

### Role of Ethnic Cuisine for Developing Community Based Tourism in Manipur, North East India

Hawaibam Jhalari Devi<sup>1</sup>, Dr. Soumendra Nath Biswas<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Research Scholar, Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management, Assam University, Silchar <sup>2</sup>Associate Professor, Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management, Assam University, Silchar

**\*Corresponding Author:** *Hawaibam Jhalari Devi*, *Research Scholar, Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management, Assam University, Silchar, India* 

**Abstract:** Ethnic cuisine and community based tourism (CBT) are two emerging trends in the tourism industry that are increasingly being seen as complementary and mutually beneficial. The ethnic cuisine experiences offer tourists a unique and authentic way to connect with the culture and heritage of a place, while CBT provides a framework for tourism to be developed in a way that benefits local communities and their environment. The ethnic cuisine of Manipur, nestled in the verdant landscapes of Northeast India, paints a vibrant picture on the palate, and it offers a unique tapestry of dishes woven with locally-sourced ingredients, bold flavours, and gentle heat. Manipur has immense potential for promoting community based tourism through local food. The study aims to develop community based tourism in Manipur by promoting the various ethnic cuisine of the state. The paper examines the role of ethnic cuisine for community based tourism development in Manipur. It also identifies the various strengths and weaknesses of ethnic cuisine for developing community based tourism in the state. To achieve the objectives of the present study, various literature review on food and community based tourism, ethnic cuisine of Manipur has been analysed accordingly with the aim to explore the connection between community based tourism and ethnic cuisine for tourism development in Manipur.

**Keywords:** Community based tourism, ethnic cuisine, food tourism, sustainable development

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Local cuisine is a key element of attractions for community based tourism. A key component of community based tourism is the relationship that exists between the locals, their ethnic cuisine, the destination, and the experience of tourists. There has also been research on the relationship between local cuisine and community based tourism (CBT) for the purpose of community development (Mnguni & Giampiccoli 2015). Since local cuisine can only be appreciated when it is created locally, community based tourism is crucial. The belief that a particular dish or wine can be properly appreciated and "understood" only if it is cooked in the area of its origin, by people from that community, using local ingredients, is relevant in linking the consumption of local products to their original site (Meladze 2015:224). Within the competitive global context, local context, knowledge and expertise, physical and cultural resources, and local players in the food system/culture are what create differentiation and can help keep the area attractive to tourists, locals, and tourists (Rinaldi 2017, as cited in Giampiccoli et al. 2020).

The present study aims to determine how important and what impact ethnic cuisine have in the growth of community based tourism. Locals' quality of life can be enhanced and food-related values can be promoted among tourists through community based tourism. As a result, CBT is understood to be a negotiation between the industries particularly engaged in the food industry, with the goal of striking a balance between social justice, economic viability, and the preservation of natural and cultural heritage. A business that is self-managed by communities (family groups, rural communities in a region, cooperatives, or indigenous villages) is known as community based tourism. It integrates this kind of activity in a complementary manner with the traditional activities that are carried out in rural areas (Sosa et al., 2021).

A form of sustainable tourism known as "community based tourism" (CBT) emphasizes the development of the local "community" at a given host site. Pearce and Moscardo (1999), cited in Amir et al. (2017), assert that CBT can result in effective practice and implementation procedures in developing and less developed nations. It is possible to recognize CBT as the community's long-term sustainability tool, one that protects local resources and customs, fosters community involvement and support, and boosts local GDP in terms of earnings, employment opportunities, and standard of living. By providing distinctive food products in the specialized tourism industry with a competitive edge, local cuisine can be a draw for travellers (Henderson 2009). Authentic tourism experiences are provided to visitors by regional cuisine (Sims, 2009). As locally cultivated ingredients are used to prepare authentic cuisines, local food is one of the major components for sustainable development (Griffith, 2019, as cited in Devi & Abraham, 2022).

The primary goal of this study is to determine the significance of ethnic cuisine in Manipur. It also seeks to emphasize the connection between ethnic cuisine and CBT. The study also looks into the several ways that food contributes to the growth of community based tourism.

### 2. OBJECTIVES

- To understand the concept and importance of ethnic cuisine in Manipur.
- To find out the role of ethnic cuisine for developing community based tourism in the study area.
- To identify the strength and weaknesses of ethnic cuisine for developing community based tourism in Manipur.

### **3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The study was examined using a qualitative research methodology. The present study is primarily exploratory in nature. Based on a few essential questions and data gathered from secondary sources, a qualitative study has been carried out to establish a connection between ethnic cuisine and community based tourism. As the researcher is a native of Manipur, the primary data for the study was gathered through observation, and the secondary data from reliable sources formed the basis of the research approach used. Since the cuisine has been and remains to serve as the researcher's staple food, the researcher is well-versed in it. Extensive secondary data was gathered from various articles, journals, books, and electronic sources related to the study area.

### 4. LITERATURE REVIEW

Local control over development, community involvement in planning, equitable benefit distribution, and assimilation of resident values are among the hallmarks of community based tourism, which is predicated on involving locals in the tourism industry. To ensure community support, resident values must be taken into consideration (Strydom, Mangope & Henama 2017:5, as cited in Giampiccoli et al. 2020).

Community based tourism aims to improve local communities by giving visitors a rich cultural experience and a sustainable means of supporting them. The core principles of community based tourism are respect for the locals and their traditions, celebration of their customs and beliefs, fostering of cross-cultural understanding, dissemination of local knowledge, preservation of the environment, and protection of local species. Locals strive to preserve their resources and share them with tourists in a sustainable manner because they recognize their worth. More specifically CBT "is commonly understood to be managed and owned by the community, for the community. Community based tourism is a form of 'local' tourism that favours local service providers and suppliers and also focuses on interpreting and communicating the local culture and environment" (Mizal, Fabeil & Pazim, 2014:24, as cited in Mnguni & Giampiccoli, 2016).

Ethnic cuisine has come to represent a person's level of acceptance of cultural diversity. The reason ethnic dining and cuisine have become so sophisticated and intricate may be because they have taken on a significant symbolic role in place of the cultures they are intended to represent. Paradoxically, this culinary culture is growing increasingly independent of the civilizations or lifestyles that the foods originate from.

The World Food Tourism Association, according to Long (2018), has declared that in order for a destination to draw culinary tourists and provide them with an exceptional experience, the cuisine that is served there needs to be exceptional, distinctive, and unforgettable. In addition, travellers look for ethnic local cuisine in order to gain a deeper understanding of the food culture and gastronomic identity of a specific area (Kivela and Crotts, 2006). Due to its cultural significance, food preparation and serving practices vary throughout ethnic groups (Sukalakamala and Boyce, 2007). In addition to the names, decor, and languages used on signs and menus that are specific to ethnic restaurants (Ebster and Guist, 2005, as cited in Mawroh & Dixit, 2023), food ingredients and how it is served at a place influence tourists' eating behaviour and satisfaction, which in turn shape their experiences (Ardabili et al., 2011).

Community based tourism entails diversifying secondary locations as a brand (Sproule, 1996) and creating an equitable benefit-sharing mechanism within the host community (Denman, 2001). Aside from the vast array of activities that serve as key draws and constituents of community based tourism, like home stays, handloom, and handicrafts, sports, arts, dance, etc. The local cuisine is one such element that is crucial to the development of community based tourism. Community based tourism involves the sustainable exploitation of ethnic cuisines, wherein the active participation of the local community is crucial to ensure that tourists enjoy the local cuisines while visiting the destination and tourists can also witness the traditional methods of preparing the local cuisines (Dutta, 2018).

Understanding the connections between food and tourism is essential for knowing the chosen location, its sustainable practices, local economic growth, and its culinary experiences. These not only promote local customs and diversity but also assist in forming a local brand and generating demand (UNWTO, 2017, as cited in Kapera, 2019).

Food serves as a vehicle for the development and promotion of both established and emerging regional tourism destinations. These destinations are frequently linked to broader tourism offerings that include rural and cultural heritage travel. As a result, culinary tourism is progressively emerging as one of the travel industry's most exciting new trends (Gendzheva, 2014). In order to promote local economic growth and cater to the unique demands of tourists, food tourism also gives local communities the chance to integrate and spark local food tourism. Additionally, it may be seen as a major driver of sustainable tourism that helps regional producers and fosters economic development in the area (Kyriakaki et al., 2016, as cited in Kapera, 2019).

Globally, for many tourists, "gastronomy has become a central part of the tourism experience, returning to familiar destinations to enjoy tried and tested recipes, or traveling further afield in search of new and special cuisine," food tourism is on the rise and is viewed as a major reason for travel (Rifai, 2012:4). It's important to consider food tourism as a potential tool for development. Food tourism is therefore viewed by rural communities as a potential new development approach (Dougherty & Green, 2011). There is a connection between the potential development role of food tourism and the development role of CBT. This is why local and indigenous cuisine ought to be the primary draw in CBT, and food tourism ought to be combined to create a potential community based food tourism (CBFT) industry. In addition, the expanding food tourism industry suggests that CBT modify and highlight its culinary aspect to maximize its potential. To maximize the potential contribution of food to CBT development, it is critical to comprehend the myriad facets of the interaction between CBT and food (Mnguni & Giampiccoli, 2016).

By supporting local businesses, encouraging sustainable agriculture, and creating a "brand" that will draw in more tourists, local food and beverages can be used as a strategy for community development (Sims, 2009:322). Homestay services, boat services, transportation services, handloom & handicraft products, local tour guides, cultural events, food & beverages, etc. are a few examples of community based tourist activities that can boost the revenue for the local communities. Local indigenous cuisine can support the growth of the community's life in several ways, including income generation, biodiversity, education, and so forth, according to Giampiccoli and Haywards Kalis (2012:111). This is significant because, according to Mizal, Fabeil, and Pazim (2014), "community development and community based tourism (CBT) are inherently interlinked."

Since ethnic cuisine is an essential part of the local way of life, it is both a major draw for tourists and an integral element of the travel experience. This has been demonstrated by Jang and Eves (2019), who claimed that eating ethnic cuisine while traveling is an essential component of the travel

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experience. When travellers embrace the local gastronomic characteristics and are open to trying, eating, and enjoying the distinctive ethnic cuisines, their overall culinary experience is enhanced. According to Jang et al. (2012), when customers eat ethnic food, they anticipate an authentic eating experience with novel flavours and a distinctive setting (As mentioned in Mawroh & Dixit, 2023).

Manipuri food reflects the state's unique sociocultural identity as well as its topography. Travellers embrace the ethnic culture and identities of the many Manipuri ethnic cuisines as they visit the "Jewel Land of Incredible India - Manipur" and savour the distinctive flavours of the various regional delicacies.

### 5. THE IMPORTANCE OF ETHNIC CUISINE

- Ethnic cuisine can strengthen community based tourism while also contributing significantly to the preservation of local heritage.
- It also has a significant impact on visitors' experiences, especially when it comes to a location. Visitors take pleasure in the genuine and native cuisine and beverages of the area, which might not be found in other tourist destinations.
- A region's varied customs, ethnic groups, and culinary cultures are reflected in its ethnic cuisine.
- Through its regional food, a destination's culture can be discovered and experienced by all individuals. Every location has something special to offer travellers.
- Regional ethnic cuisine provides a means for local communities to foster integration and stimulate regional culinary tourism, so boosting local economic growth and catering to the particular requirements of tourists.
- Through food festivals and local food tours, numerous tourist locations aim to provide visitors with a taste of local cuisine.
- Providing tourists with memorable and authentic local food experiences, they may become loyal and good ambassador by sharing their positive culinary experience with other tourists.
- Local cuisine can give a place a competitive edge and serve as a vehicle for the growth of community based tourism by fostering small-scale businesses, employment growth, and agricultural development.
- By highlighting the distinctiveness of local cuisine, increasing public knowledge of a destination's culinary offerings can also aid in the preservation of food ingredients, customs, and culture.
- Ethnic food systems are essential because they bind identities and cultures, influencing environments and economies.

### 6. ETHNIC CUISINE OF MANIPUR

The state of Manipur is multilingual and multi-ethnic. The three ethnic groups that make up the state are the Meitei, Nagas, and Kuki. The Nagas and Kuki communities live in the hills, while the majority of the Meitei community lives in the valley. It is one of the least prosperous societies in the entire Northeast because the various tribal people primarily depend on agro-based industries for their subsistence (Thomas, 2022).

Manipur's cuisine is a reflection of the unique physical and sociocultural features of this region in the north eastern region of the Indian subcontinent. This region's food illustrates the close relationship its people have with the natural world. Manipuri cuisine is a sensory overload, boasting a vibrant array of flavours that span from subtle to intense. The usage of rice, fish, and leafy green vegetables is prevalent in Manipuri ethnic food. The majority of the veggies cultivated at home are seasonal, organic, and used by the people of the state.

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The utilization of a variety of aromatic herbs and roots is a notable aspect of Manipuri ethnic cuisine. As a result, these give Manipuri food its distinct flavour and give it nutritional and therapeutic benefits. The communities that live in this area use these herbs and roots. It is also important that the diverse communities living in the state can distinguish between edible and wild forms of certain species. This kind of knowledge is passed down through the generations and is essential to sociocultural life. This demonstrates the close relationship these people have with the natural world and how they manage natural resources sustainably.

Rice is a basic food that is cooked in bamboo tubes or in metal or earthen pots. Every ethnic group residing in the valley and hillsides favours eating healthful wild herbs and green vegetables. The several tribal groups that inhabit Manipur have their unique foods and drinks, which are quite simple and have a distinct flavour from other Indian cuisines due to the utilization of local aromatic herbs and roots. In general, the Manipuri people eat two meals a day: one in the morning and one in the evening or night. The various ethnic cuisines of the various communities combine to create a mosaic of ethnic and cultural mixtures that is significant to their festivals and ceremonies. There is traditional knowledge among many groups on how to prepare distinct ethnic foods employing different indigenous agricultural plants, forest products, meat, fermented foods, etc. that contribute a special sourness to the dishes and are rich in nutrients (Devi and Suresh, 2012). It is crucial that future generations understand, acquire, and practice the skills necessary to preserve and safeguard Manipur's indigenous cuisine in order to continue the process of creating all these ethnic cuisine.

Manipur has an abundance of meals, each with a distinct flavour and taste. The following are a few of the well-liked ethnic and unusual Manipuri foods:

1. Eromba

For Manipuri households, eromba, or chutney, is an everyday ethnic meal. The Manipuri term "eeru taana lonba," which means "mixing and stirring watery," is the source of the word "Eromba." Typically, it consists of chilies, ngari (fermented fish), and various seasonal vegetables. The veggies, ngari, and chillies are first boiled together in a jar. They are then thoroughly mashed and combined with a small amount of water. Afterward, other herbs are added to enhance the flavour. The Manipuri people are known to be able to survive without a meal a day but not without Ngari, as it is a favourite dish among them.

2. Kangsoi

A traditional and authentic Manipuri food, kangsoi is very basic and has no oil at all. It's a nutritious vegetable stew that's made with dried fish and fermented fish, called Ngari in Manipur. It has a highly flavourful taste and works well with any variety of fresh veggies that are in season. Due to its adaptability and simplicity, kangsoi is a dish that goes well with any season. It may be made with any mix of veggies, depending on what's in season at the time.

3. Singju

A traditional, healthful salad full of veggies called singju uses a variety of seasonal vegetables such as raw papaya; onions, cabbage, coriander leaves, lotus stems, and other readily accessible green leafy vegetables are its key ingredients for making Singju. Ngari (fermented fish);gram flour, powdered perilla seeds (called thoiding in Manipuri), chilli powder, and other herbs are used to flavour singju. It can also be prepared with or without ngari.

4. Chak hao Kheer

Chak hao kheer is a black rice pudding, an authentic Manipuri delicacy. It has a very aromatic and unique flavour. Black rice is widely produced in Manipur, and black rice kheer is one of the most well-liked and healthiest desserts. A heavenly nutty taste and texture are produced by combining rich black rice, milk, cardamom, and a small amount of saffron. It is well known that black rice, often referred to as forbidden rice, is low in calories, high in protein, and full of antioxidants. As such, it would be an excellent food to consume for weight loss and a healthy diet.

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### 5. Chagempomba

Manipur's popular and traditional cuisine, chagempomba, is made of rice, veggies, and fermented soybeans, or hawaijar as they are called in Manipuri. The dish's rich and fragrant combination of ingredients is what makes it so special and well-liked by the locals. The Manipuri people love eating chagempomba, although it's a strong-smelling meal with an acquired taste. It takes a lot of care and time to produce this unique Manipuri cuisine.

6. Nga Atoiba Thongba

Nga Atoiba Thongba is a popular authentic dish and one of the most favourite dishes of the Manipuri's. Fish is referred to as nga, and disintegrated as atoiba. Fish is sliced into small pieces and fried in oil along with a variety of vegetables, including potatoes, tomatoes, peas, spices, and chilli. Asafoetida (hing) is a crucial element to include because its flavor helps to offset the dish's fishy aroma. One of the unique ways to cook is this fish curry, which is best consumed with clean, bare hands.

7. Uti Thongba

The traditional vegetarian meal of Manipur - uti thongba, is made of rice, lentils, and various vegetables that are cooked with a tiny bit of baking soda added in. There are a few different ways to make uti, and the names of the variations vary depending on what ingredients are used. For example, Uti Ashangba is primarily made of green leafy vegetables like mustard and taro leaves to give the rice a greenercolour. Another variation of the dish is Mangal Uti, also known as Uti angouba, where the main ingredient is dried peas, to which a small amount of rice and fresh bamboo shoots can be added.

# 7. A FRAMEWORK FOR THE PROPOSED ETHNIC CUISINE AND COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM RELATIONSHIP

Ethnic cuisine is considered as both a draw for tourists and a resource that can be used to support Community based tourism development. It can be a major draw for tourists seeking unique and authentic experiences. It showcases culinary heritage and fosters appreciation for local traditions. It also has a lot of promise to support sustainable tourism. Local communities directly prepare and share their cuisine with tourists and provide an opportunity for tourists to learn about the culture and heritage of the community. The connections that exist between regional foods and CBT provide authenticity to the travel experience, boost local economies, encourage sustainable practices, and provide gastronomic experiences. The ethnic foods found in the area are generally healthier, safer, higher quality, fresher, and taste better.

Kyriakaki et al. (2016), cited in Kapera (2019), state that regional cuisines give local communities the chance to include and promote local food to promote local economic development and cater to the unique demands of tourists. It might also be seen as a vital component of sustainable tourism, promoting regional economic development and helping small-scale farmers.

Ethnic cuisine and community based tourism combine to create a potent force that benefits tourists and local communities. While communities perceive economic growth, cultural preservation, and a sense of empowerment, tourists get to enjoy authentic food and culture. It is an effective tool for fostering cross-cultural dialogue, advancing economic development, safeguarding the environment, and giving guests real, life-changing experiences. CBT initiatives may build vibrant communities and regions that provide a genuinely unique and meaningful tourism experience by embracing local gastronomy.

The diagram below illustrates the several facets of the connection between ethnic cuisine and community based tourism and its outcomes.

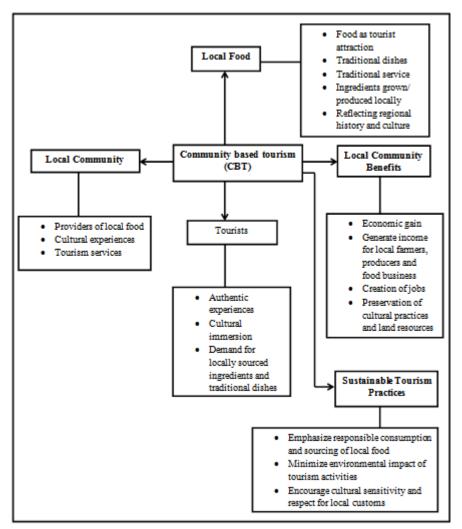


Figure 1. Ethnic Cuisine and Community Based Tourism Relationship Model.

Source: Compiled by the Authors

## 8. THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF ETHNIC CUISINE FOR DEVELOPING COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN MANIPUR

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul> <li>Community based tourism accommodations, such as lodges, restaurants, food stalls, and homestays run by the local community, provide tourists with a distinctive range of genuine cuisines.</li> <li>The local communities will offer distinctive cultural experiences. Visitors and tourists will discover different cultures and their ethnic foods, allowing them to have pleasant experiences and explore their uniqueness.</li> <li>The development of local indigenous foods can benefit communities in several ways, including income generation, biodiversity, education, and so on.</li> <li>A significant portion of tourists are drawn to Manipur because of its diversified population coexisting there and its rich cultural heritage, distinctive customs, and traditions.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Insufficient involvement from the community in promoting a range of locally oriented community based tourism activities.</li> <li>The absence of local food vendors near popular tourist destinations.</li> <li>Lack of showcasing varieties of popular authentic delicacies.</li> <li>The lack of food festivals that might contribute to the restoration of the area's gastronomic diversity and rich culture.</li> <li>Lack of appropriate training and awareness initiatives for the local people.</li> <li>One important element that affects the availability of regional food is the time of year.</li> <li>Inadequate advertising and promotion.</li> <li>Low quality and unattractive appearance.</li> <li>An increase in visitors could be detrimental to the local way of life.</li> <li>Inadequate lodging options and lack of restaurants or food stalls to meet the demand</li> </ul>

<ul> <li>A destination's ethnic food catalyses remembering its cultural heritage.</li> <li>It reduces poverty and inequality, produces jobs, boosts the local economy, aids in the development of local infrastructure, and helps to preserve the environment and cultural heritage.</li> <li>The development of community based tourism is driven by ethnic cuisines, which also improve the entire visitor experience. The local community offers visitors a unique flavour of indigenous food from the area, and the aroma and taste of the meal can leave visitors with enduring memories.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>from visitors.</li> <li>Absence of a local food program.</li> <li>Limited production of organic food in the area.</li> <li>A shortage of skilled labour.</li> <li>Inadequate facilities and infrastructure.</li> <li>Lack of financial support.</li> </ul>
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### 9. FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

### **\*** Findings:

- The state is inhabited by 36 ethnic groups. Each tribal group has its traditional cuisine.
- Manipuri cuisine reflects the socio-cultural uniqueness and geographical feature of the state.
- There are 108 varieties of vegetarian dishes which show that the state has a rich food culture and traditions.
- Rice, a staple meal in Manipur, is prepared in an organic, straightforward manner and served with seasonal fresh green leafy vegetables and fish.
- The people of Manipur use a wide range of plants and herbs in their daily lives, many of which are unknown to the outside world and grown in their kitchen gardens.
- Manipur's ethnic cuisineis extremely diverse, influenced by geography, indigenous ingredients, and cultural practices, and boast unique flavours and ingredients.
- Manipuri food uses a variety of fermented foods, including ngari (fermented fish), hawaijar (fermented soyabeans), and soibum (fermented bamboo shoots).
- Every year, the Department of Tourism, Government of Manipur, organizes the Sangai festival, an annual celebration that gives the locals a chance to exhibit their diverse ethnic cuisine while also enticing visitors to taste local specialties.
- In Manipuri rites and festivities, food is an essential component. Food has a cultural and spiritual value, which is reflected in the preparation of particular dishes for various occasions.

### **Suggestions:**

- Ethnic cuisine have the potential to empower local community by fostering local food production, processing, and marketing while also opening up job opportunities and generating revenue.
- It is necessary to establish farms and homestays that promote sustainable farming methods and provide guests with genuine gastronomic experiences.
- Expanding the number of small-scale processing facilities for regional products, including as pickled fruit, fermented fish, fermented bamboo shoots, and spices, which will increase shelf life and add value.
- Setting up training and awareness campaigns to teach the locals about basic hygiene, hospitality, and the preparation of various regional foods.

- An essential component of a community's cultural identity is its ethnic food. Therefore, keeping and promoting the regional cuisines will support the local community's sense of pride, draw tourists, and strengthen the area's cultural legacy.
- Holding frequent food festivals that highlight Manipur's gastronomic diversity will draw more visitors, both domestic and foreign.
- Promoting food tourism to exploit its potential the state has.
- Publishing information about ethnic cuisines' cultural value, traditional recipes, and food preparation methods in books and other online resources is required.
- It is necessary to create a distinctive brand identity for Manipuri ethnic cuisine that highlights its authenticity, freshness, and cultural diversity.
- The government should support local business owners who have innovative ideas for foodrelated ventures to promote food tourism and regional cuisine.

### **10. CONCLUSION**

Combining ethnic food with community based tourism is a powerful way to promote cross-cultural understanding, enhance travel experiences, and advance sustainable development. Through the adoption of conscientious practices and the prioritization of tourist happiness and community wellbeing, this special partnership may establish a vibrant ecosystem that fosters the growth of local communities and cultural heritage. A significant and complex factor in the prosperity of community based tourism growth is ethnic cuisine. It serves as a powerful component that enhances the traveller experience while boosting the local community. A vital resource for successful community based tourism is ethnic cuisine. Communities may develop a sustainable and enriching tourism experience that benefits both tourists and locals by emphasizing local sourcing, appreciating culinary traditions, and enforcing responsible behaviours.

A distinctive and genuine glimpse into Manipuri culture is provided by the rapidly growing sector of community based tourism in Manipur. The contribution that ethnic cuisines provide to the growth of community based tourism has been examined in this study, along with its strengths and weaknesses.

The unique blend of native and outside influences present in Manipuri cuisine is a reflection of the state's rich cultural heritage. Therefore, the study investigated aspects and presented a framework for understanding the connection between ethnic cuisine and community based tourism. As a result, it has been noted that the connections between ethnic food and community based tourism are considered to be a means of advancing small-scale businesses in the area. The present study into the relationship between ethnic cuisine and community based tourism of culture and sustainable means of livelihood.

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### **AUTHORS' BIOGRAPHY**



**Ms. Hawaibam Jhalari Devi**, a passionate and accomplished Research Scholar on a journey of exploration in Hospitality and Tourism Management, currently delving deep into a Ph.D. at Assam University. With accolades like the prestigious Rector's Gold Medal in Master of Tourism & Travel Management and a diverse industry background encompassing major hotel operations and Human Resources internships, Hawaibam's expertise shines bright. Her commitment to sustainable tourism development and community engagement is evident through her extensive involvement in various national and international

conferences, where she presents her insightful research on topics ranging from Community Based Tourism to Sustainable Tourism Development. With a solid foundation laid through an Advanced Diploma Course in Tourism and Hospitality Management from Manipur University, Hawaibam is poised to make waves in academia and beyond, under the guidance of Dr. Soumendra Nath Biswas.



**Dr. Soumendra Nath Biswas**, is presently working as an Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management, Assam University, Silchar (a Central University). Prior to that, he had served in Indian Institute of Tourism and travel Management, Bhubaneswar (An Autonomous body under Ministry of Tourism, Govt. of India) as an Assistant Professor (senior scale) in last 14 years. He has been awarded PhD in the year 2010 in Business Administration (Tourism) by the University of Burdwan, West Bengal. He has obtained Master in Tourism Management and bachelor Hotel

management (BHM). He has also qualified UGC-NET and UGC-JRF. Dr. Biswas has 20 years of teaching experience in MBA (Tourism), BBA (Tourism), BHM and DHM in various government and private institutions. Dr. Biswas has written numbers of text book in Tourism Studies by international and national publishers and contributed numbers of research papers in reputed international and national peer-reviewed journals and edited books. He has contributed in many research projects sponsored by UNDP, Government of India and Government of Odisha.

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