



Food, Gastronomy and Tourism Social and Cultural Perspectives

F. Xavier Medina
Jordi Tresserras
Editors

Colección
Estudios del Hombre
Serie Antropología de la Alimentación

UNIVERSIDAD DE GUADALAJARA

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Introduction.

Gastronomy and Tourism: Social and Cultural Perspectives

F. Xavier Medina and Jordi Tresserras

Food and particularly gastronomy have always had a significant presence in tourism. As different researchers point out (Mitchell and Sharples, 2003; Quan and Wang, 2004; Mak, Lumbers and Eves, 2012; OMT, 2012), spending on food is a third of the general cost of tourist travel (Hall and Sharples, 2003). In recent times, and as Morgan and Pritchard (1998, p. 12) suggested, a deeper understanding of the tourism phenomenon is needed by considering the *experiences* of tourists, taking into account the *lived dimensions* of tourism. In this sense, tourism comes more and more «to be regarded as an arena of interaction which is played out through the tourist's encounters and engagements with spaces, places, and cultures of travelled destinations» (Wearing, Stevenson and Young, 2010, p. 5).

As Robinson and Smith (2006, p. 2) point out: «Tourism as an international system of exchange displays particular tensions around the interface between space and experience that reaches into the conceptual hearth of globalization». In this same sense, contemporary social and economic global conditions have promoted the emergence of new ways of experiencing tourism and gastronomy, and this fact has also restructured aspects like local identities (including culinary ones), the effective expression of a *sense of community*, or even the power relations in the places where it is prominent. In a tourist context, people frequently negotiate relations with otherness through food looking for local perspectives, and also reacting to global processes.

Gastronomic tourism appears to be a growing sector within the overall tourism market (Antonioli, 2002). Nevertheless, the link between gastronomy and tourism has been one of the least studied aspects so far, and it has traditionally had a very secondary place for professionals from both areas. Even

from academic perspectives on tourism, when approaching gastronomy as a subject, tourism studies have generally left out the cultural and social aspects of this important economic and commercial issue. And we can say almost the same thing from the food and gastronomy fields. Even today, the relationship between tourism and gastronomy remains peripheral.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM AND GASTRONOMY

«Cultural tourism is tourism, and clearly [...] it is far more than production and consumption of *high* art and heritage» (Robinson and Smith, 2006, p. 2). Thus, gastronomic tourism must be understood as an integral part of cultural tourism (Medina and Tresserras, 2007). Food (including gastronomy) is an important part of Culture, and from this perspective, it is also of interest as a tourist resource. In this sense, it is necessary to promote the study of the link between food, gastronomy and tourism from the point of view of social and cultural disciplines. This book intends to carry out an interdisciplinary reflection exactly in these terms.

The origin of this book and part of the materials published here come (though not exclusively) from the International Conference «Food, Gastronomy and Tourism: Social and Cultural Perspectives», organized by the International Commission on the Anthropology of Food and Nutrition (ICAF) and the UNESCO Chair on Food, Culture and Development at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC) in Tossa de Mar (Costa Brava, Catalonia, Spain) in May 2017. In this conference, several specialists from different human and social sciences (although with an important role exercised from anthropology) reflected on different aspects related to the role of food and gastronomy in their relationship with tourism. Thus, the aim of this book is to bring together current perspectives from critical approaches —mainly anthropological but also interdisciplinary— on tourism and gastronomy, strongly linked to the local territories, investigating and discussing gastronomy and tourism within the context of the social and cultural and, in doing so, providing some both theoretical and practical insights into the future of gastronomy and tourism as a contemporary social reality.

Nevertheless, this association between food/gastronomy and culture/heritage is relatively new. Something as commonplace as a food culture has only recently become ‘deserving’ of being regarded as an important part of culture

and hence of ‘heritagisation’. From such a standpoint, in the last 30 years, gastronomy has joined the other attractions chosen as being worthy of highlighting in institutional tourist promotion (i.e. that carried out by the public authorities).

In this regard, and as Navarro and Medina point out in their chapter, at a broad institutional level, one of the tools available to the State for representing culture, ‘national identity’ and heritage, but also for tourism promotion, is postage stamps, which, in addition to being an official franking instrument, convey with their designs messages stemming from the State aimed at influencing their users. What’s more, their attractiveness and variety make them collectable. Additionally, their depictions make them tiny windows open to the world (internationally), showing images of important and attractive aspects of a given country. We shall also observe in this chapter the close relationship between these gastronomic images, some of the different moments of the country’s recent history and their correlation with the different institutional policies implemented and, of course, with the building of the image of the Nation-State.

But inside this entire panorama, and in between gastronomy and tourism, *heritage* is a key concept. Cultural heritage is *alive*, composed by a selection of elements deemed to belong a particular culture at the expense of other elements, and serving also to particular interests (Medina, 2017). Although it is part of a social contract (it should be perceived by the majority of the population as their own), it is very often the establishment that proposes, promotes and/or recognises heritage.

Nevertheless, we have also to say that aspects of intangible cultural heritage such as food and gastronomy have only recently been recognised as such, legitimizing its importance to our identities. In this same sense, cultural heritage is now considered a highly effective tourist resource, and the official recognition of «food culture» (production landscapes, food, dishes, wines and drinks, tourist routes, industries) is also taking place in the context of tourism.

Three chapters of this volume revolve around traditional food and food heritage as a touristic attraction or strategy. Paul Collinson examines food tourism in the Republic of Ireland, with a particular emphasis on the role artisan foods plays in this. The Irish artisan food sector and food tourism generally are clearly becoming more and more significant for the Irish economy. Their rise in importance has been driven by, and is a reflection of, broader macro social trends in western, industrialized societies. Increasing cultural commodification,

environmental awareness, localism, a desire for historical rootedness and social atomization represent some of the aspects of social change. But such appeals to visitors are encapsulated in the discourse associated with the way in which Ireland, particularly western Ireland, is promoted to outsiders. And, as Collinson shows in his chapter, food has also an important role to play.

On the other hand, Martín Tena, Ricardo Ávila and Rafael M^a Navarro-Cerrillo, and Marco Romagnoli reflect in their respective chapters on the gastronomic intangible cultural heritage and its officialization, especially by a transnational institution such as the United Nation's Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO). Tena, Ávila and Navarro-Cerrillo analyse the tourist potential of tequila in light of the declaration made by the UNESCO that certified the Agave Landscape and the Ancient Industrial Installations in Tequila, (Jalisco, Mexico) as elements of the Cultural Heritage of Humanity in the category of Cultural Landscapes. The authors show that the potential of a declaration granting the status of Heritage of Humanity presents many more aspects than just the disproportionate and discarnate economic benefits that may affect to a few individuals, to the detriment of many others and conclude with a series of proposals in favour of the quality of tourist-related activities around the artisanal production of tequila and the Agave Landscape from a perspective of sustainability.

Local food can guide and enhance the tourist experience of visitors when is part of the cultural landscape. In this sense, Marco Romagnoli considers the biannual mycological event of the «Semana de la Tapa Micológica Mediterránea» (Mediterranean Mycological tapas week) in Soria (selected by the Spanish government as the representative emblematic community for the Mediterranean Diet in Spain), in the framework of the UNESCO declaration of the Mediterranean Diet as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, and aims at demonstrating how mycological tourism may be a powerful source of economic and cultural value for the Spanish central-Northern region of Castilla y León, but also a means of tourism market segmentation and deseasonalization of the Mediterranean touristic offer.

Food and food-ways are at once threatened in a modern reality desirable to tourists looking to connect with local food and its producers as part of 'authentic' travel experience. But this tourism development linked to gastronomy requires new ideas, new initiatives, and new perspectives. In this sense, María del Pilar Leal tell us about the importance of local social engagement represented in

culinary associations in the Baix Llobregat —a region near to Barcelona— and how their actions could play an influential role in local development linked to tourism. Her conclusions identify not only an innovative food territory but also how the stakeholder's engagement could help to promote in a touristic way local products and local traditions thanks to their passion about food, trying to achieve a transformation in the territory through gastronomy and its tourist attraction. A transformation that can occur at different levels and that can appeal to strange travel companions. In this sense, Parramon, Medina and Bages-Querol show the case of the influence of gastronomy within the tourist promotion carried out in some shooting scenarios of a great international audio-visual production such as *Game of Thrones*. Although in the cases they studied (the city of Girona, but especially Northern Ireland) the main reason for the trip is to visit and go into the scenarios where *Game of Thrones* was created, we can observe that gastronomy also becomes an effective claim that contributes in making the experience more *real* and enjoyable.

But tourism can also play (and usually plays) a role of social transformer. Helen Macbeth's chapter shows a big change in Scottish attitudes to langoustines over the last half century and continuing, and that the relevance of tourism, both of Europeans to Scotland and of Scots to Europe, to this change in gastronomy is central to the discussion. Macbeth explains how the decline in the herring fishing industry in Scotland in the latter half of last century stimulated some enterprising fishermen to change their fishing gear and exploit the export market for langoustines by fishing for the plentiful North-east Atlantic *Nephrops norvegicus*, even though these crustaceans were not appreciated at home. Such exports grew and eventually became a great economic benefit to coastal Scottish fishing businesses and thereby to some remote Scottish regions. This brought the langoustines to shore, and although nearly all were immediately exported, some became available to local restaurants. Thereafter, tourism affected a change in the local demand and provision of langoustines, and so it seems that Scottish gastronomy is slowly changing to appreciate this locally caught premium-quality shellfish. One could say that tourism has been relevant in two ways. So tourism can contribute also (and it really does) to a social and image-related transformation of local food, foodways, preferences or images.

All these case studies presented show the social and cultural relevance of the link between gastronomy and tourism. Nevertheless, we are still aware of

the necessity to go deeper into research and case studies on this subject from informed and critical perspectives. With this book, we hope to contribute to this need for research and necessary dialogue from academic perspectives.

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Stamps, Tourism and Gastronomy: The Role of Gastronomy in Promoting Tourism in Spain Through the Postage Stamp

Guillermo Navarro and F. Xavier Medina

Today, increasingly, tourism and gastronomy are becoming inextricably associated with both tourism institutions and promoters and visitors alike. In this regard, there would appear to be a degree of consensus with regard to the role of cuisine as a part of culture and identity, thereby leading to it becoming a part of the heritage. After following this process, it is not unusual to take the following step, which is to see it as a tourist attraction capable of awakening the interests of locals and foreigners alike— and, in all cases, of visitors.

Nevertheless, this association between food/gastronomy and culture/heritage is relatively new. Something as commonplace as a food culture has only recently become ‘deserving’ of being regarded as an important part of the culture and hence of ‘heritagisation’. From such a standpoint, in the last 30 years, gastronomy has joined the other attractions chosen as being worthy of highlighting in institutional tourist promotion (i.e. that carried out by the public authorities).

In this regard, and at a broad institutional level, one of the tools available to the State for representing culture, ‘national identity’ and heritage, but also for tourism promotion, are postage stamps, which, in addition to being an official franking instrument, convey with their designs messages stemming from the State aimed at influencing their users. What’s more, their attractiveness and variety make them collectible. Additionally, their depictions make them tiny windows open to the world (internationally), showing images of important and attractive aspects of a given country.

In light of the above, the purpose of this article is to analyse the role of postage stamps as a tool for promoting tourism by using gastronomy as the depicted motif. To do this, we shall examine stamps issued with these features

in Spain, from the first examples at the end of the 1980s down to the present day. Via this analysis, we shall observe, on the one hand, the use and evolution of these images in their relationship with both what they represent, and their uses and social values, and for the interest they generate in terms of promoting a tourist attraction. We shall also observe the close relationship between these gastronomic images, some of the different moments of the country's recent history and their correlation with the different institutional policies implemented.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

On Stamps...

The postage stamp is a mail-franking instrument controlled by the State. Due to its origin —issued by a monopoly controlled by a political power (Bonacina, 1998, p. 17)— the postage stamp is by no means regarded as something ideologically innocent or politically neutral. Quite the contrary: it is considered to be a place where social and political conflicts are resolved and social and behavioural norms consolidated (Dobson, 2002, p. 23): that is, the stamp is seen as having «social agency» (Gell, 1998, p. 19). Thus: a) it acts as a certificate of a contractual relationship between its purchaser and the State; b) with its designs, it conveys messages originating from the State with the intention of influencing its users; and c) their existence creates a desire in people to collect them (Frewer, 2002, p. 3).

From its very beginnings, the postage stamp has had the same indicative and representative functions as coins, even beyond State borders, since its main purpose —to permit the sending of mail— also continues in other countries. This is one of the reasons why it is regarded as a «window» into the issuing State, showing how it wishes to be seen both by its own citizens and those living beyond its borders (Brunn, 2001, p. 315), an aspect that is of particular importance with regard to tourism, as we shall have occasion to see later on.

Although the images shown on a stamp are superfluous when it comes to indicating that it has been paid for, this does not mean that they have not been assigned a premeditated function. These images tend to show national symbols selected from a wide range of subject matters, from flags and maps to flora and fauna, and including artists, monuments, far-off or more recent his-

torical events (Brunn, 2001, p. 318) and gastronomic images, as is the case of the analysis proposed for this chapter. Many of the symbols used, in addition to fostering a sense of identity and belonging, provide support for the administrative and legal structures —borders, names, constitutions, alliances, etc.— that are a State's *raison d'être* (Brunn, 2001, p. 315). However, these symbols are not stable since, over the course of time, governments, policies and intentions change:

(...) a nation's self-image and identity are a mutable, discursive construct, 'a system of cultural representation' made up of 'symbols and representations' informed by various dominant narratives such as those generated by the state and national institutions (Jones, 2004, p. 165).

Whatever the case, a State decides, through the government ruling it, which images and texts should be printed on its stamps, be these definitive or commemorative. It must nevertheless be noted that stamps do not always transmit propaganda.

It is mainly commemorative stamps —which mark an event, have a limited production and are designed, principally, for collectors— more than the definitive ones in which the government's intent in choosing images is the clearest. The State picks which events to celebrate, and these can be important historical dates, the births of famous personalities or the anniversaries of their creations, and so forth, or noteworthy elements of the country's gastronomy, amongst many other things. However, this selection of themes is by no means random: the subjects and figures chosen can help us deduce the ideological bent of the State issuing the stamps, since:

...postage stamps only show images favourable to the issuing State, especially when depicting history, since no mention is made of genocides, atrocities or defeats. The same is the case of depictions of industry or tourism, which only see their positive side portrayed, ignoring, for example, pollution or various kinds of ethically doubtful —not so say completely illegal— tourism. (...) This is the case of every country producing its own stamps, one to which Spain was never and still is not an exception (Navarro, 2015, p. 14-15).

...and Tourism

Almost in parallel to the development of postage stamps, and still in the 19th century, manifestations began to appear regarding the vision and organisation of tourism on the part of the State as a strategic sector. It was in 1905 that the administrative organisation of tourism commenced in Spain (Pelejero, 2004, p. 268) and, from then on, the same author points to three significant times for the development of tourism in Spain during the 20th century. The first (1900-1936), marked by State intervention, would be the period in which the emergence of modern tourism took place in Spain; the second, during the years of Franco's dictatorship (1936-1975), when tourism ceased to be a minority experience and became a mass phenomenon; and, thirdly, the last quarter of the 20th century, with the consolidation of Spain as a top-ranking tourist destination and the assumption of powers over the field by its autonomous communities (*ibid.*).

Certain aspects have left a clear mark on the development of tourism in a country like Spain. On the one hand is the increasing number of tourists visiting the country, accompanied at an international level by the industrial development that took place, particularly in Spain, following the Second World War, when a new conception of both work and leisure took hold. On the other hand is the increasing institutionalism and organisation of tourism in Spain, especially after the 1950s. There is also the evolution in the official conception of tourism, more closely linked to State propaganda in the beginning, to then become an increasingly important economic asset. And, last but not least, the growing importance attached to tourism in terms of creating an external image of Spain that, particularly after the 1950s, could help put an end to the country's isolation, opening it up to Europe and other countries (especially the United States) and projecting a certain image of modernity, particularly for a foreign audience.

Lastly, worthy of note, in the last quarter of the 20th century and the early decades of the 21st, are the progressive and unstoppable growth of tourism in Spain, with records being broken every year and making it one of the top three most-visited countries in the world; the management of tourism by the country's autonomous communities (with promotion accordingly better adapted to their specific territories); and the need, in the 21st century (i.e. today) to rethink the model for tourism, leaving behind the receiving of great masses

attracted, in the main, by the idea of sun and sand and moving towards more sustainable and less aggressive models in which the quality of the experience is paramount and which are positive for both visitors and locals alike.

TOURISM AND GASTRONOMY: A PAIRING UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Although gastronomy is now almost unquestionably regarded as a top-flight tourist attraction, its link with tourism has not always been so clear. By the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the relationship between travellers and local cuisine was, to put it mildly, fraught, whilst the elites had French cuisine as their benchmark and shied away from anything «traditional».

However, with the institutionalisation of tourism, food and gastronomy would jump on the bandwagon. As Eric Storm (2013) notes, civil servants took little time to take the first measures to professionalise the tourist sector¹ and, by August 1939, they were advising hotel cuisine to be adapted into line with international tastes, avoiding local dishes with too many strange features or excessively strong condiments unknown outside of Spain, but still serving Spanish dishes such as paella, *cocido a la madrileña* and Spanish omelette.

The phenomenon of tourism did not begin to develop, however, until well into the 1950s. Towards the end of the decade (1957), Spain saw the first regulations on cafés and hotels. In 1965, with Manuel Fraga heading the ministry in charge, the statute governing private tourist activities was created, but it would be between 1964 and 1965 that what would from then on be known as the *menú turístico* (tourist menu) would be created and regulated. Any establishment serving food and drink had an obligation to offer, in full view, a menu that had to consist of starters comprising appetisers or soup, fish, meat or eggs as a main course and fruit, sweets or cheese for dessert, in addition to bread, a quarter of a litre of wine or, alternatively, another beverage (sangria, beer, soft drinks, etc.). The dishes making up the menu had to be as traditional as possible, selected from internationally-known Spanish cuisine and, more particu-

¹ *La guía del buen comer español. Inventario y loa de la cocina clásica de España y sus regiones* (The guide to good Spanish food. Inventory and eulogy of the classical cuisine of Spain and its regions), by Dionisio Pérez ('Post-Thebussem'), appeared in 1929, commissioned by Spain's National Tourist Board.

larly and following the aforementioned indications, paella, *cocido* and Spanish omelette. It is interesting to note that the *menú turístico* survived the arrival of democracy and remains very much alive today.

One particularly interesting case of tourism promotion of certain dishes at a national level is the construction of paella (the first dish to be depicted on a Spanish postage stamp) as the symbol *par excellence* of Spanish gastronomy. In this regard, the fact is that tourism development and the policies that encouraged it at the time built up paella as a national monument during the core years of Franco's dictatorship, making it a culinary manifestation of the representation of the Spanish nation, one that has, to a certain extent, survived until the present day.

As Duhart and Medina note (2009, p. 337-338), for foreigners, paella is, today, a typically Spanish —rather than Valencian— monument that is to be visited fork in hand. The propaganda and promotional actions carried out by Spain's Ministry of Information and Tourism (1952-1977) continue to bear fruit in the culinary field, since, elevated to an emblematic status, dishes such as paella still have a real power of attraction.

A number of authors have classified paella as the flagship dish of «Spanish cuisine» (cf. Fribourg, 1996, p. 354; Hubert, 2000). This paella-related Spanish identity standardises the territory and makes all the country's autonomous communities participants in the dish (whether they regard it as part of their individual culinary heritage or not). Wherever they may be in Spain, foreign visitors still seek out paella. The tourist boom in Spain has, in particular, constructed and taken advantage of a «unified» paella, which tourism itself helped establish, and which is characterised by a mixed, cheap and, in short, highly standardised ingredient list. Even today, gastronomes frequently denounce this dish, in which ingredients such as prawns, clams and mussels are combined with chicken or rabbit, as sacrilege, and where the red of the crustaceans is added to the yellow of the rice (increasingly the result of food colouring rather than saffron), emulating the colours of the Spanish flag.

Nevertheless, this *paella mixta* or «mixed» paella has spread beyond restaurants for tourists. Almost all of Spain has been affected and is unable to avoid this movement: the unified paella has become, partly thanks to tourism, both the standard and also the most popular paella. A dish created in restaurants for tourists, the cornerstone of an affordably priced «false contact» with

Spanish culinary art, has penetrated the sanctity of the home and family celebrations. Its cost is flexible and its perfect fit with rapid, fuss-free and generous service explains much of its success, which is enough to make it a national dish. The status of national culinary emblem conferred upon paella has, whilst always being artificial, over time, become very real, due to the simple effect of the power of its depictions.

The arrival of democracy opened up different routes leading to the present day. One important change was the decision to transfer powers over tourism to the country's Autonomous communities in 1979. Regional cuisines and those of different territories were bolstered, modernised and even reinvented (headed by Basque and, soon afterward, Catalan cuisine). Also from the Basque Country (Arzak, Subijana) came the so-called *nueva cocina*. This sought innovation, 'surprises' and quality produce, updating the traditional cuisines that, lest it be forgotten, provide their foundations (Medina, 2016, p. 549) and contributing the creative vision of a chef who *researches*, more and more. The Catalan Adrià Ferran represents the zenith of a culinary moment that, without a shadow of a doubt, will transform cuisine(s)—not only Spanish, but also generally speaking. It places at the forefront of international recognition the image of a Spanish cuisine that, as González Turmo (2007, p. 209) points out, «... did not start off from a position of strength (as) it had, for centuries, a bad press beyond the country's borders. In recent decades, sector professionals, not to mention publicists, administrations and legislators, have made great efforts to overcome this inertia and raise the profile of Spain's varied and refreshed cuisines. There is no doubt that they have succeeded in doing so».

TOURISM AND GASTRONOMY ON POSTAGE STAMPS

This entire panorama reveals different interests and moments of coincidence and intersection in which tourism promotion and management and the image projection (both at home and abroad) provided by postage stamps find different types of common ground that are of very great interest to us. And, within this panorama, gastronomy will also end up playing an important role that will be added to the rest of the above factors.

Despite the existence, since the beginning of the 20th century, of different commemorative issues or those representing cities, events, monuments and

landscapes, it would be in the 1960s that, for the first time, a number of stamp issues would be made whose subject matter was specifically tourism. These issues simply gave concrete form in a number of series to a trend that began in the first third of the century and that has, irrespective of political regime, continued to increase until it has ended up representing, overall, the bulk of Spain's stamp issues.

Apart from a number of series of postage stamps commemorating some centenary, Jubilee, etc., in which they acted as an illustrative motive, the philatelic depiction of Spanish creations, monuments and landscapes would not become systematic until 1958, the year that marked (with that honouring Goya) the beginning of the issues of series dedicated to painters and their works. 1959 saw the start of the philatelic celebration, with its own series, another tourism-related motif, in this case architectural (and religious): Spanish monasteries. However, it would be in 1964, one day after the promulgation of the Law on centres and areas of national tourist interest (*Official State Gazette* (BOE), 1963, p. 18226-18230), when the first series of stamps called *Tourism* was issued, since, according to the official literature, «The Spanish Post Office stamp, the effective message to the world of our values, is regarded as the most appropriate means of disseminating our wealth of tourist attractions» (*Official State Gazette* (BOE), 1964, p. 9); more specifically, this series had to reproduce «monuments, landscapes and other artistic assets of our nation» (*ibid.*). These series, also known as *Landscapes and Monuments*, would be issued without interruption until 1979, with the odd further issue over the course of the 1980s. In addition to these two series on the subjects of monuments and landscapes was that on *Castles*, issued from 1965 to 1972 and which, like the former ones, would be resumed in the first decade of the 21st century.

However, the tourism promotion of a country, in this case, Spain, by means of stamps is not only performed with commemorative issues covering landscapes and monuments but also traditions, folklore, arts and crafts, flora and fauna. So, the years between 1967 and 1971 saw the issuing of series on *Traditional Spanish Costumes* which, together with those issued over some years on the subject of flora and fauna, helped broaden the spectrum of tourist attractions, both within Spain under Franco and abroad. During the last quarter of the 20th century, the list of subjects associated with promoting tourism in Spain was lengthened with series such as *Great Spanish Popular Festivals*, *World*

Natural and Cultural Heritage Sites, Spanish Crafts, National Artistic Heritage, etc., as well as series dedicated to large-scale sporting and cultural events, such as the 1982 World Cup, the Barcelona Olympic Games, the Seville Universal Exposition and the commemoration of the Five Hundredth Anniversary of the Discovery of America, all celebrated in 1992.

The appearance of gastronomy as a characteristic inextricably linked to tourism on Spanish stamps first occurred in 1988, within that year's *Tourism* series. Instead of showing monuments and landscapes, this included within the repertoire of subjects worthy of portrayal *Popular Architecture, National Parks, Popular Music Instruments* and, lastly, *Gastronomy*. This last example, inevitably, displayed to the world's gaze one of 'Spanish' cuisine's most internationally famous and promoted dishes: paella. This new series dedicated to tourism «accentuates, above all, the 'Spain' brand in art, gastronomy, customs and traditions that may attract people from around the world, thereby helping to better promote the country» (Correos, 2016a, p. 14).²

Gastronomy, in the form of cured Iberian ham, was first commemorated on stamps in 2005, in the series *Europa* (the new name, from 1993 on, of the series previously issued in Spain as *Europa-CEPT*). This is a series that the country members of the European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Administrations (CEPT) have been issuing since 1960, which displays and attempts to highlight, using the same illustrative motif (with some occasional exceptions), progress and modernity, extolling the benefits of cooperation using allegorical images.

When gastronomy made its reappearance thanks to the *Tourism* series, it did so well into the 21st century, as the series was issued in 2014, with the orange sharing protagonism with other elements that, according to the promotional literature «summarises what Spain offers its visitors» (Correos, 2014a, p.

² Until then, gastronomy had boasted a presence in the odd stamp of the *Export* series, in the form of products such as fruit or wine, although these series had very short runs (unlike, for example, those issued by other countries, such as their Mexican equivalents). Between 2002 and 2004, wines boasted their own series of stamps, called *Wines with Designation of Origin*. Between 2007 and 2013, some series of stamps on mushrooms were also issued but, although they included depictions of edible specimens, the same was the case of toxic and poisonous ones, and so we have not taken these series into consideration.

10). A composition similar to that of two stamps making up the *Tourism* series of the following year, in which the job of representing gastronomy fell to *fabada*³ on one stamp and, on the other, *chocolate con churros*, to represent Madrid, the city hosting the World Travel & Tourism Council Global Summit in 2015 (Correos, 2015a, p. 14). It was in this same year that gastronomy began to enjoy being the exclusive subject of stamp issues, and others in which the traditional dishes of different regions have a predominant role in the postage stamp's illustration.

January 2014 saw the placing into circulation, with a slight delay, of the stamp commemorating Burgos as the *Gastronomic Capital of Spain 2013* and which depicted «A still life with traditional snacks: a black pudding *pincho*; *olla podrida*;⁴ a selection of cheeses and a glass of wine» (Correos, 2014a, p. 11).⁵ A few months later, in April, the series *Spanish Gastronomy* was issued, consisting of two sheets in which, for the first time, the stamp's gum incorporated a subtle hint of the aroma and taste of the food (Correos, 2014b, p. 10). One of these sheets, dedicated to *Innovative and Traditional Products*, «showed a contrast between a traditional dish of cured Iberian ham and an innovative mandarin blossom, used in the preparation of certain dishes» (*ibid.*). The other sheet in the series issued, that on *Traditional and Innovative Cuisine*:

is illustrated with a quote from and an image of Ferran Adrià, considered the best chef in the world, and two *ajoblanco*⁶ dishes, one prepared traditionally and the other made by this prestigious restaurateur (*ibid.*).

2015 saw the issuing of the *Spanish Gastronomy* series, comprising a sheet with two stamps, each dedicated to the Gastronomic Capital of Spain, that of 2014 (Vitoria-Gasteiz) and that of 2015 (Caceres), which «depict, respectively, a bar with assorted *pinchos* characteristic of Vitoria [...] and a still life of traditional Caceres product» (Correos, 2015a, p. 18) —chiefly ham and cured meats.

³ A traditional dish of Asturias, based on white (flageolet) beans (*fabes*, in Asturian).

⁴ A traditional Castilian stew.

⁵ Author's Note: Author's own translation of the original in Spanish.

⁶ A white soup, served cold, made from almonds and garlic, amongst other ingredients.

Tribute was also paid to gastronomy in Spanish postal stamps of 2015, in two series, which commemorated two *a priori* different matters. The first, issued in July, was dedicated to *Intangible Cultural Heritage* and comprised two stamps, one depicting *The La Gomera Whistle* and the other *The Mediterranean Diet*,⁷ in which the element highlighted is a drop of olive oil. The second issue noted is that dedicated to *Protected Designations of Origin*: in this case, of Galicia; one sheet contains two stamps presenting the *Padrón Pepper* and the *Galician Mussel*.

In 2016, the *Tourism* series for the year, made up of two values, again included gastronomic products amongst its illustrative motifs, in this case «the image of a wineglass, representing Spanish wine [...] and the clay casserole, reminiscent of inland cuisine» (Correos, 2016a, p. 14), making reference to beach and mountain tourism, respectively. The choice of Toledo as Gastronomic Capital of Spain 2016 led to the issuing of a postage stamp showing marzipan as an element alluding to the commemorated theme, whilst the series for that year, made up of a sheet with two stamps on the *Protected Designations of Origin*, celebrated two products from Castilla-La Mancha: Manchego cheese and La Mancha saffron.

In 2017, and up to the completion of the writing of this article, a number of series of stamps have been issued with elements directly related to not only tourism but also gastronomy. Leaving aside the *Tourism* series for this year, dedicated to the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development, which consists of two stamps in which reference is only made to a beach landscape in summer and a mountain one in winter, a number of stamps make tourism and gastronomy-related references. The first we shall refer to is that constituting the series commemorating the Gastronomic Capital of Spain, which this year is the city of Huelva. This stamp, issued in January, features traditional local products such as cuttlefish, prawns, strawberries, ham and white wine. September sees the issuing of a series made up of two stamps on the sheet dedicated to *Protected Designations of Origin*, in this case celebrating two traditional products of the Region of Murcia: Calasparra rice and Jumilla wine.

Lastly, as far as the issuing of stamps is concerned, worthy of note is the launching of «a new series of stamps in which Spain's provinces play the leading

⁷ The Mediterranean diet was declared Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO in November 2010, after a candidature headed by Spain and also comprising Italy, Greece and Morocco (Serra and Medina, 2015).

role. 12 months, 12 stamps, 12 provinces. Every month, a Spanish province will be the protagonist of the stamp, which will be sold in said province» (Correos, 2017b, p. 14) and which will «reveal the most emblematic, touristic, recognisable and identificatory elements of each province» (Correos, 2017a, p. 7). A strategy that obviously aims to promote tourism, displaying highlights that can be offered to visitors: monuments, landscapes, flora and fauna, traditions and, of course, gastronomy. The list of stamps in this series issued to date features the following provinces, alongside which we shall note between brackets the gastronomic element(s) highlighted in each of the stamps: January, Guadalajara (Alcarria honey); February, Cádiz (*pescadito frito* and Fino sherry); March, Caceres (La Vera paprika and cured Iberian ham); April, Barcelona (*crema catalana*); May, Asturias (cider and *fabada*) and Córdoba (*salmorejo*); June, Tarragona (*carquinyolis*⁸); July, Las Palmas (banana); August, Santa Cruz de Tenerife (*papas con mojo picón*) and September, the Balearic Islands (*ensaimada*).

CONCLUSION

Over the course of this article, we have analysed the role played by postage stamps as tourism promotion instruments, using gastronomy as the depicted motif. An overall observation of postage stamp issues, the management of tourism and its policies, as well the evolution of gastronomy and its links with tourism, has allowed us to note interesting patterns of behaviour and parallel —if not clearly connected— trends, which have led us directly to the lines of development of Spanish society itself over the course of these periods.

The portrayals made by postage stamps have had an important ideological trajectory, applied over the course of the entire 20th century. They were employed as a promotional tool, initially for monuments and works of artistic interest as well as cities with potential as tourist destinations. Later on, during the 1960s, tourism promotion in the proper sense of the word commenced, through specific series dedicated to this activity and which were complemented by others commemorating buildings, folklore and works of art, as well as other aspects of the country that might arouse the interest of potential tourists, such as landscapes and flora and fauna.

⁸ Dry biscuits, famed for their hardness, made from toasted almonds.

It would not be until the end of the 1980s that gastronomy began, timidly, to be regarded as an activity that could be included within those that could promote Spain as a holiday destination, something that has become more than evident in recent years, in which gastronomy and elements directly associated therewith have been almost omnipresent, both in the media in general and in stamp production in particular.

Nevertheless, said relationship of gastronomy (today rarely challenged) with, on the one hand, culture and heritage and, on the other, with tourism, is a relatively recent one, and has had to overcome the image of being something secondary, caused by it being an everyday activity and thus one that is undervalued, as well as the subordination due to it being associated, at least in its domestic aspect, with the world of women.

Nowadays, the prestigious image of gastronomy in society as a whole would appear to be unquestioned. Nevertheless, the journey to this point has been a long and by no means easy one. As we have been able to observe over the course of this article, gastronomic images (in our case, analysed from a philatelic standpoint), some of the different moments of Spain's recent history, and their correlation with the different institutional policies implemented map out a parallel route: none other than the evolution of Spanish society as a whole.

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Consuming Traditions: Artisan Food and Food Tourism in Western Ireland

Paul Collinson

INTRODUCTION

The interrelationship between tourism and food is now well established in virtually all western countries and in many other areas of the world. Food tourism has been defined as «visitation to primary and secondary food producers, food festivals, restaurants and specific locations for which food tasting and / or experiencing the attributes of specialist food production regions are the primary motivating factor for travel» (Hall and Mitchell, 2001, p. 308). There is a related category of ‘culinary tourism’, which is «any tourism trip during which the consumption, tasting, appreciation or purchase of [local] food products is an important component.» (Smith, 2007, p. 100; quoted in Hall and Gössling, 2016, p. 7).

Cuisine is a crucial element of culture. It reinforces a sense of place and provides some of the glue that binds together the social and gastronomic identity of the inhabitants. In seeking out ‘authentic’ aspects of the cuisine of a particular place and undertaking ‘food experiences’, perhaps by interacting with those who are producing traditional foods, tourists are able to significantly enhance their sense of engagement with the locale and its population (Hede, 2008). One might argue that any visitor to an area who actively sets out to consume local foods is a food tourist, even though that may not be their primary motivation for travelling to an area —*pace* the rather narrow definitions quoted above. There is also a sense in which food tourism is connected to sustainable consumerism, encapsulated in the dictum ‘act local, think global’. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO), for example, states that «food tourism includes in its discourse ethical and sustainable values based on the territory, the landscape,

the sea, local culture, local products, authenticity, which is something it has in common with current trends of cultural consumption.» (WTO, 2012, p. 5).

Food tourists have become an important consumer category in their own right, with an acknowledged higher spending power in comparison to other types of tourists (OECD, 2012). A recognition of the potential for food tourism to stimulate local food economies through the promotion of regional produce and cuisine has also been an important driver of growth in the sector (e.g. Boyne, Hall and Williams, 2003; James and Halkier, 2014), as has the dovetailing of culinary heritage with broader cultural traditions in overarching marketing strategies (Bowen and Master, 2014). An emphasis on the close relationship between artisanal and specialist foods, founded in the *terroir* (conveying a sense of cultural and geographical rootedness) and produced usually in small-scale enterprises, and local social identities is a crucial aspect of modern food tourism. There is also a sense in which both stimulate each other (e.g. Cavicchi and Santini, 2011; Everett and Aitchison, 2008; Hall and Gössling, 2016; Ilbery *et al.*, 2005; Sims, 2009, 2010; Timothy, 2016).

All of these themes are highly germane to the discussion here, which examines food tourism in the Republic of Ireland, with a particular emphasis on the role artisan foods plays in this.

OVERVIEW OF FOOD AND TOURISM IN IRELAND

Food has become a central component of tourism in Ireland in recent years. Failte Ireland, the national tourism development authority, announced a plan in 2011 to increase the number of food tourists coming to the country, with the aim that «Ireland will be recognised by visitors for memorable food experiences which evoke a unique sense of place, culture and hospitality.» (Failte Ireland, 2017). The plan included several initiatives, such as developing food trails and festivals, promoting Ireland's food heritage, helping businesses market Irish food and appointing 'food champions', individuals who were impacting on the food-ways of their local areas. Economically, the food tourism market is significant and growing; according to Failte Ireland, holidaymakers in Ireland spent almost €2bn on food and drink in 2013, accounting for a total of 21 per cent of their total holiday expenditure (Foley, 2014, p. 3).

Promotional literature aimed at tourists as well as the various state-sponsored websites selling Ireland as a tourist destination all feature food heavily in their marketing. Many councils, development organisations and consumer and community groups are also involved in promoting the food and cuisine of their areas, and there has been an exponential increase in recent years in local initiatives aimed specifically at food tourists as a distinctive cultural consumer. Linked to this are a number of interrelated domestic trends in food production and consumption in Ireland, all reflected in western societies as a whole. These include the rise of the ‘slow food’ movement (an informal collective of artisan food manufacturers, restaurateurs and community groups founded in Ireland in 1998) and other alternative food networks and initiatives (Murdoch *et al.*, 2000), a growing interest in ‘green’ and sustainable consumerism, the development of cookery schools (of which the Ballymaloe school in Cork is perhaps the prominent example) and the expansion of organic farming. Taken together, these have been described as amounting to a ‘revolution in Irish food’ (e.g. The Irish Times, 2017).

Generally speaking, the types of food promoted to tourists are mainly of the ‘artisan’ variety. (Other, broadly interchangeable terms used for these types of foods in Ireland include ‘traditional’, ‘specialty’, ‘farmhouse’, ‘natural’ and ‘hand-made’). Moreover, it is not merely food itself that is being sold, but ‘food experiences’. Tourists are invited to become active participants in the food collection and production processes, as part of an overall immersive cultural package focused on Irish folk and culinary traditions. For example, the ‘Discover Ireland’ website, the Irish state’s primary outward-facing tourism portal, variously invites visitors to participate in gathering wild foods from the environment, sign up for a course at a cookery school, visit artisan food manufacturers, or take a tour of a craft brewery. Food festivals and food trails also feature prominently.

There were at least 47 food and drink festivals held in Ireland in 2017 (author’s personal research). Many towns and even villages host annual or more regular festivals, often devoted to particular types of food or drink, which may have specific connections to the area. Probably the most well known example would be the Galway International Oyster and Seafood Festival, held annually in September, with Galway Bay oysters famous the world over; other examples include the Connemara Mussel Festival, celebrating the mussels of Killary

Harbour in north Connemara, the Roscommon Lamb Festival and the Dublin Prawn Festival.

In a similar vein, stimulated partly by Failte Ireland's 'Place on a Plate' initiative, food trails have risen to prominence in Ireland in recent years, with visitors invited to follow a designated route through a town, a county or a region, taking in different culinary experiences along the way through the participation of local restaurants and artisan producers. Food outlets are encouraged to sell produce sourced in the area (Broadway, 2017). Farmers markets, where producers are selling direct to the public, rather than via large chain stores, have also become very important in the retailing of specialist and artisan foods (see below).

FOOD AND WESTERN IRELAND

Western Ireland is viewed by tourists, by vendors, and by Irish people themselves as the one region of the country in which the key facets of Irish cultural traditions are most strongly represented and retained. Much has been written about the 'myth of the west' in Ireland (e.g. Gibbons, 1996; Kearney, 1997; Kiberd, 1995), a concept that has been transformed and reified in the promotion of the country as tourist destination into a powerful marketing package. This emphasises such themes as the rurality of the area; the natural beauty of the landscape; the pristine nature of the environment; the unchanging, 'timeless' culture; the dynamism of community and social life; a rich sense of history and heritage; the warmth and creativity of the population; and the exoticness of the food, rooted in tradition and hand-made by local artisans with loving care and attention to detail.

The Wild Atlantic Way

These themes are distilled most strongly in the marketing of the Wild Atlantic Way, a 2500 mile-long designated driving route that runs along the west coast of Ireland from Malin Head in the north to Cork in the south. Established in 2014, it is one of the longest designated driving routes in the world.

Private and public sector organisations involved in the tourist industry throughout the length of the west coast invariably include the Wild Atlantic

Way in their own promotional material. In a short space of time, it has become the primary vehicle for the marketing of the region and increasingly central to the ‘brand image’ of western Ireland.

The Wild Atlantic Way website places a heavy emphasis on food and food experiences and includes no less than 758 separate pages featuring food (search conducted on 18th September 2017). The following passage encapsulates the general thrust of the way the route and the region it travels through is marketed:

Clean Atlantic waters, a mild climate and lush green fields; the geography of Ireland and its food are inseparable. On the Wild Atlantic Way, Ireland’s natural larder is visible at every turn.

From grazing fields to fishing boats, it’s not uncommon for food to go from ‘farm to fork’ or ‘tide to table’ within hours – if not minutes. Supplying the tasty treats on your plate are the artisan food producers and sustainable farmers whose fields dot the coast, and they have long-seated relationships with the hands that feed you. As you dine along the West Coast of Ireland, you can also meet the makers. Stay on farms, take part in food festivals and learn traditional skills, like foraging and fishing. It’s not a formal affair; ask in the bakery, at your table, on the quayside or at the bar about your food and how it has travelled, to really get a sense of the place (Wild Atlantic Way, s. f.).

ARTISAN FOOD

As has been made clear, the food being promoted to tourists in western Ireland is largely of the ‘artisan’ type. Made by small, often family-based producers, using local ingredients and traditional techniques and often sold at farmers markets, artisan food has become an important element in the marketing of western Ireland to visitors.

There is no set definition of what constitutes artisan food. According to Irish food writer John McKenna, it is «a synthesis of the Personality of the producer, the Place it came from, the Product itself and Passion in the manner it is produced» (the ‘4 Ps’). Zingerman describes it as «traditional or traditionally made, mostly in batch sizes using hand-done techniques which encompasses flavour, tradition and the integrity of the producer.» (both quoted in Teagasc, 2017). The Food Safety Authority of Ireland (FSAI) sets out the following criteria for artisan food:

1. The food is made in limited quantities by skilled craftspeople.
2. The processing method is not fully mechanised and follows a traditional method.
3. The food is made in a micro-enterprise at a single location.
4. The characteristic ingredient(s) used are grown or produced locally, where seasonally available and practical. (FSAI, 2015, p. 3)

It is worth noting that the language used in these definitions conveys a sense of the quasi-mystical status that is often conveyed on artisan foods. The food itself should be handmade (or ‘hand done’), manufactured using traditional techniques in small-scale enterprises, and it has to have a distinctive flavour. Such foods should also be connected in some way to the place where they are made, either through heritage or geography or through some other means. The people making such foods also need to have ‘personality’, ‘passion’ and ‘integrity’, which are somehow imbued in the quality of the food. Rarely, if ever, are such formulations spelled out more precisely: what size of business actually constitutes a small or micro enterprise? What does ‘hand made’ actually mean? What is defined as a ‘traditional method’? How is food made with ‘passion’ or ‘integrity’? And how does a manufacturer’s ‘personality’ affect the final product?

Despite these imprecise definitions, according to research organisation Mintel, artisan food is worth over €700m to the Irish economy, with a base of around 300 producers (cited in Agriland, 2016; Teagasc, 2017). The sector is expected to grow by ten per cent between 2016 and 2021 (Agriland, 2016). There is a wide variety in the types of artisan food that are made in Ireland. Cheeses feature prominently: of the 300 producers, almost 50 are involved in cheese-making (Teagasc, 2017), with the farmhouse cheese sector described as the ‘jewel in the crown’ of Irish artisan foods. (Bord Bia, n.d., p. 8). Other types of artisan foods include specialty bread, chocolate, preserves, chutneys, specialty oils, smoked fish and specialty meats such as brawn (a type of pork mince), wild game and spiced beef. In terms of drinks, fruit juices and craft beer-brewing are also important. Some producers are involved in reviving traditional foods, with examples including boxty (potato bread), barmbrack (fruit loaf), white (pork and herb) and black (blood) pudding, and seaweed (see below).

The vast majority of the enterprises making artisan foods are small-scale operations employing no more than five to ten people, and selling primarily in the local area. Artisan foods are often linked specifically to the location in which

they are made through their branding. Most farmhouse cheeses are named after their place of origin —the most well-known examples include ‘Cashel Blue’, ‘Coolea Farmhouse’, ‘Carrigaline Farmhouse’, ‘Killeen Farmhouse’ and ‘Wicklow Blue’. ‘Clonakilty black pudding’ is another famous product.

SELLING ARTISAN FOODS

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which artisan food is supported by the tourist industry in Ireland. Clearly, there is a growing domestic market for artisan food, and it is highly likely that this represents the principal market for producers —not least because the tourist season is concentrated largely in the summer months. This is partially backed up by a survey conducted in 2012 which suggests that seven in ten consumers (68 per cent) consciously buy local products when food shopping (Grant Thornton, 2013, p. 2). However, tourists also buy artisan foods in significant quantities and help to support the specialist food industry. Broderick reports that sales in farmers markets are 15 to 20 per cent higher in the summer months than in the winter (Broderick, 2012, p. 25). Moreover, in the nature of their promotion and pricing, some products are clearly directed specifically at tourists, and there is also a growing online element to artisan food retailing.

An example of a type of food that is marketed primarily to tourists is seaweed, the production of which has grown significantly in Ireland in recent years. Seaweed has been consumed in Ireland for millennia; it was particularly important during the Irish famine of the 1840s. Consumption declined during the last century, but it is now enjoying a comeback, with at least 20 producers (The Irish Times, 2016). Several types of seaweed are sold:

- Dillisk, which is eaten as a dried snack, as crisps or baked in the oven;
- Wakame, used in soups, bread and sweet deserts;
- Kombu, a type of brown algae very common in Japanese and Korean cooking, and used in soups or in sushi, or deep fried to be eaten as a snack;
- Carrageen, or Irish moss, used as an additive in jellies, blancmanges and other puddings, as a food thickener and in beer production;
- Thongweed, or sea spaghetti, a type of brown algae used in salads or as an alternative to pasta.

Seaweed products are a prime example of something one might describe as ‘souvenir foods’ (e.g. Hazman-Wong and Sumarjan, 2016), manufactured not necessarily with the primary purpose of eating, but for tourists to take home and perhaps keep on a shelf to show off to relatives and friends. Put simply, they are ‘cultural goods’, to use Bourdieu’s term (Bourdieu, 1986). They are also expensive, probably prohibitively so for many local people, and packaged very much with the tourist market in mind. One manufacturer of seaweed products, Wild Irish Sea Veg, for example, includes the following on all their packaging: «Excellence – Sustainable – Quality – Environment – Customer. Irish organic seaweed. This natural seaweed is hand-harvested by 4th generation harvesters along the shores of the Wild Atlantic Way».

Farmers Markets

Farmers markets are now integral to the retailing of artisan food in Ireland and have a turnover of over €10m per annum (Teagasc, 2017). There were 142 farmers markets in Ireland in 2011 (Broderick, 2012), a figure that is highly likely to have increased since. They are particularly prevalent in the west, and most towns and villages in tourist hotspots now have regular farmers markets. The name is actually a misnomer, as the markets tend to be dominated by artisan food producers rather than ‘farmers’ per se. Farmers who do sell at such markets tend to be specialist producers themselves, growing organic crops or raising organic livestock—and often these are unusual types of crops or animal breeds. According to a survey carried out by Teagasc, 80 per cent of artisan traders saw farmers markets as their key sales outlet (quoted in Broderick, 2012, p. 25). Artisan and locally-sourced foods are also becoming more readily available in supermarkets, however, with demand from supermarket shoppers in Ireland for such products reportedly very high, according to some research (Dunne *et al.*, 2017).

Restaurants

High-end, independent restaurants throughout western Ireland also represent a primary outlet for artisan foods. Many emphasise the local sourcing of products, with some even gathering their own ingredients from the environment.

These types of restaurants tend to cater for wealthy locals and tourists, with the menu pricing usually beyond the reach of the average pocket. There is thus a certain irony in such establishments using local products which are then sold at a premium price to outsiders. This is not always the case, however. In the case of Clonakilty in County Cork, Ireland's first designated 'slow city', for example, the town's restaurants almost all serve locally-sourced food, much of which is of the artisan type —and by no means all of the outlets are of the high-end variety (Broadway, 2015).

A good example of an artisan food outlet catering to visitors is Belleek Castle, near Ballina in County Mayo. As well as being a hotel, Belleek Castle also has a high-end, award-winning restaurant serving artisan and locally-sourced food. Fruit and vegetables are grown in the castle's greenhouse, while the castle also employs a forager to gather ingredients from the nearby woodlands and sea-shore. A typical menu would include such items as 'forest and hedgerow soup', 'West Coast shellfish selection', 'Irish wild boar granola', 'turf smoked Mayo lamb', 'breast of guinea fowl' and 'Killala Bay turbot'. The castle also produces its own artisan food range, including products such as truffle oil, salad dressings, specialist bread, and homemade jams and chutneys. Finally, the hotel offers visitors the chance to participate in guided foraging expeditions themselves in the local area. Belleek Castle thus caters for those wanting a complete food experience: the chance to share in the gathering of raw ingredients, a menu of imaginative local dishes steeped in the heritage of the area, and the opportunity to buy hand-made foods to take home.

THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION: THE TOURIST AS AN ANTHROPOLOGIST

The growth of artisan food and food tourism in Ireland – in terms of production, marketing, commodification and consumption – is both a reflection of and a lens through which to view, 'post-modern society' in western countries (Baudrillard, 1970, Harvey, 1990). It can be interpreted with reference to several meta-phenomena, which include the commodification of culture; the rise of 'consumption and seduction'; an atomisation of social relations in industrialised societies; the loss of tradition and search for the 'authentic'; and a desire to purify and to cleanse – the body, the mind and the soul.

The demand from consumers for ‘food experiences’, for example, preferably involving the observation of and perhaps participation in, a ‘traditional’ food manufacturing process, an exposure to cultural difference and as much interaction with local people as possible, stems, one might suggest, from the contrasts which these represent with tourists’ everyday lives in modern, urbanised western societies. A sense of rootlessness and alienation from history and tradition, as well as the atomisation of social relations, is one explanation for the appeal of the types of cultural encounters which are being marketed and sold in western Ireland (and in many other countries) (Laenen, 1989; Nuryanti, 1996).

Allied to this is a general decline in demand for consumer durables; people are now increasingly desirous to spend their income on meaningful, immersive experiences rather than material goods (aka ‘stuff’), which many economists and social commentators believe has now reached a peak in many western countries (e.g. Farber, 2012; Goodall, 2011). The rise in social media is also important, with people able to share their experiences with their relatives and friends by posting photographs, videos and blogs on internet platforms—and there is an undoubted competitive element to this, particularly for younger generations. An enhanced concern for the environment and recognition of the deleterious effects of globalisation and the benefits of locally-focused production and consumption are also at play here (e.g. Busa and Garder, 2014). Tourists therefore increasingly seek out ‘authentic’, ‘real’, ‘traditional’, ‘unique’ and ‘exotic’ interactions, in order to create lasting memories, which also endure by being shared online. It is clear that the relevance of MacCannell’s famous definition of tourism: «A meaningful modern ritual which involves a quest for the authentic» (1976, p. 13) has risen exponentially since he first posited it.

In a similar vein, the marketing of Irish culture itself is also a clear example of what Jean Baudrillard called the ‘commodification of anything and everything’. In the *Consumer Society*, Baudrillard stated that: «we have reached the point where ‘consumption’ has grasped the whole of life», characterised by «...the consumption of human relations, of solidarity, reciprocity, warmth and social participation...» (1998, p. 29; 162).

Food tourism also appeals to the modern desire for ‘cleansing’, especially in somewhere like Ireland with its perceived pristine, unpolluted environment. Many Irish artisan foods are specifically marketed as healthy, organic and ‘pure’, and combined with the appeal to ‘step outside mainstream life’,

dovetail with the way western Ireland as a whole is promoted. Visitors are invited to purify and cleanse their bodies, minds and souls through the immersive cultural experiences which are on offer.

Irish culture is now a (or perhaps ‘the’) central part of the tourist ‘package’ which is sold to visitors. It is emphasised continuously in marketing material, with the friendliness and welcoming nature of the population, the importance of cultural tradition, a rootedness in landscape and the potential for visitors to immerse themselves in the social life of rural Irish society all prominently featured. These themes come together strongly in the marketing of food and food tourism, and form a distinctive discourse through which the culture is projected. The discourse is directed partly by the Irish state, through the support it provides to the tourism industry and the promotional materials produced by various government departments and agencies, especially Failte Ireland and Bord Bia, the Irish Food Board. It is increasingly pervasive, discernable in a myriad of different contexts, including on food packaging, restaurant menus and market stalls, and, more obviously, in online and broadcast media advertising.

In structuralist terms, the marketing of culture in this way and the discourse behind it is founded on a series of binary opposites, whereby traditional Irish culture, however defined, is implicitly contrasted with ‘faced-paced’, modern life in industrialised societies:

Tradition: Modernity
 Wild: Tame
 Authentic: Inauthentic
 Rural: Urban
 Natural: Unnatural
 Unchanging: Dynamic
 Slow: Fast
 Hidden: Known
 Community: Atomisation
 Remote: Familiar
 Simple: Complex
 Synchronic: Diachronic

These juxtapositions are also reflected in the promotion of food to tourists:

Organic: Unorganic
 Hand-made: Mass-produced
 Artisanal: Automated
 Healthy: Unhealthy
 Local: Distant
 Home-cooked: Factory-produced
 Fresh: Stale
 Tasty: Bland
 Warm: Cold
 Pure: Impure

Understanding Authenticity

The nature of authenticity itself is brought into sharp relief through an examination of food tourism. On the one hand, producers and consumers alike mostly view artisan and traditional foods, along with ‘food experiences’ as ‘objectively authentic’ (Wang, 1999), despite the fact that they often represent invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). They are seen as the true expressions of the cuisine of a local area, providing a sense of continuity to the past, and a lens through which a representational cultural milieu is revealed. As a number of commentators have pointed out, food products —unlike other aspects of cultural consumption— are often ‘genuinely authentic’ (López-Guzmán and Sánchez-Cañizares, 2012; Okumus *et al.*, 2007; O’Riordan and Ward, 2014).

However, at the same time they are subject to mediation and filtering—in their marketing, packaging and the narratives that surround them. Products and experiences are perceived as authentic because consumers are told they are authentic, as part of an overall retailing strategy. (The description on the seaweed packet is a case in point). From this perspective, authenticity becomes a malleable social construction, based on, but also a step removed from, the inherent qualities of a particular type of food or experience (Reisinger and Steiner, 2009; Sims, 2009). There is also a bifurcation between food products themselves and food experiences: tourism as performance, with the tourist at the stage (McCannel, 1976; Rickly-Boyd *et al.*, 2016). In its most extreme form, constructed authenticity essentially becomes a fiction, in which reality is so distorted to have lost all meaningful connection with the thing that it is purporting to represent. The classic example here in a tourism context is the ‘Bedouin

Night Trip’, whereby tourists staying at holiday resorts in North African countries are taken to a ‘Bedouin desert camp’ and invited to participate in ‘traditional’ dances and rituals by people who are essentially actors being paid to play their parts (see, among numerous examples, the excellent account provided in Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, pp. 98-104).

Finally, there is existential authenticity, a philosophical construct associated with Hegel, Heidegger and Kant, among others, concerning the understanding of self. In recent years, this has been applied to tourism research to convey a sense in which tourists gain a deeper insight into their own persona and self-identity through engagement with another culture. (O’Donovan *et al.*, 2015; Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). In this framework, authenticity is almost entirely in the eye of the beholder.

In the case of artisan or ‘traditional’ foods, it is likely we are dealing with all three types of authenticity. At the risk of over-simplification, foods can be objectively authentic, but their authenticity may also be constructed —and if people wish to project their own notion of what is authentic and what is not onto them, based on how they see (or wish to see) themselves, then this is OK too. Similar arguments can be applied to food experiences.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Irish artisan food sector and food tourism generally are clearly becoming more and more significant for the Irish economy. Their rise in importance has been driven by, and is a reflection of, broader macro social trends in western, industrialised societies. Increasing cultural commodification, environmental awareness, localism, a desire for historical rootedness and social atomisation represent some of these aspects of social change, several of which we have touched on in this chapter.

Such appeals to visitors are encapsulated in the discourse associated with the way in which Ireland, particularly western Ireland, is promoted to outsiders. This forms a distinctive meta-language that, we have argued, has been partly directed by the Irish state through the dissemination of its promotional material and the support it provides to the tourist industry. Food tourism is an especially salient area in which this discourse is distilled. Structuralism presents us with a useful lens through which to interpret these observations, reminding

us that the power of discourse is derived as much by what it does not contain as much as by what it does.

A possible avenue for further research would be to examine the influence of the way western Ireland is promoted on local people's perceptions of their own cultural nexus. This may help us to understand more readily the nature of authenticity itself, and tease out the complex interplay between objective and constructed versions of culture. Western Ireland may be a social construction, but it is undisputedly one founded on a rich and distinctive cultural heritage in which its regional cuisine has played a central part. Long may this continue for indigenes and visitors alike.

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Tequila, Heritage and Tourism: Is the Agave Landscape Sustainable?

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INTRODUCTION

In these pages, we briefly describe the origins of tequila, Mexico's most emblematic alcoholic beverage, before going on to analyse the current state of the tequila industry. Both aspects are considered in relation to the tourist potential of tequila in light of the declaration made by the United Nations' Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) that certified the *Agave Landscape and the Ancient Industrial Installations in Tequila, Jalisco* as elements of the Cultural Heritage of Humanity in the category *Cultural Landscapes*. Our observations conclude with a series of proposals that hopefully, will broaden and enhance the quality of tourist-related activities around the artisanal production of tequila and the Agave Landscape from a perspective of sustainability.

THE AGAVE PLANT

The genus *Agave* L. includes over 200 species, three-quarters of which exist in Mexico, the country that can be considered the birthplace of these plants. Of these species, at least 74, together with 28 infra-specific *taxa*,¹ have been documented as forming part of human diets, as the raw material for elaborating fermented and distilled drinks, and as well as a source of fibre and forage (Colunga-García Marín *et al.*, 2007). In the state of Jalisco, specifically, 23 species of the genus *Agave* have been registered (Hernández *et al.*, 2007), many of which have developed from archaic times, especially in the Santiago River Canyon

¹ *Taxa* (plural of *taxon*) is the taxonomic unit of any hierarchy.

(*Barranca*) north of the city of Guadalajara, the state capital, where they are favoured by the warm climate and dry forest vegetation.

Industrialized tequila production originally used various types of agave (Pérez, 1887),² selected for their short stems and tough fibres commonly known as *piñas* or *cabezas*. Those stems and the bases of the leaf (called *pencas*) contain high concentrations of polysaccharides and are very palatable. In fact, the area around this Canyon is considered the birthplace of the species *Agave tequilana* Weber, which was selected over a hundred years ago for tequila production because it grows relatively quickly, has properties suitable for industrial exploitation and generates more offshoot (*pencas*) than other species (Valenzuela-Zapata, 1997; 2003).

The first Official Quality Norms for Tequila (NOM, 1949) defined this beverage as an alcoholic drink elaborated from *Agave tequilana* and other species of that genus. But those terms were modified in new Norms issued in 1964, which specify *Agave tequilana* Weber var. *Azul* exclusively, though no justification was given for introducing this change. This measure provoked the marginalization of other species that had been widely used to produce the drink called *mezcal* –tequila's original name– to such a degree that supplies were depleted, and some types may have become extinct in the study area after falling into disuse (Valenzuela-Zapata 1994; 1997).

In this regard, it is worth noting that no wild populations of *Agave tequilana* or *Agave angustifolia* Haw have been found recently in the Santiago River Canyon, the area where agaves developed archaically, as mentioned above.³ The reason for it could be that the study area lies on the margins of the natural distribution zone of those species, it might also be due to their extinction in this zone, in contrast with areas in southern Jalisco where the introduction of *Agave tequilana* and the development of the tequila industry has been less intensive. In this latter region, distilled drinks are produced from over 20 types of cultivated agaves (Colunga & Zizumbo, 2005).

² «There are several classes of this precious Mexican plant that are cultivated for the liquor industry of a drink called *mezcal* [...]. Their names are: *chino*, *azul*, *bermejo*, *sigüín*, *moraneño*, *chato*, *mano larga*, *zopilote*, *pie de mula*, etc.»

³ A species related to *Agave tequilana* that is also used to produce agave distillates.

TEQUILA PRODUCTION

Like many other crops exploited on an industrial scale, many of them linked to international markets, *Agave tequilana* is known to cause the deterioration of local agroecosystems because it is mono-cropped and requires huge investments in agricultural inputs to obtain high yields. This induces the following pernicious effects, among others that could be mentioned:

Loss of genetic diversity. Because agave cultivation depends on the abundant asexual propagation of offshoots, mono-cropping reduces the genetic variability of populations (Hurtado, 2008). This, in turn, increases the plants' susceptibility to plagues while reducing their ability to adapt to the environment (Abraham-Juárez *et al.*, 2009).

Vulnerability to plagues and diseases. Planting the same species of agave (mono-cropping) over broad extensions, which is highly-characteristic of the Agave Landscape, contradicts the principles of agroecology since, as this method of cultivation is well-known to foster the development of plagues and diseases.⁴ To give but two examples: in 2007, one-fourth of the 120,000 hectares of cultivated agave were affected by diseases and plagues,⁵ while for over two decades –between 1990 and 2010⁶– agave farming suffered a phytosanitary crisis that severely affected plantations.

Intensive use of agrochemicals. High-density, monocrop plantations require ever-greater dosages of fertilizers and biocides, whose application contaminates soil and water. This has caused devastating changes in local ecosystems and damaged the health of nearby populations. The latter occurs because most of the farm workers who carry out activities are of a low socioeconomic level who do not adequately handle agrochemical products because they rarely receive the necessary training and qualified technical assistance is not usually available. Furthermore, a particularly common practice consists in keeping

⁴ The most common diseases that affected agave were: anillo rojo (*Erwinia* spp.), stem rot (*Fusarium oxysporum*), and shoot rot (*Erwinia* spp.) (Vicente, 2002).

⁵ Ulises Zamarróni (correspondent): «Agoniza la producción de agave azul, alertan». *El Universal, Sección Estados*, August 9th, 2007.

⁶ Javier Trujillo Arriaga, *Director General de Sanidad Vegetal, Servicio Nacional de Sanidad*. Discourse at the *I Foro de Discusión Fitosanitaria en el Cultivo del Agave Azul Tequilero*, May 31st, 2011.

agave fields free of other types of vegetation that could compete for environmental resources, though this entails applying enormous quantities of herbicides and glyphosate, a particularly toxic pesticide (Seneff, Swanson & Li, 2015; Watts *et al.*, 2016).

Soil erosion. Mezcal cultivation takes place in various environmental niches (topofoms) that make up the Agave Landscape, including: *a*) the slopes of the Tequila volcano; *b*) plains in the El Arenal, Amatitán and Tequila valleys; and *c*) the banks of the Santiago River Canyon. This latter zone has suffered a significant loss of the fertile layer of soil because the furrows formed for planting run parallel to the downward slopes, soil conservation practices are notably absent –despite the fact that fields are quite steep– and the intensive application of herbicides eliminates other types of vegetation cover.

Agave growers. The method of *Agave tequilana* cultivation (*i.e.*, quality, attention and management) largely depends on the kind of producer involved, but above all on the per-kilo price of the product on the market. The first group of growers consists of large companies that cultivate some of the agave they require in their own fields. Second, come producers who have sufficient access to capital to specialize in agave production, either on their own fields or rented land, in order to sell their harvest directly to industries that produce tequila. In third place, we find small producers who practice more diversified agricultural activities. Their agave fields rarely exceed one hectare in size, and they often plant in one or more agroecosystems, including under the following conditions: rain-fed fields, irrigated fields, sloped fields shared with corn, squash and beans in different proportions, and plantings in fallow fields that may or may not have irrigation. These producers are usually active in other economic practices, such as commerce or as paid agricultural labourers on other farms. Finally, a fairly high proportion of these growers produce their own tequila, or negotiate contracts with taverns to process their agave plants.

Here, it is important to note that, strictly speaking, growers are not obliged to register their agave plantations with the Tequila Regulating Council⁷

⁷ The *Consejo Regulador del Tequila, A.C.* is the organism in charge of verifying and certifying compliance with the NOM for tequila. It also oversees the quality, culture and prestige of this drink. It is an inter-professional institution that since 1993 has brought together all the producing actors and agents linked to tequila production. ‘Actors’ and ‘agents’ can also be understood as large tequila distilleries.

(*Consejo Regulador del Tequila*, CRT), which exists, in part, to guarantee product quality. This is because when agave is scarce, available volumes can easily be traded at attractive prices, but when supplies of *Agave tequilana* dwindle, «tequila» production is maintained by expressing the juice from other species of agave and distilling it, even if those plants were harvested outside the boundaries of the certified «region of origin». Sometimes, immature plants may be boiled and pressed to obtain the raw material for tequila production. Although they do not contain all the sugars required to produce alcohol, they do contribute to the typical ‘tequila flavour’.

Agave crises. Shortages of raw material for tequila production have frequently occurred. One key cause of scarcity is the poor health of plantations. In the mid-19th century a disease called «gangrene», or «drying» (*secazón*) damaged agave production to such a degree that in 1868 a reward was offered to anyone who succeeded in eradicating the terrible scourge. Another outbreak of this disease occurred in the late 20th and early 21st century, when much broader extensions of land had been sown with agave (Valenzuela-Zapata, 2003).

Another important and recurring aspect that affects how agave is produced and commercialized nowadays involves situations of excessive supply and its opposite, severe shortages. These oscillating periods can cause enormous economic losses for producers and represents a particularly contentious issue since growers are limited in their ability to manage these conditions because Mexico’s Department of Agriculture, Cattle-Raising, Rural Development, Fishing and Alimentation (*Secretaría de Agricultura, Ganadería, Desarrollo Rural, Pesca y Alimentación*, SAGARPA), National Chamber of the Tequila Industry (*Cámara Nacional de la Industria Tequilera*, CNIT), and the aforementioned Tequila Regulating Council (CRT) can neither prohibit agave production, nor oblige farmers to plant agaves. Clearly, existing technology for the instantaneous diffusion of data would allow these organisms to continuously generate and disseminate information on supplies of this raw material and so forecast supply-and-demand for the tequila industry in any given period. Unfortunately, these practices have not been implemented.

When growers decide to undertake agave cultivation, like any other economic agent they are motivated by the high per-kilo price that this product can demand in the market (up to 17 Mexican pesos), and by the —often—illusory hope that this will continue *sine die*. Obviously, these conditions can

generate overproduction of this raw material⁸ with the consequent rapid price decreases that can go as ridiculously low as 30 or 40 *centavos* per kilo. As Tena, Ávila and Jiménez (2015) point out, fluctuations between periods of scarcity and overproduction of mescal plants can be traced back to one basic fact: that the market is determined by *buyers*, not *producers*. Some observers argue that periods of abundant raw material are induced deliberately by industrialists who offer high per-kilo prices for agave to increase cultivation, well aware that this will eventually generate overproduction that will automatically force prices to fall, perhaps drastically; obviously, to their advantage.

Other important factors that determine prices and orient agave commercialization are the presence of intermediaries (called *coyotes*) who operate between producers and industrialists and usually end up obtaining the highest profits from this part of the tequila production, and the fact that the *nom* for tequila authorizes mixing agave sugars with those extracted from other plants—especially sugarcane—in proportions as high as 49 per cent. This occurs especially when agave is more expensive than other sugar-producing plants and can be used as a substitute for agave up to almost 50 per cent.

The tequila industry. Once mature agaves are harvested (*jimado*)⁹ in the field, they are transported to a tequila distillery, where the ball-shaped hearts (called *piñas* or *cabezas*) of the plants are cleaved into pieces, roasted in ovens, and then crushed in order to extract their substances (*mieles* in Spanish) that are then fermented in huge vats to transform the agave's sugars into alcohol.¹⁰ Finally, a double distillation method in stills produces the separation and concentration of the degree of alcohol desired for the drink in question. As in the production of sugarcane alcohol and similar distilled drinks, tequila production generates huge amounts of bagasse that—if not suitably disposed of—represent a serious problem of environmental contamination. In the specific case of

⁸ We should point out that mezcals must be harvested once they mature, a process that takes, on average, about eight years from the time of planting.

⁹ In Mexico, especially in traditional tequila-producing areas, *jimar* refers to field labors where men (*jimadores*) cut the leaves (*penças*) off the heart of the agave, which is the part of the plant used to produce tequila.

¹⁰ A second procedure for obtaining sugars from agave plants consists in splitting the hearts and injecting high-pressure steam. This technique makes extraction more efficient.

tequila production, this problem has not been dealt with adequately and is still far from being resolved.

Producing one litre of tequila requires 7.5 kilos of mature mescal, but 40 per cent of the weight of this raw material must be disposed of after extracting the sugars. This amounts to 3 kilos of bagasse per litre of tequila elaborated. But the depicted distillation process also produces a second waste product, called vinasse, which has a negative impact on the biota of the ecosystems where it is discarded. The amount of vinasse produced per litre of tequila varies from 7 to 11 litres (Cedeño, 1995; Ibarra *et al.*, 2010).

In the so-called Agave Landscape, properly-speaking, there are 50 registered companies devoted to tequila production. Unfortunately, the volume of waste products that they generate is unknown, as is their final destination.¹¹ But what is visible is the perennial and increasing contamination of streams and aquifers, a reality that has caused water scarcity for human use in the area, as well as the disappearance of orchards and gardens that require irrigation. Finally, environmental norms demand that tequila distilleries dispose of their waste products adequately, but only the largest companies have the economic capacity to support the investments that compliance requires. In reality, the few industries that apply those norms do not necessarily follow environmental dictates to the letter; that is, they fall short of 100 per cent compliance.

ARTISANAL TEQUILA PRODUCTION

Tequila production originally took place in taverns established on lands around the Santiago River Canyon so that producers did not have to transport their *mezcales* outside the area. Also, the zone had abundant supplies of the good-quality water that elaborating distillates required. But another reason for this *modus operandi* was to keep production in clandestine conditions to avoid paying taxes to the fiscal authorities.

¹¹ Response to the request for pertinent information submitted by the authors to the Department of the Environment and Territorial Development of the State of Jalisco (SEMADET), supported by the «Policy of Transparency of the State of Jalisco»; file 3s96/2017, 19 September 2017.

Though in past decades those small taverns were harassed by the State and tequila entrepreneurs, now that «this tradition is back in style» and consumers enjoy distillates made from other agaves, the few taverns that survived inside or on the outskirts of the Agave Landscape still operate ‘clandestinely’, but apparently problem-free. Indeed, some are employed to promote and disseminate the origins of tequila production.

Today, most small tavern-operators who are devoted to producing agave distillates also perform other typical farming activities, sometimes on lands close to their homes, and not so much on the places where their tavern lies. But because of the volatility of agave prices, very few produce tequilas year-round, since it is not economically viable to depend on one sole productive activity. In fact, most continue distilling simply because they enjoy it, while others never lose hope that their business will one day produce profits and «pull them out of poverty...»

These tavern-owners usually learned their trade from a relative —father, father-in-law, uncle, etc.— or by working as young men in taverns in their hometown or nearby villages in the surrounding sierra, where they learned the art of distillation, though not through any kind of formal instruction. They often refer to their masters (*maestros*) as men who had extensive experience and the ability to produce unique, special, distillates. Though they learned as best they could, they feel they cannot match their *maestros*’ achievements because they never learned what they call «the secret». They cannot distil tequila like those men did, though they do asseverate that their products are «more-or-less» the same.

The smallest taverns, those with limited production volumes, are not significant competitors for the large, long-established tequila-distilling companies, so they market their products on a small scale, usually selling in bulk to relatives and friends. Thus, for example, numerous small operators may be contacted to sell their products —always at prices below those of the formal market— when people organize family parties or neighbourhood festivities, which always involve small budgets. However, some tavern-owners (surely, a small minority) who enjoy broad recognition in the trade have been sponsored, semi-officially, by promoters of ‘agave culture’ to demonstrate the roots and history of tequila production. They may succeed in commercializing their products at prices that rival those of the best distillates sold by the large, commercially-consecrated companies.

Although these artisanal producers usually ply their trade individually or perhaps with family labour, some occasionally hire neighbours or friends to help with the tasks involved in the distillation process. This provides jobs (though usually temporary) and a modest monetary remuneration, which in rural areas of Mexico are rarely unwelcome. Through these processes, some artisanal distillers produce considerable quantities of tequila and so decide to establish their own small-scale businesses, though this does require registering their operations with the CRT and receiving authorization to distil special editions of tequila requested *ex profeso*, or perhaps to elaborate certain agave products for other companies on a by-order basis (called *maquila*). There are even cases of growers who, like landowners of the past, have set up their own small taverns where they can produce and consume their favourite tequilas, extracted from their own agaves production, or others that might not belong to *Agave tequilana*. For example, they may incorporate agave *masparillo* (*Agave guadalajara* Trel.), or a species called *sigüín* (*Agave angustifolia*), which grow wild in the sierra beyond the borders of the Santiago River Canyon. Even more, these tavern-owners may be hired to process agaves that are transported from far-off places, like semi-desert zones of Zacatecas.

As in other cases of artisanal production, it is the price of the raw material (agave) that determines the activity of the more traditional tavern-owners. Thus, when agave is cheap, those who possess some stocks prefer to invest a modest sum of money to give their harvests added value, instead of selling at low prices, so they distil their agaves themselves or pay to have them processed. Likewise, other tavern-owners, meanwhile, try to take advantage of such circumstances by taking the risk of buying agave at the low price and having it distilled, in the hope of turning a high profit. But when agave price is high, they stop purchasing it because they would almost have to sell their taverns just to acquire enough raw material.

It is important to emphasize that the knowledge of the agave distillation process that characterizes the traditional tavern-owners is quite broad. For example, they recognize the properties of the different types of agave that can be used as raw material and, although many insist that *Agave tequilana* is the best species for elaborating tequila, they are quite familiar with the knowhow and techniques required to produce distillates from other agaves.

Our final point regarding these producers is that because of the low level of tequila production they achieve and maintain, the discarded bagasse does not impact the environment to any great degree, as it is simply incorporated into surrounding agricultural soils.

THE DENOMINATION «REGION OF ORIGIN» OF TEQUILA

Up to 1940, tequila production in Mexico was largely a domestic operation, but around that time some economic actors made applications to the Mexican government to protect the name of this alcoholic beverage –which, in reality, derives from the town of Tequila, where tequila production and commercialization has been concentrated throughout history– and so obtain exclusive rights to use the label ‘tequila’ (CRT, 2007). Their arguments centred on the long history that associate the town of Tequila with the production of this Mexican spirit, on the region of origin, and on the fact, that, by that time, tequila was being considered Mexico’s «national drink». Through their efforts, as mentioned above, in 1949 the Official Mexican Norm (*Norma Oficial Mexicana*) for tequila was established to describe the process that tequila producers had to follow, and the characteristics of the drink itself in terms of body, flavour and aroma. This Norm stipulated that for a product to be legally labelled «tequila» it had to be produced with *Agave tequilana* and other species of the same genus cultivated within the boundaries of the state of Jalisco. This meant that only agaves so identified could be used to produce this alcoholic drink, and that no other sugars could be added to enrich it.¹² In addition, striving to complete this original protection, the Norm specified the criteria for bottling, labelling and transporting tequila once it was distilled (*Norma Oficial de Calidad para Tequila*, DGN. R9-1949).

Despite the solid argumentation just outlined, the declaration of Region of Origin of tequila formulated years later and published in the Official Bulletin of the Mexican Federation (*Diario Oficial de la Federación Mexicana*) on March 12, 1964, recognizes as tequila only the alcoholic beverage exclusively made with *Agave tequilana* Weber var. *azul*, while omitting consideration of all

¹² In those years, the tradition dictates that the elaboration of tequila *only* used the hearts of agave plants as raw material, so no denomination that ensured its use at 100 per cent was necessary.

other species. Moreover, it allowed tequila to be enriched with sugars from other sources, up to a maximum proportion of 30 per cent,¹³ broadened the geographical area to include other states of Mexico in the Region of Origen, and authorized its exportation in bulk to be bottled and labelled abroad.

These developments seem to justify the argument that the area now included in the Region of Origen of tequila has been moulded in accordance with the interests of the tequila industry. In this process, the declaration abstracted its norms from the ecological, historical and cultural evidence that should have constituted its formal basis. This scientific perspective has been argued by Pérez, Villa and Balderas (2012), revealing the contradictions involved in including municipalities in the state of Tamaulipas within the Region of Origen of tequila, since they have no antecedents in tequila production whatsoever. Indeed, it is well-documented that those municipalities use agaves from the state of Jalisco to produce tequila and, worse yet, only bottle tequila distilled in that state.

In this new context, we find that 9 of the 10 leading brands of tequila in terms of quality, price, prestige and age are now the property of foreign companies (Olmedo-Carranza, 2010) that, therefore, are the principal beneficiaries of the natural and cultural conditions (read: patrimony) of the Region of Origen of tequila and of the official Mexican norms that rule its production.

THE AGAVE LANDSCAPE

Heritage (or patrimony) is the legacy obtained from the past that is lived in the present and will be transmitted to future generations. Cultural and natural heritage is an irreplaceable source of life and inspiration, our touchstone, our point of reference, our identity (UNESCO, 2008a). In 2006, the UNESCO declared the Agave Landscape and the old industrial installations in Tequila, Jalisco, Cultural Heritage of Humanity in the category *Cultural Landscapes*. Their decision was justified by the argument that their peculiarities provide evidence of a harmonious and sustainable adaptation of the use of the soil in a natural

¹³ Since then, the declarations of 'region of origin' in 1974 and 1977, as well as the changes made to the official norms for tequila production in 1970, 1976 and 1978 permit the incorporation of other sugars up to 49%, while also broadening and reducing the zone of the 'region of origin' of the plant, according to the interests of the large companies.

context that should be recognized in order to preventing modifications of their traditional essence.¹⁴

The environment now known as the Agave Landscape consists of a nuclear zone that covers some 34,658 hectares located between the Tequila volcano and the Santiago River Canyon. These lands include the scenarios proper to, and characteristic of, agave cultivation. A second, much smaller nuclear zone (only 360 hectares) includes the *Los Guachimontones* archaeological zone. These two areas are surrounded by a buffer zone of 51,621 hectares where some of the old industrial installations that once produced tequila, the Tequila volcano itself, and the Santiago River Canyon are located.¹⁵ Gómez (2008) mentions that this latter zone conserves, intact, a natural wildlife corridor where over 800 vegetation species have been identified.¹⁶

Today, we would say that fulfilment of the goals of the management plan for the Agave Landscape is a simulation, at least in the following regards:

- The balance among the natural, agricultural and urban environments required to improve the quality of life of the area's inhabitants is still far from being achieved.
- The water used by tequila industries, which inevitably becomes contaminated, has reduced the availability and quality of this vital liquid for large numbers of inhabitants. The Santiago River Canyon, especially, receives residual waters from towns upstream, as well as the vinasse generated by agave processing, while various sites in the zone have been transformed into sanitary landfills. As a result, the Santa Rosa Dam, which forms part of the Santiago River system, has reports of high indexes of pollution and is a focus of infection and fetid odours, especially in the dry season.
- Few rural towns have adequate health services.
- There are no sustainable development projects that foment traditional agricultural systems.
- Outside the administrative head towns (*cabeceras municipales*) and the *Los Guachimontones* archaeological zone, signs that identify the Agave Landscape are scarce; many have been destroyed or are deteriorated, while the most striking aspect of tourism infrastructure may well be its absence.

¹⁴ La Crónica.com: «Patrimonio Mundial: Paisaje agavero e instalaciones de Tequila»; published on July 12th, 2006.

¹⁵ It is important to note that the *Los Guachimontones* archaeological zone, the Santiago River ravine, and the Tequila volcano functioned as tourist attractions in the study area long before the declaration of the Agave Landscape and the development of tourism programs like the «Route of Tequila» and «Tequila, a Magic Town».

¹⁶ Unfortunately, the author does not cite the source of the number of species mentioned.

- Only some old tequila-producing haciendas in municipal head towns are open to visitors. Those farther away rarely have efficient access roads, or are simply closed to the public.
- Many tourism services, including helicopter and hot-air balloon rides over the Agave Landscape, are too costly for low-income families. All jewellery stores are high-end, as are the spas, gymnasiums and hotel boutiques; while practicing extreme sports and horseback-riding are also prohibitively expensive for most visitors.
- The expansion of tourist activities around the Agave Landscape, though modest, has increased the cost of basic products significantly for local people.
- Agricultural fieldworkers, whose manual labour sustains agave cultivation, earn low wages and are denied other work-related benefits. Also, they are hired in the outsourcing modality, so they do not enjoy seniority or other fundamental rights.

HERITAGE AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Over the past five decades, as the aperture and improvement of means of communication have enhanced mobility in the valley region territory around the town of Tequila, residents of neighbouring municipalities and of the town itself have become frequent visitors to numerous natural sites in the recently-recognized Agave Landscape, including the Tequila volcano and the Santiago River Canyon. In the canyon, they enjoy natural spas and orchards that dot the countryside and provide a wide variety of fruits typical of tropical zones. Of course, the main attraction there has long been the opportunity to purchase, at reasonable prices, a few decilitres of the famous beverage. And this practice continues to give travellers a good pretext to stop along the Pan-American Highway that passes by Tequila to taste these celebrated spirits—despite doubts about their quality—and perhaps purchase a bottle or two of this prestigious distillate of the agave plant.

Because of its clear potential for attracting tourism, in 2003 Tequila was incorporated into the Mexican government's tourist program called Magic Towns (*Pueblos Mágicos*), which allows them to apply for federal government funding so that local authorities can carry out projects to enhance the image of their hometowns, especially urban zones. In the case of Tequila, the application for public funds was not initiated by local government (*ayuntamiento*), but by the owners of leading brands of tequila: *Cuervo*, *Sauza* and *Herradura* (Hernández, 2009). The UNESCO's declaration of Tequila as Cultural Her-

itage of Humanity in 2006, mentioned earlier, is also a result of this process. That announcement helped formalize and consolidate tourism activity in the region, while also providing access to more public resources to stimulate tourist activity and establish better-quality businesses, especially for the main tequila entrepreneurs.

As noted previously, the UNESCO's declaration with respect to Tequila and its surrounding area entails implementing specific *in situ* intervention programs that include a plan for a territorial ecological organization; in this case, of the zone where agave and the drink derived from it are produced. Additional commitments stemming from the declaration are elaborating an inventory of local flora and fauna to aid in their conservation, and a project to re-establish previously altered habitats, which means ameliorating conditions for the species that live there (Gómez, 2008). To date, however, evidence of efforts in these directions is scant.

In this respect, it is worth mentioning that the deterioration of the biocultural heritage of the Santiago River Canyon has continuously worsened. Significantly, much of the biodiversity of the different ecosystems it harbours has been lost, including various edible species of fish and crustaceans that once inhabited the river and its permanent tributaries, as well as numerous edible plants, birds and mammals that used to live in the deciduous forest that covered the slopes of the canyon.

Traditional methods of appropriating and producing foods have succumbed almost entirely to this onslaught, especially the now-predominant mode of industrial production. This not only limits the material possibilities of residents, but also has forced many people to migrate to large urban centres, especially the metropolis of Guadalajara.

In light of the phenomena described herein, it is of utmost importance to rethink the actions included in the current management plan for the Agave Landscape in order to correct the current, 'simulated' recovery of the tradition of tequila production that benefits primarily large companies with global economic interests. This reorientation is required to guarantee observance—to the letter— of the principles of the Declaration of Cultural Heritage of Humanity granted by the UNESCO, which privileges sustainable tourism.

According to the definition of the World Tourism Organization,¹⁷ sustainable tourism is the form that takes into account «the current and future economic, social and environmental repercussions [of the sociocultural environment in question], in order to satisfy the needs of visitors, industry, environment and host communities». Thanks to the diversity of relations included in sustainable tourism it has the potential to act as a catalyst of social change, since it can help fight hunger and poverty, while promoting peace and safety and as well as stimulating local economies.¹⁸

In this regard, the original aim of the Agave Landscape management plan was to foster sustainable development, but it turns out that only micro-tourism excursions in the zone around the Tequila Volcano have been fomented. The same is true for hiking, and tours on horseback or bicycle, which are not the services most often requested by tourists. Given the scenic richness of agave plantations, we would recommend enlarging installations that would allow visitors to enjoy the visual and natural sights that characterize the Santiago River Canyon. These could be complemented by descriptions and explanations by guides on the local physiography. By the same token, the modest efforts at tourism promotion that emphasize sedentary activities like eating and drinking could be broadened and enriched. For a greater impact and success of the Agave Landscape management plan, the promotion of tourism initiatives focused on sustainable development should be implemented in order to benefit local people and not only the global economic interests that develop in the shadows of tequila production.

In addition, it would be of paramount importance to promote visits to traditional taverns, where visitors could witness the early forms of tequila production. It would also be interesting and important to inform visitors and travellers, as well as the general population, of the different types of agave that can be used to obtain distilled beverages. Promoting knowledge of the distinct varieties of agave could be a nucleus that leads to the establishment of true ethnobotanical gardens based on scientific and cultural knowledge.

It is important to understand that plants are the most conspicuous elements of ecosystems; indeed, they constitute their very basis. This consider-

¹⁷ See: <http://sdt.unwto.org/content/about-us-5>

¹⁸ See: <https://www.biospheretourism.com/es/blog/22-beneficios-del-turismo-sostenible/94>

ation is of the greatest importance in the case under study, because the following studies, research and activities could be fomented from botanical, ethnobotanical and alimentary culture perspectives: analyses of the plants that sustained the Mesoamerican alimentary system, of the plants that, aside from agave, contributed to the identity of the Agave Landscape, of the consumption of edible, wild plants, of recipes of traditional cooking, of the applications of medicinal plants, and of horticulture and the commercialization of ornamental plants.

In the same vein, it is key to improve our understanding of the ecological value of the 'dry', or deciduous, forest; a habitat that produces numerous plants that are utilized in Mexico and, more specifically, in the area examined herein. Such studies could be complemented by research on forest fauna. Similarly, we need to determine the diversity of species managed by farmers in the agroecosystems of the Santiago River Canyon, and the nature of their rain-fed or irrigated orchards and gardens, where a great variety of wild and cultivated plants can be found whose potential is not yet exploited. Finally, it would be worthwhile to collect edible, wild and medicinal plants that are native to these sites, as such initiatives would be of great pedagogical, gustative and culinary value.

Without question, the potential of a declaration granting the status of Heritage of Humanity –in our case, the Agave Landscape cultural landscape– presents many more aspects than just the disproportionate and discarnate economic benefits that may accrue to a few individuals, to the detriment of many others. Clearly, identifying and then promoting these other perspectives is feasible in the case analysed in this article.¹⁹

¹⁹ NB. *A proposal*. The results of the author's research project on phylogenetic resources for alimentation in the Santiago River ravine include a database with 172 species of marginal wild and cultivated plants, grouped in 50 botanical families that represent 11 per cent of all alimentary species that exist in Mexico, according to estimates. Of these 172 species considered edible, over half (96) are trees and bushes, the most conspicuous part of the vegetation. These results can be incorporated into proposals for sustainable tourism projects, as mentioned (Tena Meza Martín P., Rafael M^a Navarro-Cerrillo, Ricardo Ávila and Raymundo Villavicencio Garcia. *Wild phylogenetic resources in the Barranca of the Río Santiago*, in press).

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Mycological Tourism in Soria (Spain). Mediterranean Diet Emblematic Community

Marco Romagnoli

MEDITERRANEAN AND «MEDITERRANEITY»: ORIGINS AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Mediterranean has been defined the «liquid continent with solid contours» because of the proximity of its shores which are distant, at their outermost point, only a few hundred kilometres (Audisio, 1935). This is probably the origin behind its name: *mediterraneus* means «in the midst of lands». The Mediterranean represents a unicum in multifold ways, being a crucible of civilizations, an explosion of culinary tastes and a diverse environment where Europe, Africa and Asia meet; the same three continents from where goods were exchanged, cultures met and ideas circulated for centuries (Mediterra, 2012).

The historical and intercultural dimensions of the Mediterranean are assets in terms of cultural and natural heritage, as well as in ancient social practices and traditions. Among the main factors which have helped determine the rich Mediterranean diversity both in cultural terms and in products and alimentary behaviours, preponderance may be observed in the geographical and ecological diversity of the environment and, historically, the succession of different dominations —Hebrews, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Byzantines, Ottomans, Spanish, Portuguese etc.— that contributed to the introduction and diffusion of different types of foods, always under the aegis of conviviality at the table, food sharing and sociability (Lacirignola *et al.*, 2012).

Although conviviality is nowadays renowned and considered as a common aspect of the Mediterranean countries and people, commensality has origins, which may move away from general credence. Taken in its literal meaning, the word commensality derives from the Medieval Latin *commensalis* (*com*

+ *mensa* = sharing a table) suggesting the notion of sharing the food with other people while sitting around a table (Oxford Dictionary, 2017). Originating in Greece and continuing in Rome, sacrificial religious banquets were the central emblems of the social order of the *πόλις*, in Greece, and of the Capital, Rome. After the sacrifice of the animal, only determined and full-fledged citizens of the city had the right to participate in the festive banquet. Historically, the banquet favoured the birth of the Athenian democracy, in political and social terms, and of a considerable symbolic degree of ritualism, in religious terms –such as the Last Supper in the Eucharist for Christians. In this sense, commensality did not relate specifically to Mediterranean countries but the Mediterranean cultures have developed, until today, a form of «rituality» while eating together, a degree of institutionalization expressed by conviviality originated, precisely, from the sacrificial banquet (Fischler, 2010).

Fischler has said that, at the mere biological level, we «become what we eat» (1988). Every culture has its peculiar cuisine and food, especially the Mediterranean cuisines which are endowed with a rich array of different products and natural resources. As a determined food or recipe are the basic elements interconnected to a specific culture, so social and family relationships are interwoven with(in) their «culinary expression». Having said so, food may be the intimate concept relating to a culture in general and, more specifically, to the idea of self and identity. Food not only defines an intangible boundary around a culture but, via commonalities of by-products such as olive oil, wine or bread or the special attention given to food sharing, eating habits and togetherness, also exemplifies how Mediterraneans are similar in spite of our cultural diversity (Lupton, 1994). As Kittler, Sucher and Nelms affirmed, food habits are proportioned to an individual's self-identity where «eating is a daily re-affirmation of [one's] cultural identity» (2012).

INTRODUCING THE MEDITERRANEAN DIET

Defining the Mediterranean may be an ambitious task since it can be «a thousand things in one» (Braudel, 1999). It is the result and the living legacy of the millennial history of the Mediterranean countries transmitted from generation to generation and constantly recreated by the communities, the groups and the individuals in response and contextually to their living environment, history

and culture. The general term «Mediterranean Diet» can designate a common eating pattern across the Mediterranean countries, even though culinary habits and gastronomic traditions pleasantly differ from one Mediterranean country to another (Keys, 1970; Kromhout *et al.*, 1989; Trichopoulou and Lagiou, 1997). The Mediterranean Diet is characterised by its liaisons with different historical and geographical cultures reflected in their culinary and social traditions across the Mediterranean countries. Manios *et al.* define it as a «dietary polymorphism», being the Mediterranean not only a cuisine and not relating uniquely to food but partially reflected in social, religious and cultural aspects of the Mediterranean Basin (2006).

Despite the millenary existence and the continuous development of the Mediterranean cuisine, traditions and social practices, the term Mediterranean Diet is of recent nature and was probably created around the 1950s. The health virtues and benefits of the Mediterranean Diet on chronic heart disease prevention were scientifically proven to the scientific community by the pioneering research of a physiologist and nutritionist, Ancel Keys, with the collaboration of his wife, Margaret Keys. In 1975, Ancel Keys and his wife published the book *How to Eat Well and Stay Well. The Mediterranean Way*, about the diets of people in Greece, Italy, Spain and along the coasts of France (Keys, 1975). Moreover, the study that followed, *Seven Countries: A Multivariate Analysis of Death and Coronary Heart Disease*, confirmed his theories linking the traditional Mediterranean eating patterns and their nutritional value to a significant lower incidence of mortality due to coronary diseases (Keys, 1980).

Ancel Keys may not be the inventor of the Mediterranean Diet per se but he is its discoverer and has named it in scientific terms (Varela, 2006). Dr. Keys defined the Mediterranean Diet as «what the Mediterranean natives eat. But as we know and think of it now, it is a relatively new invention. Tomatoes, potatoes, and beans, for example, came from America long after Christopher Columbus discovered the New World. I noticed that the heart of what was considered the Mediterranean Diet is mainly vegetarian: pasta in many forms, leaves sprinkled with olive oil, all kinds of vegetables in season, and often cheese, all finished off with fruit, and frequently washed with wine» (Keys, 1995). In this sense, the Mediterranean Diet, as a pattern of cooking and eating, should not be interpreted as a diet *stricto sensu* that may frighten people away and with an American meaning and connotation (even if Keys probably

coined the term in his laboratory in Minnesota in the 1960s). Keys referred to it as the «Mediterranean Way» and provided the broad scope and direction of the concept of the Mediterranean Diet (Carmena, 2006).

Further evolution concerning the notoriety and the interest for the Mediterranean Diet saw the light thanks to the Mediterranean Diet Foundation of Barcelona that held the «First International Congress of the Mediterranean Diet» in Barcelona in 1995. The identification and emphasis of the Mediterranean Diet from a threefold perspective —healthy eating, culturally and historically— and of the cultural, human and social dimensions of partnership across the Mediterranean were officially acknowledged with the signature of the «Declaration of Barcelona on the Mediterranean Diet» (Dernini *et al.*, 2012). As interdisciplinary dialogue and multicultural exchanges around the Mediterranean Diet constantly continued, the decennial of the Barcelona Declaration in 2005 resulted in the «Third Forum on Mediterranean Food Cultures: Dialogue between Civilizations and People» organized by the Food Sciences Institute of Sapienza University in Rome. The meeting saw the participation of anthropologists and nutritionists and gave birth to the «2005 Rome Call for a Common Action on Food in the Mediterranean». The issued Call underlined prominently and remembered the etymological origin of the word «diet», i.e. *δίαιτα* which means lifestyle. The Mediterranean Diet is then identified as more than an eating pattern. It is the «way of life» of the Mediterranean countries impregnated of their own social, cultural and human dimensions (Dernini, 2006).

Besides its health, socio-cultural and economic aspects, implications were taken into account in order to make the Mediterranean Diet a priority for all Mediterranean countries, translatable in a process of preservation and promotion started with the proposal to candidate the Mediterranean Diet for recognition as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (EuroMed, 2005).

THE MEDITERRANEAN DIET, UNESCO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Over the last decades, cultural heritage has broadened its horizons from built heritage, architecture and «tangibility» to a more holistic form considering its intangible manifestations. Both tangible and intangible heritage attract flows of

domestic and international tourists eager to appreciate local cultures and learn their inherent way of living (Graburn, 1989). Intangible heritage tourism results in tourists experiencing a cultural contact with the communities living and practising it, while the communities may have a twofold benefit when tourism is well managed, i.e. economic benefit from tourism and, by practising it, intangible cultural heritage remains meaningful and alive (Bak, 2007). Intangible cultural heritage is about communities and groups' identities. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity was adopted on 17 October 2003 in Paris at the biennial UNESCO General Conference and came into force on 20 June 2006, three months after the ratification of 30 member States of UNESCO to the Convention (UNESCO, 2003). The unprecedented pace of ratification of this international and binding treaty was, firstly, due to the willingness and need of Southeastern Asian countries, such as Indonesia, to have a binding multilateral instrument protecting their intangible cultural heritage at risk due to globalization and the negative sides of the international socio-economic and cultural integration (Proschan, 2007).

The purpose of the Convention is to «ensure the survival and vitality of the world's living local, national, and regional cultural heritage in the face of increasing globalisation and its perceived homogenising effects on culture» (Matsuura, 2004). The importance of the Convention lies behind the stress of the invaluable role of intangible heritage which is defined as «practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage» (UNESCO, 2003).

UNESCO declared the Mediterranean Diet «Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity» in 2010. The first inscription occurred on 16 November 2010 in Nairobi, Kenya, during the V Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage when four countries – Greece, Italy, Morocco and Spain – submitted a transnational nomination file and were the first Mediterranean countries awarded of the status. This transnational effort and UNESCO certification were further broadened with the inscription of other three countries – Croatia, Cyprus and Portugal – at the VIII Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Baku, Azerbaijan, in 2013 (González Turmo and

Mataix Verdú, 2008; UNESCO, 2003; UNESCO, 2010). The element inscribed, the Mediterranean Diet, is common and falls within the territorial boundaries of the seven Mediterranean countries which have submitted the nominations in 2010 and 2013, and each country selected, symbolically, an «Emblematic Community» to ensure a detailed and more accurate approach on the protection, transmission and promotion made by each community recognizing the Mediterranean Diet as part of its intangible cultural heritage. The chosen communities are Koroni in Greece, Cilento in Italy, Chefchaouen in Morocco, Soria in Spain, the islands of Brač and Hvar in Croatia, Agros in Cyprus and Tavira in Portugal (UNESCO, 2013).

SORIA, SPANISH «EMBLEMATIC COMMUNITY»

Let food be your remedy and remedy be your food
HIPPOCRATES (460-377 B.C.)

Culture and gastronomy may be considered the basic touristic demand for certain travellers of today. Spain is a strong generator of demand for cultural and gastronomic tourism and the Mediterranean Diet is a «balanced dosage» of both since, more than an eating pattern, represents a sustainable way of life. Gastronomy is the most-valued attribute for tourists going to Spain, going hand in hand with the country's cultural richness (Ansón, 2014). Soria is a city located in north-central Spain and the capital of the Province of Soria. The city was declared UNESCO Emblematic Community for the Mediterranean Diet in 2010 but, well before the UNESCO designation, Soria was among the promoters of the Mediterranean Diet at the regional, national and international levels. The «Emblematic Community» designation was due, among the reasons, to the activities promoted by the FCCR: the Scientific Foundation of Caja Rural (*Fundación Científica Caja Rural*). FCCR was founded in 1995 with the aim to promote and educate the *sorianos* towards a healthy Mediterranean lifestyle, teaching and informing young generations, in particular, organizing many activities and programmes such as the *Escuelas de Salud* (Schools of Health) and via several publications (Fundación Caja Rural, 2017).

MYCOLOGICAL TOURISM OVERVIEW

Mycological tourism may be a powerful source of economic and cultural value for Soria and its province, also being headquarter of the European Institute of Mycology. This type of tourism has been recently studied as a source of income in rural areas and referred to as a new trend in rural tourism in areas endowed with this main resource and pull factor attracting visitors as a primary or secondary reason, and is constantly increasing as a new market niche (Velázquez, 2007). Although mycological tourism represents quite a new touristic phenomenon and research into it remains scarce (Lázaro, 2008). It is estimated that only the rich endowment of mushrooms to harvest in the forests of the region of *Castilla y León* is able to generate €65 million a year in direct revenue (mushroom trading), not considering the tourism mycology segment that may even strengthen the revenue potential of the region, creating permanent jobs for the restaurant and hotel industries, extending the touristic autumnal low-season (Frutos *et al.*, 2008). The visitor is attracted by gastronomic events such as the *Semana de la Tapa Micológica Mediterránea* hosted in Soria (next paragraph) in restaurants offering mushroom-based local dishes but also by tapas and haute cuisine contests and demonstrations, guided tours and food-tasting events. Possibilities are many and there are no specific definitions embracing all the touristic segments, and consistent data related to mycological tourism are still in their infancy.

Before delving into Soria's annual event dedicated to mycology, it would be opportune to explain what is intended by «mycological tourist». According to Frutos, Martínez and Esteban, a mycological tourist is a person travelling, inbound or outbound, to a certain destination related to mushroom picking, staying overnight at this destination (2012). Thus, the so-called excursionists or day-trippers are not included in this definition. The tourist visits the destination in order to collect edible wild mushrooms but the mushroom-related goods and services consumption is not considered as mycological tourism. According to Martínez *et al.*, 54% of surveyed inbound visitor pickers are excursionists not staying at the destination overnight and whose main motivation to travel is picking edible wild mushrooms. As per gathering touristic data is found difficult in every touristic field due to the necessity, and challenge, to combine aggregate data, so mycological tourism is not the exception and depends on the

criteria chosen to gather statistical data and qualitative information. Should it be beneficial to understand the destination carrying capacity by including day-trippers to the mycological tourism definition? Do mycological tourists encompass price-related services beyond the mere «free» act of picking mushrooms such as guided tours in the forests, mycological packages or touristic workshops to literally «ingest the local culture» and experience the «incorporation principle» while participating in mycological events? (Fischler, 2010). Such activities may fall into the category of both price-related and non price-related activities with a special accent to intangible heritage, spanning from culinary workshops or the atmosphere of living a mycological touristic experience immersed in a rural and local context.

«SEMANA DE LA TAPA MICOLÓGICA MEDITERRÁNEA» IN SORIA

The «tapa culture» sounds Spanish by virtue of the international notoriety of the various food preparations used as appetizers and snacks in the Spanish cuisine. Many Spanish communities interpret and re-create tapas according to the variety of food the territory offers (Ansón, 2014). The UNESCO Emblematic Community of Soria organizes every two years the «Semana de la Tapa Micológica Mediterránea» (Mediterranean Mushroom Tapas Week) in the autumnal period. The 2016 event represented the 9th edition (see Figure 1) and occurred from the 21 to the 30 October 2016 in 52 different places in Soria, from hotels to restaurants. On the occasion of the inauguration of the fifth edition of the International Meeting «Soria Gastronómica» occurring within the Semana de la Tapa Micológica Mediterránea, the Minister of Culture and Tourism for the *Junta de Castilla y León*, María Josefa García Cirac, stated that the region and, in particular, Soria have converted into the world leaders in terms of mycology and gastronomic tourism with 2,500 mushrooms and edible fungi varieties, 250,000 mycological tourists per year, and €32 million tourism expenditure (Heraldo de Soria, 2016).

This biannual event is centered on mycology and mycological tourism, and is dedicated to passionate of mushrooms, mushroom picking, preparation while participation in culinary events and workshops at restaurants, conferences and meetings but also outdoor activities and guided tours in the forests and areas where mushroom-picking is advisable and to learn more of

the product for which the region offers a rich endowment are strongly encouraged and attract many visitors from Spain and abroad. Among the most important and key events during the *Semana de la Tapa*, «Soria Gastronómica» takes place on Monday and Tuesday to award different prizes: the «best provincial mycological tapa», a €1,300 award, and the «best popular mycological tapa», whose €700 prize is voted by visitors and tourists from hotels and restaurants hosting them. The «best Mediterranean mycological tapa» is issued and granted by the FCCR of Soria. The three best finalists for each category participate in the «Jornadas de los Campeones», the Champions Days, between the 14 and 30 of November 2016. Other activities involve free coupons for tapas via the «Tapa Marathon», to experience by downloading the application «Tapa micológica Soria 2016» with three different tapa-eating modalities, and the possibility to win a meal or a dinner at different restaurants and hotels.

In 2015, the Week of the Mycological Mediterranean Tapa reached 114,000 tourist arrivals and the aim of the 2016 edition was to increase the amount of visitors during an event that, beyond the promotion of mycology and its latest trends gathering gastronomic experts and attracting tourists, aims at promoting concrete actions to create touristic appeal and maintain jobs in the long-term during the autumnal low-season in *Castilla y León* in close collaboration with the hospitality sector, from hotels to restaurants and catering services (Heraldo de Soria, 2016).

CONCLUSIONS

Fernand Braudel wrote, «What is the Mediterranean? A thousand things together. Not a landscape, but many landscapes. Not one sea, but a succession

Figure 1. *Cartel Tapa Micológica Mediterránea Soria 2016*



Source: Turismo Soria.

of seas. Not one civilization, but a series of civilizations stacked on each other» (1999). Social and cultural Mediterranean functions embedded in gastronomy, social practices, landscapes, traditions and other vectors shape the most common element characterizing what we call the Mediterranean Diet. This intangible element, which is found tangible in many fields, from health to tourism, and as we have seen in the case of the Emblematic Community of Soria and its mycological tourism, has had the opportunity to be safeguarded in the short, medium and long-term via its inscription on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List in 2010. The challenge of safeguarding the Mediterranean Diet is enormous. Policies and social actions from the countries that proposed the candidature (Italy, Greece, Morocco, Spain, Croatia, Cyprus and Portugal) to UNESCO should be the main driving force to the defense of this heritage but also the other countries of the Mediterranean Basin —especially those less in the discourse about the Mediterranean Diet such as Tunisia or Egypt but also Albania and Turkey— which equally share this common heritage should be involved in a pan-Mediterranean preservation and promotion of a cultural heritage that is found strong not only in spite of its differences but because of its rich diversity. The conviction behind the inscription was that the Mediterranean Diet would have paved the way towards trans-Mediterranean and multinational cooperation to safeguard this living heritage by means of intercultural dialogue and participatory initiatives and projects throughout many fields.

Rural, food and wine and eco-tourism seem to result among the types of sustainable tourism fostering the best comprehension and, whether knowingly or not, the practice of the Mediterranean Diet. The mycological tourism in the region of Castilla y León (Spain) in the autumnal low-season is a clear example during which tourists ingest the social practices, knowledge and values of other cultures via gastronomy. The mycology segment may have a relevant weight in the tourism development of Soria and its province, especially with regard to rural tourism. Increasing the number of tourist arrivals via autumnal and mycological tourism has the potential to offset the low-season period when tourists' flows are inferior and may inject more money to invest in order to maintain tourism as an all-year-round activity. The weakness of mycology lies behind its seasonal variability in terms of production; favourable seasons may triple the mushrooms' production whereas unfavourable seasons make it fall to zero. It is also recommendable to implement a forest policy and

touristic carrying capacity should be evaluated in order to address eventual issues related to the development of a deseasonalized and extra-seasonal tourism in the region and, especially, in Soria. Further research should be done in touristic terms, i.e. total mycological tourists' economic contribution to Soria and its region calculated in tourism expenditure, total employments created and infrastructures maintained through mycological tourism, and further identification of the target market fostering deseasonalizing activities and tourism in the region, especially in autumn (Frutos *et al.*, 2012). Also, qualitative and quantitative researches should be aimed at identifying and recognizing the social, identity and eco-touristic effects before and after the Mediterranean Diet inscription on the UNESCO List of ICH as well as the proclamation of Soria as its Spanish MD Emblematic Community.

Many questions may arise and still have no answer. From the motivation, both scientific and socio-cultural, to choose these seven Emblematic Communities and «excluding» others, making the Mediterranean Diet a sort of «elitist way of life» as well as the current absence of other highly Mediterranean countries expressing this so-called «Mediterraneity» such as Albania or Tunisia, Turkey or Malta. The Mediterranean Diet could represent a historical, sociocultural and environmental laboratory on the importance of plurality and in the current globalized world. Although potential for intercultural dialogue, tourism market segmentation and deseasonalization concerning the Mediterranean Diet are not fully harnessed by lacking wide interdisciplinary research and relevant data to demonstrate the value the Mediterranean Diet may generate in the fields of tourism, both in Northern and Southern Mediterranean countries, of economy, sustainable development and cultural anthropology, the recent inscription of the Mediterranean Diet in the UNESCO list has certainly given food for thought.

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Culinary Associations as a Driving Force for Local Development: The Case of the Baix Llobregat Gastronomy Association (AGT), Barcelona

María del Pilar Leal

INTRODUCTION

Tourism can facilitate the diversification of the rural community, and for marginal, isolated and peripheral areas, it can also serve as a vehicle for economic and social regeneration and development (Boniface, 2003). In the field of economics, the development of gastronomic tourism contributes to the horizontal integration of the traditional primary production function with that of a specialized tertiary function, increasing, as Armesto and Gómez (2006) argue, the sources of income and improving the levels of income and employment for local people (especially women).

But what exactly does the word «development» imply? For Boisier (1997) development should be seen as a process of qualitative dimensions based on a quantitative process such as that of economic growth. The local and regional search for prosperity and welfare is based, according to Storper (1997), on sustained growth in employment, income and productivity, elements that are at the heart of economic development. However, the actual notions of development are socially determined by certain social groups and interests located in specific places and times (Pike *et al.*, 2006).

According to Pike *et al.* (2006), the various definitions and conceptions of development serve to emphasize its different facets at local, regional, national and increasingly supranational levels, aspects that have evolved to incorporate what is important locally and regionally. Development is, therefore, a fundamentally geographical term.

Local places and regions are causal or explanatory factors of economic growth (Scott and Storper, 2003). The local and regional levels are socially

constructed spatial scales via which social processes evolve (Hinrichs, 2003). According to Pike *et al.* (2006), citing Anderson (1996), the territory refers to spatial units defined under the jurisdiction of political and/or administrative authority. As such, a territory might constitute a city, a region or the nation state. The territory gives geographical and institutional shape to spaces of local and regional development.

The local embeddedness of participants (the social, economic and institutional actors), the dynamics of proximity that the former construct and the processes of creation and strengthening of local cultural identities are all factors that makes development a territorial phenomenon (Salom Carrasco and Albertos Puebla, 2009). For these authors, the components of regional development can be identified as including economic growth and competitiveness, technical training and culture, corporate culture, social cohesion, governance, welfare and environmental sustainability.

However, according to Salom Carrasco and Albertos Puebla (2009), achieving territorial development does not depend solely on business or economic variables, rather it is essential that there is a development strategy that is common to the social and institutional actors and which is upheld by a given social and territorial unit.

The purpose of this paper is to present the importance of social actors represented in a culinary association in the Baix Llobregat region, a region near to Barcelona that is characterized by an Agricultural Park, which is near to the city airport. The purpose is to explore how the actions of the stakeholders involved could play an influential role in local development. The chapter is organized as follows: section 2 elaborates the conceptual framework. Section 3 presents the data, context and the methodology of analysis. Section 4 presents the case study. Section 5 reports and discusses the empirical results and addresses some conclusions.

Finally, the chapter addresses some key theoretical and practical issues in the understanding of the impact of culinary associations in the spatial development of a territory. Furthermore, the results obtained identify not only a food tourism innovation region, but also how stakeholders' engagement could help to promote local products and local traditions thanks to their passion about food.

THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CUISINE COLLECTIVES

The aspects that characterize local and regional development mentioned by Rodríguez (1998) and Silva Lira (2003) structurally retake the local and regional development approaches presented by Pike *et al.* (2006) who rely on other authors to conceptualize territorial development. In any case, as mentioned by Olcina (2009) and Noguera (2009), the concept of local development is also not expressed in standard or invariable values, although one of its main components will always be the contribution to well-being and the guarantee of equal opportunities as well such as improving the quality of life of the population living in the territory.

It might be argued that the various theoretical approaches taken to explain local and regional development can vary markedly; however, the concepts and theories that can be used in its interpretation are closely related to responses to questions about the kind of local and regional development and for whom it is intended (Pike *et al.*, 2006).

Local and regional development are seen as forming part of an endogenous approach which incorporates the institutional and socio-economic focuses that seek to explain the characteristics and underlying forms of development, of a unique set of local assets and the endogenous economic capabilities on which local and regional competitiveness are constituted and established (Lüthi, 2011).

In addition to the above, it also includes concepts related to innovation, knowledge and learning as ideas that can explain and further our understanding of contemporary local and regional development. According to Esparcia (2009) these concepts allow us to interpret development as the processes of change and enhancement of what is local in a context of globalization and external competition that lead to innovation and knowledge generation through processes of training and learning.

Knowledge and Innovation in Spatial Development

Knowledge is considered as a relational resource and is also an element of organizational competitiveness that link to the geographical proximity can facilitate

trust in relationships. In Catalonia, the forms of organization related to the exercise of the production, distribution or restoration function manifest a collective production of knowledge propitiated by the conditions of the environment and the shared values, especially those that have to do with identity, tradition and the territorial embeddedness.

One of the most representative and innovative cases identified at the organizational level and of which Catalonia is a pioneer in relation to Spain, are the «Cuisine collectives» or *Colectivos de Cocina*, in Spanish. This private organizational which gathered chefs from a specific region, emerges in the catering sector and is particularly interesting as a generator of collective knowledge based on its «individual» knowledge in the catering sector. Their members sharing recipes, ways of doing, marketing and conducting joint actions affect the visibility of the cuisine of a particular territory, benefiting the territory.

In 2009, the number of cuisine collectives reported by the Catalan Tourism Agency was 17, a number that reached in 2012 to 20, incorporating the groups *Barceloneta Cuina*, *Sant Carles de la Rapita-Delta de l'Ebre* and *Cubat-Cuina del Baix Llobregat* (see Figure 1). Year after year, the number of actors linked to these partnership figures increases according to the Catalan Tourism Bureau in its website.

The cuisine collectives as generators of knowledge have allowed to rescue recipes and typical products that were considered unpopular and that today are consumed in many restaurants of prestige like the Butifarra Terregada that already by its name promotes a determined territory (Terrassa). This production of knowledge is the result of interaction resulting from geographical, cognitive and organizational proximity.

THE CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

In general, and according to the Catalan Institute of Statistics (IDESCAT) tourism is an important pillar of the economy, growing at 3.7% in 2015 and 8.3% in 2016. The region became the leader in international tourism in Spain receiving more than 17 million visitors in 2016.

Tourism in Catalonia is defined according to Arcarons I Simo (2009) as a global brand (Catalonia) with ten separate brands covering the whole of the region (Barcelona, Costa Brava, Costa Daurada, Costa del Garraf, Costa Bar-

Figure 1. Cuisine collectives by tourism brand in Catalonia

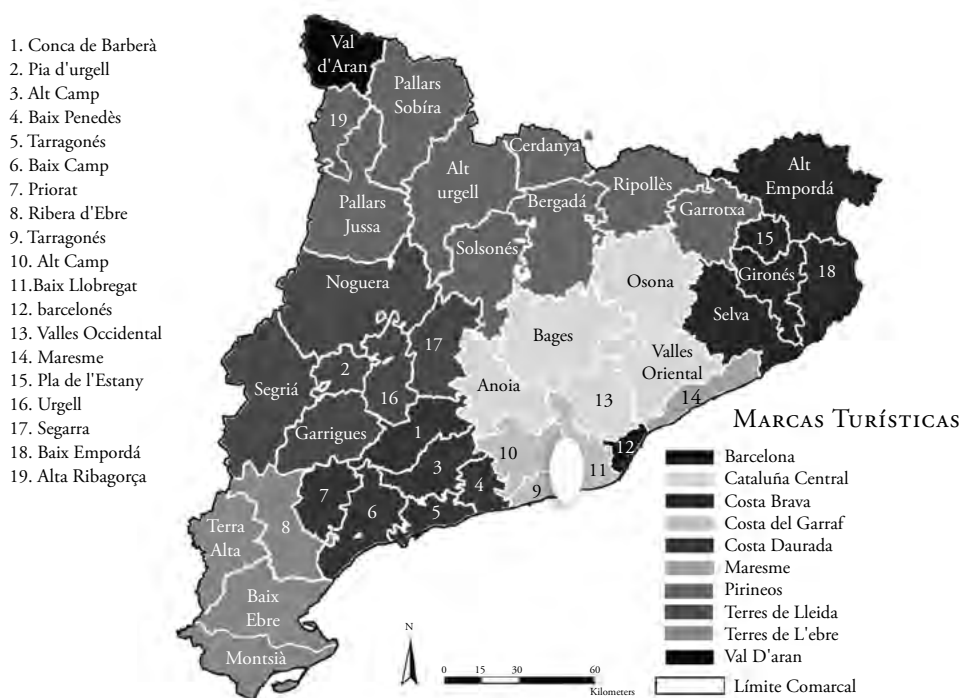


Source: Author's own based on information published by the Catalan Tourism Board, 2012.

celona-Maresme (Maresme), Cataluña Central (Central Catalonia), Pyrenees, Terres de l'Ebre, Terres de Lleida, Vall d'Aran). The tourism brands are associated with specific products on a territorial basis (see Figure 2).

On the other hand, the Baix Llobregat region belongs to Barcelona tourism brand, a territory where gastronomy has been central point of interest since the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Baix Llobregat as a territory accomplishes 486 km², which allocated 518.734 Inhabitants (20% foreigners and 35% out of Catalonia). This region near to Barcelona is divided in 30 municipalities. From a touristic point of view there is 83 hotels which represented 10.076 beds, also is important to mention that the region has an important number of camping places: 3042 (IDESCAT, 2017).

Figure 2. *Catalonian Tourism Brands and the Baix Llobregat location*



Source: Author's own, 2012.

The Baix Llobregat Gastronomic Association was selected as a case study based on two criteria: a) is located in an area where farmers as stakeholders are important due to the location of the Baix Llobregat Agrary Park, a protected farmland precinct in the metropolitan area of Barcelona; and b) its proximity to Barcelona as an attractive gastronomy destination worldwide. According to the Park Committee Board (2017)¹, the Agrary Park has 3.500 Has where operate 250 agricultural enterprises which out of 40% are devoted to ecological production. Regarding the food products produced in the park, 25% is artichoke and more than 80% of Park's production goes to Barcelona. One of the

¹ Information gathered during a public conference at the Baix the Llobregat (February, 2017).

main problems that the Park face is the pressure of its land use. On the other hand, a product that is very special of the region and nowadays is a sort of symbol is the blue feet rooster, a rooster produced just in this area for generations (see Photo 1).

Photo 1. Commercialization of Blue Feet Rooster in the Baix Llobregat



Source: Author's own, 2016.

The methodology applied is based on primary and secondary information. The primary data comes from 3 interviews conducted to the responsible of the Association Gastronomy Baix Llobregat (AGT), informal conversations maintain since 2015 with different stakeholders involved in the Baix Llobregat such restaurants owners, farmers located at the Agrary Park Baix Llobregat and the field observation conducted during the period February 2016-February 2017 with the Gastronomic Association of Baix Llobregat. In addition, the information gathered was supported by secondary information including on-line documents available to tourists and in general customers interested in gastronomy, scholar journals, reports, online newspapers and documents of interest for the research.

THE CASE STUDY OF THE BAIX LLOBREGAT GASTRONOMIC ASSOCIATION

The Gastronomic Association of the Baix Llobregat (AGT Baix), was founded in 2009 and is former by 5 partners, friend who decided to promote their local food. Currently, they work with 21 farms and local associations through different projects and with local farmers. The AGT Baix take the principles of Slow Food Movement (Clean, Fair and Safe) and Km «0» philosophy which is mainly devoted to buy and promote local and seasonal products within the surroundings areas.

The main projects developed by the AGT Baix are addressed to contribute with the social engagement of the municipalities and to link gastronomy with their culture. The current projects developed by the AGT Baix are:

- *World Tapas or Tapas del Mon in Catalan:* The main purpose of this project is to promote the interrelation of neighbours through gastronomy. In 2016, more than 20 participants of the Hospitalet municipality participated, more than 25 tapas were served from different countries, which are represented in this municipality. Thus, event tapa and dish served represented the history of a country such as Bolivia, Morocco, Dominican Republic, Syria, Spain and Ecuador.
- *L'Hospitalet Experience, Gastronomy and Culture:* The main purpose of this project is to promote food linked to gastronomy through and event. L'Hospitalet Experience is a proposal that fuses the crosscutting and intertwined topics of cuisine and culture. The event promotes cuisine with locally sourced produce straight from local farmers, diverse tapas crawl tradition (with old-time favourites and new flavours from around the world). In 2016, at this event participate 54 restaurants of the Baix Llobregat.
- *Mobile World Congress Event:* taking an advantage of the Mobile World Congress, a macro-event celebrated in the Hospitalet de Llobregat municipality,

Figure 3. Image of World Tapas in Hospitalet in 2016



Source: Website AGT Baix, 2017

the AGT Baix organized the event called «the Village Hospitalet Experience». A tapas event that promotes local food and enterprises.

- *Quinto Tapa*: Quinto is a beer size very popular among Catalans. The Quinto tapa event is a gastronomic trail based on one product: the blue feet roaster feet. This event gathered in 2016, 12 restaurants and is celebrate its fourth edition.
- *Farmers' market*: the association AGT Baix also promotes a local farmers' market at the Hospitalet de Llobregat municipality. This local market is celebrating monthly and work with 8 farmers of the Agrary Park. The Market is a place for gather farmers and consumers and is celebrate its 4th edition.
- *Gastro Gavá*: This is a gastronomic event celebrates in other municipality of the Baix Llobregat, mainly promote the white asparagus, a typical product of this municipality. In the last edition (2016), has been an increase of 50% of consumers out of Prat de Llobregat. In this event participate 13 restaurants and in 2016 more than 9.000 tapas made with local produce were sold.
- *Blue feet rooster and Artichoke gastronomic event*: this event is very similar to Gastro Gavá but during the days the main products are two, the restaurants that participate have to make tapas based on this two products: artichoke and the blue feet roaster.
- *Slow Food international engagement*: in 2016, the AGT Baix organized the conference with the founder of Slow Food Movement, Mr. Carlo Petrini. At this event, participated different stakeholders of the Baix Llobregat, Public institutions, enterprises, local farmers, and universities among other personalities.

Based on the secondary information gathered, the events mentioned show the dynamism of this Association and its capacity to bring together different local stakeholders at the same time that contribute to promote local products and a sense of proud and identity of the population of the Baix Llobregat.

THE BAIX LLOBREGAT AND THE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

To explore in-depth the possibilities presented by gastronomic tourism for Baix Llobregat in terms of their local development, the territory was evaluated according to ten gastronomic attributes based on the previous work conducted by Leal (2015). These include criteria that form an intrinsic part of gastronomic tourism and which reflect the characteristics of local and regional development.

To do so, the seven main characteristics of local and regional development can be included in ten basic attributes that make up gastronomic tourism (Leal, 2015). Furthermore, some of these criteria (degree of co-operation and collaboration between stakeholders, products with designation of origin

and gastronomic resources) have been applied to analyse gastronomic destinations (see Sánchez, 2012).

Table 1. Elements associated with local and regional development, food attributes and selection criteria

<i>Element associated with local and regional development</i>	<i>Food attribute</i>	<i>Selection criteria</i>
Integral It must serve all sectors of a given territory.	Producers, distributors, restaurateurs Michelin starred restaurants	Presence of the whole food supply chain in the territory and in Barcelona too.
Endogenous Using indigenous resources	Gastronomic Associations (GA)	GA are popular based constructions interested in gastronomy.
Balanced It should avoid negative environmental or social tensions	Artisan enterprises	Are a minority in Agro-business activity
Popular based It is important a wider participation of society, taking an active role	Fairs and events	There is a relevant participation of all kind of actors (both public and private).
Cooperative It should encourage cooperative learning strategies	Cuisine collectives	There is a cooperative spirit in these groups
Ecological Enhancement of natural resources should be potentiated with the development activities.	Quality brands PDO, PGI, «Q» Brand of Catalonia	These brands reflect green values
Socio-cultural Indigenous cultural promotion, heritage	Fairs and events	These attributes reinforce local culture and in general Catalan food

Source: Leal, 2015.

Although it is true that the application of these criteria can be discussed, what is clear is that these attributes try to reflect the characteristics of gastronomy and gastronomic tourism in Catalonia and Baix Llobregat, and in turn, reflect the possibilities that can have them in the contribution to local and regional development in this region that are taken into account in current tourist policies and that respond to the values and desires of a market segment (Tresserras *et al.*, 2009).

Table 2. Elements associated with local and regional development identified in Baix Llobregat

<i>Element associated with local and regional development</i>	<i>Food attribute</i>	<i>Baix Llobregat</i>
Integral It must serve all sectors of a given territory.	Producers, distributors, restaurateurs Michelin restaurants	Parc Agrari Baix Llobregat
Endogenous Using indigenous resources	Gastronomic associations (AG)	AGT Baix as Gastronomic Association
Balanced It should avoid negative environmental or social tensions	Artisan enterprises	Craft food enterprises
Popular based It is important a wider participation of society, taking an active role	Fairs and events	Tapas del Mon Hospitaliet Experience March gastronomic
Cooperative It should encourage cooperative learning strategies	Food cooperatives Cuisine collectives	Cooperative Agrària Santboiana, SCCL Cooperativa Agrícola del Prat, SCCL CUBAT (Cuisine Collective)
Ecological Enhancement of natural resources should be potentiated with the development activities.	Quality brands PDO, PGI, «Q» Brand	Pota blava (blue feet rooster) Carxofa Prat
Socio-cultural Indigenous cultural promotion, heritage	Fairs and events	Blue rooster fair L'Hospitalet experience Tapas del Mon Març gastronomic

Source: Author's own based on Leal (2016).

Local and regional development as a consequence of gastronomy linked to tourism for the case of Baix Llobregat can be linked to the creation and transfer of knowledge and innovation. This can be affirmed because it is identified that this territory has gastronomic elements (artisan products, products with differentiated brands, different gastronomic strategies, etc.) that allow the relations and interactions between those who participate in the exchange of food products.

Clearly, the experience, the transfer of knowledge provided by the AGT Baix is reflected in the possibilities of carrying out and promoting regions in terms of their products and activities linked to gastronomy. Therefore, the resulting knowledge of relationships and interactions promoted by the activities carried out by AGT Baix is considered a competitive advantage for local and regional development as a possible consequence of gastronomy linked to tourism.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter explores the importance of social engagement represented in culinary associations in the Baix Llobregat and how their action could play an influential role in local development. It starts from the micro level, focusing on the concept of knowledge and innovation linked to tourism in the context of gastronomy.

It is argued along the chapter that local and territorial developments are closely tight to stakeholder's actions, such as the ones developed by the AGT Baix. Those actions are described and presented throughout the chapter.

Thanks to the gastronomic events designed and implemented by the AGT Baix, tourists and final costumers are able to gather product information direct from producers and farmers and to test food products without intermediaries. AGT Baix is contributing to gastronomic tourism by helping to create new realities in the exchange of food products and by helping to redistributing the economic value of agri-food sector.

Moreover, it is important to recognise that the actions developed by actors such as AGT Baix may contribute to local development. Actions of the AGT Baix through events, farmers' market, are helping to connect individual agents like farmers, producers, restaurants, and tourists. Gastronomic associations such as AGT Baix are an innovative organizational form and representative of an approach «bottom-up» that help to spread out the knowledge around local and traditional food.

The case study suggests that Gastronomy tourism associations such as AGT Baix Llobregat, are an opportunity for involve local community in the promotion of gastronomic tourism. Furthermore, are creative and innovative social organizations which create «innovative food environments» by the creation and transfer of knowledge around local food.

On the other hand, it can be claimed that gastronomy tourism fulfils the basic assumptions for local development therefore institutions might help to strength interactions between Associations, organizations and artisan food production. Finally, it is recognized the potential of gastronomic tourism as a territorial catalyst not only in economic, but also social, cultural and environmental. However, its consequences must be seen as the ability to promote and strengthen gastronomic associations as social organizations, this element might be considered as «ideal» on the road to promote gastronomic tourism in a destination.

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Gastronomy, Tourism and Big TV Productions. Reflections on the Case of *Game of Thrones* in Northern Ireland and Girona

Pere Parramon, F. Xavier Medina and Jordi Bages-Querol

The shooting of big film and TV productions has a significant impact on the places used as filming locations, as already found in our previous studies (Parramon and Medina, 2016, 2017). Regardless of whether natural or artificial landscapes are used to build worlds that physically exist—or have existed—to shape the vast empires of the imagination, the locations used become, if they were not already, cultural tourism destinations. Thus, screen fiction that crosses over into tangible reality is a tourism development model.

Similarly, gastronomic tourism is beginning to truly take hold as a cultural product with its own market, strengthened by the continued expansion of the tourism industry and its need to diversify. In this respect, and as Tresserras, Medina, and Matamala (2007) have pointed out, it is important to bear in mind that gastronomy is also a decisive factor when it comes to planning and taking a trip. In addition, food and drink are some of the main items that tourists spend money on when travelling, and they often want to eat local produce; for them, it is an experience and kind of souvenir. Thus, gastronomic tourism is a market in its own right that, moreover, is an exceptional platform for promoting products, food and drink brands, and even territory brands.

Regarding the link between tourism and gastronomy, it is worth recalling that tourists represent an important factor that should be taken into account in the demand for regional food and drink. Likewise, they are an important asset for food and drink promotion. Tourists are also major consumers of gastronomic routes, the latter being understood as tourism products that link certain attractions within a given territory, always with a well-defined theme that becomes the main focus thereof. At the same time, tourism routes require the involvement and collaboration of the public and private sectors in order to de-

velop a structure that is ultimately of social and economic benefit to all stakeholders (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004, p. 72) In this regard, and following on from the same authors, it is worth highlighting the fact that significant community participation alongside public sector support throws up interesting opportunities to develop small-scale local tourism products in less developed areas.

Thus, while the two factors already have tourism interest in their own right, film shoots —especially those connected with big productions that are well known nationally or internationally— and gastronomy deserve special attention when they come together. In this article, we propose a reflection on the case of the repercussions of the shooting of the international blockbuster *Game of Thrones* on tourism by observing how those repercussions played out from viewpoint of the promotion of gastronomy. In this respect, we are referring here to two of the locations used as sets for the shooting of *Game of Thrones*: the city of Girona in Catalonia, and Northern Ireland.

In reference to using the city of Girona as a film set, we said that it has impacted in different ways on both the promotion of the city and the tourism perception thereof: promotion of the city as a filming location; tours to the places used in the filming (and the consequent transformation of the perception of its heritage); adding value or tourism interest to certain places that did not have value beforehand; creation of tourism routes based on *Game of Thrones*; creation and sales of merchandise; transformation of local people's relationship with their environment, etc. All these aspects have, in some way or other, transformed the relationship between the city and its visitors and local inhabitants. Some transformations are fleeting while others are longer-lasting. However, regardless of extent of the city's tourism transformation, it is something that must be taken into account and analysed (Parramon and Medina, 2016, p. 316).

Against this backdrop, gastronomy has become an additional aspect for Girona and Northern Ireland that is at least worthy of reflection.

GAME OF THRONES: SOME BRIEF BUT NECESSARY POINTS

The first season of the HBO series *Game of Thrones* premiered on 17 April 2011. Up to and including the sixth season, whose broadcast ended in June 2016, one 10-episode season had been released each year. The seventh season premiered on 16 July 2017 and had seven episodes, as will the eighth and last season of

the series, which will finally be premiered in 2019. Back in 2014, it became the most-watched series in the HBO network, a record that was again broken by subsequent episodes. All seven seasons have been very highly acclaimed by critics and viewers alike, and its followers are considered some of the most devoted fans of any television series ever,¹ a fact that is also interesting when referring to potential phenomenon of a tourist following in search of the filming locations and experiences related to the fictional world in which the adventures and intrigues of those inhabiting it occur.

Created by David Benioff and D. B. Weiss for HBO, the series is based on *A Song of Ice and Fire*, a series of novels by the author George R. R. Martin. The series of books comprises the following volumes: *A Game of Thrones* (1996), after which the television series is named; *A Clash of Kings* (1998); *A Storm of Swords* (2000); *A Feast for Crows* (2005); and *A Dance with Dragons* (2011). The author plans to conclude the series with a further two books: *The Winds of Winter* and *A Dream of Spring*.

FOOD AND DRINK IN *GAME OF THRONES*

In *Game of Thrones*, food and drink play a visible role, albeit not always conscious, as we shall see later. It is noteworthy that, throughout the entire series, we have been able to observe an omnipresent ensemble of food and drink. On the one hand, wine and fresh fruit are products that are associated with the nobility of the Seven Kingdoms. We can find them at almost every meeting or encounter, either in the private rooms of the palaces or the tents of officers at the battle campsites. The abundance of these products, as well as the frequency of their availability, tell us that they are fêted and, to reinforce that message and better characterise those who have them to hand, in the series they are used as an artistic and aesthetic device. So, by choice, an iconographic use is made of fruit, which, for centuries, has been associated with the powerful. A paradigmatic example of this is the oranges painted on the Flemish table of the Arnolfini Portrait by Jan van Eyck (1434) that, as Erwin Panofsky had already identified,²

¹ By the magazine *Vulture*, for example: http://www.vulture.com/2012/10/25-most-devoted-fans.html?mid=nymag_press#photo=25x00014

² See: Panofsky, E. (1934). Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait. *The Burlington Magazine*

attest to the enormous wealth of a couple who, in 15th-century Bruges, could allow themselves the luxury of buying imported food. Besides that, oranges have other meanings of a religious, social and geographical nature. On the other hand, the lower classes, often depicted in the taverns of Westeros, or those who have chosen to live an austere life, such as the members of the Night's Watch military order, usually drink ale and go without fruit, almost certainly because it represents a foodstuff that is unaffordable and symbolically too elitist. In this respect, it is interesting to note that fresh fruit can also be found in the brothel owned by Petyr Baelish [played by Aidan Gillen], making explicit reference to the fact that, despite being a place at the very bottom of the strict social ladder of the Seven Kingdoms, its clients deserve all kinds of luxury because their buying power is very high in most cases.

Beyond this relationship between the product, the social group and the symbolic or moral significance, we find characters from the high nobility drinking ale, as is the case for Tyrion of House Lannister [played by Peter Dinklage] (who is also a heavy drinker of wine) when, in the first season, he wakes up hungry one day and asks for a mug of dark ale with his breakfast. Or when, in the same episode,³ King Robert Baratheon himself [Mark Addy] parleys in the field of the most powerful lord of the North, Ned Stark [Sean Bean].

Besides the products we have mentioned, and leaving aside the usual gastronomic situations, we find that others appear on various occasions whose exceptional nature underscores their importance. We are referring, for example, to the banquets: a setting of power and entitlement par excellence within a social system where political, economic and military relationships are built on a complex network of dependencies, in which the projected image is paramount. In his novel *Il Banchetto* [*The Banquet*] (1997), Orazio Bagnasco exemplifies the issue in 15th-century Europe thus: «King Ferdinand wanted to surprise the people of Milan at all costs with the splendour and opulence of his hospitality. The sumptuousness of the feasts had to counter the incalculable wealth and elegance of the fashions displayed by the Lombards, while they had been allowed to do so, with their garments woven with gold, pearls and diamonds» (Bagnas-

64(372), 112-127.

³ Season 1 (Episode 2), «The Kingsroad» (dir. Tim Van Patten), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 16 May 2011.

co, 1999, p. 80). In the first season,⁴ the noble House Stark of The North had the honour of hosting King Robert, his family and his entourage in its castle, and offered them a banquet. On that occasion, it was necessary to reflect the Stark's vassalage to the Baratheons by means of a spectacular meal: several types of meat such as pork ribs and a pheasant, cakes accompanied by fruits of the forest, bread and figs —among other types of fresh fruit— were eaten.

Beside this example, appearing throughout the series are various other banquets —often connected with noble or royal weddings— in which, on the one hand, the exercise of power is represented by delicacies that are only within reach of the privileged few and, on the other, the presence of foodstuffs linked to the local area characterises the fictional territories in which such banquets are held. The properties, staging, landscape, etc. tell us as much as possible about those territories. We would recall that George R. R. Martin himself acknowledged that food was used to that end: «World building is part of what gives epic fantasy its appeal, and food is part of that. You can learn a lot about a world and culture from what they eat» (Martin, 2012, pp. x-xi). During the banquet for the wedding of exiled Princess Daenerys Targaryen [Emilia Clarke] to savage warlord Khal Drogo [Jason Momoa]⁵ —fiery and distant compared to the previous Dothraki people— offers delicacies: firstly, the meat of small mammals is served, such as rabbits instead of the meat of large animals; secondly, it seems that the Dothraki prefer grilled meat over oven-baked or boiled meat, which is a nod to their nomadic life, unlike that of the Westeros courts, which were usually established at ancestral seats; and, finally, the fresh fruit —bananas, for example— is tropical or from warmer climes and, therefore, from the viewpoint of the Seven Kingdoms, is from overseas or exotic.

In the lavish wedding —with a tragic ending— of the new King Joffrey Baratheon [Jack Gleeson] to Margaery Tyrell [Natalie Dormer], the cuisine offered reflects the southern sophistication and cosmopolitanism of the capital, King's Landing.⁶ Among jellies, kumquats and dishes full of the most

⁴ Season 1 (Episode 1), «Winter is Coming» (dir. Tim Van Patten), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 9 May 2011.

⁵ Season 1 (Episode 1), «Winter is Coming» (dir. Tim Van Patten), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 9 May 2011.

⁶ Season 4 (Episode 2), «The Lion and the Rose» (dir. Alex Graves), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 13 April 2014.

varied delicacies, a huge wedding cake stands out, from which live doves — those that survive the young king's clumsiness with a sword— emerge; the fact that this demonstration of culinary art by the political centre of the Seven Kingdoms refers specifically to the decadent Rome of Elagabalus is not insignificant. According to Alcalde (1994, p. 27), Elagabalus often offered his guests peas adorned with grains of gold, meat dusted with ground pearls, or lentils dusted with precious stones. On one occasion, he stuffed partridges with live bats, which took flight as teeth were sunk into them. In King's Landing, just like in imperial Rome, urban refinement and its excesses take on a hue of perversity.

Despite the ending at that royal betrothal, where someone's breath is quite literally taken away, the best-known, most-remembered and also the darkest banquet in *Game of Thrones* is the so-called Red Wedding.⁷ On this occasion, Lord Walder Frey [David Bradley] hosts Robb [Richard Madden] and Catelyn Stark [Michelle Fairley] at his home, together with their officers and friends to celebrate the wedding of Edmure Tully [Tobias Menzies] to Roslin Frey [Alexandra Dowling]. Before the massacre takes place, the diners eat fish with vegetables and boiled potatoes, cakes made (seemingly) from rice, bread, dried fruit, fresh fruit and, of course, drink litres and litres of wine, the grand star of all these gastronomic encounters. In fact, Lady Catelyn Stark herself, in the preparatory stages of the feast that she offers at her home in Winterfell and to which we referred earlier,⁸ states that the most important thing on occasions like these is to ensure that there is plenty to drink. Indeed, as numerous sources from the real world would say, a banquet is not a banquet if it is not properly washed down: to give an example, 20,000 litres of wine were drunk in the year of the Lord 1315 during the wedding banquet of Duke Heinrich von Kürten in his Braunschweig castle (Cohnen, 1991, p. 67).

Out of all the food and drink in the *Game of Thrones* series, there is no doubt that wine is the most significant. Red wine; Lys, Volantis and Arbor sweet wine; Dornish summer wine; Andalos sour wines; and Arbor dry red wine,

⁷ Season 3 (Episode 9), «The Rains of Castamere» (dir. David Nutter), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 2 June 2013.

⁸ Season 1 (Episode 1), «Winter is Coming» (dir. Tim Van Patten), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 9 May 2011.

the latter of which a merchant also uses to poison Daenerys Targaryen; in his scheming, the merchant tells Daenerys that wine from Dorne is pigswill and unsuitable for a princess (although we cannot be sure if that is really what he thought).⁹ Arya Stark [Maisie Williams], momentarily transformed into Walter Frey is also of the same opinion elsewhere in the series.¹⁰ During the course of a banquet that the sham Frey shares with his numerous sons, he proposes a toast with wine, also poisoned by the way: «No more of that Dornish horse piss! This is the finest Arbor gold!» Just as it is in the real world, the quality of wine in fantasy worlds is a hallmark that is so recognisable and shared that it becomes a factor of authenticity suited to endowing the made-up world with sufficient realism; the same resource is used by J. R. R. Tolkien in the chapter «Barrels Out Of Bond» from the novel *The Hobbit* (1937) when describing the wine of the elves of Mirkwood as a delicacy traded between them and the humans of Laketown.

In *Game of Thrones*, wine has multiple functions. Besides acting as a factor of authenticity, it serves to imply that the eternally dissatisfied Queen Cersei Lannister [Lena Headey] has a certain tendency towards alcoholism. Thus, there are several scenes where she appears with a glass of wine in her hand, and perhaps the most memorable of those seen to date is the one where she avariciously sips a dark wine after seeing the centre of religious worship called the Great Sept of Baelor explode.¹¹ Furthermore, wine even has a presence in the plot. As we said earlier, it seems that Arbor wine is the favourite among those who are against Daenerys Targaryen and the Starks. So why does Tyrion Lannister prefer Dornish wine? When he has dinner with Janos [Dominic Carter], the commander of the Night's Watch, they drink the wine that Tyrion usually drinks in every scene; enraptured, Lord Janos asks Tyrion if it is a Dornish wine, and Tyrion confirms that it is.¹² Is that a mistake in the series' script per-

⁹ Season 1 (Episode 7), «You Win or You Die» (dir. Daniel Minahan), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 20 June 2011.

¹⁰ Season 7 (Episode 1), «Dragonstone» (dir. Jeremy Podeswa), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 16 July 2017.

¹¹ Season 6 (Episode 10), «The Winds of Winter» (dir. Miguel Sapochnik), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 26 June 2016.

¹² Season 2 (Episode 2), «The Night Lands» (dir. Alan Taylor), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 8 April 2012.

haps? Or perhaps not. All we can do is ask ourselves what type of wine Lancel Lannister [Eugene Simon] offered to King Robert Baratheon to make him ill before being injured by a boar.¹³

A FEAST OF ICE AND FIRE

A relatively short time after the series had premiered in April 2011, *A Feast of Ice and Fire. The Official Companion Cookbook* was released in May 2012. In the book, the authors Chelsea Monroe-Cassel and Sariann Lehrer offer us a detailed gastronomic journey accompanied by some of the landscapes from the five books of the saga, by the cuisines and the tables «along with a range of recipes from across the Seven Kingdoms and over the Narrow Sea».¹⁴ With their detailed explanation of Mediaeval cuisine —to which the dishes and banquets of both *Game of Thrones* and the books that gave life to the series bear some resemblance— the authors takes us on a journey of recipes, divided into broad territories: The Wall, The North, the southern territories, the previously mentioned capital King's Landing, and over Narrow Sea. Through the recipes in this book, which has already been translated into Spanish, German, Polish and Russian, we can get an understanding of the character of the respective areas. In line with the explanations given by thee same authors (Monroe-Cassel and Lehrer, 2012, pp. 11-12), we shall review the typical food and drink of every territory and even their different regions.

Firstly, The Wall. Due to its extreme situation and cold, much of the food is preserved in some way or other: salt pork or cod, venison preserved in honey, pickles... as well as nuts and dried fruit or berries. To drink: strong ale with an intense flavour and mulled wine to help keep warm. Going down through the continent of Westeros, on the tables of The North, which has a cold climate and is mainly under the control of the Starks throughout the series, we find dishes of game, poultry and root vegetables —it is too cold to grow crops that are not protected by soil— and baked dishes. A heavy, cold-climate cui-

¹³ Season 1 (Episode 7), «You Win or You Die» (dir. Daniel Minahan), broadcast for the first time in the United States on 20 June 2011.

¹⁴ *The Official Game of Thrones Cookbook*: <http://www.innatthecrossroads.com/home/game-thrones-recipes/a-feast-of-ice-and-fire/>

sine for which luxury products like fruit or fish are imported and only served on special occasions. Guided by Monroe-Cassel and Lehrer along the imaginary map created by George R. R. Martin, we arrive at Vale of Arryn, which is fertile and rich in vegetables, honey and meat (e.g., goat meat). Just as fertile is The Riverlands, with a variety of crops and different types of fish, from which trout and pike stand out in particular. The Iron Islands are a harsh, poor territory; according to Euron Greyjoy [Pilou Asbæk], one of the native characters of those islands, all you can find there is rocks and birdshit.¹⁵ Its tables are supplied mainly by what they can get from the sea: fish, seafood, some types of meat and dark bread are the most common products. That is the complete opposite to the fertile prosperous and wealthy Highgarden of House Tyrell, whose banquets offer the very best and most exquisite delicacies, from the most highly-prized types of meat and vegetables to fruit and tarts that provide a sweet climax to the abundant feasts, well washed down with good wines. Further to the south, Dorne represents the dry dessert, with unique foodstuffs like snake. In this dry, hot area, hot chillies and other kinds of Mediterranean-type crops such as olives, dates, some types of citrus fruit and even grapes can be found on its tables. As the capital and the place of residence of the monarch of the Seven Kingdoms, King's Landing is, for Monroe-Cassel and Lehrer, the paradigm of luxury. All kinds of products are exported to its ports and markets, and its cuisine combines abundance with the highest quality of both its products and the dishes served at the court's banquets. Finally, over the Narrow Sea lie the lands of the Dothraki and the Free Cities. Exotic products and dishes such as lobster come together with other, more unique ones, such as crocodile, thorny larvae or dog sausages.

A MEDIAEVAL AND NON-MEDIAEVAL CUISINE

The point of reference used by Monroe-Cassel and Lehrer, based on George R. R. Martin's own words, is Mediaeval cuisine: «Unlike my world of Westeros or the real-life middle ages, the twenty-first century is a golden age, at least where food is concerned» (Martin, 2012, p. xi); similarly, the title of the author's preliminary note to the book is «Stocking a Medieval Kitchen» (Monroe-Cassel

¹⁵ Temp. 7 (cap. 1), *op. cit.*

and Lehrer, 2012, p. 3) is a full statement of intention. In fact, what we see being eaten in *Game of Thrones* matches up pretty much with what we think was being eaten in, for example, the 12th century, although that, in itself, is hard to establish: «Before that time [the 13th century], food customs are not well-known [...]. Due to a lack of expert sources they must be studied indirectly by examining agricultural practices and trading» (Pastoreau, 1994, p. 91).

The historical recreation of food and drink in the *Game of Thrones* television series is in keeping with reality and, with the exception of a few nuances, may reflect some characteristics of the main characters' social groups. As a general concept, food and drink gave Mediaeval society the chance to the highlight social differences of groups and places (countryside/city) alike. Bread is an omnipresent product, but the further down the social ladder one is, the more, poorer-quality bread is consumed. In this respect, we must establish a relationship between more food diversity/higher food quality and the privileged social groups, and between less food diversity/lower food quality and those groups that are lower down on the social ladder. In parallel, fresh food may be readily available in coastal towns, but may not be in inland locations. Whereas the diet of the privileged classes consists of a lot of bread plus a lot of wine and a variety of other products, the diet of the lower classes basically consists of bread plus some root vegetables and, to a lesser extent, cheese and meat, whenever possible. This wealth of products can be seen in any season of the series, albeit only in halls inhabited by the members of the Great Houses of the Seven Kingdoms. Similarly, if we review the scenes of humble places where people are eating, such as the tavern, and look at the lowest social groups, such as the peasants, we will see that the menu consists of a stew or simple soup accompanied by bread and ale. It is significant that the menu of the Night's Watch is based on the same items, and that the stew is served in earthenware bowls and the beer is served in mugs made from the same material, which was the simplest one for crockery in the Middle Ages. This enables us to confirm that the Night's Watch has an austere diet, in this instance due to the moral code but not to the lack of financial resources, since its members come from the nobility of the Seven Kingdoms. This is in keeping with reality, since those sombre watchers of The Wall remind us of the military orders of Mediaeval times.

Besides the quantity and diversity of products, quality was important in the Middle Ages. People were concerned about the state of the foodstuff and

the condition of it, in accordance with parameters of taste at that time. Fresh products can be classified into this group. They run the risk of perishing very quickly, so the supply radius is smaller than it is for other products. Two paradigmatic cases are fruit and fish. Regarding the first product, about which we could write much more than space constraints allow us to, it should be said that, towards the end of the Middle Ages, the ruling classes consumed a lot of fruit despite the fact that it was a foodstuff that had many dietary warnings and restrictions placed on it. As far as fish is concerned, it had to be salted, dried or smoked to preserve it so that it could be shipped to inland areas far from the coast. In contrast, fresh fish could be offered in the markets of coastal towns. That reality seems to have been maintained in the Seven Kingdoms. While the Lannisters have fresh fish available in King's Landing, the savages beyond The Wall eat salted or dried fish. However, it is surprising to find that, in the Winterfell of the Starks and on Iron Islands, dried and salted fish is also commonplace. Perhaps it is a production oversight, but the reading we could make is that the fishing industry is not characteristic of the Kingdom of the North or of the islands, whose economy is based on sacking and pillaging.

That said there are two considerations that need to be made regarding the supposed Mediaevality of *Game of Thrones*. The first one relates to our own object of study, gastronomy, but now with a focus on how the products are consumed rather than the products themselves. As we have already seen, the banquets in the series are particularly revealing moments when it comes to food and drink and the experiences in the fictional world of Westeros. However, the banquets are not quite as Mediaeval as we may have thought: «overexaggeration —as seen in the *chansons de gestes*— of the opulence of the royal feasts in the period in question [basically the 12th century] should be avoided. These came later. [...] our period is not yet the one of food snobbery or culinary refinements» (Pastoreau, 1994, p. 95). This, of course, does not invalidate exceptional situations like the wedding banquet of Duke Heinrich von Kürten, to which we referred earlier. The second deserves a more detailed discussion, but here we are only going to point it out as a general consideration: the screen staging of the world imagined by Martin contains many visual elements that are not strictly Mediaeval, despite the feudal social relationships on which the plot is based. Thus, from the architectural elements ranging in style from Romanesque to Baroque, to the Renaissance decorations and armour, and even clothing that is

reminiscent of 20th-century fashions, there is no desire in *Game of Thrones* to portray the real Middle Ages, but instead —as befits fiction and, in particular, epic fantasy— the desire is to invent a Middle Ages that that will ultimately not be such. Rather, it will be something new, different and suited to the needs of another world. Similarly, although in this instance based on different considerations, the Mediaevality of today's monumental ensemble of Carcassonne does not correspond to the real Middle Ages, but to a certain Romantic idea promoted by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, the person in charge of its restoration between 1852 and 1879. To conclude this issue, we shall give another example, which is now a classic: one that is probably the best adaptation of the Arthurian legend contained in the Matter of Britain, the film *Excalibur* (dir. John Boorman, 1981), which does not offer any staging that is really Mediaeval. Instead, it is inspired by the 19th-century Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhoods' pictorial models.

THE INFLUENCE OF TOURISM ON *GAME OF THRONES* FILMING LOCATIONS

In the introduction to *A Feast of Ice and Fire*, the author of the literary saga George R. R. Martin reveals an important secret in the foreword: he does not cook (Martin, 2012, p. ix). He says that it is better to eat than cook and acknowledges that «Food is one of life's great pleasures, and I am all in favour of pleasures» (Martin, 2012, p. ix). Along the same line, he asserts the importance of food in *Game of Thrones*: «It is true that I spend a lot of words in my books describing the meals the characters are eating. More than most writers, I suspect» (Martin, 2012, p. x). Further on, he adds: «I like writing about food, and my readers —most of them, anyway— seem to like reading about it» (Martin, 2012, p. xi). If we combine the fact that, as George R. R. Martin himself mentions, the readers of *Game of Thrones* are interested in the gastronomy appearing in the books and the series, with the fact that, as we mentioned earlier, the followers of the series are considered some of the most devoted fans of any serialised television production ever, the connection between both is, at the very least, interesting. If we then add in the tourism factor, the triangle is completed in a very suggestive way, as we shall see in the following sections of this article.

As already analysed by the authors of this article in previous works (Parramon and Medina, 2016, 2017), the places in our physical world used as lo-

cations to make the world imagined by George R. R. Martin and HBO come to life in *Game of Thrones* cannot fail to be affected by such filming. The very policy of selecting outdoor locations for the series consciously uses the media from the start, well before the arrival at the chosen territory of the camera crew, cast and modern-day travelling court that a contemporary television blockbuster needs. Thus, the tourism promotion potential that such selection represents a very considerable factor.¹⁶ While it is clearly difficult to objectively quantify the economic or cultural aspects of the tourism impact of *Game of Thrones* on the places it visits, it undeniably offers them global projection, which, on the face of it, is positive. This is the case for the city of Dubrovnik in Croatia, which, after being transformed into several corners of the Seven Kingdoms, has seen a significant rise in its tourism income. This is also the case for Spain, with specific enclaves in Seville, Osuna and San Juan de Gaztelugatxe; for the entire country of Iceland; and, of course, for the two cases that we shall focus on in the following sections: Girona and Northern Ireland.

On the one hand, Northern Ireland, where all the seasons of the series have been filmed and where the production company's studios are also located, can be considered one of the most important real enclaves of *Game of Thrones*. On the other hand, Girona is a location where filming has left a very important mark despite only being used in one of the seasons. This city was the object of analysis in our previous two studies, as referred to earlier.

GASTRONOMIC EXPERIENCES IN GIRONA THAT ARE WORTHY OF THE HIGH NOBILITY

Having referred to the delicacies of the banquets of the Westeros nobility, the incorporation of *Game of Thrones* as a gastronomic experience into the city of Girona has been done by two highly renowned people, the «nobility of gastronomy» if you will: Jordi Roca, who, among other distinctions, holds the

¹⁶ So considerable that there are some places where filming has not occurred that actually use the imagined world of Westeros as an attraction. For example, Syria's Ministry of Tourism's video of the half-destroyed city of Aleppo set to the *Game of Thrones* soundtrack by the Iranian-German composer Ramin Djawadi. *Syrian Tourism*, 2016. Mentioned in the newscast *Telediario* (Televisión Española-TVE1, October 6, 2016). See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WuxRAztKOvs&app=desktop>.

2014 World's Best Pastry Chef title, and the award-winning bartender Marióna Vilanova. Their Westeros-related creations are the fruits of their artistry in high gastronomy and high cocktail making. While their proposals are first-rate offerings in their own right, they involve a consistent, documented approach to points of reference in the series. Moreover, their creations are managing to hold their ground over time as attractive products of undeniable quality, unlike other food and drink offerings inspired by *Game of Thrones* that, in most cases, did not make any contribution other than using names related to the Seven Kingdoms and, consequently, did not manage to become consolidated in the establishments offering them.

In his famous Girona-based ice-cream parlour called Rocambolesc, Jordi Roca—one of the three brothers behind the three-Michelin-starred El Celler de Can Roca that Restaurant Magazine considers to be the best restaurant in the world—offers a gastronomic experience that transports the consumer to the tumultuous world imagined by George R. R. Martin. At Rocambolesc, he invites us to experience nothing less than a reproduction of the gold prosthetic hand of the character Jaime Lannister, nicknamed the Kingslayer, played by the Danish actor Nikolaj Coster-Waldau. A while ago, and with his characteristic sense of humour, Jordi Roca ventured into the productive union between film and gastronomy with his *Helado Oscuro* [*Dark Ice Cream*], a creation that imitates the helmet of Darth Vader, the villain in the film by George Lucas. The hugely popular Star Wars' expression «the dark side» is translated into Spanish as *el lado oscuro*. So, *Helado Oscuro* is a words play. After filming *Game of Thrones* in Girona, it was time for the metal hand of the attractive Kingslayer to take the stage, once again with an amusing word play. On the box of the golden lolly, the pastry chef says he comes from Can Roca Casterly, clearly alluding to Casterly Rock, the fictional ancestral seat of the powerful House Lannister. The choice of main ingredients for his ice cream also plays on the name of the saga, *Song of Ice and Fire*: despite it being a lolly, the blood orange and mango flavour is fiery (Parramon and Medina, 2016, p. 319).

Meanwhile, on the menu of her Girona-based Nykteri's Cocktail Bar, Marióna Vilanova has two cocktails inspired by *Game of Thrones*. Both are very striking, consciously teamed with the use of a hibiscus flower in their presentation and have fine-sounding names, as befits the staging of the series and even its ability to add made-up terms and expressions to our vocabulary. In chrono-

logical order, the first cocktail that Nykteri's offered after Girona became linked to the filming of the series was the *Khaleesi*; a powerful cocktail, judging by the sound of its name, its spectacular look and by the quantity of nuances on the palate. *Khaleesi* is one of the numerous titles of power held by Daenerys Targaryen, one of the saga's most charismatic characters. The presentation refers directly to the three dragons of Daenerys: the orange-coloured golden berry alludes to the white and gold dragon Viserion; the intense-green colour of the cocktail itself to the green and bronze dragon Rhaegal; and the hibiscus flower to the black and red dragon Drogon. Finally, «its flavour and the intensity of its ingredients are like the very evolution of the character, a crescendo from sweet innocence to dangerous majesty» (Parramon, 2015).

While the shaken, refreshing *Khaleesi* is more spring-like, Nykteri's second cocktail associated with *Game of Thrones* refers directly to the series' most famous expressions and, consequently, is a spicy offering to warm the consumer up in the coldest winter months. Its name, if course, is «Winter is Coming». Mariona Vilanova tells us:

The name comes from a conversation I had with one of my customers while I was immersed in the creative process for autumn and winter cocktails, and someone said to me 'Winter is Coming', so I decided to use it because it sounded really good. I did several tests because it had to be something that reminded me of winter. The spices used in mulled wine at German Christmas markets are wintery for me, and now there's a big trend for hot, spicy flavours, I thought it would be right. Because the name came from *Game of Thrones*, it had to be something very powerful that was both visually appealing and highly contrasting. When you see something as red as the «Winter is Coming» cocktail, you imagine that it's going to be sweet and sickly, but it isn't. Just like in the series, in this cocktail nothing's quite what it seems. Passion red, a bestial colour that refers to the bloodthirstiness of the saga, the cocktail contains sloes, the spiced drink I mentioned, vodka —the spirit that is traditionally drunk to beat the cold— and apple cider from Girona, because a link with the city was needed. Since fog is quite common in Girona in winter, we looked for a white recipient to put dry ice in to create the effect of winter fog when serving the cocktail in sharp contrast to the powerful red of the cocktail itself.¹⁷

¹⁷ Interview conducted by the authors of this article in Girona on 27 January 2018.

Since late 2005, when it was known that the *Game of Thrones* court would arrive in Girona to turn a number of the heritage elements of this city in the north of Catalonia into various Westeros sets, its use as a filming location has had different impacts on tourism promotion, but there is no question that, alongside guided tours, the gastronomic experience has been particularly successful and long-lasting. As we pointed out earlier, in real places linked to fictional worlds, tourism elements as typical as souvenirs —things you buy or keep to remind you of a holiday, place or event— merge with merchandise —goods that are sold or distributed as publicity that are linked to something such as a film, a series or, to a lesser extent, a book (Parramon and Medina, 2016, p. 317). Similarly, enterprises and entrepreneurs bank strongly on offerings of an experiential nature (Parramon and Medina, 2016, p. 320). In this respect, high-quality gastronomy is an experience that, as demonstrated by the cases of Jordi Roca and Mariona Vilanova, is highly capable of turning imagined worlds into tourism nodes; in tourism speak, a «node» is a place of interest, a point that, for one reason or another, triggers curiosity and encourages people to visit it and see it from a particular angle.

NORTHERN IRELAND, THE GASTRONOMY OF WINTERFELL AND OPTING FOR *GAME OF THRONES* AS A MAJOR TOURISM RESOURCE

Alongside Dubrovnik in Croatia, Northern Ireland is perhaps the filming location that has managed to establish the closest link between its tourism brand and the popular series, and has even reached an agreement with HBO to use the logos and images of the series in its tourism promotion activities. As noted by Redondo (2016):

The magnitude of *Games of Thrones* has undeniably exceeded all expectations. It has become a global phenomenon in many areas. One of those areas is tourism, which has turned out to be a mother lode that no-one could have predicted. Those countries that have been lucky enough to offer up some of the locations appearing in the series have attracted a new audience, one that is very keen to visit the film sets where the intrigues of the Stark, Lannister, Targaryen, Greyjoy, Baratheon, Bolton and company play out. Indeed, one of the basic pillars of the *Game of Thrones* saga is the selection of locations where the blockbuster is filmed. In a very prominent position is Northern Ireland, where Titanic Studios (one of Europe's leading studios) is located. Some

of the landscapes and monuments of that territory have been used as film sets on numerous occasions, especially in the first three seasons of the series. [...] The *Games of Thrones* route in Northern Ireland has become a great excuse for enjoying the beautiful collage of ruined castles and abbeys, the dizziness of looking down over sharp cliffs like swords made from Valyrian steel, the volcanic basalt causeways made for the giants to walk on, fairy-tale forests and, in short, some of the most photogenic landscapes in Europe, following in the wake of one of the best television series of all time.

In fact, there are about 20 series' locations in Northern Ireland. Its landscapes, castles, villages, caves, etc. have been used to create Winterfell, Castle Black Quarry at Magheramorne, Dragonstone island at Downhill Strand, the Iron Islands and the Westeros forests at Tollymore Forest, among quite a few others. However, one important fact that we cannot ignore under any circumstances is that Belfast, Northern Ireland's capital, is where the famous Titanic Studios are located, the headquarters of the series' filming, where the interiors and even some of the exteriors are created.

Northern Ireland has created whole series of routes around the region in search of the places where the series was filmed, recreating events that were filmed there and also linking those territories to the world imagined by George R. R. Martin and HBO's scriptwriters. Such routes are promoted on the official tourism websites of Northern Ireland and jointly on those of Ireland in general (see www.ireland.com), and some inbound tourism firms are already offering specific products related to the series. Of particular note is *Game of Thrones* Tours, with head offices in Belfast, which offers tours around the series' locations in Northern Ireland, from Belfast, Derry, Dublin and Tollymore. The tours offered are give the following names: «Iron Islands and Giant's Causeway Adventure», «Winterfell Locations Trek» and «Tollymore Forest Trek».

All this tourism linkage has also led, as it has done on the case Girona that we commented on earlier, to the creation of a whole series of merchandise and souvenir products that exploit the imagined world of the series that is associated with the territory: T-shirts, keyrings, mugs... and even the odd cloak, helmet or sword. However, the most interesting thing to point out here is the creation of specific gastronomic products linked to the series, which take advantage not only of the link between them and the filming locations, but also other accessory but equally as interesting aspects that we shall analyse below,

mainly through the specific case of The Cuan Guesthouse in the Northern Irish village of Strangford.

THE KING'S BANQUET AT WINTERFELL

The small, quiet village of Strangford in County Down is on the north-eastern coast of Northern Ireland, facing —or more or less in the line of sight of— the relatively close Isle of Man. It has around 500 inhabitants according to the latest Census, a figure that increases considerably in the summer period.

The village is set within a landscape that allows a variety of sports and physical activities to be done in nature, from walks to cycling routes and even sailing or canoeing tours. One of its trump cards is that it is strategically located a few kilometres from and has easy access to the region's various sights and monuments, such as the frequent ferry to neighbouring Portaferry, places like Downpatrick and the Interpretation Centre of Saint Patrick (the Patron Saint of Ireland), the Giant's Causeway (a UNESCO World Heritage Site), etc. Castle Ward (16th-18th centuries) and Audley's Castle (16th century) are especially well-known nowadays because, in the *Game of Thrones* series, they were the family residences of House Stark, the rulers of Winterfell.

Using CGI, Castle Ward and its stables, as well as its adjacent towers and buildings, become the main courtyard of Winterfell Castle. As a result, it has become a must-see location on the *Game of Thrones* routes. High numbers of tourists visit the stables, Castle Ward and Audley's tower, which is also part of the ensemble owned by the National Trust, a conservation organisation serving England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The proximity of this monumental ensemble combined with relatively easy access led the small village of Strangford and —located in it— The Cuan Guesthouse to be chosen as the team's residence while filming the first season. Given the remarkable success of *Game of Thrones*, this small, welcoming establishment decided to base one of its main lines of international promotion on the series by offering a stay in one of the very rooms that the stars of series had stayed in. Thus:

«Why not choose from one of our Winterfell bedrooms where the following cast members stayed?»:

Room 1 - Jon Snow - Kit Harington
 Room 2 - Arya Stark - Maisie Williams
 Room 3 - Ned Stark - Sean Bean
 Room 4 - Night Porter
 Room 5 - Queen Cersei (Lannister) - Lena Heady
 Room 6 - Catelyn Stark - Michelle Fairley
 Room 7 - King Robert Baratheon - Mark Addy
 Room 8 - Bran Stark - Isaac Hempstead Wright
 Room 9 - Joffrey Baratheon - Jack Gleeson

For the unconditional fans of the series, being able to use the very rooms that the series' cast members had stayed in adds a mythomaniac element to the stay, which serves as a veritable attraction that deserves to be taken into account. However, what we are most interested in highlighting here about The Cuan's strategy is the creation and promotion in its restaurant of what it has called the «King's Banquet at Winterfell», an original, well-narrated menu based on George R. R. Martin's books, which brings to life some of the passages from those books in dishes that recreate a Mediaeval look seasoned with the literary creation about House Stark.

Firstly, visitors who choose this menu will find themselves sitting down to not only a thematic dinner —or lunch, on request— that recreates a banquet at Winterfell, but also a thematic breakfast, «Breakfast at Winterfell», based on a passage from the first book of the saga, *A Game of Thrones*, and reproduced on the guesthouse's website: «There was much more than Catelyn asked for: Hot bread, butter and honey and blackberry preserves, a rasher of bacon and a soft boiled egg, a wedge of cheese, a pot of mint tea. And with it came Maester Luwin.» And that list of foodstuffs, together with optional coffee, is precisely what The Cuan's «Breakfast at Winterfell» offers.

We have reproduced below the literarily narrated menu for the «King's Banquet at Winterfell»:

«After all had been seated, toasts were made, thanks were given and returned, and then the feasting began.» *Game of Thrones, Ice and Fire* by George R. R. Martin

«The Great Hall of Winterfell was hazy with smoke and heavy with the smell of roasted meat and fresh-baked bread»

«They ate oaten porridge in the morning and Pease porridge in the afternoon.»
Crusty White Bread with Medieval Pease Porridge

«Guests gorged on cod cakes and winter squash.»
Cod Cakes on a bed of Buttery Winter Squash

«‘Hungry again?’ he asked. There was still half a honeyed chicken in the centre of the table. Jon reached out to tear off a leg, then had a better idea. He knifed the bird whole and let the carcass slide to the floor between his legs. Ghost ripped into it in savage silence.»
Honeyed Roasted Chicken with Roasted Onions in Gravy

«Ben Stark laughed. —As I feared. Ah well. I believe I was younger than you the first time I got truly and sincerely drunk—. He snagged a roasted onion, dripping brown with gravy, from a nearby trencher and bit into it.
It crunched.»

«Such food Bran had never seen... venison pies chunky with carrots, bacon and mushrooms...»
Venison Pie

«... and afterwards bowls of iced blueberries and sweet cream.»
«[Sansa] drank a glass of buttermilk and nibbled at some sweet biscuit as she waited, to settle her stomach.»
Iced Blueberries in Sweet Cream with Sweet Biscuits

The banquet setting is rounded off, firstly, by tableware that tries to reproduce Mediaeval-inspired motifs linked to the series, including crockery that was specifically commissioned and acquired for this menu; secondly, by clothing and accessories —the House Stark banner, fur-edged cloaks, swords, etc.— that recreate the Winterfell atmosphere; and, thirdly, though no less important, by gastronomic and aesthetic details that are full of symbolism and even visual impact, such as the portions of butter made in specific moulds that reproduce the wolf motif appearing on the House Stark banner.

In 2016, the reporter Josh Barrie published an online report¹⁸ recounting his own experience as a diner at The Cuan’s Winterfell banquet:

¹⁸ https://munchies.vice.com/en_us/article/nzkdvx/i-went-to-winterfell-to-eat-a-game-of-thrones-banquet

I'm seated alone at a table in a small guest house in County Down, Northern Ireland, about to embark on a 'Game of Thrones Winterfell Banquet'. Despite it being lunchtime on a bright summer's afternoon, hessian wall hangings stretch from ceiling to floor and there are candles alight in the corner. Chunky, green crockery is arranged in front of me and at the centre of my table sits a wedge of butter in the shape of a dire wolf. In this small pub, I've stumbled into a medieval fantasy.

Besides the above-mentioned thematic menu and breakfast, the guest-house also organises events and dinners linked to the series like, for example, the «*Game of Thrones Murder Mystery Night*»¹⁹: «From 'Game of what...?' to a banquet in Winterfell: Nobody could have predicted something of this magnitude».²⁰

Using the world associated with the *Game of Thrones* series seems to have been a major tourist attraction for both The Cuan, as the establishment involved the most, and the small village of Strangford, which now has more inbound tourism than ever. A local source told us that it was impossible to say how many people, but there were certainly a lot more. In the village's small newsagent's, among the newspapers, magazines and snacks, it is possible to find T-shirts bearing the faces or phrases of some of the main characters of the series, as well as a variety of series-related souvenirs.

In an interview by Josh Barrie in 2016, the owner of The Cuan made several observations:

'We've been here for 25 years', says Caroline McErlean, owner of the guest house along with husband Peter —both of whom greet me dressed in cloaks worn by extras on the show. 'Before, we were doing OK, ticking along. Now, business really is fantastic. The show has changed things here immeasurably. When the first season began, we were asking, 'Game of what?' Now, it's massive. Nobody could have predicted something of this magnitude.'²¹

¹⁹ <http://www.thecuan.com/2016/01/game-of-thrones-murder-mystery-night/>

²⁰ https://munchies.vice.com/en_us/article/nzkdvx/i-went-to-winterfell-to-eat-a-game-of-thrones-banquet

²¹ https://munchies.vice.com/en_us/article/nzkdvx/i-went-to-winterfell-to-eat-a-game-of-thrones-banquet

During our stay at The Cuan, the owner confirmed the success of the business, and the increase in the number of tourists seeking the *Game of Thrones* atmosphere and gastronomy:

For people it's an attraction (...). We've really noticed it, both in the number of people who want to stay in the room of one character or another and in the Winterfell banquet. People stay to have dinner and sleep, and they have breakfast in the restaurant. (...) *Game of Thrones* attracts people, and that's very good!

CONCLUSIONS

As we found in one of our articles preceding this study (Parramon and Medina, 2017), film or television shoots have increased tourism interest in certain destinations in recent years. Certain elements, such as adding value or tourism interest to certain places and landscapes; the assumption, by local populations, of the imagined world of the series as part of their own local—and exportable—imagined world; and the creation of tourism routes based on *Game of Thrones* as part of an awareness of the value of things imaginary to the construction of a tourism node. All these aspects have transformed, in some way or other, the relationship between those territories that have been film sets for the series and their visitors and inhabitants.

From the data available on the tourism and economic impact of filming *Games of Thrones* in places as different and distant as Northern Ireland, Girona, Dubrovnik, Malta, Iceland and Andalusia, three main aspects can be deduced. First, and as we pointed out in our previous work (Parramon and Medina, 2017), there is an undeniable economic impact. The second relevant aspect is found in the realisation that, on every occasion, filming in a location and that location's subsequent appearance in the series triggers diverse tourism activities and exploitations that are lasting. How long they last in the different locations nevertheless depends on the relationship between the series and the territory. For example, the case of Northern Ireland—with the huge number of outdoor shoots and the headquarters of some very important studios—is not the same as that of Girona, where only one of the seasons of the series was filmed. However, and delving deeper into this issue, the third interesting aspect is the realisation that every place that *Game of Thrones* has visited has, in some way or oth-

er, managed to find a commercial and cultural strategy in the link between its own iconography and that of the pseudomythical imagined world of Westeros.

Against the backdrop presented above, it should be noted that, on the one hand, the locations where *Game of Thrones* was filmed have seen another level of products added to their usual range of souvenirs, one that is closely connected with the idea of merchandising and whose objective is to render the experience of something made up, which only exists in the plot of the series, real and long-lasting. On the other hand, gastronomy has gradually positioned itself and gained strength as a tourism promotion strategy by bringing its food elements into the mix. In some cases, they are heritage elements in their own right, with imagined worlds that go beyond the established order and cross over into territories of fiction connected with the series and the books that gave life to it.

The *Game of Thrones* phenomenon has exceeded expectation and crossed borders. Visitors seek experiences that transport them in time and place, that make them part of their favourite fictional scenes, that make them feel different, even if only for a while. Experiences that they can enjoy that, in short, give them something to remember.

Despite the fact that main motive for travelling in the cases studied — Girona and particularly Northern Ireland— was to visit and become immersed in the locations where *Game of Thrones* was created, we find that gastronomy has also become an effective attraction that helps to make that a real, pleasant experience. When The Cuan Guesthouse decided not only to create certain dishes inspired by the books and the series, but also to recreate an environment, a dinner service, and to provide the diners with clothing suited to the occasion, etc., we can see that what people are really seeking is the fullest possible experience. And this has produced excellent results, as the Girona-based bartender Mariona Vilanova acknowledges:

Everything around *Game of Thrones* attracts people. I get clients who tell me ‘I’ve heard you make *Game of Thrones* cocktails, and I’ve come across tour guides passing in front of the bar who recommend their clients go in and have some *Game of Thrones* cocktails. The two cocktails have been very successful because there are a lot of fans of the series’.²²

²² Interview conducted by the authors of this article in Girona on 27 January 2018.

Or, as the owner of the Strangford establishment said in our interview: ‘Nobody could have predicted something of this magnitude’.

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Scottish Langoustines in 2017: A Change in Gastronomic Perceptions and Choices

Helen Macbeth

INTRODUCTION

This chapter about langoustines (Photo 1) includes the topics of food, of tourism and of gastronomy. It concerns one species of shellfish, which to an amateur's eye resembles a small lobster in that it has front claws that in a stretched out individual almost equal the length of the rest of the body. After introducing this species and the various names for it, the chapter will be concerned with a big change in Scottish attitudes towards this shellfish over the last half century. The relevance of tourism, both of Europeans to Scotland and of Scots to Europe, to this change in gastronomy is central to the discussion.

The Latin name for the species is *Nephrops norvegicus*, and in British English it can be called a 'Norway lobster', a 'Dublin Bay prawn', or (using the French) a *langoustine*, or (using the Italian) a *scampi*. In the UK, the last of these words has come to mean one particular culinary method of presenting the tails in crumbs and deep fried. As I first came across these shellfish in Barcelona, I shall also mention the Castilian Spanish word, *cigala*, and the Catalan word, *escamarlà*. In the area of my fieldwork, on the west coast of Scotland, mainly from Loch Torridon northwards, local people generally have just called them 'prawns', although increasingly they are being referred to as 'langoustines'. That change in terminology is relevant to discussions in this chapter, for this shellfish has only recently, in the current century, become increasingly accepted within Scottish gastronomy.

In many countries, past and present, as shown by Koutrakis *et al.* (2009) people have frequently been very vague about the names of the crustaceans they eat, and, in English, very unsure what should be called 'shrimps', 'prawns', 'ti-

ger prawns', 'crayfish', etc., leave alone which words borrowed from other languages to use. The people of different anglophone nations even have different traditions about which word to use for which of these crustaceans. In this chapter, I shall refer to these *Nephrops* shellfish as 'langoustines'; to clarify their difference from any of the 'prawns' more commonly found in markets, fishmongers and supermarkets, which are generally penaeids, of the suborder, *Dendrobanchiata*. This chapter is about the changes in the fishing industry, attitude, and even vocabulary, regarding these langoustines in Scotland within the last few decades.

Photo 1: Home-cooked langoustines in Scotland



Photograph © Helen Macbeth.

NEPHROPS NORVEGICUS

This species belongs to the suborder *Pleocyemata*, and members of the species are found in the northeastern Atlantic, in the Mediterranean and in the North Sea. Numbers in the Mediterranean vary, having been overfished and greatly reduced in some areas (Türkay, 2009), while they have remained plentiful in the north eastern Atlantic, with very rare small areas of overfishing (Robertson, 2017). Nevertheless, some fishermen and consumers are more aware than oth-

ers of actions which maintain stock, or at least more willing to take actions that they believe help. A mitochondrial DNA study (Stamatis *et al.*, 2004) found no strong geographic diversity in this species from the north Atlantic to the Mediterranean. For a useful introduction to the species see Howard (1989).

Langoustines live on the sea floor in burrows, which are formed in muddy sediments because such burrows cannot be maintained in shifting sands or gravel. The langoustines emerge to feed and to mate, but within the burrows they are protected from predators, which include the nets of trawler fishermen. ‘Berried females’ —that is females with eggs— tend to stay in the burrows as much as possible, but on occasion they must venture out to feed and so they are sometimes caught. Responsible fishermen finding a berried female still alive in their creels¹ or trawler nets will throw them back into the sea, hoping that they and their eggs will survive to produce a further generation, which is by no means certain for several reasons. Other fishermen include the berried females in their sales. I interviewed a restaurant owner who insisted on refusing any berried females and supported purchasing from fishermen who always threw berried females back into the sea. Another responsible action is to ensure that gaps in the nylon mesh of the creels are large enough for the smallest (therefore youngest) langoustines to escape.

Langoustines are scavenger feeders who particularly like oily fish and so these coastal Scottish fishermen bait their creels with, for example, herring or mackerel. My fishermen informants were all creel fishermen, who take the creels out to sea, or a sea loch or bay, and sink them to the sea floor on one day, marked by a buoy. Usually two days later they return to the site, pull up the creels and empty them of any shellfish caught; whether the creel is returned to harbour or sunk again nearby or in a new place depends on many variables. The langoustines are usually sorted immediately on the boat, and the larger ones put into crates with separated individual compartments, because otherwise they fight and their claws can do a great deal of damage to other langoustines caught. Specialist chefs argue that the creel caught langoustines have a better flavour than those caught in trawling nets, as their capture is less traumatic and this af-

¹ A creel is a trap for shellfish. In the northwest of Scotland they are metal cage structures with a network of nylon ropes, designed so that the langoustines can crawl in but cannot find a way out.

fects their biochemistry. Anyway, the trawled langoustines have much more opportunity to lose a claw, either through fighting or in the trawling and landing processes. One creel fisherman informant told me that, on board the boat, the langoustines are regularly sprayed with cold seawater to keep them cool, relatively calm and, above all, alive (Macbeth, 2013). What happens to the catch once landed has more options today than when I was researching the topic for the 2009 conference of the International Commission on the Anthropology of Food and Nutrition (ICAF).

FROM REJECTION TO EXPORTS TO THE BEGINNINGS OF A HOME MARKET

The culinary patterns of my mother and her family were based on our Scottish background, and I don't think that I had tasted any shellfish species that might be called 'prawn' until I was a student in Barcelona in 1957-8, and then it was rare, being only when I could occasionally afford them, and anyway I could not have distinguished *gambas* from *cigalas*. In the following years I was to learn to enjoy diverse crustaceans while I was working in the USA. Yet, I still did not associate 'prawns' with Scottish gastronomy. I first came across 'local prawns' on a menu in Scotland in the year 2000 entirely by chance in the remote area of the northern tip of the Isle of Skye. Although remote this is an area attractive to more adventurous tourists and in the pub where I had supper, I noticed 'locally caught prawns' on the blackboard menu. They were langoustines, simply grilled and served with butter on a dish, accompanied by chips². In the case of this northern part of Skye, their remote and touristic location encouraged putting these 'locally caught prawns' on the menu of both the pub and the hotel, although other langoustines would have been taken by van to a langoustine freezing business in the Kyle of Lochalsh, just over the bridge from Skye to the mainland. A few days later I visited that freezing and packing business and learned that the langoustines were sorted into sizes, packed in polystyrene boxes and frozen. They were then exported to Barcelona, and next time I was in Barcelona I checked in the markets and found that the same type of polystyrene container of *cigalas* had come from Scotland. Further enquiries over

² Chips in UK English are 'French fries' in US English.

the following years introduced to me the creel-fishing industry and the exportation of langoustines to various parts of Europe, especially southern Europe (Macbeth, 2013).

Close to an area on the northwest coast of Scotland, which I have visited since a teenager, is a family fishing business of one boat. This business now concentrates entirely on catching langoustines in creels and the father of the first creel fisherman I interviewed started it. That father, Ian Macdonald, who is now over 90 years of age, had been a herring fisherman. This was true of many coastal Scottish fishermen, but the herring industry had been reducing greatly ever since the end of the Second World War. In interviewing Ian Macdonald, I learned that until about the 1960s, fishermen who caught langoustines in their creels or their trawling nets, discarded them, annoyed at the nuisance that they caused. He said that in about 1960 he was one of the first to realise the export opportunities of these langoustines, which were not wanted in Scotland, and he created a business of freezing the tails (i.e. langoustines without their heads and claws) and exporting them to Canada as 'small lobster tails'. In 2009, I discussed the daily work of the business with his son, Malcolm Macdonald, who with one boat and a couple of employees would have a very long working day when he went to sea, from leaving shore at 4.30 or 5.00 a.m. to returning after 5 p.m. They fished out to sea between the mainland and the Hebridean islands, finding sites of the appropriate type of seabed with muddy sediment and as few rocks as possible. They would sink some 80 creels, spaced about 20 metres apart and linked along one rope, to a depth of about 240 metres. About two days later they would haul in the creels and on the boat sort the catch into appropriate crates. When they returned to shore, their work was still not over as the crates of langoustines had to be landed and loaded in to a collection and transport business's van, and taken to a hub from which langoustines were taken on further journeys for export. Then, he personally would go back on the boat that evening to repair any creels that had been damaged.

Another contact I made more recently is Finlay Finlayson. In correspondence (2017) he informed me that his father had also been a herring fisherman in the 1950s and 1960s on the west coast of Scotland affected by the reduction in the herring industry. So, he had first experimented with various methods of trawl fishing for white fish, and his son confirmed that any langoustines caught were thrown away. Then, as his father observed the new opportu-

nities for an export market for the langoustines, in the 1960s he turned his attention to these. However, as described above, the langoustines live in muddy seabed sediments, rather than sand or gravel, where the ground was hard and often rocky, so trawling for langoustines frequently resulted in damaging the nets they used in those days.³ So, he started to experiment with a theory that if lobsters and crabs could be caught in a creel, then these langoustines could be similarly caught. He designed and developed a new lightweight creel with a narrower mesh of the network around the metal structure. Amid much scepticism he took a risk and invested heavily in a new set of fishing gear and his business was a great success. Following this, all along the west coast, many other fishermen changed to this method of fishing, and the langoustine creel fishing industry took off (Finlayson, 2017). Meanwhile, the export market increased because of the gastronomic preference in southern Europe for these creel-caught langoustines over those caught by trawling.

Processing and transport options and routes for the export of such langoustines to Europe in 2008 and 2009 are discussed by Macbeth (2013). I had interviewed creel fishermen, local processors, short distance van drivers and long-distance lorry drivers, all in the business of exporting langoustines to Continental European destinations. Since then the processing methods have changed and just about all the langoustines are now exported extra cooled and somnolent but alive and not frozen, although some are still exported in full sea water tanks. In this way the crustaceans can be sold live in the recipient markets across continental Europe. Yet very few were sold for Scottish consumption.

Seafood and fishery generally has long been an important industry in Scotland, and in Europe Scotland is one of the largest sea fish producers.⁴ In 2016 the value of total exports of all fish and shellfish from Scotland exceeded £756 million, which was an increase of 26% over 2015. It is understood that its success is because Scottish seafood has always been renowned for its quality, coming from cold, clean waters.⁵ Of total shellfish landed by Scottish vessels, the two main species in 2016 were langoustines and scallops, and langous-

³ New designs of trawling nets more recently include wheels to keep them off the seabed floor.

⁴ www.gov.scot/Topics/marine/Sea-fisheries

⁵ www.sdi.co.uk/trade/sectors/food-and-drink/seafood

tines were the most valuable shellfish within the fishing industry in Scotland «worth £77 million in 2016 and accounting for 14 per cent of the total value of all Scottish landings. The value of *Nephrops* landings by Scottish vessels increased by 24 per cent in real terms from 2015» (Scottish Government 2017, p. 9-10). In 2016 67% of UK langoustine landings by volume and 74% by value were caught by Scottish vessels (Sarah Payne of Marine Scotland, personal communication). For obvious reasons related to weather and hours of daylight, the volume caught is much higher in summer than in winter, but, as Spanish readers will understand, the demand and price are significantly higher around Christmas and the New Year (Malcolm Macdonald, creel fisherman, personal communication). For a very full report on the Scottish langoustine industry see the Anderson *Analysis of nephrops industry in Scotland*, (Russell and Mardle, 2017). This includes a careful comparison of the economics of langoustines caught by trawling and those by creel, which, in brief, shows that far more by volume are caught by trawling, whereas the value per kilo is greater for those caught in creels.

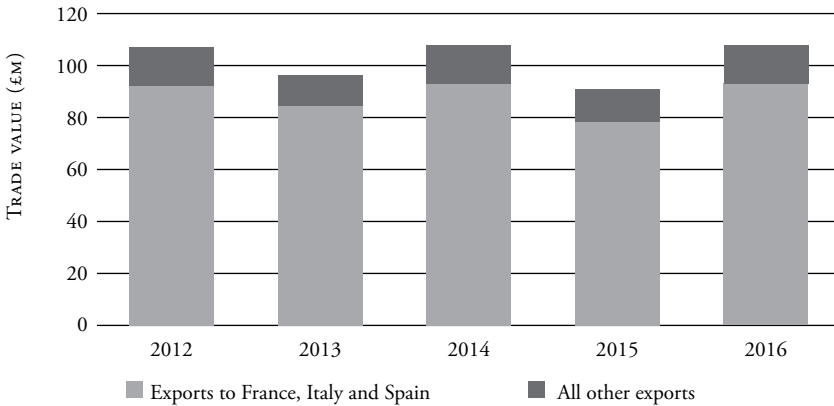
There are no export figures for langoustines from Scotland alone, but in 2016 the export of langoustines from all of UK was estimated to be valued at £108 million. As in earlier recent years (referred to in Macbeth, 2013), the majority was exported to Spain, France and Italy, (as shown in Figure 1, personal communication, Tom Lowry of Marine Scotland), with the proportion remaining roughly constant at 86% from 2012 to 2016. As can be seen, there is some export elsewhere. It should be emphasised that these figures cover trawled and creel caught langoustines together as exports from all UK.

Langoustines are acknowledged as a premium seafood product and Scottish Development International claims that «over two thirds of the world's langoustines ...are sourced from Scottish waters»⁶ but it should be noted that 'Scottish waters' is not a precise term and says nothing about where the langoustines were landed. This website goes on to report: «At home, more and more Scots are rediscovering a taste for local seafood and shellfish. From Scotland's bustling harbours, to the high-end restaurants of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scots-landed delicacies are proving to be menu favourites».⁷

⁶ www.sdi.co.uk/trade/sectors/food-and-drink/seafood

⁷ www.sdi.co.uk/trade/sectors/food-and-drink/seafood

Figure 1: Bar chart of exports of Langoustines from all of UK from 2012 to 2017



Source: Marine Scotland Compliance, based on hmrc Tradeinfo Statistics 2017.

As regards langoustines, this gastronomic change in Scotland is the topic of the next section of this chapter, because, very slowly, a Scottish and UK home market for langoustines has been growing, but even in 2017 the west-coast creel fishermen I interviewed told me that the majority of their Scottish creel-caught langoustines is still exported to Spain, France and Italy. Meanwhile, to quantify the amount sold within Scotland remains difficult, as many of the transactions are very local between the fishermen and their local outlets, such as hotels, restaurants and farmers’ markets.

THE CHANGING ATTITUDE TO LANGOUSTINES IN SCOTLAND

I referred above to my discovery of langoustines in a pub in the North of Skye in 2000, and since then I have learned of similar situations of langoustines being served in the hotels and restaurants of Scottish west coastal regions, but in 2000 such places were still rare and, as far as I can work out, all in places attracting tourists. The correspondence to me from Finlayson provides another example. Although his father, who had designed the smaller mesh creel, had died young and he himself had trained for a different career, Finlay did not lose touch with the creel-fishing industry and returned home to buy a fishing boat. He recalled his father’s advice that «fishermen should be more involved in marketing their

own catch» and so he aimed at finding or creating a home market in which to sell his own catch. He wrote to me:

The peak of this was reached in 1989 when, along with my wife, Lorna, my sister and friends we opened our own Crannog Seafood Restaurant. We sold a phenomenal amount of prawns. We started calling them langoustines because it sounded more exotic on the menu and it also differentiated them from the small Atlantic prawns, shrimps and the warm water prawns.⁸

This restaurant was and is in Fort William, a busy tourist centre on the west coast of Scotland, and a destination on the scenic railway called the Highland Line. That the Crannog Seafood Restaurant is still very popular and sells large amounts of langoustines reflects the success of its model of specialising in local seafood, including the creel-caught langoustines. However, as the family no longer has a boat but has to buy in the langoustines and the demand in Europe remains high, the cost of the langoustines is now much higher, resulting in premium prices for langoustines in the restaurant. However, they have also expanded into organising tourist experiences of fishing out in the bay, and the langoustines in the restaurant remain popular.

Finlay Finlayson's claim that the year 1989 was very early for opening a seafood restaurant in Scotland selling langoustines is true, but, in the autumn of 2017, I visited a hotel in Kylesku, about an hour's drive north of Ullapool, where I learned of an even earlier example of selling langoustines in their restaurant. The Kylesku Hotel is in a very beautiful location with priceless views of mountains and the sea loch, Loch Gleann Dubh; it is not only remote now, but was even more remote before 1984 when a bridge was built. Before that, to continue the coastal route one had to take a ferry across a narrow passage of sea between two sea lochs. In 1986 a Frenchman took over that hotel and its restaurant. He also had a fishing boat, and with his Gallic knowledge of these shellfish, he put langoustines on the menu. The hotel has changed hands twice since then, but one of the two owners today was also French born. The restaurant has become famous for its provision of local foods and its ideals about care of the environment. The beef is from a local farm (with cattle crossbred between Lim-

⁸ Personal correspondence, 2017.

ousin and Highland breeds), their lamb comes from local crofters' sheep, the seafood is all locally caught and they serve local creel-caught langoustines on a skewer (Photo 2). In September 2017 I interviewed the French-born co-owner, who told me about her environmental ideals, which included only buying langoustines from a creel-fisherman who immediately threw berried females back into the sea.

In contrast to the local, coastal residents that I had met elsewhere, who said that they had not eaten langoustines in the past, she told me of an elderly local for whom langoustines had been part of what he and his family ate when he was young; so, he did not today think of them as anything special. It is possible that the remoteness of Kylesku helped promote this early local consumption of langoustines even by locals, and that might explain why it was different from what I had been told elsewhere. In fact, I had previously been intrigued by the

Photo 2: Langoustines on a skewer as sold in Kylesku Hotel Restaurant



Photograph © Helen Macbeth.

earlier discard of the protein from these shellfish in the coastal area I knew well, where there had been great poverty and limited nutritional options.

In Scottish tourist areas now, in 2017, some more modest places are also serving langoustines. I visited an enterprise that had only opened in 2016, called The Seafood Shack, in Ullapool within a short walk's distance from the terminal for large sea-going ferries. This business is literally a shack serving a small choice of hot fish meals to people who either take their purchase away or eat it at outdoor wooden benches by the shack (Photo 3). Two local ladies, one of who is a fisherman's wife, set it up. I bought a take-away box of 6 hot cooked langoustines dripping in melted butter with garlic. I was in Ullapool in late September (no longer school holidays) and yet, whenever

I walked by the site at various times of day, there were always customers at The Seafood Shack, ordinary anorak-wearing folk of Scottish and other nationalities. Furthermore, a famous British TV food personality had featured The Seafood Shack in a TV programme. Ullapool, like Fort William, is on the tourist route, being the harbour from which ferries depart to the Isle of Lewis but also on the road route around the top of Scotland, newly and successfully publicised for tourism. In August 2016, I visited a similar seafood shack on the quay of the Oban ferry terminal; it was so busy that I had to queue for my lunch snack.

Photo 3: The Seafood Shack, Ullapool, with people eating out of doors



Photograph © Helen Macbeth

Nevertheless, while there is an increase in the consumption of langoustines in Scotland, lower price café or shack outlets remain a minority (Robertson, 2017). The increase, Neil Robertson explained, is primarily in restaurants for what might be described as ‘fine dining’ in the cities. Finlay Finlayson had mentioned that his family had opened seafood restaurants in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, but his daughter informed me that in 2017, they only retain their restaurant in Fort William. Nevertheless, data from John Valance and Co,

a purveyor of seafood to restaurants in Glasgow and surrounding areas exemplify the increase in sales of langoustines: in April, 2014 they sold 31,000 langoustines to restaurants in the area, and in April 2017 they sold 215,000 langoustines to restaurants. Gillian Kitson, of John Vallance and Co. (personal communication) also confirmed that the langoustines are predominantly sold to 'up market restaurants'.

Yet, langoustines are not only sold as cooked dishes. In Edinburgh, at a large supermarket, fresh, whole langoustines can be found throughout the year. Even in inland, middle England, increasingly, I have found occasions when a large supermarket will sell frozen whole Scottish langoustines, but not regularly. As regards selling langoustines within Britain, Robertson (2017) wrote: «The major breakthroughs enjoyed by hard won product placement within major supermarkets have to date bypassed the creel-men (on grounds of additional capture and display costs of live produce) and solely favours trawled langoustines – both fresh-dead and frozen whole produce.» Similarly, it is my impression that packets of frozen 'scampi' (i.e. ready prepared in breadcrumbs) are today far more common than uncooked frozen langoustines in shells, and can almost always be found in the freezer compartments of our local English large supermarkets, although I have not checked in Scottish supermarkets. These 'scampi' use only the tails of the langoustines, and so the benefits of creel-catching, including less frequent damage to claws and the claimed better biochemical condition, are irrelevant to the further processing of frying the tails in breadcrumbs before freezing and packaging: it is no surprise that for these the cheaper and more plentiful trawled langoustines are used.

Small-scale sale of langoustines by local fishermen of course also exists primarily to local hotels and restaurants. Another fisherman in Badachro, near Gairloch, has a small boat and lays his creels in Badachro Bay and for over a decade has sold his small catch to local hotels. He also benefits from the tourism in this area by taking tourists on a 90-minute experience of pulling in his creels and landing their contents, from lobsters and crabs to langoustines. Sometimes these tourists buy some of the catch they have experienced. For the last few years this fisherman has also been selling his catch at the weekly farmers' market at Poolewe (20 km. away); he tells me that there he sells the langoustines cooked but cold (Ian McWhinney, personal communication).

DISCUSSION

My paper for the 2009 ICAF conference (Macbeth, 2013) provided details about the catching and exportation of creel-caught langoustines and my theme was why were these premium shellfish being exported with such heavy transport costs, while so few were consumed in Scotland. The answer, of course, is that it is a matter of different cultures and traditional gastronomy. Despite the unsurprising exception that was mentioned to me in Kylesku, my information from many sources is that, until about the 1960s, langoustines were not regarded by Scottish fishermen and their crofter⁹ neighbours as desirable 'food', but a nuisance when caught in their nets or creels and they were thrown back into the sea. These shellfish were not part of the Scottish gastronomy. As mentioned above, there were never prawns of any kind in the home diet of my childhood. There are no langoustine or 'prawn' recipes in a 1950s Scottish cookery book I have (Craig, 1956). Yet, tourism can cause 'tradition' to be invented. I have since seen three books (and there are probably more), sold in Scottish bookshops in tourist areas that claim to give 'traditional Scottish recipes' and two include recipes for 'langoustines' (Brown, 2004; Wilson and Trotter, 2005) and one provides a recipe for 'prawns' (Cowan, 2005). My research and experience would not support that these dishes are 'traditional'. The langoustine recipes in such books, I presume, reflect the effects of tourism, the expectations of tourists who maybe know of the sourcing of quality langoustines from Scotland, or perhaps these recipes are promoted to encourage the langoustine fishing industry by inventing a 'tradition'. It would be interesting to interview the authors, but I have not.

Nevertheless, above, I show evidence of recent outlets for selling langoustines in restaurants, small seafood shacks in Scotland, farmers' markets and supermarkets in various parts of U.K. I discussed with one of the co-owners of The Seafood Shack in Ullapool about the people buying the langoustines. I was told that both locals and tourists from different nations do come to their shack

⁹ Crofters are renters of smallholdings in Scotland, and even today have traditional duties to work the smallholdings; they tended to have sheep on common local grazing land, but for at least two generations those renting crofts have also been employed in other local jobs, as available.

and that some who buy their langoustines know them, but for others eating langoustines is a new experience and they have to be shown how to crack the shells and the claws. She said that some older people avoid them as they do not like bothering with the shells, and a few even mentioned that they do not like the langoustine eyes looking at them! The co-owner of the Kylesku Hotel told me some amusing stories about telling people, who did not know them, about langoustines, and even explaining how to get the meat out of the langoustine shells and claws. These stories all emphasise that for many the experience of eating langoustines is new, but that many are willing to try them. Information from The Seafood Shack included that locals return to buy them on repeated occasions; this is significant, but I have no quotable proof of this.

CONCLUSION

The decline in the herring fishing industry in Scotland in the latter half of last century stimulated some enterprising fishermen to change their fishing gear and exploit the export market for langoustines by fishing for the plentiful north east Atlantic *Nephrops norvegicus*, even though these crustaceans were not appreciated at home. Such exports grew and eventually became a great economic benefit to coastal Scottish fishing businesses and thereby to some remote Scottish regions. This brought the langoustines to shore, and although nearly all were immediately exported, some became available to local restaurants. Thereafter, tourism affected a change in the local demand and provision of langoustines, and so it seems that Scottish gastronomy is slowly changing to appreciate this locally caught premium-quality shellfish. One could say that tourism has been relevant in two ways.

On the one hand, increasingly Scots, like many in U.K., have taken their holidays in southern Europe, for example in coastal resorts north and south of Barcelona, where, as tourists, many will have tasted all sorts of prawns and probably at some point ordered *paella*, most likely with at least one langoustine on top. Maybe they even ordered a plate of mixed, grilled seafood and encountered a langoustine in this way. On the other hand, tourists from countries more familiar with eating langoustines have come to Scotland as tourists and many will have toured through or stayed in the extremely beautiful, very

remote areas on the northwest coast (Photo 4), where the fieldwork for this chapter was conducted.

Photo 4: Loch Gleann Dubh and surrounding mountains, viewed from Kylesku



Photograph © Helen Macbeth

It does not matter whether it was the fishermen or the restaurant owners that first recognised the opportunities that resulted in their locally caught langoustines being sold in Scotland where these tourists dined out, but it is clear that in the early days some close link between a fishing boat owner and the local tourist industry had been significant in initiating at least two early cases of langoustines on restaurant menus mentioned above. Here it is important to point out a difference in the gastronomy-tourism interaction from that I found in existing literature. A common theme in such literature has been concerned with gastronomy as a stimulus to tourism by improving the tourists' enjoyment of their travel, emphasising that the tourism should be marketed as such (e.g. Fields, 2002; Hjalager, 2002; Richards, 2002; Scarpato, 2002; Hjalager, 2003; Long, 2004; Kivela and Crofts, 2005 and 2006; Sanchez-Cañizares and López-Guzmán, 2012; Stasiak, 2015; Forgas-Serra *et al.*, 2016; Leong *et al.*, 2017; and several of the contributions in Hall *et al.*, 2003); i.e. the gastronomy is the in-

dependent variable of importance to the economy of the tourist industry as the dependent variable. In contrast, this chapter is about how tourism, as the independent variable, is effecting change in the gastronomy of the local population, as the dependent variable. I did find a discussion of tourism as an independent variable in preserving gastronomic and regional heritage (Hjalager and Richards, 2002), and Kesimoğlu (2015) writes of an interesting two-way process, but I found no other references where tourism had caused some change to local gastronomy.

Today, in 2017, the gastronomic attitude to whole langoustines in their shells is still only in the process of changing slowly within Scotland. From a very few coastal restaurants serving this local speciality towards the end of the twentieth century to the present day (2017), there has been an increase in places selling langoustines in the coastal, tourist areas, especially near ferry terminals, such as in Oban and Ullapool, while elsewhere langoustines have become a premium dish on the menus of the smarter restaurants of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen and their environs. Langoustines are now sold in supermarkets, but how these stores promote langoustines raises another relevant issue, because supermarkets can affect culinary choices, but this, of course, is a two-way process and their publicity, while persuasive, will only continue if it results in greater sales by the customers of the item publicised. Only very recently have professional promoters come into the industry to discuss the sale of west coast langoustines with the large supermarket chains and fishmongers throughout the U.K., and that too is beginning to have an effect (Robertson, 2017).

So, while it is more common to perceive and write about a cultural change in gastronomy *post hoc*, in the case of the consumption of langoustines in Scotland, we are in a position to observe such gastronomic change taking place slowly right now, and tourism has clearly been a factor.

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Food and particularly gastronomy have always had a significant presence in the tourist experience. A third of tourist travel income originates from food expenditure. In this sense, considering the *experiences* of travellers and taking into account the *lived dimensions* of tourism becomes essential for a deeper understanding of the tourism phenomenon which comes more and more to be regarded as an arena of interaction played out through the tourist's encounters and engagements with spaces, places

and cultures of travelled destinations.

Gastronomic tourism appears to be a growing sector within the overall tourism market. Nevertheless, the link between gastronomy and tourism has been one of the least studied aspects so far, and it has traditionally had a very secondary place to professionals from both areas. Even from academic perspectives on tourism, when approaching gastronomy as a subject, tourism studies have generally left out the cultural and social aspects of this important economic and commercial issue. And we can say almost the same thing from the food and gastronomy fields. Even today, the relationship between tourism and gastronomy remains peripheral.

On the other hand, cultural tourism is tourism, and it is far more than production and consumption of *high* art and heritage. Thus, gastronomic tourism must be understood as an integral part of cultural tourism. Food (including gastronomy) is an important part of Culture, and from this perspective, it is also of interest as a tourist resource.

In this sense, it is necessary to promote the study of the link between food, gastronomy and tourism from the point of view of social and cultural disciplines. This book intends to carry out an interdisciplinary reflection exactly in these terms.

