

Local Cuisine and Local Identity in Lukang, Taiwan

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Abstract. With the development of the domestic tourism industry, a local cuisine has gradually formed and developed in Lukang, Chaung-Huang County, Taiwan. Although components of this local cuisine may share the same names as traditional local dishes, there are big differences between the traditional dishes and this one developed under the context of tourism. The traditional dishes in Lukang is similar to that of Quan Zhou (泉州) in southern Fujian province, China. In the 19th and 20th centuries, immigrants from Quan Zhou settled in Lukang and brought along their culture and cooking practices. Although it has passed through many generations since their arrival in Lukang, the cuisine remains very similar to the original. However, with the influx of tourists in the past few decades, commercial establishments developed new tastes which they refer to as “local cuisine” to attract tourists. The new tastes of this cuisine have enticed tourists and gradually have become a symbol of Lukang. Although it appears that local people identify with it, the support for this new local cuisine is based on the economic benefits derived from the tourism industry.

Keywords: local cuisine, tourism, innovation of tradition, Lukang.

INTRODUCTION

Lukang, located in southwestern Taiwan, is shaped by its relationship with the outside world. In the past, Lukang as a harbor was full of the passengers, travelers, and merchants; nowadays, it becomes a site of attraction to the public. Instead of a closed place, it is constructed by the intersection of social relations with the outside world. Lukang, as a place, is investigated and the concept of place, community and locality is interwoven as a complex issue. According to Agnew (1989), a place is mistaken as a community, because a community is a group of people with a shared culture system and a history within a certain geographical area. Community emphasizes on the interaction of people and it is a kind of social group, whereas place is a geographical spot and not equal to the community. Although he tried to differentiate community and place, his community was based on a certain geographical area without considering the spreading of the people from the same community.

By his definition, it is very easy to misunderstand his community activity as the activity in a certain place.

Castree (2003) thought a place included at least three characters: a geographical spot, the sense of a place, and the daily interaction. His definition indicated place is a space with social relations constructed through the activities in daily life. Rather than viewing a place as a static entity, he intended to focus on the process of place making, by combining the concept of community and place together. His definition is similar to Agnew (1989), but he indicated the importance of identity and memory in place making. However, he ignored the fact that the relationship between place and community is complex, and the construction of a community might not directly from a place. A community could identify itself by place and other cultural items. Although a place is a concrete symbol of identity which connects a community's past and future, not every community chooses such a symbol. Only the one who emphasizes on living contentedly in one place with little inclination to move elsewhere, will choose.

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Since place is made through social interaction, its construction is associated with the dynamics of power and resistance. According to K. Marx's points of view, the capitalism affects the structures of a society, because its system normally constructs the economy and politic of the society. A place is shaped by the capitalism and the locality is the site of resistance to the hegemonic influence (M. Jones, R. Jones & M. Woods 2006:99-100). This point emphasizes on the influence of capitalism, but place making is shaped not only by the economic power but also other powers from local, state, and global levels. All these powers construct place by a set of social-spatial relations with power struggles. Since the place making is a dynamic process, the boundaries of a place are defined through the social interaction and changes with different political situation. By drawing boundaries, state shows its controlling to local areas; however, the locality strives for the influence from state and global levels.

According to Dürschmidt (2000), boundaries are made through interactions between different groups of people. Whenever a group meets, people from the same backgrounds form an imagined community. Once the collective consciousness is created and is connected with a place, it becomes the basis to build place-based identities. This point focused on the cognitive aspect and the meaning of the boundaries is the collective attitude of a group. It indicates that a place-based identity is constructed through the symbol of a place. Ashworth & Graham's (2005) points were similar to Dürschmidt's point. Instead of analyzing collective identity, they thought personal identities, which are personal affections to a place, are more important than the boundaries of a group because people pay more attention to their life experiences and memories. Both theories emphasized on a person's cognitive aspects. I think Bourdieu's (1997) point can compensate those thoughts. He indicated a person's habitus, which is the basis of a person's daily practice and behaviors, is formed through the process of socialization. He didn't think a person is limited by social structure or his/her past; on the contrary, a person is consistently affected by inner and outer world. Although he discussed both sides of personal and social aspects, he emphasized more on social cultural influence. According to his points, identities are constructed through personal and social relations.

Looking at the place-based identity in Lukang, one can find that local cuisine is deeply entangled with it. The local cuisine of Lukang includes snacks, cakes, religious offerings, and other items. It has gained fame from activities such as folk fairs (民俗才藝活動), online voting for the most delicious food of Lukang (網路票選鹿港美食活動), market days (觀光市集), and the fair for Love of Health (愛的健康園遊會), etc. The local cuisine is the focus of those activities. It thereby is publicized by the media, and thus attracts tourists to Lukang.

Lukang has gained increasing attention as a tourist mecca. This has become important factors that shape and reshape the residents' everyday life. Since 1978, folk fairs have been held in Lukang to help recover some of the past glory days. In the 1970's, Lukang was a little-known town, but the fairs gave the town more publicity by drawing in large numbers of visitors and making it a tourist destination. Tourists began to savor the local food which has gradually become a focus of tourism activities. Local cuisine in turns attract many people and bring economic benefits to the town. Hall and Sharples (2003: 1-3) indicated that food is very important in both tourism experience and economic income. Based on the official statistics from South Africa, international tourists spend 8% of their total budget on food. Similar statistics are reported from Australian tourism board. In Australia, international tour groups spend an average of \$4066 Australian dollars on food for each group. In Germany and the US, international tourists bring similar benefits by consuming local food. In South Africa, in addition to the sightseeing, the local governments also encourage tourists to visit their traditional markets to buy local food and local wines.

Since local cuisine brings in revenue, local people have noted its importance and use it as a promoting symbol for their hometowns. Although one of the reasons for the success of local cuisine is its connection with traditional lifestyle, this does not mean that all the local cuisine is authentic. Aside from commercial establishments offering traditional delicacies in Lukang, there are also Western-style restaurants and some stores that offer a mix of traditional and non-Chinese style of food. In Lukang the local cuisine contains both traditional and Western-style food. Although they may appear to be at the different ends of the food spectrum, they are usually prepared and sold together. This paper examines these two seemingly

contradictory elements within the local cuisine: the formation of this cuisine as a symbol of identity in Lukang, and the influence that this symbol has had on local economic development.

Characteristics of the Local Cuisine

In order to analyze these two elements of the local cuisine, I examined the ingredients of the food. Ingredients are the dietary base, and their selection affects local eating habits. Dishes also differ according to how different ingredients are cooked. P. Scholliers (2001) stated that only if a person eats the local food can he/she become a local person. Food affects the relationships between a person and a place, so people construct their local identity in part through food. Although, this point indicated the importance of food in our daily life, it ignored that nowadays transportation is more convenient than ever, and food is not limited to its original place. As Mintz (2006: 3-5) states, during the Roman Empire, it was impossible to obtain fresh produce from a place far away, so people generally consumed food from nearby areas. Less than 2 centuries ago, food such as grains, fruits, and vegetables began to be transported from places more distant. The relationship between food and a place is not really tied together. However, in Lukang, cuisine is not considered as an important symbol of local culture until recently. Therefore, there must be other reasons to form this phenomenon.

Lukang is close to the Zhanghua (彰化) Plain, which has long produced crops such as rice, grapes, watermelons, vegetables, and flowers. Those agriculture products were exported through the port of Lukang (Traffic Bureau of Tourism, 2006). As in the past, Lukang can still obtain abundant local fruits, vegetables, and meats, but local people do not rely on crops from the Zhanghua Plain as much as before. Instead, they choose seafood from nearby ports. One of former president Ching-kuo Chiang's chefs said, "It is not easy to cook local crops, but it is simple to use seafood to present local characteristics." Local people generally regard the ports in Taiwan as being famous for their seafood. Thus seafood may be more closely associated with Lukang's fame as a port. Although little seafood is off-loaded in Lukang now, there are two nearby ports which provide Lukang with seafood.

Although local people are not so restrictive about their food, most establishments in Lukang advertise seafood products. They are easy to cook,

and the food are being used to promote an image of Lukang as a historical port. Thus, stores can attract more tourists and encourage them to return. These kinds of commercial establishments are concentrated in areas where tourists usually visit, so many seafood restaurants are near Ten-Ho Temple (天后宮). Looking at their menus, one can see that the items are similar, such as fried shrimp, sautéed oysters, etc. Miss Lee from Yuan-chang (元昌行), a famous store in Lukang, said, "Lukang is famous for its seafood, but it is only for the tourists. In daily life, local people eat the same as people in other towns." Establishments which feature seafood are not limited to the area around Ten-Ho Temple. Wherever there are tourists, this type of restaurant can be found at First Market (第一市場) and Zhongshan(中山) Road.

Although seafood is regarded as a local speciality, the local cuisine is not limited to it. Local cuisine also includes other food such as duck soup, zongzi(粽子), and taro balls. According to local people, most of the food shops moved to Lukang after the folk fairs began. Those fairs began to attract large numbers of tourists to Lukang. But this does not mean that all of the dishes referred to as "local cuisine" are all the new arrivals. Some dishes, such as shrimp balls, are actually from Lukang. Almost every local woman can make fresh shrimp balls and they usually use these as gifts for Chinese New Year. Besides, in Lukang gray mullet's eggs are quite renowned. A famous proverb says, "in Lukang, people would trade their pants for gray mullet eggs," which indicates local people's fondness for this dish.

With the increase in tourism, the local cuisine has become well known throughout Taiwan. In order to serve increased number of tourists, most of the stores have developed new cooking strategies to prepare food very quickly. Such strategies, as Wilk (2006) pointed out, are a sign of modern life. For example, fast foods such as hamburgers, has greater appeal to the public in modern era because of this reason. Speed is not a cooking habit from traditional life, but rather an adjustment to modern lifestyle. I believe this is an important character within new local cuisine, nowadays everyone is used to a fast life pace, and can barely accept slow food service.

In addition to faster cooking speed, modern sauces in local cuisine greatly differ from the traditional ones. In the past, salt was mixed with

seafood such as shrimps, clams, and oysters for long-term preservation. There is an old saying, "one salty shrimp with three bowls of rice," which describes the ordinary family life. But in the modern local cuisine, a lot of sugar is added and tourists mistakenly think that sugar is the local people's preference. Although local merchants say it is cheaper to use sugar than monosodium glutamate(味精) to attract tourists, neither substance is used much in ordinary family cooking.

In Lukang, what tourists eat is not really the local food. Hsieh (2007: 15) studied the tourist food in Laos (寮國) and said that what Western tourists eat is not the real local food, but the food they are used to. Restaurants in Laos are places where Western tourists can rest, and it is not necessary to provide authentic local food, since what they consider important is the experience of eating itself. In Lukang, the tourists do not care whether the food they eat is really "local" or the sauces and preparation are authentic. I think tourists only eat food that meets their need. If Lukang try to serve food with the real traditional cooking, tourists possibly could not accept it. For tourists, it is more important to use food to build the image of Lukang's history than to taste the real local cuisine.

Mintz (1996) stated that people are usually faithful to the flavor of food they are familiar with, but they can change their preferences in a short time. He thought the change is related to the power that is associated with the social meaning of a food. For example, Coca-Cola originally was a beverage popular in the Southern US before World War II. Since many soldiers were from the South, General Marshall suggested that the US government set up factories to serve the soldiers, which resulted in Coca-Cola being introduced around the globe. For soldiers, Coca-Cola became a symbol of the US, and thus could cure their homesickness. Coca-Cola's social meaning changed, and then human behaviors also changed. His point indicated the food's meaning, which affects the preferences of food, could be changed with different social situations. Would the cultural resistance occur while the consumption of the food is changed? I believe that, compared with rituals, food is easier to change because food is hardly used as a social technique to maintain the reproduction of locality. Although food could be a symbol of local place, it is not like rituals' function in a society.

In Lukang, with the tourists' visiting, the meaning of a traditional food has changed, and it now has two meanings. For tourists, it refers to a local cuisine which mixes modern and traditional styles together. For local people, it can either mean the traditional food or the tourists' food. Mr. Hong, the proprietor of Yu-Zhen Zheng (鄭玉珍), a famous traditional cake store in Lukang, says, "local people do not really care whether the local cuisine represents for Lukang. The goal of creating the name of local cuisine is to attract customers; therefore, local people do not care whether or not it is related to the traditional food. As long as tourists buy it, local people will accept it." The purpose of the local cuisine is to market the town of Lukang, and it has succeeded in making good connections between food and the town's history.

Local people understand that their traditional food does not really appeal to tourists' tastes. In the case of noodle soup (麵線糊), the traditional flavor is not the one which tourists are familiar with. In order to attract tourists, the flavor has improved over time. Miss Lee from Yuan Chang said that most local people eat at home, and their meals are plain. There is no special preference in ingredients or cooking styles. The true traditional cuisine such as fried rice noodles, rice cakes, and salty cakes has gradually disappeared from the streets. Instead, dishes with heavy flavors are preferred by tourists; therefore in stores, new flavors have replaced the traditional cuisine. Mr. Ding from the House of Ding (丁家大宅) states that "my family is similar to Gu's family (辜家). In the past, maids were responsible for cooking, and they were here because they were part of my mother and grandmother's dowry. When they grew up, my parents arranged their marriage. As far as I know, none of them became involved in any stores or restaurants." So local cuisine did not really originate from the kitchens of local wealthy family.

Local cuisine originated from traditional life, but has become the tourists' food through the growth of the tourism industry in many places. For example, the popularity of Korean television programs has brought a tourist boom to South Korea, and Korea food has become a favorite of Taiwanese tourists (Taiwan Tourism Alliance, 2007). In Lukang, obtaining truly authentic local cuisine is not the tourists' concern. "Local cuisine" became "special" and unique to Lukang experience for tourists mainly because

some media reports back in 1970's. The proprietor of Yu-Zhen Zheng said, "At first, the folk fairs were held and many tourists came to visit Lukang. Since they needed to dine, the reporters provided information for them. These reports described Lukang's local cuisine and special dishes. Along the years local cuisine became known for its special flavors."

Based on a manual produced for the folk fairs, the reporters announced information about food in the news. According to those manuals, the organizers of the folk fairs have arranged presentations of traditional cuisine, including noodle soup, fried oysters, sugar towers, crisp cakes, etc., since 1980 (International Youth Association in Lukang, 1980: 38). Initially, the organizers focused on desserts, but then moved to other traditional dishes. Since the organizers' goal was to promote Lukang, in the manual they claimed that by tasting the traditional desserts, tourists could imagine the past life of Lukang.

The owner of Yu-Zhen-Zhai (玉珍齋), Yi-Bin Huang (黃一彬) said, "Desserts were favored by the people from Zhang Zhou and Quan Zhou (漳州和泉州), so in the early days when bakers moved to Lukang they made desserts such as phoenix eye cakes (鳳眼糕) and coin cakes (錢幣糕), using rice and sugar and buried them underground for six months to ferment. Today these cakes represent Lukang's desserts."

Through promotion, local desserts have become a favorite of tourists and the local economy has grown. Boyne et al (2001: 8-9) stated that local foods sell well to tourists and it increases employment for local people. Because of the specialty, local desserts attract tourists' attention and it does stimulate the economic growth in local areas. The owner of Yu-Zhen Zheng said, "Once Western-style wedding cakes appeared, the stores which sold traditional desserts went out of business, including Yu-Zhen-Zhai. In order to survive, many stores needed to replace their desserts with more Western style ones at that time. After the folk fairs began, many tourists came to Lukang and the traditional stores were booming. Tourists purchased local desserts as gifts before heading home." Although the traditional desserts sell well, one can find out more and more varieties of deserts are invented in Lukang. In other words, in order to keep the tourists' preferred flavor, the stores in Lukang need to include new elements and sell the combination.

With the influx of crowds, the local cuisine

and desserts have gradually developed a reputation and have been transformed into a symbol of identity for Lukang. But even though the names of local dishes have been retained, some of the preparing methods and flavors are more recent inventions. Local cuisine now blends tradition and innovation together. But how has the blending affected local life?

Local Cuisine and Its Impacts

What is referred to as "Local cuisine" was developed in the folk fairs, but the name was established in 1996. The chairman of the Lukang Culture and Education of Foundation (鹿港文教基金會) observed the importance of food in tourism and decided to make a tourist map of delicacies at that time (Fig 1). This map included almost all of the stores related to local cuisine, so tourists could get a clear picture of the stores' location in Lukang. Mr. Tsai, chairman of the Lukang Culture and Education of Foundation, began contacting stores and obtained sponsorships from them. Then he indicated the distinctive characteristics of the stores on the map. Later, each sponsored store hung out a sign through which tourists could ensure that they were at the right store. Mr. Tsai said, "the map guides the tourists to the stores featuring local cuisine which were introduced in the news." Therefore, the names of local dishes were set. Nevertheless, many stores complained that the number of customers did not increase. Although it did not significantly increase the stores' incomes, the map helped clarify where to obtain various items of local cuisine.

Not every store is marked on the map. Mr. Tsai said, "Only the sponsoring stores are indicated on the map. Some stores thought they already had a reputation with tourists and they did not need to be promoted by the map. Still other stores thought that their customers were local people and they did not need tourists' business." The map increased the visibility of less well-known stores. The map also publicized the locations of stores which are not on the main sightseeing routes. Generally, the map was very useful for tourists, although most tourists are led around by tour guides.

The map shows that local cuisine can mainly be obtained in two places, near the Ten-Ho Temple and First Market. Ms. Chen from the Sunny Light Foundation (晴光文教基金會) said, "Vendors mostly assemble at First Market. Morning vendors differ from those selling lunch and even those



Fig. 1. Delicacy map made by the Lukang Foundation in 1996

working at night. In the morning, vendors sell vegetables and meats for housewives, while lunch vendors sell the local cuisine to tourists. At night, vendors sell night snacks for people who work late. At lunch time, tour guides bring tourists here for a rest and then later continue on to other sites. Another place where tourists rest is close to the Ten-Ho Temple. Tourists are usually brought here around 16:00 pm. After visiting the temples and eating some seafood, their one-day tour ends.”

Local people know the sightseeing routes very well and seldom go to the stores along these routes. The only exception is the First Market, since it is a traditional market where local people still purchase goods. Sometimes during the day, local people come and wait in the same lines as the tourists. One local person said, “The price in First Market is acceptable, and some vendors’ cuisine still retains the same flavors in as the past.” Most local people go to the stores near their homes rather than ones along the tourist routes. Furthermore, there are two types of eating establishments, one for local people and the other for tourists. Local people know the distinction very well, and tourists just follow their tour guides along the sightseeing route. Consequently, local people are not so disturbed by tourists.

Cohen (1988) stated that although tourists visit Thailand, they still stay in their original environmental bubbles and use their original vision of the world to look at everything around them. Tourists stay in protected bubbles because they just want to recreate and do not want to involve themselves too much in the traveling places. Almost all the tourists take the similar strategy. In Lukang, tourists stay on a specific route, and listen to the tour guides. Since they are not familiar with Lukang’s history, they try to interpret local history by themselves. Almost every tourist walks a similar path, because the tourists’ space has already been determined. The tourists always have psychological gaps with the sightseeing places. In order to reduce the gaps, trying local food is considered as a strategy to build the relationship between tourists and unfamiliar place. As Scholliers (2001: 8) indicated food bridges the gaps between inside and outside group and this principle of incorporation touches on the very nature of a person, forming the basis of a collective identity. Food is central to our sense of identity. People eating similar foods are trustworthy, good, familiar, and safe. This point of view expresses the concept of “a group” being

identified through food. However, in Lukang, tourists are not temporarily accepted as local. Instead, their eating and sightseeing spaces are considered to be separate. The aim of having a local cuisine is to build a bridge between tourists and local people. By tasting local food, tourists can integrate with the local people. In real life, the local cuisine is differentiated between local residents and tourists. In other words, local people do not really relate to the food provided to tourists but do relate to the food associated with the town’s history. Hence, local cuisine is a way for local people to differentiate themselves from others. For local people, the “tourist route” labeled so-called local cuisine establishments are the space for tourists.

Many establishments offering local cuisine are managed by people who have moved here from other parts of Taiwan, which increases the perception that the local cuisine is for tourists. Also, in Lukang, many restaurant managers are not natives, and some of them operate Western-style restaurants. A local person said, “It sounds strange that Western-style restaurants are popular here. At the intersection of Fu-Xing South Road(復興南路) and Zhang-Lu Road(彰鹿路), this kind of restaurant has sprung up. Although their prices are higher than the local cuisine, local people enjoy going there since eating there shows a person’s status. Some restaurants sell local cuisine, but they design their stores so that they are similar to Western restaurants and their prices are as high as those in Western restaurants. But local people are still unwilling to go there.”

Western-style restaurants are symbols of modernity and by eating there, a person can show his/her social status. Therefore, their target customers are not tourists but local people. Tourists are reluctant to go there because they cannot relate the experience to the town’s history. A local resident, Mr. Hsu said, “I am worried about the boom of Western-style restaurants. The new generation likes to go there because they can use the internet, but, this kind of restaurant is not related to the town’s history. I am afraid that the young generation will forget the glorious history of our town.”

Some stores with a Westernized decor serve local cuisine, but they are not popular by local people. Although their dishes are the same as those in general local cuisine stores, their prices are much higher than those ordinary establishments. Local people do not appreciate

their service and decorations. Normally, this kind of restaurants is not on a sightseeing route; hence tourists do not go there either. The Shi-yi-lou (十宜樓) restaurant is a good example, and it eventually went out of business and transferred to other owners. The successor changed it to a Japanese restaurant. The restaurant provides a wide range of dishes but is in a remote location. Part of the restaurant's space was set aside for traditional arts performances. During weekends, craftsmen exhibit their skills here. National Taiwan Craft Reseach Institute (國立台灣手工藝研究所) put the restaurant on its recommended list and suggested that visitors to eat local cuisine there. Mr. Chen said, "Comparing the price of this restaurant with the ones down the street, local people do not accept its high prices. The restaurant's prices are ten times higher than those of typical stores, so it is only for tourists. However, it is too far from the sightseeing route, so tourists do not walk there." The meaning of this kind of restaurant to local people is traditional, and it is the same as the general local cuisine stores. Although these restaurants have a Western decor, local people consider them to be tourist establishments selling local cuisine. Most restaurants of this kind find it hard to survive.

The names of the local cuisine are well known because of the delicacy maps. Some none-Chinese style restaurants are favorites of local people, but those are not considered part of the local cuisine. There are two types of food among local people: a more-traditional, and a none-Chinese style food. Although local people mostly eat at home, they like to eat out in none-Chinese style restaurants on weekends. Sometimes, they eat at local cuisine stores and introduce the town's history to their friends there. Hence, more and more outside factors are influencing the local eating habits.

The Current Development of a Local Cuisine

A local cuisine has developed under the influence of tourism and is a combination of traditional and modern elements. In order to lure tourists, the advertisements of these restaurants closely connect themselves with the local history. Local desserts are treated similarly. The phoenix eye cake (鳳眼糕) and mi-lao cakes (米老) are the most famous desserts in Lukang and they are sold in traditional stores. In the past, the phoenix eye cakes were a kind of tea cakes that local people would eat while drinking tea, whereas the mi-lao was used as offerings to the gods during ghost

month. One of the older stores, Yu-Zhen Zheng, mainly sells these two items. The owner said, "We sell a variety of flavors of mi-lao and phoenix eye cakes. At this moment, we are not considering other kinds of cakes because our customers are mostly visitors on weekends, and new products would probably not sell well." Another old store, Yu-Zhen-Zhai, also sells the same cakes too, but in addition to innovating new flavors, it constantly introduces new products such as mango cakes (芒果酥), Valentine's crisps (情人酥), and low-sugar and low-oil crisps (低油低糖的酥餅), etc.

Among the traditional stores, Yu-Zhen-Zhai is the most popular bakery in Lukang. Local people used to purchase snacks here, and even now they still buy the store's desserts as gifts for friends. Yu-Zhen-Zhai's success comes from its connection with local tradition. It is housed in a historical building which matches the image of the old town, and its desserts are representative of local flavors. Thus its goods become tourist souvenirs. Although Yu-Zhen-Zhai was founded in Lukang, it has opened branches in Taichung. In addition, it has begun to accept orders over the internet and delivers services to people around the world. So, Yu-Zhen-Zhai is doing a very good business these days. In the near future, Yu-Zhen-Zhai plans to build a shop near the bus station on Zhong-Zheng (中正) Road, where it will have a combination of ancient cake exhibits and cake shops. However, since most tourists purchase local desserts at Yu-Zhen-Zhai, it has begun to be stigmatized. A local people said, "Yu-Zhen-Zhai is for tourists; so there is a great demand for its products. In order to meet the large orders, it has introduced machines in the production process, while other stores in Lukang still make their products manually." The unique goods which Yu-Zhen-Zhai sells are perceived as being for tourists, and it becomes tourists store.

Another store, Azhen (阿振肉包), which sells steamed pork buns, is in a similar situation. Azhen originally was a bakery and its seventh-generation successor Zhen-Shan Zheng (鄭振山), served as chef to the former president Ching-Kuo Chiang. His son renamed Azhen and is famous for making pork buns. His son said, "Desserts are not like meals, which are needed daily. I saw a store in Pingtung which sold buns with stuffing. I believed I could develop this type of business in my hometown and create unique flavors. I thought steamed bread was a traditional Chinese food and it would sell well." Because of the success of

Azhen, new shops have opened in Lukang. However, it is difficult for new stores to compete with Azhen. Each weekend, many tourists wait in a long line to buy the pork buns there. A local people said, "The pork buns from Azhen contain more oil but the buns from the Lao-long-shi(老龍師) contain less oil." Pork buns were not considered as part of Lukang's local cuisine until the success of Azhen, but with tourism development, they have been established as a new tradition. Since Azhen is as successful as the Yu-Zhai, it also is labeled as tourist store. Azhen and Yu-Zhen-Zhai share the same characteristics of combining local history and modernity. Both of them originally were traditional establishments but now sell new flavors to attract tourists. But for local people, the two stores have gained the most attention from tourists, and it is hard to compete with the two stores. Therefore, the two stores are isolated and stigmatized as tourist stores. This indicates that local people want to identify with the traditions of Lukang, not with specific stores.

Tam (2001: 63-65) indicated that some tea houses in Hong Kong have been in business for one and a half centuries. The practice of yumcha has been redefined and reinvented over time, and it has spread across the globe with the Hong Kong diaspora. Yumcha originated in the traditional Chinese culture, and many non-traditional elements were later added to it. Despite the modifications, the core authenticity of yumcha has never been lost. Going to yumcha is like going to a church meeting. Yumcha has contributed to building the neo-Cantonese culture worldwide, with Hong Kong at its center. In Lukang, because of tourism, local desserts and local cuisine have developed, and the economic growth has contributed to the construction of local foods as symbols to represent Lukang. Although the food are a sign representing the town, local people are not concerned with whether or not their core authenticity has changed or not. As long as these foods bring in a good income to the town, local people will likely identify with them.

The local diet plays an important role in local identity, and this issue has spurred increasing numbers of local people to pay attention to it. In summer 2006, an English tour guide, Ms. Hsu, redesigned the delicacy map so that tourists can get a stamp on the map when they visit a store (Fig 2). However, the map includes too many stores for tourists to visit. Tourists said that the map not only covers the local cuisine shops but also handicraft

stores, and that it is too complicated and difficult to use. Although this new map was unsuccessful, it drew the attention of the local government. At the end of 2006, the local government launched a local cuisine voting program on the internet, which ran from December 8 to 22, where tourists could vote for the most delicious snacks or cakes. Since the stores' names were tied to the products, many stores were worried about the possibility of a poor ranking. The results might mislead tourists, and the balloting caused controversy among stores. The boss of Yu-Zhen-Zhai said, "The pineapple cake sells well in the store but its ranking is not good. I should have followed Azhen and not participated in the activity." It is true that the stores which ranked number one or two were less well known, and this activity was an opportunity for them to advertise their stores. Also, internet voting is easily to manipulate. Thus it would be better to vote without the stores' name on the products.

Following the voting activity, the local government held a party called the "the Fair for Love of Health" (愛的健康園遊會), to raise disaster relief funding to help disadvantaged groups. The local government asked each establishments featuring local cuisine to pay (NT) 2000 dollars to participate in the activity. In addition, the stores were required to donate 30% of their profits (Jen 2006.12.6). Many stores disagreed with this approach which was for private organizations only. A local person said, "This time, your organization needs the funding and I donate money to you and next time you will do the same thing for me. But local government's funding is regulated by the law. It should not operate in this way. Later, if the stores need funding, the local government cannot provide funds for individuals. This approach might increase the mutual relationships between private organizations but it cannot work with the local government." The local government even announced that only the participating stores could be listed in the tour books to be published by the local government later. In the eyes of residents, the local government stands for the state, and it uses state resources to control and obtain benefits from the stores. In order to build a good relationship with the state, the stores were forced to pay the funds. Moreover, the local stores complained that the benefits from the party were worse than their normal income. Many stores did not want to be part of the party but they had to join because of fear of being

omitted from the tour book.

In 2007, the local government continued to be involved in the activities related to local cuisine. For example, Market Days (觀光市集) was held around the Chinese New Year. This activity regulated vendors on certain roads such as Min-Sheng (民生) Road and Qin-Min (親民) Road, and the hours of operation were 08:00am to 18:00pm (Office of Lukang Town Hall, 2007). During the New Year holidays, many tourists flooded into the town to worship at the temples, so a mass of vendors also crowded into the town. A local person said, “The original goal of establishing Market Day was to keep the town clean. But more and more vendors came here for the activity, and the garbage problem became worse. Also, the vendors along the roads created traffic jams. The whole town became worse than ever, and the local government was unable to resolve the problems.” The local government is the representative of the state and it is expected to handle problems in public spaces. By holding the Market Day, it increased the town's problems during the holidays.

The local government has been involved in developing the local cuisine, since local cuisine has brought great economic benefits to the town. Because of these benefits, local people have also identified with it. Therefore, the local cuisine has become an important symbol of Lukang. In order to support the people in its jurisdiction, the local government has actively promoted this symbol. Edensor (2002) believed that the state takes part in daily life through the ideology and values that are mixed into the culture. Although this point indicated it is hard to recognize the state ideology within cultural activities, local people could find out by looking at the sponsorship of the activity. Once the activity could not meet to the expectation of local people, the relationship between state and local could turn to be worse.

CONCLUSIONS

Locals are not merely physical-geographical points but physical settings of interaction. Lukang, instead of an enclosed community, is on the process of negotiation and interaction between locals and the surroundings, past and present. During the intersections regional resistance could occur, and Lukang strives to construct its specialty in order to compete with other places for the

economic resources. Local cuisine is an important factor to construct its place-based identity recently. Although, food is not as good as the rituals to maintain the production of local knowledge or embody locality to local people. By investigating the recent history of Lukang, the tourism industries have brought economic growth for local people, and the economic benefits make the local cuisine with locality entangled together.

Lukang became a remote and isolated town during Japanese occupation (1895-1945) and had faded into obscurity until the arrival of the tourists. This historical background makes local people pay attention to the new industries and the food. As Mitchell and Hall (2003: 61-62) indicated that for tourists, local food contains multiple meanings such as entertainment, sensory experience, and symbolic and ceremonial significance. And all these meanings are related to motivations of tourists. Food not only increases the pleasure emotion and enriches tourists' memories but also brings economic progress. Therefore, it gradually has occupied a more important role in daily life of locals.

With the development of tourism, a blending of traditional and modern cuisine has become increasingly popular. The local cuisine at Lukang is not necessarily derived from the local history. This trend is emphasized by the embrace of tourists. As long as the tastes are appreciated by tourists, local stores will cater to them. Since tourists are used to their regular flavor of food, Lukang's cuisine has gradually been altered to fulfill tourists' tastes. Local people have built up their symbol of identity not based on traditional food but on tourists' eating habits. Through the tourists' consumption, local people have formed an identity.

None-Chinese style cuisine has entered Lukang in recent years and it is appreciated by local people. Eating in this type of restaurant demonstrates a person's social status. Some restaurants serve local cuisine but follow Western-style management and construction to run their stores; however, most of these “mixed shops” have gone out of business. The mixed type is not accepted by local people because eating there provides the same experiences as eating at the local cuisine establishments. Therefore, this type is patronized by tourists, but most of the mixed type of restaurants were located in remote places and so it was difficult for tourists to get there. Therefore, most of those shops have closed, while

the none-Chinese style cuisine restaurants have gradually clustered in southern Lukang. This phenomenon is pushing the local cuisine in the direction of homogenization with outside.

Giddens (2003) thought that tradition is invented from modernity. There are no real traditions because all traditions are innovated for the controlling. A ruler uses tradition as strategy to make sure his controlling power is unshakeable. He pointed that tradition means past which is contrary to modernity. Gyekye (1997) compensated his points and stated that modernity indicates continuous time going forward and tradition is a span of time manipulated from the time frame. The specific period of time is named as tradition because the manipulators want to show that tradition is the group's past history. Therefore the group's uniqueness is emphasized. I think tradition does not necessary mean something with a long history therefore innovation of tradition is always acceptable and as time passing, it could be a part of the history. To name something as tradition is a way to emphasized uniqueness; hence it is not necessarily related with the controlling power. In Lukang, the goal to innovate tradition is to improve the town's specialty and advance the economy of the town.

To sum up, tourists' tastes are driving changes in the local cuisine. In the eyes of local people, tourists are not only bringing economic benefits to Lukang, but also hailing in a golden age. Historically when Lukang was a port, immigrants, sailors and merchants arrived there, and brought prosperity to the local area. Tourists are analogous to businesspeople, who traveled between China and Taiwan in the past. Although tourists affect their daily lives, and bring traffic congestion and garbage, most local people welcome them. Recently, more and more local people are aware that tourists mostly stay in public areas, so the state or the local government should resolve problems in those areas. However, problems related to tourism are complicated, and the local government would like to simply work on promoting the local cuisine rather than solving problems. Hence, the local government's involvement in the local cuisine promotion is interpreted as competing with the interests of the interest of the local people. Despite the conflicts between the local people and local government, the local cuisine is an important symbol to represent Lukang.

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鹿港的地方美食與地方認同

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隨著觀光產業的發展，鹿港地方美食逐漸成形。乍聽之下地方美食與傳統的小吃似乎相同，事實上二者的差異甚大，因為前者是在觀光的脈絡下發展出來的。傳統的小吃是從泉州的飲食發展的，約在十九、二十世紀左右，移民先後將泉州人的文化與飲食習慣帶到鹿港，雖然在鹿港流傳好幾代，基本上還是維持原來的烹煮方式與風味。而因觀光產業而興起的地方美食，為了吸引觀光客，不論在煮食方式或口味上，皆以討好觀光客為主，經過媒體的推廣，遂成為代表鹿港的象徵。對於在地人來說，為了能夠帶來更多的經濟利益，在地人也認同這個新興的產業，將之視為在地傳統的表徵。

關鍵詞：地方美食，觀光，創新的傳統，鹿港。