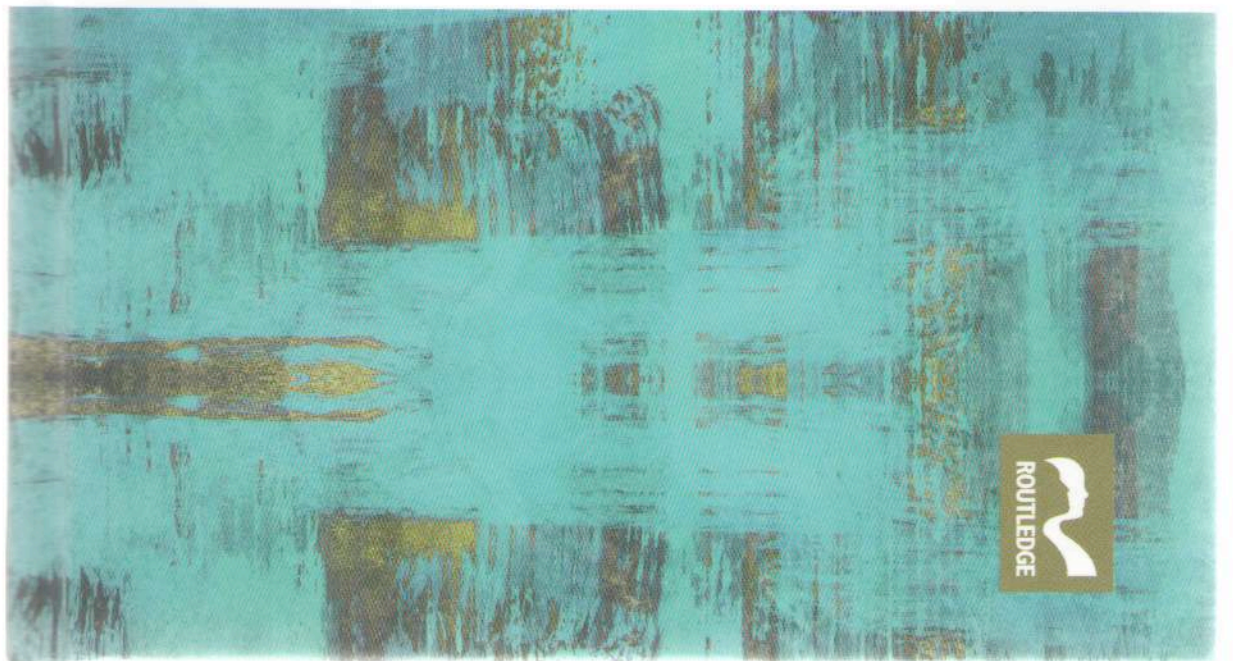


*Current Developments in the Geographies of Leisure and Tourism*

# **CREATING HERITAGE FOR TOURISM**

Edited by  
Catherine Palmer and Jacqueline Tivers



## Creating Heritage for Tourism

What does 'heritage' mean in the twenty-first century? Traditional ideas of heritage involve places where objects, landscapes, people and ideas are venerated and reproduced over time as an inheritance for future generations. To speak of heritage is to speak of a relationship between the past, the present and the future. However, it is a past recreated for economic gain, hence sectors such as culinary tourism, ecotourism, cultural tourism and film tourism have employed the heritage label to attract visitors.

This interdisciplinary book furthers understanding on how heritage is socially constructed, interpreted and experienced within different geographic and cultural contexts, in both Western and non-Western settings. Subjects discussed include Welsh linguistic heritage, tango, mushroom tourism, Turkish coffee, literary tourism and the techniques employed to construct tourist accommodation. By focusing upon heritage *creation* in the context of tourism, the book moves beyond traditional debates about 'authentic heritage' to focus on how something *becomes* heritage for use in the present.

This timely volume will be of interest to students and researchers in tourism, heritage studies, geography, museum studies and cultural studies.

**Catherine Palmer**, PhD, is an anthropologist, University of Brighton, UK, and a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Her research focuses on identity, heritage and materiality; post-conflict/memorial landscapes; embodiment, tourism; and the coast/seaside. She is the joint book series editor for 'Routledge Advances in Tourism Anthropology' (with Jo-Anne Lester), and the author of the 2018 Routledge monograph *Being and Dwelling Through Tourism: An Anthropological Perspective*. She is the editor of *Tourism Research Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice* (with Pete Burns and Brent Ritchie) and *Tourism and Visual Culture: Volume 1 Theories and Concepts* (with Pete Burns and Jo-Anne Lester).

**Jacqueline Tivers**, PhD, is an honorary research associate in geography at Oxford Brookes University, UK, and a previous Chair of the Geography of Leisure and Tourism Research Group of the Royal Geographical Society–Institute of British Geographers. She has published several books, contributions to edited collections, and journal articles during her long career as a lecturer and researcher in geography. She is joint editor (with Tijana Rakic) of *Narratives of Travel and Tourism*, a previously published book within the 'Geographies of Leisure and Tourism Research Group (GLTRG)' series.

## **Current Developments in the Geographies of Leisure and Tourism**

Tourism and leisure exist within an inherently dynamic, fluid and complex world and are therefore inherently interdisciplinary. Recognising the role of tourism and leisure in advancing debates within the social sciences, this book series is open to contributions from cognate social science disciplines that inform geographical thought about tourism and leisure. Produced in association with the Geographies of Leisure and Tourism Research Group of the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), this series highlights and promotes cutting-edge developments and research in this field. Contributions are of a high international standard and provide theoretically informed empirical content to facilitate the development of new research agendas in the field of tourism and leisure research. In general, the series seeks to promote academic contributions that advance contemporary debates that challenge and stimulate further discussion and research both within the fields of tourism and leisure and the wider realms of the social sciences.

**Series Editors: Jan Mosedale and Caroline Scarles**

Other titles in the series:

**Moral Encounters in Tourism**

*Edited by Mary Mostafanezhad and Kevin Hannam*

**Travel and Imagination**

*Edited by Garth Lean, Russell Staiff and Emma Waterton*

**Neoliberalism and the Political Economy of Tourism**

*Edited by Jan Mosedale*

**Creating Heritage for Tourism**

*Edited by Catherine Palmer and Jacqueline Tivers*

For more information about this series, please visit [www.routledge.com/  
Current-Developments-in-the-Geographies-of-Leisure-and-Tourism/book-series/  
ASHSER1372](http://www.routledge.com/Current-Developments-in-the-Geographies-of-Leisure-and-Tourism/book-series/ASHSER1372)

# Creating Heritage for Tourism

Edited by  
**Catherine Palmer and  
Jacqueline Tivers**

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2019  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Catherine Palmer and Jacqueline Tivers; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Catherine Palmer and Jacqueline Tivers to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*  
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-57271-3 (hbk)  
ISBN: 978-0-203-70188-1 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman  
by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon, UK

# Contents

|  |      |
|--|------|
| <i>List of illustrations</i>   | viii |
| <i>Notes on contributors</i>   | x    |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i>  | xvi  |
| <br>   |      |
| <b>1 Heritage for tourism: creating a link between the past and the present</b>  | 1    |
| CATHERINE PALMER AND JACQUELINE TIVERS   |      |
| <br>   |      |
| <b>2 Creating a destination through language: Welsh linguistic heritage in Patagonia</b>   | 13   |
| KIMBERLY BERG  |      |
| <br>   |      |
| <b>3 Performing national identity in heritage tourism: observations from Catalonia</b>   | 24   |
| VENETIA JOHANNES   |      |
| <br>   |      |
| <b>4 Heritage defined and maintained through conflict re-enactments: the Estonian Museum of Occupations and the Forest Brothers Bunker</b> | 39   |
| BRENT MCKENZIE   |      |
| <br>   |      |
| <b>5 Constructing heritage, shaping tourism: Festivals and local heritage governance at Hampi World Heritage Site, Karnataka, India</b>    | 50   |
| KRUPA RAJANGAM   |      |
| <br>   |      |
| <b>6 Creating heritage for cruise tourists</b>   | 64   |
| JACQUELINE TIVERS  |      |

vi *Contents*

- 7 'It's tango!': communicating intangible cultural heritage for the dance tourist** 77  
JONATHAN SKINNER
- 8 Holmes as heritage: readers, tourism and the making of Sherlock Holmes's England** 89  
DAVID MCLAUGHLIN
- 9 Creating heritage for tourism: 'consuming history,' 'prosthetic memories' and the popularisation of a folk hero's story** 101  
MICHAEL FAGENCE
- 10 Creating (extra)ordinary heritage through film-induced tourism: the case of Dubrovnik and *Game of Thrones*** 115  
TINA ŠEGOTA
- 11 *Amachan*: the creation of heritage tourism landscapes in Japan after the 2011 triple disaster** 127  
DUCCIO GASPARRI AND ANNACLAUDIA MARTINI
- 12 Bedrock, metropolis and Indigenous heritage: rendering 'The Rocks' invisible** 140  
FELICITY PICKEN, HAYLEY SAUL AND EMMA WATERTON
- 13 Between the cliffs and the sea: St Kilda and heritage from afar** 154  
GEORGE S. JARAMILLO AND ALAN HOOPER
- 14 Made in China: creating heritage through tourist souvenirs** 166  
PENNY GRENNAN
- 15 Creative practices of local entrepreneurs reinventing built heritage** 179  
GIOVANNA BERTELLA AND MAURIZIO DROLI
- 16 Co-creating a heritage hotel for a new identity** 192  
PHILIP FEIFAN XIE AND WILLIAM LING SHI

|     |   |     |
|-----|---|-----|
| 77  | <b>17 Turkish coffee: from intangible cultural heritage to created tourist experience</b>                 | 205 |
|     | ILKAY TAS GURSOY  |     |
| 89  | <b>18 The reinvention of crab fishing as a local heritage tourism attraction in Northeast Brazil</b>      | 218 |
|     | CLAUDIO MILANO  |     |
| 101 | <b>19 Creating biocultural heritage for tourism: the case of mycological tourism in central Mexico</b>    | 230 |
|     | HUMBERTO THOMÉ-ORTIZ  |     |
| 115 | <b>20 (Re)creating natural heritage in New Zealand: biodiversity conservation and tourism development</b> | 243 |
|     | GUOJIE ZHANG, JAMES HIGHAM AND JULIA NINA ALBRECHT  |     |
| 127 | <i>Index</i>  | 258 |



## 19 Creating biocultural heritage for tourism

### The case of mycological tourism in Central Mexico

*Humberto Thomé-Ortiz*

#### Introduction

Biocultural heritage is a social-historical construction, housing the biological and cultural memory of human groups (Toledo 2012) through a legacy that contains the natural wealth and variety of languages, cultures and products (Toledo and Barrera Bassols 2008), including foods such as wild edible mushrooms. It is a collectively constructed heritage, which is fundamental to peasant economies and is transmitted from generation to generation. The gathering of wild foods is part of the cultural tradition of different social groups around the world (Cunningham 2001), enabling the survival of populations in many different regions (Fernández 2006). At the same time, the practice illustrates the processes of co-evolution between humans and nature, based on a relationship between ecological and cultural factors (Berkes et al. 2000).

Lévi-Strauss (2004) has explored the cultural role of mushrooms, following on from the work of Wasson and Wasson (1957) on social attitudes towards mushrooms. From his study are derived the notions of 'mycophilic' and 'mycophobic' peoples. His main finding is the identification of the fundamental role that mushrooms have played in civilisations. Primitive forms of worship of mushrooms, and the use of hallucinogenic mushrooms, have been identified in almost all mycophilic peoples (Lévi-Strauss 2004). According to Anna Lowenhaupt (2015), mushroom gathering today shows the persistence of pre-capitalist ways of life, alongside the importance of new activities such as tourism and the gourmet food trade. Thus, two forms of economic logic overlap, based on interactions between the global and the local.

The reasons for identifying wild edible mushrooms as an example of biocultural heritage are several, but a key aspect is their contribution to the family economy and the food security of gatherers (Mariaca et al. 2001). In addition, there are other important heritage markers: the traditional ecological knowledge developed around the mushrooms (Pacheco et al. 2015), their presence in traditional cuisines (Santiago et al. 2016) and the reproduction of mushroom gathering practices, through collective and intergenerational learning (Knight 2014).

Mycological tourism is a form of rural tourism in which nature and culture converge, based on collecting, tasting and learning about wild edible mushrooms. In the case of Spain this activity is a tool for rural development and

a regulatory mechanism for non-timber forest resources (Thomé-Ortiz 2015). Different case studies of mycological tourism throughout the world (De Castro 2009, De Frutos, Martínez and Esteban 2011, Knight 2014, Thomé-Ortiz 2015, Thomé-Ortiz 2016, Jiménez-Ruiz et al. 2016) reveal a contemporary expression of mycophilic societies, based on the reinterpretation of mushrooms as tourist capital in the context of globalisation (Beck 1998). These examples illustrate how mycological resources are constructed as biocultural heritage and are then commoditised to encourage exchanges of capital through tourism. In order to build a coherent and unified tourism experience, this type of tourism serves as a mechanism for regulating mycological resources. In the same vein as other research (Tzanelli 2013), the present case explores the dominant discourse of capitalism, through the 'cosmopolitan spirit's' view of endogenous resources. The example of mycological tourism illustrates the ability of capital to appropriate the beliefs, knowledge and practices of mushroom gatherer communities and transform them into products that can be reproduced and consumed as objects of cultural consumption.

The aim of this chapter is to identify the social, economic and environmental implications of a link between mycological tourism and biocultural heritage. Mycological tourism illustrates the penetration of capitalist logic into rural areas through the new meanings attached to mushrooms, which were traditionally a common good, a product for self-consumption and a contributor to social cohesion. The identification of mushroom heritage as a tourist product has turned them into capitalisable resources through tourism and new social dynamics have emerged around them. The study of the relationship between traditional ecological knowledge about mushrooms, on the one hand, and tourism, on the other, opens up a new heritage perspective in terms of the creation of a biocultural heritage in response to the logic of the tourist market.

The chapter begins with a discussion of ethnoecology as a framework for mycological tourism. This is followed by a consideration of the development scenarios for this tourism mode and a case study of a Matlatzinca community in central Mexico from the perspective of local mushrooms gatherers. The creation of biocultural heritage for tourism is identified through the analysis of praxis, corpus and cosmos. Finally, conclusions are presented.

### **Ethnoecology and biocultural heritage: towards a framework for the analysis of mycological tourism in Mexico**

Mexico is considered the third country in the world in terms of biocultural wealth (Toledo, et al. 2010). It is the cradle of Mesoamerican civilisation, where 15 per cent of the species that make up the current world food system were domesticated (CONABIO 2008). This represents a historical legacy of more than 9,000 years. In countries like Mexico the use of wild edible mushrooms (even for recreational purposes) occurs within the context of traditional ecological knowledge (Berkes et al. 2000). The latter is the knowledge that a social group develops with respect to specific resources within their environment. Normally, this knowledge

is developed around a particular resource, through a linguistic code developed to name and describe aspects such as species, habitats and seasonal appearance (Ruddle 1993). According to Toledo (2001), biocultural heritage is a set of knowledge, practices and beliefs (corpus, praxis and cosmos) that express a civilising process. In the case of mushrooms, the gathering (praxis) is associated with a body of knowledge (corpus) and beliefs (cosmos), in a system where each dimension feeds back to the others (Toledo and Barrera 2008). The theoretical perspective in which the concept of biocultural heritage is framed is ethnoecology, which explores the practices of gathering wild resources within clearly identified socioecological systems (Toledo and Barrera 2008).

Many of the territories where biocultural heritage exists fall into the category of Protected Natural Areas (Boege 2008). The objective of these areas is the preservation and care of natural resources that, despite their protected status, are often linked to tourism projects (Elizondo and Lopez-Merlin 2009). Some heritage conservationists regard biocultural resources as bastions to be preserved. However, there are also debates about the interpretation, commercialisation, planning and appropriation of biocultural heritage as a potential strategy for economic development (Nuryanti 1996). A critical perspective on the reproduction of biocultural heritage as a tourism resource is needed, through the link between heritage and capitalism. This would expose social asymmetries and ambivalences in the processes of appropriation, exploitation and interpretation of biocultural heritage as a tourist resource (Tzanelli 2013).

Since biocultural heritage is dynamic and changing (Voeks and Leony 2004), its appropriation for tourism has become one of the ways in which it has adapted to the economic restructuring of the countryside. Some writers highlight the importance of traditional ecological knowledge for the development of tourism activities in rural areas (Butler and Menzies 2007, Bennett et al. 2012). Biocultural heritage is an element that certainly affects the tourism potential of rural areas (Buhalis 2000). Mycological resources, seen as tourist capital, become attractive as they respond to needs for leisure and recreation, linked to nature and culture. The fact that mushroom gathering is a way of life that is not common to most humans is what increases their interest as a tourist attraction. Productive transformations therefore express the coexistence of prevailing traditions and processes of change within a logic of continuity and rupture (Ochoa and Ladio 2015). In countries like Mexico, where mushrooms have always been linked to gatherers and their culture (Moreno and Garibay 2014), it is necessary to approach their use in tourism from an ethnoecological perspective, since the resources are also a central element in the food security and health of rural communities, particularly in the face of climate change and concomitant economic uncertainty.

Biocultural heritage is therefore a cardinal concept that inextricably merges the biological and cultural components of mycophilic communities. As such, it is an essential element in the design of any heritage tourism proposal (McKercher and Du Cross 2002). It is fundamental to start with the biocultural axiom (Nietschmann 1992), according to which the relationship between biodiversity and culture is expressed as a symbiotic and interdependent conservation process; hence the

importance of the use of a resource such as wild edible mushrooms for tourism being compatible with the logic of traditional ecological knowledge.

### The recreational use of wild edible mushrooms and local development scenarios

The marginal role of wild edible mushrooms within markets in Mexico is associated with the fact that it is a resource dependent on uncontrollable variables such as climate and inter-species collaboration. The overlapping of two divergent production logics, tourism and mushroom gathering, highlights the interaction between human and nonhuman factors (Lowenhaupt 2015) and the necessity to maintain a balance between the principles of tourism planning and the gathering of an unpredictable wild product. It should, of course, be added that mushroom gathering is not always a pecuniary activity; it is often governed by the logic of exchange and self-consumption within contexts of marginalisation and poverty. This fact justifies the importance of analysing the role that tourism may play in the conservation of biocultural heritage as well as in contributing to an improvement in living conditions for the holders of this heritage (Jolliffe 2003; Jolliffe and Mohamed 2009). The tourist appropriation of the mycological resources of the indigenous peoples of Mexico demands a meticulous analysis of the concept of development on which the heritagisation of these resources, previously used exclusively for food, is built. One of the central purposes in studying the relationship between biocultural heritage and tourism is to identify whether heritage tourism may be a tool for rural development (Butler and Menzies 2007), or whether it simply reflects a process of capitalist appropriation of local resources, previously the exclusive domain of indigenous communities.

Mycological tourism in Mexico illustrates the social construction of biocultural heritage, created (*ex profeso*) and recreated (*ex novo*) to meet the demands of new market niches. In turn, the biocultural meanings of mushrooms show ruptures and continuities between the implications they have for the daily lives of gatherers and the expectations of tourists. The logic of gathering for subsistence overlaps the logic of cultural consumption and entertainment, through the fact that some species of mushrooms have become a 'culturally colorful global commodity' (Lowenhaupt 2015: 40) while, at the same time, a high valuation has been accorded to natural landscapes of exceptional beauty where the mushrooms are collected.

A consideration of the relationship between tourism and mycological culture makes it possible to identify a set of emerging links between capitalist enterprise, agriculture, forestry, anthropology, ethnoecology, and the production of scientific knowledge and, more broadly, between wild edible mushrooms and post-consumer societies (Choy et al. 2009). Thus the study of mycological tourism affords a view of the relationships between culture, natural resources and people, which are central to debates on the use of strategic resources for food and ecological purposes. It also highlights local-global connections, in particular the question of whether it is possible to preserve biocultural heritage within the logic of capitalism (Anderson 2015).



*Figure 19.1* Mushroom gathering

An interest in wild foods is not considered to contradict a philosophical and material focus on intensive agriculture (Verinis and Williams 2016), since in situations of crisis (material, spiritual or philosophical) human beings have often returned to gathering as a survival resource (Lowenhaupt 2105). Today, the recreational gathering of wild edible mushrooms has different meanings, but they converge in the pressing need for a reconnection with nature experienced by urban societies. The design of recreational activities related to mycological culture may fulfil several objectives beyond the generation of economic income, such as environmental education or the dissemination of mycological culture. The development of mycological tourism implies that the gatherers develop new knowledge, techniques and ways of organising their work, since the revaluation of wild edible mushrooms and their gatherers constitutes a particular perspective on rural life. The original meanings of gathering mushrooms must be reinterpreted in order to connect rural life and the capitalist world.

Because the use of wild edible mushrooms in Mexico is closely linked to specific ethnic groups and their traditional ecological knowledge, the present work adopts an ethnomethodological perspective, with particular emphasis on ethnomusicology. To this end, a qualitative case study was developed (Stake 2000), where the aim was to identify the relationships between biocultural heritage and mycological tourism. The ethnographic method was useful in understanding how biocultural heritage, and its meanings, are transformed through being a structural component of tourism, which is itself a defining practice of contemporary life (Palmer 2009).

### The case of mycological tourism in a Matlatzinca community in Central Mexico

San Francisco Oxtotilpan is a community belonging to the municipality of Temascaltepec in the State of Mexico, located at a height of 2,634m above sea level. It has a population of 1,435 inhabitants of which 671 are men and 764 are women (INEGI 2010). In this community live the last descendants of the Matlatzinca ethnic group, whose culture formed the foundation of the civilisation established in the Valley of Toluca (Central Mexico). This ethnic group was evangelised in the seventeenth century by Franciscan missionaries (García 2004). The climate here is temperate subhumid, with rains in summer and an average annual temperature of 15 degrees Celsius. The main ecosystem is *abbies religiosa* forest, which is the type of vegetation with the highest productivity and concentration of wild edible mushrooms in central Mexico (Burrola et al. 2013). The favourable environmental conditions for the production of these mushrooms, combined with an ethnic group that has maintained a continuous occupation of the territory since the twelfth century, have resulted in the establishment of a strong mycological culture in the area (García 2004).

Two types of land tenure predominate in the community: ejido and communal lands. The territory extends to 1,516.14 hectares, distributed among 178 owners. The community lies within the Area of Protection of Flora and Fauna of the Volcano Nevado de Toluca; consequently there are restrictions on forestry and agriculture, including animal husbandry. For this reason tourism has been actively promoted as a local development strategy, compatible with the objectives of conservation. In 2014, the Alternative Tourism Program in Indigenous Areas of the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples invested in the construction of a complex of cabins and a restaurant to promote the development of tourism in the territory (Thomé-Ortiz 2016). However, this infrastructure

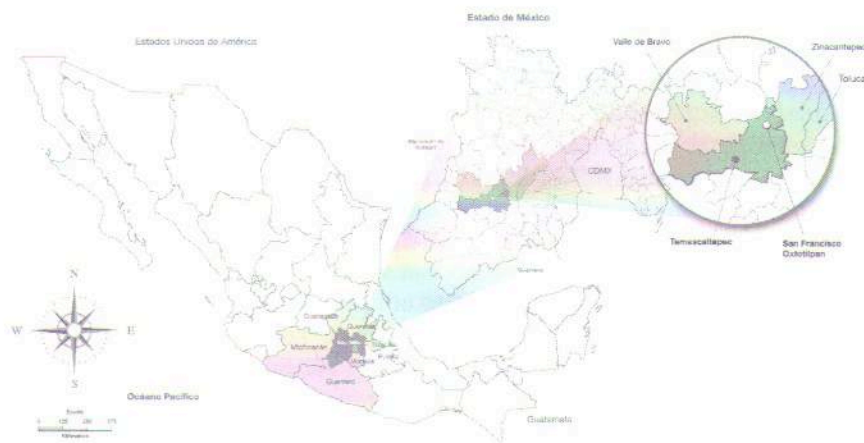


Figure 19.2 Location of San Francisco Oxtotilpan, Central Mexico

has been under-utilised, being limited to the provision of occasional accommodation and food services, due to the lack of a comprehensive tourism strategy. The community has therefore sought alternative product-based strategies, related to endogenous resources. One of the proposed activities, mycological tourism, is a unique enterprise, taking advantage of the tourist market of the Metropolitan Zone of Mexico City, the fourth largest metropolis in the world (Ward 1998).

The case study addressed the perspective of 22 gatherers with extensive knowledge about the identification, gathering and/or preparation of mushrooms. They all belonged to the Matlatzinca ethnic group. The informants were selected using a non-probabilistic snowball technique (Goodman 1961). The saturation criterion was used, so that the number of informants was increased to the point where the incorporation of new data did not provide a significant increase in new knowledge (Eisendhardt and Graebner 2007). The aspects covered during the interviews were the social construction of wild edible mushrooms as a bi-cultural heritage and the perceptions of the gatherers regarding various uses of these mushrooms, including for tourism.

### **The praxis, corpus and cosmos of wild edible mushrooms: ruptures and continuities between tourism and biocultural heritage**

#### *Praxis*

Mushroom gathering is an activity that takes place in Matlatzinca families, particularly those that live in mountain and hillside areas. Many previous studies have investigated both the regulation that mushrooms provide to the ecosystem and the food supply generated by these resources in the rainy season. However, there are few studies that consider the cultural importance of mushrooms (Millenium Ecosystem Assessment Synthesis Report 2005). For the Matlatzinca people, as for others (Knight 2014), mushroom gathering is a recreational practice as well as a source of food. It may take place alongside agricultural, forestry or livestock activities, when the advantage is seized to take some mushrooms home to eat. Alternatively, the people may make long excursions (of up to two days) with the sole purpose of gathering diverse species.

Wild edible mushrooms are part of the food landscape and culinary taste of the Matlatzincas, so the predominant use of them is for food, as evidenced by the 15 typical dishes based on mushrooms that were identified during the research. Due to the seasonal and temporary nature of the resource, it is common practice for the species that are most prized to be dried for storage and used throughout the year. According to Garibay and Ruan (2014), mushrooms make an important economic contribution to the gathering families; in the case of the Matlatzincas, however, this resource is a good of consumption and exchange as there is no sale of mushrooms in the community or in the markets of nearby cities. Recently, small mycological tourism trips have been developed as a new practice to generate income for the gatherers, but insufficient time has passed for the risks and

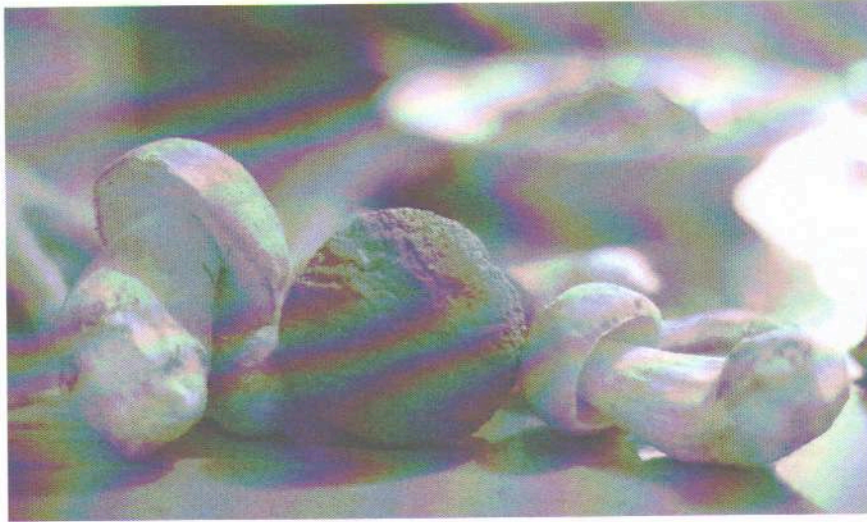


Figure 19.3 Preparation of mushroom soup in a traditional matlatzinca kitchen

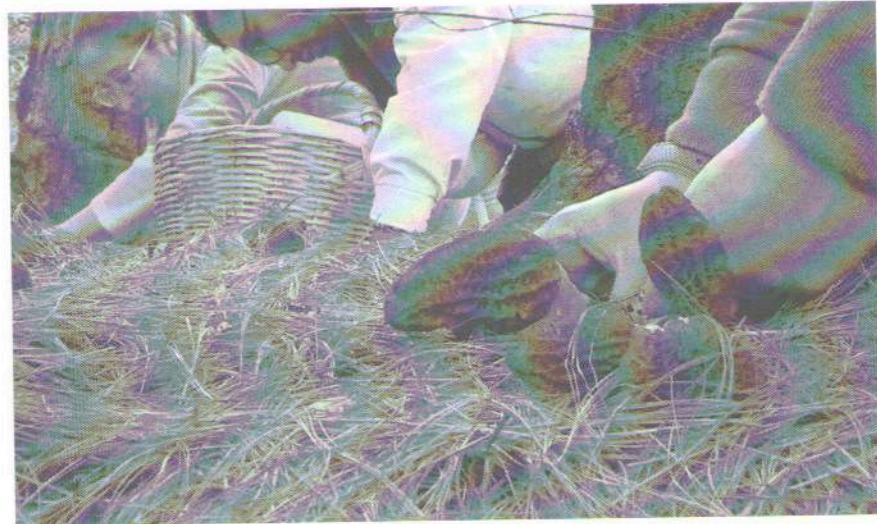
opportunities presented by such tourism to be analysed fully. The incorporation of mycological tourism, however, generates a potential gap between the current and the traditional uses of mushrooms. The initiative lies outside the community, representing one aspect of the global trend for productive restructuring of the countryside (Woods 2007), which serves as the starting point for the commercial and touristic uses of certain species of mushrooms.

One of the reasons for promoting mycological tourism is the lack of ability to generate value around mushroom gathering, which barely reaches minimum subsistence level for the forager families. This lack of economic value also influences the abandonment of the activity by the young, leading to a loss of knowledge associated with mushroom gathering. It is believed that adding value to mushroom gathering through new practices will encourage the preservation of this biocultural heritage (Anderson 2015, Lowenhaupt 2015, Verinis 2016).

### *Corpus*

The Matlatzincas have developed a complex system of knowledge about 25 species of wild edible mushrooms. This includes aspects such as a traditional nomenclature (referring to the morphological characteristics of the species, the ecosystems where mushrooms grow and the plant species within those ecosystems) and the location, uses, identification and abundance of mushrooms (Pacheco et al. 2015). These aspects are fundamental both to traditional gathering practices and to new activities such as tourism. The knowledge is restricted to small local groups, is transmitted from generation to generation, and comprises a form of





*Figure 19.4* Morel gathering in the forest

cultural capital (Bourdieu 2001), acquired through the investment of time by gatherers; in no sense should mushroom gathering be considered an easy activity or one suitable for the uninitiated. Practices and knowledge are interdependent. For the continuity of gathering practices it is necessary to have a traditional ecological knowledge base, while this knowledge can only be kept alive to the extent that it is reproduced through the practices. A characteristic of this type of knowledge is that it is dynamic (Ramírez et al. 2014), which allows it to adapt to the demands of globalisation. In this case, the local knowledge can be used to develop species identification guides, to design mycological trails, to promote good gathering practices and to provide guidelines for the interpretation of mycological resources and a mushroom based cuisine.

### *Cosmos*

The set of beliefs built around the mushrooms has a close relationship with the personal identity of the gatherers and the tourists. Many of the collected histories about mushrooms are derived from memories of Matlatzinca gatherers. There is an important relationship between the availability, abundance, distribution and quality of the mushrooms and the ways in which Matlatzincas identify the state of health of the environment; for example, a good harvest means that it was a year of good rains. Mushrooms are perceived as living beings, closely related to the land and the trees, which gives them an important place within the hierarchy of ingredients that make up traditional Matlatzinca cuisine. It is important to emphasise that the perceptions, evaluations and beliefs of the collectors about the land as a supplier of

mushrooms and about the value of mushrooms as special foods, their relationship with the health of the environment and their connection with local identity, are fundamental aspects in the maintenance of the traditional practices of gathering as well as in the construction of new cultural and economic uses like tourism.

The persistence of such biocultural memory expresses the validity of the relational worldview that characterises rural communities. Certainly, this belief base should be an important reference point for tourist practices that seek to meet spiritual needs through animistic visions of nature, which may have the potential to bring added meaning to the lives of tourists (Willson et al. 2013, Sharpley and Jepson 2011). On the other hand, mycological tourism collects together those people for whom mushrooms do have a very personal meaning, evoking emotions and memories, with those for whom they are only a food product. The practice of gathering is always viewed through the individual personal experience of tourists, being a postmodern act of mycophilia for people whose only chance of having contact with the mushroom world is through tourism (Knight 2014).

### **Conclusion**

Biocultural heritage, based on biocultural wealth and associated knowledge, may be actively created and recreated for tourism purposes. This paper contributes to the discussion by documenting the ways in which biocultural heritage acts as a substantive input to the productive restructuring of the countryside in the context of cultural globalisation. The case study, investigated here, illustrates both the logic of capitalist appropriation of the endogenous resources of rural spaces and the processes of ambivalent change that variously induce both rupture and continuity in tradition and innovation. The tourist appropriation of the practices, knowledge and beliefs related to mushroom gathering reveals that tourism may lead to a transformation of the traditional practices, but also that the latter remain clearly based on local knowledge and beliefs about the mushrooms. Mycological tourism may therefore represent an opportunity for economic benefits (such as value added, job creation and productive diversification) while also maintaining the ancestral occupation of the gatherers. At the same time it involves risks, such as generating new social tensions around mushrooms, the potential trivialisation of mycological culture and the fragmentation of the forest. Despite this ambivalence, it is important to investigate whether mycological tourism can serve as a resilience strategy to preserve the cultural practices and wisdom needed to cope with the economic and cultural pressures faced by indigenous communities.

In a country like Mexico where there is significant biocultural wealth, the design of conservation and rural development policies requires a careful examination of the deep historical relationship between nature and culture. It is essential that tourism initiatives take into account the importance of the simultaneous preservation of natural resources and the cultural expressions that have given rise to the knowledge and sustainable use of these resources. The present study was limited to considering the perspective of mushroom gatherers concerning the creation of a biocultural heritage focused on tourism. Being limited also to one case study,

the possibility of finding connections, perspectives and relationships between categories of analysis was smaller than if multi-sited ethnographic techniques had been developed (Palmer 2005). In future research it would be important to incorporate the vision of other social, institutional and economic actors, who play relevant roles in the co-production of biocultural heritage as a tourist resource, as well as to make comparisons with other cases presenting similar conditions.

## References

- Anderson, E. (2015) The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins. *Ethnobiology Letters*, 6(1): 214–215.
- Beck, U. (1998) *¿Qué es la globalización? Falacias del globalismo, respuestas a la globalización*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Bennett, N., Lemely, R. H., Koster, R., and Budke, I. (2012) A capital assets framework for appraising and building capacity for tourism development in aboriginal protected area gateway communities. *Tourism Management*, 33: 752–766.
- Berkes F., Colding J. and Folke C. (2000) Rediscovery of traditional ecological knowledge as adaptive Management. *Ecological Society of America*, 10(5): 1251–1262.
- Boege, E. (2008) *El Patrimonio Biocultural de los Pueblos Indígenas de México*. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia y Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001) *Poder, derecho y clases sociales*. Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Buhalis, D. (2000) Marketing the competitive destination of the future. *Tourism Management*, 21(1): 97–116.
- Burrola, C., Garibay, R. and Argüelles, A. (2013) Abies religiosa forests harbor the highest species density and sporocarp productivity of wild edible mushrooms among five different vegetation types in a neotropical temperate forest region. *Agroforestry Systems*, 87: 1101–1115.
- Butler, C. F. and Menzies, C. R. (2007) Traditional ecological knowledge and indigenous tourism. In R. Butler and T. Hinch (eds.) *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*. Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, pp. 15–27.
- Choy, T.K., Lieba, F., Hathaway, M.J., Inoue, M., Satsuka, S. and Lowenhaupt, A. (2009) A New Form of Collaboration in Cultural Anthropology: Matsutake Worlds. *American Ethnologist*, 36(2): 380–403.
- CONABIO (2008) *Capital Natural de México. Volumen I Conocimiento actual de la biodiversidad, II Estado de conservación y tendencias de cambio y III Políticas y perspectivas de sustentabilidad*. México: Comisión Nacional para el Conocimiento y Uso de la Biodiversidad.
- Cunningham AB. (2001) *Applied Ethnobotany: People, Wild Plant Use and Conservation*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.
- Eisenhardt, K. and Graebner, M. (2007) Theory building from cases: opportunities and challenges. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50: 25–32.
- Elizondo, C. and López-Merlin, D. (2009) *Las Áreas de Conservación Voluntaria en Quintana Roo*. México: El Colegio de la Frontera Sur.
- De Castro S. (2009) *Micoturismo: encuadramiento estratégico en áreas protegidas*. Tesis Doctoral. Portugal: Universidad de Técnica de Lisboa.
- De Frutos P., Martínez, F. and Esteban, S. (2011) El turismo micológico como fuente de ingresos y empleo en el medio rural. El caso de Castilla y León. *Estudios de Economía Aplicada*, 29(1): 279–307.

Fernán  
rio  
García  
Pu  
Garib  
ali  
Et  
Bi  
de  
Mé  
M  
Good  
INEG  
Vi  
w  
Jimér  
m  
Jollif  
R  
D  
Jollif  
of  
Knig  
G  
Lévi  
E  
Low  
in  
Mari  
c  
E  
McK  
Z  
Mill  
E  
Mon  
E  
I  
A  
I  
Nie  
J  
Nur  
Ocl  
Pac

- Fernández, M.M. (2006) Economía y sistemas de asentamiento aborigen en la cuenca del río Limay. *Memoria Americana*, 14: 37–73.
- García, A. (2004) *Matlatzincas*. México: Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas.
- Garibay, O. R. and Ruan, S. F. (2014) Listado de los hongos silvestres consumidos como alimento tradicional en México, in A. Moreno Fuentes and R. Garibay Orijel (eds.) *La Etnomicología en México. Estado del Arte*. México: Red de Etnoecología y Patrimonio Biocultural (CONACYT)-Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo-Instituto de Biología (UNAM)-Sociedad Mexicana de Micología-Asociación Etnobiológica Mexicana, A.C.-Grupo Interdisciplinario para el Desarrollo de la Etnomicología en México-Sociedad Latinoamericana de Etnobiología, pp. 91–109.
- Goodman, L. (1961) Snowball sampling. *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 32: 148–170.
- INEGI, (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía) (2010) Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010. Principales Resultados por Localidad (ITER). [En línea]. Available at: [www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/consulta\\_resultados/iter2010.aspx](http://www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/consulta_resultados/iter2010.aspx) [accessed 19 May 2017].
- Jiménez-Ruiz A., Thomé-Ortiz, H. and Burrola, C. (2016) Patrimonio biocultural, turismo micológico y etnoconocimiento. *El periplo sustentable*, 29(30): 180–205.
- Jolliffe, L. (2003) The lure of tea: history, traditions and attractions, in C.M. Hall, L. Sharples, R. Mitchell, N. Macionis, and M. Cambourne (eds.) *Food Tourism Around the World: Development, Management and Markets*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, pp. 121–136.
- Jolliffe, L. and Aslam, M. (2009) Tea heritage tourism: evidence from Sri Lanka. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 4(3): 331–344.
- Knight, D. (2014) Mushrooms, knowledge exchange and polytemporality in Kalloni, Greek Macedonia. *Food, Culture and Society*, 17(2):183–201.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (2004) Los Hongos en la Cultura, in R. G. Wasson (eds) *Antropología Estructural Mito, Sociedad y Humanidades*. México: Siglo XXI Editores, pp. 212–213.
- Lowenhaupt, A. (2015) *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Mariaca, M.R., Silva, P.L. and Castaños, M.C. (2001) Proceso de recolección y comercialización de hongos comestibles silvestres en el Valle de Toluca, México. *Ciencia Ergo-Sum*, 8(1): 30–40.
- McKercher, B. and du Cros, H. (2002) *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. New York: Haworth.
- Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Synthesis Report (2005) *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*. Washington: Island Press.
- Moreno, A. and Garibay, R. (2014) *La etnomicología en México. Estado del Arte*. México: Red de Etnoecología y Patrimonio Biocultural (CONACYT)-Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo-Instituto de Biología (UNAM)-Sociedad Mexicana de Micología-Asociación Etnobiológica Mexicana, A.C.-Grupo Interdisciplinario para el Desarrollo de la Etnomicología en México-Sociedad Latinoamericana de Etnobiología, pp. 221–241.
- Nietschmann, B. (1992) The interdependence of biological and cultural diversity. *Center for World Indigenous Studies*, 21: 1–8.
- Nuryanti, W. (1996). Heritage and postmodern tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2): 249–260.
- Ochoa, J. and Ladio, A. (2015) Current use of wild plants with edible underground storage organs in a rural population of Patagonia: between tradition and change. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine*, 11(70): 1–14.
- Pacheco, L., Rosetti, M., Montoya, A. and Hudson, R. (2015) Towards a traditional ecological knowledge-based monitoring scheme: a proposal for the case of edible mushrooms. *Biodivers. Conserv.*, 24(5): 1253–1269.

- Palmer, C. (2005) An ethnography of Englishness: experiencing identity through tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32: 7–27.
- Palmer, C. (2009) Reflections on the practice of ethnography in heritage tourism, in M.-L. S. Sorensen and J. Carman (eds.) *Heritage Studies. Methods and Approaches*. London: Routledge, pp. 123–39.
- Ramírez, T. A., Montoya, E. A. and Caballero, N. J. (2014) Una mirada al conocimiento tradicional sobre los hongos tóxicos en México, in A. Moreno Fuentes and R. Garibay Orijel (eds.), *La Etnomicología en México. Estado del Arte*. México: Red de Etnoecología y Patrimonio Biocultural (CONACYT)-Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo-Instituto de Biología (UNAM)-Sociedad Mexicana de Micología-Asociación Etnobiológica Mexicana, A.C.-Grupo Interdisciplinario para el Desarrollo de la Etnomicología en México-Sociedad Latinoamericana de Etnobiología, pp. 3–14.
- Ruddle, K. (1993) The transmission of traditional ecological knowledge, in J.T. Inglis, (ed.) *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases*. Ottawa: International Program on Traditional Ecological Knowledge and International Development Research Centre, pp. 17–31.
- Santiago, F., Moreno, J., Cázares, B., Suárez, J., Trejo, E., Montes de Oca, G. and Aguilar, I. (2016) Traditional knowledge and use of wild mushrooms by Mixtecs or Nuu savi, the people of the rain, from Southeastern Mexico. *J Ethnobiol Ethnomed*, 12(1): 35.
- Sharpley, R. and Jepson, D. (2011) Rural tourism: A spiritual experience? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(1): 52–71.
- Stake, R. (2000) Case studies, in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 435–454.
- Thomé-Ortiz, H. (2015) Turismo micológico: una nueva mirada al bosque. *Ciencia y Desarrollo*, 41: 14–19.
- Thomé-Ortiz, H. (2016) Turismo rural y sustentabilidad. El caso del turismo micológico en el Estado de México, in F. Carreño and A. Vásquez (eds.) *Ambiente y patrimonio cultural*. Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, pp. 43–69.
- Toledo, V. M. (2001) Biodiversity and indigenous peoples, in S. Levin et al. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Biodiversity*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 1181–1197.
- Toledo, V. (2012) *Red Etnoecología y Patrimonio Biocultural*. México: COANACYT
- Toledo, V. and Barrera, N. (2008) *La memoria biocultural La importancia ecológica de las sabidurías tradicionales*. España: Icaria.
- Toledo, V. M., Boege, E. and Barrera-Bassols, N. (2010) The biocultural heritage of Mexico: an overview. *Langscape*, 6: 6–10.
- Tzanelli, R. (2013) *Heritage in the Digital Era: Cinematic Tourism and Activist Cause*. London: Routledge.
- Verinis, P and Williams, R. (2016) The Mushroom at the end of the world: on the possibility of life in capitalist ruins. *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment*, 32(2): 131–135.
- Voeks, R.A. and Leony, A. (2004) Forgetting the forest: assessing medicinal plant erosion in eastern Brazil. *Econ Bot*, 58: 294–306.
- Ward, Peter. (1998) Future livelihoods in Mexico City: A glimpse into the new millennium. *Cities*, 15: 63–74.
- Wasson, V. and Wasson, R. (1957) Mushrooms, Russia and history. *Pantheon Books 1 and 2*: 433.
- Willson, G., McIntosh, A. and Zahra, A. (2013) Tourism and spirituality: a phenomenological analysis. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 42: 150–168.
- Woods, M. (2007) Engaging the global countryside: globalization, hybridity and the reconstitution of rural place. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(4): 485–507.