Summer 2010

Food and Social Life in Puglia: A Comparison Family Food Worlds in Northern and Southern Italy

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FOOD AND SOCIAL LIFE IN PUGLIA

A COMPARISON OF FAMILIY FOOD WORLDS

IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN ITALY

A Thesis

Submitted to the McAnulty College

and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

By

Jennifer Lawer

August 2010

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Approved July 14, 2010

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ABSTRACT

FOOD AND SOCIAL LIFE IN PUGLIA

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By

Jennifer Lawer

August 2010

Thesis supervised by Professor Douglas Harper

This thesis explores the role of food in northern and southern Italian culture. My goal is to point out the cultural differences between northern and southern Italy through the lens of food. This thesis also explains the geographical, historical and economic factors that have shaped modern Italian family food worlds. Finally, the research examines the effect of European Union food policy in Italy. It specifically focuses on whether or not the traditions of food production and consumption habits in northern and southern Italy are altered by European Union policies

DEDICATION

To my Grandparents, Henry and Jennie Mattie

and to

Vincenzo and Maria.

Voi siete solare.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is easy to become fascinated with the study of food and social life when you have grown up in a family like mine. For me, one of life's greatest pleasures is sitting down and enjoying meals with my family. My family means the world to me, and I can't thank them enough.

Most of all I thank my parents. They are the two people I admire most in the world. Thanks Mom and Dad for everything.

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I. Introduction and Statement of Problem

This research explores the role of food in northern and southern Italian culture. Although Italy is a unified country, many experts continue to examine the differences between northern and southern Italy. This thesis is concerned with whether or not regional differences still exist and if they are evident in family food worlds. My goal is to point out the cultural differences between northern and southern Italy through the lens of food. I discuss the different cuisines in the north and south and the different ways in which families come together to eat. I also explain the geographical, historical and economic factors that have shaped modern Italian family food worlds.

The research also examines the effect of European Union food policy in Italy. It specifically focuses on whether or not the traditions of food production and consumption habits in northern and southern Italy are altered by European Union policies.

Research Themes

1. Comparison of northern and southern Italian culture.

2. The study of food as a window into Italian culture.

3. The effect of European Union policy on Italian food between the north and south.

Relevance

1. This research makes a small contribution to longstanding attempts to understand Italian society and culture. This thesis is concerned with whether or not regional differences still exist and if they are evident in family food worlds. This thesis

also explores different geographic, historical and economic factors that contributed to the cultural difference in the north and south.

2. An analysis of the sociology of food reveals many of the core elements of Italian culture. Because of the social importance of food in Italy, many sociological conclusions can be drawn from observing families eat meals together. In the book, The Italian Way, Douglas Harper states that "food is a center through which concentric circles of cultural meaning are organized" (Harper, 2009, p. 14). For this reason, I feel that using the lens of food is an excellent way to study Italian culture. The study of food reveals sociological findings which include cultural identity, family structure, role expectations, gender issues, historical and religious issues.

3. This study also speculatively considers the impact of Italy's integration into the European Union on food cultures of families in southern Italy. I will discuss E.U. policies in the context of traditional Italian food production and consumption habits. These ideas are a thoughtful consideration rather than a systematic analysis of these issues.

B. Literature Review

The sociology of food is a growing area within sociology, anthropology and related fields. I will begin this literature review by introducing authors who have written on the broad topic of the sociology of food. I will then review authors who specifically discuss the sociology of food in Italy. Many of these works frame the study food as a window into Italian culture. Next, I will consider authors who focus on the cultural comparison between northern and southern Italy. Finally, I will review authors who have

written scholarly works pertaining to European Union food policy as it relates to this study.

Sociology of Food

To begin, authors Deborah Lupton, Mary Douglas, Peter Atkins and Ian Bowler approach the study of food from a socio-anthropological standpoint. Many scholars have examined the role food in society from this perspective; however, I found the works of these authors to be the most relevant to my study. The scholarly works of these authors are contributions to a growing field.

In Food, the Body and the Self (1996), Lupton argues that "food consumption habits…serve to mark boundaries between social classes, geographic regions, nations, cultures, genders, life cycle stages, religions and occupations, to distinguish rituals, traditions, festivals, seasons and times of day (Lupton, 1996, p. 1). She analyzes the deep socio-cultural meanings of food from different theoretical perspectives.

She begins by studying food from a functionalist point of view; this idea explores the role of food as part of social life. This includes the "ways in which food practices serve to support cooperative behavior or structures of kinship in small group" (Lupton, 1996, p. 8). She examines the latent functions of food and eating habits and the impact of food and eating on inter personal groups. "Sharing the act of eating brings people into the same community: they are members of the same food culture." (Lupton, 1996, p. 25). As this suggests, food is instrumental in marking differences between cultures, serving to strengthen group identity (Lupton, 1996, p. 25). This is also tied to the role of food and dining in family rituals since family bonds can be similarly strengthened through sharing food together.

Lupton explores food from an emotional standpoint. She explains how food tastes and smells can recall memories and trigger a wide range of emotions. The emotions stirred by food and eating are also strongly linked to family roles. For example, motherly love, and wifely concern are expressed through food as a way to provide comfort. These emotions are also related to 'gendered foods.' For instance, she explains how cultural expectations for men and women are reflected in food preferences; women are linked to sweet foods, which "softer, pretty foods like chocolates and strawberries and cream" (p. 105), while men are linked to meats which carry a connotation of vigor and strength.

Mary Douglas (1975, 1982, 1984, 1998) applies many of these sociological and anthropological approaches to the study of food in a variety of settings. For example, she compares foods and festivities in the Oglala Sioux Native American Indian tribe, an African American family from North Carolina, and Italian American family in Eastern Pennsylvania as well as studying the structure of the meal in England, her home culture.

Douglas wanted to find a relationship between the social relations of people and the structure of food. She begins by studying food during normal days and during feast days. She took note of the foods that were reserved during religious rituals or holidays for each community and the symbolism associated with these ritual foods. Douglas found that these festivals correlate highly with kinship behavior, and are a way to bring people from the community together. She found this to be a common thread for the three communities used in this study. She explains that '…the relationship between food and identity will differ from one culture to the next, but these differences will only be a matter of degree. The degree of differentiation between people (and food) will likely continue to be found

where social, cultural and individual identity is threatened from the outside (Douglas, 1996, p. 93).

Douglas also created a food scheme that represents the sequence of meals. This includes a formula that represents the order in which certain foods are consumed. She uses this formula to track the consumption patterns of families. She found that meals follow a pattern which sets expectations for future meals. She is famous for applying this schematic to the British meal, noting how rules apply not only to the order of foods served, but to the role of food during a day. In addition, her structural explanation shows how rules of the meal subtract elements as well as add them. Other scholars, such as Harper and Counihan, use her food scheme as a template for meal structures.

Peter Atkins and Ian Bowler (2001) explore food from a macro-sociological point of view. They examine the world's food growth and distribution patterns and explain how it has evolved. They give particular attention to the new factors that shape the modern food growth and distribution system. Two of these factors include economics and political power.

Atkins and Bowler further discuss these factors as they describe how industrialization has created a new model for world agriculture. The positive affects of this new model are many. Mass production provides cheaper foods to a greater percentage of people. Many modern foods have longer shelf lives and more sanitary production methods. On the negative side, this has caused an increase in processed and genetically modified foods. The increase in these types of foods threatens the high quality production processes of craft foods such as wines, hams and cheeses.

Most of all, Atkins and Bowler discuss the changes in the ways that people come together to eat. Modernization has changed the social importance of meal. Many people have less time to eat in the company of others, due to an increased number of people entering the workforce. With more people working, "Time honored food habits and meal patterns are said to be dissolving under the pressures of modern life" (Atkins and Bowler, 2001, p. 297)

 Sociology of Food in Italy

Carole Counihan and Douglas Harper examine the topic of food from a sociological standpoint in The Italian Way: Food and Social Life (2009) and Around the Tuscan Table (2004). Their books discuss family roles, gender issues, and food consumption and production patterns. My research draws extensively from these sources and seeks to compare what they learned to what I learned in southern Italy.

Carole Counihan makes generational comparisons among Tuscan families who experienced the pre-World War II era of scarcity to the post-War period of abundance. She dined with subjects in Tuscany, and interviewed them, with similar sociological themes in mind. Counihan's book has a particular focus on gender relations. She examines the female role in Italian households and raises questions to why role expectations in Italy designate the woman as being in charge of all of the food preparations, despite the fact that Italy is a modern country that has experienced a women's movement. Her study provides extensive dialogue from subjects; her interviews are detailed and provide lengthy explanations on a variety of sociological themes.

Many of these themes are developed further in Harper's study. Some of which include gender issues, family roles, and labor issues. Harper gives significant attention to

the power of the mother in terms of family food worlds. He highlights the important place of "the Madonna" in the Roman Catholic Church and shows how mothers' derive their power through their ability to control food, which Harper refers to as a form of "social currency" (Harper, 2009, p. 34).

Harper also builds off of Counihan's generational analysis which compares the eating styles among various generations. Similar to Counihan's study, I interviewed subjects on similar themes. I use many of Counihan's and Harper's findings on northern Italian subjects for the purpose of comparing family foods worlds in the north and the south.

Anthropologist Thomas Belmonte immersed himself into a working class family in Naples to study family roles (1989). Although food was not the central concern of his study, his research gives specific insight into the way family life is centered on food. Belmonte comments on how poverty shapes family life, stating that "In Naples, poverty has compressed the family, tightening it up, overburdening and overheating its linkages…Members of families are drawn to one another by too much need" (Belmonte, p. 1989, p. 52). Belmonte observed powerful role of food in keeping the family drawn together.

These themes are also explored by anthropologist Victoria Goddard (1996) in her study of family dynamics in Naples. Goddard explores food, family life, and role expectations. She stresses how religion influences female role expectations, and devotes attention to the influence of the Roman Catholic image of Mary on Italian mothers. Several authors, including Harper, discuss the connection between Italian mothers and 'the Madonna;' especially in terms of how family life is organized and connected to food.

Following this theme, I compare the importance of 'the Madonna' between northern and southern Italy. I will compare specific actions, words, and beliefs that I observed in southern Italy in the context of what Harper and Counihan observed in the north.

Elizabeth Romer (1984) discusses the strength of regionalism in Tuscan town. Her observations of life in this town illustrate how local dialects and foods become strong in socially isolated areas. Romer also observed the importance of food in everyday life. She discusses how the pace of life was directly linked to the status of food harvesting or cooking. This also touches on the relationship between food and seasonality, since her Tuscan subjects frequently consumed foods that corresponded to the current seasons.

The power of regional foods is also discussed by Serventi and Sabban (2002) in Pasta: The Story of a Universal Food. The authors discuss variations of pasta among the different regions of Italy. This includes the different shapes, different types of flours and different cooking methods. This study also discusses a comparison between the north and the south, since it illustrates how pasta, a dish that was historically the main dish of the south, became the national food of Italy.

The social importance of food in Italian culture is a theme that is addressed by writers who concentrate on food rather than sociology per se. These include Biba Caggiano (2001) and Bill Buford (2006). Caggiano, who grew up in Italy during World War II, describes her childhood dinners with her family. "Among all the disarray and destruction, the food my mother cooked was the only stable part of our lives. It was also there that I learned to love food, because its preparation often was the only carefree moment of our day" (Caggiano, 2001, p. 2).

Caggiano also describes how food has changed in Italy from the post World War II years to the present day. "…progress, prosperity and a faster pace of life have changed the culinary landscape of the larger cities of the region. While some restaurants and trattorie still serve the same time-honored preparations, others, catering primarily to tourists, seem to have become complacent and serve food that is often disappointing" (Caggiano, 2001, p. 3).

Chef Bill Buford (2006) also comments on these changes in his book Heat. He notices that regional specialties are changing due to the same factors that Caggiano mentions. He also notices that regional dishes have acquired different tastes as ingredients begin to come from more globalized sources. Many times these sources reflect poorer quality production processes. He expresses his displeasure with the ways that the names of famous regional dishes are used even when they are made short of traditional standards of high quality. He states that the misuse of the name is misleading since many times the dishes lack authenticity; tourists will never know what they are missing, since they have never experienced the real thing.

Buford's book captures what it feels like to be a professional chef; He gives details on his time spent in the kitchen of a trendy restaurant in New York City, and in Italy where he learned to cook. His account of kitchen work describes the agonizing challenges of being a cook and food server. However, he also explains the uniqueness of Italian food, and why cooking this food is so rewarding to him.

Comparison of North and South

The cultural differences between northern and southern Italy is a subject that many scholars have addressed. My thesis is in part an examination of food cultures between the

north and south of Italy. Therefore, it is important to examine the works of scholars who have written about the comparative differences of northern and southern Italy.

Edward Banfield's book "The Moral Basis of a Backward Society" (1968) is an examination of poverty in southern Italy. Banfield's study was conducted in the impoverished southern city of Montegrano. The poverty Banfield studies "is to be explained largely (but not entirely) by the inability of the villagers to act together for their common good, or indeed, any end transcending the immediate, material interests of the nuclear family" (Banfield, 1968, p. 10). Banfield observed that centuries of foreign oppression have made southern Italians distrust all government. As a result, society shifts their trust inward towards their family. Banfield coins this term 'amoral familism.' Banfield states that, "This inability to concert activity beyond the immediate family arises from an ethos—that of 'amoral familism'—which has been produced by three factors acting in combination: a high death rate, certain land tenure conditions, and the absence of the institution of the extended family" (Banfield, 1968, p. 10). I touch on 'amoral familism' in southern Italy and how it relates to family food worlds. My study connects the strong nuclear families in southern Italy to the importance of family dining. I also analyze how 'amoral familism' has affected family roles—specifically the powerful role of the mother. This examination illustrates the positive and negative effects of family life in northern and southern Italy.

Historian Paul Ginsborg has written extensively on the culture of modern Italy (1990, 2003). These studies compare the north and south, the post war transition into the 'new economic miracle,' agricultural issues, and modern family and consumption issues. Ginsborg revisits Banfield's argument about 'amoral familism,' suggesting that while it

has utility, it is also overly simplistic. He argues that the brutal poverty of the south created circumstances where collectivity would fail. Ginsborg also compares the cultures of the north and the south, using personal narratives and other data. I follow his lead in my own use of narrative and personal data.

Ginsborg also makes observations on modern Italy. He discusses how family and consumption patterns have evolved since the 1960s. He touches on changes in family consumerism and how the increased wealth has allowed more people to purchase commercial goods. This had an affect on family food worlds, as the amount of meat and dairy purchased by families increased; this increase was more dramatic in the south. Ginsborg also comments how an increase in wealth contributed to increased mobility. He discusses how the economic miracle allowed for more affordable family owned vehicles to emerge. Northern Italians were able to travel more, affected family food worlds, since it exposed many northern Italians to non traditional foods.

Luigi Barzini (1965) discusses the "Problem of the South" in his research. He also makes comparisons between the values and aspirations of the typical southern and northern Italians. Barzini ties in historical factors and explains why there is so little trust in southern Italian institutions such as businesses and government.

Sydel Silverman (1975) also provides insight to Italian life in <u>The Three Bells of Civilization.</u> He discusses the importance of community festivities, specifically church festivals and other religious celebrations. Silverman illustrates how these holidays bring the community together, thus building social solidarity in the south.

Ann Corneliensen (1979) further compares northern and southern culture through her analysis of impoverished southern peasant women whose husbands must leave to

travel north and work in the factories. Her study paints a picture of the intense hardship experienced by women in these poor living conditions. Her close experiences with these women reflect the cultural values of the south. Corneliensen pays close attention to the roles of women in the south; she observes that southern Italian society is highly matriarchal. "There are no large decisions to be made by the men and the day-by-day existence is left to the women, who unconsciously take over all the practical aspects of life…Once a woman has power, however slight her influence appears to be outside the family, she consolidates it into a hold over her sons stronger than the famous boast of the Jesuits. Only death will loosen it, but already her daughter-in-law has learned the art of day-by-day living and day-by-day power and has tied her sons to her as firmly as though they were still swaddled. She has also slowly replaced her husband's mother, and he, accustomed as he is to the strength of women, does not notice it. He would, in fact, insist with aggressive pride, "*In casa mia, commando io*!" In my house, I command (Corneliensen, 1979, p. 219). Her observations compare the power of the mother role between the north and the south.

Finally, I will utilize information from Carol Helstosky (2004) on history of Italian food. Helstosky discusses the northern cultural differences through food cultures, for example, describing the recruits for World War I, she writes: "Dietary differences were literally imprinted on the bodies of Italians. Niceforo's analysis of physical examination records of military conscripts found that the further south one traveled, the more one found a greater height differential between classes. Two diets led to two different physical types, manifest in the rich and the poor, or the north and the south." (Helstosky, 2004, p.24)

She also highlights the changing dietary patterns and role of food in Italian families in the post war years. She characterizes this as an increase in formerly scarce items, especially meats and cheeses.

<u>Food and Policy</u>

The social importance of food in Italian culture is reflected in political policy. Several scholars have addressed European Union policy as it relates to food and agricultural practices.

Anthropologist Alison Leitch discusses the cultural significance of *Lardo*, the famous salt cured pork fat from the Tuscan town, Colonnata. The people of Colonnata hold *lardo* in high esteem. To begin, Colonnata is a small town where marble was historically extracted. *Lardo* was traditionally eaten by the men from the marble quarries who were in need of nourishment. It is made by placing the salted pork fat into a marble container with seasonings, where it ages. Ironically, the white smooth fat resembles marble since it has visible veins of pork meat in between the white fat. *Lardo* is a food that is associated with regional memory. Also, marble workers from Colonnata associated *lardo* with their cultural identity.

Recently, the European Union passed quality control regulations for origin based products that are synonymous with a particular area. Leitch explains that *Lardo* is gastronomic delicacy that was certainly worthy of this quality control label. The regulation ensures that *lardo* would continue to be made to high standards; it would offers exclusive naming rights.

However, Leitch discusses how the increased regulations were a two edged sword. Increased regulations created more red tape. European Union quality control inspectors

found the unorthodox production process of *lardo* to be unsanitary. Although the century old techniques for making *lardo* were satisfactory to the Italians, the European Union ruled that they were unacceptable.

Leitch argues that these food regulations are worthwhile. However, the case of *lardo* illustrates an example where increased regulations disrupted the production process of a regionally recognized gastronomic specialty.

Finally, I draw upon Schaffer, Earle, and Agusti's (2005) book, <u>International Business Law and its Environment</u>, for scholarly information regarding the implications of European Union policy on food production. Their book cites specific information on the Common Agricultural Policy and foods with Protected Geographical Indication status.

C. Research Methods

<u>Field Studies in Italy</u>

I am of Italian descent and have a long standing interest in Italian culture. In 2004, I first studied in Italy for a semester in Rome. I returned to Rome to study abroad again in the summer of 2006, which included a home stay with an Italian family. These were my first long exposures to food as a part of Italian life. This experience was followed by two subsequent trips to Italy, as a student, tourist and researcher. Eventually I traveled to southern Italy, where my ancestors are from, and experienced how food was a part of their daily lives. My study comes from these experiences, which predate the formal beginning of my research for this Master's thesis.

As a result of these experiences, I can say that the majority of the information from this study comes from field work with Italian families. I have many friends,

relatives and acquaintances in Puglia, whom I have visited on multiple occasions. Some

of these families invited me to stay with them for days at a time. I conducted research

abroad with Italian subjects from Puglia by joining them for family meals. Dining with

these families allowed me to witness the role of food in the lives of these families first

hand.

During these dinners, I took notice of several topics. However, I paid specific

attention to both the types of food that were prepared, as well as the attitudes surrounding

these meals. Using an informal questionnaire, I would ask the subjects open ended

questions, and listen to the subjects discuss these topics.

Participant-Observation Studies

During my participant observation studies, I observed families preparing meals,

and shopping for groceries. In some instances, I would accompany them to outdoor

markets and grocery stores. I would assist with the shopping. Many of these trips for food

took place daily; they involved a separate stop to a butcher shop, fruit and vegetable

markets, cheese store and bakery. On occasions, I would help them prepare the meals,

however most of this work consisted of simple tasks such as rolling meatballs or cutting

artichokes. I also tried to assist with cleaning dishes; however, none of the family

matriarchs ever permitted me to wash any dishes, despite my persistent efforts. I found

this to be true even in the homes that I had lived in for over a month. I had no longer had

the status of a guest in this home; however, the women who were in charge of the kitchen

vehemently insisted on washing all of the dishes herself. In addition to shopping and

preparing food, I also ate with these families, often on several occasions.

Dining in the homes of these subjects allowed me to see family roles in action. During dinners, I observed how family relationships were maintained through meals. Mothers expressed their love for their families through the preparation of elaborate meals. Children and fathers returned the love by enjoying the foods. In some cases, family members discussed their relationships with their children or parents with me.

On occasion, I joined families for dinners with extended family members on Sundays and some holidays. This allowed me to see the closeness of Italian families; both nuclear and extended families came together to enjoy meals together on a regular basis. I saw how mealtime was a way to express emotion and to re-establish family bonds. As a researcher, my participant observation field work involved being a part of the family dinners. Most of the subjects treated me like part of the family. I felt that I was quickly integrated into the groups that I studied. I felt that this makes me highly involved, since I ate with the families, and shared in dinner conversations with them. However, I still attempted to retain my objectivity as much as possible.

During this study, I was an observer and an analyst. Although I did not experience any major challenges with remaining objective, I did notice some aspects of Italian culture that made me recognize the importance of cultural relativism. As an American, I witnessed Italian culture from the standpoint of my own culture. This exposed elements of Italian values that differed from my own in positive and negative ways. I experienced situations where I suspended my judgment on things that conflicted with my culture's values.

The overwhelming majority of these observations were positive. I value the families that I studied, and I feel that Italian culture has so many strong positive aspects.

However, I noticed elements of the culture that did not appear as positive to me as an American woman. For instance, I remember watching one subject, an Italian mother, who treated her adult son like he was still a child. She and her husband came to his office while he was at work, and she insisted cleaning the office. This adult child was a Doctor and fully capable of cleaning the office himself. I didn't say anything, but my personal judgment of the situation was that the mother seemed overbearing. Had I been the adult child, I would have been irritated by the mother's actions. As a woman who values American feminist values, the act would have irritated me and offended me. If I were a Doctor, with my own office I would want to be able to take care of my workplace without the help of my mother. This type of situation exposed my American viewpoints on role expectations for mothers. From an American standpoint, these actions are not normal; mothers typically do not perform these types of tasks for their adult children. However, the situation was not out of the ordinary for Italians.

Interviewing

Through semi-structured interviews, I asked subjects what types of foods they eat on a weekly basis. I used a questionnaire (See Appendix A) as a basis for these interviews. The questions on the questionnaire asked subjects to describe their typical breakfast, lunch and dinner menus. This was one of the most useful questions because it shows how often they eat regional or non-regional dishes in any given week. I asked what their common pasta dishes were for lunch and dinner and what foods they typically kept on hand in their refrigerator. I asked them about foods that are typical of their region or sub-region. I also asked them to comment on their personal favorite foods, and I asked

subjects to elaborate why they liked or didn't like about these dishes. These questions exposed the preferred food tastes of individuals in Puglia.

Other questions asked subjects about the types of processed foods that they consume, and how much of processed and frozen foods that they keep on hand in their house. The interviews also asked how frequently the family eats together, and how often family meals occurred among extended family members. Most of the dialogue for interviews took place in their homes. I also contacted some of the subjects via telephone and through email. The questionnaire answers were then transcribed and coded.

Sampling

I tried to use a variety of different families in my study. I studied families that are typical of the upper, middle and working classes in Italy. This allowed me to examine the affects of socio-economic factors on the way individuals in Puglia eat. Overall, the subjects come from 13 families in Puglia. My sample includes families from various economic classes. I had 6 upper class families, 4 middle class, and 3 working class families in my study. I used occupations as the main basis for measuring the social class of the families.

Strengths and Limitations of Methods Used

There are several strengths to the chosen methods. To begin, the field studies were conducted at on-site locations in Italy. Having the opportunity to travel to Italy, and be among the subjects in their homes was a great way to understand my essential research questions. Although I used many primary information sources, being a participant observer gave me an unparalleled look at family food worlds.

I modeled my research methods after the research on family food worlds conducted by Harper (2009) and Counihan (1985). I tried to make the same generational comparisons and I asked subjects similar questions. I also limited my study to just the Puglia area, similar to the way that Harper exclusively studied Emilia-Romagna, and Counihan, Tuscany. I feel that this is s strength, because, the strong similarities in methods allow me make a balanced comparison.

My time spent in Italy has allowed me to become acclimated to the culture. This has helped subjects to feel more comfortable around me. I speak Italian, and I am familiar with many of the customs, and with many of the regional food dishes. For many of the specific subjects, I know them personally. I have visited some of these subjects on many different occasions, and I have spent days in some of their homes. Some of the subjects have visited my family in the United States. Therefore, I have known some of my subjects for many years.

In the case of many of my subjects, I really got to know these families; I traveled with them to different parts of Italy and I went to parties with them. I have kept in touch with them over the phone and through the internet. This helped me to best understand these families, and make accurate portrayals of the subjects.

Weaknesses

One of the biggest weaknesses of my study is the small sample size. Although I have thirteen families, Harper's study included closer to 25 families. He had a more equal distribution of families in each socio-economic category. On the other hand, my study is missing 2-3 final subjects in the working and middle class categories. This could slightly skew the study results. A more even number of subjects in each category would be ideal.

Also, as is common with a non-quantitative study, my sample is not statistically representative. Similar to Harper and Counihan's studies, it is unknown whether some of our subjects are the best family to represent each class. My understanding helped me to accurately categorize subjects.

Another weakness of this type of study is the fear that my presence could alter the nature of the study. I felt that on rare occasion, the family subjects prepared meals that were most definitely not everyday meals. These were elaborate feasts that did not represent the typical Italian family meal. However, these subjects had also completed the questionnaire form, which asked subjects to describe a typical weekly menu. Therefore, I was able to understand the typical meals that that family consumed, and not the meals that were out of the ordinary.

D. Definition of Terms

I employ the following terms and concepts in my study. These include terms such as "family food worlds," "northern Italy" and "southern Italy." These terms were used to organize and interpret my data.

By "family food worlds," I am referring to how families are organized around food. It is also concerned with the ways in which families come together to eat. This includes role expectations and divisions of labor for men and women. It examines the degree in which women are "Masters of their Kitchen" (Harper, 2009, p. 134) and how much work she puts into preparing meals.

"Family food worlds" also includes the ways that families gather for meals. This touches on the social significance of meals. This is demonstrated by the way that Italian families frequently eat together. Most Italians live in close proximity to their parents, and

they have family meals throughout the week. Also a Sunday dinner with family members following mass is also common. This reinforces the bond of families through spending time together and eating together.

The term "northern Italy" is broad term which refers to the geographical northern regions of Italy, such as Tuscany, Emilia-Romgana, Veneto, Lombardia, Piemonte, Liguria, Valle D'Osta, Trentino Alto Adige, and, Fruili Venezia Guiglia. However, most of the data I will be using for comparison comes from Dr. Doug Harper's book <u>The Italian Way</u> which examines families in the Emilia-Romagna region and Dr. Carole Counihan's book <u>Around the Tuscan Table</u> which focuses on family life in Tuscany. Therefore, I will use the Tuscany region and Emilia-Romagna regions as the larger part of my sample since both of these regions are typical of northern Italy.

Similarly, the term "southern Italy" includes the geographical regions of Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria and Sicily. However, my research is focused on the Puglia region. The subjects that I plan to interview are from Puglia. This region is also typical of southern Italy both in culture and cuisine.

II. <u>Conceptual Framework</u>

<u>Introducing the "Cultural Chart"</u>

One method I will use to measure the difference between family food cultures is through Dr. Harper's "cultural chart." The chart was a means by which Harper compared the families he studied both in terms of their orientation to Italian food, and their commitment to food as an important cultural focus for their lives. Through an examination of the types of meals that subjects prefer to eat, they are rated on their level

of commitment (ritualistic or pragmatic) and their preferred food focus (traditional or eclectic). The chart compares the two elements as follows:

Table One: The Culture Chart (Harper, 2009, page 250)

	Ritualistic	Pragmatic
Traditional	a. Traditional Ritualistic	c. Traditional Pragmatic
Eclectic	b. Eclectic Ritualistic	d. Eclectic Pragmatic

The vertical column measures the person's orientation towards food. "Traditional/ritualists" (a) subjects are described as individuals who have grown up with certain tastes and "these constitute the "right and only way to eat" (Harper, p. 237). Traditionalists have a strong commitment to regionalism; they prefer their regional dishes and are not likely to experiment with a dish from the north or from other regions. For a traditionalist, regional food is likely to have a strong relationship with their cultural identity.

The horizontal row rates the person's level of commitment towards food. A "ritualistic" person is one who is passionate about cooking and they take meal preparation seriously. In contrast, a "pragmatic" person eats to refuel his or her body. They do not share the same enthusiasm for eating. They are practical in their eating habits, and they are less likely to spend a great deal of time and effort on meal preparation. Pragmatic eclectic eaters may seek other foods for health reasons, or because they marry someone from a different region of Italy, or even outside Italy.

"Eclectic/ritualists" (b) on the other hand characterizes a person who is passionate about eating and willing to try foods from different regions. They are open to exploring new tastes beyond the scope of their home region.

"Traditional/Pragmatics" (c) are people who prefer the foods of their home region, and they do not have a passion for eating. Factors that influence this category are the stressors of the modern workday. A person may be pragmatic out of necessity; their busy work schedule may not permit long hours for family meals. Also, since they are not passionate about food, they have no incentive to experiment with foods from outside their region.

"Eclectic/Pragmatics" (d) are people who are not passionate about eating, yet they eat a variety of foods from different regions. Many eclectic pragmatics may eat this way for the sake of maintaining marriage harmony. They do not share the enthusiasm for eating or exploring different foods from different regions. However, they may have married someone from a different region or country, so they eat foods from their spouse's home region or country.

My essential comparison of family food worlds in northern and southern Italy can be examined through the cultural chart. Dr. Harper's study of subjects in the Emilia-Romagna region (Northern Italy) concludes that working class individuals from Emilia-Romagna typically eat in a more traditional ritualistic style. Middle and upper class individuals are more likely to try new recipes from different regions.

Review of How Harper used Chart

Harper used the chart to represent the food preferences and commitments to dining in Emilia-Romagna. He also uses the chart to illustrate the large variety of tastes in this region.

Harper found that social and economic class affects where people fall on the chart. Upper class families from northern Italy were more likely to be "eclectic" in their

food tastes. He accredits this to their increased wealth, since wealthier families have the financial means to travel to different regions. They also are more likely to be educated. Travel and education expose families to meals that they typically would not have eaten in their home regions. Harper points out that it takes funding to develop these "eclectic" tastes. These wealthier subjects were more likely to travel, thus they were willing to experiment with non-traditional foods. They were also more creative and tried new twists on traditional recipes.

He also shows that many working class families, who have not traveled outside of their home regions, are more likely to favor "traditional" meals, since they have not been exposed to cooking outside of their region. For this group, the meals of their home region are the tastes that they prefer, and are accustomed to.

In addition to developing either traditional or eclectic orientations to Italian food, Harper found that there were several ways to characterize people's orientation to food; their passion, or their practicality. The culture chart, as a two by two table, allows us to combine two features in each cell and then to explain how and why the patterns exist.

Using the Chart Comparatively

I use the "cultural chart" to compare family food worlds in the context of the north and south. I feel that the chart is useful because it compares both the actual foods and how the families come together to eat. It takes into consideration the degree to which food plays or does not play a role in representing their cultural identity. With this in mind, the chart is a way to make cross cultural comparisons between the north and the

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south. The chart compares the willingness to experiment with foreign dishes between northern and southern Italians. The chart can also examine how food can represent a person's identity. I will use the chart to examine whether or not the consumption of traditional foods is more strongly linked with cultural identity in the south than in the north.

III. Influences on Food Culture

A. Geography

Geography has played a large role in shaping the differences between northern and southern Italy. The dramatic differences between the north and the south can be explored through an examination of the differences in climate and landscapes. The following section explores differences in landscapes, climates, temperature, and physical shape, to illustrate how these factors produced two different cultures.

At the same time it is important to note that these geographic differences influenced the way that the north and south were colonized. Geography is also responsible for the relative wealth in the north and the poverty in the south. The wealth in the north contributed to more industry, an increase in education, more exposure to travel. At the same time, poverty kept the south more tradition bound. This also explains why religion is stronger in the traditional south. A larger number of universities and a greater exposure to science and other new schools of thought could have contributed to why the north is less religious and tradition bound.

The "Theory of Environmental Determinism," (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2010) argues that cultures vary as a result of their environment. I argue that geography influences many different elements of the social environment of northern and southern

Italy, but cannot be thought of as a single determining factor. Therefore, the dramatic differences in culture between the north and south are determined by social conditions and not on geography.

2. Landscapes

The comparison between the north and south begins with an examination between the terrains. The following map shows the physical geography of the northern Emilia-Romagna.

Map of Emilia-Romagna Region (Northern Italy)   Source: www.worldmapsinfo.com (2009)

A visual illustration of the north shows the lush green area surrounding the Emilia-Romagna region. This area has historically been the breadbasket of Italy; its reputation for food production holds true today; no other region in Italy is home to more

food companies (Piras and Medagliani, 2004). There are several reasons as to why this region is ideal for farming; the most important of which may be the presence of the Po River. Firstly, this northeastern region has mountains to its left, the sea on its right and the Po river valley running right through the middle. The Alps are the source of the Po River that flows into the region creating perfect irrigation systems.

The Po River and its many tributaries produce some of the most fertile pastureland in all of Italy. Thus, this region became a plentiful supplier of grains and cereals. Wheat is grown in abundance, which is used in bread and pasta. Also, rice is grown in adjoining areas of Lombardy, Piemonte, and Veneto, since they have an abundance of water in these regions. Some scholars speculate why rice cultivation did not expand out side these areas; this could be because the excessive water needed to grow rice creates swamp like terrains which are ideal conditions for malaria. (Demetri, 2010)

Barley and oats were grown and used to feed draft animals. This is why the north enjoyed an abundance of meat and dairy products, which have worked their way into northern Italian cuisine. For instance, a typical dish of Bologna, a city located in near the Po River Valley, is lasagna. Bolognese lasagna consists of layers of egg based pasta and Bolognese meat ragu; a rich tomato sauce made from ground veal, pork and beef, simmered in beef stock. The layers are covered in creamy béchamel sauce and topped with grated parmesan cheese.

The Po River also aids in economic development. Many important northern Italian cities have sprung up along the banks of the Po River. The river was a source of trade and means for travel. Today the Po River Valley is one of the main industrial area of the Italy. A case study by the European Water and Wetland Index revealed that 1/3 of

Italy's population resides in the Po River Valley. (UN World Water Assessment

Programme, 2009) This area generates approximately 42% of the country's workforce,

and 38% of Italy's GNP. Also, the Po is a source of power for hydroelectric stations.

Water from the Po is used to cool oil and coal power stations. (UN World Water

Assessment Programme, 2009)

Map of Puglia (Southern Italy)   Source: Mountain High Maps (2010)

In comparison, the southern region of Puglia has very few rivers, and its terrain is

dry and arid. Puglia experiences chronic water shortages. Historically, many southern

regions struggled agriculturally because a lack of fresh water hindered crop output. Some

southern Italian regions, such as Calabria, have only 9% arable land. It is no wonder why

the south has experienced high levels of emigration. The south lacked the ability to feed

itself; the area could not sustain its population. Many had to leave because they lacked

food. Food shortages from poor crop harvests were common throughout southern Italy.

Although, Puglia was somewhat better off than some other regions. Puglia produces significant amounts of wheat and has some pastureland.

Throughout the centuries, Puglia has relied on aqueducts to carry water from long distances. Even today, Puglia must import water from other nearby regions. It is very common to see huge trucks carrying water along Puglian highways. Water and irrigation is a constant concern for Puglian farmers as well.

3. Shape of Italy

Another aspect of Italy's geography that has influenced cultural differences are Italy's shape. Geographers categorize Italy as an elongated state. It is a long and narrow strip of land that has miles and miles of coastline. The advantage of this form of state is that they have close access to water which aids in economic activity such as trade. However, a major disadvantage of an elongated shape is the vulnerability it poses to outside invaders who can easily penetrate the mainland through the coastline. On the other hand states that have mountains can use these as geographic protection against invaders. Northern Italy enjoys the protection from the Dolomite Mountains, and they have fewer coastlines to defend.

The shape fosters cultural differences since northerners and southerners are separated by a long geographic distance. It is difficult for natural resources to be transported in an elongated state. Shipping goods from the north to the south was time consuming and expensive. Also, Italy's shape contributed to the poverty in the south. The south had to depend on the north for wealth, and the long shape of the country kept southern Italy cut off from the rest of Europe. This could be one reason why southern Italy was poor and isolated. The north on the other hand flourished since it was closer in

distance to other European countries. This could be why economic poverty increases as the latitude increases south. The south was dependent on money in the north, which slowly trickled down to the center of the country; the funds were progressively depleted as they traveled farther south.

4. Climate/Temperature

Northern regions experience a more temperate climate. Areas like the Po River Valley enjoy growing seasons that are warm and muggy. Vegetation thrives in the humidity. Also Emilia-Romagna has unique geographical advantages; wind patterns carry moist air off of the Adriatic Sea causing increased rainfall. The Apennine Mountains are a barrier, so the rain is deposited in Emilia-Romagna region. Heavy rainfalls make lush pastures for farming.

In contrast, the south has little rainfall and high amounts of sunshine. Seeds like barley and oats, which are necessary cereals for animal feed wither and die in the dry soil and hot sun. The scarcity of animal feed made it nearly impossible for southern Italians to sustain draft animals and livestock; therefore beef, veal, chicken and dairy were rare in the south.

Pigs however were able to be sustained on the land since their diets do not require cereals; pigs can survive on eating cheaper, leftover food scraps. Because of this the cow became the animal of the north, while the pig became the animal of the south. Southern Italians also had some success from sheep farming; which provided some dairy and meats. Sheep can be sustained from grazing on grass and like the pig, they do not require cereals. However, sheep can also deplete the pastureland of nutrients and ruin the soil

when they are subject to overgrazing. This occurred in southern Italy under exploitative Spanish colonization practices.

5. Typical Northern and Southern Italian Diets

The differences in geography helped to create different diets in the north and the south. The ideal geographic conditions in the north created a heavier diet that enjoyed an abundance meat and dairy. On the other hand, the southern diet was much lighter. It used meats and dairy products more sparingly, and it was based more on vegetables and legume. The relative poverty of the south caused circumstances where southern Italians had to make do with what little ingredients they had.

The shortage of meat led southern Italians to become masters of making sausage from cheaper cuts of pork. A single pig would have to be preserved to feed a family for an entire year. Oil and salt preserved sardines were also common. Meats were used sparingly. For instance small pieces of fatty pork or sardines would be used to give flavor to pasta dishes and sauces. These shavings of meat were used more as a garnish; quality cuts of meat were rarely eaten on their own except during special occasions. In the north, choicer cuts of beef and breaded cutlets of chicken, veal and pork were eaten on a more regular basis.

Geographic conditions in the north also created a variety of options for starches. Northerners enjoyed potatoes, rice, polenta (from cornmeal), bread and pasta. A softer type of wheat from the north produced more pliable pasta dough. Also northern pasta is made using eggs. In the south, the dominant carbohydrate was bread and pasta. The south lacked chickens, which led to pasta that is made without egg. Southern wheat was a harder grain in comparison to northern pasta. The northern soft wheat cannot be pushed

through dies to make spaghetti; it needs eggs to bind it together. Also, northern pastas are likely to be stuffed with filling since plentiful quantities of these ingredients (such as meat, cheese, mushrooms, and pumpkin) are more readily accessible.

Although the low rainfall and the hot sun of the south prevented the growth of cereals, these conditions were ideal for olives, grapes and citrus products. While olives do grow in parts of northern Italy, they are more common in the south. Therefore olive oil is dominant in the south and central parts of Italy, while butter is more common in the north. Heavier cream and meat based sauces were more typical of the north, while light tomato and olive oil sauces were more prevalent in the south.

Poverty has always been more intense in the south than in the north. However, both the north and the south have experienced periods of famine and economic hardship. Italy has experienced centuries of starvation. Therefore, its reputation for cuisine is ironic. Italy's history of food scarcity created the need for skilled cooking. The southern Italians became especially good cooks because they had to learn haw to make meals from humble ingredients.

B. History

History helps explain why the south has developed so differently than the north. These historical factors shape the construction of family food worlds in the north and south.

Colonization

Italy was a unified country under the Roman Empire; however the following centuries marked a split between the north and the south because they experienced different forms of colonization. Southern Italy's strategic location in the in the center of

the Mediterranean Sea made it attractive place for outside invaders. The south has a long list of foreign occupiers, such as the Romans, the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Normans, the Byzantines, the Spanish and the French. As a result, southern Italy experienced brutal oppression--particularly by Spanish and French occupation. This has had lasting consequences on Italian culture; and in particular on family food worlds.

Southern Latafondia System of Agriculture

Spanish rule established the *latafondia* (Italian for "large estate") agriculture system in southern Italy, which was brutally oppressive. Under this exploitative system, the peasants were forced to work on large estates which were typically owned by foreign powers or the Roman Catholic Church. "Peasants were landless laborers…whole families shared a dank room, or they lived in shacks or even caves." (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 63)

The crops harvested from these estates were then exported to the foreign countries. Peasants were prohibited from owning land. When land was sharecropped, they were only permitted a quarter of the produce.

The exploitation of the southern Italians by the Spanish *latafondia* owners increased when it was discovered that sheep could be sustained on the land with what little pastureland remained in southern Italy. However, the sheep were overgrazed which later destroyed pasture land. The Spanish also engaged in monocropping; they continuously grew the same produce year after year, which depleted the soil of its nutrients. As a result weeds and pesticides became stronger and the plants were more susceptible to poor harvests (Roslin, 2008). This caused frequent low yielding harvests. "Most landowners had consistently neglected their properties, so that they declined in quality every year" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 70).

Northern Mezzadria System of Agriculture

The northern system of agriculture, the *mezzadria*, was not nearly as oppressive as the southern *latafondia* system. This can be a primary reason why the north developed so differently than the south- both economically and culturally. The *mezzadria* system guaranteed peasants a half share (*mezzo* meaning "half" in Italian) of the produce that they harvested from the land. Peasants in the north lived on self sufficient farming estates. They had access to pastureland for animals land security. Farming methods under the *mezzadria* system were more environmentally sustainable than the exploitative practices of the southern *latafondia* system.

4. Relationships with Landlords

Northern landlords provided equipment and housing to the peasants who in return supplied half of their crop harvest. The peasants had "access to pasture for their animals, small plots on which they grew their subsistence and limited crops for the market" (Harper, 2009, p. 34). The peasants and their landlords negotiated contracts which "were complex, several pages long, and required the involved parties or their representatives to be literate." (Harper, 2009, p. 34) "In this system," writes Harper, "peasants were relatively secure, as they had access to varied food of their own cultivation as well as to their share of the crops they grew for the landlords" (Harper, p. 34). They would help their landlord by improving the estate by constructing "ditches, channels, and plantings of olive or mulberry trees." (Harper, p. 34) Northern Italian landlords looked out for the needs of their peasants, and in return the northern peasants helped manage the estate. In normal times—that is, when there was no drought, foreign invasion or other catastrophes--the relationships between peasants and landlords were largely harmonious.

Unlike the northern peasants, the southern system offered "no stake in the land they worked, no plots for small gardens, no common lands to graze a few animals, and no security. When they rented land, they borrowed at high rates of interest from the landlord, and when land was sharecropped, peasants received only a quarter of the produce rather than the half share that was customary in the north" (Harper, p. 36). "Peasants who rented strips of the *latifondo* found themselves in permanent debt" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 31).

Also, southern Italian peasants were typically illiterate, and their relationship with their landlords was one of subjugation. "Under the *latifondo* system the agrarian contracts agreed between landlord and peasant were the worst in all Italy…They were of great complexity and varied widely from region to region…Contracts were nearly always on an individual level, often unwritten, and bitterly contested" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 31). "That such attitudes triumphed can only be understood in the context of a society which was dominated by distrust" (Gisborg, 2003, p. 31). The peasant landlord relations produced a society where "*fede pubblica* (civic trust) had been reduced to a minimum: A popular Calabrian proverb stems from this idea: " '*chi ara dritto, muore disperato*' (he who behaves honestly comes to a miserable end)" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 34)

The southern agricultural system fostered a deep sense of mistrust in authority. Southern Italians have been repeatedly abused by their superiors to a point where they resist all forms of authority. This system caused a "hatred for those with land, power and money." (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 36) Even today, southern Italians have little trust in any authority whether it is business owners or the government. The origins of the Mafia, originally a southern institution, derived from this agricultural system as a means of protection against powerful institutions.

<u>Relationships with Other Workers</u>

Northern farmers learned to rely on each other for shared division of labor. During periods of heavy work such as harvests, farmers helped out on neighboring farms. This system created a "high degree of social integration, a strong peasant culture of self-reliance and solidarity" (Harper, 2009, p. 35).

On the other hand, the *latafondia* system caused inter-group competition and worked against social solidarity in the south. In contrast to the northern social solidarity, the southern system fostered rivalry. In the mornings, the men gathered in village squares each day to compete for work. This competition put neighboring farmers in a position where they had to compete against each other for work. "The peasants were in constant competition with each other for the best strips of land on the *latifondo*, and for what meager resources were available. Vertical relationships between patron and client, and obsequiousness to the landlord, were more important than horizontal solidarities" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 34). Italian writer Pietro Bevilacqua comments on this period and is quoted in Ginsborg, "The peasant classes were more at war amongst themselves than with other sectors of rural society" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 34).

<u>Affects of the Latafondia and Mezzadria on Culture</u>

These two agricultural systems are primarily responsible for differing cultural mentalities in the north and the south. The *mezzadria* system fostered positive relationships between land owners and peasants; it also provided a sustainable farm system where peasants looked out for each other. This allowed for strong community trust.

However, it is because of the southern *latafondia* system, that the south became distrustful of institutions. Southern Italians resented authority and were constantly suspicious of their neighbors. They trusted nobody except for their family. This was the only social support network that southern Italians could truly rely on.

Family Food Worlds

Italian families had to be tight knit in order to survive. Dining together with family members became a way to strengthen and reinforce family bonds. Poverty only heightened the importance of meals since people could come together to share what little food they had. Anthropologist Thomas Belmonte commented on more recent poverty from his study of sub-proletariat Neapolitan families in the 1970s. He observed a magnificent cook, Elena, as she prepared meals for her husband and family. Harper comments on the importance of these meals to the family, as he states, "Here is a working-class cook-artisan, providing her family with their single reliable source of pleasure" (Belmonte, 1989, p. 101). Food scarcity caused a heightened enjoyment for food and mealtime was a cause for celebration.

Modern Italy

More strikingly, the importance of families eating meals together has not disappeared despite modernization. This is true in both north and south. Italian sociologist, Patrizia Faccioli comments on Italian ritualism in The Italian Way; Faccioli is asked the question, "Why do Italian families make a great effort to eat together at least once a day? Would it not be more convenient if everyone followed her or his own pace and schedule?" (Faccioli, 2009, p. 280) She responds, "Yes… it would be more convenient. But…dinner is the time when family members can talk to each other, telling

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what happened during the day, revealing their problems, and making decisions. It is the only moment the family dedicates entirely to itself, before everyone returns to her or his business." Family solidarity continues to be built through ritualized dining.

C. Economic Development

Introduction

Geography, history and culture all contribute to why the north and south developed different economically. Geographic conditions shaped agricultural development which contributed to the food scarcity in the south and the more plentiful food supply in the north. Different colonization resulted in different agricultural systems. The *latafondia* and *mezzadria* agricultural systems can be accredited to strong social solidarity in the north and weak social solidarity in the south. These agricultural differences also shaped the way that these two regions developed economically. They were a huge driver in encouraging northern prosperity and southern poverty.

According to Harper, most of the scholars on Italian ethnography and sociology (such as Black, Ginsborg, and Silverman), agree that "it was primarily the agricultural systems—the means through which food was produced and distributed—that were responsible for the relative wealth and poverty of the north and south" (Harper, 2009, p. 34).

Family is of paramount importance in southern Italian culture, which at times can hinder the development of outside institutions. Edward Banfield coined the term 'amoral familism' to describe the attitudes of peasants that he lived with in southern Italy in 1958. This attitude places family needs above the needs of a community. Banfield describes this term as "the inability of the villagers to act together for their common good, or indeed,

for any good transcending the immediate, material interest of the nuclear family"
(Banfield, 1958, p. 10) . Paul Ginsborg comments on the prevalence of this attitude in
modern Italy; Italian families who work in companies favor kinship ties rather than doing
what is best for the company. (Ginsborg, 2003) The more trustful community oriented
mentality in the north could explain why businesses are successful and corruption is low.

Industry

The prosperity from industry led to several advancements in the north that the
south lacked. Because of the successful farming systems, the north acquired a greater
control over the food supply. They were able to advance to a different phase of economic
development. They transitioned from an agricultural based society to a more industrial
society. The number of people who had to devote their lives to agriculture decreased.
Farms could be managed by a smaller number of people. With less people bound by the
burdens of farm work, more people were able to work outside of the agricultural system.
Therefore this created an opportunity for more people to become professionals.
Businesses developed and trade increased.

Northern development was strongest around major cities such as Genoa, Turin
and Milan; these three cities form the industrial triangle. Steel working and ship building
was practiced in Genoa, (Ginsborg, 2003) and Milan became the financial capital. Italian
automobiles were produced in northern areas, especially in Turin, the home place of
FIAT (*Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino)*, which translates to Italian Automobile
Factory of Turin.

Education

Wealth from industry allowed for more people to become educated. Increased enrollment in programs such medicine, science, arts and the humanities led to more professionals. These advancements made lasting improvements on society. In comparison to the south, there are more universities in the north. Also, the north boasts one of the world's most prestigious universities—the University of Bologna, which is also the oldest University in Europe.

An increase in education created increased social mobility. Education provides a means for individuals to advance to different economic classes. A more equal access to education gives a fair chance to individuals of all levels of socioeconomic backgrounds. Social mobility through education combats corruption. People could advance in society without resorting to corrupt means. This is another reason why the south was more corrupt. Lack of fair means to a quality education in the south could be partly responsible for the increase in corrupt behavior.

Religion

The effects of a more educated society may also influence the level of religiosity in a city. Increases in education may make a society more open to new ideas. They may be more accepting of different schools of thought. An increase in science based education in the north could have had an adverse affect on religion.

The south on the other hand was more tradition bound. Religion may have been stronger in the impoverished south. The harsh life of the south may have created an increased need for spirituality. Because the south lacked social solidarity, Catholicism offered a way to bring people together though religious rituals and ceremonies. Also, village customs, such as dance rituals were another

method of community bonding. For example, the *taranteismo*, or *tarantella* is a famous Italian dance that was performed after a person had been bit by a tarantula spider. The belief was that the person could be cured of the spider bite by intense, wild dancing. Ironically, scientific evidence proves that wild dancing allows the patient to sweat, thus extracting the poison. Emile Durkheim would recognize the purpose of this dance as having manifest functions and latent functions. The manifest function of the *tarantella* is the intended function of the dance, which is to attempt to cure the sick person. The latent function is the unintended, unrecognized consequence of the dance; it brings members of the society together in a shared group experience. Paul Ginsborg comments on the tarantella, stating:

> "From this harshest of realities, the peasants sought refuge and aid not only in the adoration of local saints…but in a widely diffused pagan religiosity. The various cults of the South, from the *tarantismo* ('dance of the spider') analysed by Ernesto De Martino to the 'festivals of the poor' described by Annabella Rossi, were different expressions of an autonomous culture, separate from the structure and social doctrines of the Catholic church. This was a world which offered the possibility of trance and release, of mass pilgrimages and miraculous cures." (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 33)

The difficult lifestyles of the south led to the importance of spirituality. I would hesitate to argue that Catholicism is stronger in the south than it is in the north, however, I would argue that the influence of religious and folk customs created a more tradition bound society.

Migration

Job opportunities in the post World War II era in the south were scarce. However, industry in the north provided increased opportunities for employment. This increase in productivity in the north created the 'new economic miracle.' Thus, the north became an

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attractive place for migration from southern Italy. This migration boom occurred in between 1958 to 1963. (Ginsborg, 2003) Close to 900,000 southern Italians left their hometowns in search of employment in the northern cities. Another 545,000 southern Italians migrated to the areas of northern Europe such as Germany and Switzerland; the German 'guest worker program,' which sought to reconstruct the war destroyed country was an attractive opportunity. Many comparative conclusions can be drawn by analyzing the coming together of northern and southern Italians through migration.

Migration intensified the chasm between the north and south. Northerners did not welcome the poor immigrants from the south. Antonio Antonuzzo, a Sicilian who migrated to Tuscany, describes the attitude of the northerners during his voyage to the north. He remembers the looks he and his family received at the train station upon his arrival. "people stopped to stare…not with sympathy or with indifference but with contempt at our caravan of gypsies." (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 217) A foreman from a factory in Turin comments on the relationship between workers and their managers. "The most difficult to deal with are the southerners, because they are the ones who get angry most often and who protest the most; the Piedmontese hold it against me that I've become a foreman, but they are the more tranquil and conscientious workers" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 250). This argumentative attitude that the southerners displayed probably resulted from the abusive power relations of the latafondia system, where peasants were frequently exploited by their landlords. Centuries of mistreatment by authority had a lasting effect on the southern Italian attitude.

It is worth mentioning that religion in the south was viewed more as a cult religion by northerners. "In Turin, Fofti found that the southern migrants missed the local

customs, patron saints and *feste* of their village churches and could not reconcile themselves to the somewhat barren and arid life of the northern churches…One parish priest in Milan denounced the southerners who "had been used to living their religion in a totally superficial way, more as magic and bigotry than in a truly Christian manner" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 245). A northern Italian would view folk dances such as the *tarantismo* or *tarantella* (dance of the spider) as a bizarre ritual. Also superstitious southern Italian practices such as "evil eye" charms to protect a person from harm and envy would also be viewed as sacrilegious by northern Italians.

Mobility: Travel

An increase in wealth allowed more northern Italians to travel. The infrastructure in the north was well constructed. Cities were linked by rivers and by the railroad. Also, automobile ownership increased and highways began to develop in the post war period. This allowed them to become exposed to different parts of the country. Travel made them more accepting of different ways of thinking and less tradition bound. It also had an affect on food worlds. Travel exposes people do different cuisines. Northern Italians who left their home region and traveled south discovered cuisines from different regions. Many northern Italians developed an eclectic taste for foods outside of their homeland.

Paul Ginsborg comments on 'Economic Miracle' that occurred in the 50s and 60s in Italy; a period of rapid prosperity resulting in an increase in wealth. He specifically discusses the affects of increased wealth in the north. He discusses that increased mobility was a great innovation during this time. Cheaper cars became available to people in the middle and upper working class. This made it affordable for a greater percentage of northern Italians to travel during leisure time. "Sunday outings by car

became a possibility for the first time…families travelled by car into the countryside, to the mountains and in the summer to the sea." (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 243) They also were able to travel farther distances. "Italian regionalism, so strong and enduring, began to break down a little as the motorized armies of the 'miracle' hurtled along the new arteries of the peninsula" (Ginsborg, 2003, p. 243).

In contrast to the north, where increased mobility slightly weakened regionalism, in the south marginality strengthened regionalism. Cultural identity associated with home regions maintained heightened importance. Poverty in the south hindered the ability to travel. Infrastructure in the south was terrible. A lack of rivers prevented trade through waterways. Also, railroads in the south were mismanaged by corrupt government officials. Organization of the railway stations was poor. This kept southern Italians isolated. They were not exposed to different areas as readily as northerners.

A Calabrian woman who had immigrated to the United States in the early 1920s explains the differences in culture between small towns in the marginalized south. This woman spoke a dialect that was native to her particular town. She was thrilled when she discovered that her new neighbor was also from Calabria. The neighbor was from the same area of Calabria as her; from a town a short distance away. Upon introducing herself to the neighbor, she immediately discovered that she couldn't understand her. Her neighbor spoke a different dialect. Regional variations in dialect were so strong that the women were strangers to each other. Regional variations were not just limited to linguistic dialects; these areas more than likely had different histories which led to different cultures. Poor means of transportation combined with possible geographic barriers kept the hometowns of these two Calabrian women separate; thus it is easy to see

why two towns developed differently even though they were separated by a close geographical distance.

In modern Italy, rail infrastructure in the south has improved. However, the northern railroads and high speed trains are far superior. Many of the trains are older and slower in speed. These differences in access to transportation help explain why even today, northern Italians are able to travel more often than southern Italians.

IV. <u>Hypothesis</u>:

Because of the longstanding differences between northern and southern Italy, I expect to find food and family food culture in the south to be more oriented toward traditional ritualism than eclectic pragmatism.

A. *Why would I expect to see more traditional ritualism in the south?*

<u>Geography</u>

Geographic conditions in the south were not conducive to many varieties of foods. Southern Italian cooks had to work with limited ingredients. As discussed earlier, meat and dairy were less common because of poverty in general, and specifically because the conditions made it difficult to grow animal feed. Vegetables, legumes, olive oil, wheat, tomatoes, citrus, sardines and small amounts of salt cured pork became staple ingredients since they were the only foods that could be sustained in the poor southern farmland. Southern Italian cooks produced traditional dishes from these staple ingredients for centuries. The lasting affects of geography explain why southern Italian cooking is more likely to be traditional than in the north.

<u>History/Culture</u>

Southern Italy's history of colonization created an intense distrust in authority. This had a lasting affect on southern Italian society. Because southern Italians were so distrustful of institutions, they responded by creating strong nuclear and extended families. Family dining became an important part of southern Italian culture, because it was a way to enforce family solidarity. The hostile outside world caused the need for strong families as the only form of social support for southern Italians.

In both the north and the south, family life is centered around food; but family dining is an unparalleled ritual in the south. Extended families eat a Sunday meal together on a weekly basis. Children eat with their parents regularly even into adulthood. This is a cultural norm for the south, even in modern times. Thus, I expect the ritualism to be stronger in the south than in the north.

Economics

The relative poverty of the south also contributed to traditional family food systems. A lack of funding in the south kept infrastructure poor. Poor infrastructure limited food choices to locally grown crops and animals. Most southern Italians did not travel far from their home; lack of transportation kept them isolated. Isolation is one reason why regional food preferences are so strong in the south. Most were never exposed to different types of foods.

Along with not being exposed to many non-regional foods, the attitude of many southern Italians explains why traditional foods are more common in the south. A lack of educational opportunities kept the southern mindset more tradition bound. Therefore they would not be likely to be as open minded towards new ideas. Thus, they were also not as

open minded towards new foods that were different from their customary traditional foods.

B. Why do I expect to see more eclectic pragmatism (and ritualism) in the north?

<u>Geography</u>

In contrast to the southern geography, the north, especially in the Po River valley, where Harper's study is situated, enjoyed excellent farming conditions. Periodic flooding increased soil fertility. Ideal farming conditions produced agricultural surpluses, which made it possible for northern Italians to advance economically. Surpluses led to greater economic diversification, eventually leading to a larger professional class. Farming became more industrialized, releasing people to work in the developing factories of the new industrial cities of the north. All these factors produced change and modernization and a corresponding loss of isolation and tradition. The geographic location of the north also contributed to why eclectic pragmatism is more common. The north is closer to the rest of Europe, therefore northern Italians were more exposed to the food of nearby countries, such as France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia and other Eastern European countries. In addition to being more exposed to different foods, northern Italy was exposed to different cultures. Some of these neighboring northern countries were Protestant. It is possible that the exposure to Protestantism impacted northern Italy by creating a cultural environment that was more attuned to capitalism, social innovation and a less potent form of Catholicism.

<u>History/Culture</u>

The history of northern Italy explains why a more practical approach towards family dining is likely to be more common. Northern Italy acquired a high level of social

solidarity because of the mezzadria system of agriculture. This made it possible for members of society to trust fellow community members as well as authority figures and government institutions. Contrary to the south, the northern Italians did not need to rely solely on their families as the only form of social support.

Although northern Italian families enjoy meals together, the social significance and frequency of family meals is not as strong. The approach towards family dining was more practical. Therefore, I expect that a greater number of northern Italians are more pragmatic in their approach towards dining.

Economics

The development of an industrial society produced greater wealth. With an increase in wealth, more northern Italians were able to travel more. Infrastructure was better in the north, making travel possible. With the increase in travel, northern Italians were more exposed to foreign foods. They began to develop an eclectic taste by traveling to other regions. Many wealthy northern Italians would vacation in outside regions and develop tastes that transcended local products. Increased mobility also allowed for foods to be traded more easily. Also, with increased wealth, it was possible to purchase foreign imports.

Economic development in the north also helped to create a more educated society. The excellent universities in the north could have shaped the cultural mentality of northern Italians, making them more open and willing to try new things. They were exposed to new ideas and different schools of thought. They were less tradition bound. I feel that this would make them more likely to experiment with a new dish from a foreign region.

V. <u>Results</u>

The results of my study show that my hypothesis was largely supported by my findings. Traditional Ritualism was in fact more common in the south. Eclectic pragmatism (and eclectic ritualism) was more common in the north.

I. <u>Northern Italian Families</u>

Harper's study shows a great deal of variation among eating preferences in northern Italian families. The families were almost equally spread out among the four cells of the chart. There were approximately five to six families in each category.

	Ritualistic	Pragmatic
Traditional	Side Dino and Mara Roberta and Domenico Chiara Diana (Restaurant) Tortellini Society	Barbara and Carlo Patrizia (*due*) Cristina Giovanna
Eclectic	Maria and Costantino Clara Egeria Silvia Isabella	Vito and Liberia Stefy Lucia and Franco Giorgio and Bassano Dani and Marina Giovanna

The variance in the northern table reflects the different types of people in the north. The following section explains the chart combinations of traditional ritualism, traditional pragmatic, eclectic ritualism, and eclectic pragmatic. It also introduces the northern Italian families and explains why each family was categorized in each cell.

The samples of randomly chosen families from Bologna represent the demographics of the city reasonably accurately. (However, the study excludes immigrants and very poor families). Most of these people were previously strangers who Harper met and was able

to get to know, often with the help of co-author Faccioli. Although the sample is not statistically representative, it is an snowball sample that, while weighted more to the professional classes, includes several variations of the desired "type," they were Italians who had not traveled much, if at all outside Italy. They knew few if any Americans or other foreigners, and most spoke only Italian. In other words they were Italians who were both very different and yet all "essentially" Italian. Co-author Patrizia Faccioli and other Italian scholars reviewed the study and they all agreed that the sample was a reasonable representation of Bologna. While it is not a definitive survey, it is useful to represent northern Italy for the purpose of qualitative comparison.

Traditional Ritualistic

The traditional ritualistic category describes people who are passionate about eating their local foods. "Ritualistic traditionalism exists where regional foodways have produced distinctive recipes, regarded as nonnegotiable blueprints." (Harper, 2009, p. 252). Dino is an example of a traditional ritualist. "when he is not able to eat his Bolognese food he describes himself as sad, and returning to the tastes of his traditional food produces for him a sense of well-being" (Harper, 2009, p. 248).

Traditional ritualism exists in economic classes. Side, a working class woman from Bologna, cooks only traditional foods because she has experienced no other foods. She has lived in Emilia-Romagna all of her life and seldom travels.

However, traditional ritualism also exists in the upper classes. Dino and Mara are members of the aristocratic upper class in Bologna. For them "Food *done the right way* becomes the basis of his participation in the ruling class of the city" (Harper, 2009, p. 248).

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<u>Traditional Pragmatic</u>

Traditional pragmatics cook more as a "duty and not as a passion." (Harper, 2009, p. 248). They eat traditional foods, but they do not share the same enthusiasm for eating these traditional foods as do the ritualists. Barbara and Carlo are an example of traditional pragmatics. They are a working class family; they do not travel much. They do not have a lot of money to spend on eclectic foods; they don't really desire non-traditional foods. Barbara and Carlo both work, so meals are informal and utilitarian. For example, they may return home to eat lunch together, but the meal is not elaborate. They are likely to return to work without lingering over a long lunch. Barbara is more likely to buy pasta; she may lack the time and interest to make homemade pasta.

Harper comments on the pragmatic category, stating, "As life speeds up in Italy, fewer families have the time or energy required to treat food ritualistically, and likely many will become more pragmatic. Frozen or previously prepared food will enter the Italian kitchen making cooking easier." (Harper, 2009, p. 252)

<u>Eclectic Ritualistic</u>

Eclectic Ritualists "take food very seriously, but the whole cuisine of Italy is their universe" (Harper, 2009, p. 256). Exploring new foods is a fetish. Many eclectic ritualists are cosmopolitan members of middle and upper class. Typically wealthy, highly educated northern Italians develop an eclectic taste because they are exposed to it through travel.

This is the case for Costantino. He is a sophisticated educator and a connoisseur of Italian food and wine. He frequently travels throughout Italy for vacations, where he enjoys these regional specialties. He and his wife Maria typically vacation in southern

Italy before Christmas. For example, on a recent trip to Basilicata (a region in southern Italy that draws few tourists) they were excited to eat the foods that are typical of that region.

Egeria is a wealthy, upper class eclectic ritualist. Her dinner parties demonstrate her eclectic tastes. She not only tries foods from different regions, but she experiments with recipes. The menu for her dinner party featured several exotic foods. Some of these dishes included traditional foods that had been modified with the replacement of non-local ingredients. For instance, she prepared *tagliatelle*, a local pasta, however, she served hers with venison from roe deer. For dessert, she served Bavarian cream with local Vignola cherries.

Egeria's dinner party was elegant and refined. She put time and considerable money into its preparation. She hired food servers and a private cook for the evening. However, it is clear that eating is something that is important to her.

Eclectic Pragmatic

Eclectic Pragmatics are not as serious about dining and they experiment with dishes from all over Italy. Vito and Liberia were born in southern Italy, and moved to the Bologna in the 1950s. They have lived in the north for decades, and cook typical Bolognese fare. However, they also cook southern foods on occasion as well. For example, they enjoy *pasta al forno*, baked pasta, which is a typical dish of their hometown in the south.

Although they still eat southern specialties, Vito explains that there are some southern foods that he no longer enjoys since moving north. For example, he prefers the

delicate tasting olive oils of northern Italy, as opposed to the strong, highly acidic olive oils of the south.

Eclectic pragmatic tastes typically occur with people like Vito and Libera; they moved from the south to the north, and had to adapt to eating new foods. Other circumstances where eclectic pragmatism emerges are in marriages between people of different regions.

Stefania and Perigorgio are an example. Perigorgio is from Bologna and prefers traditional Bolognese food; Stefania's family is from Lombardia and Piemonte. Stefania enjoys foods from all over Italy, while Perigorgio's states are strictly Bolognese. Their meals reflect a compromise. Stefania cooks traditional Bolognese foods on occasion for her husband because she knows that he likes it. Although she admits that she cannot make many of the local specialties very well. Stefania also makes non-regional foods on occasion, even though Perigorgio prefers traditional foods. Both Stefania and Perigorgio are on a diet and are practical in their approach towards dining. Therefore, they fit the eclectic pragmatic category. Also, Stefania and Perigorgio are eclectic pragmatics for health reasons. Eating the poor foods from the south is healthier since they are composed of olive oil, beans and vegetables.

Number of Families in Each Category Explanation

I believe that there is a great deal of variance in the north for several reasons. Admittedly, there are many people like Side in the north. Theses are the traditional ritualists who prefer nothing other than their home cooking and their commitment to dining is intense. For them eating traditional foods with family members holds high importance. However, the pace of life in the industrious northern society explains why

there are traditional pragmatics and eclectic pragmatics. The busy workday prevents circumstances where long elaborate family meals are not practical on a daily basis.

II. Southern Italian Families

In comparison to the north, my southern Italian families are much less spread out through the culture chart. Traditional ritualism is overwhelmingly dominant. Very few families are pragmatic in their approach towards dining. It is interesting to analyze why the subjects fall into these categories. Although some of the same chart combinations from the north exist in the south, many southern subjects are categorized a certain for different reasons. This is especially true in the eclectic category, since few if any subjects eat eclectically by choice; most eat eclectically out of necessity for marriage harmony. Also, a great number of wealthy, cosmopolitan subjects from Puglia strongly favor traditional foods despite being exposed to many non-regional foods. This contrasts with the northern families who eat only traditional foods because they have never been exposed to anything else.

	Ritualistic	Pragmatic
Traditional	Maria and Enzo Maria's Brother's Family Daniela's Parents Maria, Mina and Frederico Giuseppe Isabella Giovanni's Parents Annamaria (leaning eclectic) Marco Vittorio	Marco's brother
Eclectic	Maria and Antonio	Inga

The following section introduces the southern Italian families, explains how and why they were categorized in each cell of the chart.

Traditional Ritualism

The majority of families from my study fell into this category. What immediately struck me about these findings was variety of families within the traditional ritualism cell. Three of the families were from the upper class, two were from the middle class, and two were working class.

Maria's family is working class, and they do not travel extensively. They lived in a rural part of Puglia close to a farm. For dinner, Mina, Maria's mother, went to a nearby farm to buy a live chicken, which she harvested herself and prepared for dinner. I was not surprised that the working class families in my study preferred traditional foods. Similar to Side, Maria cooks traditional foods because she has not been exposed to other foods.

However, a surprisingly high number of upper and middle class families are traditional ritualists. Many of these families have traveled extensively. Many are well educated and cosmopolitan. Many are wealthy and have the funds to buy expensive imports. Yet they preference for regional Puglian food is overwhelming.

Maria and Vincenzo are traditional ritualists; not only does she make traditional Puglian foods, her focus incorporates micro-regional foods. She makes foods that are typical of her town and commune within Puglia. Vincenzo is a retired hospital administrator, and Maria is a teacher. Their son Giangi is a lawyer who graduated from a prestigious university, and their daughter Alma is a Ph.D., in Biology. Inside their home are picture of their trips around the world to places such as Budapest, Jerusalem, Bali, Cairo. Both Maria and Vincenzo lived in the Emilia-Romagna region for a number of

years. When I ask her about food from Emilia-Romagna, she explains that it is good. But the food from Puglia is the best. The food from Emilia-Romagna is second to Puglian food but she insists that it is not even a close second.

Daniela is a lawyer from the wealthy upper class in Puglia. Her father had a construction business and he would frequently visit Milan on business. He also worked abroad in Cuba and the United States. He is a sophisticated world traveler. He prefers traditional Puglian food, and would never consider eating northern Italian foods.

Giuseppe is another traditional ritualist from Puglia. He and his family typically eat Puglian foods almost every day of the week. He has spent extensive time in the north. He has cousins from Lombardy in the north who he visits often. He also worked in Milan for a short amount of time, and dated a Milanese girl. He commented on the differences in family food worlds in the north and south.

"My cousins from the north eat polenta. It is typical northern dish. I have tried it, but I don't like it." Not only did he observe differences in the food, but he noticed a different attitude towards eating. "One time, I went to visit my girlfriend at her family's home [in Milan]. In the afternoon, we were home at her house, and just the two of us made lunch together. Her family didn't come home to eat lunch with us. For me this was weird. This would never happen in Puglia. In Milan, you can eat without your parents. In Puglia we always eat with our families. We live for eating lunch and dinner."

Lastly, I was surprised to find that Giovanni's parents were traditional ritualists, since his dad is from Switzerland. In many inter-regional and international marriages, dinners compromise by including foods from the hometowns of both the husband and wife. However, Giovanni explained to me that he eats traditional Puglian foods with his

family every day of the week. I asked him how often he eats a Swiss inspired meal with his family. He told me that this occurs rarely; maybe once or twice a month. I asked him for an example of Swiss foods that he eats with his family. He said that he loves a type of Swiss cherry torte that is typical of his father's hometown. However, he said that this dessert tastes different because his mother uses cherries from Puglia and other local Italian ingredient. Giovanni and his father insist that the Puglian cherries make the torte superior to the Swiss original.

Traditional Pragmatics

Marco's family enjoys traditional foods and eating together is an important family event. Marco's grandmother and aunt live on different floors of the same apartment building. They frequently visit for dinner, which typically consists of traditional Puglian foods like homemade orrichette pasta. Marco says that his grandmother and aunt would scold him if he missed dinner. I categorize Marco's family as traditional ritualists, however Marco's brother is pragmatic.

Marco's brother eats just to eat. The traditional family meals are not of paramount importance to him. Marco says that his brother does not always join his family for meals; when he does, he is always late. Marco's brother is a student at the local University, located about a half hour from his aunt and grandmother's house. Marco describes a typical scenario for his dinners. His grandmother and aunt will call his brother to tell him that dinner is ready. His brother says he is on his way. However, Marco's brother takes his time and doesn't hurry home for dinner. Much to the displeasure of his family, he is usually arrives an hour past when he said he would arrive.

Eclectic Ritualists

Maria and Antonio are a working class family from Puglia. Maria was born in Puglia, and Antonio is from a town near Naples in the Campania region. Maria and Antonio compromise on what to have for dinner. Both favor traditional foods from their home regions. Her dinners are typically classic dishes from Puglia or Campania. Like Stefania, Maria tries to please her husband by making dishes that he enjoys.

Maria and Antonio eat in an eclectic style out of necessity. Both feel a strong connection to their traditional regional foods, and they eat in an eclectic style in order to maintain harmony in their marriage. This contrasts with eclectic ritualists such as Costantino. He is eats eclectically because he chooses to do so.

Eclectic Pragmatic

The only eclectic pragmatic person in my study of Puglian families is Inga. Inga was born in Germany following World War II. She met her husband, Vittorio, a native of Puglia, while he was employed in Germany in the 1960s through the guest worker program. They have been married over 30 years. Vittorio and Inga are both bi-lingual. They raised their family in Germany and returned to Puglia after Vittorio retired. They speak both Italian and German; but they speak in German at home with each other.

Inga became an Italian citizen when she married Vittorio; although she speaks Italian, she clearly demonstrates the cultural qualities of a German. She is prompt and organized. Her reserved demeanor contrasted with the outward emotional expressions of a native born Italian.

For lunch, Vittorio prepared homemade lasagna. He made the pasta dough, sauce, and meatballs from scratch. For lunch the next day, we had a dish that was the native

specialty of the city—*Cozze alla Tarantino* (Mussels, Taranto style). The city of Taranto in Puglia is a costal town that is famous for its mussel cultivation and fresh seafood. Vittorio prepared this regional specialty for us. At the same time, he prepared something different for Inga, because she finds this local dish disgusting. She looked at the mussels that Vittorio prepared with a look of repulsion and explained that she doesn't eat them. In a separate pan, Vittorio prepared Inga deep fried pieces of fresh water lake fish and fried mushrooms. For antipasti, she snacked on slices of sausages. Some were Italian made and some were German sausages that she had brought from her hometown. Although she snacked on both, she seemed to prefer the German sausages.

Inga expressed on several occasions that she does not get excited about eating. Dining is not important to her and she really doesn't care what she eats. She helps to do dishes but she doesn't cook, therefore Vittorio had to learn how to cook his native foods.

Number of Families in Each Category and Explanation

I found the dominance of traditional ritualism in the south to be remarkable. The variety of subjects from the upper, middle, and working classes, show that regional foods and a strong commitment to family dining is a durable part of southern Italian culture. I expected to see many people in the south like Side. This was true. There were many working class families, who had not traveled much and were not exposed to foods outside their region. However, I was amazed to discover how many wealthy middle and upper class families maintained traditional ritualism even with exposure to non native foods through travel. I was also surprised to learn how Puglian foods can take precedence even in the case of international marriages; such was the case with Giovanni's Swiss father and Puglian mother who ate in a traditional ritualistic style. These finding lead me to believe

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that traditional ritualism is a stronger part of cultural identity in the south than in the north.

The findings for the south also show that few families eat pragmatically. This could be because families are more likely to live close to each other in the south. For instance, Marco's grandmother and aunt live in the same flat. Marco lives a half hour away. There aren't many subjects like Marco in the south. Moreover, Marco is discouraged from letting his studying interfere with dinner by his Aunt and Grandmother. Most southern Italians do not let the business of their daily life affect family dining. They work hard to maintain ritualized dining even when it may conflict with their busy schedule. This contrasts with Barbara and Carlo who typically hurry back to work after a quick lunch.

I found that the eclecticism in the south occurred for different reasons than in the north. The ritualistic eclectic and pragmatic eclectic people in my study eat a variety of foods from different regions purely out of necessity. I didn't find any wealthy Puglians who paralleled Costantino, the cosmopolitan man from Bologna who developed an eclectic taste from is extensive travels. Most of the eclecticism was a result of marriage harmony. Maria is a ritualistic diner. Meals are an important part of the day for her. She eats non native foods on occasion; not because she likes the food, but because she wants to please her husband. The same is true for Inga. She eats her native German foods on occasion, and she eats Puglian foods because it is what her husband serves her.

This chart is particularly useful in understanding northern and southern Italy through food habits. Since so many sociological findings are reflected through food

preferences, this chart is an excellent way to compare northern and southern Italian culture.

VI. Policy Implications

Introduction

The following section describes the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy or CAP. It details the history of the policy and its positive and negative affects. It then describes the Protected Geographical Indication regulations, which are specific sections of the CAP that protect regional foods. The positive and negative affects of these policies are also discussed. The section then concludes by touching on the affects of these policies on the northern and southern Italian agricultural systems.

European Union Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)

The European Union's Common Agricultural Policy was founded following World War II. The war had devastated Europe and agricultural systems were heavily damaged. Early goals were to stabilize the food supply. Subsidies were given to farmers; these were typically production based. Therefore, the more the farmer produced, the greater the subsidy. (citation)

In the 1980s, self sufficiency was no longer a problem for the European agricultural system. European farmers reached a point where they were producing re-occurring surpluses of many commodity goods. The productivity-based subsidies were taking a greater toll on European taxpayers than was necessary. Therefore, the policy was changed so that farmers were paid independently of what they produced. Instead, the new policy bases subsidies on market demand (Schaffer, Earle & Agusti, 2005).

This involved several other changes in order to maintain harmony with the modern globalized market. The EU enacted "cross-compliance" policies which gave monetary incentives to farmers who respect environmental food safety, phyto-sanitary and animal welfare (Schaffer, Earle & Agusti, 2005). The Common Agricultural Policy also takes into consideration the number of plants or animals per hectare of land. The policy tries to grant appropriate subsidies to farms that are productive, yet maintain a balanced number of animals or plants on their acreage. This is to deter farms from overcrowding animals and plants in order to make higher profits (Schaffer, Earle & Agusti, 2005).

Also, specific funds are set aside to protect smaller farms that demonstrate a capacity for rural development. Because of this, small, family owned farms are able to remain in business, because of their ability to provide jobs that benefit local communities (Schaffer, Earle & Agusti, 2005).

Protected Geographical Status

The Common Agricultural Policy also takes into account the uniqueness of several European food products. A new problem in the globalized food market is for unique foods to be threatened by low quality imitations. Trade liberalization makes it easier for non-regional foods to be traded with greater ease. Protected Geographic Status labels ensure that the high quality and culinary traditions represented by these products are maintained (Schaffer, Earle & Agusti, 2005). Examples of European foods with Protected Geographic Status are "Scotch" from Scotland, "Champagne," from the Champagne region of France, and Parma Prosciutto from the Parma principality in Italy.

<u>Positive Affects of the Common Agricultural Policy</u>

The Common Agricultural Policy has had several positive effects. The policy gives incentives for the proper care of animals and environmentally friendly farming practices. It also gives consideration to how to sustain local food markets. This becomes increasingly difficult in Italy as global trade increases and imported foods enter the Italian food markets.

When I think of the positives associated with this policy, the Angarano Olive Oil Consortium comes to mind. Vincenzo Angarano is Puglian farmer who owns the consortium. The consortium has been family owned for three generations and employs many locals. His acreage and oil output categorize his farm as small scale. The olive trees on the consortium are special because they centuries old and produce larger higher quality olives. Also, the trees are more spaced out than commercial farms, so the output per acreage on the farm is lower. Vincenzo explained to me that his small family owned farm would not be able to stay in business without the subsidies from the CAP. Also, the production process for these all natural, organic olives is more costly. The funding from the CAP helps offset these prices.

The CAP also takes environmental issues into consideration. Angarano Olive Oil consortium sells leftover olive leaves to a nearby sheep farm as feed. The hard olive pits that are leftover after the olives are pressed are recycled; they are burned in a furnace and used to heat the factory in the winter. The CAP takes all of these practices into consideration when determining the subsidy amounts.

<u>Positive Affects of the Protected Geographical Status Regulations</u>

The policy also carefully screens products to prevent unsanitary foods from entering the market. Standards for quality control are maintained through strict regulations.

Two foods that illustrate the positive affects of the Protected Geographical Status regulations are Prosciutto di Parma and Parmigiano-Reggiano. European regulation imposes stringent regulations to ensure that the necessary amount of time is put into the aging process of Prosciutto and Parmesan. In addition, the diet of the milk cows and the pigs are also highly controlled. Neither animal is given growth hormones. The cows are fed only grass and hay, and the pigs are fed only barley, sweet corn and fruit and *whey*, a protein rich liquid leftover from making cheese (Kurlansky, 2002). The *whey* comes from the nearby cheese consortium where Parmigiano-Reggiano is made. Both the pigs and cows are free ranging animals that graze outdoors as opposed to being confined to a cage.

The law also enforces that the meat for the Prosciutto di Parma must be from local pigs raised in the region. These pigs must weigh at least 350 lbs at the time of their slaughter to ensure they have a sufficient amount of fat (Piras and Medagliani, 2004).This fat is important because it surrounds the meat and prevents it from drying out. These regulations ensure that the animals enjoy excellent living conditions. The health and well being of the animals certainly affect the quality of the ham and cheese.

<u>Negative Affects</u>

In contrast, European Union regulations have had a negative affect on other foods. Such is the case of *Lardo di Colonnata*, a unique type of cured pork fat that has been produced in the town of Colonnata for hundreds of years.

Lardo is made by placing pork fat in large marble sarcophagi to age. "Lardo makers say that the chemical composition of marble, calcium carbonate, is a purificatory medium which extracts harmful substances from pork fat, including cholesterol." (Leitch, 2003, p. 441). Many times the marble containers contain marble dust, "which is actually beneficial to the body because it is 'pure calcium.'" (Leitch, 2003, p. 441)

This aging process typically takes place in basements that are carved out of porous mountain rock. The natural humidity and the porous texture of the rock walls, provide ideal circumstances where cool mountain air aged the fat. It could be stored for months and even up to years in this environment without spoiling.

Recently, the popularity of the delicious pork fat has spread. People all over Italy began to regard *lardo* to be a delicacy. Trendy restaurants in cities all over the world began to pick up on its appeal. Because of the uniqueness of this food, the people of Colonnata decided that *lardo* was worthy of Protected Geographical Status.

The people of Colonnata felt confident that *lardo* would be granted the quality assurance label. However, when the E.U. inspection personnel arrived, *lardo* was disqualified for consideration. Not only was it disqualified, but it was quarantined due to the unsanitary methods of production. E.U. inspection personnel were stunned to find the raw fat aging in dirty basements. The marble sarcophagi were dusty and uncovered, exposing the pork fat to what would appear to be an environment of airborne germs. The quarantine may have been a response to the scare from diseases such as Mad Cow's Disease (Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy). Food journalist Alison Leitch comments on the mad cow disease scare, stating that "It may not have been entirely coincidental that

regional health authorities decided to take a closer look at lardo; a product which had never undergone scientific analysis of any kind" (Leitch, 2003, p. 441).

1. Italian Reaction to European Union Rulings on *Lardo*

Italian *lardo* makers were irate; they "simply interpreted the whole affair as a completely unreasonable attack on their autonomy to make a product which they had been producing without a single problem for many years" (Leitch, 2003, p. 450). The people of Colonnata argued that despite these production methods, *lardo* was in fact safe to eat. They were upset that the European Union inspection personnel were unaware of the unique methods in which the *lardo* was produced. They were unaware that the dusty marble containers provided an excellent source of calcium which helped extract cholesterol. While the open cellars lacked temperature control, the environment was ideal for curing pork fat.

The European Union proposed changes to the *lardo* making process; they suggested that the cellars be redesigned to use tile floors instead of the porous mountain rock for sanitary purposes. The *lardo* makers rejected these ideas, fearing that changing the production methods would interfere with the curing process and drastically alter the unique taste of the *lardo*. Eventually *lardo* makers tiled their cellar work stations; they were then granted protected geographical indication status. Oddly enough, the attention from the controversy brought the town of Colonnata into the spotlight in a positive way. Tourism dramatically increased, and the world demand for *lardo* skyrocketed.

Evaluation

The case of *lardo* illustrates the bureaucratic side of the European food regulations. These regulations were met with strong disapproval from the Italians.

This led to debates over the power of the European Union to regulate Italian food production. The *lardo* quarantine was widely interpreted in media reports as an attempt by the European Union to determine Italian eating habits" (Leitch, 2003, p. 454). The case also exposed how the standardization of food regulations can risk the homogenization of food tastes.

While protecting the uniqueness of foods is a worthy cause, these regulations impose both positive and negative implications. These regulations helped ensure quality production of foods such as Prosciutto di Parma and Parmesan Cheese, and many others. On the other hand the regulations interfered with the century old production process of making *lardo.*

The Affects of the CAP on Italy

The European Union's decrease in trade barriers has made it especially easy for other European foods to enter Italian markets. Yet traditional foods in Italy maintain their place in Italian households. These new foods may work their way into northern households with greater ease in the north than in the south. It is also interesting to consider the Italian preferences for foods in terms of world trade. Other countries import Italian foods in increasingly higher demands. However, the Italian demand for foreign foods is not as strong; especially in the south. A common fear regarding the effects of lowering trade barriers is the idea that foreign goods will flood the market. Or, that traditional goods will have to compete with less expensive imports. This is certainly not the case in Italy; especially in the south, where traditional foods are generally preferred regardless of the availability and cost of imports.

Other issues to consider are the affects of the CAP on northern and southern Italy. Northern Italians may feel that EU policy favors the southern Italians. Taxes from wealthy northern Italian regions help fund small farms like the Angarano Olive farm. It is worth mentioning that many northern Italians regard the bold, fruity taste of southern olive oil to be inferior to the subtle, delicate tasting olive oil from the north. These northern views of the desirable taste of olive oil infer that the southern palate is not able to recognize quality olive oil.

I discussed agricultural policy with vegetable farmers in Puglia; when the subject of trading with northern Italy came up, the farmers were quick to point out that the north is dependent on their Puglian vegetables for fresh produce in the winter. Also, the north is dependent on the south for citrus, which it is unable to produce. The north depends on the long southern growing season for fresh vegetables such as artichokes, cauliflower, broccoli, *rapini* ect.

At the same time, southern Italians may argue that the northerners benefited the most from the CAP. The Protected Geographical Indication label is a prestigious mark that carries a connotation of high quality and uniqueness. Northern Italy currently has more PGI foods than the south, according to the European Union's Agricultural Quality Product Policy. This could reflect the idea that northern Italians view the southern foods as less sophisticated. This could also mean that northern Italians are more skilled at working the PGI system to their benefit. The north has a history of organization and cooperation. Southern Italians on the other hand are more likely to accept a policy that is less in their interests, since they have experienced exploitation throughout their history. During a visit to a Puglian cheese factory, the manager informed me that his cheese

consortium makes many traditional cheeses, and only one of them qualified for a PGI label. The European Union's website on Agriculture and Rural Development, shows a list of all PGI protected cheeses, providing evidence that the north has more PGI cheese than the south does.

In conclusion, the Common Agricultural Policy's affect on food and agriculture are overall positive. The CAP is not perfect, as the case of *lardo* illustrates. However, the CAP helps to maintain balanced agricultural production and high standards for quality food in Italy. In terms of family food culture, the north and south are both affected differently by the CAP. Imported foods are more likely to be consumed in the north because of the existence of people with eclectic tastes. Imports are not as commonly consumed in the south because of the dominance of traditional food preferences. These ideas on policy are more a backdrop to my thesis rather than a central theme. However, this study has ignited an interest in the CAP policy; it would be interesting to see what further research on this subject reveals.

VII. Conclusion

This thesis proves that regional differences in northern and southern Italy do exist, and they are in fact manifested in family food worlds. The study also illustrates that the study of food is an excellent window into studying culture. This is due to the fact that food plays such a strong role in Italian culture. Although my study was centered on food, it revealed many core elements of Italian sociology; these include cultural identity, family structure, role expectations, gender, historical and religious issues.

I arranged my data for comparative purposes. This allowed me to examine Puglian families from the south in the context of northern families from Emilia-Romagna.

Throughout my research, I found myself examining social and policy issues from the viewpoint of northern and southern Italians. The more I learned about these cultures, the easier it became for me to see why they have different perspectives. For this reason, comparative sociology is an area of high interest for me. I feel that comparative sociology is particularly fascinating because it exposes one culture's differences from the perspective of another culture.

This study would not have been possible had it not been for my Italian subjects. They warmly opened their homes and welcomed me as a guest for several dinners. Without these close studies, I would never have been able to complete this research. Also, they were eager to explain their thoughts on family food worlds, and they openly shared their opinions and perspective on northern Italians. This allowed me to gain unparalleled insight into their culture. I am grateful for their kindness and hospitality.

Although policy was not the central theme of this thesis, this research made me increasingly interested in European Union food policy issues. This study also ignited my interest in the Common Agricultural Policy—specifically the Protected Geographical Indication regulations. Although this policy has flaws, it is overall positive for Italy and it helps maintain high food standards in both the north and south.

While I was in Puglia, I visited farms and consortium to better understand local food production. This included field visits to an olive grove, an orange grove, a vineyard, a vegetable farm, and a dairy factory. I am thankful to the Puglian food consortiums and farms that permitted me to tour their facilities. Many of the managers put aside their busy schedules to show me step by step how cheese, wine and olive oil are made. Or, how the fruits and vegetables are picked, packaged and shipped. They personally explained any

questions that I had, and they also offered their perspectives on the CAP which has provided valuable insight.

The Common Agricultural Policy is not perfect, however, I feel that it is worthy of attention, because it reflects of the importance of food in Italian culture. Many Italians care about their food and how it is produced. This is especially true in Puglia, a region with a high percentage of traditional ritualists. Although pressures from globalization pose threats to Italian food markets, Italian attitudes towards food will help maintain the production of high quality foods. It will be interesting to see what the future positive and negative effects these regulations will have on family food worlds.

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Appendix A
Questions for Subjects

1. In your opinion what foods constitute as part of the Puglian identity? How many times per week or month do you eat traditional Puglian food? (orrichette, tiella, lentils, olive oil, lamb, pasta con rapi.) Or sub-regional foods specific to your town within Puglia?

2. Describe how food has changed in the past generations. (For instance compare what foods were eaten in grandmother's generation and mother's generation to current generation). How it has changed pre and post WWII?

3. How often do you eat *cucina povera*? Compare this with your generation, previous generations, and the present generation.

4. Does economic class affect the regionality factor? Are wealthier people more likely to eat varied ethnic/regional foods?

5. What is the structure of the meal? Pasta/Rice/Soup + Meat/Fish + Vegetable/Salad + Fruit. Antipasti, Il Primo, Il Secondo, Insalata, Dolce. Do Puglians stick to this sequence of a balanced meal? How structured are they? Is there variance?

6. How structured are their recipes? Are they like Emilia-Romagna subjects that do not modify recipes, or are they willing to try new twists on recipes?

7. Proportions? Do they eat less meat and dairy and more vegetables and legumes in comparison to the north? What is your opinion of food in the north? Do you like it? Why or why not?

8. How does nutritional value between upper/middle/lower class meals compare in Puglia? How do upper/middle/lower class meals in Italy compare with upper/middle/lower class meals in the north?

9. How much/What percent of the food in Puglia is from local sources? Compare livestock and other agricultural conditions in northern and southern Italy. Compare regional fruits/vegetables/cheeses in Italy to regional fruits/vegetables in Italy. Seasonality in Puglia v. Northern Italy.

10. Who cooks the meals? Does the wife do most of the housework? Compare the divisions of labor over the past generations.

11. How important is religion in Southern Italy? How often do Puglians go to church? More or less than Northern Italians? Do Sunday meals accompany mass? How often do families eat a Sunday meal? Does food play a part as religious symbols?

12. What is the attitude of eating together? What is the role of food in social life in Puglia? To what extent can we argue that Puglians come together to eat foods together? In comparison to Northern Italy?

13. How much prepared food is consumed per household? For example, frozen dinners, instant soup, frozen pizzas/fish? In comparison to the north?

14. How often do you eat out at restaurants?

15. Describe your typical weekly menu.