4

The Reterritorialization Device

Paths of Territorialization

In the previous chapter, I showed the important role food festivals play in reconstructing and supporting socialization within a community facing the impact of socio-economic marginalization. Although based on gastronomic heterotopias, as in the case of Castellino, these events fill an intangible gap in the life of the community, creating a platform for participation in which old and new villagers can join. In so doing, however, a new form of attachment to the community, and its territory is created; and food has a major role in this process.

This chapter investigates the process of reterritorialization that *sagre* entail. "Territorialization" evokes the careful analysis of the relationship between humans and their surroundings which passes through a process of socialization of the landscape (Raffestin, 1980). As Angelo Turco (1984) pointed out, this process encompasses the study of the symbolic, material and organizational forms of control over the environment enacted by the community, the methods used to give value and meaning to the act of living in a place, and the very processes

M. F. Fontefrancesco, *Food Festivals and Local Development in Italy*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-53321-2_4

people use to shape their surroundings. The seminal works of Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) and David Harvey (1990) provided a strong impetus in the study of the processes of territorialization by exploring the impact of the fast economic transformation that occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. In particular, financialization of the world's economy (e.g. Gallino, 2011; Langley, 2014; Tett, 2009), as well as the increased internationalization of people and goods (e.g. Bauman, 1998; Eriksen, 2003; Giddens, 2000; Sassen, 1998), have deeply impacted the perception of space by weakening the cultural bonds that link community and places. The transformation may occur through weakening of ties (Bauman, 2000) or their oblivion (Connerton, 2009). In rural Italy, it is intertwined with the progressive abandonment of villages (e.g. Bravo, 2013; Fontefrancesco, 2019; Grimaldi, 1996; Teti, 2004; Tiragallo, 1999; Viazzo, 1989), that affects the perception of the environment, as in the case of San Rocco, in Chapter 2. Similarly to what Kathleen Stewart (1996) described in West Virginia, rural marginalization makes the local population experience the local landscape as place of the uncanny, the physical signs of abandonment mark. Facing this landscape marked by a sense of detachment (Yarrow, Candea, Trundle, & Cook, 2015), *sagre* play a role in reterritorializing the community.

"*Reterritorialization*" is not just about place, but also meaning. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1983) regard territorialization as a constant process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in which an element is extracted (i.e. deterritorialized) from a regime of meaning (referred to as an "assemblage") and embedded (reterritorializated) into a new one. It is a psychological process at the basis of human understanding that can also be applied to the very understanding of landscape. Deleuze and Guattari (1987, pp. 333–334) use landscape and environmental knowledge as examples by which to explain the process, pointing out how a particular element, such as a bird, can be understood as different assemblages, each one representing understanding of a specific landscape. They use the term "*machine*" to refer to the process that deterritorializes an object from an assemblage and reterritorializes into another one. With whimsical phrasing, Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 333) describe a

machine as: "*a set of cutting edges that insert themselves into the assemblage undergoing deterritorialization and draw mutations and variations to it.*"

Moving away from the poetic language of the French scholars, this chapter suggests that the *sagra* is actually the initiative, the device, through which a community is able to revalue the meaning of their place, ideally moving it from an interpretation situated within a negative vision of the future into a new, more promising one. In so doing, however, as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) suggested, the idea of the community, its history, and production is enhanced in a process that hinges on the design, narration and valorisation, which is the rise in value (Graeber, 2001), of the food on which the festival is focused.

Focusing on the case studies of the *Fasolà* Festival of Oltrepasso, which took place in 2015, and the Pink Asparagus Festival of Mezzago (MB), which took place in 2019, this chapter explores the process through which a community reinterprets its history and landscape, writing a new regime of historicity of the place (Hartog, 2015), "*the culturally patterned way […] of experiencing and understanding history*" (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1990, p. 4). This new regime of knowledge (Foucault, 1971) about the development of the community is functional as it attempts to counter the effects of rural marginalization and foster a new vision of the future, alternative to the one portending a gloomy decline.

Thus, the chapter suggests that *sagre* are reterritorialization devices that entail collective processes through which the historicity of the community is produced and transformed. By participating in the event, organizers and visitors contribute to the process that selects, organizes and reshapes elements considered significant in the community's past, leaving those considered insignificant to be expunged. In this way, a new narrative of the past is forged, informing the self-perception of the community and directing its action concerning the management of its environment, as the ethnographic cases of Oltrepasso and Mezzago show.

The *Fasolà* of Oltrepasso

Oltrepasso is a town of little more than one thousand inhabitants located close to the mountainous area on the border between Liguria and Piedmont. It is mostly a community of commuters, and only about one hundred people are employed in local agriculture. A rich family of merchants from Genoa founded the town in the medieval period as a trading post on the road from Genoa to Milan. Standing on a rise, the medieval castle, originally owned by the founding family and today maintained by the municipality, dominates the skyline of Oltrepasso. Small houses, one to three storeys high, sit around the historical building, preserving the original medieval plan of the settlement.

Recent woods of acacias and other fast-growing trees that little have to do with the original flora of the Apennines mountain region (Abbà, 1980; Molinari & Cevasco, 2009), cover the landscape around the village. Some vineyards, pastures and tilled fields are also still visible in the glades. However, they are only a few hectares in size: last remains of a recent past when almost all the population of Oltrepasso was involved in farming and the entire hill was cultivated. The agriculture of Oltrepasso, like that of many villages in the Italian countryside (Bravo, 2013), was part of a subsistence economy in which the main source of monetary income was the sale of local wine. That peasant society came to an end during the post-World War II period, when the community experienced a rapid demographic decline. Most young people left Oltrepasso, abandoning its meagre economy, and moved to Genoa in order to get a job as factory workers in the industries of the Ligurian capital. *"The village was dying,"* one of the informants, a farmer in his late seventies, recalls. *"We were all leaving – I left as well for a few decades – and only the older people remained here. It seemed there was no future in staying here. Fortunately enough for Oltrepasso, we were wrong."*

In the early 1980s, the village reached its lowest demographic point, with less than one thousand people. The construction of a new highway down in the valley, with a tollbooth about ten kilometres from Oltrepasso, rekindled life in the village and created new opportunities for its inhabitants to commute to Genoa and other cities. Starting in the mid-1980s, many Oltrepasso emigrants returned to the village and new

families from Liguria settled there, attracted by inexpensive properties and the growing reputation of Oltrepasso as a good place to live.

In the past thirty years, Oltrepasso has also acquired a good reputation as a food tourist destination thanks to its spectacular location, as well as the quality of its wine and the recognition of its restaurants. Especially during the summer, people mostly come at the weekends to enjoy a meal based on local products, in particular Oltrepasso's delicacy: *fasolà*, "bean soup" in the local dialect.

The dish is a soup of pasta and beans with a pungent taste of garlic. The villagers consider it an identity dish, through which they find a strong continuity between the present and the remote past of the settlement. As one of the local restaurateurs points out: "*Only in Oltrepasso can you eat real fasolà. The recipe is a secret handed down from mother to daughter in our community. It is a dish with a medieval past. In medieval times, people in Oltrepasso had fasolà as a special dish during festivities*."

Similar rhetoric permeates all the tourist materials published by the municipality of Oltrepasso as well as its Pro Loco; a message based on the celebration of a long-gone past, as well as a sense of tradition tied to the dish.

The touristic success of *fasolà* is strictly linked to the *Fasolà* Festival, the Oltrepasso Pro Loco organizes. The last chapter showed how gastronomic festivals are devices of socialization for local communities. The participation of the population in their organization creates a web of new relationships and a context for the profound sharing of knowledge. In this context, people share stories, memories, and experiences. Through this proactive participation, the villagers establish a shared understanding of the festival, and, more broadly, the community, its people and its history. Thus, as is the case for the famous Balinese cockfight, Clifford Geertz (1973) described, the food festival, including that of the *Fasolà* Festival, becomes the index of a broader shared worldview that brings about community.

The event in Oltrepasso, which is held in August, is one of the most prominent food festivals in the area. In past editions, over 5000 people have flocked to the event, queuing for up to an hour to have one plate of *fasolà*. The structure of the festival is very simple. For one weekend, the Pro Loco sets up a restaurant in the main park of the village. Tables with

approximately 300 seats are arranged in an open space in front of the building where the association has its offices and a professional kitchen. People queue at the counter and order their dinner from a menu that includes *fasolà*, as well as other pasta dishes, such as ravioli or *trofie*, some meat, vegetables, desserts, soft drinks and wine. After paying, visitors sit at the tables and the volunteers of the Pro Loco serves them. Every night of the festival, at around 10 PM, the programme includes some live music with a ballroom dance orchestra or cover rock bands depending on the expected public of the night.

The organizers of the current edition highlight that there are more than one hundred volunteers. Many of them are born and raised in Oltrepasso, but at least twenty are "foreigners", vacationers who have their summer houses in town or people from nearby communities who have become involved in the festival through their Oltrepasso friends. *"Every year, someone new joins us,"* the president of the Pro Loco explains, *"Mostly they are young people from the village, or friends of some volunteer. For those who come to live in Oltrepasso from outside, it is a way to become part of the community; to make themselves known and appreciated by others."*

The inhabitants of the village highly regard the participation in the festival. *"I've been taking part in the festival for more than twenty years, helping out in the kitchen,"* a volunteer in his forties, remarks. *"My wife also helps at the counter, even though she wasn't born here. My daughter started this year and it's a point of pride for me to see all my family working for our community."*

For many volunteers, the party is above all: *"a way to be together and make our village live,"* a twenty-year-old volunteer serving at the tables, explains. *"Being with older people, I learned many stories about the people of Oltrepasso; people who are no longer here. I can say that the Fasolà Festival was my history book; it is here, being with the others, that I learned the history of the community since its origin in the Middle Ages, listening to others, learning the stories of the village."*

Participation in the organization of the festival exposes participants to stories about the mythical past of Oltrepasso and its *fasolà*, as well as to other stories of a more recent past, which together outline an oral history of the past century. It is a vernacular history made up of

stories about distinguished people and extinguished families, eccentric people and past customs, buildings and neighbourhoods. *Fasolà*, therefore, plays a fundamental role in creating a shared understanding of the life and history of the community. Being the centre of the festivity, the dish represents the discursive framework (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 65) within which all aspects of the festival and participation in it develop. In fact, *fasolà* is not just a piece of material goods but rather a hub in the network of socialization (Soldano, 2011, pp. 114–121). Over a century of debate in anthropology has pointed out the multifaceted social role of food in a community: from kinship and politics (Allison, 1991; Boas, 1921, 1925; Herzfeld, 2016; Malinowski, 1922, 1929), to religion and symbolism (Boylston, 2014; Ciancimino Howell, 2018; Douglas, 1966; Levi-Strauss, 1964, 1966, 1968; Malinowski, 1935; Parasecoli, 2005; Staples, 2016; Zafar, 1999), moving through environmental knowledge and economic practices (Harris, 1985; Kloppenburg, 2014; Leitch, 2003; Mintz, 1985; Paxson, 2010; Rappaport, 1967). In all these different aspects in the life of a community, food has a role. Moreover, the articulated disciplinary history highlights the role of food as an object that creates the social space by being an evocative object (Turkle, 2007), signifying affection, experiences and life stories. In particular, as Alberto Cirese (2002) demonstrated in his analysis of the practices related to the preparation and use of Sardinian ritual bread, the role of food, both in sacred and profane contexts, is not limited to visual or haptic aesthetic enjoyment (Perullo, 2016). Rather, its preparation and consumption entail and mobilize a complex system of symbols, aesthetics and mythical narratives involving and characterizing the community. By using food, therefore, people learn and embody this knowledge and in socializing the product, as David Sutton (2001) highlighted, a community learns, actualizes and shapes the very perception of the community's history. Thus, in a food festival, food becomes the centre of a "*endless process of re-membering [sic], re-telling, and imagining things*" (Stewart, 1996, p. 8), like in Proust's famous literary game (Proust, 2002, pp. 45–48).

As the volunteers of the Oltrepasso festival show, individuals' memories as well as stories from the past of the village are shared, and in so doing people create their new historicity, shaping the very way in which

they consider, interpret and voice their past, present and future development. In the case of Oltrepasso, despite the deep transformations that marginalized the socio-economic role of agriculture in the community, the festival shapes a regime of historicity through which the community revalues this aspect of the history and economy of the community. In this way, the festival plays a role in promoting and relaunching Oltrepasso not only on a touristic level but, first of all, on a cultural level countering the effects of rural marginalization. This is the objective that has been pursued since the inauguration of the festival.

The first *Fasolà* Festival was organized in the late 1970s. One of the organizers of the first edition remembers that:

> "*It was during a period when the future of Oltrepasso appeared particularly dark. People were still leaving. The village appeared abandoned with most of the houses closed throughout the year, and our agricultural economy was fading away. But for few days in the summer emigrants came back. We did not have big festivals. Even the festivity on the protector saint's day was just a pompous mass. Other villages around us where organizing food festivals during summer. It was a way to have people come to visit the place, and to involve the local population. Others were organizing festivals based on their local productions, unique products. We did not have anything like typical vegetables. However, we found fasolà…*"

During the festival, the volunteers are keen to present the local dish, describing it as "traditional", "typical", "unique" and a legacy of the medieval past of the village. Similarly, during the year, the restaurateurs who serve the soup in their eateries present *fasolà* in analogous terms. In the village, most people asserted that the dish is old and local; however, very few affirmed that they have prepared *fasolà* at home. As one woman in her sixties points out: "*Today, we generally eat fasolà during the festival. We buy it from the Pro Loco and share it with family and friends. I do not remember my mother preparing it. We used to have many soups and there was also bean soup with pasta. I cannot say it was the same recipe, though.*"

Other informants highlighted they started preparing *fasolà* only in the past few decades, after the festival gained its favourable reputation. Despite the soup appearing not to be rooted in the gastronomic practices

of the community, it holds a key role in food imagery. As the president of the Pro Loco suggests: "*Fasolà is the heritage of this community. No one in Oltrepasso would say anything against it. It does not matter the actual origins, whether or not it is a medieval dish. Fasolà is Oltrepasso, and Oltrepasso is fasolà.*"

This process of re-appropriation develops primarily on a definable level of legend, "*beyond the limits of historical time […] in which a certain element of historical fact may be supposed to be incorporated in a complex of myth*" (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 107). In reality, a medieval origin of the dish can be excluded as beans became part of the gastronomy of Italy only late in the sixteenth century, during the Early Modern Age (Capatti & Montanari, 2003). Soups that combine pasta with other vegetables, however, were already common some centuries before (Serventi & Sabban, 2000). From Early Modern Times, beans became part of domestic agriculture across Italy, being used for soups and other preparations. Thus, it is almost certain that before the festival in Oltrepasso families prepared some soups with beans and pasta. However, the actual origins of the *fasolà* recipe cannot be found in historical records. Today, the official recipe is a secret of the Oltrepasso Pro Loco, jealously guarded from prying eyes although the main ingredients, such as garlic, beans and fresh hand-made pasta, have been in the local gastronomic tradition for many centuries. Even the local restaurateurs have not been given the precise recipe and have had to reinvent it to serve the dish in their restaurants. *"We keep it secret because the recipe is property of the Pro Loco,"* one of the organizers of the early editions explains. *"In many ways, we can say the recipe was born with the festival. The name fasolà was part of our history, but when we organized the festival, we had to set the recipe, document the oral knowledge of the community in order to create the recipe. Slanderers could say we invented the dish. I would say we established a norm and a dish that is the heritage of our people. Above all, I believe fasolà created a strong link between the people of Oltrepasso and the history of the village, in a moment when everything seemed lost. Nowadays there is no one in Oltrepasso that would say fasolà is not part of our village and its history. I believe in them."*

The sense of mystery became part of the gastronomic charm of this food, and one of the reasons for the curiosity of visitors to the village.

Besides this curtain of uncertainty about its actual origins and recipe, by sharing stories about the birth of the product, its history and preparation, the community embedded *fasolà* and its festival in its historicity. In so doing, new value was created for the agricultural and rural aspects of the past, which appeared to be doomed by the deep socio-economic changes that occurred in the mid-twentieth century. Through the narratives (Scholliers, 2001) woven around the festivals' dishes, the food and its festival are, moreover, loaded with affective investment which strengthens the link between them and the community. Thus, if history is first of all based on myths and affection, as Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966, p. 257) suggested, *fasolà* appears to become the history of the community, and its festival secured a historicity that reinforced the cultural cohesion of the community in face of the impact of the process of marginalization that Oltrepasso is still experiencing. As the mayor of the town suggests:

> "*Everyday people in Oltrepasso live the problems that many of our small countryside towns live in terms of the reduction of public services, economic constraints, and lack of investment. However, while many wavered in front of these difficulties and got lost, we know our history, we know what the meaning of this place is and why it is still worth living in. In all of that, the Fasolà Festival did its part in reminding us who we are and why we should be proud of our history.*"

The Pink Asparagus of Mezzago

The process that a food festival entails moves on a symbolic level (Blumer, 1969) creating a new, "edible identity" (Brulotte & Di Giovine, 2016). It also turns into a strong driver for local communities to reconsider the landscape in which they live and develop new ways of managing it. The case of Mezzago Pink Asparagus Festival exemplifies this.

Mezzago (MB) is a town of about 4500 inhabitants, located in the productive district of Vimercate. It is mostly a residential centre, surrounded by a green ring of fields and woods. Most of its population commutes daily to nearby urban centres, among which Milan and Bergamo. Thanks to its strategic position, the ethnic composition of

Mezzago has diversified since the 1990s. In 2019, over 400 migrants, mostly from Morocco (50%) and Romania (45%), lived in the town.

Agriculture still defines the landscape of Mezzago. Since its foundation in the Middle Ages, its economy has been based on agriculture, especially horticultural and cereal production. From the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century, Mezzago thrived thanks to sericulture, like many other towns in the region (Cento Bull & Corner, 1993; Ghezzi, 2007). This industry quickly became the main occupation for about 10% of the population, mostly women and minors (Agostini, 2015). During the twentieth century, the population continued to grow despite the lack of industrial development, which arose in neighbouring municipalities. The members of the community coupled their activity as small farmers with jobs as workers in the nearby factories of Monza, Milan and Bergamo. After the end of World War II, Mezzago became a predominantly residential centre, while the role of farming was marginalized to the work of few families (de la Pierre, 2011). Consequentially, the very perception of the cultivated land that surrounds the village changed in the eyes of locals. What was a contested resource among members of the community and today may appear a pleasant peculiarity of the town, a green ring that divides Mezzago from neighbouring centres of Bellusco, Busnago, Cornate d'Adda and Sulbiate, turned into a material symbol of the decline and failure of a socio-economic model (Stoler, 2008). The post-World War II period marked a change in the very perception of the value of the land: a moving away from "*what you can grow with it*" to "*what the owners can build on it*", as a local farmer in his mid-seventies pointed out. This distinct perception of value, embedded in the life and work of the community, breaks away from an Edenic and idealized understanding of the countryside (Williams, 1973), and raises the question of how a community can recreate a connection and a deeper bond with its rural surroundings. An answer to this question comes from the local cultivation of pink asparagus and its festival, one of the main food festivals in Lombardy (Agostini, 2015).

In 2019, Mezzago celebrated the 59th annual Pink Asparagus Festival (Photo 4.1); a food festival that showcases the local production of asparagus. This production is regulated and protected by a municipal denomination of origin brand (De.Co., approved by

Photo 4.1 Poster of the 59th Pink Asparagus Festival (*Credit* Pro Loco Mezzago [2019])

Town Council Resolution 11/2004), registered in the Slow Food Ark of Taste (https://www.fondazioneslowfood.com/it/arca-del-gusto-slow-food/asparago-di-mezzago/), and conducted by eight agricultural enterprises subscribing to production regulation (approved by Town Executive Council Resolution 35/2019).

The origins of asparagus cultivation and the specific reasons for its introduction into Mezzago are uncertain; however, the inhabitants tend to link them to the history of "Muschen":

> "*Giovanni Brambilla, whom everyone called 'Muschen', was from Mezzago and at the beginning of the twentieth century he announced his departure to America; nobody knew if he would return. He returned and brought with him the roots of a strange pink asparagus, which immediately adapted to the soil of the area, so much so that it became its symbol in a few years. Thus, according to this legend, the pink asparagus of Mezzago was born.*" (Malvasi, 2012, p. 250)

Perhaps that is only a legend. However, the narration introduces us to the history of Mezzago; a town that in the early twentieth century was coming to terms with growing emigration to urban centres and abroad, and was attempting to diversify its agricultural production at a time when sericulture was in decline. The production of asparagus, therefore, represented, alongside mulberry and silkworms, a possible source of income for the small farmers of Mezzago. Each farming family had a few rows of asparagus, usually grown in association with vegetables from the *Liliaceae* family, such as garlic, shallots and onion. Asparagus was produced almost exclusively for sale; being the farmers rarely consumed them. In a municipality of about 2000 inhabitants, there are currently around 400 producers with a total production of about 4000 kg (on average 10 kg per producer) per day during the collection period (Agostini, 2015). The success of this crop is connected to the harvest period of asparagus, between April and May, which is earlier than other horticultural and cereal crops, and provides families with a much-needed source of income after the winter.

Given the widespread use of the crop in the area, in 1959, the Municipality of Mezzago created the Asparagus Festival. As Antonio Colombo, mayor of Mezzago from 2004 to 2014, recalls:

> "*The festival at the time had nothing to do with its present version. It used to be a competition between asparagus producers who were awarded a prize for the largest asparagus, the most beautiful bunch, the greatest production, and so on. Surely, that tells us how much asparagus production means to the community, but the history of the festival as we see it today was born later and in a different context.*"

The festival changed in the early 1980s, turning into a culinary festival intended to be a celebration of the gastronomy of asparagus. The first edition of the new festival dates back 1982. It was a period when Mezzago families were abandoning small-scale horticulture and cattle and pig farming and turning to full-time employment in the then expanding manufacturing industry. The ARCI club of Mezzago together with other local volunteers (de la Pierre, 2011) promoted the transformation of the festival, "*making the festival an important opportunity for participation and involvement of the community of Mezzago*", as Colombo affirms. Over the course of a few years, the festival grew and expanded and since 1989, with the birth of the Pro Loco, its organization has become one of the main responsibilities of the new association.

Right from the early editions, the "new" festival presented a gastronomic offer focused on asparagus. However, it encountered increasing difficulties in finding local products.

> *"Mezzago had changed and fewer and fewer people had the soil for asparagus production" as Giovanni Vitali, president of Asparagus Producers Cooperative (hereafter APC), remembers. "By the end of the eighties, finding asparagus for the festival had become virtually impossible. We started buying them in Veneto, and continued to do so until we went back into production with the APC."*

The APC was founded in 2000. Vittorio Pozzati, current president of Co-op Mezzago and former Mayor of Mezzago from 1996 to 2004, remarks:

> "*In the late nineties, a local newspaper published an interview with a citizen who declared that 'There is no such thing as the Mezzago Asparagus Festival, asparagus are no longer produced in Mezzago. It was a cold shower, but it was a great opportunity to re-launch asparagus cultivation by combining new opportunities with the need to preserve the territory of the municipality from further overbuilding.*"

The municipal administration in those years was engaged in soil protection and enhancement of the agricultural and environmental heritage of the municipality (de la Pierre, 2011). The municipality undertook the activity to promote asparagus culture began in 1998 (after the first failed attempt in 1983). It created a partnership with the Experimental Institute for Horticulture of Montanaso Lombardo. In addition to providing technical support, in 2000, the municipality, in association with the Lombardy Region, purchased 70,000 roots, 60,000 for the members of the newly formed APC and 10,000 for other small local farmers intending to revive cultivation (Photo 4.2).

As Antonio Colombo recalled, the beginning of the collaboration with the institute of Montanaso Lombardo also coincided with a substantial modification of the agricultural system and practices linked to the production of asparagus. Following the advice of the institute, various innovations concerning asparagus production were introduced: the width of the asparagus production area was widened from 120 cm to 2 metres; the number of asparagus rows was reduced from 3 to 2; and the soil and heaps were prepared with a tractor. Black plastic sheets were also introduced to protect the vegetables from sunlight and to prevent the tips of the asparagus from turning green. In following years, the experience gained from collaboration with the community of cultivators from the German city of Reilingen, which encouraged the introduction of further technological innovations related to production, collection and cleaning operations. According to Colombo and other members of the APC, the older generations of Mezzago cultivators at first seemed sceptical of the introduced innovations.

In addition to the reticence of the elderly, "*The real initial obstacle*," explained Vitali, "*was to find owners who wanted to rent the land to us*". Asparagus cultivation lasts for 10–12 years. *"In a historical period of rapid*

Photo 4.2 Mezzago and the asparagus field (*Credit* Michele F. Fontefrancesco [2019])

urbanization, everyone saw the ownership of agricultural land as bank checks to be held because in the following years it would become building land of much higher value. Finding someone who was willing to rent a field for ten years was not simple," Pozzati concludes.

The APC began its activity with 3 hectares of land and gradually expanded to the current 6 hectares, with a production capacity per cultivated hectare of about 4000 kg per annual harvest. In 2019, the cooperative members have produced exactly 25,291 kg of pink asparagus. Actual production began in 2003 and in 2004 the product was subject to one of the first De.Co. Right from the start the product was primarily intended for the festival and packaged with its characteristic pink and black label.

In the mid-2000s, the Mezzago Festival reverted back to be the Festival of the Mezzago Pink Asparagus, local growers produce by means of an economic collaboration involving the Pro Loco, the APC, and other asparagus cultivators. In fact, the Pro Loco is committed to purchasing the quantity of asparagus required for the festival from the APC which, on the one hand, prefers to sell to the Pro Loco and, on the other, guarantees a fixed purchase price, thus establishing a supply chain agreement based on guaranteeing the sale of the product and the security of the sale price. Thus, the festival is not only a showcase of local production, but also the main commercial outlet of pink asparagus. The APC and by other producers sell their products preferentially at the festival, when about 60% of total production is consumed. The remaining part is marketed at the regional level in retail outlets (e.g. Esselunga, Coop, Gigante and Eataly) and markets (e.g. Slow Food Earth Markets and Coldiretti's Mercato Campagna Amica) in Lombardy, particularly in Milan and Monza, in its distinctive packaging.

Therefore, this economic system guarantees a clear and positive impact of the festival on the local economy and a synergy between producers and the world of volunteering. The success of the festival is linked to the Pro Loco's ability to gather and activate a large part of the local population. Alessio Colnago, the president of Pro Loco, underlines:

"*This year we had over 90 volunteers in the kitchen and serving at the tables. Others helped us with the events. We have volunteers of all ages and from*

every political and religious background. Whoever wants to help is welcome and we are happy to have them on board. The success of the festival is in the ability to network with all the positive people in the area, creating a festival that involves the whole community."

The Pro Loco The promotes synergies and initiatives during the festival that also extend to other companies operating in the local agri-food business. In addition to local producers and artisans involved in the supply of materials and associations operating in the environmental field, the event intersects and involves small businesses and projects in the social, cultural and educational fields operating in Mezzago and its surroundings. Giorgio Monti, mayor of Mezzago from 2014 to 2019, explains:

"*The festival works because all the actors of the territory collaborate. It is a platform that brings together the Municipality and civil institutions, the population of Mezzago through voluntary associations and the parish, and companies and producers through the APC and the Co-op. It is through this collaboration we recreated a profound bond between the community and its rural history and landscape. The Festival is pivotal in this work.*"

Paola Filippucci (2016, p. 2) pointed out that the socio-economic and political events a community endures can generate symbolic associations with the landscape, and they contribute to the production and reproduction of the phenomena. While for Israel and the Palestinian territories the events are associated with violence (Weizman, 2007), in the case of Mezzago, and other Italian communities, they were related to post-World War II rural marginalization. In this instance, agricultural decline led to the reduction of tilled soil surrounding the village and the loss of profitability, and the prospect of the advancement of the wild, as in the case of Oltrepasso, or progressing urbanization, as in the case of Mezzago, reinforced the sense of failure about the economic and social organization model based on agriculture, leaving little space for hope in a positive, rural future. The Pink Asparagus Festival, however, illustrates the possibility of breaking this heuristic, vicious circle and fosters new actions

concerning the recovery of rural heritage that passes through the transformation of the landscape. It is a process that entails different actors, as Monti suggests, and derives from the festival.

The festival involves public administration, community and economic actors working together in order to strengthen the prestige of the product and its cultural relevance, expand the market, and create an opportunity for dialogue and creation of new knowledge in the community that also includes establishing a new regime of historicity in which asparagus production and rural heritage have a pivotal role and an uninterrupted legacy. Overall, Mezzago shows that a festival can generate the collaboration of different actors which support and reinforce the community's capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In so doing, it also affects the management and very perception of the community's landscape.

After World War II, in the wake of rapid post-war reconstruction, the cultivated fields around the village appeared no more than a haunting presence in the eyes of locals, and in particular farmers. Somewhat similar to the experience Turkish-Cypriots lives confronted by houses confiscated from Greek-Cypriots after the war in 1974 (Navaro-Yashin, 2009), an awkward feeling of melancholy and uncanniness, derived from the resurgence of a stifled production experience, tints the sight of fields. The success of the festival, and the subsequent rebirth of asparagus cultivation, marks a shift in this perception. Today the asparagus fields, which are cultivated with artisanal agricultural practices similar to the ones used in the early twentieth century, are realms of memory (Nora, 1989) for the community, a symbolic object that reminds locals of their rural heritage and its value. This transformation expresses a new regime of historicity based on the recognition of the value of the local agricultural experience the festival prompts. It expresses a link between present-day Mezzago and its agriculture that the festival through its initiatives and, above all, its gastronomic offer nurtures.

In 2019, the 59th edition of the Pink Asparagus Festival in Mezzago is celebrated from 27th April to 24th May. The festival is organized by the local grass-roots organization, the Mezzago Pro Loco, takes place at the Architi Palace, one of the oldest buildings in the municipality (which is nowadays owned by the Mezzago Co-op and intended to function as a multi-purpose centre equipped for catering). The calendar of events

includes public meetings, workshops, concerts, dances, small markets and exhibitions. In addition, the 2019 programme includes meetings in support of agricultural, environmental and naturalistic activities, such as the MezzAgro initiative, a collaboration between the Municipal Administration, the North East Agricultural Park (www.parcoagricolonordest.it) and Ciboprossimo (https://ciboprossimo.net), which is currently in its second edition (the 2019 edition centred on the theme "Seed exchange, plants, and surroundings" and is intended to bring the festival closer to social and environmental issues).

The cornerstone of the event, however, is the restaurant that catered for about 500 people per meal thanks to the large group of volunteers and the large professional kitchen, which the Co-op and the Pro Loco set up in the large spaces of the hall and the arcade of Palazzo Arditi. The president of the Pro Loco says that:

> "*A hundred volunteers, coming from Mezzago and from neighbouring counties, made the success of the event possible … they cooked and served in the dining room and strived for the success of the event. Thanks to their commitment, it was possible to grow the event and serve over 6000 people in the restaurant during the holiday month, which made the festival one of the most attended gastronomic events in the Brianza area.*"

The professional kitchen of the restaurant is equipped with professional grade equipment. Recently, the Pro Loco has also provided for the purchase of specific asparagus processing tools, such as a special machine for trimming and peeling, which volunteers previously did manually. Lombard and Milanese traditions inspire the gastronomy of the festival and focus on pink asparagus as a distinctive element. This is immediately evident in the menu, which is reproduced below (Fig. 4.1).

The menu centres on pink asparagus following traditional recipes (e.g. as an ingredient for risotto, or boiled and accompanied with eggs) or in innovative dishes resulting from research on Lombard gastronomy conducted by Pro Loco volunteers in collaboration with catering experts. The innovations that characterize these courses often result from a creative process which, starting with the volunteers themselves, expands outside the boundaries of the community and involves various actors from regional and national gastronomic sectors.

FESTIVAL MENU	
APPETIZERS	
Mixed starters	8.00 €
Prosciutto crudo with Mezzago Pink Asparagus	8.00 €
FIRST COURSES	
Risotto with Mezzago Pink Asparagus	6.5 €
Lasagna with Mezzago Pink Asparagus	6.5 €
Homemade ravioli with Mezzago Pink Asparagus cream	7.5 €
Mezzago Pink Asparagus soup	5.5 €
Pasta with tomato sauce	5.0 €
SECOND COURSES	
Mezzago Pink Asparagus with eggs	9.5 €
Mezzago Pink Asparagus with butter or oil	8.0 €
Carpaccio with Mezzago Pink Asparagus and Parmesan	8.5 €
Roast beef with Mezzago Pink Asparagus	8.5 €
Veal stuffed with Mezzago Pink Asparagus	8.5 €
Beef in oil with Mezzago Pink Asparagus	8.5 €
Milanese cutlet	8.0 €
Mixed fried fish	9.5 €

Fig. 4.1 Menu of the 59th Pink Asparagus Festival (*Credit* Michele F. Fontefrancesco [2020])

CHEESE AND SIDE DISHES	
Chips	2.5 €
Salad / Tomatoes	2.5 €
Principi delle Orobie cheese plate	9.0 €
DESSERTS	
Chocolate asparagus with ice cream	3.5 €
Strawberries with or without ice cream	3.5 €
The house cake	3.0 €
Jam tart	3.0 €

Fig. 4.1 (continued)

Given the centrality of pink asparagus, the food and wine derive from local food specialities and the broader Lombard territory: vegetable raw materials, meats and pastry products are purchased locally; fresh pastas are produced by an artisan pasta factory in the neighbouring municipality of Usmate; and the cheeses (including ancient Stracchino of the Orobiche Valleys and Salva Cremasco) come from small dairies located in the nearby provinces of Bergamo and Crema. Drinks too, thanks to the voluntary collaboration of experts in the wine sector, are intended to promote the products of the territory. To quote one of the Mezzago volunteers:

> "*we are proud of our menu, because it tells our story. Research, discussions, attempts, failures and many successes come with each recipe. Overall, we are certain that this menu can best emphasize the product of Mezzago, our asparagus. But above all, I believe each dish expresses the connection our community has with its land; a connection our visitors enjoy and find unique.*"

As emerges from the volunteer's words, the food of the festival is not only a tool for sensory satisfaction; it is a strong semantic device that conveys the message of the link between Mezzago and its agricultural heritage. Other festival activities, such as the market and conferences, reiterate this message that is conveyed throughout the year, through the various activities the different actors of the festival (i.e. the Town Administration, the Pro Loco and the Producer Cooperative) carry out. The message is clear and aims at promoting the community through its asparagus cultivation.

Overall, this activity strengthens the new regime of historicity and creates the cultural basis on which political actions of environmental conservation are introduced, as the rewriting of the town development plan in the early 2000s exemplifies (de la Pierre, 2011). In so doing, the attitude that is at the base of the new regime of historicity is expressed and turned into a direct action able to shape the environment in such a way as to create a new heuristic circle between food, festival, rural landscape and community.

The Functioning of the Device

The previous chapter pointed out the role of food festivals in activating new socialization. It was shown that this process entails the creation of new shared knowledge. This chapter investigates the forms of knowledge generated in the process and what impact they have on the local community. In so doing, the case studies of Oltrepasso and Mezzago reveal how *sagre* can foster a profound reorientation of the way a community views its space. Figure 4.2 summarizes this process.

The process draws on "*the intricate strengths and fragilities that connect places to social imagination and practice, to memory and desire, dwelling and movement*" (Feld & Basso, 1996, p. 8) and in particular it makes use of some specific objects, strictly interconnected and deeply involved in the making of the festival: local food, the economy of the community, its surroundings and history. These four components are at the centre of the discussion that takes place during the preparation of the festival and are the main pillars on which the characterization and promotion of the

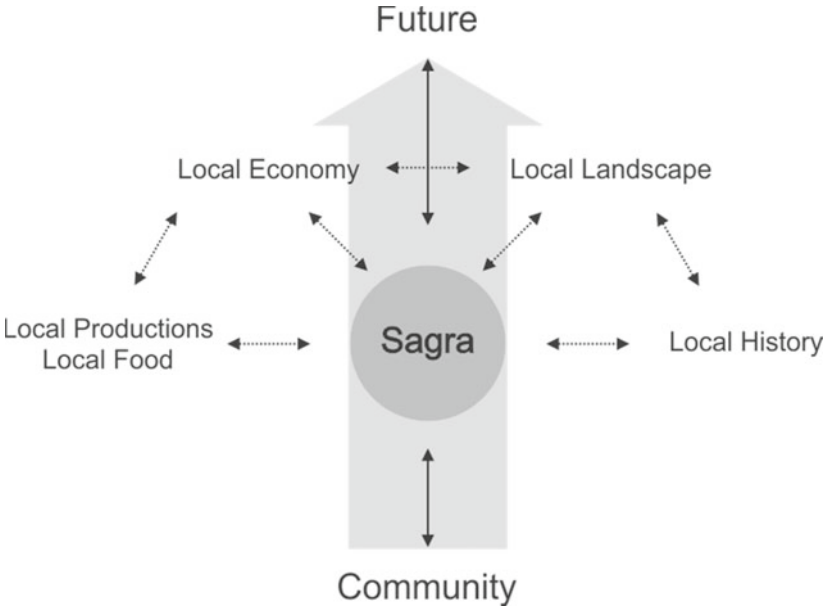

Fig. 4.2 The role of *sagre* in creating a new understanding of the local space and the future of the community (*Credit* Michele F. Fontefrancesco [2020])

event are organized. The process involves their invention and reinvention (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) as well as their embedding into the broader narration of the community and actualized into the reality of community life through the festival and its food and activities. The new knowledge generated in the preparation and celebration of *sagre*, though, has an impact on the entire community, far beyond the constraints of the event. In fact, the cases of both Oltrepasso and Mezzago show that the event becomes a fundamental basis for rethinking the local landscape and relaunching tourism, gastronomy, and, specifically in Mezzago, agriculture. Thus, while a *sagra* is a collective, maieutic exercise capable of bringing to the forefront those background potentialities of the landscape (Hirsch, 1995, p. 5) otherwise left unexpressed and silent, it is able to deterritorialize the community from the gloomy perspective marked by rural marginalization and reterritorialize it into a new perspective shaped by the success of the local gastronomy, completing a reorientation of the community and motivating it with a hopeful vision of the future.

In this process, promoting local gastronomy facilitates the process of territorialisation. In fact, this choice does not ask the community to comply with a historical, economic and gastronomic model outside of local reality. Rather, it motivates the organizers, and the members of the community at large, to rethink their territory, to search for value in the community's history and geography, to promote local uniqueness, and to share the experiences of individual families. In this way, a new understanding and narration of the place are woven; a representation that has historical depth and rootedness. To this discourse, each local family is potentially an equal protagonist and co-maker. Such historical research, as the case of Mezzago demonstrates, is not limited to an antiquarian effort (Momigliano, 1950) aimed at identifying objects of the past and keeping them immaculate. It opens gastronomic products to modernization exploring new ways of presenting local products and preparations to the public. In so doing, it opens up local gastronomic heritage to innovation and contribution from new members of the community, who then become co-makers of the local tradition. The promotion of local gastronomy, therefore, becomes a mythopoetic tool (Wu, 2004, pp. 24–33) that other forms of *sagre*, which promote exogenous gastronomy, such as that of Castellino, cannot enjoy. The choice of celebrating more

generic and exotic gastronomic products limits potentiality in terms of the territorialization of a food festival.

Conclusion

The chapter views *sagre* as reterritorialization devices for local communities in the context of rural marginalization. In so doing, it explores the role of festivals in triggering a process of reconsideration of place, able to redirect the community to a proactive perception of a positive future based on the recognition of the value of its history, heritage and landscape. This process moves on a symbolic level and directly affects the reality of community space and activity, supporting a different use of the community's space and motivating new forms of enterprise. This discussion, therefore, lays the groundwork for a deeper analysis of the economic role the festivals play, which is developed in the next chapter.

References

Abbà, G. (1980). Contributo alla flora dell'Appennino piemontese. *Rivista Piemontese di Storia Naturale, 1,* 17–67.

Agostini, S. (2015). Identità territoriali della filiera agroalimentare. La produzione del luog e del patrimonio. In M. Corti, S. De la Pierre, & S. Agostini (Eds.), *Cibo e identità locale. Sistemi agroalimentari e rigenerazione di comunità Sei esperienze lombarde a confronto* (pp. 431–500). Sant'Omobono Terme: Centro Studi Valle Imagna.

Allison, A. (1991). Japanese mothers and obentos: The lunch box as ideological state apparatus. *Anthropological Quarterly, 64,* 195–208.

Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization. The human consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Boas, F. (1921). *Thirty-fifth annual report of the Bureau of American ethnology to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. 1913–1914.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Boas, F. (1925). *Contributions to the ethnology of the Kwakiutl*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York: Greenwood.

Boylston, T. (2014). Food, life, and material religion in Ethiopian orthodox Christianity. In J. Boddy & M. Lambek (Eds.), *A companion to the anthropology of religion* (pp. 255–273). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bravo, G. L. (2013). *Italiani all'alba del nuovo millennio*. Milan: Franco Angeli.

Brulotte, R. L., & Di Giovine, M. A. (2016). *Edible identities: Food as cultural heritage*. London: Routledge.

Capatti, A., & Montanari, M. (2003). *Italian cuisine: A cultural history*. New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press.

Cento Bull, A., & Corner, P. (1993). *From peasant to entrepreneur: The survival of the family economy in Italy*. Oxford: Berg.

Ciancimino Howell, F. (2018). *Food, festival and religion: Materiality and place in Italy*. London: Bloomsbury.

Cirese, A. M. (2002). Arte plastica effimera: i pani sardi. In A. M. Cirese (Ed.), *Oggetti, segni, musei* (pp. 83–95). Turin: Einaudi.

Connerton, P. (2009). *How modernity forgets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

de la Pierre, S. (2011). *L'albero e le parole. Autobiografia di Mezzago*. Milan: Franco Angeli.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1983). *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Athlone.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Athlone.

Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Eriksen, T. H. (2003). Globalisation: Studies in anthropology. In *Anthropology, culture, and society*. London: Pluto Press.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1940). *The Nuer: A description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Feld, S., & Basso, K. H. (Eds.). (1996). *Senses of place*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Filippucci, P. (2016). Landscape. In F. Stein, S. Lazar, M. Candea, H. Diemberger, J. Robbins, A. Sanchez, & R. Stasch (Eds.), *The Cambridge encyclopedia of anthropology*.

Fontefrancesco, M. F. (2019). *L'ultimo terrazzo di Borgalto* (p. 14). Narrare i Gruppi, 14, 103–117.

Foucault, M. (1971). *L'ordre Du Discours*. Paris: Gallimard.

Gallino, L. (2011). *Finanzcapitalismo: La civiltà del denaro in crisi*. Turin: Einaudi.

Geertz, C. (1973). Notes on the Balinese Cockfight. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *The interpretation of culture* (pp. 3–30). New York: Basic Books.

Ghezzi, S. (2007). *Etnografia storica dell'imprenditorialità in Brianza. Antropologia di un'economia regionale*. Milan: Franco Angeli.

Giddens, A. (2000). *Runaway world: How globalisation is reshaping our lives*. New York: Routledge.

Graeber, D. (2001). *Toward an anthropological theory of value: The false coin of our own dreams*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grimaldi, P. (1996). *Tempi grassi, tempi magri*. Turin: Omega.

Harris, M. (1985 [1986]). *Good to eat : Riddles of food and culture*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Hartog, F. (2015). *Regimes of historicity: Presentism and experiences of time*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Herzfeld, M. (2016). Culinary stereotypes: The gustatory politics of gastro-essentialism. In J. Klein & J. Watson (Eds.), *The handbook of food and anthropology* (pp. 31–47). London: Bloomsbury.

Hirsch, E. (1995). Introduction. Landscape: Between place and space. In E. Hirsch & M. O'Hanlon (Eds.), *Anthropology of landscape: Perspectives on place and space* (pp. 1–30). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J., & Ranger, T. O. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kloppenburg, J. (2014). Re-purposing the master's tools: The open source seed initiative and the struggle for seed sovereignty. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 41,* 1225–1246.

Langley, P. (2014). *Liquidity lost: The governance of the global financial crisis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leitch, A. (2003). Slow food and the politics of pork fat: Italian food and European identity. *Ethnos, 68,* 437–462.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1964). *Mythologiques. 1. Le Cru et le cuit*. Paris: Plon.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1966). *Mythologiques. 2. Du miel aux cendres*. Paris: Plon.
Levi-Strauss, C. (1968). *Mythologiques. 3. L'origine des manieres de table*. Paris: Plon.
Lyotard, J.-F. (1984). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Malinowski, B. (1922). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge.
Malinowski, B. (1929). *The sexual life of savages in North-Western Melanesia: An ethnographic account of courtship, marriage and family life among the natives of Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Malinowski, B. (1935). *Coral gardens and their magic: A study of the methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the Trobriand Islands* [S.l.]. Allen & Unwin.
Malvasi, M. (2012). Proposta di itinerari agroculturali nella "Silicon Valley" lombarda. *Annali del Turismo, 1*(1), 247–269.
Mintz, S. W. (1985 [1986]). *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*. New York and Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Molinari, C., & Cevasco, R. (2009). Microanalysis in woodland historical ecology. Evidences of past leaf fodder production in NW Apennines (Italy). In E. Saratsi & M. Burgi (Eds.), *Woodland cultures in time and space: Tales from the past, messages for the future* (pp. 147–153). Athens: Embryo Publications.
Momigliano, A. (1950). Ancient history and the antiquarian. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 13,* 285–315.
Navaro-Yashin, Y. (2009). Affective spaces, melancholic objects: Ruination and the production of anthropological knowledge. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 15,* 1–18.
Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les Lieux de mémoire. *Representations, 26,* 7–25.
Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (1990). Introduction: The historicization of anthropology. In E. Ohnuki-Tierney (Ed.), *Culture through time: Anthropological approaches: Conference entitled "Symbolism through time": Selected papers* (pp. 1–25). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Parasecoli, F. (2005). Feeding hard bodies: Food and masculinities in men's fitness magazine. *Food and Foodways, 13,* 17–28.
Paxson, H. (2010). Locating value in artisan cheese: Reverse engineering terroir for new-world landscapes. *American Anthropologist, 112*, 444–457.

Perullo, N. (2016). *Taste as experience: The philosophy and aesthetics of food* (American ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.
Proust, M. (2002). *In search of lost time I: Swann's way*. London: Penguin Books.
Raffestin, C. (1980). *Pour une géographie du pouvoir*. Paris: Librairies techniques.
Rappaport, R. A. (1967). *Pigs for the ancestors: Ritual in the ecology of a New Guinea people*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
Sassen, S. (1998). *Globalization and its discontents*. New York: New Press; [London: I. B. Tauris] [distributor].
Scholliers, P. (2001). Meals, food narratives, and sentiments of belonging in past and present. In P. Scholliers (Ed.), *Food, drink and identity: Cooking, eating and drinking in Europe since the middle ages* (1st ed., pp. 3–22). Oxford: Berg.
Serventi, S., & Sabban, F. (2000). *La pasta: storia e cultura di un cibo universale*. Bari-Rome: Laterza.
Soldano, G. (2011). *Ordine e Caos. Teoria delle Reti*. Rome: Edizioni del Credito Cooperativo.
Staples, J. (2016). Food, commensality and caste in South Asia. In J. Klein & J. Watson (Eds.), *The handbook of food and anthropology* (pp. 48–73). London: Bloomsbury.
Stewart, K. (1996). *A space on the side of the road: Cultural poetics in an "other" America*. Princeton, NJ and Chichester: Princeton University Press.
Stoler, A. L. (2008). Imperial debris: Reflections on ruins and ruination. *Cultural Anthropology, 23,* 191–219.
Sutton, D. (2001). *Remembrance of repasts. An anthropology of food and memory*. Oxford: Berg.
Teti, V. (2004). *Il senso dei luoghi: memoria e storia dei paesi abbandonati*. Rome: Donzelli.
Tett, G. (2009). *Fool's gold: How unrestrained greed corrupted a dream, shattered global market and unleashed a catastrophe*. London: Little, Brown Books.
Tiragallo., F. (1999). *Restare paese: antropologia dello spopolamento nella Sardegna sud-orientale*. Cagliari: CUEC.
Turco, A. (1984). *Regione e regionalizzazione*. Milan: Franco Angeli.
Turkle, S. (2007). *Evocative objects: Things we think with*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press.
Viazzo, P. P. (1989). *Upland communities: Environment, population and social structure in the Alps since the sixteenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weizman, E. (2007). *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation*. London: Verso.
Williams, R. (1973 [2011]). *The country and the city*. Nottingham: Spokesman.
Wu, Ming. (2004). *Giap!* Rome: Liberliber.
Yarrow, T., Candea, M., Trundle, C., & Cook, J. (2015). *Detachment: Essays on the limits of relational thinking*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Zafar, R. (1999). The signifying dish: Autobiography and history in two black women's cookbooks. *Feminist Studies, 25,* 449–469.