La ristorazione collettiva è una delle più pervasive e al tempo stesso meno interrogate forme del mangiare contemporaneo. Presente nei luoghi del lavoro, dell'istruzione, della cura e dell'assistenza, essa struttura quotidianamente le nostre pratiche alimentari e contribuisce allo stesso tempo a scandire tempi e spazi di vita. Attraverso contributi che intrecciano semiotica, estetica, filosofia e service design, questo libro – che raccoglie i risultati del progetto PRIN 2022 *Collettivi a Tavola* (COLTA) – indaga la ristorazione collettiva mostrando come intorno a essa si articolino complesse dinamiche politiche e sociali. Non solo perché in ogni mensa vigono dettagliati protocolli che disciplinano produzione e distribuzione del cibo, non solo perché la refezione prevede sofisticati rituali di consumo, ma anche e soprattutto perché la condivisione del pasto definisce comunità e modi del vivere insieme.

Alice Giannitrapani è professoressa associata in semiotica all'Università degli Studi di Palermo, dove insegna Semiotica e Semiotica degli spazi espositivi. È vicedirettrice della rivista "E/C" e vicecoordinatrice del dottorato in Semiotica. I suoi principali interessi di ricerca sono lo spazio, il gusto e l'alimentazione, il turismo. Ha pubblicato, fra l'altro, *Viaggiare: istruzioni per l'uso* (2010), *Spazi, passioni, società* (2017), *Introduzione alla semiotica dello spazio* (2024), *Everyday Rituals in Contemporary Settings* (2025).

Davide Puca è docente all'Università degli Studi di Palermo nel corso di Laurea magistrale in Comunicazione per l'enogastronomia. Si occupa di semiotica del cibo e del vino, con particolare attenzione alla costruzione culturale del terroir, della tipicità e della tradizione. Accanto all'attività accademica, ha svolto attività di consulenza strategica nel marketing enogastronomico per più di cinquanta brand del settore. Ha pubblicato, fra l'altro, *Il valore delle differenze* (2021) e curato il volume *Esperienze enologiche* (2026).

Mimesis Edizioni
I libri di E | C
www.mimesisedizioni.it

XX,00 euro

04

ALICE GIANNITRAPANI - DAVIDE PUCA (A CURA DI) **COLLETTIVI A TAVOLA**

MIMESIS

I LIBRI DI E|C

04

a cura di
Alice Giannitrapani,
Davide Puca

COLLETTIVI A TAVOLA

TEORIE E PRATICHE DEL CIBO CONDIVISO

MIMESIS

MIMESIS / I LIBRI DI E|C

N. 4

COLLETTIVI A TAVOLA

Teorie e pratiche del cibo condiviso

a cura di
Alice Giannitrapani, Davide Puca

MIMESIS

Il presente volume è stato realizzato nell'ambito del progetto di ricerca «COLTA – Collettivi a Tavola» (PRIN 2022 – PNRR). Finanziato dall'Unione europea – Next Generation EU, Missione 4 «Istruzione e Ricerca» del Piano Nazionale di Ripresa e Resilienza (PNRR), Componente C2 – Investimento 1.1 «Fondo per il Programma Nazionale di Ricerca e Progetti di Rilevante Interesse Nazionale (PRIN)», dedicato ai Progetti di ricerca di Rilevante Interesse Nazionale. CODICE PROGETTO 2022TM7WEJ – CUP B53D23023180006

Il presente volume è stato sottoposto a *peer review*.

MIMESIS EDIZIONI (Milano – Udine)
www.mimesisedizioni.it
mimesis@mimesisedizioni.it

Collana: *I libri di E|C*, n. 4
Isbn: 979122231xxxx
DOI: xxxx

2026 – MIM EDIZIONI SRL
Piazza Don Enrico Mapelli, 75
20099 Sesto San Giovanni (MI)
Phone: +39 02 24861657 / 21100089

INDICE

Gianfranco Marrone

FORMS OF COLLECTIVE CATERING

1. *From Euphoria to Dysphoria*

Conviviality, as we know, is a term often used to express positive emotions and situations, forms of euphoric intersubjectivity in which eating together becomes, through the sharing of food, a guarantee of a possible – perhaps temporary – social pacification. People gather around a table in order to establish, confirm, or – even – transform relationships, warding off solitude, isolation, and individual sadness. Social configurations of varying scale – from newly formed couples to long-established ones, from the nuclear family to extended kinship groups, from office colleagues meeting at the corner restaurant to post-gym gatherings at a pizzeria, all the way to the majestic banquets of the Renaissance – are formed and deformed through the sharing of food and drink, dishes and beverages, recipes and sparkling wines. So much so that conviviality sometimes exists without fully existing – that is, without a table and without food – appearing instead as a simple anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical disposition, cheerful and detached from profit or domination. Some have therefore proposed a political interpretation of conviviality, one stubbornly opposed to the economy and society of late capitalism.

Yet, when we observe the world of food and gastronomy from a slightly more critical distance, it quickly becomes clear that this is not always, nor necessarily, the case. Even the Renaissance banquet, for instance, could be perceived and experienced from opposing perspectives: euphoric for the city's ruling elites, eager to display the luxury afforded by their wealth; dysphoric for those on the margins, forced to observe from the outside. There are countless forms of commensality that not only reaffirm social hierarchies but often, albeit indirectly, generate more or less dysphoric discourses, giving symbolic form to affectively and politically complex situations. Let us attempt to examine a few such cases.

1.1. *An Empty Table*

It will be recalled, for instance, that following the attacks of 7 October 2023, from the very next day the families of the kidnapped Israelis set up an enormous table in Tel Aviv for the Shabbat dinner, with 203 empty seats – one for each hostage abducted by Hamas militants. During the event, which was private yet open to the media, the families of the missing sang and prayed for their loved ones. Something similar was later replicated, by contagion, in the Jewish ghetto of Rome and in other cities around the world.

Figs. 1 – 2: Symbolic public table with empty seats, Tel Aviv, 8 October 2023. Images generated with artificial intelligence (ChatGPT), non-mimetic interpretative reworking of visual materials circulated in the media, March 2026

Fig. 3: Symbolic public table with empty seats, Rome, 8 October 2023. Image generated with artificial intelligence (ChatGPT), non-mimetic interpretative reworking of visual materials circulated in the media, March 2026

The symbolic value of this gesture is fairly clear: the shared ritual canteen is present, as always, yet it is empty, so that much of the emotional intensity generated by this act of indignation derives from what is known as *concessive predication* – argumentation by contrast (*however, rather, despite, yet…*) – which is, as it were, forced to operate within the social discourse. This opposition between presence and absence was further intensified by the fact that the canteen was not, in truth, empty: around the long rectangular table, perfectly (and 'uselessly') laid, stood the demonstrators – relatives and kin – strictly standing, or rather significantly *not seated*, not preparing themselves for a meal but remaining upright, fasting.

The table – the general gastronomic theatre – thus lost its function as the canonical site of the convivial meal and became instead the sign of a denied socialisation, of a *non-meal* resulting from a lack, from a most painful non-conjunction, and therefore from an impossible conviviality.

Here a series of general semantic categories comes to the fore – presence vs absence, contained vs containing, seated vs standing, community vs solitude, eating vs fasting – which stand before a dismembered collective, simultaneously deconstructing it and reclaiming its value: a collective deprived of its constitutive parts, a collective, so to speak, less collective than before, in which living together is stripped of primary affects, of its foundational social bond.

The table thus reveals itself to be a dispositif that is both densely charged with meaning and composed of substances of different kinds: humans, whose bodily actions intertwine with the silent yet effective agency of non-humans – beginning with the table itself, conspicuously out of scale, the chairs surrounding it, plates, glasses, bottles (glass for wine, plastic for other beverages), floral decorations, and so on. Equally significant is the framing of the photographs which, constructed *ad hoc*, accentuate the incommensurability of the scene: the table, the chairs, the bodies extend beyond the implicit frame, revealing themselves, in this sense, as endless, indistinctly distributed across the encompassing space, across the world as a whole.

An implicit political response to this performance – thus a gesture charged with an equal degree of significance – took place in early March 2025 in Tal al-Hawa, a neighbourhood in the south of Gaza, during Ramadan. The local population prepared a collective *iftar*, setting an enormous table along

an unpaved road that cut through the rubble of the city destroyed by Israeli bombardments (figs. 4–5). All those present sat down to share the evening meal. Reports speak of traditional music and songs performed in celebration of the occasion. And the images of the event, which flooded both old and new media in those days, testify to the same highly effective dispositif of signification, replicated by a political side opposed to the first.

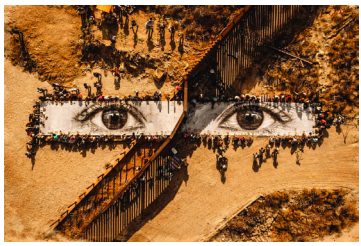
What strikes the viewer is the sky reddened by the imminent sunset, the vermilion of the tablecloth echoing it, the large number of people seated among – and *despite* (a reversed concessive predication) – the ruins, and that ring of lights which almost frames the convivial table, reminding us that we are in a narrow strip of land counting thousands upon thousands of dead. By chance, in the lower right-hand corner of the photograph in fig. 4, a white beam intersects a pair of blue jeans, forming a cross in the colours of the opposing state. From a communicative point of view, what proves effective is the sheer magnitude of scale – of the table, the road, the urban ruins – and thus the format of large-scale conviviality. Yet whereas in imperial banquets the abundance of food and diners conveyed luxury and splendour, here a similar sign becomes the bearer of a message that intertwines death and life, destruction and hope.

Figs. 4–5: Gaza, collective table along the Strip, 2 March 2025. Images generated with artificial intelligence (ChatGPT), non-mimetic interpretative reworking of visual materials circulated in the media, March 2026

1.2. *Borders*

Let us move on to another particularly affecting case, this time of an artistic–situationist kind, which uses the collective table as a dispositif to bring into play an extremely delicate political issue.

At the border between Tecate, Mexico, and San Diego County, California – where thousands of Mexicans attempt every day, facing countless obstacles, to reach the United States – the well-known French artist JR installed, in 2017 (the year in which Trump repealed a law that allowed minors arriving in the US to obtain permanent residency), a giant photograph of a Mexican child (Kikito, fig. 6) gazing beyond the fence. He also set up an enormous table between the two countries, in some way uniting them through a shared meal (*Giant Picnic*, fig. 7).

Figs. 6–7: JR, "Kikito" and "Giant Picnic", between Tecate and San Diego, California, 2017. Images generated with artificial intelligence (ChatGPT), non-mimetic interpretative reworking of visual materials circulated in the media, March 2026

The message is clear: what politics disjoins, the table rejoins. And if the child directs his gaze precisely towards that table, the tablecloth itself features two gigantic eyes looking up towards the sky: the sign of an illusion? Whereas in the Israeli table the meal remained *actual* – that is, possible but not realised – here, as in Gaza, the meal is real; yet what remains *virtual* is rather an effective conviviality that would include all diners, denied by the political enemy. One eye on this side, the other on the opposite side, just as the two halves of the communal table point to a programme of union with no possibility of fulfilment.

Here again we find a concessive predication: the table is collective, *and yet* eating takes place in two zones that remain isolated from one another.

2. *Fluctuations in Canteens*

Let us now turn to a completely different, more everyday situation – one that nonetheless tends to remain largely outside public view: that of charitable canteens, where the indigent scattered across cities find relief in a shared hot meal. These are often organisations connected to the Church, though not exclusively: at times they are independent social organisations that set up the convivial dispositif. In one case as in the other, ideological values and gastronomic values intertwine, passing through different modes of eating – and often of cooking – together.

Notoriously, these are not happy environments, places in which social despair and individual loneliness are, in principle, alleviated by the welcome offered in the dining hall, but where, very often, the quality of the food – sacrificed to the quantity of meals served – is far from excellent. More generally, this reflects the widespread idea of canteens (university, school, corporate, hospital, prison canteens, etc.) as collective spaces in which poor food becomes a function of eating quickly, just long enough to refuel before returning to work or, more broadly, to everyday life. Thus canteens – and charitable ones in particular – have become synonymous with mediocre catering.

2.1. *Collective Catering*

Yet, in these places, food is not everything. Many other languages contribute to shaping the overall atmosphere. Consider, for instance, the modes of food preparation, often entrusted to volunteers – that is, non-professional cooks who, bolstered by the gratuitous nature of their labour, are forgiven their likely culinary shortcomings, further exacerbated by the large numbers of diners to be fed. Pasta will be overcooked, meat tough, vegetables soggy. Equally relevant is the entire system of sourcing ingredients, which in most cases is not dependent on those who transform them into dishes, but on private individuals, companies, or institutions wishing to dispose of foodstuffs close to their expiry date. As a result, day by day recipes must be reinvented according to whatever arrives, more or less randomly, in the refrigerators the night before; and one may find dishes based, say, on avocado or ostrich meat reappearing in the weekly menu.

The criteria for selecting guests are themselves highly significant. In some cases, for instance, women are not admitted because – so it is said – having to care for their children leaves them no time to attend the communal canteen; similarly, decisions must be made as to whether or not to accept undocumented migrants, homeless people, sex workers, drug users. What, then, is the age that allows access to the canteen? And what about adolescents, or children?

Another significant element concerns the reception in the dining hall and the choice of seating: who decides where guests

will sit? The guests themselves, or the dining staff? It is evident that this is far from an innocent alternative. In the former case, a habit is established of sitting in the same place, with the same people, gradually creating more or less intense forms of sociality; in the latter, the opposite occurs: seated next to anyone at all, the guest tends to withdraw into themselves, further intensifying – despite the ideal of collective catering – a profound existential solitude. The dialectic between these two modes of reception is extremely delicate, and a single hasty gesture by the organisation (often entrusted to volunteers, if not to the guests themselves) may influence a person's destiny in one direction or the other.

In this respect, the aesthetics of the dining hall also matter, since it is the primary site of welcome and, consequently, of convivial practice. Often, images of conviviality are displayed on the walls, among which, predictably, one finds more or less faithful reproductions of Leonardo's *Last Supper* – a work, it should be recalled, originally intended to adorn the refectory of a convent, like many others of its kind, beginning with Veronese's monumental *Wedding at Cana*. At the same time, by way of casual contrast, there are photographs depicting scenes of life in the countries of origin of migrants, the principal users of solidarity canteens.

Finally, albeit surreptitiously, the solidarity canteen tends to become a genuine apparatus for controlling those who attend it. The guest, in fact, comes to structure their entire existence around the moment at which they will go there to eat. As a result, opening and closing times establish very precise rhythms of life: some canteens are open only at lunchtime, others only in the evening, still others both at lunch and dinner. The diner's form of life, in adapting to these schedules, adjusts itself accordingly, organising the rest of the day around them. What is one to do when not in the canteen? This is a question many organisers have asked themselves, setting up various ancillary activities to keep guests on the premises, beginning with access to showers and continuing with cooking or carpentry workshops; or else taking them around the city on guided tours.

In short, this is a highly complex dispositif that produces countless – and often contradictory – effects of meaning. In one case as in another, interest in these forms of collective

food consumption stems from their position midway between domestic food consumption (with which they share the dimension of everyday life) and commercial consumption (with which they share the idea of eating outside the home, in an environment that may be one of work or leisure). The meal offered is, at least initially, linked to the satisfaction of eminently practical needs – that is, to the necessity of nourishment for workers, students, patients, the less affluent, and so on – only later, and often unwittingly, generating meanings and values through the organisation of the dispositif as a whole.

In recent times, canteens have been subject to various forms of rethinking. Many, for instance, have questioned the quality of the food served and attempted to improve it; others have addressed the issue of a non-arbitrary architecture of spaces and the design of furnishings, beginning with the shape and size of tables; still others have worked on forms of reception, and so forth. What follows are two exemplary attempts to restructure the canteen mechanism, in gastronomic terms and, more broadly, in social ones.

2.2. *A Sign-Work*

On the occasion of Expo 2015, Massimo Bottura, the well-known Modenese chef, began collaborating with Caritas of Milan, founding what came to be known as the Refettorio Ambrosiano – a space characterised by great care not only for food, but also for design and for the internal organisation of meal distribution. While the attention of the entire world was focused on high-quality food and its media exposure, Italy's leading chef turned his gaze towards the needy, the indigent, those who do not even have access to food. Genuine concern or brand-promotion for Osteria Francescana? The answer is of little interest here. What is certain, rather, is that through this gesture Bottura responded to a demand for quality on the part of the poor and the needy. *"All right, you feed us,"* it was said in many quarters, *"but why with dishes so banal, if not barely edible?"*

Beyond the practices of collective catering implemented at the Refettorio Ambrosiano in the years that followed – which we shall return to shortly – what matters here is what this space

said about itself, the discourse it articulated verbally on its website, as expressed in the following passage:

> The Refettorio Ambrosiano is a multidimensional aid project that brings with it numerous innovative features in the conception, creation, implementation and management of a social project. It was not created solely to serve hot meals to its guests, but aims to be a Sign-Work capable of fostering a profound reflection on the culture of waste and surplus, one that can positively transform the lifestyle of the community in which we live. The Refettorio Ambrosiano was born from the sharing of ideas, knowledge, experiences and resources among numerous actors who believed in a project capable of placing the human being at its centre – not only as a bearer of needs, but also as rich in resources that can be put back into circulation and generate well-being for society as a whole.

The idea of constructing something new, original and exemplary is quite clear. What is being invented is what is referred to as a *"sign-work"* (*opera-segno*): a programme of collective catering that, while passing through the now customary value of sustainability, combines quality and quantity, the need for nourishment and a taste for good food. On this occasion, Bottura also edited a dedicated recipe book with an emblematic title: *Bread Is Gold* (*Il pane è oro*). The realisation of the space was entrusted to Davide Rampello, a well-known creator of large-scale events. The large, fully equipped kitchen is open to view. The design of the various tables, all different, was entrusted to renowned designers. The dining hall is adorned with works of art. The entrance is marked by an installation known as the *Door of Welcome* (*Porta dell'accoglienza*), a terracotta artwork by Mimmo Paladino, which recalls the homonymous gate in Lampedusa – an explicit reference to the tragedy of migrants arriving on that island and then dispersed across the country.

To better understand how this ambitious objective was pursued, however, it is necessary to read carefully another excerpt from the website, reproduced here:

> An important indicator of the project's success is represented by the atmosphere of familiarity that permeates those who live in and give life to the Refettorio Ambrosiano. Everything begins with the feeling of "being expected" experienced by the 96 guests – a feeling that ensures that everyone is called by name, that everyone has their own table, finds

> the same dining companions, and sits in their own place. This generates a sense of family that becomes even more significant at a special moment such as dinner, encouraging the sharing of thoughts, ideas and resources under the banner of spontaneous self-mutual aid that generates change.

In this passage we find a very clear idea of the renewal of collective catering that goes beyond need, towards a certain form of socialisation. This socialisation, however, takes the form of a reinstatement of the most traditional family-form – or, more precisely, of its simulacrum. The only form of sociality imagined as possible is the family, and this sense of familiarity is simulated through *being expected*, being called by name, having one's own table and seat, and knowing one's fellow diners.

Fig. 8: Fabio Novembre, In punta di piedi*, Milan, Refettorio Ambrosiano (photo by Gianfranco Marrone). This is an interesting case in which the designer takes the well-known catachresis "the legs of the table" literally, effectively giving it material form*

Visiting the Refettorio Ambrosiano several years later, during the course of an ethnographic investigation, it became apparent, however, that more traditional patterns of solidarity canteens had gradually been reinstated. Guests enter through the Door of Welcome, are duly registered and placed on a list; once inside, how-

ever, someone directs them to specific seats according to a logic of pure functionality: once one table is filled, the next is started, then the next again, and so on. As a result, the goal of fostering familiarity with the place and with other people collapses entirely: each person finds themselves randomly seated next to strangers, with whom no dialogue is established. Strictly speaking, one is no longer alone, but neither is one in company – familial or otherwise. We might say that one is *not-alone*: a social and existential condition that is, to say the least, ambiguous.

From this a general lesson can be drawn. Most of the time, canteens – even those most resolutely committed to change, such as the Refettorio Ambrosiano – fail to take into account the fact that eating together does not automatically constitute a form of conviviality. For this *togetherness* to exist, it must have a specific internal configuration, in which each guest must certainly have a name that identifies them, but above all a role, some form of relationship with others. It is not enough to be many (within what is known as a *partitive totality*), that is, mere individuals all alike, mere numbers. What is required is that the totality of the subjects involved be internally articulated (within an *integral totality*), according to a logic that is hopefully egalitarian and non-hierarchical, but in which, in any case, each person has a task of their own, a relational identity of their own.

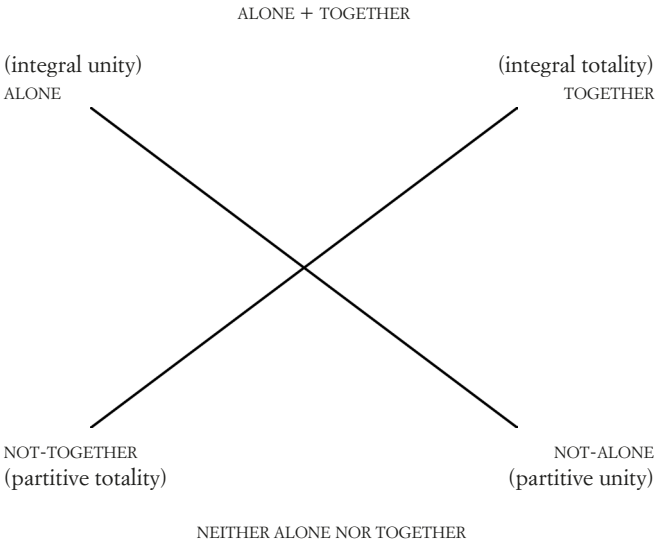
Not paradoxically at all, many solidarity canteens achieve this spontaneously and in a relatively accidental manner. Ethnographic research has observed that in many cases guests – mostly migrants – end up becoming part of the overall organisation of the canteen, sometimes serving at tables, sometimes cooking, in an atmosphere of genuine solidarity and mutual aid, with an interethnic scope. In this way, the sense of marginalisation produced by eating alone is significantly attenuated.

It is by no means the case that conviviality necessarily requires a plurality of subjects: it is perfectly possible to remain in the company of oneself, just as it is possible to eat together while each person is in a different space. Thus, for example, unlike the well-known Benedictine rules, in which the communal refectory was a fundamental place and moment in the articulation of daily life, in certain early medieval monastic communities located on Mount Athos the cenobites followed the principle of so-called *idiorrhythmia*. Each monk ate in his own cell, eating the same food as the others, at the same time – thus being at once alone and

in company, according to a shared rhythm individually re-elaborated. These were hermits belonging to a community, in which the moment of the meal served to reinforce a form of sociality without alienation – a solitude without exile, as it has been said.

3. *Overall Framework*

On the basis of these initial empirical data, and of the reflections developed around certain forms of conviviality, we may hypothesise a very simple overall framework that identifies a first, broad typology of forms of conviviality. It is reproduced below, where the various terms generated by the relations of contrariety, contradiction and complementarity inscribed in the semiotic square (cf. ch. 4) come into view. Our object of inquiry – *eating together* – is thus articulated into a series of positions which, although often confused with one another, turn out to be markedly distinct.



Let us begin with the most frequent, long-lasting and widely diffused position. *Eating together*, it is often said, is the most immediate form of living together, and thus of society and culture. This holds true for many animal species, and certainly for the

human one. In this sense, eating and being together are gestures that bounce off one another, contributing to the attribution of an ideal symbolic value – or, more accurately, a remarkably rich set of social meanings – to both actions. The languages of food and wine emerge here: in the sharing of food and drink, in reciprocal exchange, in the recognition of the social status of diners based on their position at the table, on the food offered to them, and on what is actually consumed.

From the splendour of banquets for the rich and the noble – beginning with the famous Trimalchio – through all intermediate forms, down to charitable canteens, as we have seen, the convivial meal (*cum-vivere*) is always and in any case a place and a moment of symbolic construction and transformation. Food begins to say something other than itself; diners begin to talk about food and through it. Even the dimension of scarcity and hunger is fully pertinent here: sitting together at the table to share the few foods available is a powerful form of survival that constitutes and reinforces couples, families, and social groups of varying size. The table becomes a metaphor for life, and vice versa. It is starting from the size (more or less large) and the shape (square, round, rectangular) of this object that the type of conviviality is determined – its being, as noted, at times a site of parity in social relations, at others, conversely, a space in which hierarchies among diners and the corresponding systems of power are redistributed.

Notes and further reading

For a broad historical overview of forms of conviviality in Western culture, reference may be made to the three monumental anthology volumes edited by Massimo Montanari – *Convivio*, *Nuovo convivio*, and *Convivio oggi* (Roma–Bari, Laterza, 1989, 1991, 1992), unfortunately now out of print. These collections remain a fundamental point of entry into the historical, symbolic and social dimensions of eating together. See also Montanari's *Il cibo come cultura* (Roma–Bari, Laterza, various editions), in particular pp. 129–136, as well as the collective volume *Manger ensemble*, *Cahiers européens de l'imaginaire*, March 2013, which offers a valuable comparative and interdisciplinary perspective.

On Renaissance banquets as spaces where food, luxury and power intersect, see Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *A tavola con i signori. Cibo, lusso e potere nelle corti rinascimentali* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2024), which provides a historically grounded analysis of commensality as a political and symbolic dispositif.

On the political metaphorisation of conviviality, a crucial reference remains Ivan Illich, whose reflections on convivial tools and practices laid the groundwork for later theoretical developments. See also Alain Caillé et al., *De la convivialité* (Paris, La Découverte, 2011), which revisits and expands the notion of conviviality within contemporary social and political theory.

On recent cases discussed in this chapter – such as the empty table laid in the aftermath of 7 October 2023, the food trucks of the Jova Beach Party, and the Refettorio Ambrosiano – see Gianfranco Marrone, "Mangiare insieme", which explicitly addresses the semiotic and cultural implications of these dispositifs of collective eating.

For the artistic intervention by JR at the US–Mexico border, see in particular Tiziana Migliore, "Muri che diventano murales. Il 'noi' del cambiamento" (2023), published in *Acta Semiotica*, 3(6), pp. 154–173. The essay offers a detailed semiotic analysis of JR's projects, situating *Kikito* and *Giant Picnic* within a broader reflection on walls, borders and the collective imaginaries of change, and framing these works as dispositifs capable of rearticulating political subjectivities through visual and spatial practices. On the same topic, see also the chapter of Mirco Vannoni on this book.

On the communicative and semiotic potential of the table as an object and as a dispositif of conviviality, see Alice Giannitrapani, "Intorno al desco. La tavola come dispositivo conviviale", *E/C*, no. 41, 2024, which offers a focused and theoretically informed analysis of the table as a central operator in practices of eating together.

On table manners and their semiotic significance, see the collective issue *Actes Sémiotiques*, no. 124, 2021, devoted to the cultural, normative and symbolic dimensions of eating practices.

Finally, on the rituals of the table and the tensive schemas underlying forms of conviviality, see Jean-Jacques Boutaud, *Le sens gourmand* (Paris, Rocher 2005), especially chapter 2, which provides a key semiotic framework for understanding the affective and relational dynamics of shared meals.