> <p>-Page 10 the same: what do Rosalia and Galician landscape have to do with feismo?</p>	<p>The authors consider this review necessary because Rosalía de Castro's literary work contributes to fix the canonical landscape in Galicia, and the concept of ugliness is defined by opposition to this iconic landscape. The landscape has been the core of the identity discourse of Galician nationalism, so it is considered essential to present this aspect. As it is said in the text "the Galician governments have tried to link themselves culturally with Rosalía de Castro and with the image of a Galician canonical landscape that she contributed to forge".</p>
<p>18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26</p> <p>-The first two paragraphs of "Destroy a Landscape" don't make a lot of sense. It's not clear either what role the media play. The author could create a section of its own to discuss the media's coverage of feismo, but not discuss the media in sporadic ways that don't contribute to the text.</p>	<p>The section has been reformulated following the reviewer's suggestions.</p>
<p>27 28 29 30 31</p> <p>PAGE 13: -23: here the author finally focuses on feismo. From here to the end of the section should be the focus of the article.</p>	<p>This section has been rewritten to reinforce the focus on the concept of ugliness.</p>
<p>32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43</p> <p>***Although landscape has its place in this article, the focus needs to be on the architectural ugliness.</p>	<p>This work focuses on the landscape, and some of its essential elements are architectural. Even so, the assertion of reviser 1 is not taken into account in this point because it contradicts those formulated by Reviewer 2 "If the main point of the paper is 'architecture', then this is the wrong journal", and by the Editor "this submission might find a better home in a heritage or architecturally-focused journal, which is an observation worth contemplating".</p>
<p>44 45 46</p> <p>-The conclusion is out of focus and repeats much of what has already been said.</p>	<p>Changes have been made to the discussion and conclusions section following the reviewer's suggestions.</p>
<p>47 48 49 50 51 52</p> <p>***Xosé Lois Martínez Suárez's article (in <i>Feismo o como destruir un país</i>) is probably the most relevant source on feismo. It's not mentioned here.</p>	<p>The reference has been taken into account and has been incorporated into the bibliography.</p>
<p>53 54</p> <p>Reviewer: 2</p>	
<p>55 56 57 58 59 60</p> <p>There are no illustrations here that represent either landscape or (in my opinion!) ugliness. I was really surprised to reach the end of the document and see the illustrations. These were not at all what I was expecting., Maybe Figure</p>	<p>As the reviewer suggests, two new illustrations and a map have been introduced, to provide clarity and to convey the concept <i>feismo</i> at landscape scale.</p>

<p>1, but additional illustrations are needed to convey the key concept at landscape scale - the main point of the paper.</p> <p>I also need to see a broader landscape view and a map, so that I get a sense of where and what Galicia is.</p>	
<p>Second, the concept of Authorised Landscape Discourse (ALD) is not one I had come across before - this needs proper definition and discussion, not least as you refer to it at the end by way of conclusion</p>	<p>An advance on the concept of ALD has been presented in the introductory chapter.</p> <p>"The Discourse of Authorized Heritage (DHA) focuses on aesthetics. It refers to material objects, landmarks, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'should' care for, protect and venerate so that they can be transmitted to future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past. One of the key consequences of this discourse is that it defines who are the legitimate persons to become spokespersons of the natural and cultural heritage, and to fix its meaning.</p> <p>(some of the key consequences of this discourse in constituting and legitimizing what heritage is, and in defining who has the ability to speak for and about the nature and meaning of heritage).</p> <p>Smith, L. (2006). Uses of Heritage. London: Routledge, p. 29</p>
<p>I also felt the social fabric of the Galician countryside needed a bit more background, for those unfamiliar with this area (and specifically referencing the comment on p19 about 'economic backwardness and the rural world', linked to ugliness).</p>	<p>A further reference has been included to try to clarify the paragraph.</p>

COVER PAGE

Xosé M. Santos

Full Professor of Human Geography

Department of Geography

University of Santiago de Compostela-Spain

ORCID: orcid.org/0000-0001-8088-7454

e-mail: xosemanuel.santos@usc.es

María de los Ángeles Piñeiro-Antelo

Lecture in Geography

University of Santiago de Compostela-Spain

ORCID: orcid.org/0000-0002-8837-989X

e-mail: manxeles.pineiro@usc.es

Landscape and Power: the Debate around Ugliness in Galicia (Spain)

Dear Editor,

We wish to resubmit an original research article entitled “**Landscape and power: the Debate around Ugliness in Galicia (Spain)**” for consideration by Journal Landscape Research.

We confirm that this work is original and has not been published elsewhere, nor is it currently under consideration for publication elsewhere.

This is a resubmitted paper. All changes suggested by the reviewers have been made. A co-author has been added to the article.

We have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

Thank you for your consideration of this manuscript.

Sincerely,

Xosé M. Santos & María de los Ángeles Piñeiro-Antelo

xosemanuel.santos@usc.es Corresponding Author

manxeles.pineiro@usc.es

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Words: 6957

Xosé M. Santos (corresponding author)

Professor of Human Geography

University of Santiago de Compostela

University Square 1

E-15782 Santiago de Compostela-Spain

Telephone number: +34 881811000 ext. 12629

Mobile number: +34 630871016

Fax number: +34 881812710

xosemanuel.santos@usc.es

María de los Ángeles Piñeiro-Antelo

Lecturer in Geography

University of Santiago de Compostela

University Square 1

E-15782 Santiago de Compostela-Spain

Telephone number: +34 881811000 ext. 12632

Mobile number: +34 630404787

Fax number: +34 881812710

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