Food and Identity: A Socio-historical Perspective on the Evolution of Taiwanese Cuisine

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Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Yu-Hsin (May) Chang
Abstract

Anthelme Brillat-Savarin proposed the idea: ‘tell me what kind of food you eat and I will tell you what kind of man you are’ in 1826. Since then, there has been an ample body of research undertaken examining the relationship between food and identity and there has been much debate about this issue. In Taiwan, since the transition of political power from external to internal rule in 1988, there has been an increased interest expressing Taiwanese identity, including food and identity. However, while there are plenty of popular publications on the subject, few academic works examine this based on serious in-depth research. This study takes a socio-historical perspective to examine the development of Taiwanese food and document its elevation to cuisine status, linking to a rise of Taiwanese identity and the way people express that consciousness.

Taiwan was subject to different external powers after 1624: the Dutch colonizers, Han settlers, the Japanese and the Nationalist government. In the Japanese period beginning in 1895, Taiwanese consciousness took the form of an ethnic identification, one which contrasted with identifying with the Japanese. In the mid and late 1940s this changed into a bensheng, ‘this province’, consciousness: Taiwanese used this term to contrast themselves with those Mainlanders who arrived in the Nationalist period. Similarly, the status of Taiwanese food differed during the different historical periods. Taiwanese food was especially regarded as low cuisine when Taiwan was a Japanese colony (1895-1945) and during the Nationalists government (1945-1988). After 1988 it changed to become considered representative of Taiwan and began being served as a cuisine in high-end restaurants. The sense of Taiwanese identity increased during the same time period.

This study aims to answer the question: how did Taiwanese food evolve to the
status of Taiwanese cuisine in the course of Taiwan’s socio-historical development? I employed literature reviews, household interviews, expert interviews, and questionnaires among two Taiwanese restaurants to conduct this study. I first review the history of Taiwanese food and the development of Taiwanese consciousness during Taiwan’s colonial history. Second, I discuss the nature and the characteristics of Taiwanese food, and deal with the details of eating at home and eating out in Taiwan. Third, I examine the close relationship between local identity and local food festivals, and between Taiwanese identity and a number of foods recently invented. Finally I explore the cultural meanings of the Taiwanese cuisine that has emerged and how it is valued by Taiwanese people; this includes discussion of the relationship between the status of Taiwanese food and the development of Taiwanese identity.

The research findings show that Taiwanese food is not only simply a part of Minnan cuisine: people living in contemporary Taiwan have become the masters guiding the direction Taiwanese food has taken and is taking in modern democratic Taiwan, encompassing its individual, cultural, economic, political and historical factors. Taiwanese food formed as a distinct cuisine because of many factors intimately related to local people’s living experiences and Taiwan’s history. Taiwanese food has attracted more attention and has been regarded as representative of Taiwan since 2000, the time in which the growth of Taiwanese identity has gathered momentum. Despite the tendency of globalization to blur cultural differences, people do not lose their orientation in the global environment but instead assert their local identity. Taiwan is no exception. The findings of this study support the argument I make in the introductory chapter that Taiwanese food coming to be recognized as Taiwanese cuisine is associated with the rise of Taiwanese identity. This study not only reflects Taiwan’s socio-history, but also helps people to have a deeper understanding about Taiwan’s unique culture.
Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Food satisfies the physical needs of human beings to prevent starvation, but also fulfills special cultural and social functions. According to Leach (1985), food is an especially appropriate ‘mediator’ because people establish a direct identity between themselves (culture) and their food (nature) through eating. Wang (2007) also gives the further idea that not only do foods offer human beings the physical satisfaction, but also human beings give food meanings which influence others in the culture and their descendants as well.

In 1826, Anthelme Brillat-Savarin first raised this underlying idea when he said, ‘tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are’ (The Phrase Finder, 2007). Since then, similar statements related to food and identity, such as ‘you are what you eat,’ ‘we are where we eat’, and ‘we are with whom we eat’ (Anderson, 2005b, Bell, 1997, Rappoport, 2003, Fox, 2007), have become a popular debate of researchers. That is to say, foods can present various types of identities. For example, kimchee was officially selected to be a symbol of Korean identity by the Ministry of Culture and Sports (Soo, 2006a, Walraven, 2002). People recognize yumcha is from Hong Kong, lasagna or pizza from Italy, chow mein from China and goulash from Hungary (Tam, 1997, Delaney, 2004, James, 1997, Daniel, 2006). Food is instrumental in articulating difference between culture, serving to strengthen group or national identity and to distinguish self and other (Lupton, 1994).

1 In 1965, Claude Lévi-Strauss raised a famous idea which is ‘culinary triangle’ by structural approach. Depending on his inference, all the cultural images of human culture preserve the binary oppositions: transformed/normal and culture/nature.

2 1826, in The Physiology of Taste. eBooks@Adelaide, 2007.
In 2007, the Taiwanese Ministry of Economic Affairs began planning to use ‘Taiwanese food’ to promote ‘Taiwan’ overseas. This goal was compromised by people’s limited understanding of Taiwanese food so an internet-voting style survey was undertaken to identify what people’s understanding of Taiwanese food was. This activity, one which continues to the present, aroused people’s interest, and demonstrated that many people in Taiwan are curious about this subject. It raises two interesting questions. What is Taiwanese food? Why could Taiwanese not define their own food clearly?

There is ample body of research related to food and identity, but all of these studies were undertaken in an identified country or special administrative region. Most refer to the relationship between the ethnic or national or cuisine and migrants’ cultural or national identity (Hsiao and Lim, 2007, Kim, 1998a, Sook, 2006, Chen, 2010). Some, however, are concerned with national identity being influenced by the impact of colonial rule or linking to the world economy, such as in Australia, Malaysia and Singapore (Fox, 2007, Anderson, 2007, Huat & Rajah, 2001). My dissertation is a study of food and identity from a socio-historical perspective. It explores the development of Taiwanese food and the relationship between Taiwanese identity and the emergence of Taiwanese food. It will examine the development of Taiwanese food from the period of significant Han settlement of Taiwan and document its elevation to cuisine status, linking the latter to a rise in ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ (Taiwan yishi) and sense of Taiwanese identity and the way people express that consciousness.

**Background**

Taiwan, also formerly known as Formosa, is an island in the western Pacific, just east of the southern-central coast of China. It is approximately 380 kilometres long and 140 kilometres wide at its widest with a total area of approximately 36,000 square
kilometres. Two-thirds of the land area is covered by mountains with the remainder being basins, coastal plains and highland areas.

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century Taiwan was populated mainly by non-Han Chinese aboriginal people. They are not a single ethnic group but consist of various tribes that speak different languages, and originally lived in different habitats, some on the plains, others in the mountains. Small numbers of Han Chinese came to Taiwan periodically prior to their large-scale settlement there, some as fishermen, others as traders seeking mountain products. A small number settled in Taiwan but they were few in number in comparison with the local aborigines.

Han settlement initially accelerated as a result of Dutch attempts to establish colonies after 1630 when the East India Company began the cultivation of rice and recruited Chinese settlers to act as farm labours. The Chinese migrants were mainly from Fujian province, in particular the area around Xiamen, due to the short distance from Taiwan (Huang, 1981). By 1662, approximately 600 Dutch immigrants, 2,000 Dutch Army personnel, and 30,000 Chinese immigrants were living in Taiwan (Feng, 1949). This foreign colonisation did not last long. The Dutch were driven out in 1662 by the forces of Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功), a military commander who retreated to Taiwan with his forces from the coast of Southeast China; he was aiming to use Taiwan as a base to counterattack the Manchu forces invading China. These forces were defeated by the Manchus in 1683, and Taiwan came under Manchu rule. At this time there were an estimated 500,000 Han in Taiwan. These migrants who decided to migrate to Taiwan did so mainly to improve their economic condition (Lin, 1984).

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3 Zheng Chenggong was Zheng Zhilong’s (鄭芝龍) son. Zheng Zhilong had worked for the Dutch and then become a pirate. He led the Zheng family and other Minnanese to build his Zheng dynasty. After Zheng Zhilong surrendered to the Qing forces, Zheng Chenggong led the Zheng dynasty and developed a maritime business.
Subsequently, the number of Han migrants kept increasing despite Manchu efforts to prevent migration from the Chinese mainland.

In 1895, Japan took over Taiwan following China’s loss in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), with Taiwan ceded to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki (馬關條約). In 1923, the Taiwanese population numbered 3,679,371 Han people, 91.4% of the population, with Japanese, and aboriginal people numbering 181,847 (4.5%), and 134,420 (3.3%) respectively; the other 0.8% were foreigners (Hiromatsu, 1925, Yin, 1986). There was also Hakka migration from Guangdong province, but most came from the Minnan area, in particular the prefectures of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou near Xiamen and it is these Han Chinese to which the term ‘Taiwanese’ refers in this study.

These Han Chinese brought their food habits and cooking methods with them, and with the inclusion of some local ingredients these came to make up what was later called ‘Taiwanese food.’ The Han people who arrived in Taiwan identified with the area of mainland China from which they or their ancestors came, and they did not differentiate what they ate from other foods except perhaps from what the huan-a, a pejorative term for the aborigines, ate. They certainly did not differentiate their food from the food styles of other parts of China, and even today, the food of the Xiamen area is not a recognised or prized style. Moreover, administratively until 1684 Taiwan was just a prefecture of Fujian province. It was designated a province of mainland China in 1886.

Taiwanese food first became a distinctive, identified by the region it was found, after Taiwan was colonised by Japan in 1895. A 1907 Japanese publication first used

4 Minnan refers to the southern area of Fujian province.
the term *Taiwan liaoli*⁵ to differentiate what the Taiwanese ate: versions of local food were then beginning to be served in restaurants catering to Taiwan’s colonial overlords. Given the lack of contact Taiwanese had with others, this was perhaps the first time Taiwanese saw their food contrasted with other food styles, giving it a new status. The word *liaoli*, a Japanese borrowing, is now used in Taiwan to designate a ‘cuisine,’ as distinct from merely a food style.⁶

To Taiwanese, however, what they ate remained simply ‘food,’ or perhaps ‘Taiwanese food’—*Taiwan cai*.⁷ The major contrast in food styles for the Taiwanese came with the occupation of the island by the forces and officials of the Republic of China government—until then still based in mainland China—in 1945, after the defeat of the Japanese and the *de facto* retrocession of Taiwan to Chinese control. When facing defeat at the hands of the Chinese Communist forces, the KMT-controlled government retreated to Taiwan in 1949 and brought with them about 1.5 million Chinese soldiers and refugees. These Chinese came from various provinces of mainland China and brought their regional cuisines with them, greatly increasing the variety of flavours and cooking styles available.

Over the next forty years, the authoritarian Mainlander-controlled government suppressed Taiwanese identity. All things Taiwanese, including Taiwanese food, were regarded by many Mainlanders as low in status (Wu, 2002). Taiwanese food continued to be eaten in Taiwanese homes publicly as various snack foods, and in a

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⁵ *Taiwan liaoli* in Japanese is 台湾料理 (*Taiwan ryōri*).

⁶ Presently in the PRC, *liaoli* is used to refer to Japanese food or Taiwanese food but not to well-known Chinese food styles such as Cantonese, Sichuanese, Shanghainese, etc.

⁷ *Cai* has various related meanings: alone it means dish in the sense of a dish ordered in a restaurant, or one of several food items in a family meal setting. It is also used as a suffix in various terms to indicate ‘vegetable’, and ‘food’. The pronunciation of ‘c’ in *cāi* is like the ‘ts’, in ‘hits.’
few places such as the old Yuanhuan or Longshan Temple areas in Taipei. In the 1960s, the Hongye (紅葉), the AoBa (青葉), and the Umeko (梅子) restaurants opened, selling mainly plain congee and savoury dishes. They were called Taicai (Taiwan cai) restaurants. The flourishing economy in the 1970s attracted more people to invest in Taicai restaurants, such as the Shin Yeh (欣葉) restaurant and the Chicken House (雞家莊). These few Taicai restaurants featuring Taiwanese dishes were patronised by Japanese, Taiwanese, and a small number of Mainlanders. After the ‘Chiang family dictatorship’ came to an end with the death of Chiang Ching-kuo in 1988, Taiwan rapidly democratised, and manifestations of Taiwan identity and Taiwanese cultural products erupted on the scene like ‘bamboo after the spring rain.’ One now finds Taiwanese restaurants not only in Taiwan but in Hong Kong, in many cities in the PRC, and in cities overseas where there is a substantial ethnic Chinese population. Furthermore, the number of high-end Taiwanese restaurants has been increasing in the last few years, for example Shin Yeh 101 which opened in 2008, Dingxin 101 which opened on 1st January, 2011, and the Monga restaurant which will open in the mid 2011. This is clear evidence that Taiwanese food has now achieved cuisine status.

Aim and scope of this study

This current study sets out to examine the evolution of Taiwanese food from a socio-historical perspective and deepen current basic understanding of Taiwanese food and its distinctiveness. It also examines the links between the status of Taiwanese food and the development of a Taiwanese consciousness under different political regimes. I argue that this is very significant and that the relationship between the development of Taiwanese food and the growth of Taiwanese identity reflect social

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8 From interview with E-1.
change in Taiwan, and an increased sense of Taiwanese identity, and valuing this. A general research question that this poses is: ‘How did Taiwanese food evolve to the status of Taiwanese cuisine in the course of Taiwan’s socio-historical development?’

This question in turn raises the following more specific questions:

1. What is ‘Taiwanese food’?
2. What social and cultural meanings does it have?
3. What role does it play and how has its value in Taiwanese society changed with the rise of a local awareness of Taiwanese identity?

A number of objectives have been articulated in order to address the questions above. These are to:

1. outline and review the history of Taiwanese food;
2. identify the exogenous and endogenous factors which have influenced people’s food and foodways\(^9\) in Taiwan;
3. explore the cultural meanings of Taiwanese food and how it is valued by Taiwanese people; and
4. discuss the relationship between Taiwanese food and Taiwanese identity.

This socio-historical study requires a systematic methodology and a comprehensive framework to conceptualise, organise, analyse and present its data. The evolution of Taiwanese food will be examined using a chronological division into four periods:

1. 1624-1895 – the pre-Japanese period;
2. 1895-1945 – the Japanese colonial occupation;
3. 1945-1988 – the pre-democratisation period; and

\(^9\) Dr Alexandra Jaffe and Brody Fredericksen define foodways as food is limited cultural phenomenonas. Food is tied to our religions, holidays, gender roles, ethnic identities, domestic economies, and the history. Http://www.usm.edu/antsoc/anthro/teaching/foodways.html, viewed 9 May, 2011.
4. from 1988 to the present – democratic Taiwan.

The first period began more than 200 years ago and is beyond the scope of living memory. It can only be studied using documentary evidence. The other more recent three periods have been examined by looking at the relevant literature, and conducting interviews and distributing questionnaires. These approaches seek to collect information from three perspectives: the individual, the historical, and the social.

Although the context of this study is Taiwanese culture, the research interviews and distribution of questionnaires took place only in Taipei. Persons of the main three ethnic groups, Minnanese, Hakkas, and Mainlanders, are located in Taipei, which is historically an economic, political, and cultural centre. Taiwan’s ethnic aboriginal culture was specifically excluded from consideration in this study. Taiwan’s aboriginal peoples comprise 14 officially recognized distinct groups and are a complicated research field in their own right. They are relatively small in number and their traditional life styles are quite different from the Han ethnic groups and from the mainstream Taiwanese culture. There has been a strong recent interest emerging in Hakka culture since the establishment of the Council of Hakka Affairs, Executive Yuan in 2001, including the opening of Hakka study centres in a number of universities such as the new International Center for Hakka Studies (國立交通大學國際客家研究中心) at National Chiao Tung University in Hsinchu and College of Hakka Studies (國立中央大學客家學院) at National Central University in Taoyuan, and promotion of Hakka foods in the newspapers. Hakka food has gradually become a unique cuisine distinct from Taiwanese or Chinese food; hence, Hakka food is also beyond the scope of this current study.

**Methodology**

8
A combination of techniques—a literature review, household interviews, expert interviews, and questionnaires—were used to gather the data on which this study is based. A valuable primary source was made available by one informant who provided a diary he had kept from 1941 to 1951. This was an important primary source to outline changes that occurred in the first 11 years of the post World War II period, especially changes in the daily food practice of Taiwanese people. The secondary data review focuses on information relating to social change in Taiwan on the basic culinary knowledge necessary for undertaking this research, and a review of research into food and identity. The other three research methods applied in this study are outlined below.

**Household interviews**

Mintz (1996) noted that the inner meaning of food relates to daily life conditions; furthermore, the home is also a place of identity formation (Valentine, 1999). I therefore relied on the household interviews to collect qualitative data to understand people’s daily food and foodways. Interviews of this type were the first I carried out between July 2008 and January 2009. The interviewees were members of two communities which were chosen as representing a major ethnic boundary in Taiwan. Figure 1-1 shows the location of these two communities in Taipei city. One is situated in Beitou (北投), a predominately Minnanese area. This is an area where many old hot-spring hotels which have served typical Taiwanese food and nagashi culture (那卡西) since their development during the Japanese occupation are located. The

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10 Nagashi (那卡西), (the pronunciation of ‘流し’, like water flow’), refers to walking live troupes, which walked about and sang in hotels and restaurants. Beitou was the only place that nagashi were found in Taiwan. During the Japanese occupation, there were a number of wine restaurants (jiujia) in the Beitou hot-spring area, which mainly provided jiujia ca (酒家菜) and nagashi for customers. After
other community is situated in Dazhi (大直). Mainlanders are in the majority in the Dazhi area because this was the locality of a military base\textsuperscript{11} and a number of military dependents’ housing compounds.\textsuperscript{12} I adopted snowball sampling to find informants for this study. To understand the historical eating experiences of different ethnic groups, the informants had to meet the following criteria: the male head of a Minnanese or Hakka households must have been alive during the Japanese colonial period and have married a Minnanese or Hakka woman respectively, i.e. married within their own ethnic group. The male head of a Mainlander family must have come to Taiwan around 1949 and married a Minnanese or Hakka woman.

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11 During the Chiang Kai-shek period, a number of military units were located in Dazhi, including the Armed Forces University (三軍大學), now relocated to Taoyuan and renamed National Defense University (國防大學), the Navy Command Headquarters (海軍司令部), Chiang Ching-Kuo’s residence for high officials (七海官邸), and the Martyrs’ Shrine (忠烈祠).

12 There were some military dependents’ housing compounds (眷村) in the Dazhi area, such as the Lixing Xincun (力行新村), the Tongde Xincun (同德新村), the Dazhi Juancun (大直眷村), and the Yuanshan Ercun (圓山二村). All have been rebuilt as new housing.
I interviewed people from a total of 43 households in these two communities; Table 1-1 shows the various categories and the sample sizes. In Beitou, I interviewed people from 23 households: 10 Minnanese households, 5 Mainlander-Minnanese households, 2 Mainlander-Hakka households, 4 Hakka households, and 2 Mainlander households. I was introduced to my interviewees by local NGOs, such as the Peitou Culture Foundation (北投文化基金會) and the Taipei Beitou Cultural Community (台北市北投區文化社區發展協會). I also visited a Karaoke TV (KTV) room to find some senior citizens willing to be interviewed. The KTV room is part of the Elder Leisure Centre (老人休閒中心) which was organized by the Beitou District Office (北投區公所) for senior citizens who live in Beitou. In these places, I interviewed people from 5 Mainlander-Minnanese, 2 Mainlander-Hakka and 1 Mainlander households in the cultural community, which is military dependents housing. In addition, I interviewed people from 1 Mainlander, 4 Hakka and 10 Minnanese households in the KTV room and in their own homes.
I interviewed 20 households in Dazhi: 10 Minnanese households, 6 Mainlander-Minnanese households, and 4 Hakka households. I was introduced to households by friends, a lecturer who teaches in the General Education Centre, Shih-chien University (實踐大學推廣教育中心), a local church (the Presbyterian Church, Dazhi branch; 基督教長老教會), a local temple (the Chunyuen Temple; 正願寺), and the head of the Dazhi Borough (大直里里長).

Table 1-1 Household interviews – sample types and sample sizes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sample Types</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beitou</td>
<td>Minnanese households</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainlander -- Minnanese households</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainlander – Hakka households</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hakka households</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainlander households</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dazhi</td>
<td>Minnanese households</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainlander-- Minnanese households</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hakka households</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The semi-structured questions for in-depth interviews with each household explored five topics:

1. ordinary dining life;
2. religious practice, health beliefs, and food preparation on traditional occasions;
3. socio-economic status;
4. ethnic consciousness, and
5. family history and tradition.

Most of my informants spoke both Minnanese and Mandarin. Both languages were used during the interviews: I had no language problem conducting these interviews as
I speak both languages.

**Interviews with professionals**

The second type of interview carried out was expert interviews. For reasons of ethical concerns and to maintain people’s anonymity, I refer to these experts, three restaurant chefs and two managers – as Chef A, Chef B, and Chef C, and Manager A, and Manager B. Table 1-2 shows the background of these five professionals. Chef A, who had just retired in September 2008, had worked in a famous Taiwanese restaurant for 40 years. He was able to provide me with details about that restaurant and his working history. Chef B was still working also in a Taiwanese restaurant, but he had frequently changed restaurants in order to learn different cooking skills and be able to become solely responsible for a whole kitchen. Chef B’s experience was different from that of Chef A, and he talked more about the change in the restaurant industry. Chef C is the owner of a foodstall in the popular Shilin night market (士林夜市) selling oyster omelettes (蚵仔煎), a popular Taiwanese snack food. He has worked there since 1971. I selected him because according to a 2007 internet poll\(^ {13}\) oyster omelette is the most popular Taiwanese snack food. Chef C gave me his own perspectives on Taiwanese food and Taiwanese snack foods. I conducted in-depth interviews with these three chefs about their relationships with their various workplaces, the products the restaurants offered, the influence of social change on individual restaurants and the restaurant industry, themselves and their families, and their perception of Taiwanese food.

I also interviewed managers of Taiwanese restaurants in order to comprehend their view of Taiwanese food from a management perspective. Two managers agreed to

\(^ {13}\) This internet poll which was initiated by the central government –the Ministry of Economic Affairs, R.O.C. in 2007, was the first poll about Taiwanese food in Taiwanese history.
requests for an interview to talk about their working experiences, the development of
Taiwanese restaurant and the restaurant industry trends in Taiwan.

Table 1-2 Summary of working history of experts interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Working history</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chef A (E1)</td>
<td>44 years experience working in one Taiwanese restaurant (1964-2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef B (E2)</td>
<td>36 years experience working in ten Taiwanese restaurants (1973- present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef C (E3)</td>
<td>Owner of an oyster omelette stall in Shihlin night market for 38 years (1971-present). Before 1971, Chef C was a Taiwanese cuisine cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager A (E4)</td>
<td>10 years experience managing a Taiwanese restaurant (1999-2009), and 9 years experience cooking in a Japanese restaurant (1991-1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager B (E5)</td>
<td>General manager of a Taiwanese restaurant, 31 years experience working in one Taiwanese restaurant (1977-present),</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questionnaires

I gave out questionnaires to diners in the branches of the Shin Yeh (欣葉) and the AoBa (青葉) restaurants, two typical Taiwanese restaurants, in July and August, 2008. The Shin Yeh restaurant branch is located inside the Shin Kong Mitsukoshi Department Store in Nanxi (新光三越百貨南西店). The AoBa restaurant branch is located inside the Breeze Center (微風廣場) shopping mall. Both are situated in central Taipei city. The respondents had to be local customers aged over 18. The questionnaires were distributed to these customers. In the Shin Yeh Restaurant, 105 questionnaires were distributed to the diners by the waiters and waitresses there. I then collected and checked them at the front desk. The manager of the AoBa Restaurant wanted to avoid disturbing their diners, so 135 questionnaires were given to diners there with a stamped addressed envelop attached facilitating ease return by

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14 A copy of the questionnaire is attached at Appendix A.
post. Given this situation, I distributed more questionnaires in the AoBa Restaurant than in the Shin Yeh Restaurant, hoping in this way to encourage people to return them and ensure the return percentage would exceed 60 percent of the 135 questionnaires distributed. The 135 and 105 questionnaires delivered to diners in the AoBa and the Shin Yeh restaurants elicited 93 and 95 valid responses respectively; this gives the percentage of valid questionnaires as 68.8% and 90.5%. There may have been a research bias introduced by the different in the way the questionnaires were distributed and collected in these two restaurants, but it could not be avoided.

The questionnaire consisted of semi-structured questions and questions eliciting basic background data about the respondents themselves (their ethnic origin, gender, age, occupation, and language usage). The data collected provided an understanding of people’s eating-out behaviour, including their food preferences, and the reasons they chose that particular restaurant, and their understanding of what constitutes Taiwanese cuisine. These data from questionnaires supplement and corroborate the qualitative data from interviews, a process known as triangulation (Neuman, 2006, Silverman, 1993).

Table 1-3 summarizes details of the respondents’ background, including their gender, age, marital status, education level, occupation, language usage, and ethnic group. The total number of respondents was 188: one-third (33.5%) were male, two thirds (66.5%) were female. The majority were middle-aged: one third (32.4%) were aged between 36 and 45 years, a quarter (23.4%) between 26 and 35 years, and a quarter (23.4%) between 46 and 55 years. About 10% were aged over 56 and about 10% were aged between 18 and 25 years.

Two thirds (67%) of the respondents were married, two people were divorced, and about a third (31.9%) were still single. Over half (58%) had a university or college level education, and about a quarter (23.9%) of them had done postgraduate study.
This indicates that these respondents were very well-educated. Regarding their occupation, 29.3% were in business, 16.5% worked in a service industry and 11.2% were students. A small percentage, about 4%, worked in government, education or in a factory setting. The remaining one quarter of the respondents belonged to ‘other occupation’. 24 people wrote their occupation down in the questionnaires, including housewives (7.4%), retired, lawyers, musicians, and free trade. Over one tenth (11.2%) did not give any details about their occupation.

Mandarin (47.9%) is the language most often used by the respondents, just over a quarter (27.1%) speak Minnanese, nearly another quarter (22.3%) used both Mandarin and Minnanese as their main language. In terms of the ethnic origin of the paternal side of the family, three quarters (73.9%) of all respondents are Minnanese, with the remaining groups being Mainlanders (19.1%), Hakkas (6.1%), and Aborigines (0.5%). The ethnic origins of the maternal side of the family of respondents were very similar to that of the paternal side.
Table 1-3 Background of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of people</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 76</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Martial status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University/College</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate school</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse &amp; Doctor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language usage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnanese</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paternal group</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnanese</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Definitions, terms and the adoption of transliteration system

Definitions and terms

The mix of ethnic groups in Taiwan has continually changed during the various regimes across Taiwanese history. The names I use to refer to various ethnic groups in Taiwan discussed in this study are set out below:

- ‘Minnanese’ refers to the descendants of the Han Chinese who migrated prior to 1945 from the southern area of Fujian province during the Qing and Ming dynasties and who speak a variation of the Minnan language.

- ‘Hakkas’ or ‘Hakka people’ refers to descendents of the Han Chinese who migrated prior to 1945 from the western area of Fujian province and Guangdong province and who speak the Hakka language.

- ‘Mainlanders’ the people who fled to Taiwan from mainland China with the Nationalist government between 1945 and 1949 when China was taken over by the Communists. The local term is waishengren (外省人), ‘people from outside this province.’

- ‘Taiwanese’ – in this study ‘Taiwanese’ refers to all Minnanese and Hakka who live in Taiwan. It excludes Aborigines and Mainlanders. A local term is benshengren (本省人), ‘people from this province.’
In this study, ‘Taiwanese food’ refers to the Minnanese style food in Taiwan. It is called ‘Taiwan cai’ (臺灣菜) in Chinese. Cuisine is defined as a particular style of cooking \(^{15}\) reflecting the characteristic of a particular country, region, or establishment. \(^{16}\) ‘Cuisine’ has the same meaning as liaoli (料理), a Japanese borrowing. The Japanese call their food ‘Japanese liaoli’ and they call the food in Taiwanese restaurant ‘Taiwan liaoli’ i.e. Taiwanese cuisine. ‘Taiwanese cuisine’, however, is also a term used to distinguish this from other ethnic or regional cuisines, such as Hakka cuisine, Cantonese cuisine, Jiangzhe cuisine, etc.

**The transliteration system and spelling conventions adopted**

In this study, I principally use *Hanyu pinyin* to transliterate Chinese. I use the church Romanisation, Missionaries version (教會羅馬拼音—傳教士版) to transliterate Taiwanese into English. There are a number of exceptions: I use the commonly recognized names of major cities in Taiwan; I use *Hanyu pinyin* to transliterate the names of other places under city level. For people’s names, for historical persons such as members of the Chiang family I used the established recognized names. For the names of other people I use *Hanyu pinyin* except in instances where people have already had their name transliterated in a particular way (Wade-Giles Romanisation or idiosyncratic spellings are commonly used in Taiwan).

**Overview of the functions of the chapters**

This introductory chapter, Chapter 1, gives a brief sketch of the study, including its aim and scope, and the fieldwork procedure used, and defines key terms.

\(^{15}\) Cambridge dictionary online and Longman dictionary of contemporary English.

\(^{16}\) See Oxford Dictionary online.
Chapter 2 presents a review of relevant literature and related theories and constructs the conceptual framework for this study.

Chapter 3 explores the historical and social contexts of Taiwanese identity, Taiwanese foods, and food publications.

Chapter 4 deals with the details of eating at home in Taiwan. This includes discussion of the nature and the characteristics of Taiwanese food and the changes in regular meals taken in ordinary family settings.

Chapter 5 explores foods consumed when eating-out. This includes simple meals, eating-out on special occasions, and consumption in Taiwanese restaurants.

Chapter 6 examines the close relationship between Taiwanese identity and a number of foods invented by the locals. This chapter also examines the relationship between local identity and local special foods in Taiwan.

The last chapter, Chapter 7, presents the conclusion of this study. It discusses the determinants of the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine, the role of Taiwanese cuisine in interactions between mainland China and Taiwan, and the contemporary phenomena of globalisation, localisation, and glocalisation.
Chapter 2
Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

This study focuses on the development of Taiwanese food from simple peasant fare into a recognised cuisine and the relationship between Taiwanese identity and Taiwanese food. This chapter presents a review of the literature related to the emergence of various cuisines and links between food and identity. Taiwanese food originated from the area of mainland China from which the Taiwanese migrated, so it is crucial to have a basic understanding of Chinese food and of the relationship between food and identity at the local and/or regional level in mainland China, in order to trace the origins of Taiwanese food. This chapter also outlines four approaches to food studies as a prelude to identifying a suitable approach for the construction of the conceptual framework for this dissertation on the history of Taiwanese cuisine and the determinants which affect its status.

Literature review

The emergence of a cuisine

Among the research papers which discuss the formation of a cuisine--such as Caribbean, Nyonya, and Macanese cuisines--Mintz (1996) describes how Caribbean cuisine was created by slaves and developed into a distinctive cuisine in Caribbean societies during the colonial time which began around 1503 and ended in 1886. He argues that the factors listed below made the slaves who worked on the plantations and the slaves who worked as cooks familiar with a wide range of foods and that this resulted in the formation of Caribbean cuisine. These key factors were:

\[\text{17} \text{ The plantations produced basic commodities for the European market, including coffee, tobacco, chocolate, indigo, cotton, sugar, rum, and molasses. See Taste Food, Taste Freedom (1996), p.37.}\]
1. The diverse range of ingredients available in New World;
2. Slaves being the major food producers;
3. Slaves being allowed to process the food and learn cooking by themselves
4. Slaves having their own internal market systems.

Applying a historical approach Anderson (2007) argues that the formation of *Nyonya* food in Malaysia was due to a rise of ethnic consciousness. Although there is a history of migration between China and Southeast Asia, Malay-Chinese consider *Nyonya* food to be a distinct ethnic food rather than simply a hybrid of Chinese and Malay cuisines.

Another study concerns the emergence of Macanese cuisine. Augustin-Jean (2002) researched Macanese cuisine and identity in Macao to determine whether as well as a Macanese cuisine, there is also a ‘Macanese identity’ that reflects both Chinese and Portuguese influences. He argues that there are political and economic factors that may explain the existence of Macanese cuisine: the critical economic factor was a strong demand to highlight a distinctive cuisine--Macanese cuisine--to help tourism promotion.

Zhuang (1994) argues that the capacity of a cuisine to take form in mainland China is based on its having three elements: unique ingredients, distinct cooking skills, and a sufficient range of dishes and diverse flavours. A cuisine can present an area as small as a municipality or as large as province or autonomous region. Chen (1995) argues that the emergence of a regional cuisine is based on its specific regional agriculture and home-style cooking. Both of these can be refined into commercial products for the restaurant industry and gradually come to constitute a local cuisine. Furthermore, local cuisines of this kind are centred in populous areas, such as an economic or political centre, and they gradually become highly developed as foods for urban residents, elites, government officials or even members of royalty. Specific local foods
develop within their region as part of regional cuisine; in contrast, regional cuisine being fused with foods from outside of the region gives rise to a creative cuisine. Chen also remarks that a cuisine can keep its original style very well if the region it belongs to is geographically isolated; in contrast, some cuisines are easily to incorporate with other exotic characteristics due to frequent interaction with outside through such things as war and migration.

In summary, these studies present the creation of a cuisine as determined by a number of factors, including ingredients, particular cooking methods, local markets, food producers, the influence of exotic foodstuffs, ethnic settings, and economic and political considerations.

**Food and identity—an overview**

*The link between food and identity*

Identity is the way a person or a social group define themselves in relation to another and it is a source of meaning and experience for people (Castells, 1997). Because identity is always linked to a particular historical conjuncture, its formation takes place over different dimensions of time (Valentine, 1999); hence, identity is always changing, and as a result, so, too, is the definition of *the other* (Castro, 2007).

Most types of identity exist over a range of levels. Lewis (2007) presents identity as a multifaceted concept. He quotes Al-Ham-dani to illustrate the complexity of conceptualizations of identity, incorporating a range of defining markers including moral judgments, emotional and religious perceptions, education, and aspects of material culture such as clothes or food. Twiss (2007) extends Lewis’s proposal, pointing out that identity is also produced by cultural and economic factors and that it can be defined at diverse levels. At the individual or small group levels, for example identity may involve and/or be determined by concepts such as gender, age, class,
occupation, family, or individual preferences. At a macro level, components of identity extend to group attributes, such as race, ethnicity, region (place), or nationality, as well as universal humanity (Caplan, 1997, Lewis, 2007, Cresswell, 2004). In response to globalisation, local identity has attracted increased attention.

Castells sees social factors as significant identity being the process of constructing of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute or related set of cultural attributes that is given priority over other sources of meaning (Castells, 1997:6). He proposes three forms of identity construction, namely legitimizing identity, resistance identity and project identity. Legitimizing identity is related to the reaffirmation of national identity through some authentic symbol, national flag or national anthem is a typical example. Resistance identity is generated by a devalued condition or opposition to the current social situation: it can take such expressions as strikes and street demonstrations for specific demands. Project identity occurs when on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them people build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of the overall social structure (1997:8). Castells regarded the initiation of place identity as a form of project identity.

Consumption of food plays a critical part in the production of identity. Anthelme Brillat-Savarin raised ‘tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are’ in 1826. Similar statements, such as ‘you are what you eat’ or ‘we are what we eat’ (Anderson, 2005b, Bell, 1997, Rappoport, 2003, Fox, 2007), have become oft-quoted favourites of researchers. Twiss (2007) extends this concept further to ‘we are where we eat’, and ‘we are with whom we eat’ (my emphasis added).

Food has a close relationship with cultural identity because human beings also invest foods with special meaning as metaphors, such as hot cross bun for Easter, turkey for Christmas (Fox, 2007, Moreno-Black, 2007). Foodways involve both the
performance of culturally expressive behaviours and the literal incorporation of a material symbol (Twiss, 2007), that is to say, cuisine plays an important role in solidifying our subjective senses of cultural identity and in creating, through the taste of the present, a nostalgia for a real or imagined cultural past (Wu, 1995).

Food can be crucial for people to reproduce themselves, say, as British, or Turkish, or Chinese, or American (Delaney, 2004). In an article ‘How British is British food?’ James (1997) mentions that what people eat may reveal that they are English or Cornish, a Hindu or a Jew, a child or an adult, an international traveller or a trendsetter. Foods and foodways can be profound and fundamental ways for people to communicate their affiliations, identities, and sense of belonging to their mother culture (Soo, 2006b). Lupton (1994) notes that identity is not linked solely to the organic constituents of food, but also to its symbolic meaning. *Yumcha*, for example, carries special meaning and constitutes a powerful symbol of the spirit of the Hong Kong people (Tam, 1997); likewise, *kimchi* is a symbol of Korean culture (Boudewijn, 2002, Kim, 1997).

**Factors that influence food and identity**

Diverse factors affect the nature of identity and can change it. Geraldine (2007) sees identity as involving a sense of personal individuality and that factors such as taste preferences, family history and ethnic background will affect individual identity, which is in turn the basis of group identity. Rites of passage marking changes in social status also modify identity (James, 1997).

The following examples demonstrate various factors that play a part in people producing a distinct identity through their food practices. Hsiao and Lim (2007) have researched Hakka food and identity in Malaysia. Their conclusion was that language and the ancestral hometown are the key factors which strengthen Malaysian Hakka
youths’ ethnic identity. Hakka food does not really play the key role in maintaining their Hakka identity, especially as some of their mothers are not Hakka people and they do not cook Hakka food at home. These Malaysian Hakka youths’ food preferences were mainly influenced by their mothers.

Another instance is Australian food. Michael Symons, a food writer in Australia, says, ‘Australia has very few dishes of local origin. About the only creation for which we can claim even modest culinary significance is the pavlova’ (Bell & Valentine, 1997:178). Daniel (2006) applied a popular children’s literature work *Possum Magic* by Mem Fox to discuss the relationship between Australian food and national identity. He asserts that although the food mentioned in the *Possum Magic*—pavlova, lamingtons, and vegemite sandwiches—are Australian versions and adaptations of popular British recipes, Australia’s notion of its national identity more realistically reflects its diverse multi-cultural migrant and indigenous populations.

Kim (1998a) investigated the relationship between the ethnic identity and cuisine of Koreans living in Manhattan. He found ethnic cuisine had played a key role in reinforcing the cohesion within the diaspora community. In Manhattan, Korean restaurants offer a good place for Koreans to express their Korean identity through the consumption of Korean food. The ethnic identity goes through transformations in ethnic restaurants. At the same time, Fox (2007) has a different opinion about food consumption and identity. He sees people as seldom keeping the same food preferences all their life. People develop preferences for foods that represent the type of person they admire or identify with, and then, trying to move into a higher social class, are likely to modify their food habits—abandoning their ethnic foods. Fox thinks that ethnic food preferences can only express ethnic identity in the presence of gustatory ‘foreigners’ such as when one goes abroad, or when foreigners visit the home shores. This indicates that food preferences are associated with individual
identity, but they do not represent group identity, especially national identity.

Kathleen Ja Sook, another Korean researcher, analysed the role of food in constructing multiple identities and its connection to birth heritage by a survey of first generation adult Korean adoptees in the United States. Sook (2006) found that the top three strategies these adoptees implemented to increase their understanding of Korean culture were to read books and/or magazines, attend cultural activities such as picnics and festivals, and eat at Korean restaurants. Here food can be viewed as an access point through which survey adoptees’ express cultural identity and seek sense of emotional intimacy in a foreign country.

While numerous scholars have sought to find a specific identity which represents a distinct area, Cheng (2002) regards the food in Hong Kong—which Hong Kong people are proud of—as Chinese food, not as ‘Hong Kong cuisine’. He argues that this local pride lies in the availability of quality food, especially Cantonese style Chinese food and the diversity of choices that mirrors Hong Kong’s international profile, rather than in a distinct cuisine unique to Hong Kong. Tam (1997) begs to differ, arguing that old yumcha practices in Hong Kong were in the style of Guangzhou, but Hong Kong style yumcha now has a distinctive social and cultural meaning for Hong Kong people, one clearly accenting differences between Cantonese Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese.

In terms of research more directly regarding Taiwanese food and identity, Wu (2002) argues that the achievement of high government positions in the early 1990s by Taiwanese people such as former President Lee Teng-Hui led to a rise in the status of Taiwanese food due to the rise of Taiwanese consciousness. These points to political power and its attendant prestige as a key factor influencing the status of Taiwanese cuisine. In addition, Chen (2010) argues that food preferences are rooted in the life experiences and bodily memories of modern consumers and that these experiences can clearly serve as a basis for Taiwanese identity formation. She argues that these
consumers’ sensibilities serve as the site where culinary preference and national consciousness appear to be correlated. Hsiao and Lim (2009) think that Taiwanese cuisine was resurrected as the national cuisine when local Taiwanese elites achieved political power in 2000.

Despite a number of studies discussing the correlation between food and ethnic, cultural, and national identity or national cuisine, national identity is still contested and uncertain in Taiwan. This study examines Taiwanese identity in a broad sense, not a narrow geopolitically sensitive one. Given that there is a hugely controversial and sensitive relationship between Taiwan and mainland China concerning ‘national’ identity and given that even whether such a term can be used in various formal contexts is also a hugely controversial and sensitive question, I doubt that a clear reliable correlation between people’s preference for Taiwanese cuisine and a ‘national identity’ can be firmly established. Nevertheless, a sense of Taiwanese identity has been growing since 2000, therefore, in this study I prefer to use ‘Taiwanese identity’ rather than ‘national identity’ to discuss the relationship between cuisine and identity in Taiwan. This study examines Taiwanese identity in a broad sense, not a narrow geopolitically sensitive one.

**Chinese cuisines and local Chinese food specialties**

China is a multi-ethnic country. The distinctive geography, climate, religious practices and culture found in each region or province mean that the dominant food flavours in each are also different from those associated with the others. Initially, Chinese food was divided into two groups: northern and southern cuisines. Northern cuisine referred to the foods in the Yellow River basin (黃河流域) and other northern areas of China. Southern cuisine was a term broadly referring to the foods of the Yangtze River basin (長江流域), Huaihe River basin (淮河流域), Xiangjiang River basin (湘
and Pearl River basin (珠江流域). Before the 1950s, the term *bang* (幫) was used to indicate a specific regional food. At that time, Chinese food was subdivided into four schools: *Lu* (魯), *Yue* (粵), *Chuan* (川), and *Huaiyang* (淮揚). The *Lu* school (魯幫) represented Northern cuisine, including Shandong cuisine and food in the northern area of China. The *Chuan* school (川幫) comprised the cuisines of Sichuan (四川), Guizhou (貴州) Yunnan (雲南) and the southern area of Shaanxi (陝西) cuisines (Xiao, 1992). The term *caixi* (菜系), ‘cuisine’ emerged in the 1950s, replacing the use of ‘*bang*’. Four cuisines were first recognised in the 1950s, those of Shandong, Sichuan, Jiangsu, and Guangdong. Another four, Hunan, Fujian, Zhejiang, and Anhui cuisines, were added in the 1970s to comprise the so-called ‘Chinese great eight cuisines’ (中國八大菜系) (Tian, 1987, Chang, 1977, Chinese Encyclopaedia, 1992). There are other regional cuisines which, although not included in the ‘great eight,’ are also highly renowned and distinctive, most notable among them being those of Yunnan and Hubei.

Various local dishes and liquors in China have special meanings for local people. For example, *kongfucai* (孔府菜)¹⁸, Confucian dishes, found in Shandong province reflect the influence of Confucian philosophy on Chinese food; similarly *kongfu jiajiu* (孔府家酒), Confucian wine, a famous Shandong liquor, has the same background. Locals in Sichuan believe that the chilli added to some well-known Sichuanese dishes, such as *mapo tofu* (麻婆豆腐) and *gongbao jiding* (宮保雞丁), a chicken dish, can

¹⁸ *Kongfucai* (孔府菜) was an official foods (官府菜) in ancient China. It originated in the Confucian Kong family mansion in Qufu, Shandong Province (山東曲阜). The Kong family was fastidious about food; they had cooks who served the family generation after generation and other cooks hired from outside. The food in Confucian mansion was fine, nutritional, and unique. *Kongfu dangan* (孔府檔案) documenting details of the food served in the Kong family is a valuable book providing material on cooking in China. See the *Zhongguo pengren cidian* 中國烹飪辭典 (1992).
help prevent malaria, which is endemic there due to the natural geography of Sichuan province. Zhejiang’s ‘longjing tea stir-fried shrimp’ (*longjing xiaren* 龍井蝦仁) is a famous local dish, reflecting the association of Zhejiang province with the famed *longjing* tea.

Table 2-1 lists the local specialty foods associated with each province in the ‘Chinese great eight cuisines’ categories. Each dish or specialty food in each province has some association with its historical background and natural environment that can be traced and is generally well-known to Chinese people.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Local Specialty Foods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td><em>Kongfucai</em> (孔府菜), Confucian dishes; <em>zhanhua dongcao</em> (沾化冬棗), black sea cucumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td><em>Gongbao jiding</em> (宮保雞丁), gongbao chicken; <em>zhangchaya</em> (樟茶鴨), tea-smoked duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mapo tofu</em> (麻婆豆腐); <em>fuqi feipian</em> (夫妻肺片), fuqi beef and beef tendon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Sichuan huoguo</em> (四川火鍋) Sichuan hotpot; <em>dandanmian</em> (擔擔麵), dandan noodles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td><em>yincha</em> (飲茶), yumcha; <em>baotang</em> (煲湯), slow-cooked soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pidan shourou zhou</em> (皮蛋瘦肉粥), congee with lean pork &amp; 100-year egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>gulurou</em> (咕滷肉), sweet-and-sour pork; <em>yuntunmian</em> (雲吞麵), wonton noodles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>shaoruhe</em> (燒乳鴿), deep-fried marinated pigeon; <em>baozifan</em> (煲仔飯), little pan rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>chashao</em> (叉燒), char-siu (BBQ): duck, goose, pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>desserts: <em>ximilu</em> (西米露) sago; <em>zhimahu</em> (芝麻糊), black sesame soup;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>doufuhua</em> (豆腐花), sweet tofu; <em>dunnai</em> (嫩奶), steamed milk custard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td><em>Wuxi pairou</em> (無錫排骨), Wuxi braised spare ribs; <em>furongdan</em> (芙蓉蛋), whitebait omelette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Shanghai xiaolongbao</em> (上海小籠包), Shanghai steamed bun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nanjing yanshuiya</em> (南京鹽水鴨), Nanjing salted water duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td><em>Dongporou</em> (東坡肉), stewed pork; <em>jiaohuaji</em> (叫化雞), beggar's chicken;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Xihu cuyu</em> (西湖醋魚), West Lake fish in vinegar;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Longjing xiaren</em> (龍井蝦仁), longjing tea stir-fried shrimp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td><em>pijiuya</em> (啤酒鴨), beer duck; <em>Dong'an ziji</em> (東安子雞), Dong'an chicken;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>zhenzhu wazi</em> (珍珠丸子)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td><em>Li Hongzhang zakui</em> (李鴻章雜燴), Li Hongzhang hodge-podge;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Luzhou kaoya</em> (滬州烤鴨), Luzhou Roast Duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td><em>Fotiaojiang</em> (佛跳牆) Buddha's casserole;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>rouyan</em> (肉燕), meat wonton; <em>baoxin yuwan</em> (包心魚丸), stuffed fish meat balls;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hongzaoji</em> (紅糟雞), red yeast rice chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>jitang cuan haibang</em> (雞湯汆海蚌), chicken soup with clams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tusundong</em> (土筍凍), aspic made with marine peanut worm;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Apart from the local specialty foods listed above, there are other famous dishes which take the name of a city, such as Beijing duck (Beijing kaoya 北京烤鴨), Tianjin goubuli steamed buns (Tianjin goubuli baozi 天津狗不理包子), and Nanjing dry-cured duck (Nanjing banya 南京板鴨). Table 2-2 lists other local specialty foods not included in the Chinese great eight cuisine categories but which are still well-known typical local foods. People living in frontier areas of China, such as Xinjiang, Qinghai, and Neimeng (Inner Mongelia), use a lot of lamb, mutton, donkey, and other high mountain animal meat in their cooking. The major ingredient of their dishes reflects the geography of the area and their rural way of life. As well as environment, these regional cuisines and liquors show where they are from and who they are.
Table 2-2 Local specialty foods not included in the ‘great eight cuisines’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province/ City</th>
<th>Local Specialty Foods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>kaoya (烤鴨), roast duck; shuanyangrou (涮羊肉), mutton hotpot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>bayuchi (扒魚翅), grilled shark fin; haixiegeng (海蟹羹), thick sea crab soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>qingzheng Wuchangyu (清蒸武昌魚), steamed Wuchang fish; waguan jitang (瓦罐雞湯) chicken soup crock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>wakuaiyu (瓦塊魚), wakuai fish; tieguodan (鐵鍋蛋), iron-pot egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei</td>
<td>jinmaoyu (金毛魚), golden fish; Xiaohuzi lurou (肖胡子騾肉), Xiaohuzi donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>guoyourou (過油肉), oily meat; meiren chijuan (美人魚翅卷), shark fin roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>huluji (葫蘆雞), gourd chicken; jinbian baica (金邊白菜), jinbian cabbage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>qiguoji (汽鍋雞), boiler chicken; guoqiao mixian (過橋米線), bridge rice noodles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>qingzheng haifu (清蒸海螺), steamed conch; lanhua xiongzhang (蘭花熊掌), orchid bear paw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>baien dunwuji (白蔘燉烏雞), stewed black chicken with white ginseng; luerh sanzhentang (鹿茸三珍湯), three-treasures soup with velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>kaogourou (烤狗肉), roast dog meat; chashao yezhurou (叉燒野豬肉), BBQ wild pork meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neimeng</td>
<td>chao tuofohsi (炒駝峰絲), stirred shredded camel hump; kao yangtui (烤羊腿) roast leg of lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>hudie yujiao (蝴蝶魚餃), butterfly fish dumplings; zha shilin (炸石鱗) fried shilin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>zhibaoji (紙包雞), paper-wrapped chicken; Longfeng lizhi (龍鳳荔枝), Longfeng lychees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>zhuong kaoyu (竹筒烤魚), grilled bamboo fish;obaozhyu (爆竹魚), firework fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>Huyangrou (胡羊肉), Hu lamb; Xiashi shikao (西夏石烤羊), stone grilled Xiashi lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningxia</td>
<td>hongshao yanggaorou (紅燒羊羔肉), braised lamb; dingxiang zhouzi (丁香肘子) clove elbow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 Shilin is a type of frog found in Fujian province which is edible.
Qinghai: *chongcaooao xueji* (蟲草雪雞), snow chicken with Chinese caterpillar fungus;  
*shouzhau yangrou* (手抓羊肉), shouzhua mutton

Xinjiang: *kaoquanyang* (烤全羊), roast whole lamb;  
*kaoyangrouchuan* (烤羊肉串), roast kebab with lamb

Hainan: *Wenchangji* (文昌雞), Wenchang chicken; *yezizhong* (椰子盅), coconut cup

Tibet: *Shaogan* (燒肝), shaogan liver; *mogu dunyangrou* (蘑菇燉羊肉), stewed lamb with mushroom


### Theoretical approaches to food studies

Over the past three decades, sociologists and anthropologists have paid increasing attention to the meaning, beliefs and social structures shaping to food practices. Their contributions have addressed the social dimension of food and eating, but they have adopted different approaches. In this section, these different approaches will be outlined as a prelude to identifying a suitable approach for this research.

#### Functional approach

Abrahamson (1978) defines functional approaches as involving 'the utilization of a system model and an emphasis upon the contributions of the elements to the maintenance of the system’. For Little (1991), ‘A functional approach is for explaining a phenomenon which is one that places the explanandum within an interactive system in a process of controlled change of dynamic equilibrium.’ A functional approach then explains the presence of each feature in terms of its place within a system.

The human body can be regarded as a system. This view underpins much of the nutritional literature, which has tended to take a highly instrumental view of food and eating, relating habits and preferences to the anatomical functioning of the human
body (Lupton, 1996b). This type of approach focuses on physiological survival within a given ecological context. Some anthropologists adopt a functional approach, seeing food as playing a psychological function in maintaining the social system. For example, food can be regarded as an element of rituals to keep society in order. Most anthropologists in the ‘functionalist’ tradition discuss the ‘symbolism’ of cooked food. Goody (1982:14), however, raises serious criticisms of functional explanations which are threefold:

1. there is the Popperian problem of validation and acceptability;
2. there is the ease with which relations and sentiments are posited so that symbols are seen as expressing social structure, and eating as expressing a relationship; and
3. there is the absence of both a historical dimension and of a non-functional component.

To some anthropologists, a functional approach is limited to explaining the function of food, and trying to give meaning to any food. This approach, however, can be criticised for ignoring non-functional factors which also affect the meaning of food.

**Structural approach**

Piaget (1968) defines structuralism as a method of enquiry based on three key ideas: wholeness, transformation, and self-regulation. He raises an example as a social group to explain the concept of structuralism: ‘a social group is evidently a whole; being dynamic, it is the seat of transformations, and since one of the basic facts about such groups is that they impose all sorts of constraints and norms, they are self-regulating.’

Little (1991) considers the structural to be divided into two discrete paradigms of explanation: structural explanation, and non-causal structural explanation. The former emphasizes that societies are complex systems that embody an indefinite range of social structures, such as economic systems, or transportation, so this approach
focuses on social structures as prominent causes of social phenomena. The latter rejects the idea that an explanation requires causal relations at all. The guiding idea in this approach is that the goal of explanation is to identify an underlying order in the jumble of empirical experience. In other words, non-causal approaches tend to explain various aspects of social phenomena by showing how they fit into abstract underlying structures.

In anthropology, structuralists study activities as diverse as food preparation and serving rituals, religious rites, games, literary and non-literary texts, and other forms of entertainment to discover the deep structures by which meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture (Wikipedia, 2007). Lévi-Strauss (1963) first applied the binary divisions of the marked/unmarked type to the sociology of cooking in *Anthropologie Structurale*. He compares French with English cuisine at an abstract level, using selected features whose presence or absence is indicated by plus and minus signs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English cuisine</th>
<th>French Cuisine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Endogenous/exogenous</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central/peripheral</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked/not marked</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Claude Lévi-Strauss’s (1965) ‘culinary triangle’, see Figure 2-1, exemplifies a structural approach. He claims that as there is no human society which lacks a spoken language, so also there is no human society which does not process some of its food supply by cooking (Leach, 1985). He (1985:40) notes ‘cooked food may be thought of as fresh raw food which has been transformed by cultural means; whereas rotten food is fresh raw food which has been transformed by natural means.’
Lévi-Strauss applies the ‘culinary triangle’ idea to cooking means and results. For example, cooking means roasting and smoking are on the ‘nature’ side and boiling is on the ‘culture’ side; but the result of smoking is on the ‘culture’ side, and roasting and boiling is on the ‘nature’ side. According to Lévi-Strauss, all human culture can be examined in terms of the binary oppositions of transformed/normal and culture/nature. When applied to ‘recipes’ the triangle is complicated by the introduction of added operations such as grilling and frying (Leach, 1985). Caplan (1997) regards food as a cultural system in Lévi-Strauss’s theory, an approach which clearly recognizes that ‘taste’ is culturally shaped and socially controlled. These features of the culinary triangle could also be related to purchase, presentation and behaviour at meals.

According to Lévi-Strauss’s idea, structural approaches can provide insight into the rules underlying everyday life. Goody (1982), however, criticises a Lévi-Straussian approach for its emphasis on culture, and for failing to consider social relations and individual differences.

**Functional structuralist approach**

Some sociologists and anthropologists adopt a combined functional and structural approach researching food practices and habits through a ‘functional structuralist
approach’. The structuralist perspective put a focus on the ways in which individuals’ actions, values, thoughts and identity are largely structured through social norms and expectation, but from the functional structuralist perspective, the norms and social institutions can act to maintain social order.

The aim of such research is predominantly to explore the uses to which food is put as part of social life, for example, the ways in which food practices serve to support cooperative behaviour or structures of kinship in small groups (Lupton, 1996b).

Mary Douglas uses a functional-structuralist approach in treating food as code; food is also ‘symbolic’ of social relationship; there is a correspondence between a given social structure and the structure of the symbols by which it is expressed. The use of the term ‘code’, like that of symbol and metaphor, is associated with the idea that food provides a means of expressing social structure or social relations. She notes that a meal is thus a microcosm of wider social structures and boundary definitions (Douglas, 1982). Douglas has approached this process of ‘deciphering a meal’ with the premise that food categories encode, and therefore structure, social events: ‘Each meal carries something of the meaning of other meals’; ‘each meal is a structured social event which structures others in its own image’. In addition, Douglas suggests that the symbolic structure must be seen in relation to demonstrable social considerations (Goody, 1982:31).

Douglas (1984:9) argues that Marshall Sahlins and Pierre Bourdieu have offered independent analyses of the social class structure underlying food tastes in modern industrial society. In their class system, people can understand the process of social ranking through the binary elements associated with food, such as formality/informality, exotic/homely, traditional/experimental and the metaphors of
inner/outer\textsuperscript{20} social dimension. The two anthropologists use the process of social exclusion to explain the contemporary distribution of tastes.

Some writers find limitations in Douglas’s approach. Goody (1982) argues that Douglas neglects internal social differentiation as well as external socio-cultural influences, historical factors and material elements. Lupton (1996) argues that as food habit and practices are constantly rapidly changing, the focus on contemporary power relations and social change may be simplistic.

**Poststructuralist approach**

Poststructuralist perspectives question structural theory and put a critical emphasis on the broader historical and political context in which knowledge and meanings are produced and reproduced. This approach, which also focuses on the processes by which knowledge and truths are generated, is highly related to the practical situation (Lupton, 1996). She explains: ‘Poststructuralist theorists argue that while it is important to be aware of the power relations inherent in food production and consumption, power should not necessarily be considered a ‘repressive’ force, but as a property that runs through and permeates all dimensions of social life….Individuals and social groups are neither totally ‘powerless’ nor ‘powerful’; their relationship to power depends on the historical and socio-cultural context in which they are positioned as subjects’ (1996:13-14).

The changing historical meanings and practices around food and eating are also emphasized in this approach, allowing a focus on fluctuations in cultural meanings and embodied experience. Such an historical awareness allows us to see the present as

\textsuperscript{20} Sahilins (1978) added another factor, the metaphors of inner/outer social dimension which are projected upon food, inner being closer to nature and outer being more civilized. See Douglas (1984) *Food in the social order*, p.9.
‘strange’ rather than as the familiar terrain to which we have grown accustomed and largely take for granted. Mintz, for example, reviews the history of sugar, treating it as a metaphor for social relations in Britain, tracing its history from being a symbol of power and wealth to its contemporary popularity. The consumption of sugar in the West also reveals the history of slavery and colonialism. In order to understand the history of a foodstuff such as sugar, it is necessary to acknowledge the role of different cultural groups in different historical, political, social, and economic settings in the continual production and reproduction of socio-cultural meanings (Lupton, 1996:15).

**Conceptual framework**

This section presents the conceptual model which forms the basis for the current research. Considering Taiwan’s colonial history, this study mainly utilises a socio-historical approach to undertake the research and provide a socio-historical perspective on the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine with regard to history, social and cultural meanings, and identity. I will use a number of food research concepts addressing these four in this study, in particular psychological function, cultural elements, social relationships, and historical and political context. Within this framework, I will divide the determinants which have affected the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine into two types: exogenous socio-environmental factors and endogenous socio-cultural factors. The former include Taiwan’s historical and political, economic, and social factors (Mintz, 1997, Lupton, 1996, Augustin-Jean, 2002, Wu, 2002). Based on a number of earlier studies, namely those of Hsiao & Lim 2007, Kim 1998, Anderson 2007, and Moreno-Black 2007, I include family background, living environment, and personal factors as endogenous socio-cultural
factors. These determinants were the basis for the designing and organising of the data collection and of the interviews and questionnaires.

A chronology forms the axis of a model within this conceptual framework with the history of Taiwanese cuisine the first part to be examined. The second part describes the various determinants of the development of Taiwanese cuisine. Finally, I will describe the development of Taiwanese identity and the status of Taiwanese cuisine in current Taiwanese society and discuss the meanings of Taiwanese cuisine and its relationship with Taiwanese identity.

The delimitation of the historical periods in which the development of Taiwanese food is examined based on corresponding political shifts of the government at the time. For this study I have divided Taiwanese history into the four periods outlined below:

1. 1624-1895 (Pre-Japanese period): This period encompasses the Dutch colonisation (1624-1662) and Chinese settlement (1662-1895). In this period, foods and foodways were mainly introduced to Taiwan from Fujian province, a coastal province in southeastern mainland China.

2. 1895-1945 (Japanese occupation): Taiwan was a colony of Japan from 1895 to 1945. The Japanese introduced and imposed Japanese culture during this colonial period, including Japanese food culture.

3. 1945-1988 (Pre-democratisation period): This was a period which saw the transition of political power from Japan to the Nationalist Chinese. Chiang Kai-Shek and 1.2 million mainland soldiers introduced authentic ‘Chinese’ culture to Taiwan.

4. 1988-present (Democratic Taiwan): The end of the Chiang’s political regime marked the start of this period.²¹

²¹ Since 1945, Taiwan has formally been under the ROC, and that period can be divided into pre-democratisation and democratic, which demarcates the suppression and free expression of
This thesis pays closer attention to this last period because it is when Taiwanese consciousness has been able to be publically expressed. Taiwanese food gradually came to be recognised as Taiwanese ‘cuisine’ during this period and Taiwanese people have vacillated about their national and cultural identities in these last two decades (Wu, 2008).

Figure 2-2 illustrates the conceptual framework for this study. It depicts a model which aims to offer a structural framework that places a set of concepts in a context that illustrates the relationship between the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine and the determinants of its development. The axis, the chronology of Taiwanese cuisine, presents the history of Taiwanese cuisine, which in turn was determined by external socio-environmental and internal socio-cultural factors, listed on the left side of this axis. All research findings are interpreted with a focus on uncovering more about the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine and to address the research questions raised in Chapter 1. These and the relationship between current Taiwanese cuisine and Taiwanese identity are set out on the right side of the framework.
Figure 2-2 Conceptual framework of the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine
Chapter 3
Historical Development of Taiwanese Identity and Taiwanese Foods

Taiwan has a colonial history (Chiou, 2004, Jacobs, 2010). The term ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ has had various meanings under different political regimes, and the status of Taiwanese food is related to the development of Taiwanese consciousness at different times in Taiwanese history. In this chapter I will first examine the development of the Taiwanese consciousness over the last two hundred years. Second, I will describe the crops and foodstuffs which were transplanted or introduced into Taiwan by external migrants. Third, I will analyse the impact of political and economic factors on the status of Taiwanese foods and the relationship between the awareness of Taiwanese consciousness and the identification for the term ‘Taiwanese food’. I will show that this took place through the development of the restaurant industry in Taiwan during the period of Japanese rule and Chiang family era. Finally, I will explore the development of food publications which were closely linked to the development of Taiwanese identity.

The development of Taiwanese identity

The genesis of Taiwanese consciousness

Huang (2006:3) defines ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ as ‘people who live in Taiwan know and explain what space-time phenomena they experience and their thinking’. Taiwanese consciousness has had different meanings under different political regimes. Many Han Chinese migrated to Taiwan in the Ming-Zheng period (1661-1683). They came predominantly from southern Fujian and to a lesser extent from Guangdong. The character Min (閩) refers to Fujian province, and the
character Yue (粵) to Guangdong province. A term which will be used in this thesis, ‘Minnan’ indicates the southern part of Fujian province, including Quanzhou (泉州), and Zhangzhou (漳州), and thirteen counties, including Xiamen (廈門). Han migrants from southern Fujian, spoke the Minnan language (閩南話), referring to Minnan people (閩南人) or Hoklo people (河洛人) while those from part of Guangdong and west Fujian province are known as Hakka people. From a historical perspective, the Han-culture assimilation of people who lived in Taiwan and the indigenisation of Han Chinese (漢人的土著化) in Taiwan occurred simultaneously (Yin, 1986:223). In 1683, Shi Lang (施琅) defeated Ming-Zheng’s naval force, Taiwan was under Qing’s regime. One year later, Taiwan was regarded only as ‘prefecture’ (府, 縣) under Fujian province. For Han migrants they identified themselves was based on their place of birth, that being Min or Yue, or Zhangzhou or Quanzhou.

People who lived in Taiwan first heard the term ‘Taiwan’ referring to themselves when the title ‘Kaitaijinshi’ (開台進士) was bestowed on Zheng Youngxi (鄭用錫) following the keju-zhidu (科舉制度) government-entry examination in 1823 (Yin, 1986). During the Qing dynasty, passing this examination to get an official position in the government was the highest honour people could attain. Zheng Youngxi, whose prefectural identification was giving as ‘Kaitaijinshi’, passed the government examination in 1823 and became the first government officer recognised as being from the prefecture of Taiwan. Yin (1986) believes that ‘Taiwanese’ consciousness

22 The alternative name for Minnan language is Hoklo language (河洛話).
23 During the Western Jin dynasty (西晉)(245-316 C.E.), people fled to southern Fujian from central China in 311 due to a domestic war. Initially, these refugees mostly lived in Hoklo (河洛) (河南中州; Zhongzhou, Henan), so when these Chinese migrants from Heluo settled down in southern Fujian, they regarded themselves as Hoklo people, and their language was Hoklo language. See Minnan ren (閩南人) (1989), p.7-8.
was shown for the first time in Taiwan from Zheng’s case. Taiwan subsequently became a province of China in 1886; however, Han people in Taiwan still retained a local consciousness attached to their ancestral home, e.g. Zhangzhou or Quanzhou (Wang, 2006; Liao, 2006, Lin, 1989).

During the Japanese period, a ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ as an ethnic identification, rather than identifying with the Japanese, was inaugurated by overseas Taiwanese students in Japan. These Taiwanese students established the Xinminhui (新民會) in 1920, to support a rebel movement that had taken place in Taiwan (Liao, 2006, Shih, 2001). The Japanese stratified people in Taiwan to three groups. The Japanese who lived in Taiwan regarded themselves as naichijin (內地人), they referred to Taiwanese of Han origin as hondojin (本島人) for Taiwanese, and Aborigines as banjin (蕃人), barbarian (Hiromatsu, 1925, Yin, 1986). These terms divided people who lived in Taiwan into different statuses. Expressions such as wutairen (吾台人)24, ‘we Taiwanese people’, was an indicator of the development of their ethnic consciousness (Yin, 1986, Lin, 1984). Han Taiwanese started to become more conscious of the place where they lived, though they still had a strong Chinese identity and cultural consciousness because of their historical and ethnic background. During the colonial period, the Taiwanese consciousness contained a Chinese-culture identity as well as class consciousness (jieji yishi, 階級意識) because Taiwan was ruled from outside (Huang, 2006).

The influence of social & political change on Taiwanese identity
The Taiwanese developed a new ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ distinguishing themselves from Mainlanders after the Nationalist government took over Taiwan in

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24 See Taiwan jindai shilun 臺灣近代史論 (1986).
1945. This saw the appearance of two terms—*benshengren* and *waishengren*, people from this and from outside this province, respectively. ‘*Benshengren*’, referred to ‘Taiwanese’ including the Hakka and the Minnanese. This term was coined during the Chiang regime. The contrasting term *waishengren* referred to the Mainlanders who fled to Taiwan from mainland China with the Nationalist government following the Communist takeover of the mainland (Wang, 2006). During the Japanese occupation Taiwanese had a Japanese education and were strongly influenced by Japanese culture. There were obvious differences in their historical experience from those of the *waishengren*, who had grown up and lived in a traditional Chinese cultural setting. There was condescension toward the Taiwanese, political corruption and economic depression along with a worsening of the social order from 1945, but a key issue arose causing opposition between the Taiwanese and Mainlanders. This was the ‘2-28 Incident’, which took place in 1947. In the 2-28 Incident many Taiwanese were killed by Chinese army forces. As the official website of the Memorial Foundation of 228 tells the story:

*The Nationalist government of China took over Taiwan from Japan on the 15th of August, 1945. The people of Taiwan were excited to welcome them and looked forward to the "motherland." In the second year (1946) of the Nationalist regime, Taiwanese people frequently clashed with police, a situation that was likely to erupt into large-scale bloodshed. Finally on the evening of February 27, 1947, a specialist of the Monopoly Bureau (專賣局) in Taipei seized a woman selling contraband cigarettes and hit her head with a pistol grip. This incident made people very angry and so they chased this specialist. He then fired indiscriminately into the crowd, killing one person, Chen Wen-hsi. The emotion of the crowd erupted. They rushed towards the police and gendarmerie to protest; however, they didn't get any response from the government. On the morning of 28 February, people gathered around the Monopoly Bureau Taipei Branch to protest and went to the square in front of the Chief Executive's Office (長官公署) to demonstrate. Unexpectedly, the Executive Office opened fire on*
the masses with machine-guns, causing heavy casualties. Young people and ordinary people then went to the Taiwan radio station (台灣廣播電台) to broadcast this event to all Taiwanese people. Consequently, conflict quickly expanded to the entire island and major riots took place in Taipei. Taiwanese students, ordinary people and demobilized soldiers combined to fight against the National Government forces. Because of this serious rioting, the nationalist government decided to send the soldiers from China to put down the disorder. On the afternoon of March 8, the army from Nanjing arrived in Keelung harbour and were immediately sent ashore to massacre the people in Taiwan. The intention was to "clear villages" by hunting and killing innocent Taiwanese people. The number of death was estimated around 10,000 to 20,000 people, and became known the ‘2-28 Incident’. (Source: http://228.culture.gov.tw/web/228/228-1.asp)

After this, the Nationalist government used martial law and the national language policy as methods to control the Taiwanese and destroy their existent culture (Wang, 2002:79). The Taiwan Garrison Command (the present Reserve Command) imposed martial law in 1949, which remained in force until 1987. This 38 year-period is referred to as the ‘White Terror’ (白色恐怖) in Taiwan. Some 4,000 to 5,000 people were executed for political offenses during the White Terror period (Chen, 2005 in Jacobs, 2010).

The Nationalist government also used its Mandarin only language policy to subordinate the Taiwanese. During the 1940s, most Taiwanese only spoke Minnan (now called Taiwanese) or the Japanese language. The Nationalist government established the ‘National Languages Committee’ (國語推行委員會) in 1956 in order to destroy Japanese influence and consolidate their political power. It promoted and applied the national language movement to the whole of Taiwanese society (Hsu, 2006). This language policy forced Taiwanese to speak guoyu (國語), ‘national

25 The Taiwan Garrison Command is 臺灣省警備總司令部 in Chinese, and the Reserve Command is 後備司令部.
26 Guoyu is the same as Mandarin.
language’ or Mandarin, and forbade use of Japanese27 and the Taiwanese mother tongue, Minnanhua. These policies deepened the gulf between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. Taiwanese then began to question their identity as Chinese from their ancestral areas on the mainland and began to identify with their place of birth and residence, Taiwan. At this time, the Taiwanese consciousness was referred to as ‘provincial consciousness’28 to express its meaning (Huang, 2006). After this, Taiwanese and Mainlanders gradually became two distinct social groups based on language and origin differences. Taiwanese were discriminated against for government positions, creating political distrust, and differences of power (Wang, 2006).

Hsiao divides the development of the Taiwanese consciousness in the four decades after 1949 into three periods. From 1949 to 1969, Taiwanese society was dominated by the political power of Chiang Kai-Shek. As the economy flourished, during the third decade, 1969-1979, Taiwan was driven by economic power, although the Chiang regime still controlled the politics. He defines the final ten years, 1979-1989, as dominated by social power, the collective extension of non-government force, which broke through the domination of political power and the total control of economic power to form another power (Hsiao, 1989). Social power provided Taiwan with the sort of power to survive and grow independently. Social power is concerned with social problems, social and human rights, and the banning of specific social issues. These social issues were such as consumer movement and environmental protection.

The Nationalist government was forced to declare an end to martial law in 1987, a

28 Huang (1999) argues ‘provincial consciousness’ (省籍意識) is the third-stage Taiwanese consciousness since 1945. It was a opposing position between Taiwanese and Mainlanders.
step on the way to Taiwan’s democratisation. This accelerated the spread of personal freedom and collective consciousness. After Lee Teng-Hui, a Taiwanese, became President of the Republic of China in 1988, Taiwanese consciousness was replaced by a ‘New Taiwanese consciousness’ (Huang, 2006, Hsiao, 1989). In this new consciousness, Taiwan is seen as an entity in its own right, distinct from and not a province of mainland China. It means that all residents of Taiwan, Minnan and Hakka people, Mainlanders and Aborigines are ‘Taiwanese.’

The increase in a sense of Taiwanese identity is reflected in surveys regarding whether people identify as Taiwanese or Chinese. Figure 3-1 combines data from three surveys taken at different times. The data show that identification as Chinese only has dropped to a very small proportion of the population while the vast majority see themselves as either Taiwanese only or both Taiwanese and Chinese.

Figure 3-1 Proportion of people in Taiwan who variously regard themselves as Taiwanese and/or Chinese


In addition, there has been an increasing number of academic theses examining
aspects of Taiwanese consciousness. Figure 3-2 shows the number of master and Ph.D. theses accessed by keywords ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ and ‘Taiwanese identity’ in the ‘National digital library of theses and dissertations in Taiwan’ (台灣博碩士論文系統) at the National Library (國家圖書館). There was no research on either during the pre-democratisation from 1949 to 1988. But during the first decade after democratisation, there were 69 academic theses concerned with Taiwanese issues. Furthermore, the last decade has seen a very rapid increase with 1,049 theses relating to Taiwanese consciousness or identity. The data indicate that members of the intelligentsia in Taiwan are gradually paying attention to ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ or identity and are curious about its meaning or about its relationship with their research fields. The political regime has come to be in the hand of native Taiwanese since the 1990s. This has been a major reason for the development of Taiwanese identity. Although President Ma Ying-Jeou, not a native Taiwanese, took office on 20 May 2008, People now can still research these things.

Figure 3-2 Numbers of Master and Ph.D. theses associated with ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ or ‘Taiwanese identity’

Source: Database of ‘National digital library of theses and dissertations in Taiwan’ at the National Library in Taiwan
Introduction of new crops and food items by external migrants

Beginning in colonial times, a number of diverse crops, foodstuffs, and preparation methods were introduced to Taiwan at different times as Taiwan was subject to different external powers. These included the Dutch colonisers, Han settlers, the Japanese, and the Nationalist government. These new foodstuffs are discussed below.

Pre-Japanese period (1624-1895)

During the Dutch period (1624-1662), Han Taiwanese started to cultivate rice, and various other crops and plants brought in from overseas. The Dutch transported one or two hundred water buffalos from Eastern India to Taiwan for use as draft animals (Lin, 1988:362, Huang, 1981:152). They also imported plants, including mangoes (檨)\(^{29}\), jackfruit (波羅蜜)\(^{30}\), custard apple (釋迦)\(^{31}\), chilli (番薑)\(^{32}\) and snow peas (荷蘭豆)\(^{33}\) from different countries.

Taiwanese food habits were basically formed during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties when a large number of Han people migrated to Taiwan. Taiwan was occupied by the Zheng family forces from 1662, when Zheng Chenggong defeated the Dutch until 1683 when Zheng Kesuang (鄭克塽), the

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\(^{29}\) The *Taiwan Fuzhi* 臺灣府志 (1696) described she (楨), mango, was introduced from Japan. However, the *Taiwan Tongshi* 臺灣通史 (1920) documented that mango was from Southeast Asia.

\(^{30}\) Jackfruit (波羅蜜) was introduced to Taiwan from India by the Dutch, see *Taiwan Tongshi*, p.333.

\(^{31}\) Custard apple (釋迦) was introduced to Taiwan from India by the Dutch, see *Taiwan Tongshi*, p.519.

\(^{32}\) 番薑 is the ancient name of chilli (辣椒), introduced from Southeast Asia, see *Taiwan Tongshi* 臺灣通史, p.508.

\(^{33}\) Snow peas (荷蘭豆) was introduced from Holland by the Dutch, see *Taiwan Tongshi*, p.508.
grandson of Zheng Chenggong, was defeated by the Qing imperial forces. Taiwan then became part of the Qing empire. By 1905, nearly 300 years after Han migration was begun by the Dutch, the number of Han people in Taiwan had grown substantially, reaching 2,492,784.\(^{34}\) The most important introduced crops during this period of the Han settlement was sweet potato, which became a major staple food for Taiwanese up to the post-war period as well as two decades after the Second World War. According to the *Taiwan fuzhi*,\(^{35}\) rice and sweet potato were Han people’s staple food in this period.\(^{36}\) Rice was the dominant food crop, constituting half the cultivated acreage in Taiwan, but the harvested rice was insufficient to meet the needs of all residents. Sweet potatoes, which had been introduced by Han settlers from Wenlai\(^{37}\), was the main food of the poorer Han people (Cressey, 1963).

The most crucial influence on Taiwanese food during this period was the introduction of Minnan food. Min cuisine, i.e. Fujian cuisine, is famous for delicacies from various areas from the mountains to the sea, especially for seafood. Min cuisine is divided into three local cuisines based on the geographical features of Fujian: Fuzhou, Minxi, and Minnan cuisines (Lin, 1989, Fujiansheng yinshi fuwu, 1988). Minnan cuisine is found in Xiamen, Jinjiang (晉江), Longxi (龍溪), and extending as far to the east as Taiwan. The food found in Xiamen is the representative of Minnan food. Han migrants from Xiamen introduced their regional culture to Taiwan, including their cooking style, food habits, and food customs (Lin, 1988). With the passage of time, Minnan food became the most dominant in

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\(^{35}\) 臺府志.

\(^{36}\) LIAN Heng 連橫 (1920) *Taiwan Tongshi 臺灣通史*.

\(^{37}\) ibid
Taiwan; the food which Han people cooked was regarded as *Minnan cai* (Lin, 1984). For example, a number of Xiamen snack foods such as stewed bean curd (*ludougan* 滷豆乾), oyster congee (*ô-á bôe* 蚵仔糜), oyster noodles (*ô-á mì-soà* 蚵仔麵線), and seasoned millet porridge (*mì-tê* 麵茶), are similar to those in Taiwan (Shi, 1998).

**Japanese occupation (1895-1945)**

Minnan culture played a major role in shaping Taiwanese food habits, but it was not the only influence. After 1895, Japanese rule and the subsequent takeover of the Nationalist government were the major influences which reshaped Taiwanese food and foodways.

The Qing government ceded Taiwan to Japan ‘in perpetuity’ on May 8, 1895 in the Treaty of Shimonoseki (馬關條約) following its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) (Ts'ai, 2006). For the next fifty years, the Japanese had an impact on the Taiwanese diet through the introduction of Japanese food items including a particular preferred rice variety, Japanese condiments such as monosodium glutamate (MSG) and Japanese soy sauce, and fermented soy paste (miso). The Japanese government encouraged Japanese farmers to migrate to Taiwan, and they brought with them plants and cuisine which they introduced to the Taiwanese. According to the *Taiwan sheng tongshi*, ‘…Western cuisine and Japanese food came into Taiwan as a result of the Japanese occupation.’ This is the first time that Taiwanese experienced Japanese or Western foods.

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In 1895, Tanaka Kouzyou (田中綱常) undertook a survey of Taiwanese daily life in districts under his jurisdiction. The survey recorded the main crops as rice, tea, and sweet potato with some areas also producing sugar and peanuts. During the colonial period, Japanese culture gradually permeated Taiwanese society. The most important effect on Taiwanese food was a change in the staple food, rice. Before 1921, Taiwanese ate long grain rice (indicas) as a staple food, but during the Japanese occupation, Taiwan became a commodity producer for Japan and the Japanese government actively developed Taiwan’s three main crops: rice, sugarcane, and sweet potato. The Japanese regarded Taiwanese rice as distasteful (Chang, 2001:315), so the government introduced the variety preferred by Japanese, japonicas, a short grain rice, to replace indicas. Most of the japonicas rice crop was exported to Japan but it gradually became the major variety of rice grown in Taiwan and has subsequently completely replaced the indicas variety. Taiwanese now mainly eat japonicas variety, called penglaimi (蓬萊米) as their staple food (Huang, 2002); it has come to regarded as an integral component of Taiwanese food.

One Minnanese informant commented that penglaimi was the rice variety Taiwanese eat, while the indicas variety, called zailaimi (在來米), was for Mainlanders. When recalling his experience eating in the U.S. Military Aid & Advisory Group compound, he highlighted that the rice he ate in the MAAG Mainland-style restaurant was zailaimi, which he referred to as Mainland- style rice, but that the

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40 TANAKA Kouzyou (田中綱常) was the governor (知事) of Taipei Government Office (臺北廳). Taipei Government Office included nowadays Taipei city, Taipei county, and Taoyuan county.

41 Dan (石) is the unit to measure the weight of grain in ancient time. 1 dan is 67.96 kg. In 1938, the amount of production of penglaimi was 66726.9 tons (萬石); 3536.5 tons, 53% of this amount, was exported to Japan. See Taiwan dan, 2002:198.

42 The Military Aid & Advisory Group (MAAG; 美軍顧問團) was part of the U.S. force based in Taiwan from 1950 to 1965.
penglaimi variety was for Taiwanese.

014A: MAAG was like a supermarket for U.S. army personnel and their dependents. It was also like a department store. There were dress shops, cosmetic shops, jewellery shops, and so on. I repaired watches. The place located in the Yuanshan soccer stadium. There were some restaurants; we could enter some, some we could not. They sold hamburgers, fried chicken, hot dogs, Pepsi, Coke, and coffee. Most of the customers were American army personnel, but there were also some Taiwanese. Most of the time I just ate fried chicken because I don’t like burgers, pickles, or mustard. They had a regiment based in Taichung, and after 6 or 7 years, I moved there… There were Western and Chinese restaurants in the Taichung compound. But more soldiers ate in the Chinese restaurant. The rice was zailaimi. There were dishes were like meat, fish and vegetables; they were mainland style. These foods were quite delicious. (B-TT1)

A Hakka woman commented that Taiwanese rice is symbolic of Taiwanese food:

118A: I have no idea about what Taiwan cai is, but if you go abroad, you do not have that home-cooking flavour, especially [the flavour of] Taiwanese rice (penglaimi). When I visited U.S.A and Malaysia, their rice can bounce off the ground. Japanese rice, which is like our rice, is better, softer and QQ. (B-HH2)

Another Japanese product which influenced Taiwanese food was MSG, introduced in the mid-Japanese period. According to an advertisement for MSG in the Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō in 1915, the Suzuki Shop (now the Ajinomoto Company) began to introduce MSG to restaurants in Taiwan. By 1930, they had introduced it to

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43 QQ means the food is chewy in the sense of al dente. In Taiwan, people always believe that QQ food is some kind of delicious food.

44 Taiwan nichinichi shinpō (台灣日日新報), which is the most famous newspaper, was issued by the Japanese from 1898, and then ceased in 1944 because of World War II.
ordinary Taiwanese families. In fact, during the Japanese colonial period, Taiwan was the main export market for MSG. The annual volumes of MSG exported from Japan to Taiwan between 1934 and 1941 are shown in Table 3-1. Although Japan withdrew from Taiwan in 1945, within two years the Tatung Chemical Company (大同化學工業股份有限公司) began to produce MSG to meet the demand. To this day, MSG is considered an essential ingredient in regular cooking, one which contributes to the flavour of Taiwanese food.

Table 3-1 MSG export volume from Japan to Taiwan 1934-1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Export quantity(tons)</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Statistics from investigation of Taiwan Provincial Department of Construction (台灣省政府建設廳)


The third important foodstuff introduced to Taiwan was Japanese-style soy sauce. During the colonial period, the Japanese called Taiwanese-style soy sauce *zailai* (在來) or *hondo* (本島) style; Japanese-style soy sauce was called *naichi* (內地) style. The *hondo* style originated from China, but adopted local ingredients—black bean replaced the soy bean used in the Chinese style. During the Japanese occupation, due to the demand of Japanese people for *naichi*-style soy sauce in Taiwan, the Japanese started building soy-sauce factories to produce it. However, the factories were small. Soy sauce production was not industrialised in Taiwan until 1931. Initially, the Taiwanese added soy sauce to the major ingredients only to make the colour of food

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45 In 1901, Suzuki Kotobuki (鈴木壽) was the first person to build the soy sauce factory to produce *Naichi* style soy sauce in Taiwan.
darker (Kaziwara, 1989). After the Japanese introduced naichi style soy sauce to Taiwan, it gradually became popular and many Taiwanese adopted it to cook with (Cheng, 2008, Ushi, 1943). Along with salt, soy sauce is the most significant condiment contributing to the flavour of Taiwanese food. This is one of the reasons why the flavour of Taiwanese food is sometimes more similar to Japanese food than to other Chinese cuisines.

Apart from these food items, the Japanese also introduced beer, soda water, caramels, ice cream, condensed milk, shaved ice, and mayonnaise, and they transplanted the wasabi variety of mustard to Taiwan (Huang 2002; Delaney 2004, Lin, 1988). Over time, some Taiwanese gradually incorporated these new food items into their culinary practices. The Taiwan sheng tongzhi (1971) states ‘Japanese like to eat sashimi (raw fish, shengyupian, 生魚片), and miso soup (doubanjiangtang 豆瓣醬湯), and since then the Taiwanese have become fond of such food.’ Moreover, in the early Japanese period, the only raw food Taiwanese dared to eat was fruit (Kenfuzi, 1896), but by the 1930s Taiwanese had learned to eat raw fish, raw tofu, raw vinegar, and raw trepang (Ushi, 1934).

**Pre-democratisation period (1945-1988)**

During the pre-democratisation period mainland food was introduced to Taiwan on a large scale. Also, when Japan withdrew from Taiwan in 1945, the food rationing the Japanese government had implemented was also repealed. Thus, on the one hand, Taiwanese then had no limit imposed on the ingredients they could purchase, and on the other hand, mainland food and cooking styles became available to ordinary

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Taiwanese families both through the market and through intermarriage, usually a mainland man with a Taiwanese bride, who then had to learn to cook what her husband liked to eat. As a result, mainland-style cooking and preferred ingredients were gradually incorporated into Taiwanese-style cooking. A Minnanese woman mentioned that her Mainlander husband used chilli in cooking, something completely foreign at that time to Taiwanese-style cooking. In addition, she started preparing more wheat-based foods such as noodles because her husband preferred them to rice.

014A: I learned to cook after my marriage. For example, when I and my husband ate out in restaurant, I noticed what kind of ingredients they used. Sometimes I learned mainland cuisines from some mainland families because all my husband’s friends are Mainlanders. They liked braising food with soy sauce. The Taiwanese prefer frying. My husband dislikes Taiwan cai, and he sometimes brought his mainland friends home to teach me cooking. They liked braising with wine, sugar, black vinegar, and chilli. I learned their ways of cooking by watching them cook.

016A:... my husband could make dumplings (shuijiao 水餃), steamed buns (mantou 馒頭), and fried spring-onion pancakes (congyoubing 蔥油餅). After he learned these wheat-based foods from his mainland friends in an auto-repair shop, he would cook them for me. (MT-2)

Many retired Mainlander soldiers were the people who sold mainland snack foods and who also promoted these mainland foods to Taiwanese. In the 1950s some of the soldiers who had retired from the military then sold some foods from their mainland hometowns to maintain their economic resources, such as steamed buns from Shandong; fried pancake (jianbing 煎餅) from Sichuan; or soup dumplings (tangbao 湯包) from Shanghai. A favourite north China breakfast, soy milk and sesame cake, became a favourite Taiwanese breakfast food. One Minnanese informant mentioned in his diary (1952-1961) that he tried a number of mainland
foods which he bought from food vendors or restaurants such as soy milk (doujing 豆漿), sticky tofu (choudoufu 臭豆腐), beef noodles (niuroumian 牛肉麵), wonton noodle soup (huntunmian 餛飩麵), fried dumplings (guotie 鍋貼), and stewed beef and lamb (luniuyangrou 滷牛羊肉). He also mentioned that his Mainlander colleagues always had soy milk for breakfast.

During the pre-democratisation period, the provision of the material and goods from the U.S. Aid (1951-1965) also influenced Taiwanese food habits and eating patterns. The U.S. aided Taiwan with money, capital construction and foodstuffs. Powered milk, soy beans and flour were rationed to the general public to satisfy basic needs. One effect of the influences was the consumption of milk at breakfast. Owing to the cheap price of milk and its nutrition value, milk became a choice for breakfast at that time. The provision of flour also contributed to the popularity of mainland-style snack foods in Taiwan. A Minnanese woman whose husband is a Mainlander said the ingredients for making mainland-style snack foods came from U.S. Aid:

*In the 1960’s, the U.S-Aid flour was quite cheap, I always went to the Mainland community to learn about mainland snack foods, such as fried spring-onion pancakes, fried leek dumplings (jiucaihe 韭菜盒), steamed buns with stuffing (baozi 包子), and steamed buns. People liked to exchange food with each other.*

(TI-2)

To this day, the crops and plants transplanted to Taiwan in the Dutch and Japanese periods, and the exotic foods introduced to Taiwan in the Japanese and pre-democratisation periods, are still significant and have become localised elements of Taiwanese foods.
The impact of external influences on the status of Taiwanese food

Haute cuisine arises out of political and social change (Mintz, 1996:96). A new type of stratification associated with food is resulted from the impact of colonial rule. (Goody, 1982: 97). Jacobs (2010) dates Taiwan’s colonial history was from the Dutch colony in 1624 to the death of Chiang Chin-kuo in 1988. Whether during the Japanese occupation (1895-1945) or the pre-democratisation period (1945-1988) the Taiwanese were regarded as lower status (Wang, 2003), which also affected the status of Taiwanese food. Not only were local people’s food habits affected by the introduction of new foodstuffs, but the status of the cuisine of the colonisers (Japan then the Nationalists/Mainlanders) and colonised (people in Taiwan) became stratified. In the next section I will examine the impact of various external influences on the recognition and the status of Taiwanese food during the Japanese occupation and the Chiang family era.

Pantoh (辦桌)--Taiwanese style banquet

Pantoh, (辦桌 Mandarin banzhuo), refers to the typical traditional Taiwanese-style banquet. This has been the main style of feast Taiwanese hold to celebrate traditional festivals in public (i.e. with non-family guests) since the Qing dynasty. During the pre-democratisation period, however, it was regarded as low cuisine. The history of pantoh can be traced back to the Han settlement in the seventeenth century. When Han Chinese migrated to Taiwan, their basic concern was for food. They also placed special importance on sharing foods with deities, spirits, and their ancestors to entreat their protection, especially given the unstable features of a still unfamiliar environment during the open-ground period, and problems such as malaria, and
methane.\textsuperscript{47} People were also keen to gain wealth from gods by the presentation of abundant offerings, and Han people considered \textit{pantoh} was a way to help achieve their purposes, as well as sharing luxury foods (Tseng, 2006:188-9).

The \textit{Zasu}, ‘various customs’ (雜俗) section of the 1720 \textit{Taiwan xianzhi} describes the reasons for holding a \textit{pantoh} during the Qing dynasty: ‘If a household has a happy event or traditional festival to celebrate, they prepare abundant food for their guests, including delicacies from land and sea, spending several thousands dollars…..’\textsuperscript{48} An example cited is that of the Lin family of Wufeng (霧峰林家) in 1893 which hired Xie Bu (謝步), a chef from Changhua (彰化) to organise a ‘\textit{Manhan}\textsuperscript{49}’ \textit{pantoh} as a banquet at home for birthday of their mother, Luo, a noblewoman (羅太夫人). The \textit{Taiwan sheng tongzhi} documents the local ingredients that were used for ‘\textit{Manhan}’ banquet during the Qing dynasty. These made fully use of local specialities, with such ingredients as swallow nest, tremella (white mushroom), shark fin, chicken, duck, pigeon, fish, prawn, crab, pigeon egg, edible frog, abalone, eel, sea cucumber, soft shell fresh-water turtle, pork, and various vegetables (1960: 7).\textsuperscript{50}

\textit{Pantoh} emerged in the Qing dynasty and was typically a catered feast which took place in the home or any place available along the wayside. The catering (外燴) played a crucial role satisfied the demands of any kind of banquet during the Han

\textsuperscript{47} Methane refers to 瘴氣.

\textsuperscript{48} 「家有喜事及歲時月節,宴客必豐,山珍海錯,價倍內郡,置一席之酒,費數千之錢…..」, p.124.

\textsuperscript{49} Manhan banquet initially means the imperial banquet in ancient China. However, here the name ‘\textit{Manhan}’ banquet was only adopted by the chef in Qing dynasty to mean a banquet, which was different from the original meaning. See TSENG Pin-Tsang (2006), p.190, 197.

\textsuperscript{50} 「
清代有所謂滿漢全席，漢席，幾十年來變遷改進甚大，現已獨樹一格，其材料有燕窩、白木耳、魚翅、雞、鴨、鵝、魚、蜆、龍、鵝蛋、水蛭、鮑魚、鰻、海蔘、鱉、豬肉、各種蔬菜等…」 See \textit{Taiwan sheng tongzhi} 臺灣省通志 (1971), p.7.
settlement. The *pantoh* banquet has been a typical Taiwanese-style banquet throughout Taiwanese history, and was still popular for Taiwanese traditional festivals or wedding banquets during the Japanese occupation *pantoh*. Shinshu wrote that *pantoh* was a part of *Taiwan liaoli* (Shinshu, 1907:818). However, during the pre-democratisation period *pantoh cai* was regarded as low cuisine, compared with the fine mainland cuisines which were the mainstream in the restaurant market.

**Japanese cuisine as high cuisine**

Japanese cuisine was regarded as high cuisine during the Japanese occupation due to the difference in status of the Japanese (coloniser) and the Taiwanese (colonised). Mintz (1996: 101) argues that the social character of high cuisine is based on class. During the colonial period, consuming Japanese food was a way to demonstrate status difference among Taiwanese. Japanese food could only be afforded by Japanese officers, Taiwanese businessmen, and the Taiwanese elite. A Minnanese informant said that she ate Japanese food during the Japanese occupation because her parents had a good relationship with Japanese officials.

**Q: Did you ever eat Japanese food during the Japanese occupation?**

**A:** Yes, when I was five when I studied in a kindergarten. My parents were an ‘aiguo jiating’ (*愛國家庭*, ‘patriotic family’),\(^{51}\) and we had two generations of

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\(^{51}\) The ‘patriotic family’ (*愛國家庭*) mentioned by this informant refer to what officially called a ‘guoyu jiating’, ‘national language family’ (*國語家庭*). This was part of the Kominka movement (*皇民化運動*), which mainly encouraged Taiwanese to speak Japanese and wear Japanese clothes, and become standard ‘Japanese’.
the elder members of my family were ‘póchèng’ (保正 Mandarin baozheng).\footnote{During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese government employed the ‘Baojia zhidu’ (保甲制度) system of social control, an administrative system organized on basis of households. Ten households formed one jia (甲), and ten jia formed one bao (保). Each jia had a jiazheng in charge and each bao had a baozhang (保正) in charge. The term used by my informant, póchèng is the Taiwanese. The person who became a baozhang (pocheng) and jiazheng were recommended by all households within their administrative area. The term of office of a baozhang (pocheng) was two years, with no pay. The baozhang (pocheng) and jiazheng had a responsibility to help local policemen and protect residents from natural disasters.} This position was higher than that of the borough head lizhang (里長).\footnote{A ‘li’ 里, is an administrative subdivision of a district, still used in Taiwan.} The family had a high reputation at that time.

Q: Have you eaten sashimi?
A: Of course. We also had a car to drive because my parents were close to the Japanese. We also drank miso soup. We had everything at that time. Our house was located in the centre of Tainan; it was a big house. But we only had those good times when I was young. During the war the area was bombed, and everything was taken by others. We kids had no idea about what was going on at that time. (D-MT3)

Japanese and western style restaurants gradually emerged in Taiwan in the colonial period.\footnote{In Taiwan sheng tongzhi 臺灣省通志 (1971), p.8.} One reason was because of the migration of prostitutes from Okinawa who created a demand for Japanese cuisine. As Matayoshi (1997) comments ‘As a result of brothels becoming popular during the Japanese occupation, the number of Japanese restaurants increased rapidly.’\footnote{Matayoshi, Sakayo 又吉盛清 (1997), Riben zhimin xiade Taiwan yu Okinawa 日本殖民下的台灣與沖繩.}

At the beginning of the occupation, there were only a few restaurants, found in Hsinchu, Keelung, and Danshui (Gondo, 1896). A review of the advertisements in the 1898 *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpô*,\footnote{*Taiwan nichinichi shinpô* (台灣日日新報), the most famous newspaper during the Japanese occupation, was issued by the Japanese since 1898, then ceased in 1944 because of the World War II.} shows there were Japanese and Western
restaurants opened in Taiwan, finds the Huayue (花月) and Qingliangguan (清涼館) which were Japanese restaurants, and the Kaijinting (開進亭) and Sanyouting (三友亭) which were Western restaurants. They were in the Mengjia (艋舺), Beimen (北門), Ximen (西門), and Dadaocheng (大稻埕) areas of old Taipei. Their main patrons were Japanese.

The term coined by the Japanese for Taiwanese cuisine, *Taiwan liaoli*, appeared in 1907 and referred to such restaurants as the Donghuifang restaurant (東薈芳) and to wine restaurants (酒家) in Dadaocheng. Newspapers references to *he-han liaoli* (和漢料理), Chinese food with Japanese-style restaurant service first appeared in 1900. In the early twentieth century, Takeuchi (1915) defined *hehan liaoli* as the Japanese style of Taiwanese cuisine. By 1920, there were three restaurants offering Taiwanese cuisine, the Zuixianlou (醉仙樓) in Tainan and the Donghuifang (東薈芳) and Chunfengdeyilou (春風得意樓) in Dadaocheng in Taipei. From the Japanese perspective Chinese food during this period was divided into three cuisines, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Manhan cuisine. The Penglaige (蓬萊閣) was regarded as a Chinese restaurant in the advertisement in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpô* on 1st January, 1930, but it changed serving Taiwanese cuisine, according to an advertisement in *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpô* on 4th January, 1940. According to a 1928 Japanese book, *Changxia zhi Taiwan* (常夏之臺灣), the Jiangshanlou (江山樓) and Penglaige Restaurants, which both provided geisha shows were regarded as Taiwanese restaurants as early as that time. This shows that the distinction between Chinese and

57 ‘Taiwanese cuisine’ first emerged in the *Taiwan guanxi jishi* (臺灣慣習記事) which was published in 1907.

58 A wine restaurant, *jiujia* (酒家), is a restaurant with hostess and wine service. *Jiujia cai* (酒家菜) is the dishes served in *Jiujia*. *Jiujia* culture was introduced by the Japanese.

59 In modern Taiwan, ‘Japanese-Han cuisine’ is regarded as the fusion of Japanese cuisine and Taiwanese cuisine.
Taiwanese restaurants was a blurred line at that time.

According to a 1943 Japanese-language Taipei business guide, *Taipei shanggong anei* (臺北商工案內), there were 35 Japanese restaurants (日本料理), 8 Taiwanese restaurants (臺灣料理), 7 Japan-western restaurants (和洋料理), and 51 eateries (食事並喫茶和飲食店) in Taipei late in the Japanese period. In the category of wine restaurants, there were 19 clubs and 8 restaurants providing brothels service. It appears that the majority of restaurants at that time were Japanese. A Minnanese informant described the prosperous Japanese restaurants during the Japanese occupation:

044A: ....In the past, even Japanese seldom ate Japanese food unless they ate at home. Most Japanese lived on Chengdou Rd. (成都路) or Boai Road (博愛路), so you could find more Japanese restaurants in this area. The Americans bombed the area more because they also knew that the Japanese lived here, and it was also close to the President’s Palace. I lived on Yanping N. Road (延平北路), where there were few Japanese but lot of wine restaurants (Jiujià 酒家). (B-TT1)

The foods eaten by ordinary Taiwanese such as sweet potato congee (fānsūzhou 蕃薯粥) or pickled daikon (caipudan 菜脯蛋), were called ‘*Taiwanren de shiwu*’ (臺灣人的食物), literally ‘Taiwanese people’s food’ by the Japanese (Takeuchi, 1915), but ordinary Taiwanese were unaware of any such term. They simply called what they ate ‘food’ without labelling it Taiwanese. An 89-year-old informant who had experienced the Japanese occupation described their eating out in the colonial period:

In this study I use the term ‘eateries’ to refer to small casual eating places, usually called ‘小吃店’. These can vary in size from 2 or 3 tables.

61 Daikon is Japanese term, referring to ‘large root’. Another term is mooli. It is a radish of a variety with a large slender white root which is typically eaten cooked, especially in Eastern cuisine, and is also used for stockfeed. See http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/daikon, viewed 2 June, 2011.
We always had simple food as our main three meals at home; there was no special name for it. But if we went to a restaurant to have lunch or dinner, we always said: ‘Let’s have Fuzhou cai for lunch or dinner’. We hadn’t heard of this term, ‘Taiwan cai.’

Under Japanese rule, because of their relative poverty, most Taiwanese only had cheap food for their regular meals and pantoh for some specific occasions. One Minnanese informant said it was impossible to eat Japanese food during the colonial period because he was from a poor family.

Q: Did you go to any restaurant during the Japanese restaurant?
A: There was no way that was possible. We did not have money; I had no idea what kind of food the restaurants served.
Q: You never eat any Japanese food up to 1945?
A: No, never. We did not have the opportunity to eat Japanese food. I only know that Japanese and some Taiwanese who mixed with the Japanese could eat in restaurants. Only doctors or rich people could afford restaurant food.
Q: Did you ever attend a banquet during the Japanese period?
A: Yes, like wedding banquets. They held the ‘pantoh’ along the street; yes I just ate pantoh cai.
Q: What food did you eat there?
A: They were pork bellies soup (zhudutang 豬肚湯), salty-vegetable duck (xiancaiya 鹹菜鴨), plain chicken (baizhanji 白斬雞), some deep-fried food, and steamed meat buns (roubao 肉包). Fish would be the last dish, then dessert….
(TI-Chang)

Another crucial factor making life hard was food rationing. Ordinary Taiwanese only had limited food choices under Japanese rule. An informant talked about the food rationing late in the colonial period:

026A: During the Japanese occupation, we were rationed some salty salmon. All
foodstuffs were rationed, even in Japan. Some people grew rice illegally; they would pretend to be carrying a baby on their back, which was actually the rice bag. It was just like the TV series story – ‘Oshin’ (阿信). The illegal grown food was called ‘yami’ (やみ), which means smuggled food. For example, people in rural areas secretly raised chicken. Some of my relatives who lived in Shibafen (十八分) in the Yangming Mountain area, sometimes hunted wild pig there and shared the wild pork with us.

050A: …Buying yami was illegal, and police officers had the power to send you to the jail for 29 days. This was called ‘detention for 29 days’ (拘留廿九天). Because Japanese army needed food they had to ration it. (B-TT1)

Another informant described his experience of hiding food to avoid the Japanese police officers confiscating it:

012A: My grandfather was a rice farmer when I was a child….Our life was poor during the Japanese occupation. The government forbade any buying or selling food. When we harvested rice, we had to give most of the crop to the Japanese government. We sometimes we hid rice which was only half- dry in the shrubbery or under straw. One time we harvested 3,000 to 4,000 kg of rice, and hid 1,000 kg for ourselves, so we could eat more rice at that time. But in the late colonial period, the Japanese police officers searched our house all the time. Life was so hard because we did not have any rice to eat…. (D-TT4)

Although most Taiwanese were regarded as the second-class citizens and led a poor life during the Japanese occupation, they still considered Japanese food to be high-prestige food, and it became the premier choice for many Taiwanese when they had opportunities to eat out. Japanese cuisine was the favourite for most informants interviewed. One said he liked Japanese food because it is ‘high-class’ cuisine. This reflects the difference in the prestige of Japanese and Taiwanese food. It also explains why most older Taiwanese informants chose Japanese restaurants when they ate out.

62 From interviews with D-MT4, D-MT6, D-TT3, D-TT3, D-HH1, D-HH3, B-TT1, B-TT2, B-TT3, B-TT5, B-TT10, B-HH3, D-MT2, D-HH2, B-MT4, B-MT5, B-MH3.
Q: As you recall, when did Taiwanese start to eat Japanese food?
A: I think it was two decades after Taiwan's return to Chinese rule, in about 1965. At that time, the economy had improved; furthermore, we were curious about Japanese food. We knew Japanese food was expensive, but we hadn't had the opportunity to try it, so this is why I wanted to eat Japanese food.
Q: When did sashimi begin to be served in the Taiwanese pantoh?
A: It was also at that time. Having Japanese food gave people a high-class image. So if a pantoh included sashimi, the host would have ‘face’, and guests would feel the banquet was high-class. (TI-Chang)

A Minnan woman said that Japanese cuisine used to be her family’s favourite and she still prepares Japanese food as offerings for her husband who has since passed away.

39Q: Is there any special day for you to eat in restaurants?
A: …When my husband was still alive, we had Japanese cuisine for our birthday or our wedding anniversary. After he died, I didn’t eat Japanese food on these special occasions. But I still prepare sushi as offerings for him on his birthday and on our wedding anniversary…. (B-TT10)

At present, Japanese cuisine is the first choice among foreign foods by various age groups in Taiwan (Chou, 2006). According to Wong (2009), people have such a preference because ‘Japanophiles’ (哈日族) show their identity by consuming Japanese food, which they also feel confers high status on them. However, most such informants are older Taiwanese who are nostalgic for the colonial period.

**Mainland cuisines as high cuisine**

When Chiang Kai-Shek moved his government to Taiwan in 1949, Chinese government officials brought with them mainland styles of cooking and established
them as high cuisines in Taiwan. At the beginning of the Nationalist Recovery, the general public was poor and unemployment was high. The money market was out of control, and serious inflation caused the prices of commodities to increase rapidly. The Nationalist government instituted various monetary and fiscal policies in order to improve the situation. In the end, the American government provided monetary aid which stabilised Taiwan’s economy in the early 1950s (Liao, 2006). The following song composed by Chang Ch’iu Tung-Sung (張邱東松) in 1949, describes the situation of some poor Taiwanese at that time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rice Dumplings</th>
<th>燒肉粽</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am a poor man</td>
<td>自悲自嘆歹命人，</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents took good care of me</td>
<td>父母本來真疼痛；</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letting me study for several years</td>
<td>乎我讀書幾落冬，</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I could not find a job after graduation</td>
<td>出業頭路無半頃。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Just temporarily selling rice dumplings. 煉肉粽，燒肉粽，燒肉粽，）
Rice dumpling, rice dumpling, rice dumpling)
Doing business is difficult    欲做生意真困難，
No money, no opportunity     若無本錢做昧動；
Bad behaviour leads nowhere    不正行為是不通，
So for now I just choose to do this     所以暫時做這款。

Things get more expensive day by day    物件一日一日貴，
Many mouths at home wait to eat    厝內頭嘴這大堆；
I walk until my legs ache    雙腳行到欲搆腿，
Only resting if nobody wants to buy    遇著無銷上克虧。

After the economy was brought under control, Taiwan’s restaurant industry

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63 The nationalist Recovery was called 台灣光復 in Chinese in Taiwanese history, which means Taiwan was returned to China after 50 year Japanese colonized. Based on this concept, Taiwan had been part of China before.
gradually developed and became prosperous, especially restaurants selling mainland foods. Mainland cuisines were regarded as haute cuisine during the pre-democratisation period, the best illustration of this being the state banquets held at the Grand Hotel. The Grand Hotel, first built in 1952, was initially mainly used as a state guesthouse. It served only mainland cuisines to high-level guests. In 1966, Chiang Kai-Shek’s inaugural banquet was held in the Grand Club of the Grand hotel. The menu of this inaugural banquet was designed based on mainland cuisines, including items from Beijing, Sichuan, Guangdong and Shanghai cuisines, as shown in Figure 3-3. The only food items related to ‘Taiwan’ were tea and fruit. This menu fully expressed Chiang’s food preference and located Chinese food as the centre of the culinary system, reflecting the status difference between Mainland and Taiwanese food.

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64 The Grand Hotel (圓山飯店) was established in 1952, and then the swimming pool, tennis courts, and membership lounge were constructed in succession until 1953. Afterward, the 14 story palace style building was opened in 1973.
In the following years, state banquets serving mainly mainland cuisines were
served continually held at the Grand Hotel. The Golden Dragon, one of the Chinese
restaurants there, became the major venue for official and state banquets. During
the pre-democratisation period, only mainland cuisines were considered for state
banquets; their fine delicate characteristics made them the mainstream in Taiwan’s
restaurant industry, which took its lead from Chiang family’s customary food.

A number of mainland cuisines became popular in Taiwan after 1950, and
Taiwanese were attracted to experience these novel foods. According to the
restaurant advertisements in the Lianheban\(^6\) in 1952, the Guangdong, Beijing, and

\(^6\) The Lianheban (聯合版) was the predecessor of the United Daily News (聯合報), which was
established by Wang Ti-Wu (王惕吾) in 1951. The Lianheban separately consisted of the Popular
Daily (全民日報), National (民族報), and the Economic Times (經濟時報), but which were all
combined into be the United Daily News in 1953.
Shanghai cuisines were most popular, for example, Beijing food in the Beijing Fengzeyuan Restaurant (北京豐澤園飯館), Beijiing and Tianjin food in Meihuaage Restaurant (美華閣), and Guangdong cuisine in Nanguo Restaurant (南國粵菜館). In Taiwan, the Railway Restaurants (鐵路餐廳) now sell only ‘railway lunch boxes’ (鐵路便當); but during the Chiang period they also sold mainland-style food such as Jingsu tangbao, Jingsu soup dumplings (京蘇湯包) and various Sichuan dishes to cater for market demand. A Minnanese informant described in his diary that he first ate fried rice with shrimp, harenchaofan (蝦仁炒飯), in a Guangdong restaurant, and steamed buns and beef with thick sauce (jiangniurou 醬牛肉), in the Shandongguan restaurant (山東館) in 1953. Wu (2002) relates the history of this influx of mainland cuisines:

..., following the Nationalist government defeat in mainland China in 1949 by the Communists, and following their retreat to Taiwan together with a flood of refugees. Many ranking military officials, heads of government branches or local administrations, and wealthy merchants brought their family cooks to Taiwan from various parts of China. The cooks later opened their own restaurants. During the 1950s restaurants serving food from Hunan, Jiangsu and Zhejiang were the most popular, as there were more high ranking Hunanese generals and Jiangzhe (an abbreviation of Jiangsu and Zhejiang) officials and merchants.

More mainland restaurants, offering Guangdong, Sichuan, Jiang-Zhe, Beijing, and Hunan cuisines, were opened through the Chiang period, (Chen, 1990). Famous restaurants included Zhening Dadongyuan Caiguan (浙寧大東園菜館), Zhening Dongshenglou Caiguan (浙寧東昇樓菜館), Zhonghua Xieji (中華協記餐廳), and Yuyuan Chuancai Restaurant (渝園川菜餐廳). A Hakka informant described the popularity of mainland cuisines when he was working in a restaurant between the 1950s and the 1970s.
Q: What kind of food was popular from 1950s to the 1970s? Was it mainland food or Taiwanese food?

A: I think that Jiangzhe (江浙) cuisine was more popular, also Sichuan cai and Guangdong cai. There wasn’t a big difference between them. Like us; we were cooks; we just went to eat and came back and tired to cook similar food. The same thing happened with pantoh-- they learned little from here, learned a little from there. They seemed to experience each restaurant. In that period, a ‘restaurant’ was more popular as a place for a banquet, afterwards, some pantoh (banquets) where held in ‘hotels’. (B-HH1)

The mainland food was the mainstream in Taiwan in 1950s and 1960s. There were 31 restaurants advertised in the restaurant advertisements in the Lianheban of 1952, but only one was Taiwanese restaurant—the Penglaige jiujia (蓬萊閣酒家). The others were Japanese, Chinese, and Western restaurants. In 1961, there was still only one Taiwanese restaurant, the Penglaige Gonggongshitang (蓬萊閣公共食堂) advertised in the newspaper. In the 1970s, Taiwan’s economy gradually improved, and outlets offering mainland cuisines were included in the overall design of major hotels due to their delicacy, popularity, and novelty. The famous Guangdong restaurants were in the Grand Hotel, the First Hotel (第一飯店), the Guangzhou hotel (廣州飯店) and the Luxus Hotel (豪華酒店) (Wu, 2002). In addition, some non-mainstream cuisine, such as Shanxi cuisine, also enjoyed an unexpected short-term popularity in Taiwan. The Shanxi Tianqinglou Restaurant (山西天慶樓), for example, provided such typical Shanxi dishes as fermented grain (zaocai 糟菜), and smoked chicken and cured meat (xunji liwei 燻雞臘味).

66 From 1953 to1990, Taiwan’s per capita national income rose from US$160 to US$7556, especially in the 1970s. In 1974, Taiwan’s annual rate of change (年增率) of per capita national income was 34.43%, which is the highest number in Taiwan’s history. It shows that Taiwan’s economic growth in the 1970 reflected a greatly prosperous outlook there. See National Statistics, R.O.C., http://www.stat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=28862&ctNode=3565.
These mainland restaurants became the venues for wedding banquets of mainland soldiers. Taiwan is a patrilineal society, and according to Taiwanese tradition, the wedding pantoh was always held at or near the groom’s house. Most mainland soldiers, however, had no family or home of their own in Taiwan so they often chose a mainland restaurant for their wedding banquets because they needed a place for the wedding ceremony, one that would cater for their food preferences. In this period, the choice of the type of wedding banquet reflected the cultural differences between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. A retired mainland soldier from Zhejiang recalled his wedding banquet, held in a Hunan restaurant:

*In 1963, we chose the Tianrantai (天然臺), a Hunan restaurant, to have our wedding banquet because the location was close to my workplace, near the Southgate market (南門市場). On ordinary days we often had a meal there, so this restaurant was the best place to have a wedding feast. Our family still frequents this restaurant.* (TI-Chou)

Taiwanese, by contrast, tended to have a pantoh in or near their house for their wedding banquets following their tradition; however a Minnanese interviewee chose Zhejiang cuisine for his wedding banquet because his father had many mainland colleagues and thought that Zhejiang cuisine was more delicate and elegant than Taiwanese food. The traditional Taiwanese pantoh banquet can also be catered (外燴), but it is regarded as lower in status compared with a mainland style banquet held in a restaurants. One Mainlander informant regarded ‘pantoh’ as a low-level because he disliked the taste of the food and the surroundings. He mentioned his experience of pantoh:

67 From interview with B-TT5.
**Q:** Have you experienced a Taiwanese style banquet (pantoh)?
**A:** I only attended an outside banquet once. The surrounds were very messy, and I dared not eat the food. I don’t like Taiwan cai; it’s not oily or salty enough. (B-MT2)

The choice of wedding banquet style reflected both the difference in status of Taiwanese and Mainland foods, and that between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. A Taiwanese woman married to a Mainlander said that in her experience, Mainlanders definitely chose a ‘hotel’ or ‘restaurant’ to hold a special event. She also said that her husband was engaged in a lot of social activities with dinner parties, and had many opportunities to attend dining events in hotels or restaurants.

**Q:** Where was your wedding banquet?
**A:** We had wedding banquet in the Howard Hotel in Kaohsiung because my husband was a soldier. Mainlanders definitely choose a hotel to have their wedding ceremony. We got married on 5 September, 1970. His friends are all soldiers. The next day my parents held a pantoh for my colleagues and our relatives. (D-MT5)

The time that food identified as Taiwanese food began being connected to the distinction between Taiwanese and Mainlanders was the early 1950s. This connection expressed the provincial consciousness in Taiwanese society at that time. The foods Taiwanese ate were recognised by Taiwanese as ‘Taiwan cai’ or ‘bensheng cai’, reflecting a provincial consciousness, until the 1950s. Due to the opposing position between Taiwanese and Mainlanders, the Taiwanese could easily distinguish themselves from Mainlanders through their language or food consumption. By the 1950s ordinary Taiwanese could already identify their regular food as ‘Taiwanese food’ rather than ‘mainland food’. A Minnanese informant who

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68 From interview with D-MT5.
worked in a Mainlander company in 1952 mentioned ‘Taiwan cai’ in his diary twice:

We finished work at 12:00am, then went back the rooming house to cook dinner. The dinner was ready to eat at 12:45am, and everyone said: ‘we finally have ‘Taiwan cai’ today.’ (Dairy entry 19/3/1952)

(My) company authorised a restaurant to provide us with a meal at work. Yesterday they changed the restaurant again because the type of meal was ‘Taiwan cai’; they (Mainlanders) are not used to it, so we only had Taiwan cai for one day, and then they changed it. (Dairy entry 2/11/1953)

Later, in 1957, he used ‘bensheng liaoli’ to refer to Taiwan cai in contrast with waisheng cai (mainland food). This recognition not only highlighted the difference in food between bensheng and waisheng, but also including the difference in social status, language, and culture between these two ethnic groups.

We got more dishes for tonight’s dinner, which was abundant. The flavour was quite typical bensheng liaoli. (本省料理). (Dairy entry 28/11/1957)

Although Taiwanese at least had a basic concept of their own food by the 1950s, the status of Taiwanese food did not improved until the 1990s when the Taiwanese consciousness was openly asserted in public. The thriving of Taiwan’s economy in the 1970s was the key factor for the reappearance of Taiwanese restaurants in the restaurant market. In the 1970s, Taiwanese restaurants had a resurgence in the Beitou hot-spring area, with this becoming the main venue for the consumption of Taiwanese food. However, these Taiwanese restaurants in Beitou were jiujia and provided female accompaniment to meet the demands of business customers, especially the Japanese. During this period of economic growth, many Taiwanese businessmen chose jiujia in Beitou to treat their guests to both jiujia cai and
Japanese popular entertainment—nagashi. The period from 1970 to 1980 was the most prosperous for jiujia with nagashi. A Minnanese informant gave the following description of jiujia and nagashi:

038A: Actually, the nagashi culture already existed during the Japanese occupation. Some state-operated banks, such as the First Bank, the Huanan Bank, the Changhwa Bank, and the Taiwan Business Bank, had reception places in the Beitou area for guests, especially foreign guests. These banks already existed in the Japanese period but they have now changed their names. After the Second World War, the Taiwanese economy improved and these banks resumed functioning. Nagashi was prosperous in the 1970s, but President Lee required all the restaurants in the hot-spring area of Beitou to be closed down because these restaurants had become places for selling sex. In fact, we did not eat too much food but indulged in alcohol and female company. I remember there was one dish which was quite delicious: huaguadunjitang (花瓜燉雞湯), chicken soup with pickled cucumber, because the cucumber was still crispy even after being cooked for a few times and it was good with alcohol…. (B-TTI)

A Taiwanese cuisine chef described the prosperous scene of a wine restaurant (jiujia) in Beitou based on his working experience in the 1970s:

020A: When I was 15 (in 1973), I was an apprentice in the Umeko Restaurant, I was in charge of dishwashing and sweeping the floor. I had to clean the cutting board after the chef cooked; I only learned how to boil the plum soup (suanmeitang 酸梅湯) at that time. The salary was NT600 dollars per month, which was quite good. The consumers in the Umeko were mainly Japanese, and the most popular cuisine was He-Han cuisine and plain congee and savoury dishes. The following year, I went to the Xinghuage (杏花閣) to work as the sanzhen (三砧), ’third cutting board’ worker. The salary was NT800 per month, and the menu was almost all jiujia cai, which were dacai (i.e. fancy Taiwan cai dishes) (大菜).

080A: After quitting the job in the Xinghuage, I went to Beitou. The business was easy to run in 1975 because the economy was really good. The girls were all Taiwanese; the main consumers were Japanese whose purpose was to
access the women. The restaurant was busy till 3 or 4 am. My uncle was the chef of the Jiabinge (嘉賓閣), and I learned stir-frying there. That’s where I really learned how to cook. We learned some of jiujia cai, such as ‘glutinous rice with crab’ (hongxun migao 紅蟳米糕). (E2)

These jiujia basically continued the so-called Taiwan liaoli of the Japanese period. Although these jiujia in the 1980s were closed down by the police due to the illegal sexual trade, to most old Taiwanese, Beitou was not only a place where traditional Taiwanese cuisine survived, but it was also a place where they could reminisce about the past, their hopes, and individuals from the Japanese occupation. Mintz (1996) argues that the foods eaten have histories associated with the pasts of those who eat them. Nagashi culture has nowadays become a unique part of Taiwanese culture. A Minnanese woman said that she and her husband had intentionally organised a Taiwanese banquet in a historical hot-spring hotel for their son’s wedding ceremony, and included the nagashi entertainment:

048A: My son had his wedding banquet in the Atami (熱海) Hotel in Beitou, which provides Taiwanese food. We’re used to having Taiwan cai...We also hired a nagashi troupe with this banquet, which was very expensive. It cost more than NT$10,000. (B-TT4)

In addition, another kind of Taiwanese foods, plain congee and savoury dishes, emerged in the 1960s and became prosperous in the 1970s, coinciding with a boom in the tourist-oriented sex industry, centred in the Zhongshan District in north Taipei (Wu, 2002b). The first of this new style Taiwanese restaurant was the AoBa, which opened in 1964, followed a year later by the Umeko. Rather than serving steamed rice, both restaurants served sweet potato congee, which had been a staple food for ordinary people during the Japanese occupation and the early Chiang years, and
some ‘home style’ dishes, such as pickled daikon omelette. But such restaurants were few in number due to their limited market. Restaurants in a similar style, such as the Chicken House and the Shin Yeh Restaurant were founded in the 1970s. The chef from the AoBa Restaurant described why his boss decided to open a Taiwanese restaurant in the 1960s:

015Q: Whose idea was it to open this restaurant and sell these food items?  
016A: My boss originally worked in the Hongye Restaurant (紅葉) in Yuanhuan (圓環). My boss’s uncle was the owner of the Hongye, and my boss was the manager in the restaurant. The Hongye mainly sold plain congee and savoury dishes because the Japanese liked savoury dishes, plain congee, and sweet potato congee. My boss thought this was a career worth investing in, so he later opened his own restaurant—the AoBa Restaurant. At the beginning he also chose plain congee and savoury dishes as the main food items to sell. The AoBa restaurant was initially only called an eatery (yinshidian 飲食店) rather than a restaurant. (E1)

Despite there being only a few Taiwanese restaurants which sold plain congee and savoury dishes, their popularity still attracted attention from the owners of some mainland restaurants. An alternative name for plain congee and savoury dishes was Taicai xiaoye (台菜宵夜), literally ‘Tai(wan) night snacks’ and these were served late at night. Some mainland restaurants which sold mainly mainland cuisines for lunch and dinner followed the Taicai xiaoye template and sold plain congee and savoury dishes later at night. In the 1970s, plain congee and savoury dishes was regarded as representative of Taiwanese food; but at the same time jiujia cai was also called Taiwan liaoli. A chef (E1) explained what the differences between savoury dishes and Taiwan liaoli:

007Q: When the AoBa Restaurants sold ‘plain congee and savoury dishes’ at the beginning, was it called Taiwan cai?
008A: It was only called savoury dishes. The food the AoBa started off selling was savoury dishes. Afterwards as the economy improved, you couldn’t ask your customers to just eat savoury dishes, so we cooks started to learn some ‘liaoli’ dishes. So we added some dishes to the menu, such as deep-fried squid balls (zhahuazhiwan 炸花枝丸), prawn cake (xiabing 蝦餅), and Buddha’s casserole (fotiaoqiang 佛跳牆).

009Q: When did Buddha’s Casserole emerge in Taiwan?
010A: It came out during the Beitou jiujia period, as jiujia cai. Other jiujia cai were prawn with egg yolk (danhuang daxia 蛋黃大蝦), and stir-fried crab with eggs (guihuaxun 桂花蟳). There was a close relationship between Beitou and jiujia. These dishes came from jiujia.

011Q: So you sold both savoury and liaoli dishes in your restaurant.
012A: Yes, we sold both. When the economy improved, the customers couldn’t have a business deal with just savoury dishes; they needed to show their sincerity to their clients with delicacy. But, savoury dishes were the favourite of Japanese.

013Q: When did the economy improve?
014A: After the Ten Major Construction Projects (十大建設). That was after about 1973, or 1974. The customers had to queue up to eat here. The dishes we sold were Buddha’s Casserole, stewed pork hock (hongshao tuiku 紅燒腿庫), paper-wrapped chicken (zhibaoji 紙包雞), deep-fried eight piece chicken (zhabakuaiji 炸八塊雞), and so on. They were Beitou cai. (E1)

In the following years restaurants at some famous local hotels became Taicai restaurants, e.g. the Orchid Room (蘭花廳) at the Brother Hotel (兄弟飯店) in 1979.

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70 Fotiaoqiang (佛跳牆 Buddha’s casserole), is one of the most famous dishes in Fujian province. It is a complex dish making use of many ingredients, including shark fin, sea cucumber, abalone, and Shaoxing wine. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fujian_cuisine, viewed 26 April, 2011.

71 The Ten Major Construction Projects (十大建設) were national infrastructure projects during the 1970s in Taiwan. The government believed the state lacked key utilities such as highways, seaports, airports, and power plants. Moreover, Taiwan was experiencing significant effects from the 1973 oil crisis. Therefore, to upgrade the industry and the development of the country, the government planned to take on ten massive building projects. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ten_Major_Construction_Projects, viewed 19 April, 2011.
the Garden Restaurant (福園) at the Lai-Lai Sheraton Hotel (來來飯店) in 1981, and the Formosa (蓬萊邨) at the Howard Hotel in 1984. Although mainland cuisines were the mainstream in the restaurant market in Taiwan during the pre-democratisation period, Taiwanese food also emerged in various versions gradually creating its unique identity and coming to parallel the popularity of mainland cuisines. This will be described in detail in Chapter 6.

Taiwanese food evolved from the Minnanese style food to wine-restaurant food or home-style food, from pantoh to jiujiu, and also blended in Japanese and mainland elements during the Japanese colonial period and the pre-democratisation period. Although these periods ended in 1945 and 1989 respectively, the associated external cultures had infiltrated and became part of the life of ordinary Taiwanese families. Taiwanese food had changed to become multi-ethnic.

Taiwanese identity and food publications

Food publications comprise cookbooks, food magazines, food guides, and food culture investigation reports. Food publications emerged in Taiwan in the 1960s. There was a distinct trend toward interest in popular food culture both before and after the end of the pre-democratisation period. The popularity of food guides or surveys in the 2000s in particular reflected the connection between Taiwanese identity and Taiwan food and between local identity and local food.

Food publications—the influence of Tang Lu-Sun 唐魯孫 & Fu Pei-Mei 傅培梅

Food publications during the pre-democratisation period not only reflected the popularity of mainland food in Taiwan, but also expressed the leading role of the mass-media and Mainlander influence. During the Chiang years, Mainlanders
became the voice of modern writing about food due to their control of mass-media. Most food publications discussed Mainlanders’ memories of food from their hometowns and reflected the author’s Mainland background. There was no reference to Taiwanese food (Hsiu, 2007). A good example is that of the late food writer Tang Lu-Sun (唐魯孫). Born in Beijing in 1908, he migrated to Taiwan in 1946 and worked for the Taiwanese government as the Director of the Songshan Cigarette Plant (松山菸廠). He retired in 1973 and became a food writer and a specialist on delicacies for the China Times (中國時報). He said his motivation for being a food writer was that he came from a Qing dynasty imperial family, and he had had a vast number of eating experiences in China. Tang’s first book ‘Zhongguo chi’ (Eating in China), based on his Manchu family background and food experience in China, introduced food and restaurants found only in Beijing, despite his book being published in Taiwan in 1978. His second contribution was ‘Suan tian ku la xian’ (Sour, Sweet, Bitter, Spicy, and Salty), published in 1980. This book also mostly talked about food and snack foods from China; only one of 36 sections was about Taiwan’s specialty food—mullet roe (wuyuzi 烏魚子).

The first magazine about food in Taiwan, ‘Zhonghua yinshi’ (Chinese Drinks and Dishes), published in Taiwan in 1974, was organised by a committee of people from mainland China, and Tang was a member of the editorial committee. Again, most of the content was about mainland food. One of the topics in the first issue, ‘Food recommendations for foreign tourists in Taiwan,’

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72 Tang Lu-Sun (唐魯孫) was born in 1908. His father was a member of Tatalashi (他他拉氏) of Manchu family, and his mother was the daughter of Li Henien (李鶴年), who had been the inspector-general of Henan province (Henan xunfu 河南巡撫) and the governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang provinces (Minzhe zongdu 閩浙總督).
recommended Guangdong and Yang73 style breakfasts, Taiwanese and Beijing style night foods, and Sichuan, Hunan, Zhejiang, Beijing, and Fuzhou cuisines for main meals. Note that Taiwanese food was only mentioned as snack food, and an article in the magazine described Taiwanese food based on a mainland perspective. This writer used benshengren to refer to the Taiwanese, and stated that they did not really like to eat Taiwanese food in Taiwanese restaurants because they eat the similar food on normal day. He thus showed his lack of understanding about Taiwanese people at that time. The article said:

‘There were only a few Taicai restaurants in Taiwan. Their business was far below that of Jiangzhe, Guangdong, Sichuan, and Hunan restaurants. Benshengren do not really like Taiwan cai. In fact, the main customers of Taiwan cai are Mainlanders or tourists’ (Su, 1974:52).

Although this magazine only survived for a year, its Mainland bias is clear. Its emergence reflected the popularity of Mainland cuisines and the culture dominance of Mainlanders at that time.

Mainland style home-cooking permeated ordinary Taiwanese family during the Chiang period, and Fu Pei-Mei (傅培梅) played a crucial role in this through her cooking shows and cookbooks. Fu was a vital influence in this field. Born in Dalian in 1931, Fu, who fled to Taiwan from mainland China in 1949, was a highly distinguished Chinese culinary artist until her death in 2004. She established the Chinese Cooking Institute (中國烹飪班) in Taipei in 1961. Then in 1962 when television was first introduced, she started presenting a Chinese cooking demonstration program at the invitation of and sponsored by the Taiwan Television

73 Yan cuisine is one of Chinese four cuisine categories. It refers to the food in Jiangsu, Yangzhou (江蘇揚州), Zhenjiang (鎮江), Huaian, Chuzhou (淮安滁州) and places around these areas.
Company. With her mainland background, she was skilled at preparing mainland cuisines and mostly demonstrated mainland food on the cooking show.

As Swislocki notes, cookbooks contain both recipes and represent cultural values (Swislocki, 2009). Fu Pei-Mei was also a productive author of Chinese cookbooks from her first cookbook, published in 1965, and for the next three decades. Her first cookbook was structured around Chinese regions; presenting Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern region dishes and snack foods. Shanghai cuisine represented Eastern Chinese style food, Canton and Fuzhou cuisine were Southern Chinese style, Sichuan and Hunan cuisine were Western Chinese style, and Beijing was typical of Northern Chinese style. In the third of this cookbook series, she introduced seven types of banquet dishes, Taiwan-style banquet was one of those first presented in 1979 fourteen years after her first book. According to the database of the Library of Chinese Dietary Culture, Fu’s first Taiwanese cuisine cookbook was not published until 1997, which came 32nd among her total 34 books. Although she then began to give some attention to Taiwanese food, most of her demonstrations were still only of mainland Chinese food, which strongly represented her Mainland background despite her living in Taiwan. Fu was the key person who promoted mainland cuisines to ordinary Taiwanese families through the mass media. A Minnanese interviewee said he learned how to prepare mainland cuisines from Fu’s cookbooks and cooking shows.

036A: My wife is not a good cook; sometimes I can cook better than she does.... I learned cooking from Fu Pei-Mei’s cookbook. At that time I also watched her cooking show to learn some dishes, such as Wuxi pork-ribs (Wuxi paigu 無錫排骨), steamed fish (qingzheng yu 清蒸魚), sweet and sour pork-ribs (tangcu paigu 糖醋排骨), and stewed pork (lurou 滷肉). (B-TT1)
Development of Taiwanese cookbooks

The first Taiwanese cookbook was not published until 1960. Prior to that, Taiwan dietary life during the Japanese occupation was documented only in some Japanese books. Takeuchi (1915) recorded the details about the home dishes in middle-class Taiwanese families and restaurant dishes in Taiwanese liaoli (cuisine) restaurants, as shown in Table 3-2, which provided a basic picture of the food in those settings. Middle-class Taiwanese could not afford poultry: the only meat they could obtain was pork. Most daily home meals consisted of rice and vegetables. By contrast, in the Taiwanese restaurants the luxury ingredients, poultry and seafood were essential food items.

Table 3-2 Comparison between Taiwanese people's food and Taiwanese cuisine

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<th>Home dishes in middle-class Taiwanese family</th>
<th>Taiwanese cuisine (liaoli)</th>
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<td>Eight treasures duck 八寶鴨</td>
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<td>Chinese cabbage duck 冬菜鴨</td>
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<td>Mushroom chicken 毛菇雞</td>
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<td>Braised fat duck 鹹胖鴨</td>
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<td>Stirred chicken pieces 炒雞片</td>
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<td>Chicken pancakes 搭雞餅</td>
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<td>Seafood</td>
<td>Fried fish 煎魚仔</td>
<td>Abalone maw 鮑魚肚</td>
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<td>Fried yellow seabream 煎赤鯮魚</td>
<td>Shark fin light soup 清湯魚翅</td>
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<td>Oriental pickle melon boiled scallop 瓜仔煮干貝</td>
<td>Abalone light soup 清湯鮑魚</td>
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<td>Boiled threadfin 烹勿仔魚</td>
<td>Trepang light soup 清湯參</td>
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<td>Fried mature fish 煎熟魚</td>
<td>Crab ball 魷丸</td>
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<td>Tofu and boiled dry small fish 豆腐烘魚腩</td>
<td>Mix hot pot 十錦火靭</td>
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<td>Braised fish 紅燒魚</td>
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<td>Fish meat with bamboo shoots and julienne pork 大五柳居</td>
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<td>Eight treasure crab thick soup</td>
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<td>Stir-fried salted leaf</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mustard boiled bamboo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: TAKEUCHI, Sadayoshi 武內貞義 (1915) 台湾 [Taiwan], Taipei, Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpô Press.

Although the first Taiwanese cookbook published in 1960 was earlier than Tang and Fu’s first publication, the most mass media were still controlled by Mainlanders.
According to the database of the National Central Library and the Library of Chinese Dietary Culture\textsuperscript{74} in Taiwan, the first Taiwanese cookbook was the *Taiwan cai pengren jinghua* (臺灣菜烹飪精華), published in 1960 and written by Cheng Wen-Lung (鄭文龍). Huang Li Hsiu-Hsien’s (黃李秀賢) *Taiwan jiating liaoli* (台灣家庭料理) published in 1967 was the second. The subsequent two Taiwanese cookbooks were not published until 1987 and 1989 respectively. Between the second and the third Taiwanese cookbook, 1967 and 1987, two books related to Taiwan food were published: *Taiwan xiaochi* (台灣小吃, Taiwanese snack food) in 1970 and *Taiwan Mingcai* (台灣名菜, Specialities in dishes of Taiwan) in 1986. The former was not a cookbook but a food guide for Taiwanese snack food; the later, despite the title, was about mainland food in Taiwan, probably reflecting Fu’s influence and the popularity of Mainland cuisines at this time.

The first Taiwanese cookbook referred to above consisted of three parts: *jiujia cai*, Minnan and Japanese home cooking, and Taiwanese vender foods.\textsuperscript{75} Although it was published during the pre-democratisation period it incorporated Taiwanese and Japanese elements. The special terms used were based on their Taiwanese language pronunciation, for example, he used *tàu-iû* (豆油) to refer to ‘soy sauce’ rather than *jiangyou* (醬油), and *khí-tiá* (起鼎) rather than *qiguo* (起鍋) to refer to ‘off wok’; the names of some ingredients were written in Japanese because at that time that’s how they were known to most Taiwanese, such as ハム for ham, のり for dried laver, トマトキチヤブ for tomato sauce, and マヨネーズ for mayonnaise. A number of the dishes presented were the same as dishes in Takeuchi’s description of

\textsuperscript{74} The Library of Chinese Dietary Culture established in 1989 is the only special library collecting books about food in Taiwan.

\textsuperscript{75} Taiwanese vender’s food refers to Taiwanese snack food, mainly sold along the streets. Cheng emphasizes a few dishes he introduced in his cookbook were especially for vendors.
Taiwan liaoli: for example fish with bamboo shoots and julienne pork (dawu liuju 大五柳居), and roast chicken rolls (shao jiguān 燒雞管). The Minnan and Japanese home-style dishes section contained simpler dishes, some being traditional home style dishes such as rice dumplings (zongzi 粽子), stewed pork, and stir-fried pork liver (chaozhugān 炒豬肝). Some, such as tempura (天婦羅), fried rice with ham, fried chicken roll with dried seaweed, deep fried pork rib with tomato sauce, and cold dishes with mayonnaise– displayed the Japanese influences. The third section discussed vendor foods: thin noodles with oyster (ezai mianxiān 蚵仔麵線), Taiwanese meatballs (rouyuān 肉圓), thick noodle soup (damian gēng 大麵羹), mixed ingredients noodles (shīcài mian 什菜麵) and jinlu noodles (jinlu mian noodles 錦魯麵). Cheng was the first person to publicly present Taiwanese snack foods as part of Taiwanese food. The dishes in his book were partly influenced by the colonial times and were somewhat different to traditional Minnan cuisine.

The second book, Huang Li’s Taiwan jiātíng liaoli, was published in 1967, i.e. after the beginning of Fu’s cooking show in 1962. Huang Li’s book was the first Taiwanese cookbook to incorporate mainland food into a book presenting Taiwanese home-style dishes. It introduced Taiwanese home style cooking but Huang Li was apparently influenced by Fu and her cookbook introduced a number of mainland dishes, for example Yangzhou shizitōu from Jiangsu province; gōngbāo jídīng, a chicken dish from Sichuan province; and sour-spicy soup (suānlātāng 酸辣湯) from Shandong province. It also introduced Western, Japanese, and Taiwanese foods in her book. For example, she presents Cheng’s idea drawn from Japanese influences.

76 In Cheng’s cookbook, it is called ‘ngóliúki’ (五柳枝) in Taiwanese.
77 In Cheng’s cookbook, it is called ‘deep-fried chicken roll’ (炸雞卷).
78 Tempura is typical Japanese food and introduced to Taiwan by Japanese.
79 Ham, dried laver, tomato sauce, and mayonnaise sauce were introduced by Japanese to Taiwan.
such as *sushi* or *yanggeng* (羊羹)\(^{80}\) are presented by her. Huang Li maintained some traditional cooking methods, such as the use of the *earlang oil* (二郎油),\(^{81}\) a cooking method also mentioned in Cheng’s book. This ‘oil’ is the fat between pork flesh and skin. It was used for cooking prawn dishes and traditional Taiwanese food (Kawabara, 1943). This cooking method had been used during the Japanese occupation, but none of the cookbooks after Huang Li’s cookbook mentioned it and few people now know about it. Huang Li’s cookbook demonstrates that Taiwanese home-style food incorporated various elements and became more diverse after the 1970s.

From the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, the mainstream of cookbooks in Taiwan focused on various types of Chinese food and ignored Taiwanese food. The third Taiwanese cookbook was not published until 1987: *Jijiazhuang: Taiwan mingcai* 《雞家莊: 台灣名菜} [The Chicken House: Taiwanese cooking]. This cookbook was published by the Chicken House, a famous Taiwanese restaurant, and its contents came basically from its menu, mostly home-style dishes. Plain congee and savoury dishes rather than more elaborate dishes were the major products this restaurant offered. A number of Taiwanese food dishes which first appeared in this cookbook, for example three-cup chicken (*sanbaoji* 三杯雞), and pickled daikon omelette, were among the top 15 dishes named in a 2007 internet poll. Two years later, the publisher Hangung (漢光) produced a cookbook entitled *Taiwan cai*, similar in style to the one describing the food of the Chicken House. Some dishes were included in both, for example three-cup chicken and chicken wine (*jijiu* 雞酒: 麻油雞), and savoury dishes such as small fish and peanut (*xiaoyu huasheng* 小魚花生), and

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\(^{80}\) Yanggeng which is mad by is Japanese sweet.

\(^{81}\) In Huang’s book, she used the term *bailing oil* (白郎油) instead of *earlang oil*.
fermented soybean oyster (yinzhi ezai 蔥豉蚵仔). In the late 1980s, Taiwanese food gravitated towards home cooking and savoury dishes and became a unique type of food in Taiwan. Table 3-3 summarizes the history of the publication of major Taiwanese cookbooks from 1960 onwards.

Table 3-3 History of the publication of Taiwanese cookbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of publication</th>
<th>Book title</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td><em>Taiwan cai pengren jinghua</em> 臺灣菜烹飪精華 [Essential of Taiwan cai]</td>
<td>Cheng Wen-Lung 鄭文龍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td><em>Taiwan jiating liaoli</em> 台灣家庭料理 [Taiwan Home-cooking]</td>
<td>Huang Li Hsiu-Hsien 黃李秀賢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td><em>Taiwan cai</em> 台灣菜</td>
<td>Wang Chih-Ping 王志萍 (Ed.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td><em>Taiwan cai</em> 台灣菜 [Chinese cuisine: Taiwanese style]</td>
<td>Huang Te-Hsing 黃德興</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td><em>Meiwei Taicai</em> 美味台菜 [Delicious Taiwan cai]</td>
<td>Fu Pei-Mei 傅培梅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td><em>Zhengzong Taicai liaoli</em> 正宗台菜料理 [Authentic Tai-cai liaoli]</td>
<td>Chen Wei-Nan 陳渭南</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td><em>Xinyexin, Taicai qing</em> 欣葉心・台菜情 [The heart of Shinyeh・The feeling of Taicai]</td>
<td>Chen Wei-Nan 陳渭南</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increase in the number of Taiwanese cookbook throughout Taiwanese history, as indicated in Figure 3-4 below, reflects the increasing popularity of Taiwanese food. Only a few Taiwanese cookbooks were produced before the end of the pre-democratisation period in 1988; only one cookbook was published in 1960 and only one in 1967. Six Taiwanese cookbooks were published in the 1980s, then 20 cookbooks in the 1990s and a further 42 in the 2000s. These figures clearly show that the number of Taiwanese cookbook gradually increased from the 1980s, the
time of the transition of political power from the political and socio-cultural dominance of the Nationalist government and Mainlanders in general to the Taiwanese.

The Wei-Chuan Cultural and Educational Foundation in cooperation with the Weichuan Food Company published their first Taiwanese cookbook in 1991. Capitalising on the growing popularity of Taiwanese food, Fu Pei-Mei published two Taiwanese cookbooks, in 1997 and 2003 respectively, drawing on the experience of her three decade cooking-teaching career. Subsequently, the Shin Yeh Restaurant published two cookbooks, *Zhengzong Taicai liaoli* (正宗台菜料理) [*Authentic Taicai liaoli*] (2000) and *Shin-yeh xin, Taicai qing* (欣葉心·台菜情) [*The heart of Shinyeh · The feeling of Taicai*] (2007) respectively. These books emphasised the spirit of Shin Yeh: ‘Shinyeh insists on using fresh ingredients and traditional cooking skills to provide a delicious Taiwanese style cuisine for all of its customers.’ Regardless of whether the dishes in these cookbooks are actually ‘authentic’ Taiwanese food, the term ‘Taiwan cai’ has gradually come to be recognised as a name of a unique cuisine.

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82 The Weichuan Food Company which was established in 1953 is the first local food company in Taiwan. The chairman of the Weichuan Company established the Weichuan Cultural and Educational Foundation in 1979, whose major business is cooking class, especially for home-style cooking learning.

**Food guides and investigations**

Food guides can provide both an introduction to and an overview of many different types of regional restaurants as well as a template for integrating many regional cultures into a coherent framework (Swislocki, 2009). Food guides became popular in Taiwan in the 1990s with almost 100 published in Taiwan during this decade, for example *Hsinchu xiaochi* 新竹小吃 [Xinzhu snacks] (1999), *Tainan xiaochi* 台南小吃 [Tainan snacks] (1995), and *Taiwan meishi* 台灣美食 [Taiwan’s fine foods] (1997). In the 2000s, local food guides have included much more about the story behind or the relevant culture associated with the local specialties they introduce not only offering new food experiences to travellers, but also illustrating their connections to local culture. Examples are *Yilan’s Taiwan shenghuo ziwei* 怡蘭的台灣生活滋味 [Yilan’s Taiwan life experiences] (2003), *Taiwan laozihao xiaochi* 台灣老字號小吃 [Taiwan’s authentic snacks] (2003), and *Keelung miaokou* 基隆廟口 [Keelung’s Temple market] (2008).

The 2000s was a period when a large number of local food investigations were carried out. The Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) published a handbook in 1998

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84 Data is from the collection of Chinese dietary Library.
on resources for investigating of art and culture, particularly food culture, which local governments could use as a guide to implement investigations of their own food culture. Before this, *Taiwan de yinshi wenhua—Jilong miaokou wenhua* 台灣的飲食文化—基隆廟口文化 [*Taiwan’s Food Street: Temple Culture in Keelung*] had already been published in 1997. A number of local governments gradually authorised scholars or local cultural workers to implement of investigations of this kind. Some have now been completed, including the *Taoyung xian koushu lishi Daxi doufu xilie wenhua yanjiu* (桃園縣口述歷史大溪豆腐系列文化研究) (1999) from the Taoyung area; *Nanying xiaochi zhi* (南瀛小吃誌) (2000) from the Tainan area; *Kinmen yinshi wenhua* (金門飲食文化) (2001) from the Kinmen area, *Changhua xian yinshi wenhua* (彰化縣飲食文化) (2002) from the Changhua area; *Matzu fengwai cai* (馬祖風味菜) (2002) from the Matzu area; *Hsinchu xian Hakka yinshi wenhua diaocha jihua* (新竹縣客家飲食文化調查計畫) (2005) about Hakka foods in the Hsinchu area; *Taichung yinshi fenghua* (臺中飲食風華) (2006) from the Taichung area; and *Ludao xiashi* (綠島呷食) (2007) from the Ludao area. These food culture investigations became a basis and avenue for local people to discover or find out more about and claim their local identity.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has first examined the emergence and the historical development of Taiwanese consciousness. Taiwanese consciousness had various expressions in different periods: ethnic identification in the Japanese period; consciousness of Taiwan as a province in the pre-democratisation period, and the new Taiwanese consciousness at present. Second, I have given details of the exotic foodstuffs and cooking methods introduced to Taiwan which played a crucial role in the evolution of Taiwanese food. The nature of Taiwanese food has been influenced by Minnanese
food, Japanese elements, and Mainland food culture in the various colonial periods. The colonial regimes not only had an impact on the status of the Taiwanese making them second-class citizens, but also had the effect of giving the same status to Taiwanese food. Taiwanese food was thereby located on the periphery of the Taiwanese culinary system, especially during the Japanese occupation and the pre-democratisation period.

Although Taiwan cai was recognised by native Taiwanese by the 1950s due to its being contrasted with mainland cuisines, the status of Taiwanese food did not change until the 1990s when the Taiwanese consciousness was openly asserted in public (Wu, 2002b). An increasing number of food studies, food investigations, and even food publications of Taiwan beginning in the 1990s show the correlation between Taiwanese food and the increase in a sense of Taiwanese identity.
Chapter 4
Eating at Home

Home is a specific cultural location involved in forming the sense of family identity (Valentine, 1999). The way family members share meals can give an insight into their family identity, including their ethnic and cultural identities. Mintz (1986) also emphasises that a population which eats a food with sufficient frequency is one of the major factors for that ‘food’ to become ‘a cuisine’. Since most people have their regular meals at home, home-style cooking plays a crucial role as a basis in the creating of both family members’ identity and a cuisine. Taiwan has been subjected to various externally imposed political regimes which introduced the locals to exotic ingredients, methods of food preparation, flavours, and eating habits. Taiwanese incorporated some of these elements as their part of regular meals. What Taiwanese now eat at home and how they understand their food is a key element to explain the distinction of contemporary Taiwanese food culture.

In this chapter, I will explore what Taiwanese food is and its characteristics based on data from the interviews and questionnaires I undertook, and primary and secondary sources. Second, I will explain the development of Taiwanese home-style cooking, both daily fare and food eaten in traditional festivals, documenting how Taiwanese incorporated exotic foodstuffs into their regular and traditional foods to form what is now regarded as Taiwanese-style food.

What is Taiwanese food?
There are a number of different opinions held in Taiwan from various perspectives regarding the meanings of Taiwanese food. Most food experts, including chefs and cookbook writers, agree that Taiwanese food originated from Fujian and owes its
specific characteristics as a side effect of externally imposed political regimes; in addition, local ingredients also play a key role in distinctive Taiwanese food (Liang, 1999, Fu, 1997, Huang, 2005).

Chef Huang (2005) claimed that only aboriginal food can represent ‘Taiwanese’ food because Aborigines are the ‘real’ Taiwanese. However, he acknowledges that the term ‘Taiwan cai’ refers to Minnan food. According to Chang (2007), there are four types of ethnic foods in Taiwan: Taiwanese, mainland, Hakka, and Aboriginal foods, i.e. Taiwanese food is one of the ethnic foods in Taiwan.

According to my interviews with professionals, Taiwanese food comprises a number of broad food categories: the jiujia cai of the 1960s and 1970s; plain congee and savoury dishes since 1964; pantoh food; localised exotic food; Taiwanese ‘inventions’—a term I use to indicate new food items created by the locals; and Taiwanese home-style food. These categories reflect social change and relate to Taiwanese colonial history. Chef E2 remarked that there are a number of versions of Taiwanese food from past to present, even something as outmoded as jiujia cai.86

Q: What is he-han cuisine?
A: It’s Taiwan cai, typical Taiwan cai….

Q: What’s Taiwan cai?
A: It might be something like pickled daikon omelettes or plain congee and savoury dishes. These are real Taiwan cai. It now also includes seafood. Taiwan cai is now a fusion cuisine, a mixture of Taiwanese, Japanese, and Western styles. The most complicated food is Taiwan cai. Although jiujia cai has declined, it is still Taiwan cai. (E2)

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85 These are discussed in detail further below in this chapter.
86 Although Jiujia cai was popular in the 1970s in Taiwan, now there are only few restaurants serve jiujia cai for customers.
Chef E1, however, considered that food invented by Taiwanese is more Taiwanese food rather than jiu jia cai, this old-style food.

078A: Taiwan cai is food invented by Taiwanese, this is the so-called ‘Taiwan cai.’ Of course, Taiwan cai originated from Fujian, as but people say: ‘There are Tngsoakong, but no Tngsoama.’ (有唐山公, 沒唐山嬤). This means that only men migrated here from mainland China and then they married local women. Taiwan cai originated from Fujian, but we still needed to invent it. For example, we invented stir-fried oyster with fermented soybeans (yindouzhizi ezai 蔥豆豉蚵仔); raw fish is Japanese cuisine, but we also sell it in seafood restaurants. We also steam fish, but the condiments used in steaming fish are different from those in Chinese style. (E1)

A general manager (E5) in a Taiwanese restaurant expressed his ideas about Taiwanese food, focussing more on family cooking, based on his childhood memories. He stressed that Taiwanese food developed independently due to Taiwan’s specific historical background and its specific location. Taiwanese food was not incorporated in the Chinese culinary system; this too makes it unique and different from Chinese food. He described Taiwanese food thus:

004A: There are many opinions about Taiwan cai. Some define it as a [variety of] restaurant food or wayside stall food. But I think the family plays a significant role; the ‘mother’ is the key person influencing family members’ food habits. I was raised by my grandma; to me, the food I ate at home is the real Taiwan cai. Only this kind of food can touch my heart…. When I set off to the army, my grandma prepared cudweed dumplings (shuqu cao zong 鼠麴草粽) for me to have when I was on the way. This kind of food is only eaten by a specific ethnic group [i.e. Taiwanese]. When I ate this food, my consciousness was very strong, my sense of regional identity was strong. So, I think the family plays an important role.

055Q: What defines Taiwan cai in your view?

056A: Taiwan cai is a specific cultural food, containing both history and inheritance. Taiwan liaoli, which is a part of Chinese food, is a fusion liaoli. Taiwan liaoli has undergone a number of evolutions under various political
regimes, including periods as a Dutch and (Spanish) colony, Japanese rule, and the KMT period. This kind of historical experience did not take place for the Chinese culinary system. (E5)

Most Minnanese women’s ideas about Taiwanese food are based on their own eating experiences, and reflect the restaurant manager’s (E5) opinion. These women commented that Taiwanese food means the traditional flavours they have every day: they regard their regular meals as just Taiwanese food; some gave examples. One expressed her concern about the use of some ingredients and flavours. She thought that Taiwanese food should not include chilli, and that there should be an abundant number of dishes in pantoh because Taiwanese have a custom of sharing the pantoh leftovers with other people.

060A: The food of the Haibawang (海霸王) Restaurant is just Taiwan cai. You should know that each place has their own food. For example, Hakka food has its special feature. I should say that we used to eat Taiwan cai. If we go to eat mainland food, I ask them not to add chilli. People now prefer less salt and less oil. In the past, the pantoh leftovers were very delicious. We always shared the leftovers with our neighbours. (D-TT5)

Another Minnanese woman mentioned a number of dishes as indicative of what Taiwanese food is. She thought that boiled bamboo shoot with mayonnaise (shuizhu zhusun linshang meinaizi 水煮竹筍淋上美乃滋) was invented by Taiwanese after mayonnaise was introduced by the Japanese and said deep-fried tofu (zha doufu 炸豆腐) is a Taiwanese version of a Japanese food. Both are now regarded as typical Taiwanese dishes.

87 These informants are B-TT2, B-TT4, B-TT7, B-TT9, B-TT10, D-MT2, D-MT3, D-MT5, D-MT6, D-TT3, D-TT5.
88 Zha doufu 炸豆腐: the deep-fried tofu in this typical dish is crispy-outside and soft-inside.
Taiwanese food originated from Fujian province; but it was localised by local residents responding to Taiwan’s natural environment and adopting of local and exotic ingredients. Taiwanese people these days can have a clear idea of what Taiwanese food is based on their everyday experiences.

The characteristics of Taiwanese food

Taiwanese food belongs in the very broad category of Chinese food. Chang (1977) identifies a number of characteristics of Chinese food. He states that fan-cai (飯菜) is the basic eating pattern in all Chinese to follow. This term, also used for ‘meal’, means a staple accompanied by various dishes. The ingredients Chinese use for cooking are widely available from natural resources; the Chinese way of eating is characterized by a notable flexibility and adaptability depending on what ingredients or cooking equipments happen to be available. Chinese food has close connections to traditional beliefs and taboos; it is a composite of independent and unique regional foods. Since Taiwanese food originated from within the Chinese culinary system, it shares the basic characteristics mentioned above. Nevertheless, as have people from various regions in China, Taiwanese gradually developed their own food which reflects Taiwan’s regional features and culture based on Taiwan’s unique geographic and historical background.

Tables 4-1 and 4-2 summarize the findings from questionnaires conducted in two
Taiwanese restaurants, the Shin Yeh and the AoBa. Table 4-1 shows the basic characteristics of Taiwanese food. It contains both light (清淡) and heavy (味道重) flavours, but the flavour are generally lighter than those of mainland cuisines (see Table 4-2). Almost all respondents (96.8%) thought that mainly locally sourced ingredients were used. Most (98.4%) regarded Taiwanese food as economical, and most (96.8%) also thought it was easy to get in Taiwan. They further regarded local cooking methods to be simple (93.1%). Taiwanese food is clearly familiar to Taiwanese, and is a food associated with feelings of nostalgia.

Table 4-2 lists the major differences between Taiwanese and Chinese foods. The first concerns the use of local materials: nearly a quarter (24.6%) believed that more local ingredients were used in Taiwanese food. The second major difference relates to perceptions of Taiwanese food: one fifth of respondents (21%) described Taiwanese food as ‘more familiar’ than Chinese food. Nearly a fifth, 18.6%, described the taste of Taiwanese food as lighter than Chinese food. The Taiwanese prefer stir-frying to cook food and also like thickening soups.

In the following section I will focus on the ingredients, cooking methods, and flavours characteristics of Taiwanese food, based on information sourced from relevant literature and the interviews.

89 ‘Light flavour’ describes food has less flavouring agents added and/or cooked with less ingredients such as chilli and ginger; ‘heavy flavour’ is just opposite. This describes food prepared adding more flavouring agents and/or more intensely flavoured ingredients such as chilli.
Table 4-1 Analysis of the characteristics of Taiwanese food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Samples</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flavour</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Variety of dishes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-choice</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Availability</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to access</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard to access</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source of ingredients</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From local</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worldwide</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cost of ingredients</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economical</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The overall feeling</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfamiliar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooking methods</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>93.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complicated</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meaning</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostalgia</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural identity</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National identity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No special feeling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Cultural identity and Nostalgia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-2 Features of Taiwanese foods– in contrast with Chinese foods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differences</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Responses</th>
<th>% of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more local ingredients</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more familiar</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taste is lighter</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more stir-frying</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less decoration on the plate</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>price is lower</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more thick soups (多勾芡)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more dipping sauce</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have characteristics of Japanese cuisine</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more soups</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total responses (choice-multiple)</strong></td>
<td><strong>505</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>273.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 missing cases; 185 valid cases

Ingredients

The use of local ingredients in cooking is a crucial element for the formation of a regional cuisine (Zhang, 1994, Mintz, 1996). To explore the enduring distinctiveness of local Taiwan ingredients, it is necessary to review the crops and products that are locally grown there.

New crops and foodstuffs introduced into Taiwan in the Dutch period were outlined in Chapter 3. These exotic crops, transplanted and then grown in Taiwan, became local ingredients. Documents from this period, especially gazetteers, record the details of agriculture: the 1696 *Taiwan fuzhi*[^90] for example lists such varieties of crops and products as 12 varieties of rice, 2 of wheat, 5 of millets, 6 of beans, 39 different vegetables, 18 fruits, 4 types of fibre, 22 medicinal herbs, 8 kinds of livestock, 23 different birds[^91], 10 kinds of domesticated animals, 52 varieties of fish,

[^90]: *Taiwan fuzhi* 臺灣府志 [Taiwan Prefecture Gazetteer].
[^91]: See the details at Appendix B.
and 19 shellfish varieties. The Crops and Products (物產) section of the *Zhongxiu Taiwan fuzhi*[^92] (1747), beginning with the ‘five grains’ (wugu 五穀): rice, wheat, millet, panicled millet, and beans, listed 27 types of grains, 29 different vegetables, 28 fruits, 19 insects and snake, 11 of livestock, and 14 of domesticated animals. Fish and shellfish varieties were listed in another chapter. These gazetteer records demonstrate the abundance and great variety of food obtainable from sea and land.

The 1920 agriculture section of the *Taiwan tongshi*[^93] records 13 general categories of crops and products, including 42 varieties of rice, 13 of beans, 3 of wheat, 4 of millet, panicled millet, 2 types of ramie, 2 of blue dyes, 3 of potatoes, 3 of sugar cane, 2 tea varieties, 9 kinds of melons, 26 vegetables, and 42 fruits. Fishes and shell varieties were listed in the fishery section. As well as documenting Taiwan’s abundant products and crops, the 1971 *Taiwan sheng tongzhi*[^94] Life Customs (生活習慣) section also recorded the local ingredients in the markets, divided into five categories, as shown in Table 4-3.

[^92]: 參修**臺灣府志** [Taiwan Prefecture Gazetteer Revised version].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Ingredient</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Ingredients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>celery, Chinese cabbage (白菜), vegetable pea (菜豆), shallot, garlic, leek, bamboo shoot, daikon, kangkong (kongxincai 空心菜), vegetable fern (過郊菜), gynura (âng-chhài 紅菜), crowndaisy (冬荷菜), coriander, cucumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>eggplant, tomato, white gourd (冬瓜), cucumber, kangkong, vegetable fern, shallot, leek flower, bamboo shoot, bottle gourd, snake melon (蕉), meat pea (肉豆), toro, peanut, vegetable fern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>eggplant, tomato, bean sprouts, vegetable fern, celery, daikon, shallot, water bamboo, local cabbage, kangkong, peanut, cucumber, pea (豌豆), string pea (敏感), spinach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>shallot, garlic, leek, leaf mustard, rape, Chinese cabbage, wrap cabbage (包心菜), kale, crowndaisy, celery, spinach, Gynura's deux couleurs, coriander, daikon, snow peas (荷蘭豆)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year round</td>
<td>shallot, baby ginger (稚薑), old ginger (薑母), bean sprout, leaf mustard, peanut, Taiwanese lettuce (蒿仔菜: A菜)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bean &amp; wheat food</td>
<td></td>
<td>tofu (豆腐), dried bean curd (豆乾), bean sausage (豆腸), youtiao (油條), noodles (麵), thin noodles (麺線).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried foodstuffs (乾菜類)</td>
<td></td>
<td>tree mushroom, mushroom, dry lily, dried cabbage (高麗菜乾), pickled daikon, salty vegetable, dry salty vegetable, pickled leaf mustard (搗菜), dry tilapia (郭魚干), bean curd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled food</td>
<td></td>
<td>salty duck egg, preserved egg, tofu, salty white fish, salty salmon, Katongá salmon (加冬仔鮭), Naucrates doctor (烏虷鮭), salty ginger, daikon (菜頭), cabbage heart, pickled cucumber, salty vegetable, fermented bean, fermented cucumber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 This vegetable, *Ipomoea aquatica* is a semi-aquatic tropical plant grown as a leaf vegetable, extremely popular in Taiwan. It is also called *kongxincai* 空心菜, in Chinese, and is known in English as kangkong, water spinach, water morning glory, or water convolvulus. Wikipedia April 15, 2011.

96 *Diplazium esculentum* (Retz.) Sw. Athyriaceae. This has a number of local names: 過溝菜蕨, 過貓, or 過山猫.

97 I use the English name ‘gynura’ for this common vegetable, âng-chhài 紅菜. Its alternative name is 紅鳳菜. It is also called ‘bicolour gynura’ and ‘gynura deux coupleurs’.
The physical environment of any society determines what foods are available and when they are available (Whitehead, 1984:103). Given its island geography and sub-tropical location, Taiwan has plentiful local ingredients from the land and from the ocean. Lee and Chen (2007) state that fish, prawns and crabs are main dishes on Taiwanese banquet menus due to their abundance. A restaurant manager (E5) described the ingredients in Taiwan as very abundant and easy to access. These local ingredients are mainstays in Taiwanese food.

The items in Table 4-3 reflect Taiwan’s unique geographical environment and also the development of its economy and culture. Taiwan and Xiamen have similar geographic characteristics and cultural backgrounds, so some of the above items found in Taiwan are same as those in Xiamen, such as kangkong and crowndaisy (Shi, 2002). Taiwanese people have some ingredients not found in Xiamen, partly due to its unique historical background. The Dutch and Japanese transplanted some crops and plants, such as coriander, snow peas, cabbage (gaolicai 高麗菜), and spinach to Taiwan, and some locally-grown vegetables, such as leaf mustard and Taiwanese lettuce (A 菜), are not found in Xiamen. In addition, some types of fish,
such as blue mackerel scad (四破魚), and salmon (Lien 1920, Liu, 1930) were introduced to Taiwan by the Japanese.

The location of living environment would influence people’s food and foodways. Local traditional markets are the most common places for Taiwanese to obtain ingredients each day. The routinisation or regularity of food acquisition is influenced by the market availability of foods (Whitehead, 1984). Yang (2008) points out that the traditional markets are the lifeblood of Taiwan; the Taiwanese still rely on them to acquire foodstuffs for the demands of daily cooking (Cheung, 2002, FIRDI, 2007). Most people I interviewed in the Beitou and Dazhi areas choose to go to the same local traditional markets they have always gone to buy the ingredients. Some interviewees described the changes that have occurred in the markets from the past to the present. They thought the ingredients and foods in the markets remained similar, for example Taiwanese lettuce, sweet potato leaves (地瓜葉), and kangkong, but commented that different vegetables have been introduced, such as capsicum, pimento, okra (秋葵) and ‘mainland’ lettuce (dalumei 大陸妹).\(^{98}\)

Taiwanese concerns about ingredients are related to whether they are familiar ingredients, healthy ingredients, and the nature of ingredients.

**Familiarity of ingredients:** Although some novel ingredients have been imported or transplanted from overseas, most informants tended to prefer familiar ingredients for cooking. According to a 2009 food survey,\(^{99}\) the most popular meats in Taiwan are pork (55.4%), chicken (22.8%) and beef (15.1%); the most popular fish are tilapia (26.6%), milkfish (13.7%), and codfish (7.7%); the most popular vegetables are cabbage (58%), kangkong (31.6%) and sweet potato leaves (30.3%). With the

\(^{98}\) From interviews with D-TT8, D-TT4, B-MM1, B-MH7, B-TT5, and B-TT10.

\(^{99}\) 2009 *Almanac of Food Consumption Survey in Taiwan* (2009 台灣食品消費調查統計年鑑).
exception of the codfish, these choices indicate that Taiwanese stick with familiar foods.

My interviews also found that pork was the most commonly used meat for both regular meals and traditional festivals, and fish is still one of the major dishes served for regular meals. The vegetables people ate extensively during the Japanese occupation such as sweet potato leaves, kangkong, and cabbage are still the commonly consumed although there are now more imported food options.

**Healthy ingredients:** In Taiwan, people have begun to learn about and eat organic foods (*youji shiwu* 有機食物) over the last decade because of fear of eating food contaminated by pesticides. They do not change their food habits or cooking style, simply the ingredients from the conventionally grown type to the organic type. A Hakka housewife stated that her family eat a lot of organic vegetables during a normal day:

*014A: We always cook more for dinner. For example for vegetables, we cook leaf mustard. We eat vegetables a lot. We normally have at least two vegetables dishes with a meal. I just ordered five kilos of bok coy (青江菜), and ten kilos of taro cabbage (芋頭白菜). All the vegetables are organic vegetables. We prefer to stir-fry these vegetables. (D-HH2)*

As mentioned above, codfish is the only one fish consumed in Taiwan which is mostly caught in the wild and imported from overseas. Two informants emphasised that they usually bought caught rather than farmed fish, reflecting the belief that fish caught in the deep ocean are less polluted and healthier than farmed

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100 ‘Organic food refers to the way agricultural products are grown and processed and involves a system of production, processing, distribution and sales that assures consumers that the products maintain the organic integrity that begins on the farm’ (OTA, 2009).

101 From interviews with B-MT4, B-TT9.
fish.

Health is also a concern in choosing cooking oil and condiments. Olive oil rather than soybean oil (shala you 沙拉油)\textsuperscript{102} or pork fat is now the most commonly used because people believe it is healthier. Another recent health-related change is a reduction in MSG consumption. Figure 4-1 indicates that annual consumption of MSG is gradually decreasing although the consumption of condiments overall is going up. Most informants said that they have learned to replace MSG by using other flavouring agents, such as hondashi\textsuperscript{103} or chicken powder, again because of health concerns. Use of other common flavouring agents, such as soy sauce, pepper, and vinegar, remains the same as before.

Figure 4-1 Marketing of MSG & flavouring agents in Taiwan, 2006-2008

![Chart showing marketing of MSG & flavouring agents in Taiwan, 2006-2008](image)

Source: TNS Survey Advising Company

**The nature of ingredients:** The third aspect of ingredients people pay attention to is their nature based on traditional yin-yang theory. The yin-yang principle in Chinese

\textsuperscript{102} Shala you (沙拉油) is also called dadoushala you (大豆沙拉油) or cooking oil (食用油). Shala you, which was originally named by Japanese, was mainly made from soy beans.

\textsuperscript{103} Hondashi, bonito stock, was invented and produced by the Ajinomoto Company of Japan. Its function is like that of MSG, but it is more healthy and natural than MSG because its ingredients include fresh fish.
medical theory calls for a balance of each and avoiding extremes in both. Food is traditionally divided into the humeral categories of ‘hot’ (yang) and ‘cold’ (yin), referring not to the temperature of foods but to their properties of ‘heating’ or ‘cooling’ the body (Kittler & Sucher, 2004, Beck, 1969, Anderson, 1998). Taiwanese food practices basically follow the yin-yang theory. For example, people eat some ‘cold’ foods in summer to reduce the summer heat in their bodies and eat ‘hot’ food in winter to warm their bodies. One informant\textsuperscript{104} mentioned that she cooks white gourd soup (冬瓜湯), a ‘cold’ food, in summer, but chicken in wine,\textsuperscript{105} a ‘hot’ food, in winter.

A person’s particular qualities, their gender, age, and also particular states such as menstruation, pregnancy, and the puerperium also influence the need for hot or cold foods (Ferro-Luzzi, 1980). Chu’s research (1993) found that Taiwanese women apply the yin-yang principle especially during the ‘sitting month’ (confinement) as they recover their strength in the month following childbirth. Most of my interviewees did the same although some did not understand the ying-yang principle but simply followed the traditional practices learned from senior members of their families.

The most important food for such women is chicken in wine.\textsuperscript{106} This dish is not only warming but is also thought to cleanse the body. All my female informants were aware that this dish is a traditional food, handed down from generation to generation. Some informants’ experiences reflecting the yin-yang theory applied to food during their postnatal recovery period follow:

\textsuperscript{104} From interview with D-MT2.
\textsuperscript{105} The main ingredients for ‘chicken in wine’ are sesame oil, ginger, and rice wine, classed as ‘hot’ foods.
\textsuperscript{106} Only one woman, D-MT2, had not eaten chicken in wine after childbirth, other 45 housewives with interviews all had chicken in wine in the sitting month.
046A: I have four kids, and [the food I ate during] the sitting-month was prepared by a different person after each birth. The first time we hired a person to do the sitting month for me cooked chicken in wine, yellow seabream (赤鯮魚), and Taiwanese lettuce. They were cooked with sesame oil. Ginger was added into the stir-fried Taiwanese lettuce... Someone told me that sesame oil is ‘hotter’, so we need this kind of food to aid recovery. This is a tradition which has been handed down for generations. (D-TT6)

032A: We just ate chicken in wine which my mother-in-law cooked for me, and pork kidney. The only vegetables we could eat were spinach and cabbage, we couldn’t eat others. (D-TT9)

To this day, the Taiwanese strongly believe that the nature of food can influence their physical condition and still insist on following this yin-yang tradition.

Cooking methods

Kaziwara (1941) thought that in the world Chinese food is sophisticated by its cooking skill. There are over thirty cooking methods for Chinese food in China, such as stir-frying (chao 炒), boiling (zhu 煮), braising (dun 慢), deep-frying (zha 炸) and steaming (zheng 蒸) (He, 1991, Yuan, 1988). Although Taiwanese food is derived from that found in Fujian province, it did not inherit the complicated and delicate Chinese cooking ways. Through the Japanese occupation it was very simple and plain (Kaziwara, 1941). Taiwanese food is mainly stir-fried, a method not used until the Wei dynasty (AD 220-557) but according to Chang (1996:3) is now the most common cooking method in modern Chinese cooking.

Other common methods used during the Japanese period, were stir-frying, frying (jian 煎), quick-boiling (tang 燙), and simmering (xun 煮). Deep-frying and steamming were mostly used for special banquets or traditional festivals (Kaziwara,
Kawabara (1943) recorded the cooking practices of Taiwanese people during the Japanese occupation:

“The Taiwanese first cooked fine shallots, garlic or leeks as herbs in oil to produce the ‘pleasant’ aroma, and then added the main ingredients later. This is called khian phang (芡香) in Taiwanese (baoxiang, 爆香). It is the first step in stir-frying. The Taiwanese stir-fry the secondary ingredients (副料) such as shredded pork, dried scallop, or small dried shrimp to add a better flavour; they call this phòethâu in Taiwanese (peitou, 配頭). Khian phang and phòethâu play key roles in producing the delicious flavour and aroma of Taiwanese dishes.”

Sakura (1903) speculates that Taiwanese were fond of garlic because garlic can help prevent the malaria which was endemic in Taiwan at that time. Currently, Taiwanese still stir-fry shallot, ginger, or garlic in hot oil to produce the so-called ‘the flavour of Taiwan cai.’ Another type of stir-frying is quick stir-frying (kuaichao 快炒), which is a way of cooking to maintain the freshness and nutrition of the ingredients. (Lee & Chen, 2007:22-23). A restaurant manager (E5) emphasised that Taiwanese-style stir-fried vegetable (台式炒青菜 taishi chao qingcai), quick stir-frying and stir-frying are done differently than elsewhere.

The other significant cooking method is frying, and fish is a typical ingredient which is cooked this way. Taiwanese traditionally believe that ‘frying’ can both overcome the ‘cold’ nature of fish, but also change the offensive odor of fish into a pleasant one. Thus, Taiwanese seldom braise or stew (lu 滷) fish. Taiwanese jian also fry tofu, dried bean curd, eggs, eggplants, rice cakes, daikon cakes (luobogao 蘿蔔糕), and glutinous rice sausages (nuomichang 糯米腸) (Kawabara, 1943). Most

107 From expert interview E-4.
women interviewed still fry fish.

Although Taiwanese generally fry fish, nowadays, being health conscious, they sometimes steam to reduce oil consumption.

010A: When my children lived with us in the past, I did the cooking myself. I usually cooked four dishes and one soup. The four dishes were one fish, one meat, and two vegetables dishes. In the past, most of the time I fried fish. I usually sprinkled salt on top of the fish to fry it, or added soy sauce without salt. But now I sometimes steam fish. (D-TT5)

Quick-boiling and simmering are also important in preparing Taiwanese food. During the Japanese period, for ordinary meals Taiwanese mainly quick-boiled vegetables or less frequently seafood when cooking dishes such as kangkong, Taiwanese lettuce, sweet potato leaves, spinach, leeks, celery, Chinese cabbages, eggplants, or less often seafood such as skipjack tuna (鰹魚) or squid; pork or chicken were quick-boiled for banquets. These quick-boiled foods were eaten with a soy sauce dip. This cooking method and eating style have been handed down and are still maintained. Some informants mentioned that they quick-boil pork as a dish with a soy sauce or soy paste dip. They also quick-boil vegetables and then add soy sauce or soy paste on top to give the food without oil more flavour. This cooking style is now regarded as a healthy one.

004A: … I usually cook dinner. I cook vegetables are like kangkong, cabbage, sweet potato leaves, celery, spinach, and cucumbers. Sometimes I stir-fry or quick-boil the vegetables…. Pork is mainly stewed with soy sauce, garlic, wine, and water. I also quick-boil pork and we eat it with a soy sauce dip. I sometimes marinate (醃) the meat with some flavouring agents and then deep-fry it. (B-TT9)

108 From interviews with B-TT3,7,9, D-MT1,2,4, 6, D-TT6,7,10.
The Taiwanese are used to stewing pork with soy sauce to make a salty food. Almost my female informants mentioned that they stewed pork with soy sauce.\textsuperscript{109} Stewed pork has become a very typical dish when Taiwanese talk about ‘Taiwanese food.’

Taiwanese people have soup with a meal. They usually make stock with pork bones.\textsuperscript{110} Common ingredients in soup are pork balls, fish balls, and diced daikon, cucumber, or corn. Some informants cater to their children and cook thick corn soup or tomato egg soup. Table 4-4 lists the cooking methods used for various ingredients in home-style cooking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Ingredients</th>
<th>Cooking methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>pork, beef</td>
<td>stewing (滷), stir-frying (炒)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pork, chicken</td>
<td>quick-boiling (燉)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable</td>
<td>kangkong, cabbage, sweet potato leaves, spinach, Taiwanese lettuce, bok coy, bean sprouts, gynura</td>
<td>stir-frying (炒)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kangkong, sweet potato leaves, Taiwanese lettuce</td>
<td>quick-boiling (燉)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>red porgy, yellow seabream, yellow croaker, golden thread, tile fish, codfish, sanma, milkfish, white pomfret</td>
<td>frying (煎)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>codfish, Japanese seaperch, sailfish</td>
<td>steaming (蒸)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soup</td>
<td>1. white gourd, squash, daikon, corn, bamboo shoot, bitter melon, cucumber (with spareribs or meatball)</td>
<td>boiling (煮)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. egg, chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{109} From interviews with B-MM1, B-MM2, B-MT1,2,3, B-HH1-4, B-TT2,3,4,6,9, D-MT1,2,4,6, D-HH1-3, D-TT1,2,3,5,8,10.

\textsuperscript{110} A Japanese book, \textit{Taiwan fengsuzhi} (臺灣風俗誌), recorded this cooking style for making stock:

“...the Taiwanese always go to market to buy some unimportant foodstuffs, such as meat bones, pig’s head, pork hock, or chicken or duck frames to make stock for soup.”
As stated above, one characteristic of everyday Taiwanese food is that it is ‘simple’.

A Hakka man opined that Taiwanese food is a simple combination of kangkong or cabbage stir-fried with shallot or garlic.\footnote{111 From interview with B-HH3.} Another simple food is a combination of the main ingredients with a picking sauce. According to a restaurant manager (E4):

019: What kind of foods do you sell in your restaurant?
020A: Taiwan cai.
021Q: What is characteristic of Taiwan cai?
022A: The Taiwanese use Taiwanese-style sauces to cook food. These sauces are made by pickling, Taiwanese made this kind of sauce living a hard life in the past. For example, yanshui wuguoyu (鹽水吳郭魚 salty water tilapia) is made with pineapple sauce and yellow bean sauce. This is an old style dish. We also have oyster with garlic paste. Taiwan cai is all just about shallots, ginger, and garlic. (E4)

Most informants regard the differences between Taiwanese and Mainlanders cooking methods is in the use of flavouring agents. Taiwanese prefer to fry main ingredients with soy sauce rather than a sweet-and-sour sauce; they also prefer to add sugar when stewing pork, but Mainlanders do not. In summary, the main cooking methods of Taiwanese food are stir-frying, stewing, frying, quick-boiling, and boiling. These methods use particular ingredients such as ginger, garlic, shallot, Chinese basil (九層塔), and ingredients such as soy sauce or rice wine as flavouring agents, to create the unique cooking style and flavours of Taiwanese food.

Flavours

The basic flavour categories of Chinese food are sour, sweet, bitter, spicy, and salty. Each locale has its own set of flavours. Sichuan cuisine, for example, has another
four words to describe its special flavours: tingly-numbing (ma 麻), astringent (se 滷), pungent (xin 辛), and strange (guai 怪) (Nakayama, 1993:39). In the past, Taiwanese food had no flavours which differed from those of Chinese food. During the Japanese period Kaziwara (1941) noted that Taiwanese used only oil and salt to flavour food. They could make soy sauce themselves, but it contained only salt, to produce a salty flavour. It was a product for poor people. They learned to use tomato sauce, MSG, and Japanese soy sauce after these three were introduced by the Japanese. The soy sauce they now use is Japanese-style, which is mainly made of soy beans.

The word ‘flavour’ has two distinct meanings: one is individual palate, the other is the accumulated life experience based on people’s cultural background along with other variables (Montanari, 2004). According to both interviewees and relevant literature, the flavour of Taiwanese food can be divided into three types: ‘familiar’ flavours, ‘original’ flavours, and the strong flavours of xiafancai (下飯菜). These have all been developed through the life experience of Taiwanese, and represent their knowledge of cultural experience.

‘Familiar flavours’ are those regarded as the typical flavours of Taiwanese food, such as stir-fried cabbage and miso soup. Their familiarity arises from people’s eating experiences, particularly family meals. Some informants mentioned the food they like as being just what they are used to eating:

022A: I seldom cook Western food. I am used to having Taiwan cai, simple dishes like snake melon soup (caigua tang 菜瓜湯) or white gourd soup. (B-TT2)

002A: … I always cook miso soup with fish and ginger.
003Q: Why do you like miso soup?
004A: My father never ate meat, he just liked Japanese food. I think I was influenced by him, so I usually cook this kind of familiar food. (B-TT5)
026A: I’m not used to Western food, but my children like it. I only cook Taiwan cai, such as stir-fried cabbage, Chinese cabbage, or beans (豆子) with steamed rice. (B-TT6)

The two restaurant managers stated that the ‘familiar flavour’ related to the use of particular herbs and flavouring agents. Both emphasised that these familiar flavours differ from those of Chinese food.

107Q: What is the feature of Taiwan cai?
108A: It contains Taiwanese flavour and the human touch (人情味).
109Q: Many people answer this question just as you did.
110A: It means ‘familiar flavours’. Particular things used to cook Taiwan cai such as shallots, ginger, and garlic. Moreover, these familiar flavours also include the flavouring agents used, such as soy sauce, soy paste, or fermented bean sauce. If you use X.O. sauce to cook fried rice (炒飯), you won’t regard it as Taiwan cai. (E-4)

008: … In the past, the Taiwanese used sugar and black vinegar to make sweet and sour (糖醋) dishes. But later they added tomato sauce to make the same dish making it different from Chinese food…. (E-5)

Lee & Chen (2007:22) highlight a characteristic of Taiwanese food as ‘original flavour’ (原汁原味), the flavour of the ingredient itself. Taiwanese food preserves the original flavour of ingredient by quick-boiling them. They are then dipped in a sauce and eaten. These sauce dips include seafood sauce (海山醬), five-flavour sauce (五味醬), and soy paste. A Minnanese woman described this style of eating in everyday meals.

004A: We eat rice for lunch and dinner. The side dishes are pork, chicken, and vegetables. The pork dish is marbled meat (三層肉) with a soy sauce dip. My daughter-in-law also stewes pork and roasts chicken. For a vegetable we
usually eat cabbage. (B-TT3)

The third group of flavours associated with Taiwanese food are the strong flavours of xiafancai. In the agricultural society of the past, the Taiwanese had xiafancai: dishes to get people to eat more rice in order to have more energy for farming. These xiafancai could be salty meats, sour vegetables, or pickled vegetables, all of have strong flavours to stimulate people’s appetite. In modern society, although Taiwanese do not need to eat as much for farming work, the concept of ‘salty’ dish has become an intrinsic part of regular Taiwanese food habits. Two Minnanese women emphasised that ‘salty’ meat is important for their regular meals:

004A: …I cook dinner by myself. For example, I fry fish, meat is stewed as a ‘salty’ dish, and the vegetables we have are kangkong or cabbage. We often cook daikon soup or bamboo shoot soup. (B-TT4)

004A: We usually cook more for dinner, and the leftovers from dinner are for lunch next. Basically, my husband needs a ‘salty’ meat, …. (D-TT8)

A Taiwanese cuisine chef (E-2) argued that xiafan is the characteristic of Taiwanese food due to people’s food practices in the past.

093Q: What is characteristic of Taiwan cai?
094A: The flavour of Taiwan cai which can get people to eat more rice is its characteristic. People worked hard in the past, they just needed some food which could get them to eat more rice. (E-2)

Most informants described that Taiwanese food is plainer and sweeter in flavour than Chinese food. Based on their experience, they consider the flavour of Chinese food to be salty, oily, sour, or spicy. Additionally, the Taiwanese believe that
Taiwanese food a familiar because it is reminiscent of their mother’s cooking and that it evokes a warm nostalgic feeling. So what Taiwanese people call ‘the flavour of Taiwanese food’ has been learned from their eating experiences.

As the above discussion demonstrates, Taiwanese food has its own unique characteristics. Taiwanese food gradually became distinctively different from both Minnan food and Chinese food. In 2001, a Taiwanese Chef, Wang Che-Wen (王哲文), published a cookbook, *The Heavenly Gift of Chinese Culinary Art- Fukien Cuisine*.\(^{112}\) Despite its title, due to Taiwan’s distinctive natural and social environment and the use of local ingredients, there is a palpable difference between the characteristics of traditional Fujian cuisine (i.e. ‘mincai’), and typical Taiwanese dishes he presents, such as barbecued mullet roe, five-flavour Taiwanese abalones, three-cup chicken, and chicken in wine. These Taiwanese dishes originated from Taiwan. Although this book stated that Chef Wang worked in a ‘Tai-cai’ restaurant at the Howard Hotel, its title which emphasises Fujian mincai, seems misleading.

**The classification of meals**

Regular meals in ordinary Taiwanese family settings are the food eaten most frequently in Taiwan. According to a major food survey in 2009,\(^ {113}\) over two-thirds of residents (78.4%) in Taiwan eat three fixed meals per day. Approximately 82.8% have dinner at home, and 64.6% of dinners are cooked by someone in their household. About three-fourths of breakfasts (72.5%) are purchased outside the home. In this section, I will divide the foods eaten at home into two categories and describe them at different times in Taiwanese history. I will first look at regular

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\(^{112}\) The book title is *Wuhuatianbao mantanxiang-mincai pian* (物華天寶滿罈香—閩菜篇 The Heavenly Gift of Chinese Culinary Art- Fukien Cuisine).

\(^{113}\) *Almanac of Food Consumption Survey in Taiwan 2009* (2009 台灣食品消費調查統計年鑑).
meals—breakfast, lunch, dinner—then at traditional feasts and foods for Lunar New Year, Dragon-boat festival, Mid-autumn festival, and other traditional festivals.

**Regular meals**

**Breakfast**

According to the *Monzoku Taiwan*, in the 1940s Taiwanese had three meals a day plus a snack in the afternoon. Breakfast consisted of congee (xifan; moài; 稀飯) served with pickled vegetables. Pickles were typically made by housewives with various vegetables such as daikon, gherkin, or white gourd, pickled with salt and fermented soy paste. Another popular pickle was fermented soy bean curd (doufuru 豆腐乳) made of tofu, fermented bean paste and salt. A Minnanese woman described how she pickled vegetables and fermented bean paste using her maternal grandmother’s recipes:

002A: I can use the fermented beans to make fermented bean paste by myself. I don’t buy it from outside. My grandmother used to do that, and I just followed her example. I also pickle turnip, cucumber, and daikon. In the past we always had this kind of pickled food for breakfast, and we also ate tofu. We only ate pickled vegetables in the morning, never for lunch or dinner. I was born in 1930 and I have always had this food habit because my grandmother always cooked this kind of food for us, so I just ate the same thing. (B-TT10)

Taiwanese also ate congee with some accompanying dishes for breakfast in the Japanese period. This dishes were identified by Japanese scholars (Ikeda, 1944; Kawahara, 1943).

1. Vegetables: pickles, tofu, dried bean curd, fried tofu, roasted peanuts, deep-fried

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114 *Monzoku Taiwan* (民俗台灣) is an ethnology journal published during World War II which always received a positive response in both Taiwan and Japan.
flour stick (iuciahke 油炸粿),\textsuperscript{115} and gynura.\textsuperscript{116}

2. Animal protein: soft pork floss (roupu 肉脯), pork floss (rousong 肉鬆),\textsuperscript{117} fish floss (yusong 魚鬆), dried meat (rougan 肉乾), pork liver, preserved, stewed or salty eggs, stewed pork, and stewed viscera (luganling 滷肝凍).

A Minnanese woman described breakfast during her childhood in the late Japanese period. She had a simple breakfast, which consisted mainly of congee and tofu or youtiao with a soy sauce dip.

\textit{008A: My parents passed away very early, so my oldest sister was in charge of cooking for us. For breakfast we only had congee with simple dishes, such as tofu with soy sauce or youtiao with soy sauce. But I thought it was still nice during my childhood. Sometimes when our financial condition improved, we could have eggs. It was very simple. (B-TT9)}

According to another Minnanese woman:

\textit{006A: Before I married, I usually had congee for breakfast. The dishes were tofu with soy sauce, kangkong, or Taiwanese lettuce. We bought hot tofu outside, and we just needed to add some soy sauce to eat.}

\textit{007Q: Do you like this kind of food?}

\textit{008A: I like it because we ate the same thing in the past; my husband also likes this...}

\textsuperscript{115} \textit{Iuciahke (油炸粿) is the Taiwanese pronunciation of youtiao (油條).}

\textsuperscript{116} According to Taiwanese custom, gynura (hongfengcai 紅鳳菜) is not allowed for dinner because gynura can make people to reproduce blood in their body during day time, but in contrast, people would lose blood if people eat gynura at night. So this dish is often eaten for breakfast or lunch. (Iketa, 1944: 195)

\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Rousong (肉鬆), also called meat wool, meat floss, pork floss, pork sung, is a dried meat product that has a light and fluffy texture similar to coarse cotton. Rousong is used as a topping for many foods such as congee, tofu, and savory soy milk. It is also used as filling for various buns and pastries, and as a snack food on its own. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rousong, viewed 26 April, 2011.}
kind of food. (D-TT6)

Basically, Taiwanese have maintained their food practices despite crossing a distinct cultural line between the Japanese occupation and the pre-democratisation period. They had congee with tofu, pickled cucumber, pickled daikon or peanuts for their breakfast. Dr. David Wu (2008) describes his breakfast, of Taiwanese food, in 1945:

Grandma ‘s hand-made pickled papaya and bamboo shoot were her favourites. The pickled papaya was extremely sour; we children dared not to eat it. We at least had youtiao, peanut, and pork floss to eat with congee, they were very nice.

After the Mainlanders came in 1945 and the American military after 1949 Taiwanese gradually acquired more options for breakfast, including Chinese and Western style breakfasts. At present, when Taiwanese eat breakfast at home, they eat some self-prepared foods such as congee or oats. Items purchased outside include buns, milk, soy-milk (doujiang 豆漿) or hamburgers and sandwiches with milk tea or coffee.

Some interviewees preferred traditional-style breakfast—congee and pickled food, fish, pork floss, or eggs despite the many options available. As one informant described her current breakfast:

002A: I make the steamed rice left over from the night before into congee, and prepare some side dishes such as vegetable, pickled vegetables, or stewed meat with white gourd (dongguadunrou 冬瓜燉肉). I also make fermented bean curd

118 From interviews with B-TT9, B-TT1, B-MT6, B-MT7, B-TT6, D-TT1, D-TT4.
Taiwanese are concerned with their nutritional intake from the first meal of a day. Some informants chose a Western style breakfast believing that and oats or wheat with milk will improve their health because they are lower in cholesterol than other alternatives. Older people generally pay more attention to health considerations than younger ones.

006A: My breakfast is oats or powdered job’s tear with milk. I have diabetes, so I also add ‘abott’ (亞培) to make my breakfast. I’ve been a nurse, so I know what kind of food I need. (D-MT3)

002A: We now have a more western style breakfast—oats. If we want to have traditional one, we eat congee with pickled vegetables.
003Q: Why you choose oats for breakfast?
004A: Oats seems healthier; we add powdered milk... We also eat congee with fermented bean curd. (D-HH2)

One Hakka retired high school teacher said she really cared about her nutrition intake and was just like a nutritionist. She described the breakfasts of her family members.

002A: My breakfast is quite special, let me show you. It is Melaleuca (美樂家) company’s product, “Mela-Up 1000”. When I get up, I have a cup of warm water first then a bottle of “Mela-Up 1000” for breakfast.
003Q: Why you want to have this kind of breakfast?

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120 Abbott is a global, broad-based health care company devoted to discovering new medicines, new technologies and new ways to manage health.
004A: It can give me energy, it’s made in Japan. After that, I have another drink with the same brand, which is soy protein isolate. It’s GM free. All my breakfast foods are liquid.

005Q: What does your husband have for breakfast?

006A: His breakfast is oats with milk and sesame seeds, sometimes with a slice of toast and jam as well. He still works, so this kind of breakfast can make him feel full.

009Q: Do you eat congee? Do you have special reasons for the choice of these breakfasts?

010A: No, oats can make people feel full and reduce their cholesterol. I think I can feel full when I’ve finished the two foods I have for breakfast. We’re very careful about food. (D-HH4)

Three other types of breakfast, those from soy milk shops, breakfast shops, and bakery, mainly eating away from home will be described in Chapter 5.

**Lunch and dinner**

In the early Japanese period, Taiwanese maintained the *fan-cai* pattern of a staple food with dishes for their daily meals. Taiwanese usually have a mixed of sweet potato with rice as their staple food–sweet potato rice. As rice was dearer, the poorer one was, the more sweet potato and less rice one ate. Poorer people also added more water, thus making the mixture into a congee, which was their staple food. A Minnanese woman described her diet during the Japanese occupation.

004A:...during the Japanese period, we ate slice sweet potato (*hoan-chê-chhiam, 芋蔭), which is grated sweet potato, then we cooked this with rice congee. So we ate sweet potato congee a lot at that time. (B-TT2)

The high-level consumption of pickles at regular meals in ordinary Taiwanese family during the colonial period at this time reflects the poverty of the colonised Taiwanese. Pickled vegetables were eaten not only at breakfast, but also at lunch and
But Taiwanese in the urban areas ate rice rather than congee for lunch or dinner because of good financial condition. The ingredients were vegetables, meat, and seafood (Kawabara, 1943). A female informant said that her family all ate rice or congee rather than sweet potato rice during the Japanese occupation due to their pretty good financial status.

020A: Someone said they always had sweet potato rice. But we did not have this kind of food during the Japanese period. We had steamed rice or congee, the dishes sometimes were dried small fish, marlin, pomfret, or pork. We had pretty good food at that time. (D-TT6)

Japanese food habits were introduced to ordinary Taiwanese family in the Japanese period, and Taiwanese started to learn how to cook or eat Japanese food around the 1930s. Taiwanese not only used miso and Japanese-style soy sauce for pickled foods (Kokubu, 1945, Ujihira, 1943), but also began to drink miso soup and made sushi at home. Moreover, Taiwanese changed to learn to eat raw food, such as raw fish and trepang (Kenfuzi, 1896, Ushi, 1934). Two Minnanese women recalled regular foods they ate during their childhood in the Japanese period:

020A: … I remember tofu was rationed during the war. We could get two and a half pieces of tofu free. I was in charge of getting it. The only Japanese cuisine we experienced during the Japanese period was miso soup. Sometimes it was miso soup with daikon, or with daikon leaves. I never ate raw fish because it was raw and at that time it was so expensive. (D-MT2)

004A: I was born in 1923. I got married when I was 21 years old in 1944. My mother-in-law was very nice. At the beginning she always cooked for us; I just gave her a hand in the kitchen. Afterwards, I started to cook. My mother-in-law always cooked traditional dishes, such as stewed pork or fish

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\[121\] From interviews with B-TT6, D-TT4.
and vegetable soup. She also cooked some Japanese-style foods, such as pickled cucumber with salt, sugar, vinegar, and pickled tofu. (B-TT2)

During World War II, the Japanese government promulgated the Outline of Management of Sweet Potato (Ganshu guanliyaogangjueding 甘薯管理要綱決定) regulations and organised a group to control the food provisions in Taiwan, the Taiwan Food provision Group (Taiwan shiliangyingtuan 臺灣食糧營團). Staple foods such as rice and sweet potato were totally controlled by the Japanese government. There was more food rationing during the war than in the previous Japanese period. The Taiwanese led a hard life during the war, unable to have rice as a regular food. An informant recalled his regular meals:

016A: During the war time, we had nothing to eat but vegetables. We only could eat 'slice sweet potato'. We couldn’t get any rice during this period. (B-TT10)

The KMT government takeover of Taiwan from Japan in 1945 did not immediately change the foods consumed by the Taiwanese; they still ate mainly congee, thin noodle soup or rice with stir-fried cabbage or sweet potato leaves, vegetable soup or miso soup. Middle-class families could have stewed pork or fried sailfish as part of their lunch or dinner. Two women described their home meals at the time, which included both Taiwanese and Japanese foods:

012A: When I was a child, my mum cooked for us. After I married, I cooked for my husband. I cooked what he liked. He liked Japanese food very much, especially raw fish. He was born in Japan; and his family were all educated there. My family has a similar background, so it’s not hard for me to cook Japanese

122 From interviews with B-TT9 and D-TT1.
123 From interviews with B-TT6 and D-TT6.
foods, such as sushi, and stirred rice (まぜごはん). My husband likes miso soup so much; we drank this soup every morning during the Japanese period, and we were still having it during the KMT period. (D-TT3)

020A: After my marriage, I steam minced pork because my mother-in-law had no teeth. Sometimes I simmered Chinese cabbage soup with fish skin (yupi 魚皮). We also like miso soup. At that time we weren’t rich enough to add fish to the miso soup, so more often than not we put tofu in it. (D-TT6)

Mainland foods were also incorporated into Taiwanese style cooking through mixed-ethnic marriages. Although most Taiwanese families had their regular meals at home in Taiwanese style, some Taiwanese women who married Mainlanders had more opportunities to learn how to cook mainland-style foods. Their Taiwanese food habits were gradually influenced by mixed-ethnic marriages.

012A: We had Taiwan cai in my parent’s house, but he cooked mainland food, so that was a big difference between us. He liked chilli very much and bought a lot from the market. I told him it’s not a good idea because I had different food preferences from his, so at the beginning he tried out having his meals separately. After I gave birth, he didn’t eat spicy food any more. I liked kangkong soup, Chinese cabbage soup, but he didn’t like plain-flavour food, so he always cooked what he liked. The flavours of his cooking were heavy, so at that time we did our best to negotiate with each other. Finally, he became assimilated. (D-MT6)

The Taiwanese incorporated Japanese, Western, and mainland food elements into Taiwanese food in the Japanese and pre-democratisation periods. According to my interviewees, most Taiwanese still maintain the ‘fan-cai’ pattern as their basic food pattern. But some of the home-cooked dishes express the fusion culture: miso soup and mayonnaise are from Japan, Chinese fried pancake from mainland China, and corn thick soup and salad are from the West. A Minnanese woman talked about dinner at her home, a combination of Taiwanese, Western and Japanese dishes:
004A: I live with my son’s family and we seven people have meals together; this includes our foreign housekeeper. I like spinach (菠菜) and cabbage, we often cook these vegetables. I also like eggplant ( Kıng-phôe-chhài 菜) (紅皮菜). I am a Tainan person; we only eat fish which is fresh. The vegetables can be in a salad with mayonnaise [here she used the Japanese term], things like cucumber or peas.... (D-TT3)

Another major Japanese influence was the introduction of biandang (lunch boxes 便當) in the Japanese period. A biandang is a lunch taken to school or work from home or a bought lunch, packed in a container. The term ‘eating biandang’ (chibiandan 吃便當) now means having simple food which is prepared at home or bought from lunch box shops (biandang dian 便當店), cafeteria shops (zizhucan dian 自助餐店), or even convenient stores.125

Lunch for most of my interviewees was simpler than their dinner. They usually cook some simple dishes with the leftover from the previous night’s dinner or just prepare biandang with the leftover for their lunch.

004A: Our lunch is just rice and some dishes. I bring my biandang for working lunch, and I also prepare one more biandang for my mother. She can eat at home. The rice and side dishes for lunch are just from dinner. (D-HH1)

Although elements of Japanese, Western and Chinese style cooking have been incorporated into their cooking, Taiwanese can still generally distinguish Taiwanese

124 The word ‘biandang’ is a borrowing from the Japanese name ‘bento’ (弁当 in kanji, べんとう in hiragana, bentō in romanji) although the history of biandang can be dated back to Zhou dynasty in China. The alternative name used in China is fanhe (飯盒). The term bianddang and this kind of eating habit were introduced to Taiwan from Japan during the Japanese occupation. Bianddang is a meal set which is prepared to put in a container for take away for school or a working meal.

125 It is like 7-11, or Family-mart shops.
food from these others. Most informants, for example, can identify mutton hot pot (shuanyangrou 涮羊肉) and jiaozi as mainland food, and ‘tempura’ as Japanese food, but oyster omelettes as a typical Taiwanese food. In fact, regardless of whether these dishes originated from Taiwanese concerned are only about a food’s flavour. They are not particular about its ‘origin’ anymore.

049Q: Do you know where ‘mutton hot pot’ is from?
050A: It’s from mainland China.
051Q: How about jiaozi?
052A: It’s also from mainland China. I remember the first time for me to make dumplings when I was in kindergarten. Those Mainlanders could make the dumpling skin all by themselves, they did it very quickly.
053Q: Where is tempura from?
054A: I dare not eat fried food, but I like oren (おでん in Japanese, 黒輪) and also cabbage roll (gaolicaijuan 高麗菜卷). They are Japanese liaoli.
055Q: How about oyster omelettes?
056A: …I think it originated from Taiwan.
057Q: When you chose what kind of food you want, do you consider its origin?
058A: No, you don’t need to make things complicated. (D-TT5)

063Q: Do you know where ‘mutton hot pot’ is from?
064A: I have no idea.
065Q: How about jiaozi?
066A: From northern China. For example, pork meatball (shizitou 獅子頭) is from Shanghai, and Dongporou (東坡肉) is Shanghai cai as well.
067Q: Where is tempura from?
068A: Is it from Japan? It is a deep-fried style in Japan, but we modified it.
069Q: How about oyster omelettes?
070A: It’s just from Taiwan; it’s a special Tainan snack food.
071Q: When you chose what kind of food you want, do you consider its origin?
072A: I never think about that.(D-TT6)

Jiaozi are now another food often eaten in Taiwanese home. One Minnanese and one Hakka women both mentioned jiaozi as being part of their regular meals at home:
012A: ...My dinner is just like lunch. Sometimes I make myself jiaozi, but not too often. I also make myself soy milk and fried spring-onion pancakes for breakfast. (B-TT10)

046A: Our family is a small one, so we make dumplings ourselves. We’re used to having dumplings with cabbage or bottle gourd (hugua 蔬瓜 in season as filling. If we’re sick of bottle gourd soup, we will make jiaozi with hugua. (B-HH2)

Choice of food at present is affected by the trend toward healthy eating and concerns to have nutritional balance and functional diets. Whitehead (1982) classes vegetables as a healthy food but pork as causing ill health, particularly hypertension. The Taiwanese now incorporate more healthy elements into their normal meals, as is demonstrated in changes in Taiwanese food. The age of family members is directly associated with decisions about what goes into regular meals. A grandmother, for example, explained that when her grandchildren’s came to visit, her cooking was influenced by their nutrition needs and favourite dishes:

004A: I at least cook a dish of vegetables and a dish of boiled chicken for each dinner. If my grandchildren join our meal, then I prepare fish or stir-fried shredded meat (rousi 肉絲) with potato, corn, or water bamboo for them because they’re growing now. (D-MT1)

The elderly have different food requirements. Old people normally prefer light food because of their health concerns. A Hakka woman talked about the foods they eat related to their age:

126 From interviews with D-MT1, D-MT2, D-MT4, D-MT5, D-TT3, D-TT4, D-TT5, D-TT6, D-TT7, D-HH2, D-HH3, D-HH4, B-MM1, B-MH3, B-MT7, B-TT2, B-TT4, B-TT5, B-TT7, B-TT8, and B-HH1.
072A: My husband likes fat meat so much, I also like pork kidney (豬肝) with sesame oil (麻油) and rice wine (米酒), but now we dare not eat that because of our age. We now only eat a few internal organs.

073Q: Do you use pork fat?

074A: No, we used soybean oil in the past. Someone said this kind of oil is not good, so we changed over to vegetable oil. At present we use olive oil for cooking. (D-HH3)

Some informants followed the government health slogan, advising people to eat ‘low oil, low sugar, low salt, high fibre, high calcium, and ‘five vegetables a day’ to maintain their physical condition. They described the changes to their food choices which came about in response to Western concepts and knowledge of health becoming widespread:

030A: In regard to reducing oil and salt, the vegetables I buy now have no harmful effects on us. I like bitter melon; even the newspapers and magazines report that bitter melon is good for the secretion of bile, and cabbage and broccoli are good as well. My husband also takes some vitamins and calcium tablets. In a normal day he just eats simple foods. (D-MT4)

024A: My husband has gout which affects his foot joint and can’t eat spring onions or drink beer, so he chooses dishes such as stir-fried small dried fish (yugan 魚乾) with green chilli, or fermented soybeans (douchi 豆豉). He eats healthy foods now, which means less oil and no frying. All the ingredients are just boiled in water. If a layer of oil on top of the stock will block our blood vessels and cause a stroke, it’s not worth eating it. Now it’s better to eat lighter foods. I’ve fallen over before, so I need more collagen (jiaozhi 膠質). My husband doesn’t dare to eat salted food now, and has only half as much salt and less chilli as well. Actually, chilli and garlic can kill bacteria; they’re OK for us to eat. (D-MT5)

Another food change related to health considerations is the increased consumption

127 Vegetable oil is like sunflower or canola oil.
of organic food and brown rice.\footnote{Brown rice is unmilled or partly milled rice, a kind of whole, natural grain. It has a mild nutty flavor, is chewier and more nutritious than white rice, but goes rancid more quickly because the germ—which is removed to make white rice—contains fats that can go bad. Any rice, including long-grain, short-grain, or sticky rice, may be eaten as brown rice. See \url{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brown_rice}, viewed 10 June, 2011.} White rice was the normal rice as staple food for people in Taiwan, but due to health concerns, some people tried changing from white to brown rice. A number of interviewees mentioned this change:

\begin{quote}
002A:... We cook brown rice, fish, and vegetables (for lunch) at home. The vegetables I like contain chlorophyll. Most of the time we stir-fried the vegetables, sometimes I just quick-boil them. Only I and my husband eat together, so our dinner is similar; we only eat brown rice. (B-TT5)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
002A:... I eat brown rice with sweet potato leaves every single day of the year. I cook for myself. I should do something because I’m old. My grandchildren cook dinner for me. I still eat brown rice, and they also cook sweet potato leaves for me. I usually have two bowls of brown rice. They also fry fish and quick-boil lean meat with a soy sauce dip for me. (B-TT7)
\end{quote}

In summary, along with their accumulated life experiences, Taiwanese localised many exotic foodstuffs to become a part of Taiwanese home-style food, even \textit{bahkut teh} (肉骨茶)\footnote{It is a traditional food in South-eastern Asia, especially popular in Singapore and Malaysia.} from South-east Asia became an option for some home cooking in current Taiwanese society.\footnote{From interviews with D-HH1, B-HH1.} The other significant determinant which has influenced the development of Taiwanese food is health: ‘eating healthy and natural’ means a diet with less fat, sugar, MSG, cholesterol, and salt. Healthy foods such as whole grains, brown rice, organic food, and vegetarian food are now popular. ‘Eating healthy’ was gradually incorporated into Taiwanese food and has become significant practice. Taiwanese food containing Minnan, Mainlander, and Japanese
elements has incorporated a ‘health’ element; this is not related to Taiwan’s colonial history, but is part of a global trend.

**Traditional feasts**

There are special traditional foods which symbolise significant meanings on particular occasions in Taiwan, such as daikon cakes and chicken for Chinese New Year, rice dumplings (zongzi 棗子) for the Dragon-Boat Festival (端午節), and mooncakes for the Mid-Autumn Festival (中秋節). Generally speaking, rice products especially glutinous rice, are a major food for most traditional festivals. They symbolise nourishment. Taiwanese make glutinous rice stuffed dumplings (tangyuan 湯圓) for the winter solstice and Lantern Festival. Other similar foods—such as glutinous rice cakes (migao 米糕) and glutinous rice congee (migaozhou 米糕粥)—are served for other feasts (Lin & Chung, 1988).

The display of particular foods during Taiwanese traditional festivals reveals essential aspects of Taiwanese food culture and also the preservation of Taiwanese culture over the years. Taiwanese culture is mostly derived from China, brought by Han migrants from Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Traditional feasts are therefore similar to those of southern China, especially Xiamen (Copper, 1996). Subsequently Taiwanese developed their own unique ways of preparing traditional foods at festivals. In the next section I will describe the foods associated with each significant traditional festival in Taiwan and examine their changes over the course of Taiwanese history.

**Lunar New Year**

The traditional foods for Lunar New Year in Taiwan have the special significance handed-down through Chinese custom: the traditional Chinese use of homonyms is
expressed locally with local ingredients related to the Taiwanese language (Minnan language). The Lunar New Year is the most important festival, celebrating the coming of the New Year: it is the most important time to have family reunions. Taiwanese always prepare a large variety of dishes. Households of different ethnic backgrounds prepare various symbolic foods based on their traditions: it is easy to identify people’s ethnic background through what they eat at this festival. For Taiwanese, there are some typical dishes, such as ‘daikon soup’, which are believed to bring good luck (hò-chhái-thâu in Taiwanese, 好彩頭) for the following year. A whole chicken symbolizes the complete family (khí-ke in Taiwanese, 起家); leaf mustard (jiecai 芥菜) called sìông-liân chhài (長年菜) in Taiwanese symbolizes long life. Food is prepared not only for consumption, but also for religious purposes as offerings to the gods and ancestors. A Minnanese informant described some special dishes she prepares for Lunar New Year:

023Q: What special food do you prepare at home for Lunar New Year?  
024A: The food for Lunar New Year is one of the old customs. Things like long-life vegetables, leaf mustard, which is always a good dish with rice, means long-life. Daikons (蘿蔔) mean good luck. When we prepare foods to offer to the gods (bàibài 拜拜) - chicken and duck are necessary…. (D-TT9)

Some dishes are less popular nowadays, for example thickened sweet potato flour (qian fanshufen 芡蕃薯粉). Kawabara (1943) noted it as a special dish for Lunar New Year during the Japanese period. It was made of 80% sweet potato flour and 20% small dried shrimp, vegetables, and pork fat. It is flexible and dough-like. It

131 拜拜 Bàibài, also written paipai, is form of worship and offerings for gods and ancestors. Chinese/Taiwanese offer foods to gods and ancestors at home or temple, they eat them afterward.

132 Kawabara used the doufanshufen (豆蕃薯粉) meaning qianfan shufen (芡蕃薯粉 ‘thickened sweet potato flour’). Qianfan shufen (芡蕃薯粉) was the name used by Taiwanese.
symbolizes the whole family being able to work hard together to celebrate Lunar New Year.

Some of my Taiwanese interviewees had eaten it in the past. The cook must have strong arms to stir the very sticky foodstuff in the wok. It was extremely demanding work. These days only the older people know how to cook it, but as they are getting older, their physical strength is also declining, so now prefer easily prepared foods for Lunar New Year. One 80 year-old Minnanese informant recalled:

060A: In the past, my grandmother always prepared ‘thickened sweet potato flour’ and asked everyone to have one bite; this meant the whole family would stay together. I’ve cooked this dish before, but now I don’t want to cook it because only I and my son live together. It seems only Hoklo people eat this food. (B-TT10)

Another had a different meaning for this dish:

038A: I ate thickened sweet potato flour before marriage. My older sister told me that it meant that people and money can be brought together. (B-TT9)

In mixed-ethnic households, the foods for Lunar New Year represent a good opportunity to remember their old home and eat hometown food, and in particular to remind their children not to forget their origins. In Mainlander husband-Taiwanese wife households, most husbands want their wives to prepare foods from their home areas to celebrate Lunar New Year and would teach them how if they did not know. These dishes symbolise different meanings; for example, dumpling—jiaozi—sounds very similar to a term for the time to start the new year, though the characters are different; in addition, the shape of dumplings is like ancient money, so money
will come to those who eat dumplings on Lunar New Year eve.\textsuperscript{133} However, interviewee wives still prepared some Taiwanese-style new-year foods.\textsuperscript{134} Mainlander husbands generally know the meaning of these Taiwanese dishes, and over time some no longer insist on having their mainland foods\textsuperscript{135} if young family members dislike them.

Nowadays, as wives are more likely to be in the work force and life moves at a busier pace, many home cooks have less time to prepare Lunar New Year foods. This has created niche for the restaurant industry to fill, and it has created convenient take-away or home-delivered dishes. Such dishes have become popular in Taiwan since the turn of the century (Hsieh, 2002). The most popular such dish is ‘Buddha's Casserole’. It was not originally a typical dish for Lunar New Year, but it is easy to cooking which makes it the most popular sale item at the Lunar New Year period, and its expensive ingredients have made it essential. Buddha's Casserole has thus gradually become a traditional food for this event. Some interviewees were dissatisfied with these take-away dishes, but rather than going back to preparing the meal themselves, they say they will buy from a different restaurant next year. In the words of one housewife,

\begin{quote}
036A, My husband is responsible for buying the chicken and fish for Chinese New Year. … but now, we just buy take-away. The year before last, all our New Year dishes were take-away. I ordered them from a restaurant in Neihu. They have Buddha's Casserole, but I don’t like their idea because I need to wash the pot if we can’t finish this dish. One time the soup they prepared was chicken soup with ginseng (rensen jitang 人蔘雞湯), but it was too oily. Now I think the best way is to buy some take-away foods, but I need to prepare some
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Nianyefan 年夜飯} is the meal prepared for the family reunion on Chinese New Year’s eve.
\textsuperscript{135} From interview with B-MT1.
A Mainlander household also booked take-away Buddha's Casserole for Lunar New Year. His wife mentioned the food they had for a recent Chinese New Year:

032A: We absolutely have to have cured meat and cured Chinese sausages. Stewed meatballs (紅燒獅子頭) and Buddha's Casserole are from the take-away. A good–quality one is about NT800, common ones are NT500. If we don’t think the food is good then the following year we’ll change to another restaurant. The soup we cook is 'yuanyuan manman’ (圓圓滿滿) soup, which can be a hot pot (火鍋) with fish balls and fish dumplings. We always buy two big fish, but we don’t eat them: fish means surplus for the following year. So, we stew the fish and put tofu on top the next day. I have two sons, one daughter, and two grandchildren. My husband usually prepares dumplings and puts some peanuts or sultanas inside some of them: if someone gets one of those ones, they can receive a 'red envelope.’ (B-MM1)

Take-aways and eating-out for Lunar New Year have become popular in Taiwan over the last decade. Although some household heads are still “stuck in their houses” having the traditional family reunion, other people have gradually grown to select from a more the limited choice of items from restaurant menus to celebrate Lunar New Year. ‘Buddha's Casserole’ has imperceptibly become a typical dish for this traditional day.

**Dragon-Boat Festival**

Another vital traditional food is rice dumplings for the Dragon-boat festival. This is held on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month and features boat races to honour those who wanted to save a beloved scholar-statesman-poet, Qu Yuan (屈原). During this festival Taiwanese make rice dumplings as offerings for gods and ancestors.

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Although the tradition of making and eating rice dumplings was introduced from China, Taiwanese gradually created their own versions. There are a number of different types found: Southern-region rice dumplings; Northern-region rice dumplings; soda rice dumplings (jianzong 鹼粽); and Hakka and Mainlander style ones. The most popular types are the southern and northern region ones. Although rice dumplings have a shared traditional meaning during the Dragon-boat Festival, the rivalry expressed regarding these two variations on rice dumplings shows Taiwanese are strongly concerned with their hometown identity. Although I did all my household interviews in Taipei, some informants were migrants from southern Taiwan. When they talked about rice dumplings during interviews, their ideas were in conflict. Two female Taipei informants said their families only eat northern-region rice dumplings.

039Q: What food did you have for the Dragon-Boat Festival?

040A: This year I made rice dumplings myself. I make them with glutinous rice, dried mushrooms and scallops. The rice dumplings I made are northern-region style. I also sometimes buy them, but I only buy northern-region style. The southern-region-rice-ones are too soft and we’re not used to them. My husband and children all like the northern-region rice dumplings. It is a food habit from childhood times.

041Q: Did you eat rice dumplings during the Japanese occupation?

042A: We still had northern-region rice dumplings during the Japanese period. (D-TT6)

034A: We made northern-region rice dumplings, which are sticky rice dumplings, I heard someone say that southern rice ones are made by boiling them in water as opposed to steaming them. Southern-region rice dumplings aren’t suitable for us. What you eat depends on what you’re used to. (D-TT1)

In contrast, two other, from Changhua and Kaohsiung, both made southern-region rice dumplings:
044A: We made Taiwanese rice dumplings, which are southern-region rice dumplings. We don’t eat sticky rice dumplings, and nobody likes the Taipei style. (D-MT1)

035Q: What food did you have for the Dragon-Boat Festival?
036A: It wasn’t special, I used to make rice dumplings, but now I just buy the cooked ones. The rice dumplings we made were southern-region rice dumplings. The rice is boiled in water. If we want to buy the cooked ones, the only type we choose is the southern-region rice dumplings. The southern-region rice dumplings are less oily than the northern-region ones. (D-MT4)

Soda rice dumplings are a variety for all Taiwanese which were mainly made and eaten in the past. Soda rice dumplings are the best offerings for the Buddha because they are vegetarian. Most Taiwanese now buy soda rice dumplings for worship instead of making them themselves. According to Taiwanese customs, if a family member has passed away, the family cannot prepare any kind of rice dumplings on this day for one year, but a daughter who is already married or other relatives need to send them some for ancestor worship. Most Taiwanese still follow this tradition:

031Q: Did you make rice dumplings for the Dragon-Boat Festival?
032A: Yes,…. Following the old customs, if there were no soda rice dumplings in someone’s house, it meant that something had happened in the family. If someone has passed away, they cannot buy or make rice dumplings for the following Dragon-Boat Festival: their married daughter needs to send some to them. Worship is allowed, but an outsider needs someone to prepare rice dumplings. (D-TT8)

Taiwanese generally follow their tradition of preparing traditional foods to express their respect to ancestors and gods, but they now usually buy them instead of
making them themselves. This reflects social change.

029Q: What food do you eat at the Dragon-Boat Festival?
030A: I make it myself, but my husband asked me not to if there’s nobody at home. I used to stir the rice for the stuffing. My children prefer the ones I make. (B-TT5)

**Mid-Autumn Festival**

In Taiwan, mooncakes and barbeques (BBQ) are the main foods for Mid-Autumn Festival, but while mooncakes are the traditional food, BBQ is a new addition. The Mid-Autumn Festival occurs on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month. In the lunar calendar, the first of the month is the new moon and the fifteenth is the full moon; the full moon of the eighth month is thought to be the fullest moon of all. According to my interviewees, Taiwanese had mooncakes during the Mid-Autumn Festival during the Japanese period. They now normally prepare rich foods, including mooncakes, as offerings for the ancestors and gods. Most still insist on having mooncakes to celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival, but they now care more about the taste and brand so they buy from particular shops known for their quality.

Having a barbecue (BBQ) at this time is a new Mid-Autumn Festival tradition which began with in the 1980s and has become widespread. It is also another occasion for family reunion, especially for the younger generation. An informant mentioned

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137 From interviews with D-MT2, 4, 5, D-TT4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, D-HH3, 4, B-MM1, B-MT1, 5, 7, B-TT1, 3, 5, 8, and B-HH1.

138 Mooncake (yuebing 月餅) is a Chinese bakery product traditionally eaten during the Mid-Autumn Festival. The festival is for lunar worship and moon watching; mooncakes are regarded as an indispensable delicacy on this occasion. Mooncakes are offered between friends or on family gatherings while celebrating the festival. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mooncake, viewed 10 June 2011.


140 From interviews with D-TT9, D-HH3, and D-HH4.
that the BBQ is the most important activity in their Mid-Autumn Festival:

037Q: Did you prepare any special food for the Mid-Autumn Festival?
038A: We eat mooncakes during the Mid-Autumn Festival; and I also prepare moon cake and pomelos (柚子) as offerings. A couple of years ago, we always had a BBQ for this day. Since my daughters married, always have to decide on where to have a BBQ, especially since my two daughters now each have two kids. They said it isn’t a Mid-Autumn Festival if we don’t have a BBQ on this day. (D-TT6)

Other traditional festivals

Most traditions in Taiwan were introduced from the Minnan area in southern Fujian province. Some were regarded as undesirable customs and forbidden in China after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), for example pudu (普渡) (Shih, 1998). As a result the practice of some traditional festivals by default became unique to culture in Taiwan, and the foods especially associated with these events have also remained and become part of traditional Taiwanese food culture.

People believe that by ‘eating baibai’ (吃拜拜) means they can have the gods’ blessings if they eat the offerings after the religious observances. Baibai is a very common form of offerings on special traditional days in Taiwan. During the Han settlement, the Han Taiwanese held a number of specific feasts on occasions such as Lunar New Year, or Zhongyuan Festival. For example, most Taiwanese always prepare abundant foods to offer to the ghosts, called pudu, which is the major event

141 The seventh lunar month is the ghost month. On the 1st day of this month the door of the ghost realm [hell], called ‘ghost door’, will open, and then close again on the last day of this month. The Taiwanese always prepare a lot of food as offerings for ghosts on these two days, and also on zhongyuan jie (中元節) the 15th day of this month. Zhongyuan jie is sometimes called the ‘Hungry Ghost Festival’ in English. Taiwanese always hold the largest baibai and pudu for Zhongyuan Festival to have the gods’ blessings and avoid disturbances from ghosts.
of the Zhongyuan festival (Tseng, 2006:190). These abundant foods, as well as *pantoh* foods, are mainly eaten by their relatives, friends, and clients after the ceremonial observances.

*Baibai* is not only a way to show respect to the gods and ancestors, but also a good opportunity to hold a family reunion. The *baibai* offerings basically consist of the flesh of three domestic animals (*sansheng* 三牲): pork, a whole chicken, and a whole fish. In the 1950s, Taiwanese only had budget style food for their regular meals; *baibai* occasions were a good time for them to enjoy some luxury foods, such as chicken and pork. One informant mentioned *baibai* 52 times in his diary between 1952 and 1961, which indicates its significance. He emphasised that all these traditional festivals are based on Taiwanese or *benshengren* customs:

*Today’s baibai is for weiya,*[^142] which is a Taiwanese custom. People who did some business here needed to prepare chicken and pork as offerings for worship. *(Dairy entry 20/1/1954)*

*Today is also the day for benshengren’s baibai in the 3rd lunar month. This is to worship ancestors by sweeping their graves. All the households prepared chicken or duck…. *(Dairy entry 15/4/1954)*

In his diary entries, this informant mentioned a number of traditional festivals in the 1950s where they had *baibai* for offerings but also ate *baibai* with their family or friends. These traditional festivals included the birthday of *Wu Mingwang* (五冥王 Five Lords of the Netherworld—23rd day of the 4th lunar month), the birthday of *Chenghuang*[^143] (城隍爺—15th day of the 5th lunar month), *Zhongyuan* month (15th

[^142]: A year-end banquet for employees.

[^143]: A deity in Chinese mythology, sometimes known in English as the “God of the City Walls” or the “City God”.

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day of the 7th lunar month), the last day of the ghost month (29th day of the 7th lunar month), and the Chungyeung (重陽) Festival (9th day of the 9th lunar month).\textsuperscript{144}

Details of some specific foods with special symbolic meanings associated with different traditional festivals which Taiwanese knew about preparing in the 1950s are shown in Table 4-5.

Table 4-5 Traditional food for various traditional festivals in the 1950s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional festival</th>
<th>Date of Lunar calendar</th>
<th>Traditional associated food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qingming (清明節)</td>
<td>3rd day of the 3rd lunar month</td>
<td>jün-piá (MSC runbing, 润饼 mixed vegetable rolls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannian (半年 Mid year)</td>
<td>15th day of the 6th lunar month</td>
<td>sweet stuffed dumpling (tangyuan 湯圓) (to appreciate the gods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhit-niù-má se (MSC qiniangma sheng, birthday of Seven Goddesses)</td>
<td>7th day of the 7th lunar month</td>
<td>glutinous rice (youfan 油飯), jijiu (雞酒 chicken in wine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lidong (立冬 Beginning of winter)</td>
<td>no fixed date, around the 9th lunar month</td>
<td>nourishment, such as chicken wine (for warming their body to welcome the coming of winter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongzhi (冬至 winter solstice)</td>
<td>no fixed date, around the 11th lunar month</td>
<td>sweet stuffed dumpling (to have a family reunion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weiya\textsuperscript{145} (尾牙)</td>
<td>16th day of the 12th lunar month</td>
<td>mixed vegetable rolls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most my interviewees reported they still have baibai for each traditional festival except Christian ones. The abundant traditional food offerings are usually prepared for the ghosts and gods on Zhongyuan Festival: mixed vegetable rolls, jün-piá (runbing 润饼), and koah-bau (gebao 割包) to celebrate weiya (尾牙); glutinous

\textsuperscript{144} The date mentioned for all Taiwanese traditional festivals is based on the lunar calendar.

\textsuperscript{145} A year-end banquet for employees.
rice (youfan 油飯) and chicken in wine for birthday of Seven Goddess (chhit-niû-má 七娘媽生). One Taiwanese woman described the meanings of the traditional foods for weiya:

026A: … We eat mixed vegetable rolls at weiya, they symbolize rolled money. The other food is koah-bau, which means wrapped money. The stuffing contains salted vegetables. (B-TT2)

Rice products are a key traditional food for Taiwanese traditional festivals. A Hakka man knew which type of rice cake should be prepared for some particular festivals:

049Q: What kind of cake do you eat for the Lunar New Year?
050A: We Hakka people eat sweet cake (ti-kóe 甜粿) and fa cake (hoatguo 發粿) at New Year; but Minnan people eat daikon cakes. I don’t know why, just ‘to eat’. We prepare Hakka-style steamed vegetable buns for the winter solstice and chauake (caozaiguò 草仔粿) in the first lunar month. Minnan people prepare chauake and daikon cakes for the Chungyeung Festival (重陽節). The pronunciation of Taiwanese word for the ‘cake’ is ‘gou’ which sounds like the word meaning ‘high’. So if people eat these cakes, they can be raised to a high position. (B-HH3)

The traditional food customs outlined above are still preserved and practised by Taiwanese people at present, which highlights the significance of Taiwanese customs in Taiwanese society. Traditional Taiwanese customs have been handed down from generation to generation, and these traditional foods still maintain their particular roles in shaping Taiwanese food culture and they add special meanings to Taiwanese food practices. These specific food items have become part of Taiwanese food culture.

**Conclusion**
This chapter has first presented various views on and definitions of Taiwanese food. Most people agreed that Taiwanese food originated from Fujian province, but it was localised by local residents responding to Taiwan’s natural environment and adopting local and exotic ingredients. Taiwanese food has been also broadly regarded as a constitution of four types of ethnic food: Taiwanese, Mainland, Hakka, and Aboriginal foods (Chang 1997), a view based on the concept of a new Taiwanese consciousness.

Secondly, I have analysed the essential characteristics of Taiwan food using data from the interviews and questionnaire responses. This included identifying and discussing the ingredients, flavours, and cooking methods which constitute current Taiwanese food. In terms of the ingredients, Taiwanese are concerned about the familiarity, health, and nature of ingredients. The main cooking methods of Taiwanese food are stir-frying, stewing, frying, quick-boiling, and boiling. In these cooking methods, local people use particular ingredients such as ginger, garlic, shallot, Chinese basil, and soy sauce or rice wine as flavouring agents, and this create the unique cooking style and flavours of Taiwanese food. Familiar flavours, original flavours, and the strong flavours of *xiafancai* are identified as the unique characteristic flavours of Taiwanese food. These characteristics have all developed through the life experiences of Taiwanese and represent their cultural experience.

I have also used data from the interviews to illustrate the development of Taiwanese home-style dishes and explore how traditional food habits have been combined with novel ingredients, creating new Taiwanese-version foods selected in conjunction with individuals’ own needs, preferences, and experiences. Taiwanese food contains both very specific historically determined elements: Minnan, Mainlander, and Japanese elements, and also elements which reflect global concepts: health, exotic or other ethnic elements. This is examined from the perspective of
changes in home cooking.

Although Taiwanese have gradually learnt more about more foods through popular education and wider availability of information, they still maintain their traditions and continue to eat their traditional foods on special occasions. This clearly shows that home-cooking is still strongly connected to family identity, including people’s personal and ethnic identities.
Chapter 5
Eating Out

People not only eat at home, but also eat out. Eating out can be an expression of people’s individual identity, such as their personal food preferences, age, sex, social status, class, and/or religion (Fox 2007, Atkins & Bowler 2001). Eating out can also reveal people’s ethnic and/or national identity (Kim 1998, Anderson 2007). Modes of eating out have become a principal form in which social distinction can be expressed through food consumption (Warde, 2000:6). In Taiwan, people have diverse options for eating out mainly because of their colonial history and because of rapid economic development since the 1970s. The frequent consumption of regular meals in particular types of eateries out illustrates Taiwanese food practices. The cuisine choices made to celebrate special occasions are expressions of both different individual preferences and changes in the restaurant industry. In this chapter, I will explore the considerations informing cuisine choices when Taiwanese eat out on special occasions and for regular family meals. I will then examine the significance of eating out regularly in Taiwan using data from the interviews. In the last section I will analyse the consumption in the two Taiwanese restaurants where I distributed questionnaires examining what people ordered, respondents’ recognition of Taiwanese food, and the understanding of Taiwanese food which can be surmised from their food consumption.

Cuisine choices for eating out

According to the questionnaire data from two Taiwanese restaurants, AoBa and Shin
Yeh, as shown in Table 5-1 over one third of respondents (38.8%) prefer Japanese cuisine when dining out, other preferred restaurants are Chinese restaurants 31%, and Western restaurants 22.1%; only 4% of respondents preferred fast-food outlets. This result echoes the findings of Wong (2009) and Chou (2006) mentioned in Chapter 3 that Japanese cuisine is the first choice among foreign foods for Taiwanese. In order to obtain a deeper understanding, I will draw on data from the interviews to illustrate a number of factors which affect people’s cuisine choices when they eat out: personal taste preferences based on people’s individual palate, familiar flavours from people’s eating experiences, the value and perceived nutritional value of the ingredients, novel foods and local specialities, and social status.

Table 5-1 Type of restaurant preferred when eating out

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of restaurant</th>
<th>Selected on how many questionnaires</th>
<th>Percentage of ‘Preferred’ selections</th>
<th>Percentage of 188 Questionnaires (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese restaurant</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese restaurant</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western restaurant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast food outlet</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean restaurant</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>178.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

188 valid responses in this section of the questionnaire; 0 invalid responses

**Individual palate** - *personal taste preferences based on one’s individual palate*

Individual palate is related to individual sensation of flavours experienced by the tongue and palate, and even the aroma, and giving rise to people’s own personal

146 Respondents could indicate more than one preference.
preferences, their ‘taste’ in food. Most of my interviewees identified ‘delicious’ (好吃) as one of the reasons for their food choices when eating out. A Minnanese informant used the phrase jinjin youwei (津津有味)\(^{147}\) 23 times in entries he made in his diary about food he had eaten, commenting on how tasty it was. He included BOTH Taiwanese style food, such as fried rice noodles (chao mifen 炒米粉), and mainland food such as BBQ duck (jiangyarou 江鴨肉) and fried dumplings. This indicates that Taiwanese and Mainland foods were both available in Taiwan during the pre-democratisation period, and that the mainland foods were also accepted by Taiwanese.

We stepped into a restaurant to have dinner. We had rice and BBQ duck meat, stir-fried Chinese cabbage with shredded pork (chao rousi baicai 炒肉絲白菜), and pork rib soup (paigutang 排骨湯). I ate ‘jinjin youwei’. I was really happy. (Dairy entry 17/11/1953)

(Today’s) lunch was fried rice noodles; it was just what I like. It was ‘jinjin youwei.’ (Dairy entry 19/9/1954)

I hadn’t had fried dumplings for a long time. I went to the food shop near New Park (新公園) to have some. They cost 30 fen each. I ordered 15 fried dumplings and beef soup. Although I was full after dinner, the fried dumplings were too delicious, and I ate 7 more. I really felt ‘jinjin youwei’ (Dairy entry 17/11/1954)

The grandma who lived downstairs of my place gave me a fresh rice dumpling,... after work my landlord gave me a couple of rice dumplings, so I ate one more. They’re ‘jinjin youwei.’ (Dairy entry 2/6/1955)

Japanese cuisine is a favourite of foods among various age groups in Taiwan (Chou, 2006), and indeed, this was the case among my informants; more chose Japanese

\(^{147}\) This phrase describes enjoyment or gusto; in the context of food it means to eat with appetite and relish, i.e. the food is delicious; it really hit the spot.
than any other food when dining out. Few Taiwanese informants chose it because it evoked a sense of belonging; more did so because they liked it. A Hakka man described the various cuisines and options which his family preferred when eating out: seafood restaurant buffet, Guangdong food in Chinese restaurants, and Japanese cuisine. He based these preferences on the flavour of the food and its price.

075Q: Are there any special events when you eat out?
076A: Times like birthdays. I like Taiwanese food and the Taiwanese style zhuocai (桌菜 table-set dishes). My children like buffets. In the past, we’ve gone to a Guangdong restaurant which was behind Taipei Railway Station, but I forget its name. The chef was a Hakka person from Guangdong. I liked their stir-fried pork intestine (chao zhuchang 炒豬腸). We also went to the Paris Seafood Restaurant (饌巴黎) for my daughter’s boyfriend’s birthday. That’s a buffet restaurant. I like Japanese food as well. There’s a good Japanese restaurant called Sanweis hitang (三味食堂) in Guiyang Street (貴陽街). The Japanese food there is cheap and delicious. The slice of fish on top of the nigiri is very big, and a plate of six nigiri only costs NT250. Japanese food is my favourite food. (D-HH1)

Familiar flavours related to people’s eating experiences

Taiwanese food is the food people are most familiar with in Taiwan; other familiar foods may include Hakka and Japanese cuisine, depending on their personal experiences. Some informants thought that the most tasty foods taste like their mother’s cooking. Some informants prefer familiar food rather than novel foods offered in restaurants. A Minnanese woman described her eating out in relation to familiar food:

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148 From interviews with D-MT4, D-MT6, D-TT3, D-TT3, D-HH1, D-HH3, B-TT1, B-TT2, B-TT3, B-TT5, B-TT10, B-HH3, D-MT2, D-HH2, B-MT4, B-MT5, B-MH3.

149 Nigiri is Japanese, 急便. It is a kind of sushi, which is a piece of raw fish or other topping on top of a small oblong brick of sticky white rice. See http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/nigiri, viewed 26 April, 2011.
056A: I went dining out with my children. We chose Chinese-style food. Chinese-style food is something suitable for Taiwanese people; it’s also Taiwan cai. These foods in restaurants are different from what we cook. Sometimes we just order table-set dishes. We mostly ordered Buddha's Casserole, stir-fried mutton (chao yangrou 炒羊肉), and steamed fish in restaurants. (D-TT1)

Another Minnanese woman thought that only the flavour of Taiwanese food could cater to their individual taste preferences: this referred to the Taiwan cai and Hakka cai.

077Q: Can you talk about the characteristics of Taiwan cai?
078A: All Taiwanese food is delicious, it suits our palate … Taiwanese people just like Taiwanese food. When we have table-set dishes in restaurants, we always ask whether or not the food is Taiwan cai. Hakka cai is OK as well, it’s also a part of Taiwan cai. (B-TT9)

Japanese food is also familiar to Taiwanese. An informant mentioned that Japanese food had been her husband’s favourite because when he was young he usually lived with Japanese people so he was familiar with Japanese food.

041Q: Which restaurant would you choose for your family’s birthday or meals with friends?
042A: We sometimes choose Japanese cuisine and also Chinese food, but less often Western food because we can’t eat the hard food; their vegetables are always harder…. We usually order set meals or a la carte in Japanese restaurants. The set meal also includes raw fish. When my husband was alive, Japanese food was his favourite. He liked raw fish. He had studied with Japanese people and his Japanese spirit was very strong. (D-TT3)

The value of ingredients

The value of ingredients is usually equated with the cost of ingredients. When choosing which restaurant some interviewees considered the cost of the ingredients
used, especially seafood or expensive ingredients. Seafood epitomises high-status food due to its high price, but it is also considered good for one’s health. About half the informants chose a venue offering seafood when they dined out. A Minnanese woman mentioned that they visited Keelung quite often to enjoy seafood, sometimes ordering lobster, an expensive seafood item:

048A: If we wanted to celebrate some family member’s birthday or to have a meal with friends, we usually chose to eat out. We like seafood, so we headed to Keelung to have seafood there. Before I became vegetarian, we visited Tian Wenzhong’s (田文仲) restaurant. That restaurant was also a seafood restaurant. We ordered lobster there. They also cooked miso soup with lobster head. (D-MT2)

A Hakka man thought that only expensive ingredients can show the high status of a cuisine:

089Q: I’ve heard about Hakka banquets from other Hakka people....
090A: That’s having people on. Do you think ‘Hakka stir-fry’ (kejia xiaochao 客家小炒) is a fancy dish? It costs hardly anything. You spend NT2,000 to 3,000 to order this banquet, but they can only provide you with cheap food like this. The ingredients for Hakka cuisine are always cheap.....
091Q: How can the level of Hakka cuisine be raised?
092A: Hakka cuisine is poor people’s food, I’m serious that it would be hard to raise its level higher. If it was possible to change, this would involve the ingredients. For example, if Hakka food incorporated abalone or shark’s fin.
092Q: Do you know the Shin Yeh 101 restaurant sells a sweet potato leaves dish?
092A: If I was the customer, I wouldn’t order this dish. It’s more reasonable to order abalone or shark’s fin there. At least these ingredients are collected from a fishing boat, or the fish is from Hokkaido. The ingredients should be ingredients

150 From interviews with D-MT2, D-HH2, B-MM1, B-MT4, B-MT5, B-MH3.
151 田文仲, a celebrity in Taiwan was at one time the host of a TV program.
152 客家小炒, Kejia xiaochao, Hakka stir-fry, is a Hakka dish of just stir-fried home grown green onions and shredded pork and dried squid.
like this with a source which show their value. (B-HH3)

New food or local specialities

Another factor that attracts people to choose particular foods when dining out is their novelty. Various new foods were introduced to Taiwan in different historical periods, such as mainland food in the pre-democratisation period, and more exotic foods since the 1990s. The mainland cuisines introduced after 1949 brought diversity to Taiwan’s dining experiences. An informant’s diary entries record his first experience eating beef noodles, stinky tofu, and goat meat in the 1950s. He found these Chinese foods both novel and enjoyable:

I was hungry this morning because I hadn’t eaten anything. I couldn’t stand it so I went downstairs to buy a 50-fen small flat cake (小餅) and a one-yuan big flat cake (大餅) with youtiao to eat. Around 12:30pm, I had lunch with Mr. XX. We ate beef-noodles, beef and flat cake (bingpian 餅片). This was the first time I’d ever eaten all these foods. (Dairy entry 19/7/1952)

This was the first time I’d ever eaten stinky tofu. Someone was yelling out selling stinky tofu. Mr. XX said it tasted good, so I bought two pieces. The smell was strong and unpleasant, but it tasted good. (Dairy entry 3/6/1955)

Mr. XX bought me some stir-fried mutton (chao yangrou 炒羊肉). This was the first time I’d ever eaten mutton. Although the flavour’s a bit offensive, it was still ‘jinjin youwei.’ (Dairy entry 3/10/1958)

A Minnanese woman talked about eating in a Guangdong restaurant when she was young:

Q: Have your children taken you to any restaurants to dine out?
A: Yes, but it wasn’t a really big restaurant. We go to places like a Hunan cuisine restaurant in Donghu (東湖). If we go to this restaurant, I usually ask
them not to order spicy [i.e. hot] food. When I lived in southern Taiwan, I liked Guangdong cuisine so much, their stir-fried eel with chives (jiuhuang shanyu 韭黃鱔魚) and marinated chicken (youji 油雞) are delicious. Minced squab (gesong 鵝鬆) is nice as well, but now more often minced shrimp is used instead of minced squab. Sometimes I also eat beef noodles, wonton noodles, and things like that. (D-TT5)

Food fashions constantly change, reflected in where people go to eat out. In 2008 and 2009, two hot-pot restaurant chains became the largest in Taiwan’s restaurant industry with 839 (42.6%) and 744 (35.6%) outlets respectively. Hot-pot restaurants (火鍋店) serve the small hot-pot, called shabushabu (shuanshuanguo 涮涮鍋), and which originated from Japan. Some interviewees reported shabushabu as a new food. An informant described how it had attracted his curiosity to try it out with his family:

044A: My house is quite small, so we eat out if our family or friends come to visit us. For example, shabushabu has one pot for each person. It looked quite special when I saw some people eating it in the restaurant. So, we also went to try out this kind of food. We sometimes go to eat seafood or buffet restaurants; we do the same thing for birthdays. We go to Keelung or Yeliu (野柳) for seafood. (D-TT4)

A general manager of a restaurant (E5) explained that the cheap price and abundant ingredients accounts for the shabushabu phenomenon and its popularity in Taiwan:

056A: ...Why is shabushabu prevalent in Taiwan? It's because the ingredients are very easy to obtain. This is Taiwan. You need to spend only NT100 or 200 to have shabushabu. We can get wild vegetables from the mountain areas, ...(E5)

A category related to new food is that of local food specialties. People are fond of eating local food specialties when they travel in Taiwan. Since 2000 a number of local governments have promoted their local cultures through food festivals, and this has resulted in Taiwanese paying more attention to local specialty foods. Examples some informants mentioned are eel noodles (shanyumian 鱔魚麵) and danzai noodles (danzaimeian 擔仔麵) from Tainan, penshui chicken rice (Penshui jiroufan 噴水雞肉飯) from Chiayi, and meatballs (rouyuan 肉圓) from Beidou (北斗). A Minnanese man opined that the ‘good flavour’ of food is when people visit a place and experience its local specialty foods. He talked about his experience of Hakka food in a Hakka area:

046A: My son sometimes took me to have seafood in Beixinzhuang (北新庄). When I went on a local tour to a Hakka area, we had Hakka food. They use sundried bean. Their style is all about cooking with sundried ingredients. The elderly association arranges a couple of tours involving some local special meals for us. I like these local specialties. (B-TT3)

**Social status**

**Food & socio-economic status (SES)**

Socio-economic status is one of the determinants of food choices (Whitehead, 1982; Caplan, Keane, Willetts, & Williams, 1998; Goody, 1982), and it also affects cuisine choices when people eat out in Taiwan. As mentioned in Chapter 3, patronising in Japanese and mainland restaurants presented people as having high status during the Japanese and pre-democratisation periods. Nowadays the reputation of a restaurant is a much more a consideration when people want to show their social status. An informant mentioned that his son always eats at the Regent Formosa Hotel (晶華酒

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154 From interviews with D-HH1, D-MT6, D-MT3.
053Q: When your children return, do you eat out together?
054A: We eat out most of the time. My son, who works overseas, chooses only the Regent Formosa Hotel. We don’t go to any small eatery. We have the buffet there… (B-MT1)

A Hakka woman said that the restaurants she chose are always the famous Taiwanese, Hakka, and Japanese restaurants in Taiwan:

099Q: What kind of restaurants do you go to when dining out?
100A: There’s a good restaurant in Qilian (奇哩岸), a small one which sells Taiwanese style seafood. In addition, there’s a good Hakka restaurant, the Yueniang (月娘), in Dazhi. Another one is the Sanjing (三井) Japanese Restaurant. Another Japanese restaurant, the Yangwu (揚屋), is also a good restaurant in Dazhi. …..(D-HH2)

A number of studies have measured the relationship between food habits and SES by income, class, and education (Whitehead, 1982, Caplan, Keane, Willetts, & Williams, 1998). Education is a significant determinant to examine current Taiwanese eating out but not must be considered when examining earlier eating out. Taiwanese did not generally have a good education until the Taiwanese government initiated nine years of compulsory education in 1968. The interviews indicated that income, wealth, and occupational status but not education affected people’s food choices. Since the 1970s, Taiwanese have had more opportunities to develop their careers because the economy has been prosperous. As their incomes rose, they diversified their eating out experiences and food preferences by attending business banquets. A 75-year-old Minnanese man who owns a clock factory and very often does business with foreign customers recalled his memories of the 1980s. When his
foreign clients came to Taiwan on business he treated them only to meals in hotel or haute cuisine restaurants. Commercial considerations made demonstrating his position and power in his company in the meal arrangements a critical determinant for maintaining their business relationship, so he had many different eating experiences during his working life. He said:

059Q: If you had foreign clients visiting Taiwan, which restaurant did you choose for them?
060A: I always chose the best for them. In the past, the restaurant I chose most often was the Taotao (陶陶) Restaurant or the restaurant at the Ritz Hotel (亞都飯店) in the basement floor; If the clients were young people, I would take them to T.G.I Fridays or a German restaurant in Tianmu (天母). But I still regarded the Taotao as the best one. Its food was very nice, for example the ‘stir-fried beef nest’ (quechao niurou 雀巢牛肉) with pineapple and onion.

063Q: Do you know what kind of cuisine you had in the Taotao Restaurant or the Ritz Hotel?
064A: I think it was Zhejiang cuisine in the Taotao, and Guangdong cuisine in the Ritz. The waitress at the Ritz Hotel could tell my clients about the ingredients or cooking method in English. But the Taotao couldn’t provide this kind of service, so it had few foreign customers.

065Q: Have you taken foreigners to have Taiwanese cuisine in the past?
066A: Just once, we went to the Tainan Tan-Tsu-Mien Seafood Restaurant (台南擔仔麵). The guest was aged forty or fifty and was curious about how they kill snakes there, so I took him. The restaurant was high-class, but to me, it was too fancy. (B-TT1)

Consumption activity in Taiwan between 1980 and 2000 shows two trends: a decrease in daily consumption and an increase in status-display related consumption (Wei, Tsai, & Lee, 2003). Many people take advantage of special occasions, such as traditional feasts and wedding banquets, to publicly display their social status in Taiwan. A retired primary school teacher chose an expensive restaurant for her children’s wedding venue to maintain ‘face’:
090A: My son had his wedding banquet in the Hyatt Hotel – it’s now called the Grand Hyatt Hotel (君悅飯店).
090-1Q: Why did you choose such a good place for him?
090-1A: It was all for my son. I wanted to leave a good memory with him. In the hotel, a glass of fresh juice was NT$250. I saw one guest order three glasses of juice. I paid for that…. (D-HH3).

Another instance illustrating the relationship between food and wealth occurred in a Hakka household. This couple had only had a primary-school education, but became well off by growing orchids, enabling them to show off in front of their relatives and friends on special event occasions. They chose five-star hotels as the place for their daughters’ engagements.

112Q: Where did your children get married?
113A: In the Hyatt (凱悅) and Grand hotels. We Taiwanese have a custom, to hold a banquet when our daughter gets engaged. These two hotels are nice places, so we chose them for our two daughters. (D-HH2)

**Food choices and social relationship (renji guanxi 人際關係)**

In Taiwan, social networking is an important aspect of doing business deals. According to my interviewees, in modern Taiwanese society deals pertaining to arranging wedding banquets are often entered into based on the interpersonal relationship between the parties. The decision making is directly related to the maintenance of interpersonal relationships. People firmly believe that their guanxi can give them more benefits for the same price, and in turn a deal of this kind becomes a good way to enhance their relationships further. A single mother emphasised that a number of banquet deals had been successfully arranged as a result of her relationships, her guanxi. She said:
Q: I decided my children’s wedding places based on my guanxi - at the Asian World Hotel (環亞飯店) and the Amazing Hall (晶宴). I even help my relatives’ children to choose the places for wedding banquets. These are all related to my renji guanxi. (D-MT6)

One woman, based on her experience, believed that only a good social relationship can guarantee the quality of banquet meals. She used her son’s case to illustrate her point:

Q: Where was your child’s wedding banquet?
A: My daughter had a wedding banquet in the Rongxing Sichuan cuisine restaurant (榮星川菜), but the food wasn’t good. By contrast, my son’s was in the Haibawang restaurant. The food was pretty good because we knew some people there. We knew their manager from our dancing class. (D-TT5)

Another example where the wedding venue was also associated with the social relationship:

Q: Where did your son have his wedding banquet?
A: My son had his wedding banquet at the Golden China Hotel (康華飯店). This was chosen by my husband. The owner of the hotel is my husband’s friend. (D-MT5)

A woman gave examples of two commercial deals the Caesar Park Hotel got from her husband’s personal relationships:

A: My neighbour’s daughter married a middle-eastern guy. They just asked my husband for a favour [to organize the menu and banquet]. Last year the head of our borough had a birthday party at the Cesar Park Hotel as well. That was also arranged by my husband. (B-HH1)
Although Taiwanese are used to having familiar flavour—based on their family background—when they eat out, the interview data also demonstrates that Taiwanese like to try something new. The data also shows that Taiwanese are concerned about their social status and relationships when they are eating out on special occasions.

**Regular meals - simple meals out**

Although the majority of Taiwanese have their regular meals at home, especially dinner, the number of meals eaten out in Taiwan has increased. Restaurants and eateries (小吃店) in Taiwan provide a great diversity of food items for regular meals out. By examining people’s choices for their regular meals out, we can have a deeper understanding of their common food practices. In this section I will examine the types of breakfast, lunch and dinner provided by restaurants and eateries. These types of regular meals highlight the distinctive features of Taiwanese food and foodways.

**Breakfast**

Douglas (1982) suggests that breakfast can not be a meal of the food system in a family due to its simple contents. In Taiwan, however, the changes in what people have consumed for breakfast over reveal the development of Taiwanese food habits. Taiwanese had congee with pickled vegetable for breakfast at home since the late 1890s (Kehfuzi, 1896:78); nowadays, they have a great diversity of breakfast options, many introduced by migrants. For example there are Western style breakfast items such as bread buns, burgers, sandwiches, and milk; and also soy-milk and steamed buns from the mainland. These exotic food items have also been
incorporated into local foods, which differ in their original food habits. These localised breakfasts are discussed below.

1. Soy-milk shops (*doujiangdian* 豆漿店)

Mainland-style breakfast items were introduced beginning in 1945, the most typical being steamed buns and soymilk. Taiwanese distinguished these from their regular breakfast foods:

*012A: I was married in 1958... In the past, I seldom ate breakfast. After getting married, most of the time we had congee for our breakfast, we seldom had soy-milk. Soy-milk was the food for Mainlanders; few Mainlanders lived in the Datong District. (B-TT1)*

A Minnanese woman also identify the difference between Taiwanese and mainland style breakfasts after 1949:

*052A: Sesame seed cake (shaobing 烏餅) was sold in Taiwan after 1949. We didn’t like it much, so we bought it only occasionally. Steamed meat buns and steamed vegetable buns came out in the past [before 1949], but we didn’t have them at that time. We had rice milk (mijiang 米漿), almond tea (xingrencha 杏仁茶), and yountiao when I was a child. (B-TT10)*

So mainland-style breakfasts were available during the pre-democratisation period. In the 1950s and 1960s, a few Taiwanese women who had married into Mainlander communities, mostly military dependents housing, interacted with other Mainlanders and learned their eating styles. A Minnanese woman felt that what you eat is closely related to where you live. She described the change in her breakfast food habits as being related to her community:

*010A: My parents are both Kaohsiung people. Before I married, we ate congee...*
for breakfast; we used to have this food custom. After I married, my husband and I lived in military dependents’ housing. Every morning there was someone selling soymilk and sesame-seed cake for breakfast, and there was also someone who rode a bike around selling steamed buns and flat cake (dabing 大餅). It was easy to buy this kind of food in our community. So I think a person’s eating style is related to their living environment. (D-MT4)

Subsequently, some Mainlanders took advantage of the opportunity presented by the abundant and cheap flour and soybeans which were part of US aid to develop careers in the food industry. The most famous example is the World Soymilk King (世界豆漿大王), which opened in 1955. These soy-milk shops sold soymilk, sesame-seed cake with youtiao, and steamed buns and thereby provided a number of breakfast items (Chang, 2004).

As well as through ethnically mixed marriages and soy-milk shops, Taiwanese people also experienced mainland breakfast foods through doing military service because Taiwan’s military system had a Mainlander background. In the 1950s and 1960s soldiers were mainly provided with a mainland-style breakfast, consisting of soymilk and steamed buns during their military service.155 An informant described his military service breakfast in his diary:

In the navy, we ate soymilk and a steamed bun for breakfast (Dairy entry 20/5/1956).

I only drank soymilk for breakfast (Dairy entry 16/5/1957).

The stormy seas were violent; I only ate half a steamed bun for breakfast, and also the same thing for lunch (Dairy entry 8/11/1958).

I got seasick; I only ate one steamed bun for breakfast, then only a little food for

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155 Interview with Mr. Yang on 20 November, 2007. Mr Yang was doing military service in 1961.

The soy-milk shops have driven the spread and prevalence of mainland style breakfasts right up to the present. Their products have been localised and present a combination of Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese foods. For example, rice-milk and youtiao are traditional Taiwanese foods; and rice-balls (飯糰)156 originated from Japan. The Taiwanese combined youtiao and sesame-seed cake (燒餅油條), and youtiao and rice-balls (飯糰夾油條) together to create some new breakfast food items. These have become hot-selling items in the soy-milk shops. A Taiwanese local company runs Yonghe Soybean Milk (永和豆漿), a franchise in mainland China (Chang, 2004). Although soymilk and steamed buns were originally classed as mainland foods, they have become localised and incorporated into other Taiwanese breakfasts and some new food inventions in the shops. Not only people in Taiwan now regard this type of breakfast as Taiwanese-style; but also the Chinese in mainland China.

2. Bread and milk

Milk, a typical Western breakfast drink, was introduced to Taiwan through US aid, in the 1950s and become another breakfast choice for Taiwanese. One informant commented that they preferred that children have the milk for breakfast rather than themselves because of their financial circumstances at that time:

006A: In the past, we ate congee with pickled vegetables for breakfast. Milk wasn’t

156 From the fifth century, Japanese usually took some rice which had been minimally cooked then dried when they went hunting or to their fields. It was easily transported and could be made into rice-balls (nigiri) and eaten. This was the predecessor of the biandang. See May Y.H. Chang 張玉欣 (2005) Taiwan’s Biandang Culture 台灣的便當文化, Quarterly of Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture (中華飲食文化基金會會訊), 12:4.
popular at that time; it was only for children. (B-TT8)

005Q: What did you eat for breakfast in the past?
006A: We cooked only congee for breakfast. Milk was for people in a pretty good financial situation. (D-TT4)

A Western style breakfast of bread and milk, was gradually accepted by the Taiwanese as a new option from the 1950s. An informant mentioned that he bought bread buns for his breakfast at that time:

After I started working in this company, we usually bought our breakfast outside. Sometimes they [his Mainlander colleagues] drank soy-milk. We went to buy bread buns in the Chu Shui Xuan bakery. (19/4/1953)

After its introduction, milk and bread gradually became popular breakfast items. Some informants said that they ate buns and milk as their regular breakfast. Milk and bread buns are typical Western foods and are presently an accepted alternative to traditional style breakfasts in Taiwan. A Minnanese woman said she had changed from congee to bread and milk.

Nevertheless, although bread is now a very common breakfast item, Taiwanese have also created a range of flavoured buns catering to the Taiwanese palate. These diverse flavours also exemplify the fusion of cultures. The most typical and popular bread according to a 2009 internet poll is the spring onion buns (conghua mianbao 蔥花麵包). Spring onion is a typical Taiwanese vegetable, so spring onion buns can be regarded as a fusion of Taiwanese and Western culinary traditions. Next most popular were pineapple buns (菠蘿麵包) in second place; pork floss buns with

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157 From interviews with B-HH1, B-MM2, B-MT1, B-MT5, B-MT6, B-HH2, B-HH4, B-TT2, B-TT4, B-TT8, D-MT1, D-TT1, D-TT3, D-TT5, D-TT7, D-TT8, D-TT9.

158 From interviews with D-MT6.
mayonnaise (肉鬆沙拉麵包) in third place, coconut buns (椰子麵包) in fourth place, strawberry jam buns in fifth place, and custard buns (克林姆麵包) in sixth place. Of these, the pork floss with mayonnaise is a perfect example of cultural fusion: pork floss is a traditional Taiwanese breakfast dish, and the mayonnaise is Western creation but was introduced to Taiwan by the Japanese. These flavoured buns clearly demonstrate that although ‘eating bread’ is typically associated with Western foods, Taiwanese style bread buns are quite distinct from the various Western ones.

3. Breakfast shops (zaocandian 早餐店)

In the late 1980s, a new style of breakfast shop began to open selling not only Western style foods, such as burgers and sandwiches, usually with fried eggs, but also some Chinese-style breakfasts. This type of breakfast containing Western and Chinese elements shows the diverse options which can cater to Taiwanese palate, for example the first such breakfast shop to open in Taiwan was Maiweideng (麥味登) in 1987, and then the Mei & Mei (美而美) opened in 1988. The Mei & Mei breakfast shops had became the most popular such outlet in Taiwan. According to a survey conducted in 2009, Mei & Mei was the most visited breakfast shop in Taiwan with 26.3%. By 2010, Taiwan had over eleven thousand (11,861) similar style breakfast shops. The foods these breakfast shops sell have already been localised to cater for local people’s palate and perceptions. The Mei & Mei is now an established breakfast alternative in Taiwan. Some informants mentioned that they or their children prefer to buy this kind

159 From ‘Internet poll for the TOP 10 most-loved of the traditional flavoured breads in Taiwan’ (台灣十大最受古早味麵包票選),

of food for breakfast.

002A: In the past we ate congee with pickled vegetables or omelette with pickled egg. But now we just buy breakfast out, usually a sandwich or a burger. (B-HH3)

002A: I usually have breakfast in the temple. My husband is a Mainlander, so he likes steamed buns. My grandchildren live with me. They like eating Mei & Mei with milk tea. Children really like milk tea. (D-MT2)

In addition, Taiwanese have invented other breakfast food items, such as the egg pancake with youtiao stuffing, and rice-balls with fried egg fillings. New items continue to be created based on the Taiwanese palate and presenting the features of Taiwanese food.

**Lunch/Dinner**

According to a report, the number of meals eaten out in Taiwan in 2007 showed an increased to an average of seventeen million meals per day, about one third of all meals. Clearly, the convenience of eating-out has become a major consideration.\(^{161}\) According to my interview findings, people principally have three types of common meals out: biandang, zizhucan and snacks.\(^{162}\) The following section outlines the history of these three types of regular meals out.

**Biandang 便當 - Lunch boxes**

The biandang was introduced to Taiwan from Japan during the Japanese period,\(^{163}\) but like other food items, it has since been localised and transformed Taiwanese-style.

\(^{161}\) Taiwan Chain Store Almanac 2008. 2008 台灣連鎖店年鑑

\(^{162}\) Modern food courts also present another option, mentioned by D-HH3.

\(^{163}\) See footnote 122 in Chapter 4.
During the Japanese period most schoolchildren were required to take a packed lunch to school. Their parents prepared biandang lunches for their children. They normally consisted of rice plus dishes such as pickled daikon omelette, and minced pork. In addition, the Japanese government provided them with Japanese-style food, taking into consideration their nutritional needs. A Minnanese man recalled his school meals and the experience of eating Japanese food. He also talked about the Japanese-style rice-balls they had when they went on excursions. Biandang and rice-balls both have become part of Taiwanese food since the Japan period.

024A: …When I was at school, the Japanese were afraid that we were lacking in nutrition so they usually provided us free miso soup with pork intestines which could make us ‘fat’. A plum was usually put in the centre of our biandang which made it resemble the Japanese flag. At that time, the rice was from the cooked congee, but without rice soup; it was different from the present-day type. The Japanese didn’t limit what kind of food we brought to school.

044A: …..When we had an excursion, we just would add some salt to the rice, and sprinkled some sesame on it. We put each rice-ball in our clothes bag, and then carried it on our back. We didn’t have backpacks at that time. We called these rice-balls ‘nigiri’. (B-TT1)

Since World War II, the biandang has become a popular food in Taiwan. In the 1950s, it was a typical term for a take-away meal, either prepared at home or purchased outside. An informant mentioned biandang twice in his diary during this period:

I went back home to change my clothes, Grandma reminded me to go home for dinner because they have baibai. I went to Mr. **’s house to get my biandang at 10:30am …(Dairy entry 27/3/1952)

I was hungry so I bought a biandang to eat first…(Dairy entry 13/9/1960)

164 From interview with B-TT2.
Some informants also talked about *biandang* prepared for their children or themselves during the pre-democratisation period (1945-1988).

014A: I lived in Tainan. I not only studied Japanese books, but also Beijing language. When I was fifteen years old, Taiwan had just been restored to the Nationalists. When I had children, I prepared *biandang* for them every morning. I had to set the alarm to wake myself up to first wash the rice. When my daughter was in junior high school, she said that her classmates’ *biandang* was prepared one day before they go to school. So I changed my schedule for preparing their *biandang*, and then I could relax… (D-TT5)

007Q: What food did you have in the past?
008A: After I married [a Mainlander husband], I had soymilk, sesame-seed cake with youtiao, steamed bun, or steamed meat bun for breakfast, but my parents ate congee or rice for breakfast. I worked in an agricultural association, so I usually took a *biandang* for lunch during my work day.

025Q: Where did you buy foodstuffs?
026A: I bought ingredients in the Dazhi or Binjiang markets. In the past, I had to prepare *biandang* for my children, so I went to the Binjiang market because there were more foodstuffs there…. (D-MT5)

Another informant mentioned that *biandang* was her main regular meal when she was in high school:

020A: After I graduated from junior high school [in 1958], I mostly ate *biandang* all the time. When I was studying at the Normal College (師範學院), we lived in the school accommodation. The food wasn’t very good, but everyone looked well. … (D-TT7)

These days most schoolchildren have school lunch (營養午餐) at school. These are prepared in the school kitchen or ordered from a food company. Parents no longer need to prepare *biandang* for their children but this eating habit from the past is
continued. *Biandang* are not only for students but for adults also. Some informants mentioned that their now adult children still take *biandang* for their lunch at work and some now occasionally buy *biandang* for their lunch or dinner instead of cooking themselves. They briefly mentioned their current food practice:

043Q: If you don’t cook in a normal day, what kind of food do you have for lunch or dinner?
044A: …If we don’t cook for ourselves, we would buy biandang. (D-TT4)

058A: I like kwayteow (粿仔條), plain noodles. I also buy Chishang biandang (池上便當). (B-TT9)

048A: If I don’t cook in a normal day, I eat a small biandang - Chishang biandang. I sometimes go to eat the thin noodles with pheasant. … You just buy what you want to eat. (D-MT5)

The demand for *biandang* has seen a succession of food publications about them published when this trend became popular over the last three decades. Most were published by locals, and a few have been translated from Japanese books. In the 1980s and 1990s, the *biandang* meals introduced in the books were mainly for schoolchildren; the books instructed the reader how to prepare proper *biandang* for

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165 From interviews with B-MT4, D-MT3.

166 During the Japanese period, the Japanese planted a large number of tung oil trees (油桐) in Taitung (台東) to harvest the seeds for refining into a lubricant for military use. After Japan was defeated, they left behind a great deal of crude tung oil tree forests, which became good material for making matches and biandang containers. Their wood can absorb the excess moisture from cooked rice and keep it loose; besides this, the wood fibre contains phytoncids, which can kill bacteria and so the food in such containers keeps longer. The most famous wood used in lunch containers is from the Chishang township area of Taitung, and the most famous biandang containers are the ‘Chishang biandang’ made from this wood. See May Y.H. Chang (2005) *Taiwan’s Biandang Culture* 台灣的便當文化. *Quarterly of Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture* (中華飲食文化基金會會訊), 12:4.
their family. An example is Lin Shu-Chen’s *Fast-simple Biandang Cookbook* (1993) in which Lin introduces the basic knowledge for making *biandang*, including the proper cooking methods and ingredients.167 Nowadays more books focus on health aspects. The title of Wang An-Chi’s book (2008)168 lists *biandang* as being time-saving, healthy, low-calorie, and good-tasting, reflects the current demands of people in Taiwan.

The *biandang* has really become an essential part of Taiwanese dietary life and is sometimes included as an offering on religious occasions. A *biandang* basically consists of steamed rice, one main dish—such as fish, chicken, or pork—and three or four side dishes. It thus contains the basic elements constituting a normal meal. A Minnanese informant, who now lives alone with her husband, mentioned that she sometimes buys *biandang* as a baibai offering for because the food in a *biandang* is quite plentiful. After offering the contents to the gods and ancestors, they can eat it themselves.169

The *biandang* has now been localised and become an integral part of what Taiwanese eat. The Taiwanese style *biandang* can provide consumers the hot food rather than only the cold food of the Japanese style, and it consists of rice and dishes that conform to Taiwanese tastes. The *biandang* has now existed in Taiwan for almost one hundred years; it is really a part of Taiwanese foodways.

### Zizhucan 自助餐 self-serve eateries


169 From interview with B-TT5.
The word *zizhucan* means ‘self-help-meal’. The serving style in these food outlets is similar to a cafeteria, although they are often smaller. There are few if any no waiting staff or table service. The *zizhucan* emerged in Taiwan in the early 1960s. Since then, *zizhucan* have become a venue where people eat out for regular meals. Shu (2006) thinks that *zizhucan* originated from the breakfast vendors in the traditional markets of Taiwan. He recalls his first experience of *zizhucan* in Taiwan:

*In 1962, a fast-simple restaurant (速簡餐廳) was opened in Xiangyang Road (襄陽路). The first time I ate there was when my father took me. He chose it because it was near his office and because it was the fashion. It was completely consistent with the concept of the new life movement (新生活運動): the concept of new, fast, genuine, and simple (新，速，實，簡) food, followed by public officials. Everyone just took a metal tray which had a couple of round or square shapes. One basin shape was for a banana. This kind of tray was still used in some zizhucan restaurants until the 1970s).*

The food items which *zizhucan* sell are mainly home-style dishes to cater to the demand of local residents for regular meals. Most of the food in a typical *zizhucan* would not qualify as restaurant food. Fried hairtail, for example, is only appropriate as a home-style dish. To meet the demand for a wider range of dishes, *zizhucan* also created some dishes which then became popular home dishes, for example stir-fried egg with carrot, stir-fried ‘sweet-not-spicy hot’ (*tianbula* 甜不辣) with leek, stir-fried snow peas with mushroom, and stir-fried shark meat with shallots (*鯊魚炒蒜苗*) (Shu, 2006).

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171 *Tianbula* (甜不辣) originated from Japan. Its original name was actually ‘おでん’. but Taiwanese adopted another name, ‘天ぷら’ to refer to this food. See May Y.H. Chang 張玉欣 (2006), *Heilun*, *tianfuluo*, yu Taiwan (黑輪·天婦羅與台灣), *Quarterly of Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture 中華飲食文化基金會會訊* 12(2).
Some more people now choose to have a zizhucan lunch if they do not cook themselves. It is quite easy to find a zizhucan in the local community. Most informants thought that zizhucan provide more options than biandang. A woman detailed what she had in the zizhucan for lunch and dinner:

003Q: What do you eat for lunch?
004A: I go to a zizhucan and pick a couple of types of dishes, but I only pick a small amount of each. I usually choose lighter foods, for example stir-fried eggs with tomato, broccoli, carrot, or tree mushrooms. They also make some cold dishes with a passionfruit sauce, such as lotus root and lappa (牛蒡). My son only has a casual job, so he also has lunch with my husband and me…

005Q: Do you go to any special restaurants for lunch?
006A: Another zizhucan named Fameiyuan (法美園) is a vegetarian zizhucan on Beian Road. Another is Jiuzhen (九珍). We renovated our house last year, so we ate out most of the time. I was afraid of cooking in the past; my mother always helped me to cook when she lived with us. I don’t have any brothers, so my mother lived with us. When I worked at school, my mother prepared biandang for me. I was easy to raise because I’m not picky about food. My mother is vegetarian. (D-TT7)

Even so, many people still prefer to get biandang for lunch or dinner. In order to cater to this demand, zizhucan restaurants also provide take away biandang-style products and offer a delivery service. The difference between biandang and zizhucan is that biandang customers can only choose the main dish with fixed side dishes; in contrast in the zizhucan restaurants they can choose any dishes they like from the selection available. When people want a change from the fixed items in the biandang shop, the take-away ‘biandang’ from the zizhucan restaurants is another option. This reflects the modern-day desire for convenience and saving time while

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172 From interviews with D-HH1, D-HH3, D-TT10, B-MT3, B-MT6, B-MT7, B-HH2, B-TT2, D-TT7, B-TT8.
still wanting to have a variety of side dishes for regular meals in their everyday life.

**Xiaochi 小吃 (formerly called tiám-sim 點心) snack foods**

Snack foods in Taiwan, called *tiám-sim* (*dianxin* in Mandarin, 點心), are the extra meals apart from the regular three meals which have existed since the Han settlement (Wang, 1990, Wang & You, 1979). However Taiwanese gradually used the term *xiaochi* (小吃) instead of *tiám-sim* in the 1970s. This term *xiaochi* first emerged in an article in the magazine *Zhonghua yinshi* (中華飲食) issued in Taiwan in 1974. The writer Tang Lu-Sun also used it to introduce the snack foods of Tianjin in a chapter called *Jinhu xiaochi* (津沪小吃), in his 1976 book. Snack foods were not initially for formal meals, but their popularity has attracted people to eat them as regular meals.

During the Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese called snack foods *tiám-sim*. Although *tiám-sim* can include biscuits and simple foods, in Taiwan *tiám-sim* were normally regarded as meaning simple foods rather than biscuits. The most popular *tiám-sim* in Taipei during the Japanese period was Tainan danzai noodles, which was sold by the vendors peddling their wares in front of Taipei Park and the Jiangshanlou Restaurant (Chen, 1990). Plain congee could be a *tiám-sim* as well eaten before bedtime with pickled vegetables, fermented soybean curds, preserved eggs, and salty duck eggs. According to an old Taiwanese custom, Taiwanese usually prepare snack foods for guests who are spending the night in their house to have before sleeping. Providing this food for their visitors was an expression of hospitality. Sweet foods were usually prepared as *tiám-sim* in summer: for example mung bean or rice cake congee, peanut soup or almond tea (Ikeda 1943). In

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173 Simple food refers to the food which is cooked by the easy cooking method in a short time.
agricultural communities, farmers had bitaibak noodles (mitaimu in Mandarin, 米苔目)\textsuperscript{174} and various types of rice cake (粿類) as their tiám-sim (Wang, 1990).

A railway engineer in the Taiwan Railway Administration recalled the street foods he had eaten during the Japanese period:

075Q: Do you know who invented the train lunch box?  
076A: It was the railway restaurant, but during the Japanese occupation only drinks were available.  
077Q: How about the prices for food when people ate out? Like braised mince meat rice.  
078A: We didn’t have braised mince meat rice at that time. We only had qiezai noodles that was three sen (jiao in Mandarin, 角) per serve. If you paid five sen, you could get an additional thin piece of meat.  
079Q: Were there any snack foods then?  
080A: We had deep-fried taro (炸芋頭), deep-fried sweet potatoes (炸番薯), and sweet potato slip as snack foods, also deep-fried fresh squid. One string was about five sen. Snack foods were just like that. There are more different types of snack foods now.  
081Q: Did you have side dishes with qiezai noodles?  
082A: Not too many, just kelp, food like this. (B-TT8)

During the Japanese period, most tiám-sim in Taiwan still originated from the Minnan area and Guangdong province. The Tainan Gazetteer (1979: 61-2) states that the food vendors in Tainan mostly sold roasted sweet potato (烘蕃薯), grilled sweet potato (焢蕃薯), mixed vegetable rolls, glutinous rice tube pudding (tongzai migao 筒仔米糕), seasoned millet porridge, four-fruit soup (四果湯), noodles, fish ball soup, tofu, pork, pigs blood cake (zhuxiegao 豬血糕), rice dumplings, plum candy

\textsuperscript{174} Bitaibak noodles (米苔目), a kind of noodles, made of rice paste. It can be found in Fujian province, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Malaysia. In Taiwan, this noodles can be eaten either by salty or sweet way. See http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%B1%B3%E7%AF%A9%E7%9B%AE, viewed 14 June, 2011.
(李仔糖), and shaved ice. Most of the *tiám-sim* introduced from Xiamen are still available, and some are popular at tourism sites, for example, glutinous rice tube pudding in Tainan’s night markets, and seasoned millet porridge in Lugan’s old street area.

In the early pre-democratisation period, the range of *tiám-sim* became more diverse. An informant mentioned *tiám-sim* 49 times in his diary in the 1950s: different foods, including bread, fried dumplings, noodles, fried rice, fried rice noodles, pork liver noodles, duck rump, pork liver soup, squid, and even congee with pickled vegetable before he went to sleep. The *tiám-sim* were eaten in the morning, afternoon, and late at night. He had snack foods at home but sometimes also ate out in such places as Yuanhuan, Longshan Temple (龍山寺), and at his friends’ house. Yuanhuan and Longshan Temple are still famous for their night markets and snack foods.

The term *tiám-sim* was gradually replaced by *xiaochi* in the late 1970s. Most interviewees used *xiaochi* to refer to snack foods. A number said they sometimes choose their individual favourite snack foods for lunch or dinner. A Minnanese informant described their favourite simple meals out:

055Q: If you don’t cook in a normal day, such as lunch, where do you have lunch?
056A: If I don’t cook in a normal day, we go to Yanping North Rd. (延平北路) and ate braised minced pork rice or salty congee. We sometimes go to eat at a sushi bar. My husband likes sashimi so much; he mostly eats salmon. (D-TT6)

Another Minnanese woman and her Mainlander husband prefer wheat-based food. She described the details of their lunches out:

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175 From interviews with B-TT3, B-TT5, D-TT4, D-MT4.
051Q: If you don’t cook for your regular meal, what kind of food do you choose?
052A: If I don’t cook for regular meals, we go to eat wheat-based foods, at place such as Laoma (老媽) or Zhoupangzi (周胖子). We like this kind of food.
Q: Do you make this food yourself?
A: I seldom make it myself. It’s more convenient to buy it already cooked. In the past, I made it myself, but now everything is easy to buy it. (D-MT4)

Taiwanese gradually came to have diverse options for their regular meals out, introduced from overseas or invented by Taiwanese; but the personal preferences and regular food practices of Taiwanese are the main determinants of people’s choices. In addition, the busy pace of modern day life has made people more concerned about convenience and saving time, and eating patterns reflect Taiwan’s associated social change.

Consumption in Taiwanese restaurants

Eating out in restaurants is an expression of consumers’ intentions because they are spending more money than that for simple meals out to achieve some specific purpose, such as birthday party and Mother’s day. Although Taiwanese food is popular and easy to find, some locals still prefer to pay more and have it in restaurants. In this section I will analyse the consumption in two Taiwanese restaurants, Shin Yeh and AoBa, utilizing data gathered through questionnaires. The data provides details of patrons’ food consumption patterns and provides an examination of their motivation.

Typical flavour and authentic Taiwanese food

As outlined in Chapter 4 discussing its characteristics, Taiwanese food features flavours familiar to Taiwanese through their daily eating experiences. Table 5-2 indicates that ‘good flavour’ was of the most concern for over a third (37%) of
respondents when they ordered food in the Shin Yeh or AoBa restaurant. Other reasons for their selections include ‘typical Taiwanese food’ (23.5%), ‘nostalgia’ (14.1%), and ‘representative of Taiwan’ (7.3%). In addition to the flavour, these respondents regard these dishes as embodying typical Taiwanese food flavours and as representative of ‘Taiwan.’ Since these dishes can represent Taiwan, these respondents reproduce themselves as ‘Taiwanese’ and express their Taiwanese identity through the consumption of Taiwanese dishes. Moreover, these dishes evoke a sense of nostalgia in these people when they consume them.

Considering most important reason for their choice of one of these two restaurants, Table 5-3 indicates that 28.2% of respondents are concerned about ‘good flavour’. Following is the convenience of transportation (21.2%) and their being ‘representative of Taiwan food’ (19.8%). The renown of these (14.2%) is also one of the reasons respondents choose it. Other reasons are their decor (8.0%) and price (2.1%). This data also indicates that these two restaurants can represent Taiwan due to their specific food products—Taiwanese dishes. Their customers can express their Taiwanese identity through their specific restaurant choices.

No matter what food was ordered or why that specific Taiwanese restaurant was chosen, these respondents could identify which foods are typical Taiwanese foods and also those which represent Taiwanese food culture. The value associated with the consumption of Taiwanese food in these two restaurants is not only physical in nature—in the sense of flavours to enjoy—but also the cultural value—particularly nostalgia.
Table 5-2: Reasons for ordering dishes – *more than 1 reason could be given*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses (%)</th>
<th>Percentage of questionnaires (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good flavour</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostalgia</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typical Taiwanese food</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative of Taiwan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the sake of eating</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mum’s flavour</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheap</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total responses</strong></td>
<td>341</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0 missing cases; 188 valid cases</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-3: Reasons for visiting the restaurant – *more than 1 reason could be given*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses (%)</th>
<th>Percentage of questionnaires (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good taste</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of getting there</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative of Taiwan</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fame</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decor</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total responses</strong></td>
<td>373</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0 missing cases; 188 valid cases</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nostalgic food: sweet potato congee**

Sweet potato was a major component of peasant foods during the Japanese period. At that time sweet potato congee and sweet potato slices rather than rice were the main staple foods. According to the interviews, most informants who experienced the Japanese occupation and the war ate sweet potato congee exclusively. Although at that time some became tired of eating it, it is now a nostalgic food evoking
memories in older Taiwanese of their childhood when they lived on sweet potato congee. A Minnanese man described it a food he has liked since he was young and likes still:

021Q: Do you remember what foods you ate during the Japanese period?
022A: We had poor foods during the Japanese occupation, such as sweet potato congee and sweet potato slices.
023Q: Do you like them?
024A: I still like sweet potato congee. You like the food which you often had during your childhood…. (B-TT1)

A Hakka woman said her eating experience about sweet potato:

026A: We had congee for the breakfast in the past. Nowadays we sometimes go to AoBa or Shin Yeh restaurant to have sweet potato congee. But my husband has only accepted sweet potato since 20 years ago, because he ate too much made using rotten sweet potato during World War II. But we all like it now, it’s good for our health as well. (D-HH2)

The status of sweet potato is not only from peasant to nostalgic food, but also from food to cuisine after 1988. According to a monthly report regarding the total sales of each food item in the Shin Yeh Restaurant, sweet potato congee was the most popular dish of two hundred items—it is an indispensable dish for Taiwanese food. In August 2009, sweet potato congee served in a five-star hotel accidentally became a newspaper headline because it had resulted in a government official being dismissed. This political issue unexpectedly highlights the specific cultural

176 This report was provided by the general manager of the Shin Yeh Restaurant in June, 2008.
177 The ex-secretary of the Executive Yuan was forced to resign because he went to celebrate Father’s Day and have this sweet potato congee with his father-in-law on 8 Aug, 2009. In doing so he had ignored his duty to monitor the threat of an approaching typhoon. He commented that he had ‘only’ had this cheap food referring to this favourite of his father-in-law, but in this case this nostalgic food
meaning which the consumption of sweet potato congee in Taiwan holds.

Jacobs (2010) argues that the consumption of sweet potato and other Taiwanese foods has become the expression of Taiwanisation in the 1990s under President Lee Teng-hui right up to the present. As Table 5-4 shows, the popular dishes ordered in these Taiwanese restaurants by the respondents are sweet potato congee, rice, and *qiezai noodles* as the staple foods; pickled daikon omelette, stewed pork, stir-fried sweet potato leaves, fried pork liver, mixed vegetable rolls, steamed fish, and fried oysters for main dishes. The sweet potato congee was clearly the most popular of all dishes in this survey. This finding demonstrates its special cultural meaning associated with consumers’ nostalgic feelings.

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was consumed in a five-star hotel.
Table 5-4: The most popular orders in two Taiwanese restaurants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dish Name</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses (%)</th>
<th>Percentage of Cases (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweet potato congee</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled daikon omelette</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewed pork</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stir-fried sweet potato leaves</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fried pork liver</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed vegetable roll</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steamed fish</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fried oyster</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiezai noodles</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salted chicken</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stir-fried cabbage</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three cup chicken</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuttlefish ball</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken rolls</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quick-boiled prawns</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money prawn cake</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrimp tofu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha's Casserole</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miso tofu soup</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken wine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stir-fried kangkong</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stir-fried long crooked squash</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filet steak with garlic flavour</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three cups green bamboo shoots</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>380.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Meaning of Taiwanese cuisine**

As Tables 5-2 and 5-3 show, Taiwanese food can be associated with people’s mother’s home cooking and has nostalgia associations Taiwanese clearly value. Table 5-5 shows the meanings the respondents accord to Taiwanese food when they
reflect on dining out in Taiwanese restaurants. Not only sweet potato congee but Taiwanese food in general brings a feeling of nostalgia to 55.9% of those respondents. Interestingly less than one fifth of the respondents (18.6%) reported Taiwanese food as expressing cultural identity; just under one tenth of the respondents (9%) choose both nostalgia and cultural identity as the meaning of the Taiwanese food. In total, almost all informants (90%) perceived ‘nostalgia’ and/or ‘cultural identity’ as the major meanings of Taiwanese food.

Tables 5-6 and 5-7 present the relationship between two variables, ‘paternal background of respondents’ and their responses regarding ‘the meaning of Taiwanese cuisine’, and the results after carrying out cross analysis and a Chi-square test. Table 5-6 indicates that Taiwanese food not only evokes a sense of nostalgia or cultural identity for Taiwanese, but also for Mainlanders. No matter which ethnic group these respondents belong to, all people can feel the nostalgic atmosphere when they consume Taiwanese food—even though only some of them have their memories of having eaten these foods during their childhoods. Table 5-7 indicates that there is no significance between these two variables.

The data above indicate that Taiwanese food, although originating from the Minnan cuisine of Fujian province, has now become a nostalgic food, a familiar flavour, a historical palate. People, among various ethnic groups, are keen to experience this food in these restaurants to recall their memories or an imagined cultural nostalgia. Taiwanese food is symbolic of Taiwan, which in turn is also a part of Taiwanese culture.
Table 5-5: The meaning of Taiwanese food reported by respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nostalgia</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural identity</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National identity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No special feeling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Cultural identity and Nostalgia</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-6: Paternal background & the meaning of Taiwanese food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The meaning of Taiwanese cuisine</th>
<th>Paternal background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minnanese (73.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainlander (19.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hakka (6.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indigenes (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostalgia</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural identity</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both nostalgia and cultural identity</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National identity</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No special meaning</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (%)</td>
<td>73.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-7: Chi-Square Tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>13.925(a)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>.531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>11.313</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>.730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc</td>
<td>5.706</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter illustrates that the cuisine choices for eating out in Taiwan are influenced by people’s life experiences, individual preferences, and social status. The informants who experienced the Japanese occupation preferred Japanese cuisine
for dining out, but the mainland and Taiwanese style foods are also popular. Details about the regular simple meals eaten out in Taiwan display their own eating patterns: for example the diverse types of breakfast, biandang and zizhucan, are different from those in mainland China and Japan. Taiwanese have transformed the elements of these ways of eating from their original versions and localised them. The data obtained from the questionnaires undertaken in two Taiwanese restaurants consistently shows that most respondents can identify dishes which are typical Taiwanese food. These dishes are perceived as not only offering customers good flavours, but also as containing meaning and evoking a sense of nostalgia and people’s cultural imagination. Taiwanese food is connected to all people, among various ethnic groups, through its emotional significance and their life experiences.

Conclusion

This chapter identified the determinants which affect people’s decisions about where and what to eat when eating regular meals out and eating-out for special occasions. These determinants include personal taste preferences, familiar flavours related to people’s eating experiences, the value of ingredients, wanting to try new food, food fashions and local food specialties, social status concerns, and social relationship factors at play. The major choices for Taiwanese for regular meal out are biandang, zizhucan, and Taiwanese snack foods. The above discussion provides an explanation of the changes in Taiwanese eating habits occurring in conjunction with social change in Taiwan. Personal, ethnic, and group identities are expressed through people’s eating out.

The questionnaire conducted in the Taiwanese restaurants reveals that familiar flavours, which evoke association with mother’s cooking and nostalgia, are the most significant associated cultural meanings when the customers choose a Taiwanese
restaurant to eat Taiwanese food as their preferred place to eat out. Moreover, these respondents regard these dishes as embodying typical Taiwanese food flavours and as being representative of ‘Taiwan.’ People wanting to shows their Taiwanese identity and their cultural identity rather than ‘national identity’ through the consumption of Taiwanese cai shows that there is a correlation between Taiwanese cai and Taiwanese identity.
Chapter 6
Invented Traditions and Identity

A number of invented traditions have successfully preserved particular values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past—for example carols on Christmas eve, and the royal Christmas broadcast in Britain which began in 1932 (Hobsbawm, 1983). Invented traditions are one way of reasserting a minority identity, or even a community identity or a national identity (Morrison, 2003, Vickers, 1997). In Taiwan, people have modified their traditions by adding some local innovations, in particular, in the last two decades, for example BBQs becoming part of Mid-Autumn Festival. They have also initiated a number of invented traditions associated with various local specialty foods. Some commercial invented food products are now regarded as representing Taiwan and Taiwanese culture because they originated locally. In this chapter I will discuss the development of invented foods and further examine the relationship between them and traditions. I will also describe the explosion of local food festivals in the last decade, which has occurred at the same time as a development of local identity and changes to state banquets which reflect this. Finally, I will explore the expression of Taiwanese identity in specific events, representing the integration of isolated individual local food cultures into a collective Taiwanese food culture.

Traditional food vs. Taiwanese invention

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178 The term ‘invented traditions’ encompasses ‘traditions’ actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period. It means a set of practices, normally governed by overtly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature (Hobsbawm, 1983:1).
From mooncakes to barbeques

Mooncakes initially are the original traditional food for Mid-Autumn Festival in mainland China and Taiwan, but nowadays barbecues (hereafter BBQs) and foods associated with them have become a major event food for this event in Taiwan. Liu (2004) sees the BBQ phenomenon as resulting from the thriving economy of the 1980s and Westernisation (西化). Since the mid-1980s BBQs promoted by Taiwanese businessmen have been the most popular Mid-Autumn Festival activity, especially among the younger generation. An informant commented on differences between the past and now:

035Q: Do you prepare special foods for Mid-Autumn Festival?
036A: We have baibai for Mid-Autumn Festival. The dishes for the offerings are prepared by the young people now; all I need to do is eat. Now we also have a BBQ at home. The great-grandchildren all come to have a BBQ together. They’re about 10 years old. But we didn’t have a BBQ in the past; we had mooncakes during the Japanese occupation.(B-TT7)

In 2000 a number of local governments began holding ‘ten-thousand people BBQ’ events, catering to resident demand and providing disposable BBQ grills for local residents to celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival as a community rather than eating mooncakes in individual households. The scale of these

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179 In the mid-1980s, two soy-sauce companies targeted the BBQ market during the lead-up to Mid-autumn Festival promoting their products with their slogans ‘yijia kaorou wanjia xiang’ (一家烤肉萬家香) and ‘barbecue’ (巴比Q) with intensive advertising on TV. At the same time, retail shops selling the necessary facilities for BBQs, for example food, coal, and ingredients, began to offer discounts for these goods. This helped the BBQ became the most popular Mid-autumn Festival activity. See http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E4%B8%AD%E7%A7%8B%E8%A8%82, viewed 25 October, 2010.
community BBQ events can be as small as a local community or neighbourhood or as large as an entire county. They have become a good way for people to maintain relationships with their family, neighbours, friends and others in the community during this Festival. An informant gave these details of it:

072A: We have a BBQ together with the neighbours. ... In Taipei, I don’t prepare the meat for the BBQ. I stew some chicken gizzards and chicken feet to share with others. I eat what my neighbors have prepared. We have a strong human connection (人情味很重). (B-HH4)

In 2008 the central government banned large-scale community BBQs in order to ‘decrease carbon emissions and [practise] energy conservation,’ a policy decision which attracted a great deal of dissatisfaction. Although the BBQ is a new tradition only dating from the 1980s, the BBQ has already become a Taiwanese Mid-Autumn Festival custom.

Prohibited food - Beef & the Beef Noodle Festival

Beef was originally not widely eaten in Taiwan. During the Dutch period (1624-1662), the Dutch imported a hundred cattle from East India to Taiwan (Lin, 1988:362, Fan, 1949). Official stations were built in southern and northern Taiwan to domesticate wild cattle as draught animals for rice-farming. During the Qing

181 「荷蘭時，南北二路設牛頭司；牧放生息，千百成羣。獵大，設欄擒繫之。牡則俟其餒，乃漸飼以水草；稍馴狎，閹其外腎令壯，以耕以軒。牡者，縱之孳生」. See Fang Hao 方豪 (1949), Taiwan zaoqi shigang 臺灣早期史綱.
dynasty the government issued a ban against eating beef because cattle were bred for rice-farming, the Han migrants did not eat beef (Lin, 1988:362). However, Taiwanese have changed their attitudes toward and perceptions of beef and this formerly prohibited food has become relatively popular, a change associated with political and social change as well. The Japanese were the first to introduce beef-eating to Taiwan to cater to Japanese fondness for it. A number of shops selling beef opened in 1900, and were publicised in newspaper advertisements.\(^\text{182}\) In 1922, the government established public markets in Dalongtong (大龍峒), Mengjia (艋舺) and elsewhere to sell beef to the general public, however, since most Taiwanese could not afford to buy it, most customers were only Japanese.\(^\text{183}\) A Minnanese informant noted that she always refrained from eating beef:

004A: *I live with my son and his family. I eat what they cook; you can’t just choose your favourite food to eat. But I don’t eat beef; cattle are for growing rice crops. How can we eat cattle?* (B-TT7)

The large-scale and ongoing phenomenon of beef-eating by Mainlanders after 1945 resulted in some Taiwanese crossing an associated emotional and moral boundary about eating beef. An informant mentions the first time he ate beef with his Mainlander colleague:

*Around 12:30pm, I went and had lunch with Mr. XX. We ate beef-noodles, beef and cake. This was the first time I’d ever eaten all these foods.* (Dairy entry 19/7/1952)

\(^{182}\) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinbo* 台灣日日新報, 5 May, 1900.

\(^{183}\) From interview with B-TT10.
Some old people I interviewed still maintain their prohibition against beef-eating, but some have cultivated this food preference through their family background and social networks. A Minnanese woman commented that her son’s favourite food is beef noodles:

046A: *I don’t eat beef, but my son likes it. If you want to eat some, he’ll go and buy it for you.*
047Q: *What’s your opinion of the Taipei Beef Noodle Festival? Do you think it’s different from normal Taiwanese eating customs?*
048A: *Of course, it’s quite different. My parents tried eating beef for a short time, but after that experience, they gave it up again.*
049Q: *A Japanese period newspaper mentioned there were some beef shops in Taiwan at that time. Did you know about them?*
050A: *They sold beef to Japanese.* (B-TT10)

According to 2006 data on meat consumption in Taiwan, the annual consumption of beef was 3.6 kilograms per person. This is far less than the annual consumption of pork, which was then 40 kilograms per person. Beef consumption was still limited because of the long-term impact of the cow prohibition, pork as an important offering for worship, and the food habit of eating pork. But although beef is not the major meat consumed, in 2005 the Taipei City Government initiated the Taipei Beef Noodle Festival. The reasons given were that Taipei has the highest number of beef-noodles shops in Taiwan and that the highest percentage of Mainlanders live in Taipei. Mainlanders introduced mainland-style beef noodles to Taiwan, but this noodle has been localised as ‘Taiwanese’ beef noodles. Taipei City Government declared beef noodles as a representative Taipei specialty food. Since 2005, the

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184 From interviews with B-TT1, B-TT7, B-TT10.
185 From interviews with B-TT9, B-MH7, B-HH4, D-TT1, 3, 6, D-HH1, 3, 6, D-MT5.
Taipei Beef Noodle Festival has taken place annually. This festival picks the ‘best’ noodles during the festival period, so it is a competition between sellers, winning can give a huge boost to the winner’s business. Beef noodles have become an established part of Taipei food culture.

As well as being associated with Taipei beef noodles are being successfully promoted overseas. Some elderly Taiwanese do not eat beef, but they now agree with the holding of Taipei Beef Noodle Festival. A Hakka woman thought that beef noodles can represent Taiwan:

126A: The beef noodles cooked by Mainlanders in Zhongli (中壢) are delicious. They’re large and delicious. Some famous ones are the Xinmin (新民) beef-noodle restaurant. Beef noodles can be representative, but some Taiwanese still don’t eat beef because of their religious beliefs. (B-HH2)

Taipei Beef Noodle Festival was a new invented tradition although this event in fact was completely at variance with the actual tradition of not eating beef. Taiwanese gradually come to believe it has legitimacy through the intensive efforts of the Taipei City Government.

**Taiwanese snack foods: tradition vs. invention**

Shopping and eating snack foods in night markets is a common entertainment for residents of Taiwan. The night market phenomenon mirrors tradition in Taiwan. According to a 2008 official survey, the greatest attraction for foreign tourists in Taiwan was foods with 57.85%, and night markets were the most popular place to visit.¹⁸⁷ Enjoying Taiwanese snack foods in night markets has become a ‘must’ for

tourists. Yu (2005) argues that these night market foods have come to symbolise Taiwanese culture because they highlight local culture and distinguish Taiwanese culture from Chinese culture at a time when a sense of Taiwanese identity has been increasing. Furthermore, night markets not only maintained traditional victuals but have also created a number of new snack foods. These changes in the range of snack food consumed in Taiwan’s night markets deeply reflect the economic changes that have taken place there.

Traditional snack foods

Taiwanese snack foods are the major food items sold in the night markets and are sold by most food vendors. A manager in a Taiwanese restaurant (E4) regards such snack foods as representative of Taiwan because they, rather than jiujiacai, are the main popular foods:

085Q: What kind of food can represent Taiwan?
086A: Should it be something famous? I think just braised minced pork rice and oyster omelettes. It seems that only snack foods can do this. You can get stinky tofu and salty-crisp chicken nuggets (yansuji) anywhere.
087Q: Why do you only consider snack foods?
088A: This is my opinion. Taiwanese food consists mainly of snack foods, for example glutinous rice tube pudding, thick pork soup, braised eel (hongshao man), pig blood soup (zhuxuetang), and danzai noodles.
089Q: How about jiujiacai?
090A: Only some of the old people know about jiujiacai. I learned about it learning about cooking elsewhere. Basically it's dishes like 'dried squid and spiral shell meat soup with shallot' (youyu luorou suan). There are still many dishes I have no idea about.
091Q: A chef said it means dishes like Buddha’s casserole, and deep-fried squid balls. Some people think that jiu jia cai belongs to history now, what do you think?

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188 This popular distinctively Taiwanese style chicken snack, cooked by deep-frying, also has various other English names, including Taiwanese fried chicken nuggets, crisp-salty chicken nuggets, and salty and crispy chicken nuggets.
092A: If jiujia cai still exists, I’d like to try it. But I have no idea where I can get it. In fact, jiujia cai can be served as small dishes, [not only for banquets].

093Q: If the government wants to arrange a banquet for important overseas guests, what kind of food would you want to prepare for them?

094A: I would have snack foods rather than pantoh. We could find some representative snack foods for them, for example soft liver (fengan 粉肝), mullet roe, glutinous rice tube pudding, and squid beak (longzhu 龍珠). … I think snack foods can represent Taiwan. (E4)

Table 6-1 lists the top ten Taiwanese snack foods according to a 2007 internet poll conducted by the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Oyster omelettes, originally introduced from Xiamen in the Qing dynasty, were voted the most popular Taiwanese snack food in 2007. The owner of an oyster omelette stall (E3) in the Shilin night market also explained why Taiwanese snack foods is popular:

061Q: Do you think oyster omelettes are part of Taiwan cai?

062A: This has evolved. The restaurant dishes aren’t popular with the general public, so you have to pick popular foods to sell. Taiwanese snack foods.

063Q: The AoBa restaurant also sells oyster omelettes. Which place is better for selling oyster omelettes?

064A: The AoBa provides plain congee and savoury dishes, and they do a pretty good job. Their oyster omelette ingredients are better and finer than ours. They cook one dish at a time, but we cook a couple of dishes at once. And theirs look better.

111Q: The Ministry of Economic Affairs held an internet poll to identify the top ten Taiwanese snack foods. Most voters were young people. Do you know why young people like oyster omelettes?

112A: Because they’re cheap and tasty. They contain oyster and egg, and look quite big. They have a familiar taste. They’ve become popular because they suit people’s palate (合口味).

117Q: What you mean ‘suit people’s palates’?

118A: This is people’s individual preferences. They’re delicious, cheap, and contain oysters.
Table 6-1 Top 10 Taiwanese snack foods – 2007 Internet poll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Taiwanese snack food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Oyster omelette (蚵仔煎)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Salty-crisp chicken nuggets (鹽酥雞)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Stinky tofu (臭豆腐)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Oyster noodles (蚵仔麵線)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pearl milk tea (珍珠奶茶)(^{189})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Steamed soup buns (小籠湯包)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Meat balls (肉圓)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chicken rice (雞肉飯)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Braised minced pork rice (魯肉飯)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fried prawn roll (蝦捲)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some informants made comments about this ranking according to their personal food preferences, health issues, Taiwanese inventions and the history of snack foods. Regardless of their ethnic group, most picked oyster omelettes, oyster noodles and braised minced pork rice as representative Taiwanese snack foods, all typical old-fashioned items. This reflects their own food preferences: these traditional snack foods are still favourites with people, providing the most familiar flavours. A Hakka woman mentioned how she and her husband and her friends miss Taiwanese snack foods after a long trip overseas:

129A: *I think that oyster omelette, stinky tofu, oyster noodles, and braised minced pork rice are all Taiwanese snack foods. Among these, braised minced pork rice is very representative: Formosa Chang’s (鬍鬚張) braised minced pork rice is pretty good. After we’d been on a tour in Greece, my friends headed there to have braised minced pork rice; we went to have qiezai noodles.* (D-HH2)

\(^{189}\) The details about pearl milk tea are described in the ‘invented snack foods’ section of this chapter.
Steamed soup buns, a typical mainland-style snack food, came sixth in the internet poll. Although some informants criticised steamed soup buns as being a mainland-style snack food, some picked them as their favourite due to the fame of Din Tai Fung (鼎泰豐). The Din Tai Fung was ranked as one of the world's top 10 restaurants by the New York Times and was awarded one Michelin star by the Hong Kong and Macau 2010 edition of the Michelin Guide. The fame of Din Tai Fung chain, cited overseas as representative of Taiwanese food, was a reason influencing people to choose this as their favourite.

077Q: What do you think about the results of the top 10 Taiwanese snack foods poll?
078A: I dare not say too much about this part because I don’t really like these foods. For example, I don’t eat stinky tofu or pearl milk tea. I only eat steamed soup buns.
079Q: Which ones do you like?
080A: I like Din Tai Fung’s steamed soup buns. … (B-MT1)

089Q: What do you think about the results of the top 10 Taiwanese snack foods poll?
090A: I think oyster omelettes are a snack food representing Taiwanese. They have a particular flavour. It’s easy to find oyster omelette anywhere, for example Shilin or Beitou. Only Din Tai Fung has good steamed soup buns…. (B-TT1)

Invented snack foods

Of these top ten Taiwanese snack foods, only salty-crisp chicken nuggets and pearl milk tea are actually Taiwanese inventions; the others were introduced from

190 From interviews with D-TT7, and B-MT2.
191 From interviews with B-MM1, B-MT3, D-HH4, B-TT9, D-TT3, and D-TT5.
192 The first Din Tai Fung (鼎泰豐) Restaurant opened in Taipei in 1972, mainly selling steamed soup buns. The Din Tai Fung has now become a franchise brand restaurant in Taiwan and overseas.
mainland China then modified by the Taiwanese. Most interviewees did not choose salty-crisp chicken nuggets or pearl milk tea as their preferred food because of both the short history of these items and people’s health concerns; but they acknowledged that these two new food items are now favourites with young people and enjoy widespread popularity in Taiwan and overseas. The two Taiwanese restaurant managers (E4, E5) both agreed that they are part of Taiwanese food and represent Taiwan. While people have doubts about whether Taiwanese snack foods should have local origins, salty-crisp chicken nuggets and pearl milk tea, both invented by Taiwanese, can be considered as authentically representing Taiwan.

Yang (2011) sees pearl milk tea as a product of the combination of a Taiwanese traditional food (the pearls; 粉圓), a Western drink (milk tea) and food industrialisation in the form of automatic aluminium foil sealing machinery. Pearl milk tea is one of famous types of bubble tea.194 ‘Pearl’ is made of tapioca (cassava 植薯). This drink has resulted in a popular take-away drink culture in Taiwan and earned the unofficial status of a ‘treasure of Taiwan.’ Pearl milk tea has become an enjoyed drink around the world with ‘Taiwan’ and a fashion for the specific combination spread overseas. Pearl milk tea emerged in the 1980s. There are two versions of its origin. The Chun Shui Tang (春水堂) Tea House, a famous tea house in Taichung, has a story on their official website1 in which it claims that they invented pearl milk tea in 1987. The other version is that of Tu Tsung-He (涂宗和), the owner of Han Lin (翰林) Tea House, which opened in Tainan in 1986.195 He

194 Bubble tea, also known as foam tea, is a sweetened flavored tea beverage invented in Taiwan in the 1980s. It contain small chewy balls made of starch like tapioca (cassava 植薯), potato or sweet potato called pearls, fenyuán or boba (波霸). These teas are shaken to mix the ingredients, creating a foam on the top of some varieties, hence the name. Http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bubble_tea, viewed 3 May, 2011.

claims that he invented pearl milk tea in 1986. In either case, this drink has been voted a representative Taiwan food item, and in a 2007 food poll it was also found to be a favourite with foreigners. Pearl milk tea once again enjoyed the status of a representative Taiwanese food treat in another internet poll, organized by the Government Information Office (行政院新聞局) in October 2010. Other popular Taiwanese items in this internet poll were stinky tofu, oyster omelette, and braised minced pork rice. Pearl milk tea now has the same status as a number of more historical Taiwanese snack foods, despite originally being a small local invention just two or three decades ago. Its place as a Taiwanese drink is recognized by all people in Taiwan. Its uniqueness symbolises the distinct Taiwanese culture.

The other invention which has a key position among Taiwanese snack foods is salty-crisp chicken nuggets. Although it is difficult to trace their history, they emerged around 1982. Salty-crisp chicken nuggets vendors initially mainly sold them to school students around schools, along with other deep-fried food items, such as tianbula, soybean curd, pigs blood cake, sticky-rice sausage, chicken heart, chicken feet, and chicken rump. School students, who like eating some snack foods on their way home, were the major customers.

Because of their popularity, it is now easy to find food stalls selling salty-crisp chicken nuggets in Taiwan. This is no longer a small business in Taiwanese food markets. The comments of manager (E5) opined consumers’ attitudes and how that relates to their popularity:

046A: ….We did a survey in Taiwan and found consumers still mainly choose Chinese-style food for meals. Chinese-style food includes a number of types, for

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196 According to an informal interview with some women aged from 35 to 40 years old.
197 Interview with B-HH3.
example Chinese restaurants, eateries, salty-crisp chicken nuggets, and shabushabu.

More recently a variation version of salty-crisp chicken nuggets, deep-fried chicken fillets, has become another Taiwanese snack food that has entered overseas markets. In 1992, the Hot Star (豪大大雞排) food stall opened in Taichung selling mainly deep-fried chicken fillets (雞排). It gradually attracted consumers’ attention after they opened a food stall in Shilin night market in 1999, and it has since become an international franchise. The company has opened two stores in Hong Kong and one in Shanghai selling a typical Taiwanese-flavour food item, deep-fried chicken fillets. The Hot Star has a history of only about two decades, but its marketing of a Taiwanese snack food invention as a unique Taiwanese-style food is now attracting more foreign business investors overseas.

The past two or three decades during which salty-crisp chicken nuggets and pearl milk tea have appeared is also a period in which Taiwanese identity has been continually developing. The relationship is reflected in a saying Taiwanese students have about invented snack foods: ‘Taiwan has three treasures: pearl milk tea, deep-fried chicken fillets, and hot grass jelly.’ These were all created by people who live in Taiwan and have rapidly become favourites of the young generation. Salty-crisp chicken nuggets and pearl milk tea emerged in the 1980s; their history is only three decade history. According to my interviewees and the results of a number

200 From a chat with some university students. The Chinese wording is: 『台灣有三寶，珍珠、雞排、燒仙草。』
of internet polls about Taiwan’s snack foods, these young people see these food inventions as not only representing Taiwan, but as ‘treasures.’ Salty-crisp chicken nuggets and pearl milk tea are seen as treasures when people who live in Taiwan are looking for something which belongs to their own life experiences and local Taiwanese history.

**From simple food to restaurant food**

Taiwanese have been able to express Taiwanese identity over the last two decades. It has seen some Taiwanese restaurants which initially sold plain congee with small savouries and home-style dishes start changing their marketing strategy and highlighting the distinctiveness of Taiwanese food to expand their market. Taiwanese food has become genuine restaurant food – Taiwanese food is now a Taiwanese cuisine. An example is that of the AoBa and Shin Yeh restaurants which since 2000 have extended their respective businesses both in Taiwan and overseas. The AoBa has maintained its old décor to continue to attract their established patrons, but it has also opened some other modern style restaurants to develop the young-generation market. They plan to open branch restaurants overseas from 2011. The Shin Yeh is now the largest Taiwanese restaurant chain in Taiwan. It has expanded its business overseas, for example to China, Japan, and Singapore, and also opened some specialist Taiwanese restaurants in Taiwan. For example, in order to attract more young people’s interest in Taiwanese cuisine, the Shin Yeh group opened Shinyeh’s Table (蔥花): the names of the dishes and the style of service have been changed to cater to young people’s tastes. Another new outlet is Shin Yeh 101, located in the landmark skyscraper Taipei 101, designed to attract high-level customers. The general manager described this new approach, an upmarket place to experience Taiwanese food, had always been thought of as an inexpensive food:
Taiwan cai is homely food you can find everywhere. It’s friendly for the locals, and everyone eats it. Shin Yeh 101 faced a problem because of the confused images. To young people, Taiwan cai means things like Taiwanese snack foods; but there is a way for Taiwan cai—pantoh—to have high-class ingredients, for example shark’s fin. So in 101 we try to present the luxury ingredients (澎湃) found in pantoh in our set meals. Most customers come to the Shin Yeh 101 to treat their business clients to Taiwan cai. The clientele for this restaurant is set—it’s a business-customer market; our customers will be disappointed if they come to the Shin Yeh 101 for snack foods in a casual atmosphere. We modify our set meals to make them related to Taiwanese style as much as we can, but we need time to develop them. In our third year (2010) we’ll modify the set meals to give them even more Taiwanese feeling and flavour. I think this strategy for the top-end of the market only partly affects the image of Taiwan cai, but we’re creating an opportunity for customers to experience high-class Taiwan cai.

In the domestic market, the major clientele for the above two Taiwanese restaurants has changed from Japanese to Taiwanese, although the Japanese are still the second biggest group. Taiwanese food is now seen as a cuisine in its own right in Taiwan. Furthermore, the number of mainland Chinese customers is increasing because of the door opening between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. The two Taiwanese restaurant managers (E4, E5) both mentioned that more Chinese tourists who come to Taiwan want to try Taiwanese food. The general manager of the Shin Yeh restaurant emphasised the potential market of mainland Chinese tourists in Taiwan:

047Q: In the Taiwanese restaurant market, is your competition the other Taiwanese restaurants or the whole restaurant market?

048A: The market of Taiwanese food will continue to grow because of the improvement in the relationship between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. When Chinese visit Taiwan, they’ll want to try the typical Taiwanese food. They won’t want to experience Sichuan cuisine here. This is the point.
Indeed, local Taiwanese foods have become a commercial niche for attracting mainland Chinese tourists although some of them have visited Taiwanese restaurants in China before. Experiencing Taiwanese food has become part of the tour schedule for these tourists and has highlighted its distinctiveness from mainland Chinese food.

A manager (E4) talked about the different degree of recognition of Taiwanese food by Japanese and Chinese customers:

025Q: Where are your customers from?
026A: Everywhere. Some are tourists, mainly Japanese and Chinese. Now that it’s opened up between both sides of the Taiwan Straits, mainland Chinese tourists all visit Taiwan in tour groups, and the travel agencies arrange the meals for them.

027Q: What food do you provide the Chinese tourists?
028A: The dishes we prepare are like oyster with garlic paste, stir-fried shredded meat with bean curd, steamed fish with bird lime tree (pobuzi zhengyu 破布子蒸魚), and steamed glutinous rice with crab.

029Q: What do the Chinese tourists think of the food?
030A: They like eating spicy food, so we usually specially give them chilli. They all accept these dishes.

031Q: What differences are there in the orders of Japanese and Chinese?
032A: The Japanese know more about Taiwanese food because they usually collect information before they visit Taiwan. For example, the Japanese know about mullet roe, but the Chinese have no idea about it. (E4)

Dingxian 101 (頂鮮 101), a more recently opened Taiwanese restaurant which occupies the 86th floor of Taipei 101, is also aiming at this tourist market. Dingxian 101 was opened in January 2011 by the owner of another Taiwanese restaurant, the 50-year-old Tainan Denjaemen Seafood Restaurant (台南擔仔麵餐廳). Its opening highlights the commercial and cultural value of Taiwanese food. The items on its

201 The scientific name of bird lime tree (破布子) is Cordia dichotoma forst.
menu are mainly Taiwanese seafood dishes with some exotic elements, for example, the USD100 (NTD2,800) set meal consists of shark-fin soup, steamed lobster, steamed Queensland groper, raw fish, and some typical Taiwanese snack foods, such as deep-fried shrimp roll and Tainan danzai noodles. Dingxian 101 claims that it is the top Taiwanese seafood restaurant in Taiwan. The above Taiwanese restaurants selling Taiwanese food but raise the status of Taiwanese food as a high-end restaurant cuisine, the status of Taiwanese food has been changed to become a distinctive cuisine–Taiwanese cuisine in the last decade.

A BBQ has now become a ‘must prepare’ event for the traditional Mid-autumn Festival in Taiwan; beef noodles are a food symbol of Taipei; and the expression ‘Taiwan ‘s three treasures’ fully reflect the sense of Taiwanese identity expressed through these invented food. No matter whether it is traditional or invented food, *jiujia cai*, savoury dishes and plain congee, or foods which incorporate other ethnic or exotic elements, these foods created by Taiwanese have become part of Taiwanese food culture. Taiwanese people are now able to demonstrate their Taiwanese identity through the presentation of these foods.

**Taiwanese identity as a collection of local identities**

**Regional and local identities –place differences**

According to Casey (in Cresswell, 2004:87) ‘place–memory’ is the ability of a place to make the past come to life in the present and thus contribute to the production and reproduction of social memory. To Taiwanese, their birthplace is one of the factors forming their regional or local identity. Most informants talked about their food preferences reflecting their birthplace rather than ethnicity. Their comments indicate that some identify themselves in terms of familiar place from their childhood.
According to a Minnanese woman:

017Q: Do you think there were any changes in your food habits before and after your marriage?
018A: I think they’re still the same because my husband is also from Yunlin county, so we have the same food habits. (B-TT4)

Other examples of locality as a factor can be seen when some informants talked about Taiwanese snack foods. Some were not impressed by Taipei’s snack foods, but they were impressed by what they ate in their birthplace during their childhood. An informant described her food preferences, based on where she grew-up, in Tainan:

058A: I think deep-fried shrimp roll is a good snack food. When I was a child, we already had braised minced pork rice, which was a normal food and quite cheap. Tainan’s braised minced pork is different from that in Taipei. In Tainan, we chop pork with the skin on it, and braise it slowly to release its good aroma. People in Taipei just braise minced pork…. (D-MT3)

Another informant from Tainan (D-TT5) said similar things, highlighting foods such as glutinous rice tube pudding, crystal dumplings (shuijingjiao 水晶餃), milkfish balls (shimuyuwan 蟲目魚丸), and deep-fried Spanish mackerel thick soup (tutuoyugeng 土魠魚羹) as being delicious. These informants’ comments and preferences for foods mainly from their birthplaces display their strong sense of local identity.

More generally, there is an unofficial geographic division of residents into two groups, unrelated to their ethnic groups: people who live in southern Taiwan regard themselves as Southerners and those living in northern Taiwan see themselves as Northerners. There are regional cooking style differences between north and south Taiwan. A Minnanese woman’s remarks about the changes in her food habits before
and after her marriage reflect the difference between northern and southern cooking styles:

015Q: Do you think there were any changes in your food habits before and after your marriage?
016A: Southern and northern Taiwan are totally different. In the south, the cooking is all about the big pot or big wok. In the north, I eat what my husband cooks for me, and we sometimes go out and buy some snack foods (They have small number of family members so they don’t use big pot or wok to cook and they eat out more often) … (D-TT9)

Another clear example is the different types of rice dumplings prepared in the north and the south for the Dragon-Boat Festival, and the associated heated discussion that this aroused among some of my interviewees, both discussed in Chapter 4.202 Their argument is evidence that Taiwanese identify even more strongly with their locality than their ethnic group.

These differences are also clearly reflected in comments made by the Shin Yeh restaurant manager:

021Q: Have you opened the Shin Yeh restaurant in south Taiwan? Do you have this plan to extend your business to south Taiwan?
022A: There is a big difference about taste between north and south Taiwan. But it doesn’t mean that southerners would not accept the taste of northerners. There are four differences between them, including the taste, the type of food consumption, the consumption price, and the cost of management.

Local food festival and local identity

In Taiwan, people have their own individual identities based on places associated with their personal background and childhoods. However, local cultures were not

202 See Chapter 4, p.136-137.
preserved or promoted to any degree by local governments until the mid 1990s. Taiwanese started learning about their local cultures in conjunction with a growth in Taiwanese identity, including local food culture.

During the last decade, a number of local governments have invested in cultural and creative industries. Speciality foods are considered a good entry point to a local culture, and food festivals and some invented traditions have been an effective way to highlight and consolidate local culture and local identity. Some well-known such events are listed below in Table 6-2. Studies of local foods and local food festivals have been carried out regularly since 1997.

Table 6-2 Well-known local food festivals in Taiwan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Festival</th>
<th>Chinese name</th>
<th>First held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guantian Water Chestnut Festival</td>
<td>官田菱角節</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingtung Donggang Blue Fin Tuna Cultural Festival</td>
<td>東港黑鮪魚文化季</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung Mullet Culture Festival</td>
<td>高雄烏魚文化祭</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neimen Chef Festival</td>
<td>內門總鋪師節</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinshan Sweet Potato Festival</td>
<td>金山蕃薯節</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changhua Food Festival</td>
<td>彰化美食節</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulin Gukeng Coffee Festival</td>
<td>雲林古坑咖啡嘉年華</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimen Jumping Fish Carnival</td>
<td>石門活魚節</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei Beef Noodle Festival</td>
<td>台北牛肉麵節</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilan Sanhsin Shallot &amp; Garlic Festival</td>
<td>宜蘭三星蔥蒜節</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these food festivals, the most successful is the Pingtung Donggang Blue Fin Tuna Cultural Festival. The Pingtung County Government painstakingly constructed the image of Pingtung blue fin tuna. They successfully reaffirmed the blue fin tuna as the local specialty food and its part in local culture. The output value of the Pingtung Donggang Blue Fin Tuna Cultural Festival was about USD100 million in
2008. and the local government benefited from the associated taxes, which provided a successful model for other local governments. The local people earned a large fortune from this event, and one of them obtained the authority of BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) from the local government to run a ‘Donggang Fishery Museum’ in Donggang to promote blue fin tuna culture in response to this government policy as well as the holding of Donggang Blue Fin Tuna Cultural Festival. These invented traditions can not only attract tourists but can also improve economic development and promote local cultures to outsiders. In Taiwan de defang xinjieqing [New local festivals in Taiwan] Chen and Chien (2004) discussed these invented traditions organised by local governments emphasising that they provide opportunities to get a deeper understanding of Taiwan.

In response to the increasing awareness of local identities and to globalisation trends, local Taiwan governments are encouraging the exploration of local history and customs, i.e. things that distinguish them from other places, by understanding special projects involving, *inter alia*, food themes. The economic and cultural value of these projects indicates they not only have commercial benefits but also visibly reaffirm a sense of belonging.

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204 Build-operate-transfer (BOT) is a form of project financing, wherein a private entity receives a concession from the private or public sector to finance, design, construct, and operate a facility stated in the concession contract. This enables the project proponent to recover its investment, operating and maintenance expenses in the project.

Swislocki (2009) argues that local food culture is an important component of a sense of self and place; regional food culture can guide people to comprehend the history of their country and also their future. Nowadays, the restaurant industry is gradually being regarded as one of many cultural and creative industries, one which has successfully transformed itself from merely commercial considerations to being engaged in value-adding cultural activity by means of invented traditions. Taiwan’s food festivals, those which already exist and those still to be invented, are part of a strong trend to highlight the importance of local specialty foods connected to local cultures. The sense of local identity strengthened through these local food festivals now constitutes an essential part of Taiwanese culture and offers people a ready avenue to learn more about it.

**State banquets – showcasing various local specialty foods**

Since 2000 the menus of the inaugural banquets in Taiwan have been designed to fully reflect Taiwanese culture and incorporate elements of local cultures. Taiwanese identity became stronger over a period of twenty years since 1989 including the terms of office of former presidents Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian, and in the first decade of the 21st century, a succession of local specialty foods were identified as representative of various local regions and cultures. Such local food items were included in the menu of state banquets and Chen’s inaugural banquets, in 2000 and 2004, and in President Ma Ying-Jeou’s inaugural banquet in 2008. Taiwanese foods have fully replaced mainland Chinese foods as items featured at state banquets, a clear indication of the growth in momentum of a Taiwanese identity since 2000.

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206 This demonstrates that this was independent of political persuasions. These two men were from opposite sides of the political spectrum in democratic Taiwan. Chen is Taiwanese, but Ma is Mainlander.
The menu for Chen’s first inaugural banquet was designed to present an image of harmony among Taiwan’s various ethnic groups. The dish taro & sweet potato sponge is representative of the population including a combination of Taiwanese and Mainlanders.\textsuperscript{207} The inclusion of some of Chen’s own food preferences in the form of several Tainan snack foods such as milkfish balls soup (\textit{shimuyuwantang} 虱目魚丸湯) and Tainan style rice cakes (\textit{Tainan oá-kóe} 台南碗粿), signified both his hometown and a close affinity to ordinary people. The menu of his second inaugural banquet, in 2004, featured Taiwan’s unique ingredients from various places. The entrée consisted local foods from four different areas: Ilan smoked duck, Kaohsiung mullet roe, Donggang shrimp, and Tainan smoked-tea goose. Each dish on the menu represented a particular place and/or region in Taiwan.\textsuperscript{208} This served to draw the attention of both the guests present and ordinary people to these local speciality foods, foods intimately connected with people’s individual life experiences and local cultures. The fame these specialty foods thus enjoyed reaffirmed and strengthened people’s sense of local identity and pride.

Hsiao and Lim (2009:7-24) comment that these descriptions of where the dishes come from convey a strong and clear political message to guests at the banquets and to the wider public. The menu for the 2008 inaugural banquet for President Ma was designed using the same template: for example Donggang shrimp was used in sticky-rice with sakura shrimp; Guanmiao free range chicken, and Meinong rice

\textsuperscript{207} In Taiwan, sweet potato normally refers to Taiwanese, but taro is for Mainlanders.

\textsuperscript{208} They are Tainan milkfish balls & squid balls soup, Hakka style sticky-rice, steamed fresh lobster caught off eastern Taiwan, roast lamb chops in plum sauce with asparagus & dried lily, steamed bonito caught around the Penghu islands; desserts of Dajia taro pie, millet moichi, sweet almond soup with twisted cruller; fruits such as Guanmiao pineapple, Linbian wax apple, Pingtung melon, Taitung watermelon; and drinks such as Kinmen sorghum wine, Gukeng coffee and Mt. Ali tea. The above English names for all dishes are from the menu of inaugural banquet, 2004, which is collected by the Chinese Dietary Culture Library.
pappardelle (*Meinong bantiao* 美濃板條) and preserved leaf mustard (*meigan* 梅干菜) were used in a Hakka style dish. Each dish on the menu featured one or more of the individual strong local elements which together constitute Taiwanese food culture as a whole.

This approach to menu design subsequently influenced other official events and private banquets, for example the farewell banquet for the 2009 Summer Deaflymics held in Taiwan. This also served as an opportunity to display the local pride of the host—Taiwan. The menu for this occasion basically consisted of local specialty foods, Taiwanese snack foods, and some invented traditional foods such as beef noodles. The banquet venue was a stadium so the event was designed based on the traditional Taiwanese *pantoh*. And just as for Chen’s and Ma’s state banquets, various local specialty foodstuffs were presented showcasing characteristic Taiwanese foods to the world. The menu for this banquet is shown in Table 6-3 below.
### Table 6-3 Menu of the 2009 Summer Deaflympics farewell banquet held in Taiwan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Dish – <em>English name</em></th>
<th>Dish – <em>Chinese name</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Entrée</strong></td>
<td>Pingtung sakura shrimp</td>
<td>屏東櫻花蝦 Pingdong louhuaxia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yunlin peanuts</td>
<td>雲林花生 Yunlin huasheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dasi dried bean curd</td>
<td>大溪豆乾 Daxi dougan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwanese assorted</td>
<td>Taiwanese-style abalone</td>
<td>台式九孔 Taishi jiukong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold dishes</td>
<td>mullet roe</td>
<td>魚子 wuyuzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crystal rolls</td>
<td>水晶卷 shuijingjuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main dishes</strong></td>
<td>traditional small steamed buns</td>
<td>傳統圓籠小籠包 chuantong yuanlong xiaolongbao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>steamed fish with fermented soybean &amp; salty white gourd</td>
<td>豆豉鹽冬瓜蒸魚 douchi yandonggua zhengyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taiwanese tempura</td>
<td>甜不辣 tianbula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taiwanese beef noodles</td>
<td>特色牛肉麵 te se niurouman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mini Buddha’s casserole</td>
<td>迷你佛跳牆 mini fotiaoqiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taiwanese old-flavour braised minced pork rice</td>
<td>台灣古味魯肉飯 Taiwan guwei luroufan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baked prawns with Bali green bamboo shoots</td>
<td>八里綠筍焗鮮蝦 Bali lüsun ju xianxia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Specialties</strong></td>
<td>Taichung pineapple cake</td>
<td>台中鳳梨酥 Taizhong fenglisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taipei nougat</td>
<td>台北牛軋糖 Taibei niuyatang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gukeng peach with coffee flavour</td>
<td>古坑咖啡梅 gukeng kafei mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taiwanese mountain tea</td>
<td>台灣高山茶 Taiwan gaoshancha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dessert</strong></td>
<td>Tainan mango shaved ice</td>
<td>台南特產芒果冰 Tainan techan manguobing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drink</strong></td>
<td>Pearl milk tea</td>
<td>珍珠奶茶 zhenzhu naicha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Apple Daily, 16 September, 2009

**Newly invented banquet styles & individual identity**

In Taiwan, people have gradually learnt how to present their personal and cultural identities in the designs of banquets, both official and private, during the last decad. The wedding banquet is the type of public banquet most often held by a family. The particular banquet food, the reputation of the restaurant and its location, and their
social relationships, are the basic determining factors\textsuperscript{209} considered when selecting the restaurant for a wedding banquet. But more and more people are now starting to also include elements reflecting their individual identity, based on their life experiences and family background, in their wedding banquet.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, a Minnanese woman (B-TT4) said that she had intentionally organised a Taiwanese banquet in a historical hot-spring hotel for her son’s wedding because she preferred Taiwanese food. This banquet included the Japanese style \textit{nagashi} entertainment.\textsuperscript{210} Anderson (2005) points out that ethnic groups are characterised and defined by their foodways. Hakka people in Taiwan previously had \textit{pantoh} for their wedding banquets, the same as other Minnanese, but the growth of Hakka identity since the 1990s has seen them choose Hakka banquets. This is illustrated by a Hakka woman’s description of her family’s experience:

\textit{109Q: Where did your children have their wedding banquet?} \\
\textit{110A: It was also pantoh, in front of a temple housing the village deity. I engaged some Hakkas to arrange the banquet. They prepared some Hakka dishes, such as Hakka stir-fry and salted vegetable soup (鹹菜湯). Hakka stir-fry has to be included.}

During the pre-democratisation period, most soldiers chose mainland restaurants for their weddings banquet because their friends were almost all from mainland China. As time passed, the heads of Mainlander households no longer insisted on this because the numbers of their Mainlander friends was decreasing. This, an increased sense of Taiwanese identity and a diversity of restaurants in Taiwan, saw mainland restaurants no longer being an essential venue for wedding banquets. A Minnanese

\textsuperscript{209} From interviews with D-MT4-5, D-TT4-8, D-HH3-4, B-MM1, B-MM3, B-HH2, and B-TT1, 4, 5, 9.
\textsuperscript{210} See Chapter 1, footnote 10 for details of \textit{nagashi}. 

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woman noted the changing choice of restaurant for her children’s wedding banquets:

059Q: Where did your children have their wedding banquet?
060A: One of my sons had his wedding banquet in the north-district branch of the Haipawang restaurant. My other son’s was in the Miramar (美麗華) Hotel. My sons were allowed to help make the decision. I think we made it together.
061Q: Why didn’t you choose some mainland restaurants related to your husband’s preferences?
062A: Because our guests are all benshengren now, the situation has changed. Nowadays, my husband seldom contacts his Mainlander friends. (D-MT1)

Three highly publicized occasions held in the last decade illustrate the connection between wedding banquet and local identity. The first was the 2006 wedding banquet of the son of Yen Ching-Piao (顏清標), a local politician in Taichung County. He hosted a pantoh-inspired ‘wedding banquet of the century’ for his son with 2003 tables in the Shalu Town Stadium in central Taiwan. Most famous politicians attended this wedding banquet.²¹¹ Pantoh had been regarded as a low-class category banquet because it was local Taiwanese custom and the Mainlanders looked down on the Taiwanese, but this event highlighted the significance of pantoh to Taiwanese. This banquet showcased the culture of central Taiwan and its warm hospitality to the public. Chou Mu-Chun (周牧群), the organiser, listed of the vast quantities of some luxury ingredients required to prepare this pantoh:²¹²

We ordered 4,000 pieces of lobster, 10 thousand abalone, 5,000 sand crabs, 2,000 kilograms of large pieces of shark’s fin, 2,000 pieces of large butterfish; and at least 1,000 kilograms of other side ingredients, for example dried mushrooms and sea cucumbers. There were three or four different drinks on each table - at least 10 thousand bottles for the whole banquet.

The second occasion was the wedding banquet of Terry Gou (郭台銘) in 2008. Forbes Magazine named Gou, chair of Foxconn Technology Group, Taiwan’s richest person in 2010. He was the first person to employ local ingredients to customize the menu for his wedding banquet. The menu revealed his personal food preferences. All his favourite foods related to his life experiences in Taiwan and political considerations, the recommendation of President Ma Ying-Jeou—Loadong beef noodles (老董牛肉麵). The entrées were dried meat, cashews, lotus root with sweet and sour sauce, BBQ duck meat with crystal sugar, and chili meat. Various other dishes were prepared using typical local specialty ingredients, for example, salad vegetables and wild Chinese yam from Yangmingshan; trout and threadfin from Jinshan (金山); fresh bamboo shoots from Sanxia (三峡), and Linhefa (林合發) glutinous rice. The dessert was biphang (米香), a typical Taiwanese snack, ordered from Cherry’s (泉利) and rice milk from Keelung. The menu of this wedding banquet presents a typical collection of Taiwanese local specialty foods.

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### Table 6-4 Menu of wedding banquet for Terry Gou held in 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Dish – English name</th>
<th>Dish – Chinese name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entrées</td>
<td>Dried meat cashews</td>
<td>肉乾  rouqian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lotus root with sweet and sour sauce</td>
<td>糖醋蓮子  tangcu lianzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BBQ duck meat with crystal sugar chili meat stuffing</td>
<td>冰糖醬鴨  bingtang jiangya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main dishes</td>
<td>salad – Yangmingshan vegetables</td>
<td>沙拉 – 陽明山水耕蔬菜  shala – Yangming shanshui shucai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lotus seed soup with wild Chinese yam sesame crispy pastry</td>
<td>林合發油飯  Linhefa youfan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Linhefa glutinous rice</td>
<td>林合發油飯  Linhefa youfan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jinshan trout</td>
<td>金山鱒魚  Jinshan zunyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jinshan threadfin, clam &amp; snake melon roasted Sanxia fresh bamboo shoots</td>
<td>銀絲蛤蜊絲瓜  yinsi geli sigua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laodong beef noodles</td>
<td>老董牛肉麵  Laodong niuroumian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift for Wedding guests</td>
<td>organic Taiwanese rice</td>
<td>台灣有機米  Taiean youji mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessert</td>
<td>Cherry biphang, rice milk</td>
<td>泉利米香, 米漿  quanli mixiang, mijiang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third occasion was a Wei family wedding banquet. Wei Ing-Chou was a typical Taiwanese who since 1992 has gained fame and fortune from his food business empire in mainland China. For his son’s marriage on October 4, 2009, the family chose their place of origin, Taiwan, for the wedding banquet. Among the 1,600 guests invited were 500 guests from China. Wei and Chef Cheng Yen-Chi (鄭衍...

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214 Wei Ing-Chou (魏應州) is the chairman and CEO of the Ting Hsin International Group in mainland China. Tingyi (Cayman Islands) Holding Corporation (康師傅控股有限公司), formerly (頂益(開曼島)控股有限公司) is the largest instant noodle producer and Taiwanese enterprise in China. It specialises in the production and distribution of instant noodles, beverages, baked goods and soft drinks with its brand name, Master Kong (康師傅). See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tingyi_(Cayman_Islands)_Holding_Corporation, viewed 3 May, 2011.
together designed the menu together to feature Taiwanese foods, allowing guests to enjoy foods sourced one end of the island of Taiwan to the other. The menu strongly reflected Wei’s Taiwanese background and his feeling for Taiwan: no shark’s fin, abalone, or lobster were served for the wedding banquet, instead authentic Taiwanese snack foods such as deep-fried oyster rolls (zha ejuan 炸蚵卷), deep-fried pork ribs with taro (yutou paigusu 芋頭排骨酥), glutinous rice cakes (migao 米糕), Tainan danzai noodles and so on. Wei offered his hometown specialty, special glutinous rice cakes from Yongjing Township, Changhua County, to these important guests.

A combination of various local specialty foods has gradually become a normal template for menu design when Taiwanese have an opportunity to hold a banquet and treat their relatives and friends. People no longer simply rely on a chef’s regular menu but have their own ideas about what foods express their own identity based on their family background, life experiences, and personal preferences. These invented banquet styles have gradually become both a good way to cater to people’s individual wants, and also reveal their strong identification with Taiwan. Taiwanese food in this democratic period has been highlighted and this is connected to the momentum of Taiwanese identity.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has described the development of invented foods in Taiwan – such as the BBQ now associated with the Mid-autumn Festival; beef noodles as the food symbol of the city of Taipei; and the Taiwanese creations pearl milk tea and deep-fried

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215 Cheng Yen-Chi’s Taiwanese name is A-ki sai (Ajishi, 阿基師). He is a well-known cook in Taiwan.

chicken fillets. These inventions exemplify how Taiwanese invest foods with an authentic Taiwanese spirit. Since 2000, local identity being associated with particular food featured in food guides and food festivals has become a movement within Taiwan. Local specialty foods collectively constitute an important part of Taiwanese food culture: examples are the Pingtung Donggang Blue Fin Tuna Cultural Festival in Pingtung; the Yulin Gukeng Coffee Festival in Yulin; and the Taipei Beef Noodle Festival in Taipei. There has been a proliferation of local food festivals in the last decade and this has coincided with the development of Taiwanese identity. All of these local food festivals highlight the correlation between local people’s awareness and sense of Taiwanese identity.

Various invented banquet, and former president Chen’s and Ma’s state banquets, the farewell banquet dinner of the Deaflympic game, the 2006 Yen family wedding banquet, Terry Gou’s wedding banquet in 2008, and Wei’s wedding banquet in 2009 have all been described and discussed. These exemplify how banquets have become opportunities to make a display of an aggregation of local specialty foodstuffs symbolizing Taiwanese identity. People’s local identities are built on people’s perceptions of the food where they are or his/her hometown. The Taiwanese on the island of Taiwan are adopting their own ways of showing who they are and the place where they live. The invented foods indeed express features of Taiwan and successfully highlight Taiwanese culture as unique and distinct from that of mainland China.
Chapter 7
Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter I will first describe each factor affecting the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine illustrated in Figure 7-1: the Evolution of Taiwanese Cuisine. The change in status of Taiwanese food from being simply ‘food’ to a ‘cuisine’ is related to the growth of a sense of Taiwanese identity over the last two decades or so. In the next section I discuss the role Taiwanese food has been playing and continues to play as the current Taiwanese government opens the door welcoming mainland Chinese tourists. In the last two decades Taiwanese have come to gradually realize the significance local culture has in showing others who they are. Having established that Taiwanese now have the concept of utilizing the distinctiveness of Taiwanese foods to promote both Taiwanese culture and Taiwan, I next further discuss how the development of Taiwanese food can be understood as associated with the phenomenon of globalisation, and how Taiwanese food can be identified as a unique cuisine which differs from other Chinese cuisines in the global market. Last, I will present a summary of each chapter and then conclude the whole study.

Discussion

The determinants of the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine

The conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2 proposes that a cuisine evolves as a combination of the influences of exogenous socio-environmental and endogenous socio-cultural factors. The findings described from Chapter 3 to Chapter 6 corroborate this. The results of my study demonstrate that this conceptual framework is useful for organizing data collected and was accurate in its assumptions regarding what the determinants in the evolution of a cuisine are.
Exogenous socio-environmental factors

Natural environment The natural environment is a factor which affects Taiwanese food and foodways. The vast range of readily available local ingredients\(^{217}\) was a fundamental factor in the formation of the flavours of Taiwanese food. Local specialty foods variously feature aspects of their natural geography as well as historical and cultural background.

Colonial history & political authority Colonial influence and history are connected to changes in people’s food habits (Mintz, 1996, Goody, 1982, Anderson, 2007). In Taiwan, people’s food habits have been influenced by the external cultures and the introduction of external food items during the colonial period. Details regarding the ‘introduction of new crops and food items by external migrants’ were discussed in Chapter 3. Taiwan’s colonial history and political authority were the major exogenous socio-environmental factors which affected both Taiwanese food practices and the status of Taiwanese food during the Japanese period and the early period before democratisation.

Economic factors Economic factors create the major demand for the formation of a cuisine (Augustin-Jean, 2002, Mintz, 1996). In the 1970s the flourishing economy was the key exogenous factor in the survival of a particular category of traditional food—Taiwan liaoli—jiujia cai—and the popularity of new versions of Taiwanese food combination—plain congee and savoury dishes—in Taiwan’s restaurant industry. In the context of the continuing economic development, a number of Taiwanese restaurants, including some famous local hotels, gradually opened in the 1980s. Direct cross-Taiwan straight flights were initiated in 2008 in order to improve Taiwan’s economy and this has contributed to Taiwanese food now being

\(^{217}\) Evidenced by the Chapter 4 listings of natural foods recorded in the 1696 Taiwan fuzhi, the 1747 Chongxiu Taiwan fuzhi, and the 1920 Taiwan tongshi
identified as a distinctive cuisine from other Chinese cuisines.

**Social factors** People employ food to create and maintain their social relations (Douglas, 1984). During the colonial period, Taiwanese learned how to live their life with the Japanese who migrated to Taiwan from Japan and people who migrated there from mainland China. Japanese and Mainland food and foodways became a good entrypoint for local people to learn about external life styles: these novel foods were incorporated into Taiwanese life style and became localized and part of Taiwanese food culture. The mixed-ethnic marriages between Mainlanders and Taiwanese were, and are, a social factor through which people could clearly see the differences between their various food habits and customs. Food habits and customs have become a lubricant to balance the differences between these two ethnic groups and caused Taiwanese food to evolve further by incorporating elements of mainland foods.

**Endogenous socio-cultural factors**

**Family background** Ethnicity is a crucial factor in the formation of people’s daily food habits (Wu 1995, Twiss 2007, Moreno-Black 2007, Kim 1998). The changes in the sphere of home-style food described in Chapter 4 demonstrate that the development of Taiwanese food practices is closely related to people’s family backgrounds. Taiwanese family identity is expressed in the regular sharing of meals, meals which in turn are related to people’s ethnicity and family history. Additionally, household composition, including gender roles, and the number of household members and their ages, is significant in determining how foods are prepared at home.

**Social class** Socio-economic status is one of the determinants of food choices (Whitehead, 1982; Caplan, Keane, Willetts, & Williams, 1998; Goody, 1982, Fox
With regard to the relationship between social class and food, Taiwanese residents express and display their social status through various banquets, such as weddings, hosting clients, and traditional religious observances. The specifics are basically connected to their wealth, occupational position, and social relationships.

**Traditional practices** Food has a close relationship with cultural identity and often has metaphors or other special meanings (Fox, 2007, Moreno-Black, 2007). Some Taiwanese customs traditionally associated with particular foods and food practices are influenced by strong traditional beliefs in *yin-yang* theory and culture. These customs and beliefs are behind many Taiwanese shared food practices. These elements of Taiwanese food contribute to its uniqueness and differences from other Chinese foods.

**Living environment** People’s living environment, including their local markets, is a factor which influences people’s food choices and cultivation of their food preferences (Mintz, 1996). The findings from the interviews indicate that one reason Taiwanese have been able to maintain their food and foodways to this day is because they can obtain familiar ingredients from the local markets. They have also learned about new foods through exchanges of anecdotes and information, including food and food preparation related details, among the seller and buyers. The residential community, workplaces and schools similarly provide opportunities for people to spontaneously learn about various foods from their neighbours, friends, and colleagues, and cultivate diverse food preferences.

**Personal factors** People can clearly express their personal identity through their food consumption, based on their own food preferences and/or religion (Twiss, 2007). The last group of endogenous factors which influence food choices and individual identity are personal factors, which for the purposes of this study encompassed their physical condition, religious concerns, and personal palate. For
example, many elderly people interviewed talked about the eating restrictions they observed connected to their physical condition, and about following various dietary regimes and dietary cures. Vegetarians are a clear example of the part food practices play in expressing religious beliefs and identity. And a person’s palate is another expression of personal identity. These personal factors all strongly influence people’s food choices both eating at home and out.

Cuisine is continually changing. Taiwanese society still faces various social issues. Some informants mentioned that they now hire Filipina housekeepers to cook for them because they live alone and are unable to cook for themselves. The increasing number of aged people and foreign workers will be a significant socio-cultural issue which continually influences Taiwanese foods and people’s food choices and practices.

The formation of Taiwanese cuisine

Taiwanese food developed along with Taiwan’s colonial history. It comprises a number of various types of foods which displays its diverse cultural elements. Figure 7-1 shows the development of Taiwanese cuisine on the right side of the axis:

1. 1624-1895 (Pre-Japanese period): Minnan culture played a major role in shaping Taiwanese food habits. Taiwanese foods and foodways originated from the southern area of Fujian province in this period, and Taiwanese maintained the Chinese fan-cai principle in their food practices.

2. 1895-1945 (Japanese occupation): In the Japanese period, there was a difference in status between the Japanese (coloniser) and the Taiwanese (colonised), and also between Japanese and Taiwanese food. Taiwanese restaurant food had been regarded as ‘Taiwanese cuisine’; it could only be afforded by Japanese officials and Taiwanese elite and businessmen. Ordinary Taiwanese ate only simple food. At the
same time, Japanese food was introduced to Taiwanese families and was incorporated into their foods. During this period, Japanese elements gradually became part of Taiwanese food.

3. 1945-1988 (Pre-democratisation period): The Nationalist government took over Taiwan from Japan in 1945. A status difference still existed but it was now between Taiwanese and Mainlanders during this period. Mainland cuisines, *waisheng cai*, were regarded as high cuisine, but Taiwanese food called *bensheng cai* was regarded as low cuisine. There was a large gap between these two distinct social groups, based on differences in language and origin. But in the 1970s *jiujia cai* and a new version of Taiwanese food—plain congee and savoury dishes—became popular due to the thriving economy.

4. 1988-present (Democratic Taiwan): After the death of Chiang Ching-Kuo in 1988, Taiwan crossed the line and became a democratic country. Taiwanese have been able to express what their identities since 1988. In 1996 the former president Lee Teng-Hui proposed the concept of ‘new Taiwanese’ to replaced traditional ethnic categories. From this time, the term ‘Taiwanese’ began to refer to all residents of Taiwan, including Minnanese, Hakkas, Mainlanders, and Aborigines. In this period people started being curious about ‘Taiwan’, including Taiwanese food. Since 2000 it has been the time when Taiwanese identity has taken on momentum and of the emergence of a number of Taiwanese food inventions. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the 2007 internet poll conducted by the central government was the first time related to Taiwanese food. In the three years following 2007, a number of similar internet surveys about Taiwanese snack food, the representatives of Taiwanese food, and Taiwanese table dishes, were undertaken by various

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departments of the central government, such as the Taiwanese Ministry of Economic Affairs (經濟部), the Tourism Bureau (觀光局), and the Government Information Office (新聞局). Regardless of their ethnic group, people not only paid attention to this kind of poll, but also cared about the results. These results gradually created a collective concept of Taiwanese food. Mintz (1996:96) comments on the formation of a cuisine:

A cuisine requires a population that eats that cuisine with sufficient frequency to consider themselves experts on it. They all believe, and care that they believe, that they know what it consists of, how it is made, and how it should taste. In short, a genuine cuisine has common social roots; it is the food of a community—albeit often a very large community.

Taiwanese food certainly meets the criteria Mintz set out. It has been formed into a distinct cuisine because it is eaten frequently by the largest population in Taiwan and these people really know the foods they eat based on their living experience. Taiwan food was regarded as low cuisine when Taiwan was under the rule of external political powers in the past; now people with a strong sense of their Taiwanese identity have made its status that of a symbol of Taiwan.
Figure 7-1 The evolution of Taiwanese cuisine
Taiwanese food in the interflow between China and Taiwan

After President Ma Ying-Jeou took office on 20 May 2008, the policy of direct cross-Taiwan straight flights was initiated on 4 July, 2008. This policy strengthened economic ties and trade between the two sides. Since this policy began, the number of mainland Chinese tourists has been constantly increasing, from 197,987 in 2008 up to 1,630,735 in 2010, and in 2010 mainland China replaced Japan as the number one source of foreign tourists.²¹⁹ Although some Taiwanese disagreed with the direct flight policy for political reasons, this new arrangement has strongly improved Taiwan’s economy, especially the tourism industry.²²⁰

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Taiwanese food is one of the things mainland Chinese tourists are interested in. A survey of the tourism preferences of mainland Chinese tourists in Taiwan²²¹ found that the Taiwanese food these tourists like most is *Taicai*, reported by 73%. Other items were danzai noodles 63%; beef noodles 57%; ginger duck soup (*jiangmuya* 薑母鴨) 54%; and small steamed buns (*xiaolongbao* 小籠包) 50%. These various categories of Taiwanese food have now gradually moved to the centre of the local culinary system fuelled by the huge demand for it by mainland Chinese tourists. More Taiwanese restaurants created high-end Taiwanese dishes to reap benefits from this burgeoning new market, especially the mainland Chinese FIT²²² tourists.²²³


²²⁰ The average annual income of the tourism industry from 2001 to 2010 was NT390.54 billion dollars, but in 2010 it reached NT510 billion dollars, an increase of 30.5%. http://admin.taiwan.net.tw/public/public.aspx?no=315. Viewed 2 April, 2011.

²²¹ ‘Visa 大中華區台灣旅遊偏好調查報告’ survey conducted by VISA International Organisation (Visa 国際組織) in 2009.

²²² FIT is the abbreviation of ‘foreign independent tourist’.

²²³ Kuo Mei-Chun 郭玫君, Luke ziyouxing/dingji taicai zhuadezhu luke 魯客自由行／頂級台菜 抓
Taiwanese food is playing various roles now that communications between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait have become frequent:

1. **Taiwanese cuisine is a target for those investing in Taiwan’s restaurant industry**

A number of new Taiwanese restaurants emerged after the direct flights began. The opening of Dingxian 101, a top-end restaurant, is an indicator of the development of Taiwan’s restaurant market. Chou Wen-Pao (周文保), the Chairman of Dingxian 101, believes that Chinese FIT tourists will be their potential customers in the future. At the time of writing another new Taiwanese restaurant, Monga (艋舺), was due to be opened in mid 2011 by Stan Shih (施振榮), founder of the Acer computer company, who now has interests in Taiwan’s restaurant industry. Shih hopes he can make Taiwanese fine food as famous as Acer. As he said in 2007:

> After I got retired from the Acer company, I started to invest in ‘brand management’. I’m considering which industry can represent Taiwan. Taiwan’s fine foods (台灣美食) and orchids just started taking off. Especially Taiwan’s fine foods, they are pretty competitive and are representative of Taiwan. I just want to raise their profile in the overseas market, they can become Taiwan’s brand.

The name of this new restaurant, Monga, is full of Taiwanese cultural elements. Monga was a prosperous town during the Qing dynasty. It later became incorporated

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**Footnotes**

224 Chou, Wen-Pao 周文保, *Gaoduan canyin pinpai fuwu yu luke shangji* [High level restaurant service and business opportunity of Chinese tourists], 27 May, 2011.


into what became Taipei during the Japanese occupation. Eleven Taiwanese chefs will be showing their cooking skills in the Monga Restaurant. This restaurant is planned to be a model for Shih to develop a ‘food and beverage empire’ in mainland China in future.

2. Attracting attention to traditional Taiwanese food

*Jiujia cai*, which historically has been part of Taiwanese cuisine, has now lost its popularity because of social change. However, in order to be able to provide mainland Chinese tourists with a wider selection of specific foods which represent Taiwan, it has re-emerged as an option. Jiancheng Yuanhuan (建成圓環) now provides it to mainland Chinese tourists who want to experience Taiwanese flavours.226 Thus, this nearly disappeared traditional Taiwanese banquet has survived due to the enthusiastic interest of mainland Chinese tourists described as ‘Taiwanophiles’ (哈台).227 Apart from mainland Chinese tourists learning about traditional local foods, Taiwanese are also acquiring a deeper understanding of what traditional Taiwanese food is when they are asked about its distinctive features.

3. Highlighting the difference between Taiwanese and other Chinese foods

Mainland Chinese see Taiwanese food as being representative of Taiwan and distinct from mainland Chinese foods with which they compare it. Taiwanese food is not simply a part of Fujian cuisine but an independent cuisine which developed in Taiwan.

A special example is the ‘national treasure banquet’ (國寶宴) offered at the National Palace Museum (故宮博物院). This was created by the Silk Palace (故宮晶)

226 Chiu Li-Ling 邱莉苓 (2011), Lukechao + weiyare Beishi Jiancheng Yuanhuan huoguolai 陸客潮+尾牙熱 北市建成圓環活過來.
in 2008. The name ‘national treasure banquet’ is a reference to Chinese history and the National Palace Museum’s collection, a total of 243,639 ancient objects, rare books and antiques from China, shipped to Taiwan in 1949. This particular banquet design featuring distinct Taiwanese food specialties in combination with Chinese cultural elements has great appeal to foreign tourists. Food such as the ‘national treasure banquet’ or ‘state banquets’ which present a collection of local specialty foods creating with strong Taiwanese elements have become part of the public perception and understanding of Taiwanese food. The owners of many small restaurants who have never presented their establishment as a Taiwanese restaurant now highlight that their food is Taiwanese food. These ordinary restaurants imitate the state-banquet template and offer a combination of local specialty food dishes or even a ‘national treasure banquet’ to attract these tourists.

4. Reinforcing the sense of Taiwanese identity

The more than two decades since 1988 have been a period when Taiwanese identity has taken on momentum. The ready comparisons they can make with nearby mainland China stimulate people in Taiwan to consider who they are and what they have. People who live in Taiwan reinforce their sense of Taiwanese identity through their everyday living experience. Taiwanese food is playing a role in this as Taiwanese constantly live and develop their local identity along with their own local food culture.

Globalisation, localisation, and glocalisation

‘Globalisation has become a key social-scientific concept as we near the end of the

Food is obviously good to think global with’ (Bell & Valentine, 1997:190). A highly visible effect of globalisation is that people have some foods which are the same all around the earth, for example McDonald’s hamburgers and Starbucks coffee. Culinary culture has also become extensively globalized. Goody (1982:97) notes that the links with the world economy have brought the inhabitants in touch with different types of cuisine, and in particular with the products of the industrialization of cooking; it is now easy to obtain Japanese, Thai, and many other exotic foods all over Taiwan.

In Taiwan, it is easy to obtain imported foodstuffs from anywhere, for example kiwi fruit from New Zealand, steak from the U.S, or olive oil from Italy or Spain. A few interviewees reported sometimes eating exotic foods at home. A Hakka woman mentioned that she has cooked *bak-kut-the*, a traditional Malaysian dish for her family. A Hakka man had visited a Cosco outlet to buy steaks for his children “because it is their favourite”. Many interviewees reported that they now regularly use olive oil for cooking rather than soybean oil or lard because of health concerns. But whether they use Western ingredients such as U.S. steak or Italian olive oil, or *bak-kut-the* from Malaysia, these home cooks still use their own familiar cooking styles to prepare the dishes. The combination of exotic ingredients and local cooking methods exemplifies Bell and Valentine’s idea (1997): ‘cook global, eat local’.

Localisation, a concept opposite to globalisation, refers to the belief that it is better for a particular community to have their local culture, language, and spirituality in its

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231 Interview with B-HH1.
232 Interview with D-HH1
233 Interviews with B-TT10, B-HH4, D-HH4, D-MT6, D-TT4, D-TT6, D-HH1, and D-HH3.
Taiwanese food is a good example of the localisation of a variety of Chinese food, but it is more than that: it has also incorporated elements of Japanese foods due to its colonial history. During the colonial period, Taiwanese used both local ingredients and those introduced from outside to form distinctive Taiwanese versions of foods. Nowadays in the era of globalisation, people continue to enthusiastically adopt novel ingredients from a diverse range of exotic foodstuffs and develop new versions of Taiwanese food. But despite the tendency of globalisation to blur cultural differences, Taiwanese do not seem to have lost their orientation in the global environment. The last two decades or so, the very time when globalisation phenomenon has been accelerating, coincides with the period when Taiwanese and other residents have developed a stronger, more confident sense of their identity and culture. Regardless of global communications, international trade and a popularity of the concept of ‘earth village’ around the world, people arguably show a greater awareness of cultural diversity and attachment to their own locality. They are gradually defining their regional and local identity, which in turn is helping them to assert themselves and highlight their cultural uniqueness in the global environment. As Mintz and Du Bois (2002) observe globalisation may actually re-establish the local and make local identity stronger rather than supplant it (Mintz and Du Bois, 2002, Warde, 1997).

People generally talk about globalization and localisation. Robertson (1995) proposed another concept, ‘glocalisation’, which refers to adjustments made to address and cater to both globalisation and localisation. Glocalisation is a strategic route adopted by organizations determined to lead and conquer markets beyond their own way.234

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cultural and geographical boundaries. Castlejo (1998) applied the term ‘glocalisation’ to describe the global local-processes which affect identity among Mayan coffee growers in Chiapas. He regards their new Mam identity as being constructed through both their traditional agriculture and new technology associated with organic agriculture.

There have only been a few cases of research which have associated food with glocalisation in Taiwan. A relevant study is that of Chung, Wang, and Chao about the Meinong, in south Taiwan (Chung, Wang, & Chao, 2006). Their study found that Meinong people lost their economic resource of rice farming in the global environment after Taiwan joined the WTO in 2002. However, the local people successfully reconstructed the characteristic features of the place where they were—Hakka culture, including Hakka food—and changed their careers in response to glocalisation. Cheng (2004) employs ‘menu-localisation’ in the development of Japanese and Korean restaurants in Taipei to argue that glocalisation is not only the result of the binary opposition between globalisation and localisation, it is associated with colonisation and migration before the 1990s.

Taiwanese food represents Taiwan’s now entering overseas markets in line with the concept of glocalisation. A good example is the Formosa Chang company’s entry into the Japanese market. Formosa Chang is a Taiwanese restaurant which provides set meals and braised minced meat rice. When the company entered the Japanese market in 2005, as well as the standard menu items offered in its Taiwan restaurants, their Japanese restaurants also included items catering to Japanese tastes, beer and comic books. Another example is the Singapore Shin Yeh restaurant. The Shin Yeh general

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manager thought it necessary to modify the menu for their Singapore outlet. He describes the difference between Taiwan and Singapore:

031Q: Did you modify the menu for your restaurant in Singapore? 
032A: 80% of the menu is the same. And basically, the cooking methods are the same as well, but the source of the ingredients is different for the different outlets. So, what you actually experience is a little bit different. For example, the oysters for the Singapore restaurant are frozen; and for Beijing they come from Fujian province. Some items on the menu in Singapore are specially designed for the local people.

In 2010, the Taiwanese government launched the Taiwanese Food Internationalisation Plan (台灣美食國際化) to promote Taiwanese foods overseas. The government provided incentives to encourage chefs and restaurant owners to create new Taiwanese dishes combining the spirit of Taiwanese food and international elements. This plan is a new attempt to raise the profile of Taiwanese food in the global market, and Taiwanese food is playing a key role in this.

Conclusion

This study has described the development of Taiwanese food and explored the correlation between the status of Taiwanese food and the rise of Taiwanese identity. It has done this employing a socio-historical perspective to trace the evolution of Taiwanese cuisine.

The nature and methodological approach of this study are outlined in Chapter 1. Qualitative data obtained by using in-depth interviews and content analysis of a personal diary provide detailed information to supplement the scarcity of secondary and primary documents to reconstruct the history of Taiwanese food. The above data
and the quantitative data collected from questionnaires provide information related to current food consumption, both for eating at home and eating out. This allowed for an interpretation that was meaningful in a cultural context.

The literature review, in Chapter 2, outlines previous studies which contributed to the design of this study. These variously identified: (1) factors which bring about the emergence of a cuisine; (2) the nature of Chinese food, and the connection between regional cuisine, regional culture and the natural environment in mainland China; and (3) a number of factors which link food to identity. This chapter also reviewed relevant theories providing basic concepts about food studies. I have employed a socio-historical examination of the factors which have variously affected the evolution of Taiwanese food, and connected these to the changes in Taiwanese identity to construct the conceptual framework for my study.

Chapter 3 first examines the historical development of Taiwanese consciousness. I then give details of the exotic foodstuffs and cooking methods introduced to Taiwan which played a crucial role in the evolution of Taiwanese food. I point out the impact of the colonial regimes on the status of Taiwanese food to explain why Taiwanese food was located on the periphery of the Taiwanese culinary system during both the Japanese occupation and the pre-democratisation period. The correlation between Taiwanese identity and the content of food publications is explored, examining the development of Taiwanese cookbooks, Taiwanese food guides, and food investigations, all of which are connected to the emergence of Taiwanese identity.

Chapter 4 first describes various views on and definitions of Taiwanese food. I analyse the essential characteristics of Taiwan food using data from the interviews and questionnaire responses. This included identifying and discussing the ingredients, flavours, and cooking methods which constitute current Taiwanese food. In addition, I also employ data from the interviews to illustrate the development of Taiwanese
home-style dishes and explore how traditional food habits have been combined with the novel ingredients, creating new Taiwanese-version foods determined in conjunction with individuals’ own needs, preferences, and experiences.

Chapter 5 identifies the determinants which affect people’s decision about where and what to eat when eating regular meals out and eating-out for special occasions. These determinants include individual preferences, familiar flavours, the value of ingredients, novelty, the fame of local specialties, social status concerns, and social relationship factors at play. This provides an explanation of the changes in Taiwanese eating habits occurring in conjunction with social change in Taiwan. In addition, the questionnaire data reveals that familiar flavours, like their mother’s cooking and nostalgia are the most significant associated cultural meanings when the customers choose a Taiwanese restaurant to eat Taiwanese food as a preferred place to eat out.

Chapter 6 describes the development of invented foods in Taiwan. These exemplify how Taiwanese invest foods with an authentic Taiwanese spirit. Local specialty foods collectively constitute an important part of Taiwanese food culture, and there has been a proliferation of local food festivals in the last decade which also coincides with the development of Taiwanese identity. All of these highlight the correlation between the status of Taiwanese food and local people’s awareness and sense of Taiwanese identity.

This study supports my argument made in the introductory chapter that Taiwanese food coming to be recognized as Taiwanese cuisine and a restaurant cuisine is associated with the rise of Taiwanese identity during the last two decades. The food Taiwanese ate was first recognised as being Taiwanese food (Taiwan cai) by Taiwanese as a result of the opposition to Mainlanders early in the pre-democratisation period. Taiwanese food was positioned as quite distinct from to Chinese food: this is clearly reflected in the names used, bensheng cai and waisheng
Taiwanese food, *bensheng cai*, was regarded as a low-level cuisine, reflecting the low social status of Taiwanese in Taiwanese society. Taiwanese food developed along with the collective Taiwanese memory, including that part associated with the Japanese colonial experience and the rule of the Nationalist government which constitute a major part of Taiwanese food and foodways. Goody (1982) argues that the impact of colonial rule is one of the factors that introduce different types of cuisine to inhabitants. Taiwanese food is no longer the same as the foods of its origin in Fujian province.

The restaurant market of Taiwanese food was limited in the pre-democratisation period. After 2000, however, Taiwanese food rapidly evolved from being only a family-style food to being a high-end cuisine in restaurants. This occurred along with a growing Taiwanese identity. Furthermore, the policy of direct cross-Taiwan straight flights brought more mainland Chinese tourists to Taiwan, but this then highlighted the demands of Chinese tourists for Taiwanese food. This phenomenon is further evidence of Augustin-Jean’s argument (2002), mentioned in Chapter 2, that the critical economic factor was a strong demand to highlight a distinctive cuisine to help tourism promotion.

Goody (1982) argues that food consumption is related to culture, social relations, historical factors, material elements, and individual differences. Singaporeans created the menu for state banquets to reflect the percentages of the different ethnic groups comprising Singapore’s population and assert their shared national identity; Macanese identity was elevated in status and presented as the major cuisine in Macao to attract tourists’ interest and promote tourism, and this highlighting of Macanese cuisine has been accompanied by a gradually growing sense of Macanese identity. Nyonya cuisine is a unique food, combining elements of Chinese and Malay cultures (Huat & Rajah, 2001, Augustin-Jean, 2002, Anderson, 2007). These above are all clear
examples of a national or ethnic cuisine being tightly connected to a place’s or people’s history, cultural background, economic concerns, and/or social relations. In the last two decades, the people of Taiwan have learned how to utilise cultural fusion and their local food invention to highlight the uniqueness of Taiwanese food and Taiwanese identity, based on Taiwan’s own cultural fusion, colonial experiences, and social change. Nowadays, people are actively presenting their own Taiwanese foods as representing Taiwan; and the Taiwanese government is also paying increasing attention to this avenue for representing the spirit of its people.

More and more internet polls, predominantly conducted by the Taiwanese government, have identified various authentic Taiwanese food items which can be presented as symbolic of Taiwan. This is an effective way to promote Taiwan internationally through the conflation of Taiwanese food with Taiwanese identity.

People have continually modified traditional foods and invented food items to stimulate Taiwan’s restaurant market, and this has invisibly contributed to distinctiveness of Taiwanese food. People who have only lived in Taiwan explain the nature of these Taiwanese-style food items as if they are family treasures, such as beef noodles, pearl milk tea and oyster omelettes. These foods are a product of Taiwanese experience, experience deeply planted in people’s mind.

Taiwanese history continues unfolding, and Taiwanese food too continues developing and evolving, while retaining its authenticity. Bell and Valentine (1997:192) argue ‘culinary cultures are constructed as original, authentic, place-bound-regional or national cuisine, but can be deconstructed as mere moments in ongoing process of incorporation, reworking and redefinition: food is always on the move, and always has been.’ Political power has been a crucial factor affecting the status of Taiwanese food. The development of Taiwanese food at different times when Taiwan was subject to different regimes has expressed different meanings. In modern
democratic Taiwan, people who live in contemporary Taiwan have become the master guiding the direction Taiwanese food is taking, encompassing its individual, cultural, economic, political and historical factors.
## Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pinyin- MSC term</th>
<th>English, scientific or local term</th>
<th>Chinese characters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-câi</td>
<td>Taiwanese lettuce</td>
<td>A菜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiguo jiating</td>
<td>“patriotic family”</td>
<td>愛國家庭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âng-chhài</td>
<td>hongfengcai, gynura</td>
<td>紅菜, 紅鳳菜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âng-phôe-chhài</td>
<td>hongpica, eggplant</td>
<td>紅皮菜, 茄子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao</td>
<td>Chelonia mydas, sea tortoise</td>
<td>鱉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aooyu</td>
<td>Scleropages legendrei, arowana</td>
<td>鱉魚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baibai</td>
<td>worship</td>
<td>拜拜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baaidaiyu</td>
<td>trichiurus lepturus, hairtail</td>
<td>白帶魚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baifan</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>白飯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baise kongbu</td>
<td>white terror – historical period</td>
<td>白色恐怖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baisen dunwuji</td>
<td>stewed black chicken with white ginseng</td>
<td>白蟳燉烏鷄</td>
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<tr>
<td>bang</td>
<td>term used to indicate a specific a regional food</td>
<td>幫</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banzhuo</td>
<td>pantoh, Taiwanese banquet</td>
<td>辦桌</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baobing</td>
<td>shaved ice</td>
<td>刨冰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baotang</td>
<td>slow-cooked soup</td>
<td>煲湯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baoxin yuwan</td>
<td>stuffed fish meat balls</td>
<td>包心魚丸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baozheng</td>
<td>póchêng – a high local position during the Japanese occupation</td>
<td>保證</td>
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<td>baozhuyu</td>
<td>firework fish</td>
<td>爆竹魚</td>
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<td>baozifan</td>
<td>little pan rice</td>
<td>煲仔飯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayuchi</td>
<td>grilled shark fin</td>
<td>扒魚翅</td>
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<td>bendaoren</td>
<td>hondojin, main islanders</td>
<td>本島人</td>
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<tr>
<td>bensheng liaoli</td>
<td>“food of this province”</td>
<td>本省料理</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benshengren</td>
<td>“people from this province”</td>
<td>本省人</td>
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<td>biandang</td>
<td>lunch box</td>
<td>便當</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Character</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
<td>English</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>bocai</td>
<td>bōcài</td>
<td>spinach</td>
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<td>caipudan</td>
<td>cǎipùdān</td>
<td>pickled daikon omelette</td>
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<tr>
<td>caoyu</td>
<td>cǎoyù</td>
<td><em>ctenopharyngodon idellus, grass carp</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>caozaiguo</td>
<td>cǎozáigu</td>
<td><em>chauake</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>changyu</td>
<td>chāngyú</td>
<td><em>Pampus argenteus pomfret</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>chao</td>
<td>chāo</td>
<td>stir-frying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chao tuofengsi</td>
<td>chāo tuòfēngsī</td>
<td>stir-fried shredded camel hump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaodiguaye</td>
<td>chāo díguài</td>
<td>stir-fried sweet potato leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaogaolicai</td>
<td>chāo găolícái</td>
<td>stir-fried European-style cabbage</td>
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<tr>
<td>chashao</td>
<td>chāshāo</td>
<td>char-siu (BBQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chashao yezhurou</td>
<td>chāshāo yezhúrou</td>
<td>BBQ wild pork</td>
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<tr>
<td>chhit-niū-má se</td>
<td>qìn;iāngmáshèng, birthday of Seven Goddesses</td>
<td>七娘媽生</td>
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<td>Chishang biandang</td>
<td>Chìshāng lúnchuāng</td>
<td>Chishang lunch boxes</td>
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<td>tài yǔ tumífěn, yellow seabream</td>
<td>赤鯧</td>
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<td>chongcaaoao xueji</td>
<td>chóng cáo áo xüéjí</td>
<td>snow chicken with Chinese caterpillar fungus</td>
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<td>Choudoufu</td>
<td>Chǒutūfù</td>
<td>stinky tofu</td>
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<td>cong yiūbìng</td>
<td>fried onion pancake</td>
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<td><em>priacanthus macracanthus, scads</em></td>
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<td>diàn xīn</td>
<td><em>tiám-sim, snack food</em></td>
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<td>dīng xiāng zhouzǐ</td>
<td>clove elbow</td>
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<td>white gourd</td>
<td>冬瓜</td>
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<td>東坡肉</td>
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<td>winter solstice</td>
<td>冬至</td>
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<td>fermented soybeans</td>
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<td>豆漿店</td>
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<td>dun</td>
<td>Braise</td>
<td>滷</td>
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<td>dunnai</td>
<td>steamed milk custard</td>
<td>滷奶</td>
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<td>蚵仔煎</td>
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<td>oyster congee, ᴾ-á bòe</td>
<td>蚵仔糜</td>
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<td>ezimianxian</td>
<td>oyster noodles, ᴾ-á mì-soà</td>
<td>蚵仔麵線</td>
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<td>deep-fried oyster</td>
<td>蚵仔酥</td>
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<td>faguo</td>
<td>hoatguo, fa cake</td>
<td>發粿</td>
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<td>fanren</td>
<td>banjin, barbarian</td>
<td>蕃人</td>
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<td>fanshuqian</td>
<td>hoan-chî-chhiam, slice sweet potato</td>
<td>蕃薯簽</td>
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<td>Fanshuzhou</td>
<td>hoan-chî-moài, sweet potato congee</td>
<td>蕃薯粥，地瓜粥</td>
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<td>Feiyu</td>
<td>cypselurus unicolor, whitefish flying fish</td>
<td>飛魚</td>
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<td>soft liver</td>
<td>粉肝</td>
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<td>Fotiaqiang</td>
<td>Buddha's casserole</td>
<td>佛跳牆</td>
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<td>fresh water clam</td>
<td>corbicula fluminea</td>
<td>螵</td>
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<td>fuqi feipian</td>
<td>fuqi beef and beef tendon</td>
<td>夫妻肺片</td>
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<td>whitebait omelette</td>
<td>芙蓉蛋</td>
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<td>ganlancai</td>
<td>kale</td>
<td>甘藍菜</td>
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<td>gaolicai</td>
<td>cabbage</td>
<td>高麗菜</td>
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<td>gongbao jiding</td>
<td>gongbao chicken</td>
<td>宮保雞丁</td>
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<td>gulurou</td>
<td>sweet and sour pork</td>
<td>咕鴨肉</td>
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<td>guojiaocai</td>
<td>vegetable fern</td>
<td>過郊菜，過溝菜</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
guoqiao mixian  bridge rice noodles
guotie  fried dumplings
guoyourou  oily meat
guozaitiao  kwayteow
haiman  Enchelycore schismatorhynchus
pike-eel
haishanjiang  seafood sauce
haixiegeng  thick sea crab soup
hajuan  deep-fried prawn rolls
harendoufu  shrimp tofu
hecai
he-han liaoli  Japanese-Chinese fusion
heicicen  black sea cucumber
hongshao man  braised eel
hongshao yanggaorou  braised lamb
hongzao  red yeast-rice
hongzaoji  red yeast rice chicken
Hu yangrou  Hu lamb
huanghuayu  larimichthys polyocyis, yellow croaker
huazhiwan  cuttlefish ball
hudie yujiao  butterfly fish dumplings
hugua  bottle gourd
huluji  gourd chicken
huntun mian  wonton noodle soup
iecai, changniancai, changshoucai  leaf mustard
jian  Frying
jiana  Pagrus major porgy
jianbing  fried pancake
jianyufen  hondashi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
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<td>jianzhugan</td>
<td>煎豬肝</td>
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<td>soda rice dumplings</td>
<td>jianzong</td>
<td>鹼粽,粳粽</td>
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<td>water bamboo</td>
<td>jiaoaisun</td>
<td>笊白筍</td>
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<td>Beggar's chicken</td>
<td>jiaohuaji</td>
<td>叫化雞</td>
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<td>class consciousness</td>
<td>jieji yishi</td>
<td>階級意識</td>
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<tr>
<td>jinbian cabbage</td>
<td>jinbian baicai</td>
<td>金邊白菜</td>
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<tr>
<td>“very very tasty”</td>
<td>jinjin youwei</td>
<td>津津有味</td>
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<td>Golden fish</td>
<td>jinmaoyu</td>
<td>金毛魚</td>
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<td>Money prawn cake</td>
<td>jinqianhabing</td>
<td>金錢蝦餅</td>
</tr>
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<td>nemipterus virgatus, golden thread</td>
<td>jinxian</td>
<td>金線</td>
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<td>Chicken rice</td>
<td>jiroufan</td>
<td>雞肉飯</td>
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<td>chicken soup with clams</td>
<td>jitang cuan haibang</td>
<td>雞湯汆海蚌</td>
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<td>酒家菜</td>
<td>jiu jia cai</td>
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<td>saurida elongate, lizard fish</td>
<td>jiumu</td>
<td>九母</td>
</tr>
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<td>Carassius auratus, crucian carp</td>
<td>jiuyu</td>
<td>鯽魚</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qing dynasty title conferred following keju-zhidu (科舉制度)</td>
<td>kaitaijinshi</td>
<td>開台進士</td>
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<tr>
<td>roast leg of lamb</td>
<td>kao yangtui</td>
<td>烤羊腿</td>
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<td>roast dog meat</td>
<td>kaogourou</td>
<td>烤狗肉</td>
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<td>kaoquanyang</td>
<td>烤全羊</td>
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<td>roast duck</td>
<td>kaoya</td>
<td>烤鴨</td>
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<tr>
<td>roast kebab with lamb</td>
<td>kaoyangrouchuan</td>
<td>烤羊肉串</td>
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<td>Hakka stir-fry</td>
<td>kejia xiaochao</td>
<td>客家小炒</td>
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<td>Kongfucai</td>
<td>孔府菜</td>
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<td>Kangkong</td>
<td>kongxinca,i</td>
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<td>Orchid bear paw</td>
<td>wengcai, yingcai</td>
<td>蘭花熊掌</td>
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<tr>
<td>Li Hongzhang hodge-podge</td>
<td>Li Hongzhang zakui</td>
<td>李鴻章雜烩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristichthys nobilis bighead carp</td>
<td>lianyu</td>
<td>連魚</td>
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<tr>
<td>beginning of winter – traditional term</td>
<td>lidong</td>
<td>立冬</td>
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</table>
liyu, daiyu  Cyprinus carpio common carp  鯉魚，代魚
longfeng lizhi longfeng lychees  龍鳳荔枝
Longjing xiaren Shrimp with longjing tea flavour  龍井蝦仁
longzhu squid beak  龍珠
luersanzhen tang three-treasures soup with velvet  鹿茸三珍湯
luganling stewed viscera  酥肝
luobo, caitou Daikon  羅蔔,菜頭
lurou Stewed pork  滷肉
luroufan Braised minced pork rice  滷肉飯
luyu  Lateolbrax japonicus, Japanese seaperch  鱸魚
Luzhou kaoya Luzhou roast duck  瀘州烤鴨
Manhan  滿漢
mantou steamed buns  饅頭
manyu Anguilla japonica, Japanese eel  鰻魚
mapo doufu - a spicy Sichunane tofu dish  麻婆豆腐
matou Branchiostegus japonicus tile fish  馬頭
mayouji, jijiu, mayouji chicken wine  麻油雞，雞酒，麻油酒
meiermei Mei & Mei – popular breakfast outlet  美而美
meihuarou pork picnic shoulder roast  梅花肉，膊心肉
Meigancai preserved leaf mustard  梅干菜
Meinong bantiao Meinong rice pappardelle  美濃板條
meirenyu chijuan shark fin roll  美人魚翅卷
Mengjia Monga  艋舺
mi-tê miancha, seasoned millet porridge  麵茶
migao glutinous rice cakes  米糕
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>migaozhou glutinous rice congee</td>
<td>米糕粥</td>
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<tr>
<td>Min - term referring to Fujian</td>
<td>閩</td>
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<tr>
<td>mitaimu Bitaibak- farmers’ noodle snack</td>
<td>米苔目</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogu dunyangrou stewed lamb with mushroom</td>
<td>蘑菇燉羊肉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagashi – Japanese live troupes, which</td>
<td>那卡西</td>
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<td>walked about and sang in hotel &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restaurants</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Naichizin interior people</td>
<td>內地人</td>
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<td>penglaimi japonicas variety of rice</td>
<td>蓬萊米</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanjing yanshuiya Nanjing salted water</td>
<td>南京鹽水鴨</td>
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<tr>
<td>duck</td>
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<td>Pidanshourou congee with lean pork and</td>
<td>皮蛋瘦肉粥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preserved egg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pijiuya beer duck</td>
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<td>pobuzi zhengyu steamed fish with bird lime</td>
<td>破布子蒸魚</td>
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<td>tree</td>
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<td>qianfanshufen thickened sweet potato</td>
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<td>powder</td>
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<tr>
<td>qiguoji boiler chicken</td>
<td>汽鍋雞</td>
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<td>青江菜</td>
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<tr>
<td>qingzheng hailuo steamed conch</td>
<td>清蒸海螺</td>
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<td>qingzheng Wuchang steamed Wuchang fish</td>
<td>清蒸武昌魚</td>
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<td>qiuadouyu cololabis sair sanma</td>
<td>秋刀魚</td>
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<tr>
<td>qiyu Xiphias gladius marlin</td>
<td>旗魚</td>
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<tr>
<td>rougan meat jerk</td>
<td>肉乾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rougengmia thick pork noodles</td>
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<tr>
<td>rougengtang pork meat thick soup</td>
<td>肉羹湯</td>
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<tr>
<td>roupu soft pork floss</td>
<td>肉脯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rousi shredded pork</td>
<td>肉絲</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Traditional Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rousong</td>
<td>pork floss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rouyan</td>
<td>meat wonton</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| runbing            | jün-piá, mixed vegetable roll | rùnbǐng  | sanbeiji           | three-cup chicken   | sānbei jī |}
| Shanghài xiaolongbao | Shanghai steamed bun | shānghǎi xiǎolóng bāo  | shanyao            | Chinese yam        | shānyǎo  |
| shaogan            | shaogan liver       | shāogān  | shaoruhe           | deep-fried marinated pigeon | shāorúhé  |
| shengyupian        | raw fish, sashimi   | shèngyúpiān | shimuyu           | milkfish, *saba, chanos chanos* | shīmúyú  |
| shimuyuwan         | milkfish ball       | shīmúyúwán | shizitou          | pork meatball       | shīzǐtòu  |
| shouzhau yangrou   | shouzhua mutton     | shōuzháu yángrou | shuishuio        | cassava             | shuíshú  |
| shuanshuango       | *shabushau* Japanese hot-pot | shuānshuāngō | shuishigiao       | crystal dumpling    | shuishìjīgào  |
| shuanyangrou       | mutton hotpot       | shuānyángǒu | shuzhu cao zong   | cudweed dumpling    | shūzhú cāo zòng  |
| shuijiao           | dumpling            | shuíjiāo  | Sichuan huoguo    | Sichuan hotpot      | Sìchūán huòguó  |
| shujia             | dumpling            | shuíjiā    | sigua              | snake melon         | sīgūa  |
| shujingjiao        | crystal dumpling    | shuíjīngjiāo | siòng-liàncūhältai | leaf mustard        | sìǒng-lìánchéhài  |
| sipoyu             | *Decapterus maruadi* blue mackerel scad | sipòyu  | sipoyu             | *Decapterus maruadi* blue mackerel scad | sipòyu  |}

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<th>Pinyin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tainan oá-kóe, Tainan style rice cake</td>
<td>台南碗粿</td>
<td>Tainan wanguo</td>
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<td>tangshuizhuxia</td>
<td>燙水煮蝦</td>
<td>湯水煮蝦</td>
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<td>tangyuan</td>
<td>glutinous rice stuffed dumplings</td>
<td>穀圓</td>
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<td>tianbula</td>
<td>sweet-not-spicy hot</td>
<td>甜不辣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tianguo</td>
<td>ti-kóe, sweet cake</td>
<td>甜粿</td>
</tr>
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<td>tibang</td>
<td>pig shank</td>
<td>蹄膀，腿庫</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tieguodan</td>
<td>iron-pot egg</td>
<td>鐵鍋蛋</td>
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<tr>
<td>tonghaocai</td>
<td>crown daisy</td>
<td>塗蒿菜，冬荷菜</td>
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<td>筒仔米糕</td>
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<td>tusundong</td>
<td>aspic made with marine peanut worm</td>
<td>土筍凍</td>
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<td>tutuoyugeng</td>
<td>fried Spanish mackerel thick soup</td>
<td>土魠魚羹</td>
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<td>瓦罐雞湯</td>
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<td>“people from outside this province”</td>
<td>外省人</td>
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<td>wakuaiyu</td>
<td>wakuai fish</td>
<td>瓦塊魚</td>
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<td>pea</td>
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<td>miso tofu</td>
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<td>味素，味精</td>
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<td>尾牙</td>
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<td>味噌湯，豆瓣醬湯</td>
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<td>Wenchangji</td>
<td>Wenchangchicken</td>
<td>文昌雞</td>
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<td>Oreochromis hybrids tilapia spp.</td>
<td>吳郭魚</td>
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<tr>
<td>wutairen</td>
<td>“we Taiwanese people”</td>
<td>吾台人</td>
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<td>five-flavour sauce</td>
<td>五味醬</td>
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<td>Wuxi pairou</td>
<td>Wuxi braised spare ribs</td>
<td>無錫排骨</td>
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<tr>
<td>wuxiang jijuan</td>
<td>chicken rolls</td>
<td>五香雞卷</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Traditional Chinese</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuyu</td>
<td>mullet, <em>mugil cephalus</em></td>
<td>烏魚, 烏仔魚</td>
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<td>mullet roe</td>
<td>烏魚子</td>
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<td><em>Polydactylus sextarius</em> larval fish</td>
<td>勿仔魚</td>
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<td><em>Sepiidae</em> cuttle fishes</td>
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<td>下飯菜</td>
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<td><em>Plecoglossus altivelis</em> sweet fish</td>
<td>香魚</td>
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<td>xianzhou</td>
<td>salty congee</td>
<td>鹹粥</td>
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<td>xiaohuanggua</td>
<td>gherkin</td>
<td>小黃瓜, 花胡瓜</td>
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<td>Xiaoohuzi lurou</td>
<td>xiaohuzi donkey</td>
<td>肖胡子驢肉</td>
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<td>xiaolongtangbao</td>
<td>steamed soup bun</td>
<td>小籠湯包</td>
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<td>Xiashi shikaoyang</td>
<td>stone grilled Xiashi lamb</td>
<td>西夏石烤羊</td>
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<td>Xihu cuyu</td>
<td>West Lake fish in vinegar</td>
<td>西湖醋魚</td>
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<tr>
<td>ximilu</td>
<td>sago</td>
<td>西米露</td>
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<td>xueyu</td>
<td><em>Theragra chalcogramma</em>, codfish</td>
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<td>xun</td>
<td>Simmer</td>
<td>烹</td>
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<td>yanggeng</td>
<td>yogang</td>
<td>羊羹</td>
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<td>yanshuiji</td>
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<td>鹽水雞</td>
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<td>yansuji</td>
<td>salty-crisp chicken nuggets</td>
<td>鹽酥雞</td>
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<td>yezizhong</td>
<td>coconut cup</td>
<td>椰子盅</td>
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<td>Yumcha</td>
<td>飲茶</td>
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<td>youyu luorou suan</td>
<td>dried squid and spiral shell meat soup with shallots</td>
<td>魷魚螺肉蒜</td>
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<td>youyugeng</td>
<td>thick squid soup</td>
<td>魷魚羹</td>
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<td>youzhatiao, yotiao</td>
<td><em>iuciahke</em>, fried stick by flour</td>
<td>油炸粿，油條</td>
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<td>yuegua</td>
<td>oriental pickling melon</td>
<td>越瓜</td>
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<td>yuntun mian</td>
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<td>yutou paigusu</td>
<td>deep-fried pork ribs with taro</td>
<td>芋頭排骨酥</td>
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<td>zailaimi</td>
<td><em>Indicas</em> variety of rice preferred by</td>
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### Mainlanders

<table>
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<td>Zao'an Meizhicheng</td>
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<td>breakfast shop</td>
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<td>sah, quick-boiling</td>
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<td>zha ejuan</td>
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<td>zha huazhiwan</td>
<td>deep-fried squid balls</td>
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<td>zha shilin</td>
<td>deep-fried shilin</td>
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<td>zhangchaya</td>
<td>tea-smoked duck</td>
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<td>zhanhua dongcao</td>
<td>zhanhua Chinese dates</td>
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<td>steaming</td>
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<td>zhenzhunaicha</td>
<td>pearl milk tea</td>
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<td>zhibaoji</td>
<td>paper-wrapped chicken</td>
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<td>zhimahu</td>
<td>black sesame soup</td>
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<td>Zhoucun shaobing</td>
<td>Zhoucun sesame cake</td>
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<td>zhu</td>
<td>boiling</td>
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<td>zhusun</td>
<td>bamboo shoot</td>
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<td>zhutong kaoyu</td>
<td>grilled bamboo fish</td>
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<td>zhuxiegao</td>
<td>pigs blood cake</td>
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<td>zhuxietang</td>
<td>pigs blood soup</td>
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</table>
Appendix A: English translation of Chinese questionnaire form

Mailbox790, Building of Health Science (N48)
Nathan campus, Griffith University
170 Kessels Road Nathan Queensland 4111

Date: _____________
No: ___

Dear Sir:
This questionnaire is related to a Taiwanese People’s Food habit and custom PhD thesis, the result of questionnaire analysis will show the people’s food habit and the understanding of Taiwanese food culture. The researcher will not benefit from this investigation, respondents can withdraw this questionnaire any time or refuse to answer question. This questionnaire will be adopted as anonymous investigation. While this research is published, the private details of respondents will not release. If you have any question, please feel free to inquire our investigator.
After you finish this questionnaire, we will give you a Koala toy to show our appreciation.

Q1: What’s your order today?
☐ Three cups chicken ☐ Salted Chicken ☐ Chicken Wine ☐ Fried Oyster
☐ Stir-fried Cabbage ☐ Stewed pork ☐ Pickled daikon omelette ☐ Chicken rolls
☐ Steamed fish ☐ Stir-fried sweet potato leaves ☐ Shark's fin with egg
☐ Buddha's Casserole ☐ Miso tofu soup ☐ Money prawn cake ☐ Cuttlefish ball
☐ Chei Tzai Noodles ☐ Fried pork liver ☐ Sweet potato porridge ☐ Rice
☐ Shrimp tofu ☐ Boiled prawn ☐ Mixed Vegetable Roll

Other: ________________________________

Q2: Why you choose these dishes? (less than 3 items)
☐ good taste ☐ nostalgia ☐ typical Taiwanese food
☐ cheap ☐ Mum’s flavor ☐ greedy ☐ on behalf of Taiwan

Other reasons: ________________________________
Q3: Why you choose this restaurant? (less than 3 items)
☐ good taste ☐ Ease of getting there ☐ famous
☐ decor ☐ price ☐ on behalf of Taiwanese food
Other reasons: __________________________________________

Q4: If you introduce these dishese to your foreign friends, you will call all of these are what type of food?
☐ Chinese food ☐ Fujian food ☐ Taiwanese food ☐ Hakka food
☐ Aboriginal food ☐ other: ____________________________

Q5: Except this restaurant, what type of restaurant you often to visit?
(Less than 3 items)
☐ Chinese restaurant ☐ Western restaurant ☐ Japanese restaurant
☐ Korean restaurant ☐ Fast food outlet ☐ other: ________________

Q6: Which staple food you always have at home? (single election)
☐ rice ☐ noodle ☐ porridge ☐ other ______________________

Q7: When you think about Taiwanese food, What three dishes can be on behalf of Taiwanese food?
☐ Three cups chicken ☐ Fried fish ☐ Fried oyster ☐ Taiwan style stewed pork
☐ Rice ☐ Pig’s kidney with sesame oil
☐ Salted Chicken ☐ Chicken Wine ☐ Shark's fin with egg
☐ Oyster Omelette ☐ Pickled daikon omelette ☐ sweet potato porridge
☐ steamed cucumber minced meat ☐ steamed fish ☐ Buddha’s Casserole
☐ Stir-fried cabbage ☐ Chei Tzai Noodles
☐ Boiled Pork Blood Jelly with Pickle Vegetable ☐ Stir-fried snake melon
☐ Fried chicken roll ☐ stir-fried crab with egg ☐ Money prawn cake
☐ Boiled streaky pork ☐ Beef noodle ☐ Pineapple and shrimp ball
☐ Boiled chicken ☐ Mayo lobster ☐ Steamed crab and glutinous rice
Other: ____________________________________________

Q8: What characteristics you think about the above three Taiwanese dishes or other Taiwanese food?
1. Flavour: ☐ heavy ☐ light
2. Variety of dishes: ☐ multi-choice ☐ simple
3. Availability: ☐ easy to access ☐ hard to access (in Taiwan)
4. Acquisition of material: □ from local □ from worldwide
5. Costs of material: □ economy □ luxury
6. The whole feeling: □ friendly □ unfriendly, because________________________
7. Cooking methods: □ simple □ complicated
8. Meaning: □ nostalgia (like Mum’s cooking, experience and memory during childhood)
   □ cultural identity □ national identity
   □ no special feeling
Other: ____________________________________________

Q9: What difference do you think between these Taiwanese dishes and other cuisine (like Sichun cuisine)? (less than 4 items)
□ taste is lighter □ more local material □ less decoration on the plate
□ more making thick soup □ contain the character of Japanese cuisine
□ more hot stir-fried □ more soups □ price is lower □ more friendly □ more dip
□ Other: ____________________________________________

Your details:
1. Age: □ 18-25 □ 26-35 □ 36-45
   □ 46-55 □ 56-65 □ 66-75 □ over 76
2. Education: □ Primary school □ Junior high school □ Senior high school
   □ College & University □ Graduate school
3. Occupation: □ Soldier □ Government officials □ Education □ Business
   □ Factory □ Service □ Nurse & Doctor □ IT □ Student
   □ Other______________________
4. Gender: □ Male □ Female
5. Merriage: □ Married □ Single □ Divorce
6. Language used at home: □ Taiwanese □ Chinese □ Hakka □ Aborigines
   □ Other (e.g. English)
7. Your Paternal group: □ Minnanese □ Mainland □ Hakka □ Aborigines
8. Your Maternal group: □ Minnanese □ Mainland □ Hakka □ Aborigines

< Thanks for your answer, please don’t forget to get one piece of Koala! >
Appendix B: Bird ingredients listed in 1696 *Taiwan fuzhi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese name</th>
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<td>鵑鵙</td>
<td>pigeon</td>
<td>boge</td>
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<td>wagtail</td>
<td>jiling</td>
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<td>pheasant</td>
<td>zhi</td>
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<td>鳥鵙</td>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>wuya</td>
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<td>燕</td>
<td>Swallow</td>
<td>yan</td>
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<td>鴞</td>
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<td>jiu</td>
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<td>鴞</td>
<td>Egret</td>
<td>bailu</td>
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<td>thrush (Garrulax canorus)</td>
<td>huamei</td>
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<td>crested myna</td>
<td>quyu</td>
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<td>布穀</td>
<td>Cuckoo</td>
<td>bugu</td>
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<td>鴧</td>
<td>various wild ducks</td>
<td>fu</td>
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<td>Sparrow</td>
<td>que</td>
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<td>gull</td>
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<td>盧雞</td>
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Bibliography


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In Chinese

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