

Stewed Identity: Hot-Pot Eating and the Identity Politics of Youth in Southwest China

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abstract: Drawing on in-depth interviews and participant observation, this paper examines how the younger generation from Sichuan Province construct and practice the identity politics through hot-pot consumption. Sichuan is home to hot-pot with spicy dishes. It highlights how the young who migrated to other places embodies the 'eating habitus' and narrates the 'traditions' in non-local contexts. Moreover, this paper underpins discussions on the interplays between the articulation of hot-pot culture and identity politics amongst the young. It argues that hot pot eating is a critical method for not only articulating identities as a Sichuan local, but also constructing distinctions in different cultural contexts..

key word:Hot Pot;Identity; Southwest China;Authenticity;Cultural representation

Food intake is a basic physiological need, but human beings make it a symbol, "so that mountains are no longer mountains" (Sidney W. Mintz, 2015).For human beings, "eating" is not only mechanical swallowing of food to obtain a sense of satiety, but also contains other richer connotations. Food and eating activities are first of all a kind of public participation, which is a social ceremony endowed with specific value and significance (Peng Zhaorong, 2019).This unique social ritual process not only meets human physiological needs, but also extends a unique cultural meaning. The in-depth study of food and dietary activities can make the "familiar" become "strange", so that people can better understand their own life and society.

China's food civilization has a long history, and the food culture also shines in the world. The edible value of pepper gave birth to the spicy hot pot which now occupies a place in the mainstream diet. "Spicy" is an essential part of people in Southwest China 's daily diet, and one of the characteristic diets carrying "spicy" is hot pot. For people in Southwest China, hot pot is not only a necessary food in daily life, but also an important way to carry out social communication and interpersonal interaction. Especially in the era of globalization, hot pot has not only walked out of Southwest China, but also has a certain influence all over the world.

According to the researchers, once the young people in Southwest China who have lived abroad for a long time are mentioned by others as their regional identity, most of them will associate this identity with hotpot. Spicy hot pot was born only about a hundred years ago, but now it has almost become the identity certification of people in Southwest China, which shows the profound impact of this food on people in Southwest China in the development of a hundred years. But how can this group of young people who have left their hometown for various reasons build their identity in other places through hot pot? Based on the consideration of this problem, this paper attempts to

analyze the construction process of identity by exploring the relationship between diet and identity and the diet practice of micro subjects.

1、 Diet and identity

An in-depth study of diet and its cultural meaning has formed the discipline of dietary anthropology. After a hundred years of development in the west, dietetic anthropology has formed a relatively mature theoretical system. Early dietetic anthropology is represented by "idealism", "materialism" and the ideological theories of political economy school. The main ideological sources come from Claude Lévi Strauss, Mary Douglas, Marvin Harris, Sidney W. Mintz and others (Ba shida, Zhang Xianqing, 2018).

Later studies of dietary anthropology began to pay attention to specific issues of diet, including food and identity, food and religious rituals, and food and social changes, among which there are relatively many discussions on diet and identity. For example, Fernand Braudel believes that a person's class and culture can be analyzed from a person's food (Zhang Muyang, 2019). Searles Edmund reveals the way that the Inuit people in Canada strengthen their identity through food by studying their diet (Searles Edmund, 2002). Japanese scholar Keiko Otsumi discusses how the Japanese build their identity different from other nationalities by studying the relationship between the Japanese and rice (Keiko Otsumi, 2015). Influenced by this, domestic academic circles also began to explore the relationship between diet and identity.

The research on food anthropology in China is relatively recent, and the political and economic school influenced by Sidney W. Mintz comes from behind, but the research on food and identity is also increasing gradually. By studying Hong Kong people and tea restaurants in Hong Kong, Hong Kong scholar Tan Shaowei believes that tea restaurants in Hong Kong style are important way for Hong Kong people to maintain social relations and construct identity under the background of globalization(Tan Shaowei, 2001). Wei Wei and Chen Zhiming focus on the collocation of specific plants and food of the Buyi people in Libo, Guizhou, and describe how the local people shape the national identity of "self" through the formation of their distinctive food culture (Wei Wei, Chen Zhiming, 2018). In addition, Wuzhong Morning Tea culture in Ningxia (Haitao, 2020), Hui people and "you xiang gen" (Yu Hong, 2017), Hakkas and stuffed tofu (Liu Yang, 2015) are also very representative of studies on ethnic identity. In short, most of the current researchers focus on the local traditional ethnic diet, and lack attention to the cultural interaction between localization, diversification and Globalization (Chen Zhao, 2018).

In addition, authenticity, representation and modernity are also important links in understanding identity. The discussion of authenticity first appeared in the field of tourism. In the 1970s, Mac Cannell created the authenticity paradigm of tourism research, which made tourism gain the depth of sociological significance and stimulated the academic circles to understand "authenticity" for more than 30 years of exploration

(Zhao Hongmei, Li Qinglei, 2012). Qian linliang used the concept of "authenticity" to analyze how the anchor with goods in Yiwu, Zhejiang carries out emotional and performance labor by showing his "authenticity", so as to win the segment market in the live broadcast market (Qian linliang, 2021). In the research on diet, Zhang Jinghong used "authenticity" to explain the value transformation of Yunnan Puer tea and its related local cultural image, so as to reveal the process of Puer tea constructing its own "authenticity" under the action of various forces (Zhang Jinghong, 2016).

The cultural representations within the group contain rich and profound group memory, which are expressed in different cultural forms (Lei Wenbiao, 2020). Language, symbols, rituals and other cultural forms can present the rich connotation and unique significance of these cultural representations at multiple levels and angles. As one of the most recognizable symbols of a group, language is an important way of cultural representation. It is not only a tool, but also conveys and maintains the group's culture and emotion through tools (Wang Lingxia, 2014). In addition, as a ritual of diet, banquet can not only reflect interpersonal relationships, but also reflect social changes (Yu Jianhua, Zhang Dengguo, 2006). Under the role of these cultural representations, diet activities maintain and strengthen the identity of the group.

Under the influence of modernity, diet will produce cultural changes, which reflect the change and development of a group's life and are closely related to political and economic conditions (Chen Yunpiao, Sun Xiaoyun, 2005). In the 1920s, Coca Cola began to enter the Chinese market, but it was not accepted by the Chinese people for a long time. It was not until the 1940s that a wave of Coca Cola gradually formed in the city. At that time, although Coca Cola was expensive, it fascinated most people, especially the Chinese elite, because it represented modern life. The consumption of Coca Cola helps the public to shape their recognition of Modernity (Yao Liang, 2021). In addition, some scholars have revealed that under the influence of modernity, the changes of life rhythm and social division of labor have led to the gradual transformation of Guangzhou's traditional "three tea" diet to "one tea". This has shaped the young generation's recognition of "Guangzhou morning tea" in Guangzhou. In short, paying attention to the thinking of modernity in the research of food culture will help to more accurately grasp the integrity of food culture.

For today's people in Southwest China, spicy hot pot is a very representative cultural symbol. Although spicy hot pot has important symbolic significance, there are few studies on spicy hot pot in Anthropology of Food in China. There are studies on hot pot and identity of people in Chongqing, focusing on the process of shaping identity through hot pot from the perspective of group construction. This study holds that the formation of Chongqing hot pot cultural symbol is the result of the comprehensive construction of officials, operators and consumers, and the reason is that Chongqing faces the crisis of identity after becoming a municipality directly under the central government (Deng Wei, 2019). The existing research on hot pot ignores the common and integral characteristics of culture of Southwest China, focuses on the local, and lacks the exploration of the mobile micro subject practice process under the background of globalization. Therefore, this study takes identity as the theme, starting from the natural attributes, practical functions and cognition of dietary changes of spicy hot pot,

uses authenticity, representation and the perspective of modernity, this paper discusses how individuals with mobility and initiative construct their own identity through micro subject practice.

2、 Research methods

Using qualitative research methods, this paper selects a Sichuan hot pot restaurant in Putuo District, Shanghai as the field location for participatory and non-participatory observation. According to the principle of convenience, six young people from Southwest China who left their hometown for a long time due to school or work were selected from the field location and the people known by the researchers. The researcher passed a pair of interviews from April to May 2021. In the form of an interview, the relevant information of the six young people from Southwest China who left their hometown was collected. After anonymization, the information of the six subjects is shown in Table 1.

The time of each interview is about 40 minutes to 1 hour. The interview content includes the influencing factors of individuals's choice of eating hot pot, their performance in the process of eating hot pot, and their memories of hot pot. Through observation and interview, the author mainly finds that young people from Southwest China who live abroad have completed their identity through the selection of ingredients, taste and hot pot in the practice of hot pot diet and completed interpersonal communication and interaction through hot pot, maintaining the original identity in this process. Finally, in the reflection on today's hot pot diet, it reconfirmed the original identity and strengthened its own identity.

Table 1: basic information of subjects

number	full name	Age	Gender
①	Wang Mu	24	male
②	Cheng Yue	24	female
③	Xia Jingqiu	24	female
④	Qin hemin	25	female
⑤	Du Yifei	25	male
⑥	Fu Lin	24	female

3、 "Authentic" and the formation of identity distinction

"Authenticity" is regarded as a core issue in today's dietary research. "Authenticity" means authentic, pure and original. Authentic things mean the uniqueness and irreplaceable of their existence to a certain extent (Zhang Jinghong,

2016). The most important part of spicy hot pot is the hot pot bottom, seasoning and ingredients. Therefore, for people in Southwest China, the authentic hot pot is the authentic bottom, seasoning and ingredients, which affects the "authenticity". The most important thing is imitation. The emergence of imitation is mainly affected by economic and political factors. Stimulated by the mechanization of production and high profits, imitation is almost inevitable (Zhang Jinghong, 2016). The emergence of imitation means that the uniqueness of things is broken, its sanctity is gradually weakened, and may be accompanied by the risk of losing purity and tunnel.

(1) Primer and "authenticity"

The bottom material of spicy hot pot is mainly fried with vegetable oil / butter, salt, bean paste, pepper, pepper, star anise, fennel and other spices. Pepper is the main ingredient (Wang Min, 2010). The key to the taste of hot pot depends on how well the bottom material is fried. For example, Wang Mu mentioned that "generally speaking, the taste of hot pot depends on the taste of the bottom material", "A good hot pot bottom will give off a compound fragrance composed of spicy spices during cooking, and will not make diners feel" bitter "taste experience in addition to" spicy ". In Wang Mu's opinion, a good hot pot bottom is" red to a little black, and then there is a thick layer on it "Qin Hemin has a similar view on this issue: "the hot pot at home doesn't look as attractive as the hot pot outside, including its color and smell.", "the hot pot bottom material at home is a little darker (color)", "the hot pot bottom material at home will be more fragrant".

Hotpot sauces with darker colors are considered "delicious" and "authentic", while "non authentic" mainly refers to hotpot sauces with lighter colors or even few portions in some hotpot stores. Wang Mu believes that, "Many of the hot pots you see are of that kind. You feel that you can see the bottom of the pot through the red soup. Especially after boiling, the oil flowers are concentrated on the edge, and then there is the bright amber color in the middle", "It doesn't feel like eating spicy hot pot, it is just a little spicy. It is spicy, but it feels like you can drink soup directly."

A person in charge of the hot pot shop believes that the mechanized mass production of hot pot bottom materials only began to appear in recent years, so under the control of mechanized production standards, almost all the hot pot bottom materials in bulk bags showed bright red. In the early days of people in Southwest China, eating spicy hot pot, hot pot bottom materials were mostly fried by hand, which had technical differences among individuals. Therefore, it is easy to cause the bottom material to show a dark color due to technical deviation. Wang Mu, Qin Hemin and other young people in Southwest China believe that the dark color of the bottom material of hot pot is the performance of "good frying" and the symbol of "delicious" hot pot, which not only includes the young memory and emotional connection of young people in Southwest China, but also their artificially constructed distinguishing standard.

(2) Seasoning and "authenticity"

Generally speaking, the oil dish is an essential auxiliary food for people in Southwest China to eat hot pot. The essential food in the oil dish is minced garlic and

clear oil or sesame oil. Other people will be used to adding chopped scallion and chopped coriander to the oil dish. Some people will directly replace the oil dish with red soup. These kinds of "beating dishes". The way of dipping is the mainstream among the people in Southwest China, and dipping materials such as sesame butter and peanut butter mainly come from the eating habits of foreign diners, which is an other food culture for the people in Southwest China.

When it comes to the choice of seasoning, Wang Mu said: "when I have not come out of my hometown, I always eat the simplest kind, oil dish and minced garlic." similarly, Du Yifei has a similar answer. He thinks that seasoning "is usually oil dish, usually minced garlic, clear oil, plus some green onions or coriander." Xia Jingqiu said that when she eats hot pot, she directly uses the original soup of red pot. When she is at home, the spices are "only oil dishes and coriander". Almost everyone holds a negative attitude towards the spices such as peanut butter and sesame paste in the hot pot shop. Wang Mu mentioned that, " When I eat hot pot with foreign students, their seasonings are difficult to understand. I especially like to add those messy things. The way to eat dipping is my last stick... I think hot pot is not those things. Hot pot only has oil dishes and garlic, and it would not be very exquisite, or many inexplicable dishes."

For Wang Mu, spices other than edible oil dishes should not be the normal way to eat hot pot. This kind of food can not be called "hot pot". Du Yifei also expressed a similar view:"I don't think there are so many miscellaneous condiments in the previous hotpot restaurant, usually oil dishes, minced garlic, green onions or coriander. But after coming to Shanghai, many hotpot restaurant here have things like peanut butter and sesame butter, and some sauces I have never seen that before. I can not eat these anyway. Which hotpot eats these sauces. Eating hot pot with these sauces makes you feel different and tastes different. "In the concept of young people in Southwest China, the authentic way of eating hot pot represents the use of authentic seasonings, that is, oil dishes or hot pot soup. Seasonings such as sesame butter and peanut butter are foreign products and" non self "foods, which will destroy the" authenticity "of hot pot.

(3) Ingredients and "authenticity"

According to the origin of spicy hot pot in Chongqing, spicy hot pot was originally a cheap food for the people at the bottom. Its ingredients are mainly cow water, that is, cow viscera, including hairy belly, liver waist, etc. (Deng Wei, 2019) .Up to now, it can be seen from the menu that most local hotpot restaurant in Southwest China still retain this tradition, and visceral ingredients such as belly, liver and waist are still the main choices for Southwest China people to eat hotpot. Du Yifei and others also reflect this point. Du Yifei said:"What we have to order are Qian Cengdu(belly of cattle), Huanghou(blood vessels from pig or cattle) and Yaohua(kidney from cattle). If we eat hot pot with foreign friends, I will still order these. I must order thiamine at home as I said just now. People over there, my parents, uncles and aunts, all order these. They also eat these from snack hot pot. It is delicious."

Through textual research on the consumption history of pepper in China, Cao Yu found that pepper was initially the food of the bottom poor. Pepper gradually spread with the prevalence of Jianghu dishes in the early 20th century (Cao Yu, 2019), and in

this process, the hot pot with spicy as the main flavor was born. At first, the hot pot was created because the dock workers combined pepper with cooking ingredients in order to meet their appetite and reduce their living expenses. At the beginning, the main ingredient of the hot pot was cheap and easy to obtain "lower food" - cattle viscera (Deng Wei, 2019). Therefore, this eating habit of eating viscera in hot pot mainly originated in Southwest China, and this eating custom has been preserved to this day. According to Qin hemin, "my family prefer to eat viscera... Feiniu, such as beef, have only appeared in recent years, (our family) including now (eating beef and Feiniu in hot pot)"Wang Mu also mentioned that the most frequently ordered dishes are "belly of cattle, duck intestines, goose intestines and so on... Adults like their older generation will order Huanghou and so on".

Dark hot pot seasoning is one of the standards for young people in Southwest China, but it does not mean that bright colored hot pot seasoning is not authentic. Although affected by process and time factors, in the final analysis, these two types of hot pot seasoning are both produced in Sichuan or Chongqing. The same is true for the choice of seasoning and ingredients. The use of oil dishes is the tradition that has been preserved so far, such as viscera, has also experienced a cross class change, which has been retained so far.

The choice of diet is based on the natural attributes of food. In addition to the above natural attributes of food, people of Southwest China have artificially constructed such a differentiation standard based on food materials by retaining the diet tradition and making independent choices when meeting other cultures. People from Southwest China in a foreign cultural environment use this set of differentiation standards to face their own eating habits. In the process of mutually exclusive different cultures, they divide "them" and "us" by artificially constructing the "good" and "bad" of base materials, spices and food materials, so that they can preliminarily reconfirm their identity in the different cultural environment of leaving their hometown.

4、 Representation and maintenance of identity

Based on the natural attributes of food, identity is maintained through the practical function of human dietary behavior. The practical function of dietary behavior does not appear out of thin air, but requires certain forms, procedures and media to play a role. Eating together is a dietary behavior that can awaken, stimulate emotion and promote social integration. In eating together, the use of language and social interaction. The occurrence of movement and the symbolic meaning of objects are important cultural representations to stimulate identity.

When it comes to what kind of language is generally used when eating hot pot, Du Yifei gives this answer:"When I was still in my hometown, I went to eat hot pot with a group of Sichuan people. Everyone spoke Sichuan dialect, because there were no outsiders. But now it is different. In Shanghai, many of my friends are not from Southwest China, so we can only speak Mandarin when we eat hot pot. When I eat hot pot, I feel that I speak Sichuan dialect and Mandarin are not alone, speaking Sichuan dialect, I feel very natural and relaxed. Even some words are normal, but it may be

awkward to speak Mandarin. For example, when I say that this hot pot is delicious, I may use Sichuan words like “Bashi”, “Anyi”, and so on, but in Mandarin, it seems that there is only “delicious”, and I always feel a little suffocated. So I think Sichuan dialect is more suitable when you eat hot pot. ”

In the field, the interviewees put forward the view that language and diet are "adaptive", which reflects that the interviewees have attached the "Sichuan or Chongqing identity label" to the hot pot in their cognition. Fu Lin also has a similar view. Fu Lin believes that "(when eating hot pot)Speaking Mandarin is different from speaking Chengdu dialect. I speak Chengdu dialect more naturally... We will say something like dirty words, but I don't think it is a curse. I just think it is a sentence. But I won't say it when I speak Mandarin. It is easy to speak Chengdu dialect... (when I speak Chengdu dialect) I will feel it the distance (with the hot pot) is closer, and you will be more involved in eating. ”

Language is an integral part of the cultural representation of dietary activities, and has become a keepsake for specific groups in carrying out group activities, which is closely related to identity. For the interviewees, the "correct" communication tool for eating hot pot should be Sichuan dialect. The use of Sichuan dialect is more in line with the regional theme of eating hot pot, that is, they believe that local food should use local language. The languages of different systems have brought them completely different cognitive and emotional experiences, including not only the meaning that can be expressed only in Sichuan dialect, but also the unique emotional connection with their hometown. The use of hometown language not only awakened the familiar social memory of Southwest China Youth, but also aroused their common social emotions. This kind of communication tool that seems to be the default in dietary activities has become a keepsake for this group to carry out group activities to a certain extent. Through the display and use of this token, the group's identity has been strengthened.

In addition, social communication and interaction maintain the identity of "we" through dietary activities. Young people in Southwest China who leave their families or even their hometown need emotional support for living together, and diet is an important way. By participating in eating activities with common cultural memory and emotional connections, "we" have been maintained and strengthened. Members of the group gather together with their peers at the designated time and place. Through the development of dietary activities, members interact and develop together, and form a sense of belonging to the group. This sense of belonging benefits from the arousal and shaping of social memory among group members and the establishment of symbolic value (Yang Dan, 2019).

"My friends and I are from Sichuan, so we are not used to the food here, so we think it is really hard to eat. So we usually offer hot pot once a month, otherwise he can't stand it, and I can't stand it... We usually come to this hot pot shop, which is a local chain in Chengdu, so the taste and environment are the same as what we eat in Chengdu under the impact of different cultures, Du Yifei's original eating habits were difficult to maintain, resulting in a strong adaptation crisis. Whenever this happens or in order to avoid it, Du Yifei and his friends will go to a specific place at a specified

time to arouse the original culture, so as to alleviate the discomfort caused by the adaptation crisis.

When talking about the main chat content in the process of eating, Du Yifei said, "in addition to some things happening now, we usually put things in Chengdu in the past. For example, when we were in college, or what we ate and played in Chengdu. There are also things about our own family". While eating hot pot with friends from other places, he said, "generally, we only put the current things, such as news, or things happening on the Internet, and our current friends. It seems that we have hardly put the things in Sichuan, Chengdu or my family." Fu Lin also answered the same question. She said: "For example, when my junior and senior high school classmates came to Shanghai last week, we would talk about a lot of junior and senior high school things... We would talk about everything in our daily life", while when eating hot pot with my current classmates or friends in Shanghai, we "don't talk about a lot of things at home... Just casually talk about general things, such as what happens on the Internet".

No matter Du Yifei or Fu Lin, when they get along with members of different cultural groups, they don't evoke the original social and cultural memory too much. When they get together with the original cultural group, the content of communication and interaction will completely turn to the original culture and successfully evoke the original social memory. In this process, their identity of the original group is awakened and strengthened, especially in different cultures. In the cultural environment, the strengthening of identity is more typical and representative, and its significance is more complex and profound.

In addition to the function of symbolizing power and wealth, the meaning of food is more expressed as a unique symbol. This symbol is composed of food culture and has different meanings and effects, including the visual effect of food and the nostalgic effect of food (Fang Jingjing, Yuan tongkai, 2018)The furnishings of food places, the choice of food decorations, the clothes and words of service personnel play a role together to realize the visual effect of food; in the process of marketization, food is trying to maintain the original and purity of its taste, so that ethnic groups can also have a nostalgic experience as if they were back to the local place in different places. This process plays a nostalgic effect of food. Perception effect and nostalgia effect work together to maintain the group's identity.

The field location is a 6-year-old Chengdu hot pot restaurant, which is mainly characterized by antiquity. The main publicity icon of the hot pot shop is a giant panda designed by animation, and the American animated film Kung Fu Panda is also in the shop. A statue of Abao, a giant panda, in the store. The store is a classical wooden structure in China. The dining table, seats, seasoning table and shelves for food are mainly made of wood. The box in the store is separated by a wooden hollow screen. In the box, there will be paintings of traditional Chinese style, such as "Emei". The lintel above each box is engraved with words, such as "Longzhong pair". The lighting equipment in the corridor of the hot pot shop also uses the image of lanterns with classical charm. The containers for food also have various shapes. In addition to porcelain bowls, there are also various container designs with giant pandas as the main

element. For example, meat kebabs are placed in the form of giant pandas holding bamboo tubes or giant pandas holding bamboo tubes.

The design elements of hotpot restaurant mainly include giant pandas, classical wooden items and Sichuan natural history and culture related products. Sichuan is the main habitat of giant pandas. In recent years, with the joint participation of the government and the media, giant pandas have not only become an important cultural symbol of Sichuan, but also enabled giant pandas to shape their national cultural symbols in national foreign exchanges. Therefore, giant pandas has become an identity label for Sichuan and an important source of identity pride for people in Sichuan. Classical wooden items reproduce the characteristics of traditional Sichuan families and "old hot pot" stores.

According to Du Yifei's recollection, "I used wooden tables in my home when I was a child. I remember my uncle's family was the same." the previous "old hot pot" restaurant were also "very ordinary wooden tables". The paintings with the theme of "Emei Mountain" showed the natural landscape of Sichuan Province, and "Longzhong pair", the lintel of the story, is engraved with the history and culture of Sichuan Province. The use of these elements closely related to Sichuan gives full play to the visual function of food culture symbols. Through the generation of this visual effect and the "spicy" taste stimulation of the hot pot itself, the vision of drinking and food is combined with the nostalgic effect to arouse and maintain the identity of the group.

The language choice as a unique keepsake, the interaction in social communication and the symbolic meaning of items in dietary activities together constitute the cultural representation of dietary activities. Through the cultural representation of dietary activities, the social memory of Southwest China is awakened, the collective emotion is stimulated, and their identity with this group is maintained and strengthened.

5、 Perplexity and self adjustment in modernity and identity

Social change is closely related to time and space. Individual memory is a kind of past experience, and the shaping of individual current memory is the result of the joint action of present and past experience (Fang Jingjing, Yuan tongkai, 2018) Individual memory actually exists in a specific space, and this space can play a role in evoking a certain memory. Therefore, under the background of social change, the memory of food actually reflects the change of space. Dietary activities must occur in a certain time and space, so the change of dietary space most directly reflects the change of society(Luo Xiaodong, Xie Hongzhong, 2017).

In Wang Mu's memory, the old hot pot shop in his hometown had "no theme. Maybe the boss's name was in front of the hot pot shop, such as Junjie old hot pot". At that time, this kind of old hot pot shop was mainly around the residential area. Generally, it may be "in the alley opposite the residential area or in the older residential building, you have to find it for a long time", the geographical location is not superior now. The old hot pot shop has no gorgeous decoration style or various exquisite decorations, only "the most common ceramic tile floor is rotten. Some even don't lay ceramic tiles and step on it sticky". The dining table in the shop is "that kind of common wooden table,

which has been used for a long time and is very oily", "The decoration is still old, and there is no change, and the (food) dishes are not exquisite." Cheng Yue's description of the old hot pot shop in her hometown is similar to that of Wang Mu. In Cheng Yue's opinion, the old hot pot shop in her hometown is "dirty and has no beautiful decoration, but it can be seen that it is an old shop with a lot of people" and "At that time, we didn't pay much attention to decoration, and the shop was not big. The ground was like the cement floor in our classroom. (in the shop) There was no decoration. I didn't think the lights were particularly bright."

The interviewees described the old hot pot shop in their hometown around its simple style and rough environment. However, when it comes to what kind of hot pot shop they will choose in their hometown, Wang Mu's answer is still the old hot pot shop. For him, "usually with family members or some classmates (go to eat hot pot), I prefer the old flavor, but I don't like the one that doesn't make it to the table. (these students) will also be the one that is native to Chongqing and more like me. "Cheng Yue also said about this problem," it must be an old hot pot. Although it is old oil, it must taste better. "Especially when dining out with her parents," "My parents and I eat the old brand (hot pot)". For Wang Mu, the taste of the old hot pot shop is "on the table" and "well done". Therefore, in their opinion, the main standard for choosing a hot pot shop is still the taste of hot pot.

Compared with the old hot pot restaurant, the new hot pot restaurant mainly have many new changes in decoration, style, ingredients, dish placement and service. Wang Mu believes that many new hot pot restaurant now have many theme designs, "For example, the decoration of a hot pot shop with a Hong Kong style theme is the same as that in Hong Kong in the 1990s. You can see a lot of decorations. Then, the hospitality of its service staff, for example, when you come in, they will shout some slogans and serve some dishes, which is more distinctive. Then there are some revolutionary themes. It seems that there are a lot of red themes, revolutionary theme, what else is the nostalgic theme.

In addition to the theme design, Cheng Yue believes that the emerging hot pot restaurant are generally "beautiful, luxurious and noble, which are the kind loved by young people". While in terms of food, Wang Mu believes that there will be many emerging hot pot restaurant now "Inexplicable and novel dishes. It is clearly meat. It gives you many kinds. There are some I can't tell the name... It makes you a shape like a blessing bag". Most of these dishes are only seen by Wang Mu in foreign hotpot restaurant. These "strange dishes that really absurd, I have only seen here."

Another feature of Xinxing hot pot restaurant is its consumption influence. For example, Wang Mu said, "there are many online hot pot stores... Especially exaggerated ones with soaring popularity. Like the one I ate last time (that hot pot restaurant), I made an appointment at 4 p.m. and didn't eat (hot pot) until 7 p.m. "That kind of shop is very exaggerated. I think there are a lot of people. I think most of them have done some publicity, and now there are more and more such stores."

Although the new hot pot shop has richer theme design, more choices of ingredients and more exquisite store environment than the old hot pot shop, for Wang Mu, taste is still the first standard. "If the hot pot tastes good, I'm sure it is still good.

But if you want the hot pot to taste bad, it is just a picture with its table. For example, what theme you do and what kinds of snacks you make, and as a result, your hot pot is very bad, and the food experience is also average. It may really be punching in. Punching in once will not have a second time, which means I have been here and I have eaten this but I'm not sure I can give him any praise.

Social changes have brought about the development of science and technology, and these technologies are constantly infiltrating into food life. For example, the development of virtual technology and information technology has brought about changes in cognitive style and efficiency. Everyone can obtain real-time, professional and diverse food information through the network platform, and people increasingly rely on the convenience of mobile phones and networks (Luo Xiaodong, Xie Hongzhong, 2017). Through a variety of software on diet, people carefully screen food, and take photos during or after eating activities to "punch in".

The word "punch in" was originally a common name for the sign in or registration behavior at work. Now many netizens on the Internet use the word "punch in", which means to record their own traces in various consumption, indicating the place or food "I" that has aroused heated discussion on the Internet has been here or enjoyed. This catchphrase implies that under the guidance of consumer culture, individuals obtain group identity through some symbolic consumption behavior (Li Wei, 2016).

In the face of various emerging online red hot pot restaurant, Wang Mu said that he "occasionally goes once or twice", but the purpose is to "punch in" with his friends, because this kind of shop "seems to have special personality and characteristics, which is suitable for dressing up to attend. I feel that when I go to that place, I can take 200 photos and send a circle of friends several times. "However, in case of bad taste, this "punch in" behavior only happens once. Although taste has been regarded as the standard of diet choice, Wang Mu will still go to this hot pot shop, but the purpose has changed. The main purpose of going to this hot pot shop is to "punch in", which is through "punch in". This consumption behavior is to construct an identity of social groups under the influence of modernity, not to enjoy the "relatively positive" taste of their food, nor to arouse social memory and emotional connection to their hometown.

For these young people from Southwest China who have left their hometown, old hot pot restaurant carrying "good taste" and "old look" are still their main dietary choices. On the one hand, these old hot pot restaurant "have good taste, are relatively old and upright, and do not have those strange things". On the other hand, they still maintain a simple and rough style, "always like that". However, these old hot pot restaurant show a trend of disappearing gradually.

According to Wang Muyue, "the hot pot restaurant that I used to eat when I was a child are basically gone now... I feel that the old hot pot restaurant are becoming less and less." Cheng Yue also said similar things in her answer: "Some of the old hot pot restaurant have been moved away, some have been refitted and repaired, and some have collapsed and not opened. Many young people haven't eaten, and the elderly can't eat. Its loyal customers are people like my parents, and new ones like us haven't been there." From Cheng Yue's statement, we can see that the audience of the old hot pot shop is mainly the parent group, and this group is affected by age and other factors,

which makes it "unable to eat". In Wang Mu's opinion, most young people don't go to the old hot pot shop because "Now the consumer groups are young people. They are also more fashionable and popular. They prefer to eat some novel things, and then they prefer some things that are more exquisite, novel, themed and can attract attention, and some things that can punch in."

With the rapid development of virtual technology and information technology, all kinds of application software about diet occupy a place in almost everyone's mobile phones. Network software breaks the traditional dependence on diet time and space and constructs a new life paradigm of information diet (Luo Xiaodong, Xie Hongzhong, 2017). The food community formed through network software brings together real-time food information sharing from people from all over the world. Such software has also become the best publicity platform for emerging hot pot restaurant by forming a set of evaluation system based on user scoring. These emerging hot pot restaurant squeeze themselves into the ranking list of food through unique decoration, exquisite decoration and unique dish design. Hot pot restaurant entering these rankings will immediately welcome a large number of "admiring" consumers to "punch in", and these artificially created "punch in" The upsurge has become the second publicity of food. Because it is difficult for the old hot pot restaurant to keep up with the new trend of consumption and carry out self innovation, they have lost a large number of consumers and are even difficult to continue. Wang Mu's story also reflects this situation.

"The old hot pot shop doesn't publicize, and we don't know, so its guests are fixed... I only know some hot pot restaurant that promote marketing to me all day, such as some hot pot restaurant told me by the young people around me... Mainly because you think they open on the side of the road or in a biased place. In fact, they are people nearby or repeat customers who have eaten(if)delicacy, tiktok, I think this shop is delicious, and may later call friends to eat there. Whenever it is a little publicity, such as what to do by itself, something new is to be done."

The food life under the influence of modernity makes individuals pursue and indulge in symbolic capital (Luo Xiaodong, Xie Hongzhong, 2017). However, this food life is difficult to meet the specific pursuit of young people from Southwest China, which leads to the confusion of identity: the old hot pot shop carrying the "positive" taste gradually disappears, and the decoration is gorgeous but the taste is "incorrect". New and popular hot pot restaurants are gradually emerging in the market. Commercial organizations continue to transform food with local flavor into food that can be popular all over the country to make profits, which makes local flavor threatened. Once these flavor foods have completed the process of nationalization, they have lost their original characteristics (Fang Jingjing, Yuan Tongkai, 2018).

The loss of local taste means that it is difficult to rebuild the sense of place in a foreign land, and it also means that the food has lost the arousal and shaping of social memory. Therefore, in order to reduce this problem, the young people from Southwest China who leave their hometown will narrow the range of food choices. For example, "the tall one among the dwarfs... Can only be selected from these novel hot pot restaurant. I think it seems that the taste is more authentic". Although it is difficult to feel the flavor of their hometown in other places, the young people in Southwest China

who leave their hometown maintain and strengthen their identity with the original group by using unique self-adjustment strategies.

6、 Conclusion

In China's long-standing food civilization, spicy hot pot is an eye-catching and unique existence. Although spicy hot pot was born only a hundred years ago, its edible value and extended cultural value are an important mark in the history of Chinese food. Spicy taste and various ingredients are people's initial understanding of hot pot. Starting from its natural attributes and practical functions, hot pot is becoming more and more popular. Under the background of social change, the people in Southwest China have different cultural significance.

Affected by social changes, a large number of young people in Southwest China have left their hometown for study or work and come to a strange cultural environment. In this foreign cultural environment, young people in Southwest China have experienced difficulties in adaptation and rejection of foreign cultures. In order to alleviate their discomfort in the foreign cultural environment, they choose to arouse their memory and emotion of the original group culture through diet.

First of all, the young people from Southwest China who left their hometown have established a differentiation system on the selection of hotpot by ranking the value of hotpot sauces, spices and ingredients, the condiments. Condiments and ingredients are at the top of the system and have their support. Secondly, the young people from Southwest China who have left their hometown can get together in a specific place at a specific time by carrying out hot pot eating activities, and further recall and strengthen their identity in a foreign land by using the same language as a keepsake and recalling their experience in their hometown in the language they use to strengthen identity. In addition, the symbolic meanings of hotpot restaurant also inject a catalyst into the identity process. Finally, under the influence of modernity, the young people in Southwest China who leave their hometown are faced with choices and identity related problems. In order to solve this problem, they use self-adjusting strategies to reduce the negative impact of modernity on them, so as to continue to maintain their identity.

In short, the research on hotpot and the identity of youth from Southwest China is only a part of dietary anthropology. It is of great practical significance to help the public understand the social reality by deeply excavating the unique value of diet. Hotpot diet is reflected in the daily discourse, behavior attitude and cognitive style of Southwest China youth, as a way to understand the identity of Southwest China youth who leave their hometown. The same important channel releases important life energy.

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