



Redrawing Feísmo. New Visual Narratives for a Galician Architectural Counterculture / *La Resignificación del Feísmo. Nuevas Narrativas Visuales para una Arquitectura Disidente*

In a context of climate crisis and resource scarcity, feísmo emerges as a dissident model of reference, from which multiple examples and strategies can be drawn. It places strong emphasis on the soft dimension of architecture and establishes a symbiosis between standardized products and local culture. This article argues for the need to move beyond the stigmatizing representations of Galician feísmo and to redefine its imaginary in line with the critical narratives that have emerged around the phenomenon. Reconstructing the visual imaginary of feísmo becomes a necessary task—at a time of compulsive image consumption—for incorporating it into architectural discourse as a form of dissidence rooted in peripheral cultures, fully applicable to the practice of the discipline.

Keywords: Galician feísmo, visual imaginary, resignification, non-normative architecture, self-construction, artificial intelligence, cultural reappropriation, cultural landscape

En un contexto de crisis climática y escasez de recursos, el feísmo se revela como una disidencia de referencia, de la que extraer múltiples ejemplos y estrategias. Concede gran importancia a la dimensión blanda de la arquitectura y establece una simbiosis entre productos estandarizados y la cultura local. Este artículo plantea la necesidad de superar las representaciones estigmatizantes del feísmo gallego y redefinir un nuevo imaginario que recoja las narrativas emergentes en torno a este fenómeno. La reconstrucción del imaginario visual del feísmo se presenta como una tarea necesaria —en tiempos de consumo compulsivo de imágenes— para incorporarlo al debate de la arquitectura como una disidencia nacida de las culturas periféricas, perfectamente aplicable al ejercicio de la disciplina.

Palabras clave: Feísmo gallego, imaginario visual, resignificación, arquitectura no normativa, autoconstrucción, reapropiación cultural, paisaje cultural

¹BARAD, García Docampo (2007, min. 6:15) states "O día 13 de agosto do ano 2000, publica (La Voz de Galicia) os resultados dunha enquisa na que fai un barómetro urbano [...] e ademais, ese día aparecen os resultados: exemplifica cunha serie de fotografías un fenómeno que denominan como feísmo." ["On August 13th, 2000, La Voz de Galicia published the results of a survey presenting an urban barometer [...] and, on that same day, the results were illustrated with a series of photographs exemplifying a phenomenon they referred to as feísmo."]

²García Docampo (2007, min. 20:30) also explains that "O termo aparentemente foi inducido por un medio de comunicación, polo tanto con uns intereses partidistas dun conselleiro, que ademais tivo un efecto positivo nas eleccións autonómicas do ano 2001]" [the term was apparently introduced by a media outlet and thus aligned with the political interests of a regional minister (conselleiro), ultimately having a positive effect on the 2001 regional elections.]



Figure 01. Dorotea do Cará (Soutelo de Montes). Virxilio Viéitez, 1960-1961.

This paper focuses on the case of Galician feísmo —literally translated into English as uglism— even though it refers to a global condition, linked to practices of self-construction and the informal transformation of territory. Yet it is in Galicia that this set of practices has been given a specific term, one that is culturally loaded and marked by a negative connotation.

Likewise, the study will prioritise rural feísmo over its urban counterpart, based on the view that it is in the former where the constructive, material, and social logics are most clearly expressed.

01. Nature and Genesis of The Term

The term feísmo should be understood as a label created to encompass a heterogeneous set of constructive practices and expressions that did not conform to dominant aesthetic or regulatory standards. Its formulation and dissemination followed a logic of territorial control: by grouping these disparate manifestations of this new phenomenon, under a single name, their public delegitimisation was facilitated. In this way, interventions aimed at their removal were justified by appealing to an alleged need for order and visual harmony. Far from being a neutral concept, feísmo has functioned as a derogatory container, instrumentalised to impose an artificial vision of the landscape (Lizancos, 2007, min 3:45).

The phenomenon of feísmo in Galicia cannot be understood without considering the profound transformation of the socio-economic model of the Galician rural environment that began in the late 1950s. Within the context of the post-war period and the gradual loosening of the Franco regime's autarkic policies, Galicia started to abandon its traditional agrarian structure, initiating a broader process of modernization in rural ways of life. This transformation, driven in part by financial inflows from emigration (Pérez Touriño, 1984, p. 305), enabled improvements in domestic conditions (such as the incorporation of basic utilities like plumbing) and gave rise to intense construction activity increasingly detached from agricultural logic.

The introduction of industrialized and affordable materials, combined with traditional building techniques, facilitated these improvements. However, this occurred in a context ruled by the absence of urban planning (García Vidal, 2003, p. 409), resulting in spontaneous and unregulated growth. The organic nature of this development, an inherent feature of feísmo, contributed to a growing sense of visual chaos and disorder that reached a critical point in the late 1990s. By the year 2000¹, the newspaper La Voz de Galicia had coined the term feísmo to describe the phenomenon, subsequently consolidating it through an intense media campaign.

This narrative was later politically instrumentalized, as evidenced by the initiatives promoted by regional government in the lead-up to the 2001 regional elections. Born from political interests and gained traction through the support of certain media outlets, feísmo quickly became embedded in the Galician collective imaginary².

³ “The issue with Galician *feísmo* does not lie in the gaze of its inhabitants, who understand the countryside as their living environment. The problem lies in the gaze of urban dwellers, accustomed to evaluating the rural landscape solely through an aesthetic lens.” [El problema del *feísmo* gallego no está en la mirada de sus habitantes que entienden el campo como su escenario vital. El problema está en la mirada de los urbanitas, acostumbrados a valorar el campo exclusivamente desde el punto de vista estético.] (Fariña Tojo, 2014)

⁴ In 2004 and 2007, the First and Second Foro do *Feísmo* (Forum on *Feísmo*) took place. These events brought together experts to critically discuss the concept of *feísmo* within the Galician context. Their main objective was to propose more complex, contextualised, and rigorous readings of territorial transformation processes.

The perception of the Galician rural landscape is shaped by what could be described as a form of “landscape dysmorphia.” Fariña Tojo³ frames this as a deep divide between the perspective of those who inhabit the territory and that of those who observe it from the outside. While rural residents understand the landscape as a functional and lived space, urban outsiders and tourists tend to value it through an aesthetic or romantic lens. This external gaze tends to idealize the environment, expecting to find an unchanging landscape untouched by modern elements, and interprets any deviation from that ideal as *feísmo*.

This conflict of perceptions has shaped both public discourse and policy [fig.02]. In many cases, regulations have aimed to produce a “postcard landscape” that meets external expectations —such as those of tourists— even at the cost of imposing artificial solutions, primarily imitations of traditional forms. The result has been a form of landscape preservation that functions more as scenography: a theme park detached from the contemporary dynamics of the territory. This logic raises questions about the legitimacy of enforcing homogeneous aesthetic criteria in living, diverse, and constantly evolving environments.

Although *feísmo* has traditionally been dismissed through this romantic and external lens, often leading many Galicians to reject their own landscape, it has also sparked a critical response within academic circles. Several experts⁴ began to argue that the phenomenon was being misrepresented. Beyond its visual appearance, they pointed out that *feísmo* embodied a set of strategies, forms of knowledge, and modes of environmental adaptation that, already by then, anticipated themes that remain highly relevant today: self-management, reuse, resilience, economy of resources, and the subjective expression of inhabiting.



Figure 02. Propaganda campaign “We want it this way” [Queremos velo así] against *feísmo*. Xunta de Galicia.

02. Reclaiming its value. New narratives for the feísmo phenomenon

The current relevance of feísmo does not stem solely from a nostalgic or provocative point of view, but from its capacity to condense strategies that now occupy a central place in contemporary architectural debates. In a context of multidimensional crisis, primarily environmental and resource-related, feísmo emerges as a valuable source of lessons on how to build from scarcity without sacrificing creativity or individual and collective agency. Born out of conditions of precariousness, the strategies of this phenomenon functioned as a tacit manual of adaptability, self-organisation and pragmatic optimism, giving form to effective, imaginative, and deeply site-responsive solutions.

Through the analysis of various practices associated with feísmo, Ergosfera (2011) identified a set of recurring strategies that reveal alternative ways of producing and inhabiting space. The following points summarize the main points of the new narratives for the feísmo, which lie on the strategies/features identified by Ergosfera—strategies that not only characterise feísmo as a cultural phenomenon, but also serve as valuable tools for thinking architecture beyond normative frameworks:

⁵ [transculturation]: “f. Process by which a people or social group adopts cultural forms originating from another, which completely replace their own.” (Real Academia Española, 2025)

Reuse. Circular economy is a relatively recent notion in institutional discourse, but feísmo has practiced it for decades. Reusing what the system discards is both a critical and effective act. As noted on José Fariña’s blog (Fariña Tojo, 2014), this is not a case of transculturation⁵, but an active appropriation that adapts external elements to local cultural codes, generating new forms of material identity. Or as it could be named, process of “culturation”.

Incrementalism. Many of the constructions associated with feísmo grow over time, in step with the life rhythms of their inhabitants. This incremental model, detached from the pace of the real estate market, enables the consolidation of micro-economies and the survival of alternative productive logics, challenging the dogmas of standardization.

Transgression. Feísmo subverts established norms through a practice that may not be consciously implemented but is nonetheless highly effective. Its strange and hybrid forms are not mere eccentricities, but functional solutions that come from necessity. These forms break with convention and open space for new ways of experiencing dwelling.

Processes of self-replication. The solutions proposed by feísmo do not require institutional infrastructure to spread: they replicate through proximity, practical logic, and their ability to address concrete problems. They reflect a kind of collective intelligence. As illustrated by the Carro Somier, a project of the research Inteligencias Colectivas from Zoohaus, this way of producing can generate innovation without passing through conventional channels of legitimization.

Representation of the identity. Feísmo allows for the expression of individual and collective desires, memories, and imaginaries. At a time when more diverse and affective ways of inhabiting the city are being reclaimed, these architectures give visibility to personal or collective perspectives that would otherwise remain excluded from dominant urban narratives.

Manipulation and flexibility of environments. Spaces associated with feísmo demonstrate a unique capacity for transformation and adaptation. Their fragile materiality, domestic scale, and informal logic make them ideal supports for small-scale cultural, economic, and social dynamics.

Figure 03. Disident hórreo [◊] in A Pastoriza. Chapuzas gallegas, La Voz de Galicia, 2011.

[◊][hórreo]: 'n. A freestanding structure, freestanding and rectangular or square in shape, supported by columns, characteristic of the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, where it is used to store grain and other agricultural products.' (Real Academia Española, 2025)



In addition to the points already discussed, it is worth adding three characteristics that, while embedded in the previous points, deserve to be highlighted explicitly due to their relevance in the current disciplinary context:

Adaptability. Feísmo responds directly to the particularities of every situation. It does not begin with replicable or standardized solutions, but with specific interventions in which each construction becomes a kind of laboratory. This adaptability is inseparable from the capacity to deal with uncertainty or unstable contexts.

Constructive improvisation. Far from being a flaw, the improvisation that characterizes many of these interventions is a coherent strategy for dealing with material shortage. Popular creativity and knowledge become an effective tool for addressing complex situations through immediate, precise, and deeply context-specific solutions.

Advocacy for local materials. The value assigned to nearby supply—be it a stone, a bedframe, or an industrial brick—challenges conventional notions of the vernacular. It represents an operational criterion: the local is what is available, what allows building without intermediaries or dependence on external systems.

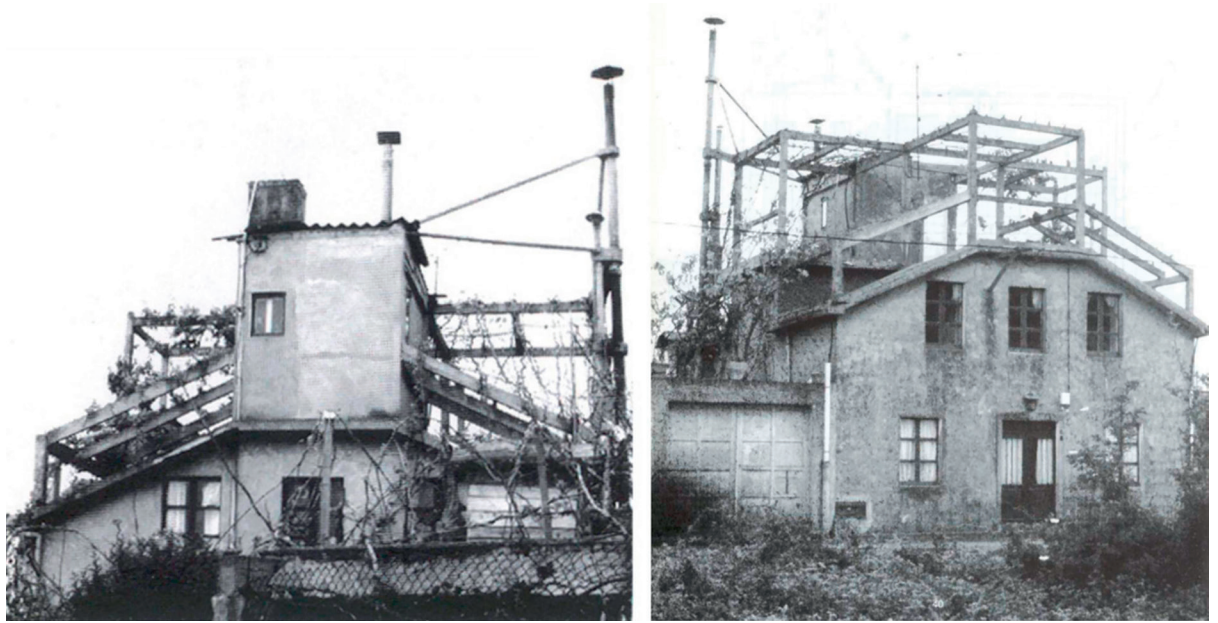


Figure 04. Elevations of the Kiwi house in Paosaco in Resina, caja 1. Creus_e_Carrasco, 2009

03. Re-signification. The cathartic tool to change perspectives

The landscape is a social construct and, as such, it is subject to change—often simply by introducing dissenting perspectives that help reconfigure its meaning. It is believed that through the contribution of new narratives about the landscape, it is possible to challenge the entrenched association between the Galician landscape and *feísmo*, establishing a more balanced account that highlights its origins and the relevance of the strategies it employs.

Nevertheless, this potential faces a persistent obstacle: the negative imaginary surrounding *feísmo*, especially in the Galician context. Rooted in conditions such as emigration, institutional neglect, and informal self-construction, these non-normative architectures have been widely perceived as signs of decay or poor taste—a view reinforced by institutional and media narratives that have even shaped local perceptions of the territory.

This dismissive view has been reinforced by certain circles of Galician intellectuals who associate any modern element with a threat to Galician identity. As Carmen Pena points out (Nogué, 2007, p. 120), the rejection of transformations linked to the modernization of rural dwellings —such as the installation of modern bathrooms by returning migrants— stems from a nostalgic vision that longs to preserve an “unchanging and unchangeable” Galicia. However, this perspective overlooks the fact that both material and symbolic changes in the landscape do not necessarily entail a loss of identity; on the contrary, they often represent a form of creative and context-specific adaptation. This perception also falls into another misconception, as identity is not a fixed or immutable construct, but rather an entity in constant evolution.

⁷ Alicia Lindón, referring to the geographer Odette Louiset, explains that studying cities solely in terms of their materiality has rendered them invisible. Therefore, in her proposal to make them visible—and intelligible—she calls for the inclusion of the immaterial aspect of the built environment.

⁸ Villa Somier is a structure built with bed bases and other recycled materials. It is an annex to an agricultural plot, born from its creator’s desire to have a recreational space on the land. It stands as a paradigmatic example of *feísmo*.

Feísmo has been misunderstood. It is only the trace of deep cultural changing processes. Processes such as transformations in identity expression, community dynamics and socioeconomic structures that are not always visible in the architectural form yet nonetheless shape it. Along these lines, Alicia Lindón (in Nogué, 2007, p. 219)⁷ emphasizes the importance of incorporating the immaterial aspect into the study of landscape. Although those considerations cannot be seen, they give meaning and depth to what is physically built. Joan Nogué (2007, p. 19) notes that the geographies of invisibility, the cartographies of everyday life, and their hidden landscapes remain largely unexplored. In this way, the possibility is opened for a closer investigation approach on these architectural expressions.

This approach was also taken by the collective Ergosfera (2011) in their study of Villa Somier⁸ [fig. 05], where the immaterial—support networks, individual desires, unofficial forms of knowledge—takes on a structuring role. Understanding *feísmo* through this lens means acknowledging that traces of the invisible are inscribed in every improvised wall, every unlicensed extension, every unforeseen solution that enriches the environment through its very exceptionality.



Figure 05. Creator of ‘Villa Somier’ in Covas, Viveiro. Ergosfera, 2011

A renewed understanding of *feísmo* requires the articulation of new narratives and new forms of representation that accompany them. Rather than relying on technical or normative language, a different vocabulary must be developed that can acknowledge qualities like unpredictability, improvisation, and lack of control. It must not be conceived as shortcomings, but as valid forces shaping the territory. These forces, though intangible, always leave a trace. It is within those traces that architecture can reclaim its critical and sensitive capacity. Ultimately, the task is to act as dowsers of the landscape, attentive to what cannot be seen but nonetheless gives it form.

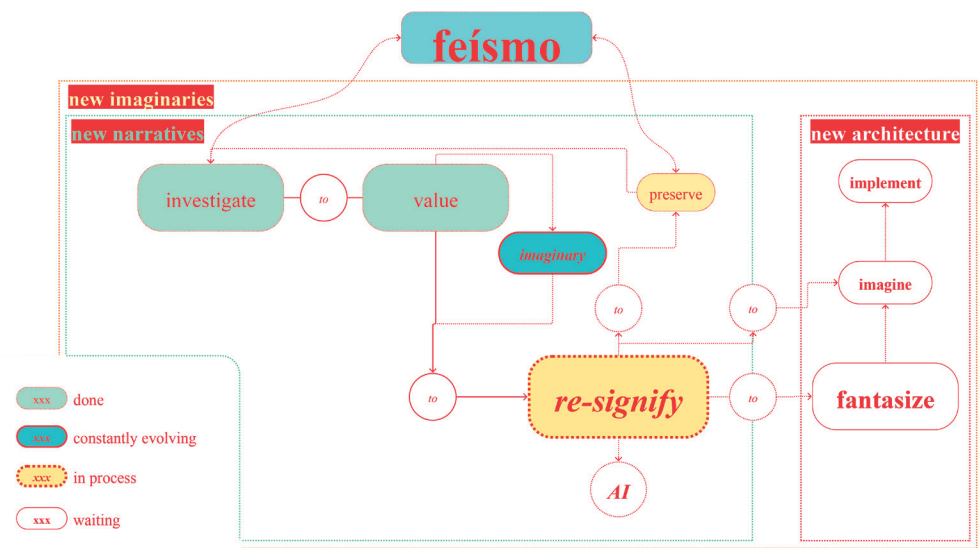


Figure 06. Diagram of the process of redefining *feísmo*. Source: the author, 2025

04. Reshaping. *Feísmo* through graphic narratives

Feísmo embodies a set of strategies that may be considered pertinent in order to face the upcoming architecture's challenges. Thus, re-signifying it has become crucial to unlock its full potential as a point of reference. Such a reframing calls for a renewed perspective: one that neither denies its origins nor romanticizes them but instead looks at *feísmo* from its modes of making, and its impact on those who inhabit it. This requirement becomes even more pressing in the current context of widespread generative artificial intelligence tools. These technologies, trained on databases built from content available online. Thus, it tends to replicate the stigmas that dominate the collective imagination, since these databases are an extension of it.

The investigation of *feísmo* emerges as the catalytic action in a broader, long-term process. It is from this line of inquiry that the first significant contributions arose—from authors such as Lizancos or the Ergosfera group—who began to shed light on the value and underlying logics of the practices associated with what came to be known as *feísmo*.

This point should serve as the foundation for the process of re-signification and critical reappropriation of the term [fig. 06], within the framework of a renewed imaginary of it. From this basis, it becomes possible to engage in a speculative and reflective exploration of the lessons feísmo has to offer, opening the door to imagining and fantasizing about future architectural scenarios informed by these practices, with the aim of integrating them into the discipline.

The goal is clear: to overturn the dominant imaginary and narratives by developing new ways of representing and divulging these architectures. It is about bringing to the forefront the web of relationships, circumstances, decisions, needs, and affections that generate them. These are the real configurators of the landscape, part of the hidden landscapes that Nogué expounds (2007, p. 19).

Arising from this need, a graphic study is proposed [fig. 07], drawing on Peter Wilson's Eurolandschaft research, as a means to capture what the architect (in Zardini, 2001, p. 20) refers to as the "texture" of the landscape. This texture emerges from close, attentive observation, rendered through sequences of randomly selected landscape fragments. Randomness is essential to reaching this texture—the underlying essence perceived across the landscape. Wilson describes this as a non-analytical approach. However, the very act of drawing—of selecting what to depict and what to omit—inevitably entails a form of non-reflexive analysis embedded within the act itself.

The intention is to draw on this more intuitive approach to represent a phenomenon as complex and contingent as feísmo, as an overly analytical mode of representation risks leaving behind part of the values that are meant to be exhibited. By visually articulating the hidden processes that shape not only feísmo but the landscape as a whole, this approach aims to contribute to and support the emerging narratives surrounding the phenomenon.

Only through the reframing of this phenomenon can the relevant debates of our time begin to unfold from the teachings of it. These debates must allow its teachings to stand on equal footing with other modes of architectural practice as valid and critical approaches within the discipline.



Figure 07. Invisible landscapes through feísmo. Source: the author, 2024

Conclusions

The concept of landscape in general, and the idea of a particular landscape, are a social construct. Feísmo [literally translated, ugliness], as part of the Galician landscape, is likewise subject—like the landscape itself—to being collectively reshaped by shifts in how it is perceived. In this sense, the dominant narrative surrounding the effects of feísmo on the landscape has led to widespread rejection of it.

However, this phenomenon brings together many of the tools that architecture urgently needs today to confront contemporary challenges. Circularity, adaptability, transgression, and the expression of identities—all of these find in feísmo a spontaneous practice deeply rooted in place. For this reason, it is considered essential to continue contributing to the shift in perspective on this phenomenon, a change that has already been demanded and defended by multiple voices.

Given how deeply embedded the term is in the Galician collective imagination, the most effective approach for driving this shift may be to re-signify the term feísmo itself—through the dissemination of new narratives that highlight the value and relevance of the phenomenon.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary to formulate a graphic imaginary that supports these emerging narratives. The representation of this phenomenon remains anchored in clichés that, since the early 2000s, have relied on caricatured imagery and distorted accounts to consolidate a mocking, condescending perspective.

In a world that compulsively produces and consumes images, reimagining the visual landscape of *feísmo* is essential for reinforcing these new approaches. This becomes even more urgent in the context of generative artificial intelligence, which draws directly from this biased visual archive, amplifying society's prejudices without mediation. As noted by the collective *Ergosfera* (2011, min. 15:01), the very act of drawing a *feísmo* case study already grants it another dimension.

For this reason, this article argues for the importance of engaging with the graphic tools available to architects. It highlights the need to develop a mode of representation focused on those elements that make *feísmo* a relevant and insightful case for study.

It is essential to represent the landscape in its material dimension. However, it is equally crucial to incorporate the non-visible aspects to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the landscape. In other words, attention must be paid to the practices, processes, and customs that act upon and transform the material.

It is precisely these invisible dimensions—referred to here as landscape configurators—that truly shape the transformation of the environment. The territory has not changed substantially as a direct result of the introduction of new construction systems; rather, such change is the surface expression of a deeper reconfiguration in these relational dynamics.

The support offered by this graphic approach, in dialogue with the powerful narratives now emerging, would significantly contribute to the inclusion of *feísmo*-related practices within contemporary architectural discourse.

Such integration would make it possible to highlight a wide range of examples and positional strategies in response to the current context of climate crisis and resource scarcity—drawing on affect and care for the soft dimension of architecture as tools for transforming the environment. Ultimately, this approach would help disseminate the valuable lessons *feísmo* has to offer.

Figures

Figure 1. Dorotea do Cará (Soutelo de Montes). Virxilio Viéitez, 1960-1961. https://3.bp.blogspot.com/_XfW9t8iUl30/TM_0-0WJxUI/AAAAAAAAAVU/J6w4T9q7fvl/s1600/12_Virxilio+Vieitez.jpg (Accessed by July 9, 2025)

Figure 2. Propaganda campaña contra el feísmo. Xunta de Galicia. <https://i.pinimg.com/736x/1f/8e/40/1f8e4007ec822d62a160147f5087a4ad.jpg> (Accessed by July 9, 2025)

Figure 3. Disident hórreo in A Pastoriza. Chapuzas gallegas, La Voz de Galicia, 2011. (Accessed by July 9, 2025)

Figure 4. Elevations of the Kiwi house in Paiosaco in Resina, caja 1. Creus_e_Carrasco, 2009 <http://www.creusecarrasco.com/collections/numero/1/img/30-13.jpg> (Accessed by July 9, 2025)

Figure 5. Creator of Villa Somier in Covas, Viveiro. Ergosfera, 2011 <https://es.slideshare.net/slideshow/eu-si-quero-fesmo-na-mia-paisaxe-15122011/10708612> (Accessed by July 9, 2025)

Figure 6. Diagram of the process of redefining feísmo. Source: the author, 2025

Figure 7. Invisible landscapes through feísmo. Source: the author, 2024

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