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‘Merguez Capitale’: the merguez sausage as a discursive construction of cosmopolitan branding, colonial memory and local flavour in Marseille

Abstract

Official cultural sectors increasingly deploy cosmopolitan branding efforts, based on the diversity of migrant populations, to market a city as attractive and open. These strategies, meanwhile, continue to coexist with attachments to place as well as a sense of local identification and belonging. In this paper I refer to the way food and in particular the merguez sausage is used as a marker to evoke both the cosmopolitan and the local specificities of the city of Marseille, once celebrated as the gateway to France’s Empire. This work examines cultural initiatives, city streets, film and published Pieds-Noirs testimonials to argue that the merguez, a spicy sausage associated with North African cuisine, is used as a discursive construction of cosmopolitan branding, attached to a colonial memory, notably Algerian, while coexisting with the formation of local specificities in Marseille.

Keywords

Marseille, merguez, cosmopolitanism, parochialism, memory, Pieds-Noirs, Algeria, Robert Guédiguian, *Les Neiges du Kilimandjaro*, *Off de Marseille*

Word count

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Marseille, European capital of culture

In 2013, Marseille was host to numerous cultural events¹ and subject to significant architectural transformations that highlighted the city's cosmopolitan features. The most prominent event was the European Union-led initiative *European Capitals of Culture* (ECOC) program showcasing Mediterranean themes interpreted by locally and internationally acclaimed artists. The most significant urban change to the city centre was the construction of the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MUCEM), at the entrance of the historic port, with its collection of objects focusing predominantly on the social, religious and political connections of Mediterranean locations.² ECOC organisers pointed out that these urban changes and the cosmopolitan theme of cultural events would attract interest in Marseille's tourism and business sectors (Grésillon, 2011). This emphasis on culture and cosmopolitanism is part of an ongoing attempt to change the city's public image. Since the late 1960s, Marseille has suffered from high unemployment,³ an ailing economy no longer centred around port activities and 'une mauvaise réputation'⁴ (Peraldi and Samson, 2006: 112; Témime, 2006: 208).

Throughout the same year, a lesser-known cultural initiative led by graphic designers and journalists residing in Marseille, titled the *Off* de Marseille 2013, also took place. A political study of the *Off* de Marseille 2013 describes this alternative year-long program as 'une critique sociale revendiquant une «réappropriation citoyenne » de l'espace public sur fond de happening comique' (Maisetti, 2013: 62). This description emphasises the playful nature of the *Off* festival's purpose, yet points to the *Off*'s criticism of the institutionalisation of culture and the romanticised portrayal of the Mediterranean promoted by the ECOC program. Meanwhile, the *Off*'s

organisers revealed that the aim of their festival was to explore the many complex realities of Marseille such as urban change, inequality, and local cultural practices. The merguez sausage was selected by the *Off*'s organisers as one of the key program themes to describe Marseille as 'une ville monde où toutes les communautés ont fini par trouver, avec plus ou moins de bonheur, une place pour vivre. La ville n'a pas une identité, elle s'est construite avec la sédimentation des afflux de populations émigrées' (Marseille, 2013). In light of this description, the meaning of the merguez suggests polyvalence, the shared production of identity and links to the various ethnic groups and social classes that have settled in Marseille (Témime, 2006: 142-146). This aspect of the merguez was embodied in a one-day event, paradoxically titled: 'Merguez Capitale -Marseille est cosmopolite, Marseille est un village' (Hennenfent, 2013) and celebrated the city's cultural identity as a cosmopolitan city with firm attachments to its local specificities (Marseille2013). The local media described this day as the *Off*'s 'temps fort' and 'un grand moment de liesse. Une journée festive et populaire, avec ses barbecues et ses concerts, à mi-chemin entre une fête de quartier et un rendez-vous culturel ultra-branché' (Gabellec, 2014).⁵ The event comprised the barbecuing of merguez sausages, whilst engaging people irrespective of ethnic background or social class in an informal and inclusive social gathering. Now a familiar food product in Marseille, the merguez is an inexpensive lamb (and for some beef) based sausage, usually flavoured with herbs and spices such as paprika, cumin, fennel, coriander and chilli (Davidson, 1999: 497). It is associated with Maghrebi and Pied Noir cuisine (Karambolage, 2013) and is commonly found in take away food outlets. The choice of the merguez by the *Off* de Marseille, rather than other distinct Marseillais specialties such as sardines, bouillabaisse or panisses,⁶ as well as the success of the event suggests that this sausage has carved itself a specific niche as a cultural signifier

within contemporary Marseille.

Consequently, the 'Merguez Capitale' event focuses attention on the merguez as a discursive construction of cosmopolitan discourse, while tied to parochial conceptions of community in Marseille today. The title of this event underscores the cosmopolitan feature usually characteristic of a capital city, but introduces a new way of viewing the cosmopolitan, through its association with a food that is commonly found in relaxed community contexts or working class settings in France. Nick Lazarus's work on cosmopolitanism and world literatures reminds us that different models of cosmopolitanism exist (2011: 121). For literary scholar John Tomaney, cosmopolitanism is usually defined as representing openness and tolerance in the context of global perspectives, and is often presented by scholars in opposition to parochialism (2013: 662). From a cosmopolitan perspective, local particularisms and attachments are viewed as closed and exclusionary and seen as a 'foil against which to measure (...) progressive cosmopolitanism' (662). In defence of parochialism, Tomaney argues, however, that there is no contradiction between cosmopolitanism and parochialism, using the term 'local cosmopolitanisms', borrowed from Lazarus's work, (2011: 133–134) to thread together the complex interrelationships between the two. For Tomaney, a 'parochial outlook values the local, its culture and solidarities, as a moral starting point and locus of ecological concern and a site for the development of virtues including commitment, fidelity, civility and nurture' and is defined against and with global perspectives (Tomaney, 2013: 659). Likewise, *Branding Cities*.

Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism, and Social Change by Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin identifies how official cultural sectors invest in cosmopolitan branding efforts, based on the diversity of migrant populations, in order to market a city as attractive and open, while also reconciling projects within the

context of a new parochialism that draws upon the complex relationships between various communities in the city (2009: 3, 29, 81). Similarly, this paper brings together the cosmopolitan and the parochial, whereby the local is imbued with external influences and relationships whilst retaining a cultural distinctiveness and particularity. It examines how the merguez's significance in Marseille is anchored in colonial history, notably the repatriation of the Pieds-Noirs following the Algerian War, and how today this sausage generates a cosmopolitan discourse that draws on narratives highlighting the parochial aspect of the city. This essay argues that the merguez reflects a cosmopolitanism that is intricately connected to a parochialism centred around home building, solidarity and local space. It does this through an analysis of the discourse and images used in the *Off*'s promotional documentation and visual representation of the 'Merguez Capitale' event. It also considers the post-colonial association of the merguez with the Pieds-Noirs who settled in Marseille in the late 1950s and early 1960s, by examining documented Pieds-Noirs testimonials that are anchored in the south of France (Domergue, 2005; Jordi, 1995). To illustrate the role of the merguez in Marseille today, I refer to personal observations of selected areas in Marseille conducted in 2013 and also consider the 2011 film by Marseillais director Robert Guédiguain titled *Les Neiges du Kilimandjaro*, where the merguez is one of the film's cultural references to the city.

The *Off* de Marseille 2013 proposes the 'Merguez Capitale'

Like many 'old' industrial port cities, Marseille appears to have succeeded in re-inventing itself as an innovative and culturally vibrant city in the south of France: attractive to tourists and Euro-Mediterranean businesses alike. It has consciously constructed its brand around the claim to be a cosmopolitan city with a specific local

identity base. In a brochure presentation of Marseille leading up to the 2013 cultural program, Bernard Latarjet, president of the ECOC event, describes the city in the following way: ‘De toutes les villes du Bassin méditerranéen, Marseille est la plus cosmopolite, à la fois par le nombre des communautés qui s’y côtoient et s’y mêlent, mais aussi par le nombre de ses habitants d’origines étrangères récentes’ (2010). This cosmopolitan branding draws on Marseille’s immigrant population, made up of former political refugees in the first half of the 19th century from countries such as Italy and Spain as well as more recent post-colonial migrants from North and sub-Saharan Africa.⁷ Representations of these migrant communities in relation to place branding, however, is complex because of the different periods and types of migration that have taken place in Marseille (Témime, 2006: 142-146). Yvan Gastaut’s work on Marseille relates the complexity in defining cosmopolitanism with regard to this city, stating that ‘« *Marseille cosmopolite* » traduit tout autant l’image d’une ville de l’accueil des étrangers que celle d’une ville du racisme. [...] Dans certains cas, le cosmopolitisme déclenche tensions ou conflits, dans d’autres, il provoque harmonie ou qualité’ (author’s italics) (Gastaut, 2003: 9). While the ECOC opted for a branding strategy associated with the city’s geographical location on the shores of the Mediterranean and with cultural events referring to mythology, adventure and travel such as: *Journeys and Stopovers*, *Ulysses* and *The Great Mediterranean Voyage* (MP2013), the *Off* de Marseille contested the ECOC’s program for omitting to represent aspects of Marseille’s particularities such as ethnic diversity, local hip hop music and social inequalities. Furthermore, the *Off* chose the *merguez* as one of the key themes for its year long program that culminated in a one day barbecue to articulate, not only cosmopolitanism but its attachment to parochialism in Marseille (suggested by the subtitle ‘Marseille est cosmopolite, Marseille est un village’). This

relation between the cosmopolitan and the parochial is also described in other work on Marseille. For instance, Pascal Blanchard and Gilles Boëtsch's study on Marseille's history describe the city as both a place 'détenant une identité d'ouverture sur le monde' (2005:14) but where 'on a le sentiment d'être dans une *ville unique* en son genre' (authors' italics) (2005: 14). Likewise, Gastaut points out that 'la valorisation du métissage a contribué à forger une identité marseillaise fondée sur le particularisme et sur la tolérance' (2003: 7). In this context, the emergence of an *off* event is relevant. Indeed, critical work on *off* events suggests that 'la création d'un lieu *off* résulte de la volonté d'un groupe qui souhaite défendre sa vision de la culture, ses pratiques et goûts culturels' (Vivant, 2007: 132). For the *Off* de Marseille's organisers, the focus of their program is a celebration of 'les particularités d'une ville faite de paradoxes (...) Cosmopolite mais esprit villageois, urbaine mais verte, portuaire mais tournée vers l'intérieur, ville morte la nuit mais prochaine capitale européenne de la culture...' (Hennenfent, 2013).

In addition, this tongue-in-cheek cultural event centred around the merguez took place on the national day of gastronomy in France, an annual event showcasing French traditions and savoir-faire in relation to food.⁸ The decision to use a food more commonly associated with North African cuisine as part of a national agenda corresponds to the organisers' desire to challenge the meaning of identity. Rather than provençal inspired dishes typical of Marseille, cheap street food was selected to underline the relationship between cultural identity and food preferences (Darias Alfonso, 2012; Cantarero et al., 2013). In doing so, the merguez represents how food forged outside the homeland can be indigenised 'in host countries as part of the "local" tradition' (Darias Alfonso, 2012: 177).

The origins of the merguez are articulated by Franco-Algerian comedian

Moussa Lebkiti on the Franco-German TV station Arte:

Mais qui a créé la merguez ? En fait, tout le monde se l'approprie : les Tunisiens en font tout un plat et prétendent qu'elle est tunisienne, tout ça parce qu'ils ont inventé l'harissa qui va avec. Les Algériens, eux, jurent qu'elle est de nationalité algérienne et même kabyle et ils le démontrent par cette étymologie implacable : le mot merguez vient du mot berbère "amrguaz", "am" signifiant "comme" et "rguaz", "l'homme". Ainsi, vous l'aurez compris, la merguez ne désigne rien d'autre que le membre viril... Les Marocains installés en Europe la marient royalement au couscous, ce qui indigné profondément tout le reste du Maghreb qui s'insurge contre ce couple contre-nature. Les Juifs disent que la merguez est née dans leurs boucheries d'Oran et que c'est eux qui l'ont apportée en France quand ils ont dû quitter l'Algérie à son indépendance... (Karambolage, 2013).

While Lebkiti's description of the sausage as a symbol of virility reinforces the humorous tone adopted in the *Off's* campaign, it also underlines the multiple origins of the sausage and the relation these origins have to an already cosmopolitan tradition geographically situated in a Mediterranean space. These transcultural affiliations are also reflected in early accounts of the merguez, which can be traced back to the 13th century. An anonymous manuscript written in the 1200s on Andalusian recipes, titled *Kitâb al-Tabîj*,⁹ provides recipes for dishes eaten in Andalusia during Muslim rule, a period between 711-1492 when Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities are said to have coexisted peacefully in Spain. Described as a collection of recipes from Mediterranean countries such as Morocco, Algeria,

Tunisia, Egypt, Sicily and Spain, this manuscript provides cooking instructions in a context where the beliefs and practices of Mediterranean peoples influenced one another. The merguez is one of approximately 526 recipes in this work of Mediterranean dishes. It evokes the European tradition of sausage making alongside Islamic beliefs that tolerated the eating of lamb and beef but not pork in the making of sausages (Rosenberger, 1989: 77-78).

Algerian memories

Historical accounts, explaining the introduction of the merguez into French eating habits, connect the cosmopolitan/parochial discourse in Marseille to the Pieds-Noirs (or rapatriés) who fled Algeria to settle in France at the time of the Algerian War. The relation between the Pieds-Noirs in Marseille, and neighbouring towns, is documented specifically in the work of Jordi (1995) and Domergues (2005). References to attitudes towards food in these studies evoke the transnational affiliations forged by North African food such as the merguez in relation to the restructuring of memory and the concept of home.

Following political unrest in Algeria, Marseille became the site of trauma for a significant number of the Pieds-Noirs who arrived in this city and did not feel welcome (Jordi, 1995: 26). Testimonials of the rapatriés collected by Jordi recount that:

Ceux qui font le grand départ ont le sentiment d'être abandonnés par la France (...) Et le premier point qu'ils voient, le premier sol foulé par les trois quarts d'entre eux est Marseille, lieu de détresse et d'angoisse dans un avenir incertain. Une mémoire traumatique se forme dans la ville phocéenne et gagne

la quasi-totalité de la communauté pied-noir. Mieux, elle imprègne même ceux qui ne sont pas passés par Marseille (15).

Studies on the Pieds-Noirs and their relocation to France show that food found in Algeria, such as mouna, merguez and couscous, hold symbolic importance at Pied-Noir gatherings in France. For instance, Jordi reveals that the newspaper *Le Messenger's* 1963 description of the festivities organised to finance the new church in Carnoux for the Pieds-Noirs, associated community building with North African food : 'La dégustation des brochettes, des merguez et du couscous apporta à ces festivités une note originale' (1995: 109). Interestingly, it is at these festivities that many of the Pieds-Noirs discover the merguez for the first time, having never consumed this sausage in Algeria. For instance, in Domergue's study, a Pied-Noir points out that 'Les merguez, c'est comme le mot Pied-Noir, on connaissait pas avant d'arriver ici [en France]' (2005: 146).

These accounts suggest that, for the Pieds-Noirs, food like the merguez are associated with the difficult transition from the home left behind to the home forged in a new space. Indeed, scholarly work on the relation between migrant food and home building defines the notion of home as providing affective structures such as 'security, familiarity, community, and a sense of possibility' (Hage, 1997: 102). In light of this statement, food like the merguez is a symbolic representation of the social space created by the Pieds-Noirs to evoke cultural heritage and a shared history.

While ownership of the merguez in relation to its introduction in France is not static - for instance, Noëlle Gérôme's work on food served at the fête de *l'Humanité's* outdoor gatherings refers to the merguez cooked by Maghrebi immigrants in the 1950s (2001: 67) - Domergue's work connects the eating practices of the Pieds-Noirs

to a specific geographic location. He argues that in the south of France, the Pied-Noir desire to create a sense of home, led to the embedding of the merguez into local culinary tradition, relating that ‘les merguez ont été apportées par les Arabes, mais leur diffusion, en tout cas dans notre coin de France, date de l’arrivée des Pieds-Noirs’ (2005: 148).

The connection of this food to a local sense of place and identity corresponds chronologically to the introduction of the term ‘cosmopolitan’ in Marseille’s political and public discourses. According to Gastaut, ‘le contexte du choc des décolonisations’, lasting well into the 1970s, triggered on the one hand, violence and racism in Marseille,¹⁰ while on the other, generated a political and tourist discourse describing Marseille as cosmopolitan in order to portray a public image of Marseille as ethnically inclusive and tolerant (2003: 5).

This historical context draws connection to the merguez and the relation between the cosmopolitan and the parochial today. As Gastaut notes, ‘la situation a changé depuis les décolonisations: le brassage a fait l’objet d’un investissement politique et culturel à des fins de construction identitaire dans le contexte délicat d’une Méditerranée en recomposition après les Empires’ (2003, 9), thus highlighting the political and cultural motivations behind cosmopolitan discourse and its relation to the construction of local identity.

Eating merguez in Marseille

In the contemporary context, the notion of place making is also reflected in the objectives of the *Off*’s merguez campaign. The crowning of Marseille by the *Off* as the capital of merguez, and not simply the city of merguez, plays with the idea of capital and the relation to local space. The title of capital is not new to Marseille - the

title ‘Merguez Capitale’ is a playful pun on the European Capital/ Capital of Culture title. Historically, in 1906, Marseille hosted the colonial exhibition, an event that placed Marseille ‘au centre de l’aventure coloniale’ (Témime, 2006: 135) as the ‘capitale de l’empire’ (Blanchard & Boëtsch, 2005: 14). For Marseille, the colonies were an important way of establishing the city’s wealth through trade openings. Furthermore, in the 1970s Marseille was described by the national media as the ‘capital du racisme’ in relation to the violent clashes between local and migrant groups in the wake of decolonisation (Gastaut, 2003: 5). The notion of capital, therefore, underlines the city’s geographical transformation from a former key player in colonial trade, and host city to migrants, to its new potential as a significant cultural city drawing in tourism and acknowledging the social transformations associated with multiculturalism. What is striking about the ‘Merguez Capitale’ title (also referred to in some promotional documents as ‘Capitale Merguez’) is the informal and colloquial aspect of the program wording. Rather than incorporating traditional French syntax such as ‘Marseille, Capitale de la Merguez’, which would have defined the merguez as uniquely marseillais, the title borrows from English syntax and conveys a hip and relaxed form of expression. In this sense, the word merguez is used to qualify the word capital, thereby suggesting an alternate capital city in which local cultural practices are easily accessible. This parochial outlook acknowledges, therefore, the merguez gathering as a site for public inclusion and community engagement.

The one day ‘Merguez Capitale’ event was open to the public and took place in a location, part camping ground, part art installation called YesWeCamp near l’Estaque, north of Marseille, created specifically for the *Off*. Like the ‘Merguez Capitale’ title, the ‘YesWeCamp’ name is a humorous wordplay. It is reminiscent of Barack Obama’s internationally recognizable ‘Yes We Can’ presidential campaign in

2008 about community change and involvement. Moreover, the term ‘camp’ suggests a figurative reading in relation to camp aesthetic style. Indeed, writer Susan Sontag’s essay suggests that camp style is ‘the love of the exaggerated, the "off," of things-being-what-they-are-not’ (1964). Likewise, the merguez at the *Off* event represents more than just the eating of food but the pushing of boundaries and the exploration of food, cultural expression and local identity proposed by the hyperbole of Marseille as “Merguez Capitale”. At the merguez event, artists, artisan sausage makers and the public gathered together. Artists crafted barbecues from recycled material that were both functional and playful. Figure 1 illustrates one such barbecue made out of recycled wheels, through which the sausage passes while heated from below.

[Figure 1 goes here]

The choice of the barbecue is significant. As Felicity Cloake’s article on barbecues suggests, this type of cooking method brings ‘whole communities together’ and ‘has long been an event that transcends race and class’ (2013: 55). Furthermore, the camping ground and the barbecues made from recycled material recall the social aspects and concerns underlined by the organisers: the communal space suggests the ‘village’ quality of Marseille; the inexpensive and recycled installations hint at the working class migrants who often found refuge in shantytowns in Marseille (Témime, 2006: 176, 208); and the use of second hand material reflects the present day concern for sustainability. Underlying this is an implicit acknowledgement of Marseille’s cultural distinctiveness and moral particularity with regard to the way in which these particularisms are the ‘basis for wider engagements’ (Tomaney, 2013: 663). The merguez is clearly posited as a local eating practice that is connected to broader social

concerns such as solidarity, sustainability and the way various social classes interact.

Likewise, in Robert Guédiguian's 2011 film *Les Neiges du Kilimandjaro* set in Marseille, the merguez is an integral part of the Marseillais landscape. This sausage appears alongside other landmarks such as the port, the docks, the ubiquitous dockyard cranes, the passing of ships and stereotypical local cultural references such as pastis and sardines. It is also associated with broader themes such as unemployment, trade union, job insecurity, crime and solidarity. The story focuses on Michel, a middle aged union leader and dockyard worker (Jean-Pierre Darroussin) who is made redundant alongside 19 other dockers. One of these dockers, discontent with the social system that has let him down, breaks into the home of Michel and his family with a firearm. In its examination of themes such as solidarity and generational differences with regard to the meaning of social class, the film uses food to mark the individual's place within the community. In contrast to the perpetrator, Michel's family life is comfortable and stable. The barbecuing of the merguez features at key moments in the film to reassert and rebuild alliances: it is eaten at Michel's 30th wedding anniversary, for dinner in the backyard with his close-knit family, and in the final scenes when forgiveness and support are found amongst the victims of the traumatic armed hold-up - the sea and the shipyards act as a back-drop and a constant reminder of Marseille's palpable on-screen presence as a once powerful colonial and industrial port. Like at the 'Merguez Capitale' event, the merguez in this film acts as an agent for community gathering in the face of social and economic concerns.

Similar to Guédiguian's film, the *Off de Marseille*'s publicity poster (Figure 2) of the merguez event evokes the sausage's connection to the city, however it goes further and challenges the stereotypical imagery used to portray local space. In the poster, the merguez features alongside photos of a fisherman, a sardine and the most

iconic reference to Marseille's port, the basilica Notre Dame de la Garde. Michel Peraldi and Michel Samson's sociological study of Marseille, points out that the image of Notre Dame de la Garde is intricately tied to a hierarchical representation of the city, which favours the Catholic identity of its locals, but fails to acknowledge the migrant heritage of its residents (2006: 278).

[Figure 2 goes here]

In the 'Merguez Capitale' poster, the juxtaposition of the merguez alongside other iconic Marseillais symbols, and in particular on the flag, not only grants the sausage local citizenship along the lines of the '«réappropriation citoyenne » de l'espace public' referred to earlier (Maisetti, 2013: 62), it also challenges the traditional representations of the city. Urban planner, Kevin Lynch's work on *The Image of the City* argues that there seems to be a public image of any given city, which is the overlap of many individual images (1960: 46). In the case of Marseille, the 'Merguez Capitale' poster suggests that the inclusion of the merguez in a public event represents a new way of seeing the city in relation to cosmopolitanism and its connection to the particularisms of local space. In the streets of Marseille, it is common to find the merguez in inexpensive take away food shops scattered throughout the merchant centre of Marseille such as place des Capucines, rue de la Providence, rue des Récolettes. It is also readily available in snack bars along the beaches of Marseille, which make up some of the well-to-do suburbs such as Les Catalans. Merguez however is not limited to take away vendors around Marseille, it is also found in numerous commercial spaces such as butchers and supermarkets. These various locations suggest that merguez is at home both as a street food in public spaces and in the homes of its residents, a notion echoed by the 'Merguez Capitale' event, which

was open to any member of the public interested in attending and sharing a day around the merguez.

[Figure 3 goes here]

Merguez - a locally constructed cosmopolitanism

The selection of the merguez at the *Off de Marseille* barbecue may be a humorous way of celebrating what has become a common food product in Marseille, and no doubt in other parts of France, but it also defines Marseille as a cosmopolitan city that has a strong attachment to place. Present day political and tourism marketing strategies have invested in branding the city as ethnically diverse and tolerant but do this in relation to building a local identity based on a specific local history.

Accordingly, the eating of the merguez in the south of France connects references to a multicultural and open city with the local experience of decolonisation and Pied-Noir memory. Moreover, this locally constructed cosmopolitanism is illustrated by the merguez as both a food originating outside of France and a part of an indigenised tradition. From Pied-Noir festive gatherings in the south of France to visual and cultural representations of Marseille, the merguez embodies a 'parochial outlook' that 'values the local' (Tomaney, 2013:659) as the site for the development of virtues such as solidarity, community, belonging and local interaction. Consequently, the barbecuing of a sausage, more commonly associated with North African cuisine, at a cultural event in Marseille, demonstrates that there is no necessary contradiction between the ideas of the cosmopolitan and the local, but that on the contrary, cosmopolitanism is grounded in a specific place through the foodways of a people of a particular city.

Notes

¹ In 2013, in addition to the European Capital of Culture program, cultural events such as the *Festival International du Cinema* and the *Festival Jazz des Cinq Continents*, took place in Marseille and reinforced Marseille's national and international role image as a cultural and tourist hub openly reaching outward to diverse communities and peoples.

² A large portion of the MUCEM's collection is from the former museum of regional folklore, the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires located in Paris. According to Herman Lebovics' article on the future of French museums, the MUCEM celebrates the 'folk and vernacular cultures of France and the peoples living around the shores of the Mediterranean as well as other European populations.' For Lebovics it 'is also important to note the concrete act of pluralism in locating France's first national museum (...) outside Paris in this diverse city [Marseille]', adding that this museum was created in the context of France's necessity to reinvent itself as a nation framed 'by its ties to Europe and its near neighbours around the Mediterranean' (295). See Lebovics H (2014) The future of the nation foretold in its museums. *French Cultural Studies* Vol 25(3/4) 290–298.

³ France's national statistics office INSEE estimated the recent figure for unemployment in Marseille at 17.3% for 15-64 year olds. These figures are well above the national average of 10.6% at the end of 2012. Available at: <http://www.insee.fr> (accessed 15 January 2014).

⁴ See also media articles that emphasise Marseille's troubled reputation with regard to crime, drugs and violence such as C Askolovitch (2012) Marseille, territoire perdu de la République *Marianne*, 15-21 September, 804: 29.

⁵ Exact figures on the number of people attending the 'merguez' event do not exist however the *Off*'s organisers state that during the festival a total of 130,000 took part in the *Off*. They also note that 20,000 people camped at the YesWeCamp camping ground. Available at: <http://www.marseille2013.com/2014/le-off-en-2013-en-images-et-en-chiffres/>.

⁶ Panisse are fried chickpea flour patties.

⁷ According to Blanchard and Boëtsch's work on Marseille the number of people with migrant origins in Marseille total around 52% with a large proportion of these migrants from Algeria, Comoros, Armenia and Vietnam (2005: 217).

⁸ Further information available on the website of the Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances. Available at: www.economie.gouv.fr/fete-gastronomie/presentation-levenement.

⁹ The book's original title is *Kitab al tabij fi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus fi `asr al-Muwahhidin, li-mu'allif mayhul*, and translates to *The Book of Cooking in Maghreb and Andalus in the Era of Almohads, by an Unknown Author*. An English translation

of this recipe book was undertaken by Charles Perry in 1987, titled *An anonymous Andalousian Cookbook of the 13th Century*. Available at: http://www.davidfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian_contents.htm.

¹⁰ Domergue's study focuses particularly on the significant number of Pied-Noirs that arrived in the south of France in the 1960s and are said to have inflated the cost of land and housing to the anger of many of the locals. Locals also felt that the Pieds-Noirs were given priority by authorities in relation to the distribution of work and housing (2005: 24).

Gastaut's work highlights, rather, the racism and violence that took place between locals and native Algerian migrants in Marseille from the 1960s to 1980s (2003:5).

See also Stora B (1999) *Le transfert d'une mémoire. De l' « Algérie française » au racisme anti-Arabe*. Paris: Editions la Découverte.

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