

# PROPERTY DIVIDED IS PROPERTY LOST: MANAGEMENT AND CONFLICT ON COMMUNAL FORESTS IN GALICIAN DOCUMENTARY FILMS

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## INTRODUCTION

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Rurality is a concept that has been closely associated with Galician cinema ever since its origins. This concept has an intimate relationship with independent productions in the region and with what has come to be known as *Novo Cinema Galego*, a filmmaking movement that emerged in Galicia at the beginning of the 21st century, represented by a group of films—many of them non-fiction—that tell stories about rural life in the region while reflecting Galicia's cultural and linguistic identity.

Contemporary Galician films explore people's relationship with their environment in depth, using the landscape as a character that engages in a dialogue with both past and present. These films highlight tradition and collective memory, contrasting ancestral rural life with modernity, and reflecting on a cultural identity in an almost constant state of transition. Underlying this tug of war between old approaches and new creators

is rurality as a trope that brings texture and definition to the idea of Galicia represented on screen (Ledo Andi3n, 2019).

From the early days of cinema through to the contemporary era, rurality has been present not only in documentaries but also in fiction films that have used Galicia as a setting, including both local and foreign productions, such as Oliver Laxe's *Fire Will Come* (*O que arde*, 2019) and Rodrigo Sorogoyen's *The Beasts* (*As Bestas*, 2022), to cite two particularly prominent examples of recent years. This eminently rural quality has been criticised for offering a romantic image of the region that constructs a stereotypical depiction, or for presenting a portrait of Galicia specifically for urban viewers, as Concheiro (2022) suggests in his discussion of Sorogoyen's *The Beasts*.

Numerous critics have questioned the *Novo Cinema Galego* movement for its predilection for rural settings, reflecting a certain obstinate repetitiveness in its use of evocative images. It is a

representation sustained by the need of mostly urban directors to portray and analyse our origins, an obsession associated with romantic nationalism and the identification of certain types of landscape with the homeland. Vilariño (2021: 137) sheds some light on this idea when he speaks of certain settings used as representative images of a nation:

This ideology of the landscape invariably tends to perpetuate tradition, creating different cultural manifestations of communities that exist outside of time, much closer to the myth than to the reality of Galicia as a largely urban society, where it is the cities (especially around the Atlantic coast) that hold the decision-making capacity and economic power, while the rural sector is organised entirely according to urban logics.

In recent years, the region and its landscape has been used as a protagonist in a number of non-fiction films whose objective is to portray a rural space. The perspectives and approaches taken are highly varied, ranging from films closer to experimental cinema, such as Alberte Pagán's *Forgoselo* (2014) or Lucía Vilela's *Toxos e flores* [Gorse Bushes and Flowers] (2021), both produced with the support of the Chanfaina Lab, to productions whose aim is predominantly informational, such as Alberto Lobelle's *Pico Sacro* [Holy Mountain] (2023), or anthropological, such as César Souto and Luis Avilés's *Os Días afogados* [The Drowned Days] (2015).

Rurality is unavoidable in much Galician cinema largely because it is one of the primary features of Galicia itself. Any analysis of films made and set in Galicia will involve a consideration of natural landscapes far from urban settings, marked by a practically constant use of the green tones that Galicia's lush vegetation and humidity contribute to the texture of all productions filmed in the region. Another striking feature of Galician non-fiction films is their depiction of the appropriation, exploitation and diversification of uses of this rural environment. The present study offers an over-

view of the uses of communal forests and the speculative conflicts that have affected them over the years through the analysis of documentary films produced in Galicia over the course of film history.

## A DESCRIPTION OF RURAL GALICIA

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The autonomous community of Galicia is one of the most important forest regions of the Spanish state. Woodlands cover 48% of the region's total area, constituting more than 1,400,000 hectares and accounting for close to 45% of Spain's wood production (Law 55/1980). Most Galician forestlands are privately owned, including the traditional Galician concept of *montes veciñales en man común*, collectively owned forestlands that cover a quarter of Galicia's total area, more than 700,000 hectares managed by 2,800 local communities. This concept is thus not only important as a symbol of Galician identity and culture but also as a clear contributor to the region's productive economy (Xunta de Galicia, 2023).

Community-owned forestlands are a traditional Galician institution, although they can also be found in other Spanish autonomous communities, including western Asturias and the provinces of León and Zamora in Castile and León, as well as in northern Portugal, where they are known as *baldíos*. A concept of Germanic origin, common lands are actually owned by groups of local residents and are not subject to government control. They are used for traditional, communal purposes, without allocating individual shares to their owners, who must be local residents with active households in the area. Ownership of common lands changes in accordance with changes to the permanent resident population, adding newcomers to the local area and removing those who close up or leave their local residences. In this sense, these common lands are not private property, as owners are required to reside in the area and to participate in the community (Concello de Nigrán, 2023).

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**COVERING 48% OF THE REGION, GALICIAN FORESTLANDS, MOST OF WHICH ARE PRIVATE PROPERTY, INCLUDE FORESTS JOINTLY OWNED BY RESIDENTS, MANAGED COLLECTIVELY BY LOCAL COMMUNITIES WITHOUT INDIVIDUAL SHARES**

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Common lands are regulated in Spain by Law 55/1980, of 11 November, which recognises their social function and their value to the public. This law stipulates that these lands belong to groups of local residents and defines them as indivisible, inalienable, imprescriptible and non-seizable properties. They are not subject to local taxes or to employer contributions to the Agricultural Social Security fund, and they are collectively owned by the members of the community group without individual shares.

Traditionally, Galicia's mountains and forestlands have been essential for sustaining livestock activity in the region, thanks to the common lands that provided pasture for grazing. Until 1936, local communities managed the structure of their own agricultural ecosystems in a way that reflected a style of land organisation specific to the region. However, after the Franco regime came to power in 1939, it initiated processes of expropriation and intensive reforestation with fast-growing species such as pines and eucalyptus trees, which led to an increase in emigration from the region, especially to other parts of Europe. The regime allowed communal ownership of forestlands, not to give local communities back their rights to use the land, but so that those communities would see themselves as recipients of the hypothetical benefits of the reforestation processes, thereby reducing opposition to the forestry policy it had imposed (Freire, 2016). This omission in the recognition of community ownership, which persisted until well after the transition to democracy in the 1970s, resulted

in the decline of resident collectives, leading to depopulation and the abandonment of rural areas that had been cultivated previously. Today, local residents claim that a new form of expropriation is taking place with the debilitation or break-up of the communities of the forestlands. Although it may seem like a conflict of the past, the struggle for the right to use and exploit the forestlands keeps the issue of communal ownership very much alive (Punzón, 2023).

Like many other autonomous communities, one of the challenges Galicia has faced in recent years is stopping rural population decline. To address the challenges posed by rural flight in Spain, multidimensional strategies are essential. Some studies suggest prioritising rural revitalisation through economic incentives, improvements to infrastructure and better access to basic services (Moyano Estrada, 2020). Depopulation is a complex phenomenon that requires policies that will promote the employability and quality of life of rural residents. It is also crucial to enhance educational opportunities and digital connectivity in order to attract and retain young people. Collaboration between local and national institutions is vital to implement these solutions (Pinilla & Sáez, 2017).

Both rural life and the Galician forestlands have thus been undergoing a process of constant change since the beginning of the last century in terms of land use and exploitation, requiring a new approach based on the need for sustainable development and the rational use of forestry resources. It is a transformation that transcends rurality and affects all levels of human activity. Our era is the first to describe itself as posthumous: post-modern, post-capitalist, post-Fordist, post-ideological and post-truth are just a few of the examples of ways in which we name our own era or aspects thereof. In this sense, late capitalism is founded on a large-scale cognitive dissonance that involves something like a "denial of the second law of thermodynamics," which underpins a

basic fiction in relation to the climate crisis, namely, sustainable development (Taibo, 2024), a fiction that we could define in general terms as the idea that the Western way of life can be maintained substantially at its present level by means of material and energy extraction that do not compromise the environment. In other words, although we have already gone beyond sustainable limits of growth, “our entire socioeconomic life is organised around the aberrant opposite assumption” (Aguado et al., 2016: 18). To make matters worse, this delusional model, which is completely disconnected from reality, is paradoxically presented as absolute realism, i.e., as if there were no alternative to it (Fisher, 2016). In this context, a strong movement has developed that is critical of the uncontrolled growth of capitalism, pointing out new approaches that consider responsibility and innovation within the limits of what the planet can sustain, and establishing concepts such as responsible stagnation and degrowth as alternative options (de Saille et al., 2020).

## DOCUMENTARY FILMS AND COMMUNAL FORESTS

Numerous documentary filmmakers have delved into the reality shaped by Galicia’s forestry resources. Over the years, various documentaries have offered portraits of rural Galicia, ranging from explorations of everyday life in this setting to the conflicts arising in the region. A significant example is Antonio Fernández-Román’s *O Carro e o home* [The Cart and the Man] (1941), co-written by Fernández-Román and Xoaquín Lorenzo (“Xocas”), an anthropologist from Ourense who belonged to the group of Galician intellectuals known as *Grupo Nós*. This film shows the process of creating a traditional cart, intermingled with other typical farming activities, such as harvesting and threshing.

A collaboration between Carlos Velo and Fernando G. Mantilla is one of the most noteworthy of the earliest cinematic portraits of Galicia and

its landscapes. Their film *Galicia* (1936) could also be classified as one of the emblematic works on the region’s rural and coastal areas, at least based on the footage that we have been able to view, as it has not been possible to locate a complete print of the film. This rural image is essential to the idea of Galicia and appears repeatedly throughout the region’s filmography (Fernández, 2007).

There are also several documentaries that have specifically addressed the question of the ownership and management of Galician forestlands. While it is surprising to find such a varied sample of films studying and analysing this phenomenon, it is clear that many productions offer a vehement defence of communal ownership of the land as a democratic practice and as a way of involving local residents in both the management and exploitation of their own environment.

One of the first Galician productions to document communal forests is *O monte é noso* [The Forest Is Ours], a film directed by Llorenç Soler in 1978 that deals with the struggle to recover community ownership of forestlands in the area of Pontevedra in the 1970s after their seizure during the Franco regime to implement its policy of planting eucalyptus and fast-growing non-native trees for wood production. These plantations provided raw material to the wood processing industry and to companies such as Ence, a pastry factory located in the Ría de Pontevedra, undermining the land’s original use as pasture. This 30-minute film portrays the battles waged by residents of various civil parishes to win back ownership and management of the surrounding woodlands, a conflict that caused a break with a way of life and with a form of community organisation. The film also portrays the beginnings of real estate speculation in the *comarca* (county) of O Morrazo, exposing the first attempts by certain political leaders to profit from unlawful building developments and the fraudulent exploitation of communal forestlands such as those in the O Hío parish (Cangas do Morrazo), where an unlicensed campsite was built on land near the seaside.

Llorenç Soler is a filmmaker who stands out for his militant commitment to investigative reporting. His films are also characterised by a certain anthropological quality. According to his own redefinition of the concept (Mir García, 2006: 56), militant cinema is expressed through audiovisual language understood as an intersection between filmmaking at the service of a democratic ideology and a formal and aesthetic quest.

*O monte é noso* is thus a portrait of the devastation of the region's natural heritage and of a way of life in the name of progress, combined with images of considerable ethnographic value and the use of a simple and direct language. It presents the conflict in straightforward terms, using a voice-over that condemns the acts of the government and its representatives, together with the testimonies of community members. Shot on 16 mm film stock, this documentary continues to be recognised as a work of cultural resistance. However, it belongs to a period when Soler was taking commissioned works, as he did in this case, as the film was funded by an organisation responsible for the coordination of communal forests, which probably recognised the potential of the documentary genre to denounce scandalous situations like these. Documentaries have been used to record and expose the negligent use of forestlands since the dictatorship and the appropriation of community-owned lands for the purpose of exploiting them in ways contrary to the interests of local residents. In contrast to the other films analysed in this article, the aim of *O monte é noso* is to claim lands back for use by the community, so that local residents can manage their own natural resources in a manner consistent with their ways of life (Bria Lahoz & Aran-Ramspott, 2020).

Llorenç Soler explores this same theme, albeit incidentally, in another film. The documentary *Autopista, unha navallada á nosa terra* [Highway, a Knife Slash across Our Land] (1977) deals with the despoilment of common lands, the destruction of a way of life and the disruption of a form of com-

munity organisation resulting from the construction of the AP-9, a highway spanning the Atlantic coastal region from Ferrol to Tui. In this film, produced by the community organisation created to protest the construction of the AP-9, Soler once again focuses on ordinary people with the aim of making their experiences visible, in a way that exposes realities that help us understand and reflect on society.

Xosé Bocixa's documentary *As Encrobas: A ceo aberto* [As Encrobas: In the Open Air] (2007) offers an analysis of the struggle of the local residents of As Encrobas, a civil parish of the municipality of Cerceda in the province of A Coruña, who in 1977 fought the forced expropriation of both their common lands and their own houses, title to which was transferred to Lignitos de Meirama (Limeisa, a subsidiary of Fenosa) for the purpose of lignite extraction. To the cry of "*A terra é nosa e non de Fenosa*" ("the land is ours and not Fenosa's"), the residents organised numerous demonstrations, not only in Cerceda itself but also in the city of A Coruña, in an effort to defend their ownership of the land against progress and capitalist interests.

The documentary combines archival footage of the demonstrations with testimonies in the present by witnesses who recount their memories of the conflict. At the same time, these witnesses reflect on the importance of defending their land not only for economic reasons, but also because of its significance as a cohesive element of their community. In addition to constituting a kind of

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communal therapy to heal the trauma of being evicted from the land they had lived on all their lives, this expository documentary also offers an interesting reflection on new methods of attacking the notion of the commons, in this case communal forests, in order to forcibly seize local residents' houses and lands in the name of a progress that offers minimal compensation to its victims. In the words of the filmmaker himself: "It would be a mistake to view it as a one-off battle, because it is a story of constant destruction. As time went by, the houses started to fall apart, the cemetery fell to ruins and a lot of us local residents were displaced" (Bocixa, quoted in Mariño, 2013).

Xisela Franco's *SOS Comuneiros de Cabral* (2013) exposes the speculative interests that brought local residents of the community of Montes de Cabral (on the outskirts of Vigo) into conflict with their own local council over plans by the company Eurofund to build a 300,000-square-metre shopping complex on their lands. In this case, it has the unique characteristic of being communal forestland in the suburbs of Vigo that is of great interest to property developers because it is land close to the city that could be acquired at very low price.

This documentary is composed of testimonies by the community members fighting the project, supported by the statements of experts who explain and analyse the importance of community ownership of forestlands. It is a film that could be classified under the category of *cine urgente*, a filmmaking approach that is an almost automatic response to a situation that the director wishes to document in order to foster debate both because of its topicality and out of a need to provide criticism and raise public awareness of the issue.

There is a certain parallel with the As Encrobas case, because, as reported in the documentary, the conflict in question began with an attempt to purchase common lands, followed by the design of a process of expropriation of private houses for the construction of roads to connect the shopping complex with Vigo, with the consequent destruc-

tion of the natural environment. Like Bocixa, Xisela Franco was born in the community whose plight she is documenting and much of her family have roots there. Her interest in defending her family's lands and environmental resources prompted her to record the testimonies of the community members who opposed this land grab. The film had limited distribution, with a public première for local residents in the local community centre, followed by posting on YouTube and Vimeo to provide access to interested viewers. The aim of this strategy was to raise awareness within the community itself and to make the existence of the conflict known to people outside it. However, the media exposure provided by articles in major Spanish newspapers such as *El País* and *La Voz de Galicia* constituted a turning point in the publicising of the conflict, spreading public debate on the issue throughout the whole Vigo region.

*En Todos as mans* [In All Hands], a film directed by Diana Toucedo in 2015 and produced by the Trespés cooperative, connects us with the reality of communal forests in Galicia and northern Portugal (where they are known as *baldíos*). Although made with a low budget (60,000 euros), this documentary had multiple funding sources, including support from the Galician cultural industry agency AGADIC, the participation of Galicia's regional public broadcaster (TVG) through the purchase of broadcast rights, and a crowdfunding campaign carried out in 2015 that collected a total of 10,220 euros on the Verkami platform. The film also had a commercial première of a token nature, as according to figures collected by the Spanish Institute of Sciences and Audiovisual Arts (ICAA), it sold a total of 232 tickets and took 1,330 euros in box office earnings. However, this figure does not take into account the people who viewed the film in informal venues, such as the auditoriums and community centres around Galicia where it was screened on several occasions. In addition, it was included in the program of Cineuropa 2015, a major event held that year in Santiago de Compostela.

Through the testimony of various community members (both Galician and Portuguese), this film portrays the day-to-day activity of caring for and exploiting the land. In this case, several forestry crews are shown cleaning and maintaining the forest, planting tree species and engaging in other similar activities. Also shown are the meetings of community members to plan different actions related to forestry exploitation, as well as cultural activities and social events. The documentary showcases active, democratic community management, which—in the words of the community members themselves—is a form of direct democracy as it allows them to decide what to do with the land they live on, which they therefore feel is their own (López-Calzada, 2021).

At the same time, Toucedo's film offers an analysis of the current status of this type of ownership and the government's recent attempts to abolish it. It also considers hazards such as forest fires, which can effectively erase all the achievements made through communal efforts. In aesthetic terms, it is another expository documentary, although in this case it is notable for the meticulously designed aesthetic and for Iván Castiñeiras's cinematography. There are also certain recurring shots or motifs that would reappear in the director's subsequent films, such as the static shots of women that are common in *Homes* (2016), a project supported by Chanfaina Lab, or the treatment of the interviews in *Camille y Ulisse* (2021).

Another issue that has been the subject of documentaries is not a conflict but rather an achievement on the part of the local communities in these rural areas: water transfer systems. First introduced in the 1970s, transfer systems now involve around 5,000 catchments supplying water to 300,000 residents. This highly unique method of water management entails both daily regulation and the contribution of capital by local residents for the construction of the network (Campo Galego, 2017).

In 1969, the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture produced *Galicia Agraria* [Agrarian Galicia], a film that uses a similar style to the Franco regime's No-Do newsreels to present the work of the Spanish government's Agrarian Extension Services with a local community of common forestland owners to improve their living conditions with a water transfer system in San Xiao de Vigo, a civil parish of the municipality of Paderne in A Coruña province. This film offers a highly didactic overview of the whole process, from the description of the problem of daily water shortages to the negotiations with local residents, the execution of the works to build the water transfer networks (providing jobs to those involved), and finally, the change to local lifestyles resulting from the introduction of running water into each of the houses of the rural community. This is an informational documentary that uses a voice-over narration to describe each of the steps in the project, together with testimonies by local residents. However, it is particularly interesting for its meticulous aesthetic and formal structure, in addition to its anthropological value.

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**GALICIAN NON-FICTION FILMS HAVE OFTEN ADDRESSED THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MANAGEMENT AND EXPLOITATION OF COMMUNAL FORESTS, HIGHLIGHTING THE NATURE OF THESE SPACES NOT MERELY AS SCENIC BACKGROUNDS BUT AS SITES OF STRUGGLE AND RESISTANCE**

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Beatriz Vázquez Campaña's *A auga que trouxeron* [The Water They Brought], produced by the Trespés cooperative, analyses water transfer and the role played by forestland communities that have been responding to the need to provide basic services to their areas since the 1960s. The film offers a historical review of the development of

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water transfer systems in many of these communities to bring water from underground aquifers in rural areas for various uses. The different rural communities featured in the film include the rural parishes of Marzán (in the municipality of O Rosal), San Adrián de Calvos (in Fornelos de Montes), Gargamala (Mondariz), Vide (As Neves) and Tameiga-Casal (Mos), as well the urban centre of Meira de Abaixo in the municipality of Moaña. This documentary highlights the work of common owners, and especially their boards of directors, to provide important benefits to their community. It also presents the problems posed by a model developed in the 1960s being used in a contemporary era with no specific regulations for this water management model, as well as the changes that have occurred over time and the disruptions to the residential centres and to the use of these systems.

**CONCLUSIONS**

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Galician non-fiction films have often addressed the critical importance of the management and exploitation of communal forests, highlighting the nature of these spaces not merely as scenic backgrounds but as sites of struggle and resistance. Through stories that reveal attempts to expropriate or mismanage forestlands, Galician filmmakers have highlighted the tension between local communities and external forces seeking to

control their resources. These films not only capture conflicts, but also serve as vital reminders of the need to preserve community rights to the land, highlighting its environmental and cultural value.

Documentary cinema in Galicia has become an essential vehicle for depicting the battles waged by communities to manage and exploit communal forests. More than mere backdrops, these settings are epicentres of intense socio-political and environmental clashes. The visual narratives of these Galician documentaries reveal repeated attempts to deprive communities of their ancestral lands, showing how local residents have been subjected to expropriation pressures and policies that threaten their way of life and their livelihood.

In addition to the conflicts, these documentaries also explore the deep connection between people and their environment, highlighting the importance of the communal forest not only as an economic resource but as a cultural and natural legacy intrinsic to Galician identity. The stories they tell provide clear evidence of public resistance against power dynamics aimed at commercialising or altering these lands, often ignoring the historical rights and sustainable practices of their communities.

This filmography thus serves not only as a chronicle of disputes over the land, but also as a defence of local sovereignty and a call to action to preserve community autonomy and biodiversity. It is a body of work that underscores the imperative need to protect community rights and keep alive the traditions that have allowed Galicians to coexist harmoniously with their environment for generations.

*Novo Cinema Galego* is notable for its originality and its quest for truth in its stories, intertwining the theme of community management of Galician forests with cinematic artistry. The directors involved have used the power of cinema, in both visual and narrative terms, to express the difficulties faced by the communities of Galicia in



their struggle to preserve community-owned forests. In addition to depicting the challenges and frictions caused by attempts at unlawful appropriation of land, they inject vitality into their narratives of struggle and community self-management, which places their work at the forefront of cinematic and cultural innovation. ■

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## WE LOSE WHEN DIVIDING: MANAGEMENT AND CONFLICT OF THE COMMUNAL FOREST IN GALICIAN DOCUMENTARY FILMS

### Abstract

Galician cinema, deeply rooted in rurality, reflects the essential features of the Galician landscape, where nature and community management of forestlands are recurring themes. Covering 48% of the region, Galician forestlands, most of which are private property, include land jointly owned by residents, managed collectively by local communities without individual shares. These forests, regulated by Spanish legislation, are inalienable and imprescriptible, a fact that underscores their social and cultural importance. Galician documentary films have explored these questions, from the traditional use of land for livestock to contemporary conflicts over expropriation and speculation. Documentaries such as *O monte é noso* and *As Encrobas: A ceo aberto* capture the struggle of communities to preserve their heritage against reforestation policies and industrial development. In response to rural flight and depopulation, multidimensional strategies have been proposed, including economic incentives and improvements to infrastructure and digital connectivity. In recent years, the local film movement known as *Novo Cinema Galego* has continued to present rural life and Galician landscapes, although it has sometimes been criticised for perpetuating romantic national stereotypes. In short, Galician films not only document conflicts over the land, but also advocate for local sovereignty and biodiversity, highlighting the importance of sustainable, community-led management of the natural environment.

### Key words

Cinema; Documentary; Rurality; Galicia; Forests; Communal ownership.

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## BIENES DIVIDIDOS, BIENES PERDIDOS: GESTIÓN Y CONFLICTO DEL MONTE COMUNAL EN EL CINE DOCUMENTAL GALLEGO

### Resumen

El cine gallego, profundamente enraizado en la ruralidad, refleja las características esenciales del paisaje gallego, donde la naturaleza y la gestión comunal del monte son temas recurrentes. Abarcando un 48% de la región, los montes gallegos, principalmente de propiedad privada, incluyen los singulares montes vecinales mancomunados, gestionados colectivamente por comunidades locales sin cuotas individuales. Estos montes, regulados por la Ley 55/1980, son inalienables e imprescriptibles, enfatizando su importancia social y cultural. El cine documental gallego ha explorado estos aspectos, desde el uso tradicional de las tierras para ganadería hasta los conflictos modernos de expropiación y especulación. Documentales como *O monte é noso* y *As Encrobas: a ceo aberto* capturan la lucha de las comunidades por preservar su patrimonio frente a políticas de reforestación y desarrollo industrial. En respuesta al abandono rural y a la despoblación, se sugieren estrategias multidimensionales que incluyen incentivos económicos y mejoras en infraestructura y conectividad. En el ámbito contemporáneo, el Novo Cinema Galego continúa presentando la vida rural y los paisajes gallegos, aunque a veces criticado por perpetuar estereotipos románticos o nacionales. En resumen, el cine gallego no solo documenta conflictos sobre la tierra, sino que aboga por la soberanía local y la biodiversidad, destacando la importancia de una gestión comunitaria y sostenible del entorno natural.

### Palabras clave

Cine; documental; ruralidad; Galicia; monte; mancomún.

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