



## Looking for gustatory recognition in an ethnic native village: A narrative of m home near the ancient tea horse road in Southwest China

Yang Liao<sup>1</sup>, Shaodi He<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor & Ph. D of Anthropology Department of Sociology, College of Public Management, South China Agricultural University, Guangzhou, China

<sup>2</sup> Master of Social Work College of Public Management, South China Agricultural University, Guangzhou, China

### Abstract

Food not only is the necessity of taste-perception for villagers' daily lives, but has been the consumer goods for the gustatory recognition of tourists in N village. This article focuses on the changing of M Home as an inn and an auberge near the Ancient Tea-Horse Road as a typical business case of the N village, an Tourism Community mixed with the Hani and Yi Ethnic minorities groups in the Ning'er Hani and Yi Autonomous County, formerly Pu'er Prefecture, Yunnan, PRC. Firstly, the authors scrutinize the multiple of the Chinese policy and examine ideologies the way in which villagers face and adjust to changing village-community spatial structure after the 2007 earthquake-ravages of space and time which was based on participant observation and in-depth interviews of fieldwork in 2017. This focus analyses how the N village as a traditional village and the M Home survive and remould in the tourism development of social changing, demonstrating that how these change influenced family structure, family relationship and household business mode management of the M Home, a traditional inn near the Ancient Tea-Horse Road. By bringing home to pursue a better life, villagers devote their time to construct a liveable, cosy and commercialistic village and operate business, tourists expected to look for domestic gustatory and consume in this village. Furthermore, it examined a series of factors which lead to the M Home become a household business model of home-grown modern eco-cultural tourism in a traditional ethnic minority village. The underlying objective is to explore the relationship and interaction between the role of tourists-eaters, tourism domestic-business and the household business model of home-grown farmhouse with the development and reconstruction of N village traditional ethnic minorities culture and ecological environment in the Food-anthropological perspective.

**Keywords:** home-grown gustatory, ancient tea-horse roadside inn, domestic model of auberge business, tourism-food, family-taste maker, tourist-eater role

### 1. Introduction

Why does an inn that so traditional and off the grid near the ancient Tea Horse Road which becomes pretty popular and famous? After the field work to N villages' most famous inn near the Ancient Tea-Horse Road as household restaurant, we were given a richly descriptive account of the changing of tourist catering consumption of rural change tourism economy pattern which was tasted-cognition of home-dining combined with gustatory-recognition of tourism-eaters during the ten years from 2007 to 2017 at N village which mixed with Bai, Dai, Han and Lahu ethnic groups, mainly Hani and Yi people, Ning'er Hani and Yi Autonomous County, Pu'er in Southwest China.

In this paper, the purpose is to illustrate the changes in this specific tourist spatial structure of traditional village and livelihood pattern of villagers, tourist food need of the specialties experience in N village and national political signals of tourism policy development on the triangle relations and interaction, the development of tourism have motivated this village to experience changes in the form of dietary culture in the social change.

Since the 1990s, tourism anthropology in China as a new generation of anthropology has detailed different views of the relationship between anthropology and ethnic tourism (Li 1997) <sup>[10]</sup>; (Peng 1999) <sup>[14]</sup>. Reference to Wang

Zhusheng's work, tourism anthropology of minority regions has got more and more attention in China (Wang 1993) <sup>[22]</sup>; (Zhusheng 1997) <sup>[29]</sup>. Indeed, tourism anthropology of Chinese Society is a part of social and cultural lives (Tan, Cheung *et al.* 2001) <sup>[21]</sup>. Peng Zhaorong as a key scholars advocated that tourism anthropology in China should focus on ethnic tourism rather than on other forms of leisure travel (Peng Zhaorong 2008) <sup>[15]</sup>. The another key scholars, Sun Jiuxia concerned the daily life of ordinary people and the development of society with anthropological theories and methods (Jiuxia 2009) <sup>[7]</sup>. In 2006, Zong Xiaolian illustrated how the local Naxi community to pursue their lives (Zong 2006) <sup>[30]</sup>. Furthermore, the increasing perception is focalized around the complex power dynamics of ethnic tourism, for instance, those external entrepreneurs would like to cooperate with the local authorities to promote ethnicity as the main cultural resource for marketing and branding (BAO and SUN 2006) <sup>[1]</sup>.

Over the past ten years (2007-2017), however, the growth of tourism industry and the ethnic restaurant has been explosive quite rapidly at some outlying villages in Southwest China. In 2017, some scholar pointed that tourism anthropology in China has been largely focused on ethnic tourism and its impact on local societies which especially applied in ethnic tourism coupled with the official

central government's policies concerning minority nationalities (Zhu, Jin *et al.* 2017) [28]. In reference of What is food tourism, the production and the way of consuming the cultural resources through food tourism are the part of sustainable food tourism management which is part of experiencing 'otherness' of tourism (Ellis, Park *et al.* 2018) [4]. However, we cannot ignore the footing of food with gustatory recognition in ethnic tourism.

We discuss the factors of change of native living habit and livelihood at the ethnic rural village under the influence of expanding tourism. By observing the M Home Household drink-food business model of home-stay, we can directly know village livelihood of home-grown tourism-food business. We found that looking for gustatory recognition is a critical factor to native and tourists in China. As for tourists, they indirectly demand for the home-cooked meal with home-grown vegetables while they have a trip to N village. Both of them are looking for a gustatory recognition in tourism interacts with each other. In the M home, there are not only the integral structure of village landscape and the interior family scene which contained the performance of those things that was full of memories of the Ancient Tea-Horse Road, but also a typical symbol of earthy home-cook and home-grown which means natural and healthy taste. Therefore, the N village reconstructed a tourism community space with the features of dramatic, entertaining, ethnic restaurants and ecological tourism to make dialogue to the tourists and express its exist to world by attracting more and more tourists.

## 2. The vicissitudes of the past decade in N village

### (1) The changes of N village ethnic tourism space construction

The tourist development of the N village is from the beginning of an earthquake in 2007, a lots of villagers' houses were damaged in the earthquake, and family life and villagers' production were also badly hit. According to the 11th five-year plan about the national economy and social development made by the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee of CPC, the construction of new socialist countryside is a significant history task of modernization construction and strategic measure in China. After the earthquake, the county government resumed the construction of the N village as a new socialist countryside and constructed a traditional village as an ethnic touristic space. In 2007, the villagers embarked on developing rural tourism and building a new home as a representative village of new socialist countryside, also, they responded to the "boosting agricultural tourism and promote rural economic" and made a contribution to the new socialist countryside (Luo 2006) [12]. The beautiful ecological scenery with mountains and rives and the Ancient Tea-Horse Road as historical and cultural heritage are the important basic factors for the development of ethnic tourism spacial village.

In 2008, 43 households moved into their new homes in January. That same year, Xi Jinping who was the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Chinese Vice-President at the time visited the N village in post-disaster reconstruction and went on the M Home to visit with the older generational host who went by the alias Mr. M at the M Home. In 2009, the N village integrated historical and traditional cultural resources to associate eco-tourism policy and opened the village space to

the public as a tourist scenic space. Also, it organize the rural tourism work conference and successfully declared it the 2nd batch of Yunnan provincial tourism villages.

In 2010, the N village had been basically completed the restoration of infrastructure, reconstruction of tourist attractions and river landscape and renovation project of public space structure, such as villagers' houses, the N Primary School, the Wind-Rain Bridge, the historic site of the Ancient Tea-Horse Road and the M Home Inn as a Museum of Horse Caravan, etc. Initially, there were three farmhouse inns with distinctive native cuisine. Days passed, while villagers' life started to rally, the villagers were still suffering from the loss of farmland because of the construction of the Kunming-Bangkok Expressway. The Kunming-Bangkok Expressway cut through mountains, crossed through villagers' farmland. That same year, the special plan for the ethnic tourism of the N village as a station of the Tea-horse ancient road was established in August and the 2nd period Ancient Tea-Horse Road development project of ethnic tourism in the village was started in September.

Natives expect that "could live on the N village as a station of the Ancient Tea-horse road like their ancestor to service those travellers and see them off as daily life and work." The Road laid a foundation for the development of ethnic tourism in the N village. The most important thing is to guide natives to participate in the development and construction of tourist attractions by village space and villagers as work-forces. So far, the reconstructed N village saw off the 11th five-year plan and ushered in the 12th five-year plan. As a villager said, "These years, we have no time to Bang-bang Jump [1], all of us concentrate on construction of development and open, like open house for tourists and open for business." The development of roads is not only a new impetus to the change of traditional village space and livelihoods model, but also a direct embodiment of the implementation of a political strategy link. On the one hand, whether it is a substantive transaction or a symbolic exchange, the road leads to the eventual reach of modern transactions across space barriers, and that is why Giddens's so-called disembedding of social relations could be possible (Chen 2017). On the other hand, the post-earthquake reconstruction of the N village infrastructure means "to link the dispersed territorial links as a national network, facilitating the emergence of centralized political governance"(Silver 2012) [20].

It is a crucial forming period to shape the N tourist village and change of villagers' livelihood modes during the 12th five-year plan period, from 2011 to 2015. The N village, surrounded by mountains, was reconstructed as an ancient village with green environment and clean rivers as an excellent natural environment and the Tea Horse ancient Road as its historical heritage, and its existence was announced to the outside world while its regulations and folk agreements were also set down. It stipulates that the villagers should actively encourage and guide to develop tourism at first and villagers should develop the tourism project of farm household model of Inns, auberge or stores with green ecological, health-enhancement, distinctive ethnicity style and the features of the Ancient Tea-horse road and product tourist commodities like souvenir, ethnic artworks and various ethnic food, cuisine etc. There are ethnic woodcarving as adornment, local tea and wine, Yunnan coffee, pickling pot, crock and so on. In addition,

the Kunming-Bangkok Expressway has promoted the development of logistics in Pu'er and Xishuangbanna (Yang J.L. 2015) [24]. Zhang Jingpeng, explained that the Chinese part of the Kunming-Bangkok Expressway from Kunming to Mohan port, as the first international expressway running in China, is an important channel for economic cooperation and exchange among the countries of the Lancang-Mekong subregion, which greatly promotes the regional logistics of China and Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and has a great influence on the economy of the southwest region (Zhang J.P. 2015) [26]. Faced with the land expropriation and the land lost and the evolution of from the Tea-horse ancient road to the Kunming-Bangkok Expressway, the villagers began to seek to a livelihood which could adapt to the of the changing village space.

In 2011, the Kunming-Bangkok Expressway through the N village comes into operation. Road is considered a relatively perfect prerequisite to provide convenience for tourists and lead to trade emergence and development of tourism. The N village held a series of folk songs activities of “ Across the spatiotemporal Ancient Tea-horse Road ”, meanwhile Tan Jing, a Chinese famous singer, came to the N village, took the village scenery as a scene of Music video of The Love of Pu'er. Correspondingly, tourism promoted further development of regional trade (Xiaoping 2006). The villagers realized that they can learned from the past and

planned to conform to the trend of the times of vicissitudes to achieved in the course of challenges with the impetus of local government. “The good days would come back, we don't want to give it up. We've never been abandoned. The life will be better and better.” said by a native.

In 2012, the N village was the one of the 1st Batch list of Traditional village in China which was published by the ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Construction, the ministry of Culture and the ministry of finance and also be the one of the 30 Most Attractive Villages in Yunnan in the *Searching for Chinese Most Beautiful Scenery Villages/Countries*. In 2013, the State Council announced that the site of the Yunnan Tea Horse Ancient Road, Ning'er Section—N village part was issued one of the 7th Batch Major historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level. In the following year, the N village was honoured as one of the ancient village of the Most Beautiful and Comfortable village by the Ministry of Agriculture in 2014. As an ethnic village of Ancient Tea Horse road village for tourist village, it held the Pan-Asian Tea Horse Road Culture and Arts Festival. In 2015, the N village was selected as one of the National Ecocultural Villages by the China Ecological Culture Association. Zhou xun, a well-known Chinese actress and singer, was filmed in N village with Zhejiang TV's Variety reality show and visited the M Home.



**Fig 1:** The holistic view of N village in 2012 which took by a native.

## (2) The changes of native livelihood model

The changes in the N village spatial construction made villagers live more comfortable with the very of geographical landscape engineering. These changes that impel them to adjust the production status and employment structure of N village. Due to the in-depth study of the Ancient Tea Horse Road, the promotion of horse caravan culture and tourism development, the N village became famous for its scenery and ethnic culture, many celebrities, artists and academics have been there for a visit and many television media made publicity for the N village, such as CCTV-music channel the Folk Songs in China of the Singing Wild China. Although the N village spacial construction is not set up mainly for tourists, it is produced for visitors to a minority village. Apparently, if it is said that

the change of the N villagers' livelihood model is a passive adjustment, then N village tourism spatial reconstruction is an active acculturation which pander to public taste and tourist interesting because the interests of the N village tourism spatial reconstruction and natives livelihood have been closely linked. This is an active pander because the reconstruction of tourism N village.

Through the promotion of many social media, there is a kind of subtle connection between a minority and faraway N village and tourists who would come from all around the world. In reference to Liu, What the social media drives is a reconstructive movement of spatial relations, two strange fragment spaces are linked based on a certain game-type, dramatic entertainment purpose or commercial purpose (Liu 2013) [11]. Roads and social media used tourism as a

medium to appear villagers' daily life as poetry and beyond for tourists, and thus establish an infinitely extend network of relationships of villagers-visitors. No matter when and where the tourists are from, they can build a connection between tourists and the villagers to image the charm of the N village and have an intention to have a tour of the N village via social media.

As the disappearance of the role of the Ancient Tea Horse Road, it evolved into a memorial, propaganda and tourism function of the historical site of the Ancient Tea Horse road. As for the natives, they change their farmer's identity to the tourist service practitioners. According to the standards and requirement of the new rural construction standards and requirements, the spatial planning of the N village rearranged land, unified planning and step-by step implementation. In 2016, the changes of N village tourism space construction and villagers' livelihood model laid the overall situation. It means that N village had changed from the domestic mode of production for peasant economical village to the Home-household mode of business for Eco-tourist village. According to Redfield, Peasants, the peasant society is the part societies, part cultures (Redfield 1989). During the 1960s the N village on roadside of the ancient Tea Horse road was the peasant society with the domestic mode of production. Nowadays, the N village tourism created non-farm workforce for villagers. The villagers' houses not only meet the needs of family life, but also have spare rooms to open to the tourists as a lodging, so that the tourists have a more comfortable experience of Eco-rural in N village. Therefore, the houses met villagers and livestock before the earthquake. Nowadays, the rebuilding of the houses is the construction of homogenization, the livestock are far separated house and had been raised in a planned-public room to be intensively farmed. For example, pig farming had been a closely related daily activity in the life of villagers' dwellings, but the villages have adopted the collective pig house model of village. Each houses have no need to feed pigs at the house. The pig raising space and villagers' living space are isolated. The most important holiday eating event in N village is "killing years-pig" at the end of the lunar year. Enjoying "killing pig rice" is one of the most ceremonious feast. In the changes of villagers' livelihood model, the pigs of the "killing-years-pig" and the "killing-pig-rice" have no need to breed, they can buy it directly. A young native lady said, for the past two years, those villagers' restaurants organized "killing-pig-rice" activities to attract tourists to the village's tourism, before that, the time of the "killing-years-pig" and "killing-pig-rice" was at the end of the lunar year, and the "killing-years-pig" and "killing-pig-rice" was limited to the food and entertainment activity for family and villager's friends. Tourist experience has become the normalization of N village daily life, also as an inseparable part of villagers' life. The farmhouse-Inn of household mode of business plays an important role in the tourism economy of N village. While providing family diet, farmhouse-Inn also dominates the tourists' diet and taste cognition. "There are 68 household in the village and population of the ancient is 269. The construction land in the village is mainly

residential land, and there is no industrial land. We are not like the Old town of Lijiang and the ancient town of Dali, to asked the local move away from their homes and build a tourism destination. In N village, it belong to the villagers and we have our own villagers." said by the village cadre. Obviously, the boundary between life and tourism is blurred in the N village, the village became a scenic spot. While actively maintaining the nature environment and life employment of the N village, the villagers' explored the development of green ecological farmhouse-inn as a tourism project with green ecology and distinctive minority like the M Home, a Tea-Horse Roadside Inn. The villagers set up family taverns, farmhouse-inn, catering farm and family tea-mill with the characteristic diet of ethnic village as unique selling points. N village became an economical combination of ethnic culture tourism and diet.

### 3. The taste whirligig of M Home domestic food business

Let's start from the M Home in N village to understand the exploring tourism as a new economic motives for the M Home and the changes in traditional food of domestic model of production so that to highlight what did they do to adapt to the time of tourism economic formation of Chinese traditional ethnic-minority village where they live in and how family members approach to family diet in the daily-life home-grown restaurant.

There is a stream which runs through the village from the west to the east of N village. Nearby the entrance of N village, concentric bridge, one of many of attractions that tourists can visit with padlocks for tourists memento. Through the concentric bridge, the road that is also for driving built along the stream is newly built after the earthquake. Along this road, the tourists can walk to the site of the Ancient Tea Horse road at N village, one of the 7th Batch Major historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level. Less than two hundred meters away the site of the ancient Tea Horse road, it is the M Home. The Wind-Rain Bridge, the Horse caravan Museum and the site of washing and grooming Horse stable are all in the M Home. The most famous farmhouse-inn and restaurants of N village is M Home. Most of tourists are most famous for their taste of ethnic earthy style. The M Home house was built on the basis of the original site.

According to the previous householder, Mr. M recalled that his grandpa bought this horse shop in 1935 and run to 1954. As the horse caravan disappeared, the function of the Horse Inn also retreated. In 2007, the M Home rebuilt and run family Inn with food business. The eldest son of Mr. M, who was an outstanding worker, backed to N village with his wife and became the new householder of the M Home Inn and mainstay of the family. As it mentioned, Mr. Xi Jinping who was the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Chinese Vice-President at the time visited Mr. M, the M Home older generational householder. They shook hands and took a photo as souvenir. The M Home hang this photo in each conspicuous place of the restaurant. As a symbol, tourists were also keen to shake hands with Mr. M and take a photo for a souvenir picture

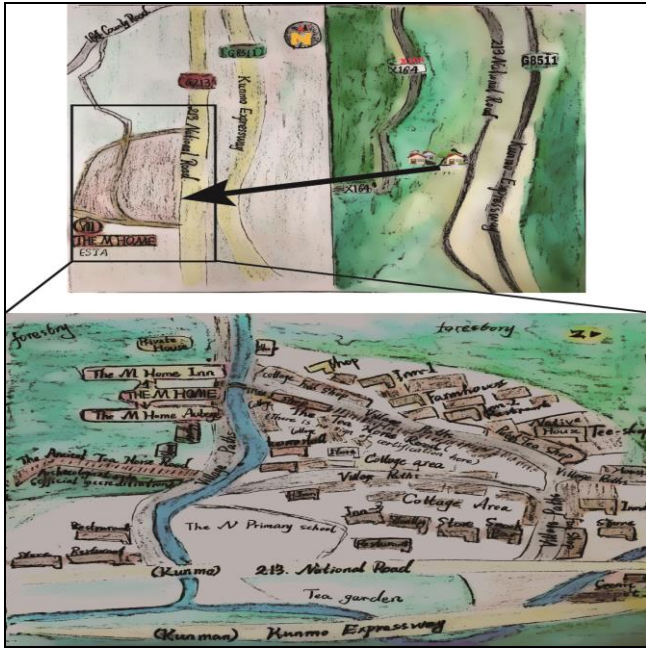


Fig 2: The map of the N village.

The M Home used to be the domestic mode of production (Sahlins 2017) [17], Horse Inn for Tea Horse caravan, but now, it turns into the Home-Inn household model of food business. The M Home, as the family food taste maker, created a gustatory-perception of fusion of indigenous food and tourists' taste. It reflected the survivability, inheritance, regionalism and people-hood of the four major characteristics of food culture (Zhangshulin. 2009) [27].

Nowadays, the M Home is a household restaurant with sightseeing, the historical things ancient tea horse road display, tasting experience of tea horse caravan, listening tea horse caravan story of oral history narrator and tea house. Meanwhile, the M Home with the traditional style building and the feature of tea horse caravan became the most important symbol of ethnic tourism in the N village. This is to meet the needs of tourists in which urge the villagers to regard the development of tourism as a way to benefit and develop according to the preferences of tourists (Nash 1989) [13]. When the eldest son and his wife run the M Home catering business, their babies were born. One is girl, who was 10 years old in 2017, and another is a boy, who was 6 years old in 2017. They are studying in N village primary school. In 2011, the Mr. Lee's youngest son once as a migrant workers, came back to N village and joined the M Home business. While the youngest son married, the young family wanted to separate. In 2016, the M Home declared separation of the M family. They took the M Home as the business symbol and run two household restaurants respectively. One is the M Home Yam-Inn, and another is the M Home Horse-Inn. The M Home Horse-Inn is the official name which belong to the family of eldest son. "As an heir, the name of the M Home Horse-Inn as a Trademark License should left to the eldest son." said by Mr. Lee.

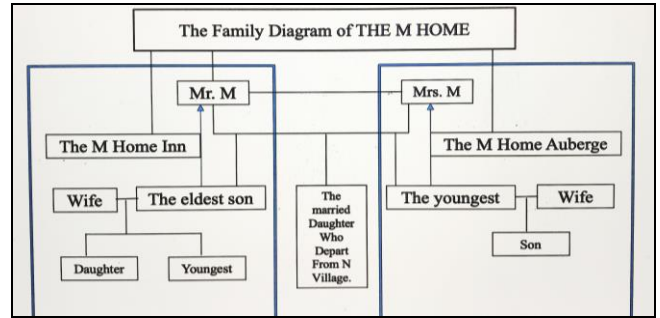


Fig 3: The diagram of family separation in the M Home.

The separation is a kind of family status as a microcosm and response to the development of cultural economy of N village. Since N village has been change into a tourist village of the Ancient Tea Horse road, the M Home has become a typical symbol of tourism culture and food business mode at N village. The M Home have opened up again which presents an old trademarks to tourists after disappearance of the ancient horse caravan.

As a typical Ancient Tea-Horse Road Inn of the M Home household model of food business, there constructed three aspects of taste cognition to take up the role of village ethnic domestic restaurant with home-grown of food business. The long and firm foundations of Chinese unique rural development is based on the Household organization or familialism as a system which is an important part of Chinese tradition with long history, and the household become the core status as a basic business organizational system (Yong 2014) [25].



Fig 4: The M Home Auberge & the M Home Inn after family separation.

First of all, the taste cognition is associated with family structure. "We prefer to the M Home Auberge which is previous one. The previous kitchen has the original taste" a tourist said. However, the village cadres said they would like to recommend the M Home Inn, the eldest son is the chef of the M Home. "As a local, I like the taste of the M Home Inn, I recommend it" a village cadre said. The new kitchen laid a foundation for M family separation. The older generation of the couple, Mr. M and Mrs. M separated from each other which is regarded as a cultural symbol of separation. "One of rules of family separation stipulated that

the new family must support an old one at N village. Therefore, I am no longer living with my wife, I live with the family of my eldest son. As for my wife, she lives with the family of the youngest” said by Mr. Lee. In terms of system, family separation was separated from household registration system and economy. The family separation of M Home is a manifestation of property flow under the change of livelihood mode at N village. As Mr. M said that separation is good for their business accounts. “It is convenient for life and business” said by the eldest son’s wife, who is also the manager of the M Home Inn. In other words, the economic efficiency of restaurant operations became an important factor in the disintegration of the extended family.

In terms of kitchen spatial structure differences, the new kitchen is built-in the hillside sloping over the previous kitchen, which is built in accordance with the same hillside of the previous kitchen. “The new kitchen with a good Fengshui (fortune) is flourishing the M Home Inn food business.” A tourist said. Compared with the previous kitchen, the new kitchen has been more up-to-date kitchen equipment and regulations of kitchen Hygiene. For example, the new kitchen separates the functions of picking and washing vegetables and cooking from the kitchen space. In the new kitchen primary partition, there are three part of the new kitchen, one is a room for the cooking part, and another room for storage part and washing part in an open space which was specially designed outside the kitchen and used a large piece of plastic to shade homeworkers from the rain or strong sunshine.

The function of the previous kitchen is centered and unified in the main space of the traditional kitchen which is a room for food rinsing, dish washing, storage and cooking. The display of the kitchen equipment and hygiene of management is old as the previous kitchen. In particular, there is a natural big stone which is hollowed out as stone-cistern in the previous kitchen, whereas the new kitchen without any store for water supply. The function of the new kitchen expands into the external space, and the previous one is concentrated in the interior space. On the one hand, the new kitchen is the epitome of modern catering mechanism entering the village catering. On the other hand, the previous kitchen is the response of the traditional kitchen to the modern food business.

Secondly, taste cognition is inextricably linked the homeworkers as helpers of household mode of food business. The formation of taste cognition began with family helpers in the M Home. In terms of working hours, there are types of homeworkers. one is a permanent homeworkers who work from Monday to Sunday, and the other is a temporary homeworkers who just need to work on Saturday and Sunday. The homeworkers do not think that they are employees. “We just come to help. We are the helpers” they said. Some staffs have kinship with the M Home and some of them are the neighbors of N village. They like to chat while they were working. The number of “helpers” (employees) on the weekend is three to five more than the number of workers on the working day in the M Home Inn. The staffs are mostly women, supplemented by men, and the personnel are constant. A middle-aged female worker-helper said, “I just came to help on weekends, I was usually at home, sometimes I need to get to pick tea with my family, and sometimes there are guests (tourists) would stay in my house. It is nice to be here or there to help neighbors

because we are in the same village. We will help each other.” Occasionally, there are a couple of special temporary workers who are gatherer of gathering mushrooms in the wild. The mushrooms gatherers would help to pick up and wash mushrooms. This service called “help” which is not a paid work. It is the favor of the eldest and his wife in M Home Inn. The mushrooms gatherer said, “They are so nice to us, we would like to help them.”

In addition, from the point of view of work division, men are responsible for meat handling and women are responsible for vegetables, such as picking, cleaning and sorting and putting vegetables in small baskets one by one, and placing on shelves of layers for the choice of tourism-eater. However, the division of labor between men and women is unrestricted.

If necessary, women also are required deal with meat such as killing a chicken or a duck. As far as we observe, male workers have never been cleaned or washed the vegetables. The landlady said nicely “I do not restrict their work content. They do what they want to do.” Obviously, among the division of labor between men and women, there are conventional rules in their life. Ethnic cuisine of the M Home is not the family daily cuisine. The way of cooking in the M Home is more complicated which require more labor to complete together. For example, a female helper was pestling a local food, suddenly, she stopped it and went to the hillside nearby the kitchen and picked a fresh herb. She turned back and shredded the herb, then she put it into the food. She said, I do not cook these cuisine. It is too troublesome and tiring.



**Fig 5:** A female homemaker as helper was pestling food and the other homeworkers.

Lastly, the key to taste cognition is directly related to the sources of food in M Home. With family separation of M Home, a little portion of food is home-grown produce from the vegetable garden of the M Home Inn. The vegetable garden is cultivated with home-grown eggplant, tomatoes, pumpkins, and unknown vegetable. Another kind of food is purchased from the market through household mode to the product instead of homemade mode or DIY mode. This kind of food is: local wine, chicken, duck, pork, fish, some herb and so on. Most of sustenance are purchased at the Ning'er market. The eldest son and his wife usually need to get to the market together with their vehicle which is a pickup truck. Depending on the weekend and working days, the couple choose the how much sustenance that they need. They said that usually there are more customers (tourist-eater) on weekends, and fewer on Monday and the customer’s order the taste in advance so that there is sufficient time for food cognition from procurement,

cooking, and cuisine of food production. The last part of the local food came from a specific supply of food suppliers under the constraints of time and geographic restrictions. Such as mushrooms which were supplied by mushrooms gatherers, Pu-erh tea which was supplied by the tea-farmer and local-tourist wine which was supplied by N village studio. The mushrooms suppliers are the couples who got up early to pick up the mushrooms during Spring and Summer months. They transported the fresh mushrooms to the M Home Horse-Inn after gathering mushrooms in the wild.



**Fig 6:** One of mushrooms gatherers who provided services of washing mushrooms.

The M Home as a traditional brand became a cultural and cherished symbol of N village tourism. The inheritance of M Home is not only the obligation of ancestors, but also the need of current economic interests. The eldest son converted the old stability of the original M Home into a cozy restaurant which is the major space of business places of the M Home Inn. The input and use of the new kitchen made the previous stable become a tea house and house of food business. The eldest son became the chef on the new kitchen and the operator of the M Home. It means that he inherited the M Home which forms the connection between the small family and expanded family as the symbol of the family cultural core. Whether it is the M Home Inn or the M Home Auberge, they are the typical restaurant of the domestic mode of earthy ethnic food business. In order to elaborate the social and recreational functions of the village tourism, they have a stable development structure, and provide the pleasure of the tourists in the taste-perception of natural beauty and humanity in the N village tourism.

#### **4. Gustatory recognition of ethnic food: the dialogue of tourist-eaters**

“Tasting cuisine of the Ancient Tea-Horse road in M Home Inn was the basic reason that we visited this village, as one of the most famous station in the ancient Tea-Horse Road.” Said by a tourist as well as the tourist-eater in the M Home. Tourists to N village have an eater’s identity in the meantime. The natural surroundings and cultural landscape of housing as a restaurant like the M Home have unified the identity of tourists and eater which is the tourist-eaters role. The tourists-eaters get a series of perceptive behaviors or feelings by the taste cognition of the household restaurant during their tourist period of minority ecotourism in the N village, which formed the taste-cognition of the tourist-food. In the eater-recognition of tourist food, the tourists-eaters

role gained the initiative who is the subject of the local ethnic cuisine and the tourists service providers would become the object of the local food although they have tourist-eater’s recognition. As for the village ecological scenery with mountains and rivers became an intermediary between the taste cognition and tourist-eaters recognition. As a tourism symbol of N village and the service provider of taste-perception, the M Home completed an interaction between taste cognition and tourist-eaters recognition. As a view, the development of tourism resource is also a process of tourism service providers planning, planning and using symbols, displaying and deducing native culture, and realizing the interaction with tourists (Sezerel and Taşdelen 2016) [18]. Then, how do the tourist-eaters experience the local of the taste recognition in the village?

Choosing gustatory is the first stage for tourist-eaters role to complete the experience of tourist-eaters recognition. Although the N village Tourism Association has set one Menu of traditional cuisine with the same card, the same cuisine, the same local dish and the clear price in every restaurant, this menu is placed in the corner which did not work. Therefore, there is no menu at the restaurant. How the tourist-eater order the cuisine? It depended on which type tourist-eater is.

There are two types of tourist-eaters, one is the advance booking type and other is the random type. The advance booking tourist-eaters were usually invited to visit N village when there were tourist taste-cognition activity held by local government agencies, experts, institutions (such as college, research institutes, or business associations, etc.) and artists or social media (like press, Television show, WeChat subscriptions, bloggers, propaganda official news, etc.). The advance booking tourist-eaters would negotiate with the chef for the number of tourist-eaters and the time, explain the taboos on the diet, and hand over the selection of most cuisine to the operators and chefs of restaurant. As for the random tourist-eaters, they should negotiate with restaurant operators to choose local cuisine without menu. Take the M Home Inn as an example, the process of tourist-eaters and operator choosing the local food together like a garden activity. During the garden activity, the tourists said, it just like to enjoy the stately home. The operator of the M Home Inn leads those tourists to the garden which behind the lobby of Tea Horse Caravan, and show fresh vegetable to tourists. Then tourists can choose which one that they want to eat.

Walk along the vegetable garden to the kitchen area, tourist would see the some baskets of vegetables on the shelf, then they point the selected vegetable which will be recorded by operator. Tourists can freely visit the kitchen and look around to see the local food. Sometimes, the tourist-eaters would meet the mushrooms gatherers in kitchen area and asked about the price of mushrooms and whether the mushrooms gatherers would willing to sell the mushrooms to them. The mushroom gatherers would tell the tourist the price of the mushrooms faithfully, but they refused to sell any mushroom to the tourist and said that the mushrooms were only selling to the M Home. The tourist-eaters thought it is pity because the price of the mushrooms were cheap. Consequently, they refer to taste the mushrooms in the M Home Inn. As for meat, it is usually seen that processed meat is put in the freezer, waiting for the tourist to choose; the tourist-eaters would like to consult the chef and follow the chef’s advice. The tourist-eaters would like to ask, “ is

there any meat? ” The chef would like to answer “We have chicken, duck and pork.” If these answers do not satisfy the tourist-eaters, the chef will lead them into the storage room and open another freezer to quietly choose some “farmed meat and wild game.” The ethnic local cuisine is coordinated by chef with local dish and meat and vegetables. The tourist said, “we can see how many workers clean the food and the kitchen area. We trust in the local diet because we can see the local cuisine of the restaurant or inn are safe. The house is their home. We have fun to enjoy the food in their home. The feeling is that we are the friend of this family.”

In the restaurants or inns of N village, the way of ordering dishes in the M Home is a kind of taste-cognition in N village. It is a consultation process between tourist-eater and food business operators in choosing of local dishes without menu, pictures, name and explanation of local food. Interestingly enough, the way of cooking is based on local taste-cognition, and food belongs to the chef before being tasted and the action of taste is part of taste-cognition for gustatory recognition of tourist-eater. Cooking established connection between family-taste maker and tourist-eater. The chef cooked delicious local food, which created the cognition of the group of tourist-eater.

There is a tacit agreement between of local cuisine between family-taste chefs and tourist-eater because they seem to know the style and eater of local cuisines when they were choosing ethnic food although those food were very strange and curious for them. As the survey shown, there were no tourist-eater feel horror and unacceptable after tasting the local cuisine. Otherwise, tourist-eater need to assume the risk of taste recognition that they have never had before ordering local dishes without Menu. Obviously, as the tourist-eaters said, “some of local cuisine were did surprise me, but it taste well. We never worry about tasting unpalatable. Tour is good a chance to have a fresh taste recognition.” Secondly, the key step to gustatory recognition of tourist-eater is savoring. Intuitive and sensual taste perception of tourist-eater present the eater of local food as tourist food in ecological village. In this process of savoring, tourist-eaters gave the local food an extraordinary meaning to the tourist space that tourists would like to explain their cognition of tourist. The tourist-eater were split into Yunnan and non-Yunnan people. For Yunnan, they have a cognition of identity with the local food in N village and will proudly show to non-Yunnan tourist-eater, “What you can taste here is the authentic. You would not taste the same cognition anywhere after you leave Yunnan. Just enjoy it and cherish it.” For non-Yunnan, the taste cognition is a novel savouring, the tourist-eater said, “Some local cuisines tasted normal, but it did, something is different. This taste cognition is really especially, but it is hard to describe.” As some scholars argued that, in the context of the tourism development of the ancient Tea Horse Road, local food culture and tourism are fully integrated (Sigley 2010) [19].

In the N village, there is a street peddler selling roasted sweet potatoes, honey and a few fruits beside the Wind-Rain Bridge and nearby the M Home Inn. Likely, food consumption in tourism showed its unique complexity (Köster 2009) [9]. Most tourists would like to buy the roasted sweet potatoes which were roasted by river clastic rocks and sands, although the price is more expensive than the market or somewhere else. The sweet potatoes purchased from the market and then roasted them in a cauldron which are the

main commodities of this street peddler. This street peddler usually said that the sweet potatoes are the authentic farm food which is the best taste and unique roast sweet potatoes. Correspondingly, some tourist-eater said, “The taste is different from the outside. This roast sweet potatoes are sweet and delicious. He roasted the sweet potatoes with river clastic rocks and sands, and the method of roasting was very special, maybe that is the feature of minority food in N village.”

Regardless of where the food come from, the villagers use their taste-perception to cook the food which would be regarded the features of ethnic minority local food of the Ancient Tea Horse road by the tourist-eater. As Jean Baudrillard believed, the demand of consumers is not object but value in consumer and the satisfaction of demand first has the value of adhering to these meanings (Baudrillard 2016) [2]. The M Home operators and chef would like to enjoy chatting with tourists as well as the street peddler, they thought, “we should know about the taste cognition of tourist-eater, our taste perception is not the same when you tourist in a strange village. The local food and local cuisine we created have shaped our village tourist reputation.” Cultural, social, psychological, personal cognition and other multi-elements influence and decision-making process of tourists’ dietary consumption (Furst, Connors *et al.* 1996) [5]. The tourist food which was constructed is an adjusted process between the taste-cognitions of local and the gustatory recognition of the tourist-eater.



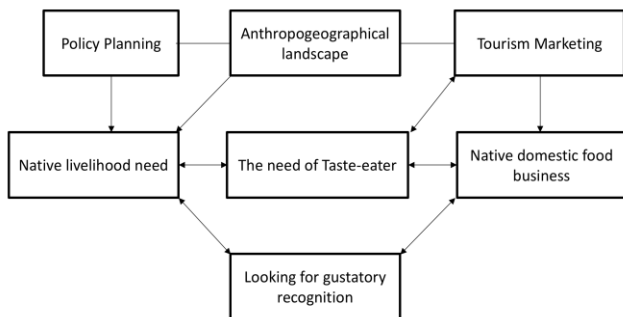
**Fig 7:** The local cuisines was took picture and posted on Wechat by a tourist-eaters.

Lastly, the tourist-eater would like to enjoy life of gustatory recognition with scenery to end their tourist in the N village. On the one hand, the home-grown food space for tourist-eater to enjoy the taste is a generous semi-open space which has given the tourist-eaters an insight into the changes taking place in villagers’ home. In other words, the domestic food business gives the tourist-eater a chance to enjoy the like at the edges of town, and satisfied their prying eyes about a life of the ethnic minority in N village. On the other hand, the tourist-eater enjoy the life when the smoke is curling up from the chimney and families is cooking, enjoy the life when they idle sit on old chair in the farmyard with tea to see the mountains, clouds, old trees, stones and flowers, enjoy the songs of birds and the gurgling merrily running rivers, enjoy the fresh air and the breathing of scent of the forests, and enjoy the fresh and health fruit and vegetables. The most interesting thing is the enjoy the others eater perception.

A tourist who come from Shanghai and led by Yunnan friend visited N village, said, “ There is no admission fee, the scenery is quite good. In the antique house to enjoy the food, I feel so relaxed.” Furthermore, there were a large part of the family tourist activities. For example, some couples came to travel with their child and have lunch or dinner in N village, said: “We think that children should to experience the village life and have the farm food, then, they would know what the village is and the rural history in China. The younger generation should know how rough the past life was and should remember their hard time and be thankful for their rich diet today.”

Nostalgia belongs to the comfort of the older generation, although they cannot back to the past, through the scenery of the building, the reaffirming and calling of the past, or the sense of taste, smelling and touching, the past can be recreated for them (Graburn 2009) [6]. Usually, some families is an elderly couple and a young couple with a few-year-old child, they said, “ tourist is a family entertainment. It made us to enjoy the landscape, enjoy the historical scene on the ancient tea horse road, and see the ethnic minority village life.” The children often asked Mr. M about stories of the M Home and Horse caravan, the sources of the horse’s goods, such as the horse saddle, horse bell, horse packagers, horsewhip and horseshoe. All these thing about the horse were very interested in children. Day by day, Mr. M has become a narrator to explain all those things about horse. At this level, the tourism diet, are nostalgic for the older generation and education for the younger generation.

Tourist’s village cultural landscapes, tourist-eater and tourism domestic food producers constitute a tourist-eater situation. The tourist-eater situation is the pursuit meaning given by tourists with specific expectations of tourism diet. As one of the main tourism interests related to the village spacial production, ssssstourist’s service providers connected the imagination of tourists into the village spacial production to participation in the domestic food business of the village spacial production. According to Sun & Su, tourists realized the imagination of traditional community space through the productive practice activities of tourism stakeholders and became one of the main body of the traditional community space production (Jiuxia 2014) [8]. The tourist catering place of tourist-eater is the important space which presents the local taste-perception. The tourist-eater role enjoy life of tourist through constructed such the Ancient Tea Horse roadside village with horse caravan culture.



**Fig 8:** The schematics of connection between the tourist and the village.

**5. Conclusion**

Firstly, the N village, a the ancient Tea Horse Roadside village, has become a tourism and cultural attraction community after ten years construction and development. The policy planning of the political factor is the pivotal link of the ethnic eco-tourism resources for N village. Tourist needs, policies, village economy and villagers’ livelihood need and the change of village spatial structure have led to the emergence of the household business mode farmhouses, which becomes the mainstay economic returns in the N village. Secondly, the gustatory is a factor that can’t be ignored for the ethnic food domestic business and tourism development. As a representative of this, the M Home has become a typical food culture of the village’s tourism and the symbolized sign of village economy. The vicissitudes in N village, economic differentiation, the concept of modern ownership of assets, capital accumulation, technological advancement, and economic conflicts of interests contribute to the family separation of M Home. Regarding the business mode of the M Home is as a microcosm of the cultural economic shape of N village, the dietary needs of tourists are the external driving force for the development of local tourism and food culture, while it is also a major factor in promoting local economic development.

Last, family (Home) household mode of ethnic food business has survived and expanded. The domestic food business has several characteristics in this traditional ethnic village ecotourism. It’s operating style which combines of farmhouse with the household structure and employees as work-helpers of household for mutual assistance and cooperation. The native food purchased for the home-grown agricultural products and household model processing market products with specific suppliers constitutes food domestic business. Gustatory recognition of tourist-eater interact with the village tourism through tourist-taste cognition of household mode of food business and tourism, thus they completed the construction of the tourist-eater activity of the practical significance. Domestic food and cuisines are a type of dialogue with tourists to the tourism of meaning through choosing taste, savouring the taste and enjoying tasting. Tourist-eaters and household mode of food domestic business restructured a tourist village and achieved the harmonious society of taste cognition and gustatory recognition.

**6. Acknowledgements**

Thanks to the 9th Filed Work & Summer School of Yunnan University for the help and support of this field work.

Table 1. The schematics of connection between the tourist and the village

Figure 1. The holistic view of N village.

Figure 2. The map and the route of the N village.

Figure 3. The family diagram of the M Home.

Figure 4. The M Home Inn and The M Home Auberge after family separation.

Figure 5. A female homemaker as helper was pestling food and the other homeworkers

Figure 6. One of mushrooms gatherers who provided services of washing mushrooms.

Figure 7. The local cuisines in N village was took picture and posted on WeChat by villagers.

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