

A Toronto-Taiwan Food Atlas

Urban Connections From Dumplings to Beef Noodle Soup

by

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"WE ARE WHAT WE EAT"
~ Philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach

熱飲買回後 漿變冷後儘快放入冰箱，儘快冰起來，儘量不要放在冰箱內

冷飲(瓶裝)大小
白豆漿無糖 有糖 55 45
黑豆漿無糖 有糖 55 45
米漿有糖 40 55 45
豆漿無糖 有糖 45 35

豆花 (附糖水) 小 中 大 30 50 110
印豆漿杯裝 20
奶茶 50 60 30 30
紅茶 50 60 30 30

手工豆腐冰淇淋
原味 25/75 元
芋頭 25/75 元
黑糖 25/75 元
芝麻 20/90 元
抹茶 30/90 元

非基因改造黃豆
豆腐 30 元/盒
豆干 35 元/盒
油豆腐 35 元/盒
豆皮 120 元/斤
凍豆腐 30 元/盒
豆腐冰淇淋

牛運吉

//ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the connections of food and architecture locally and globally; It proposes a series of urban interventions in Toronto, through a study of the food culture of Taiwan. The phrase “you are what you eat” is often expressed relating to an individual’s health but can also be seen as reflecting an individual’s identity. For some, food is a family affair; the making of food as a family and the partaking of it together around the table speaks to many personal journeys. For others, food is about celebration; the concepts of hospitality and generosity being an integral part of many cultural traditions and lifestyles. As someone who is fundamentally connected and stretched between two physical and cultural landscapes, by leveraging works around spatial implications of food, my investigation seeks to make sense of personal family and cultural past and history.

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//PREFACE

As someone who identifies as a Taiwanese Canadian, it was critical for myself to reconnect with my cultural background. As someone who was born in Taiwan but spent much of my formative years in Canada, I've always wondered what it means to be a person that comes from two separate landscapes; one who is fundamentally connected to Toronto but also identifies as an immigrant. It was important for me personally to take this opportunity, whilst traveling prior to my thesis year, to explore my obsession with food and to understand the complexities of food practices from the perspective of cultural identity, paralleling my personal family history.

Ever since immigrating to Canada, I was never given the opportunity to return to Taiwan. Nor have I been much exposed to Taiwanese traditions and folk culture as these were not commonly practiced in the Taiwanese diaspora in Toronto. However, through many interactions and participation in culinary experiences within the Greater Toronto Area and exposure to the making and eating of Taiwanese cultural foods, these experiences became an avenue to learn about aspects of Taiwanese identity and cultural food practices.

Before diving deeper, it is appropriate to point out that nothing can be written about present day Taiwan without a certain level of politics, and particularly, with the politics of food. Katy Hui-wen Hung, author of 2018's *A Culinary History of Taipei*, once said, "Taiwanese food history is as murky as Taiwanese politics." It is indeed difficult to talk about food without understanding the political tensions of Taiwan. Many of the dishes we love today wouldn't exist without Taiwan's entanglements with global trade, colonialism, and geo-politics.. At an international scale, Taiwan has been ghosted, "an oft-overlooked island of in-between-ness."¹ The island known as Taiwan is claimed by China as another Chinese province, yet most Taiwanese believe otherwise. I make no claim for Taiwanese independence in this thesis. Rather, as mentioned prior, this thesis is an explorative, design-led research through my personal navigation of two separate landscapes; Taiwan and Toronto, which will be laid out as this thesis paper progresses.

1.
Nguyen-Okwu, Leslie.
"16 Dishes That Define
Taiwanese Food." *The Eater
Guide to Taipei*, March 6,
2019. <https://www.eater.com/2019/3/6/18241036/what-is-taiwanese-food-traditional-cuisine>.

Fig. 03 Vendor selling sweet soup desserts (Mung Bean, Mochi, Sweet Congee)



鮮活水産海鮮

煮物
緑豆算

茂谷桶村

Yakult

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//INTRODUCTION

Throughout the course of human history, food has always played an important role in shaping cultural identity. Food is both a physical and symbolic reflection of the culture from where it came in regards to who we eat with, how we eat, where we eat, when we eat, and why we eat. By the same token, food also conveys significance to self identity and community identity.. Food is belonging, allowing communities to express affiliation as well as allowing others to make social connections. . And particularly for immigrants, food becomes a way to remain connected to their ancestral culture, or to assert an acculturated identity.

As an immigrant, the experience of living in a place that is foreign can typically be one of exclusion. For those who go through dramatic cultural and spatial transitions, the process of immigrating to and settling in a new country involves many life changes and challenges. Despite experiencing conditions of exploitation, isolation, and segregation both within the city and outside the borders of familiar communities such as Chinatown, immigrants embrace and cultivate these conditioned spaces for dwelling and make it their own: a means to recover memories of home, a space of haven.



Fig. 04 Communal family dining table

Fig. 05 Various delicious chinese dishes (dim sum)

To explore this further,, this design-led research investigation engages these provocations in a speculative manner. I propose an environment where diasporic communities can safely engage in their cultural identities through food practices whilst fighting back against Toronto's gentrification. By introducing similar expressions of Taiwan's architectural infrastructure of temporality and the community's way of life, the experience becomes an extension of Chinatown's identity of place, in Toronto.



Fig. 06 Typical Taiwan urban infrastructure





01

Fig. 07 Aerial view of Taiwan, Taipei

PART 01 // ORIGINS & BRIEF COLONIAL HISTORY - TAIWAN

//Introduction

To examine the relationship between Taiwan's landscape and its informal extensions of cultural food practices and architecture, it is important to establish an understanding of its origins, its conflicts, its people, and the urban environment from a historical context. This section provides insight into Taiwanese identity of place and how they are represented, becoming an extension of the landscape's cultural roots to define the parameters of Taiwanese Identity.

//Brief History of Taiwan - A Colonial Timeline

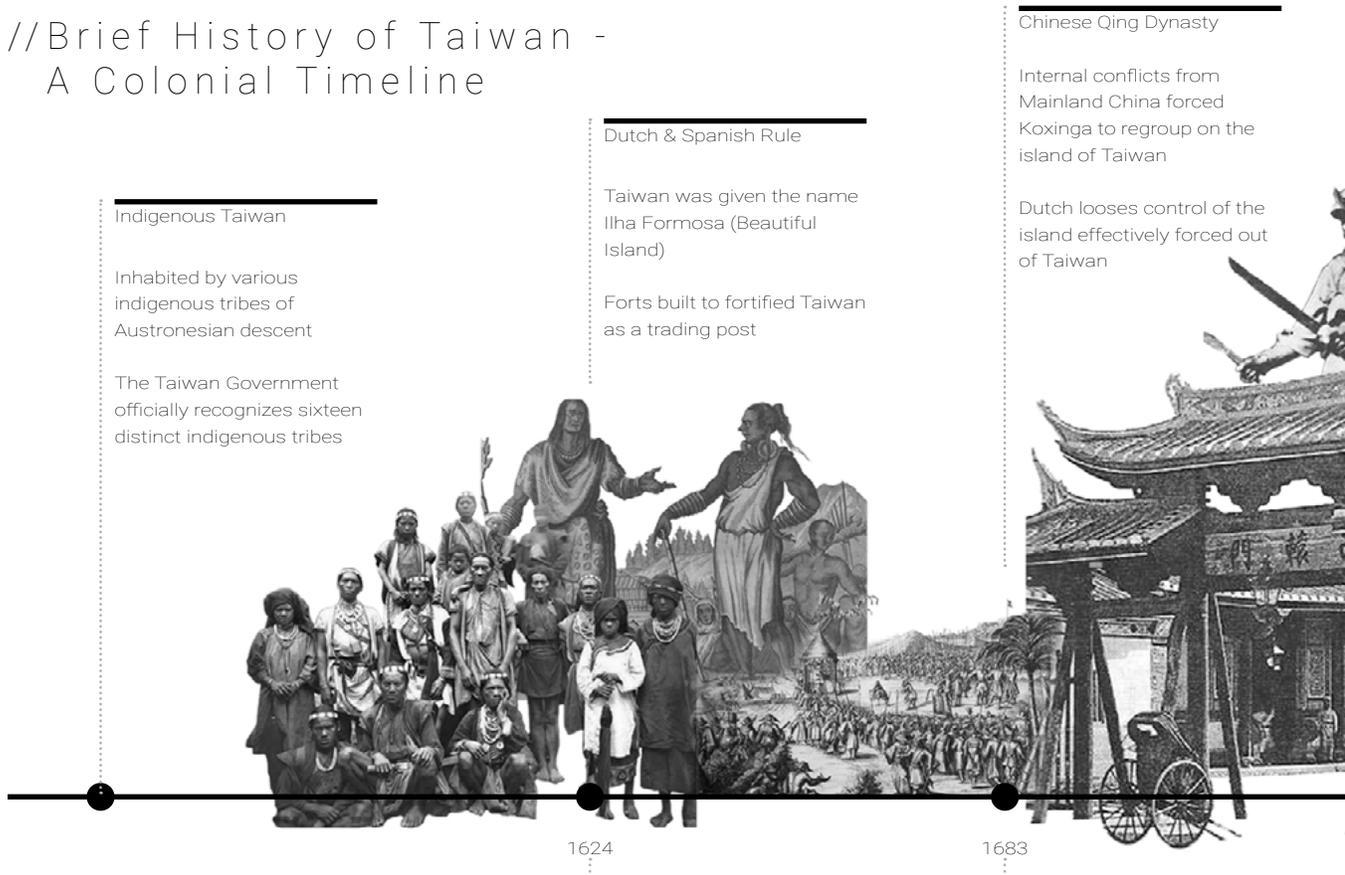




Fig. 08 Timeline of Taiwan's brief colonial history



Fig. 09 Map of Taiwan

//Brief Colonial History

Taiwan's historical circumstances are peculiar and intriguing. For thousands of years, Taiwan was inhabited by various indigenous tribes of Austronesian descent. There are ongoing debates as to the exact origins of these groups, but most anthropologists agree that the Aboriginal tribes came to Taiwan from more than one location and settled the island over the centuries.² Currently, the Taiwan Government officially recognizes sixteen distinct indigenous tribes: Yami (雅美族), Amis (阿美族), Paiwan (排灣族), Atayal (泰雅族), Saisiyat (賽夏族), Tsou (鄒族), Puyuma (卑南族), Bunun (布農族), Sakizaya (撒奇萊雅族), Taroko (太魯閣族), Kavalan (噶瑪蘭族), Thao (邵族), Saaroa (拉阿魯哇族), Rukai (魯凱族), Kanakanavu (卡那卡那富族), and Seediq (賽德克族).



Fig. 10 & 11 Rukai & Paiwan Indigenous tribe festivities

2.
Manthorpe, Jonathan.
Forbidden Nation: A History
of Taiwan. New York:
Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

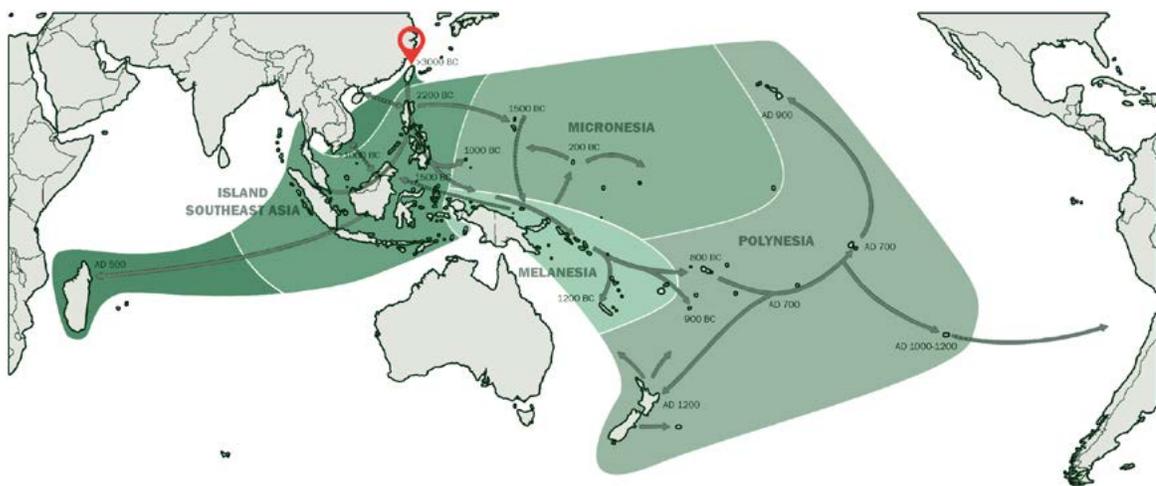


Fig. 12 Mapping of Austronesian Movements

However, there are many other tribes that have either died out, merged with or been subsumed by larger, more notable tribes, or were forced to assimilate by external powers who took control over Taiwan throughout its history.³ There are also instances where tribes still exist into the modern day, have their own cultural identity but are not recognized by the Taiwanese government.⁴

3.
Roy, Denny. *Taiwan: A Political History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

4.
Waksman, Itamar. "The Siraya's Fight for Recognition in Taiwan." *The News Lens International Edition*, February 25, 2022.

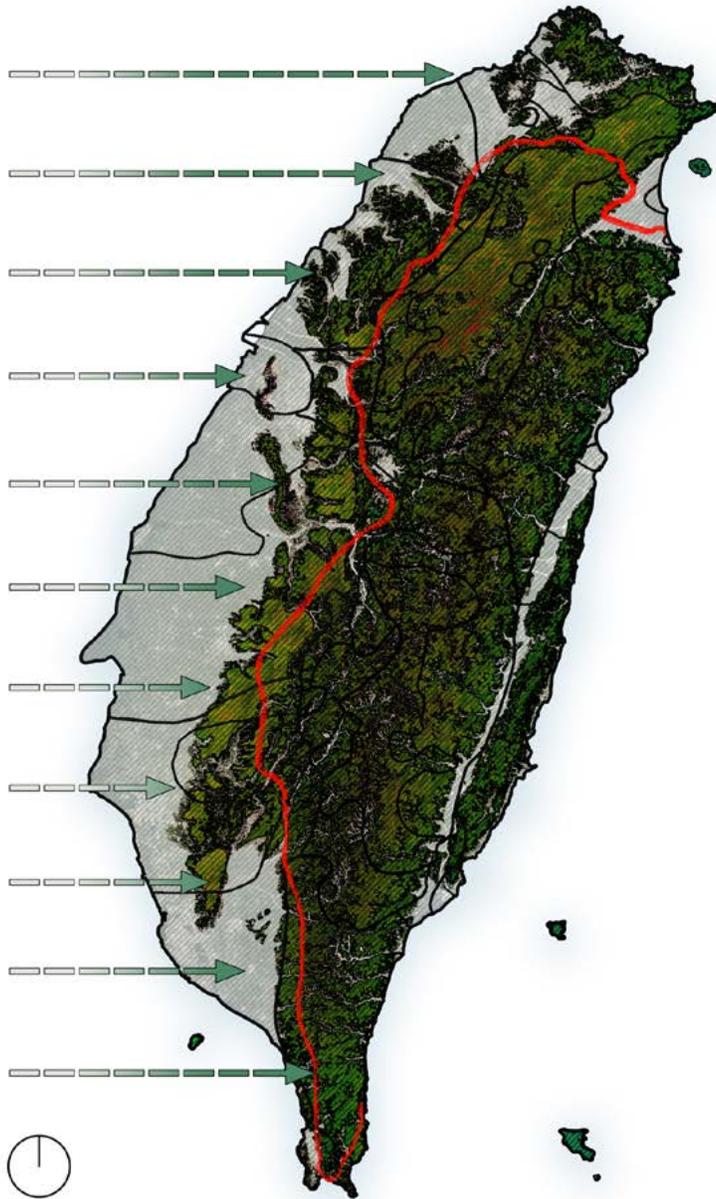
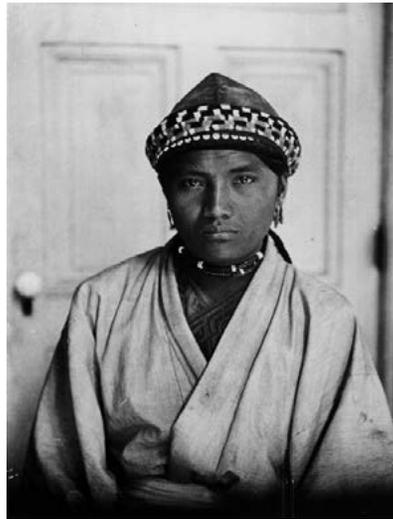
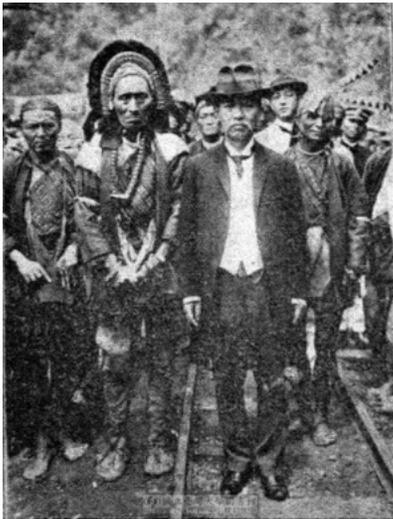


Fig. 13 Mapping of Taiwan; colonial line separating Indigenous communities (1901)

Moreover, damaged by wartime bombardment and further turmoil that came with new governments, Taiwan was historically only seen as a trade settlement, “a foothold in the lucrative China trade destination” as it sits only a hundred miles away off the eastern coast of China.⁵



5.
Morris, Andrew D. Taiwan's History: An Introduction. Cal Poly. The Minor Arts of Daily Life: Popular Culture in Taiwan, 2004. p. 5.

Fig. 14 Governor Kenjiro who executed the assimilation policy

Fig. 15 Portrait of Rukai Chief during Japanese rule

From the Dutch dealing during the Koxinga Kingdom era, to the Qing Dynasty overruling the lands through bloody confrontations and suppressions, to colonial Japan claiming sovereignty to expand territory for Japan's new Meiji government and so forth, throughout the 17th century, Taiwan has endured various cultural infiltrations and disruptions. With every encounter, Taiwan has undergone a new series of cultural shifts to meet the pressures of contact with other societies, their cultures and technologies. To varying degrees, each of these successive colonial influences participated in violent conflicts and peaceful economic interactions, their interference resulting in the transformation of culture and language amongst the island dwellers, especially of the indigenous peoples.



Fig. 16 Aerial view of Taiwan's mountain range (Rukai Tribe Territory)

//The Spanish Formosa

In 1544, Portuguese explorers became the first Europeans to discover the island and gave Taiwan the name it would be known as for many centuries: Ilha Formosa (Beautiful Island). Although it now existed in the European consciousness, no foreign power officially claimed possession over the island until the 1620s when both Dutch and Spanish merchants arrived and attempted to seize land to establish their own colonies. Both parties saw the potential of Formosa as a trading post with neighboring China, the giant of the orient. The Dutch merchants, on behalf of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), fortified their claim by building Fort Zeelandia and Fort Provintia near the city of Tainan, thus creating a strong network connection between the VOC, the Ming Dynasty and to a lesser extent, Japan. Likewise, the Spanish also established a small colony in northern Taiwan (present-day Keelung) although their influence in the area was never strong, and by the late 1630s, the Spanish withdrew their troops entirely.⁶



Fig. 18 Battle of Fort San Salvador in Keelung (1642)

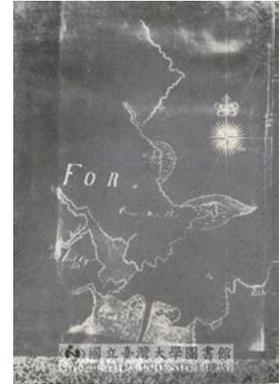


Fig. 17 Map of Keelung city "Peace of Land" (1667)

6.

Andrade, Tonio. "Pirates, Pelts, and Promises: The Sino-Dutch Colony of Seventeenth-Century Taiwan and the Aboriginal Village of Favorolang." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 2, 2005. p. 296.



Fig. 19 Spanish & Dutch areas of influence in Taiwan

//The Dutch Formosa

During the time of Dutch rule (1624-68), the VOC were responsible for the first large-scale urban development in Taiwan and instating laws that would have a lasting impact on the geographic distribution of the many ethnic groups that inhabit Taiwan. Wide spread and regularly enforced taxations for example affected the local Fujianese and Hakka populations, as well as the Aboriginal populations. These laws and taxes were not put in place to benefit the populace of Taiwan, but instead were geared towards enriching and strengthening the home state, creating opportunities for Dutch businesses, and sheltering the work of Dutch missionaries.⁷ Despite Dutch intention to build a viable economic base on the island, the local population recognized the benefits of the trade network and development opportunities on the island encouraged more Chinese workers and merchants to emigrate there. The Dutch, in turn, "provided [local] settlers with land, oxen, seeds, implements, money and provided water facilities to support the growing of rice, sugar, cane, hemp, and wheat," which formed a major part of Taiwan's agricultural industry and culinary traditions.⁸



Fig. 21 Old Dutch Fort built in Tainan

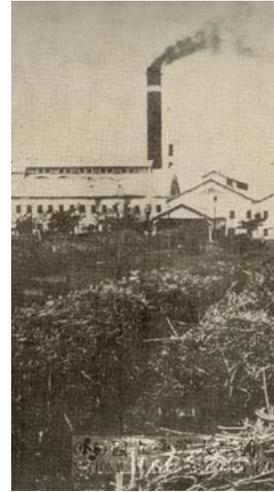


Fig. 20 Sugar cane factory

7.

Roy, Denny. *Taiwan: A Political History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003. p. 7.

8.

Rubinstein, Murray A., and Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang. *Taiwan: A New History*. Oxfordshire England, NY: Routledge, 2015. p. 12.



Fig. 22 Agricultural infrastructure; rice fields



Fig. 23 Agricultural infrastructure; sugar cane farming

//The Landing of Koxinga

In the later half of the seventeenth century, mainland China was thrown into upheaval as a power struggle was waged between the established Ming Dynasty and the incoming Qing Dynasty. A leader of the Ming Dynasty loyalist known as Koxinga (or Zheng Chenggong) carried on valiant efforts to oust the new dynasty and revive Ming rule.⁹ Koxinga and his troops were forced farther south by their opposition and decided to strategically regroup on the island of Taiwan. Despite the Dutch's efforts in fortifying their base of operations on the island, Koxinga effectively forced the VOC out of Taiwan and gained control of the island. An influx of Ming dynasty loyalists fled to Taiwan following the ousting of the VOC as well, introducing even more Chinese population to Taiwan. The deployment of military colonization efforts brought much of the Southwestern Coastal Plain lifestyle practices which furthered the agricultural tradition on the island and cemented the geological areas in which both the indigenous and the ethnically Chinese settled.¹⁰

9.
Erway, Cathy. *The Food of Taiwan: Recipes from the Beautiful Island*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015. p. 16.

10.
Rubinstein, Murray A., and Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang. *Taiwan: A New History*. Oxfordshire England, NY: Routledge, 2015. p. 13.

Fig. 24 Zheng Cheng-Gong (Koxinga) besieged the Dutch at Fort Zeelandia



//Under Japanese Rule

After the Sino-Japanese war in 1895, ethnic separation and conflict was once again brought to the island. The Qing Dynasty crumbled, and rulers in Beijing ceded Taiwan to Japan. Like their Dutch predecessors, the Japanese sought to extract benefits from Taiwan for its own citizens and empire.¹¹ During the Japanese occupation (1895-1945), the Meiji government in Japan viewed the acquisition of Taiwan as an economic, strategic, and agricultural opportunity.¹² Ruthless campaigns against the aboriginal tribes were carried out in the earlier years to suppress Chinese traditions including the tearing down of city walls and traditional houses.

11.

Roy, Denny. *Taiwan: A Political History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003. p. 8.

12.

Pfau, Cassidy A. "Cultural Identity and Cuisine in Taiwan." Thesis, University Honors Theses, 2017. p. 10.

Fig. 25 Indigenous communities fighting back Japan invaders

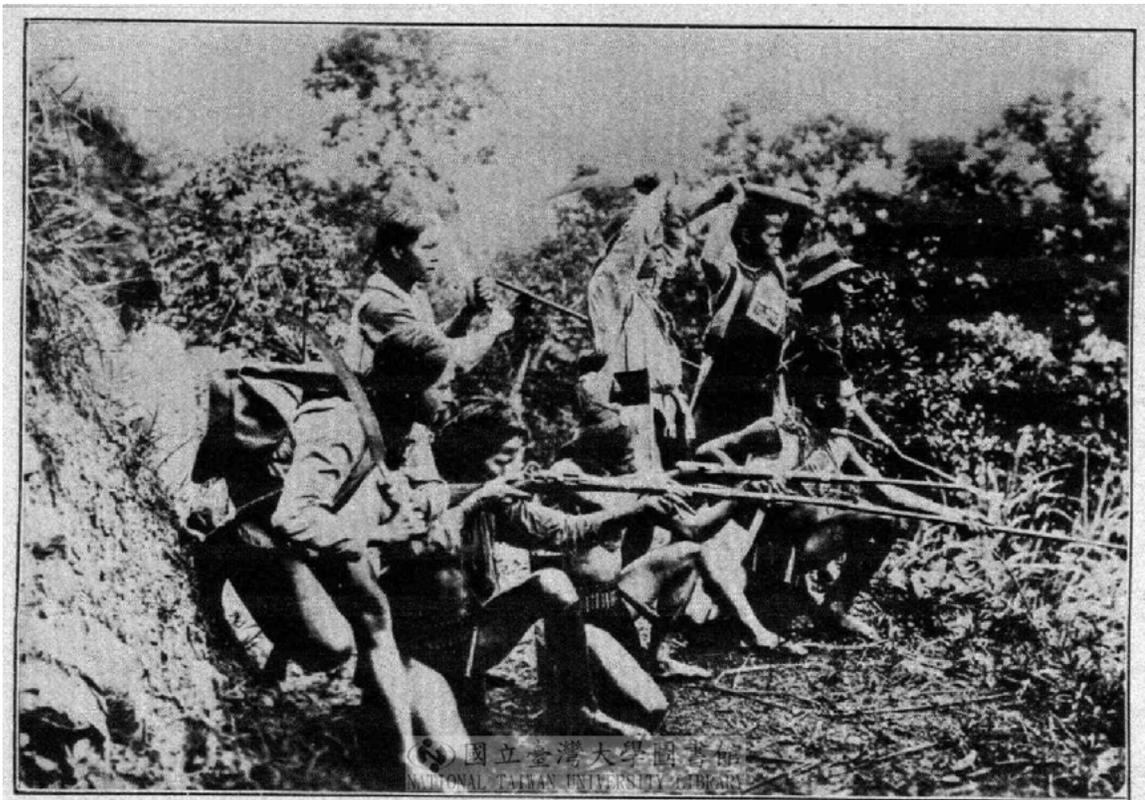




Fig. 26 Photo of Japanese troops prior to campaign in Taichung



Fig. 27 Japan trying to take control of Taiya Tribe lands



Fig. 28 Japanese educators teaching young indigenous students



Fig. 29 Reconciliation between Japan and Indigenous communities after Wushe incident



Fig. 30 Modern built infrastructure: department store building

However, the Japanese colonial period is now viewed as an integral part of Taiwan's modernization and has legitimized its self-representation; the Meiji built many government and public buildings in place of torn down traditional settlements, copying western styles they learned through European contact during the Meiji restoration period.¹³ City infrastructure improvements were considered as well. Construction of highways and railroads increased the effectiveness of moving trade goods but also improved the livelihood of the island's inhabitants. Implementations of medical systems, independent legal systems and mandatory educational systems on the island where "sovereign" pupils would read, write, and learn in Japanese likewise improved overall lifestyles.¹⁴ With modernization came standardization; strict regulations and restrictions of construction of spaces were implemented, the effect of which can still be seen on the landscape today.¹⁵ Through the improvements of Taiwan's economic development, Japan ultimately played a critical role in bringing Taiwan into the modern age.



Fig. 31 Locals adopting to Japanese modern lifestyle

13.

Wang, Chen-Shan Ellen. "Historic Preservation in Taiwan: The Restoration of Tainan Da Tianhou Gong." University of Pennsylvania, 2003. p. 29.

14.

Erway, Cathy. *The Food of Taiwan: Recipes from the Beautiful Island*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015. p. 16.

15.

Ito, K. *History of Taiwan*. Taipei City: Qian wei chu ban she, 2004.





Fig. 32 Map of Taipei City during Japanese rule in 1935, Taiwan



Although Japan's contributions to Taiwan had massive impacts on developing city structure and framework, it is, however, not hard to imagine that some degree of identity shift occurred amongst the people in Taiwan in the first half of the twentieth century. It cannot be ignored that for most, this era was a time of repression and suffering. At least two generations of Taiwanese grew up under the heavy-handed Japanese colonial rule. The incorporation of a nationwide assimilation policy prohibited the practice of Taiwanese culture, language, and religious practices.¹⁶ One such policy saw the push for the people of Taiwan to abandon their surnames and adopt Japanese names.¹⁷ Yet even as the Taiwanese were forced to assimilate and become Japanese culturally, "they were still treated as second-class citizens politically and socially."¹⁸

Fig. 33 Taiwanese classroom during colonial Japan increasing literacy harmony

16.

Zhong, Yang. "Explaining National Identity Shift in Taiwan." Taylor & Francis, February 2016. p. 339.

17.

Ching, Leo T. "Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation." *China Review International* 10, no. 1 (2003): 114–20.

18.

Zhong, Yang. "Explaining National Identity Shift in Taiwan." Taylor & Francis, February 2016. p. 339.

//Chinese Nationalist Party Rule

In 1945, after Japan's surrender in WWII, all of Japan's imperial territories were effectively ceded, including Taiwan. However, the legal specifications of to whom Japan was ceding Taiwan was not made clear in the Treaty of Peace over Taiwan as at the time.¹⁹ It was assumed in the interim that the island of Taiwan would effectively be allowed to establish their own nation and governing body, however differing interpretations had other ideas on who was entitled to exercise sovereignty over Taiwan.²⁰

19.
Charney, Jonathan I., and J. R. Prescott. "Resolving Cross-Strait Relations between China and Taiwan." *American Journal of International Law* 94, no. 3 (2000). p.458.

20.
ibid., p.460.



Fig. 34 A surrender ceremony and formally signed surrender documents of WWII

The government in power in China at the end of WWII, the Republic of China under the Chinese Nationalist Party or Kuomintang (KMT) was losing the civil war against Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (PRC). With recognition from the United States amongst other international powers, the KMT took control of Taiwan on October 25th, 1945. From this point until 1949, the KMT occupied the island with intentions and hopes to use it as a strategic military base from which to defeat Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (PRC). And once again, Taiwan experiences cultural disruption as reintegration of Chinese identity is introduced whilst Japanese and Taiwanese languages and culture were abolished.



Fig. 35 President Chiang Kai-Shek and President Dwight D. Eisenhower in Taiwan

Under the rule of the Chinese Nationalist Party, Taiwan became an authoritarian country without an opposition party. Policies enforced by the KMT reflected its own interest as it claimed to be the legitimate government of China.²¹ Local inhabitants who had been looking forward to reunification with mainland China after fifty years of Japanese colonization soon became resentful. The KMT officials' economic mismanagement led to monopolization of all major industries, resulting in skyrocketing inflation, corruption, and high rates of unemployment. Tensions reached their breaking point on February 28th, 1947 when the assault of a cigarette vendor and the death of a bystander at the hands of a KMT authority sparked riots and mass protest. "The uprising was brutally suppressed with the massacre of thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands".²² The 228 incident was – and still is – an important moment for Taiwan's national identity.

21.

Roy, Denny. *Taiwan: A Political History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003. p.8.



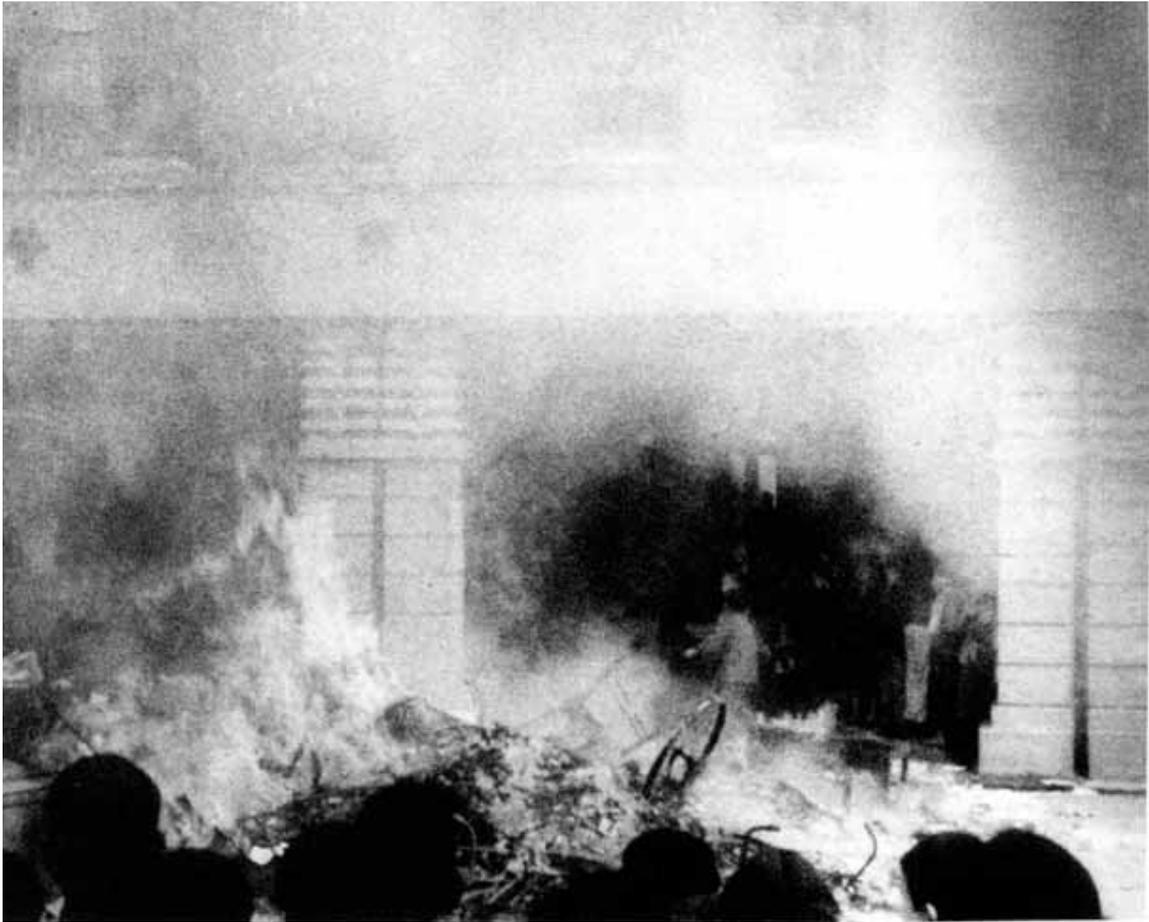
Fig. 36 Protesters gathering in Taipei Main Station square

22.

Smith, Craig A. "Taiwan's 228 Incident and the Politics of Placing Blame." *Past Imperfect* 14 (2008). p.143.



Fig. 37 Angry protesters gathering in front of Taiwan Provincial Monopoly Bureau (228)



In 1949, the KMT was officially defeated by the Communist Party and lost control over mainland China, forcing the party, along with soldiers and civilians to completely retreat to Taiwan in a mass exodus of more than one million personas known as The Great Retreat. The following decade proved a hard one for the island. Cut off from Japan and mainland China, their traditional main avenues of trade, and with a significantly increased population to feed, Taiwan turned to western powers for aid. Amongst those who answered the call was the United States, who supplied Taiwan with resources and rations through its period of transition and helped lay the groundwork for the economic boom the island would experience in the 1970s and 1980s.

Fig. 38 Angry protesters gathering in front of Taiwan Provincial Monopoly Bureau 2 (228)

In the latter half of the 20th century, Taiwan came into its own as an international trading hub. The people of the island were experiencing more economic prosperity and, with the end of martial law in 1987, a degree of social stability as well. The preference in the ROC for mainland born citizens (waishen ren) in positions of power was abolished as well with the coming of a new generation of Taiwanese citizens born on the island itself. Many of the island's new leaders have only tenuous emotional connections to China, several having never set foot on the mainland. And thus slowly, a separate identity, one of Taiwan localization, was born.





“...CULTURAL IDENTITY, [WHEN] PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD, IS MUCH MORE THE PRODUCT OF GLOBALIZATION THAN ITS VICTIM... [GLOBALIZATION] HAS BEEN PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FORCE IN CREATING AND PROLIFERATING CULTURAL IDENTITY”

~ John Tomlinson

Fig. 39 Typical street dining in Taiwan

PART 01 // IMPACT OF CUISINE - TAIWAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

//Introduction

Food has always played an important role in society. Not only does food provide sustenance, but it also instills a significant impression of self – as products of cultures, communities, families and heritage. Like language, food exists as a vehicle for expressing culture; an expression of cultural identity. Food is also central to one's sense of identity and is deeply linked to associations with place, memories, and history. Food becomes an underlying connection of inclusivity, bringing people together through the narrative of unity within diverse communities. Through these narratives, Taiwan's overarching cultural identity has accepted different cultural elements from historical interactions, creating a unique national dynamic.

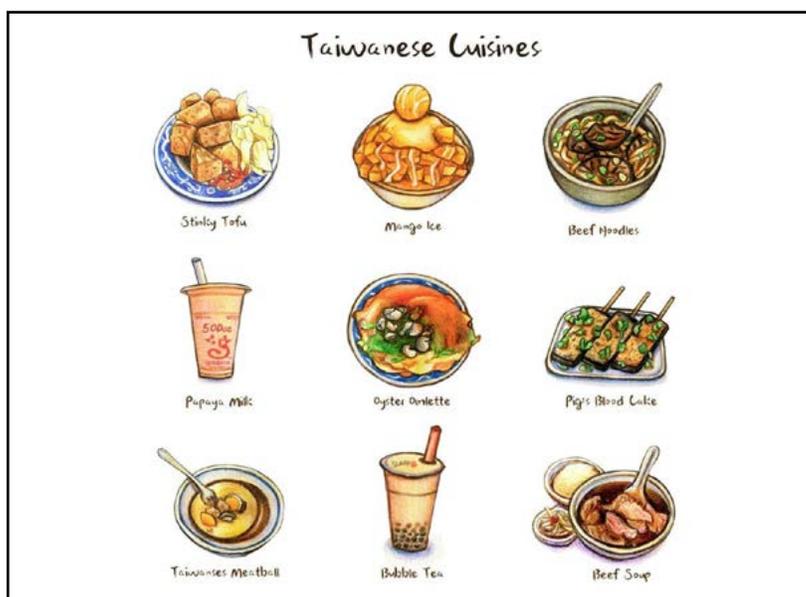


Fig. 40 Typical Taiwanese cuisine

//What is Considered Taiwan's Cuisine?

Taiwan has a distinct yet unified cuisine in and of itself; a cuisine that would have never been without the waves of migration and war yet holds its own legacy. The food that is often thought of as distinctly Taiwanese is in fact a hodgepodge of elements introduced by its inhabitants. The various externally imposed historical events introduced Taiwan to various exotic ingredients, methods of food preparation, flavours, and eating habits. And as such, local indigenous flavours and waves of outside culinary influences have coalesced into modern Taiwanese cuisine, trademarking certain national dishes that are known today. The result of cultures mixing is reflected in the dynamic lifestyles of Taiwan's inhabitants and its diverse society.

//Indigenous Flavours - Rukai Tribe



Fig. 41 Cinavu, local Rukai snack (wrapped smoked taro wild boar meat)

Surrounded by a vast body of water, Taiwan is a mountainous island 394km (245 miles) long by 144 km (90 miles) at its widest. With a total area of some 35,834 km² (13,836 square miles) and with a present population of 22.3 million residents, the island of Taiwan is one of the most densely populated nations on earth.²³ Yet, for thousands of years, Indigenous Austronesians lived exclusively off Taiwan's land and sea – mineral hot springs, lush greenery, mountain ranges, and rocky coastlines. This way of life is, for the most part, a thing of the past, however, half a million Taiwanese aborigines still populate the country, and their culinary influence endures via local ingredients like taro and wild boar meat; flavourful dishes like life-wrapped cinavu and salty maqaw (mountain peppercorn) spiced sausages; and cooking techniques like salting and slow smoking.

23.

Morris, Andrew D. Taiwan's History: An Introduction. Cal Poly. The Minor Arts of Daily Life: Popular Culture in Taiwan, 2004. p.2.



Fig. 42 Woodcrafted kitchen tool; mortar and pestle

//Hakka Flavours

Taiwanese people attach great importance and meaning to the food culture of their hometown. For example, Taiwanese cuisine bears the marks of the Hakka people – an ethnic “Han Chinese subgroup with ancestral roots in the Hakka-speaking provincial areas of Southern China that began settling on the island around the 17th century”.²⁴ The Hakka brought over their rustic cooking, which informs many of the flavours consumers associate with Taiwan: basil-heavy soups, lei cha tea mixed with peanuts, mint leaves, sesame seeds, mung beans and pan-fried mi fen rich noodles. “During the Dutch period, Han Taiwanese cultivated rice and various other crops and plants brought in from overseas”.²⁵ The Dutch also “transported water buffalos from Eastern India to Taiwan for use as draft animals and imported various plants and fruits including mangoes, jackfruit, custard apple, chili and snow peas”.²⁶



24.

Nguyen-Okwu, Leslie. “16 Dishes That Define Taiwanese Food.” *The Eater Guide to Taipei*, March 6, 2019.

25.

Chang, Yu-Hsin. “Food and Identity: Eating at Home in Taiwan.” *Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture*, n.d. p. 1.

26.

ibid.

Fig. 43 Hakka stir-fry; pork belly, squid, dried tofu, celery, garlic, and pepper

//Minnan Flavours

The most crucial influence on Taiwanese food was the introduction of Minnan food. Han migrants from Xiamen from Fujian province introduced their regional culture influencing the cuisine of Taiwan with sweet, heady flavours such as minced pork on rice and gua bao, or pork belly buns. "Several Xiamen snack foods such as stewed bean curd, oyster congee, oyster noodles and seasoned millet porridge were also introduced".²⁷ These flavour profiles came first during the Qing Dynasty period, and also later, during the mass arrival of Chinese mainlanders fleeing the communist regime at the end of China's civil war in the 1940s.

27.

Chang, Yu-Hsin. "Food and Identity: Eating at Home in Taiwan." *Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture*, n.d. p. 2.

Fig. 44 Minnan flavours (top row left to right); minced pork rice, gua bao (pork sliders), oyster omelette

Fig. 45 Minnan flavours (bottom row left to right); millet porridge, oyster noodles, ban mian (egg noodle soup)



//Japanese Flavours



Fig. 46 Foods are typically stored in Japanese bento boxes

Though Minnan culture played a significant role in shaping Taiwanese food habits, it was not the only influence. Fifty years of Japanese occupation and the subsequent takeover of the Nationalist government were also major influences which reshaped Taiwanese food and food cultures. The Japanese occupation brought cuisines to the island that were foreign (both Western cuisine and Japanese cuisine), but gradually became an integral part of its culinary culture. “The introduction of Japanese food items including a particular preferred rice variety (Japonicas), Japanese condiments such as monosodium glutamate (MSG) and Japanese soy sauce, and fermented soy paste (miso)” had an impact on the Taiwanese diet.²⁸ Exposures to beer, soda water, caramels, ice cream, condensed milk, shaved ice, mayonnaise, as well as various wasabi mustard were gradually incorporated into Taiwan’s culinary practice.

28.

Chang, Yu-Hsin. “Food and Identity: Eating at Home in Taiwan.” *Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture*, n.d. p. 2.



Fig. 47 Typical take-out boxes from food stalls

Fig. 48 Japanese flavours (bottom row left to right): pickled carrots, pickled daikon radish, pickled mustard greens

These introductions slowly started to manifest within Taiwanese household cooking and diets. Families “began to drink miso soup and [make] sushi at home [accompanied with] Japanese-style soy sauce for pickled foods.”²⁹ To this day, these food cultures are still practiced. Five decades of Japanese colonization also brought a variety of food experiences with an emphasis on seasonal ingredients. Bento boxes and sushi bars can still be found on almost every street corner in Taipei.

29.

Chang, Yu-Hsin. “Food and Identity: Eating at Home in Taiwan.” *Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture*, n.d. p. 2.

Fig. 49 Japanese flavours (top row left to right): sushi, short grain rice, miso paste

Fig. 50 Japanese flavours (mid. row left to right): miso soup, MSG, soy sauce



//Mainland China Flavours

The Chinese Nationalist Party also influenced food practices in Taiwan. After Japan was defeated in World War II, the influx of “1.2 million mainland soldiers introduced authentic Chinese culture to Taiwan, including Chinese food habits.”³⁰ Mainland food ingredients and cooking techniques suddenly became available to ordinary Taiwanese families. As a result, mainland-style cooking and preferred ingredients were gradually incorporated into Taiwanese-style cooking. To make a living, many retired Mainlander soldiers promoted and sold mainland snack foods such as steamed buns from Shangdong; fried pancakes from Sichuan; and soup dumplings from Shanghai. Likewise, soy milk and sesame cake, a favourite northern Chinese breakfast item, became a staple in Taiwanese breakfast.

30.

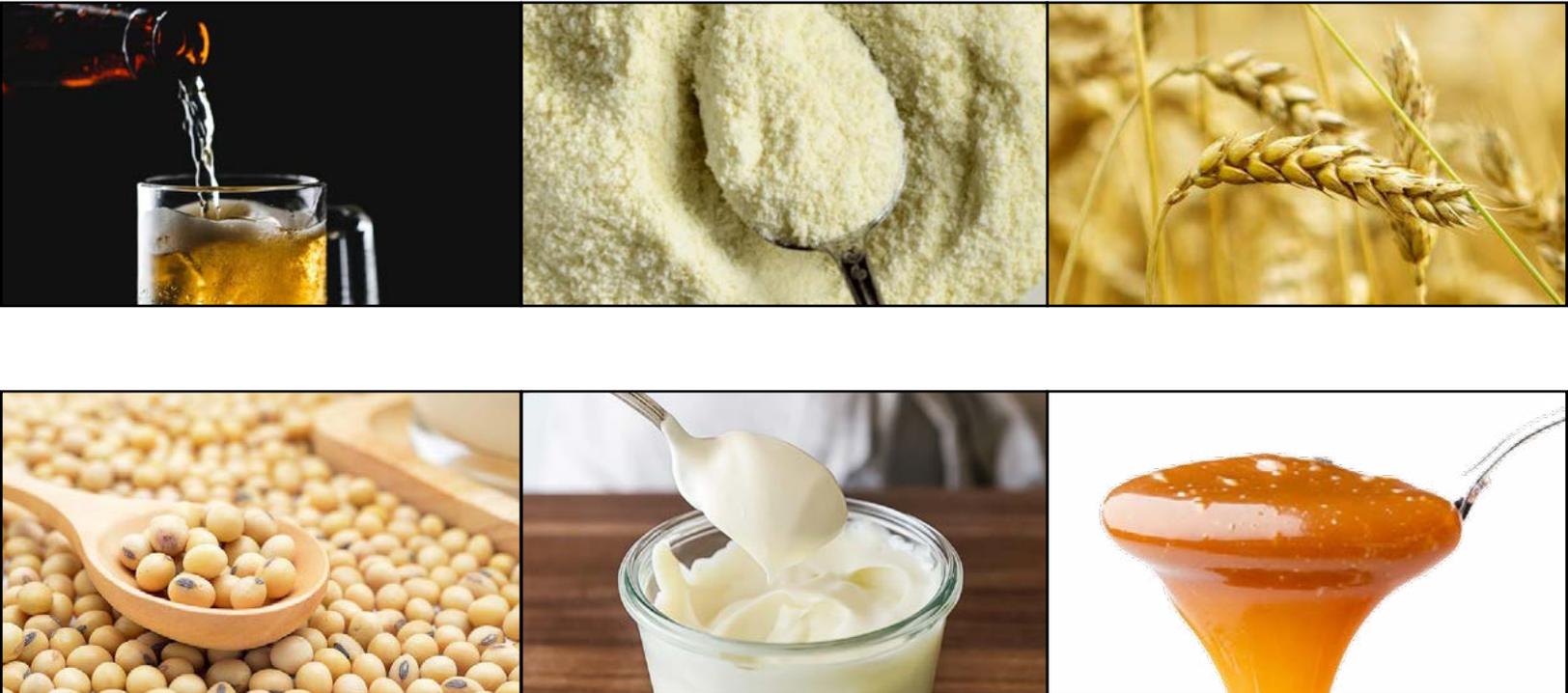
Chang, Yu-Hsin. “Food and Identity: Eating at Home in Taiwan.” *Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture*, n.d. p. 3.

Fig. 51 Mainland China flavours (top left to right): steamed buns, scallion pancakes, soup dumplings

Fig. 52 Mainland China flavours (bot. left to right): soy milk, sesame cake, fried dumplings



//American Flavours



And not surprisingly, America too had left impacts. It is important to note that during the ruling of the Chinese Nationalist Party, in 1951-1965, “the provision of material and goods from the U.S. aid influenced Taiwan food habits and eating patterns” as well.³¹ The U.S. aided Taiwan financially, with construction resources and rations. Food resources such as powdered milk, soybeans and wheat were provided for the general public to satisfy basic needs. In doing so, milk became a choice for breakfast at the time and the provision of wheat also contributed to the popularity of baked goods in Taiwan. When the Americans brought tons of wheat to the island – was when foods like wheat noodles, wheat flour-based buns, sweet breads, and dumplings became a national obsession.

Fig. 53 American flavours
(top left to right): beer,
powdered milk, wheat

Fig. 54 American flavours
(bot. left to right): soybeans,
mayonnaise, caramel

31.
Chang, Yu-Hsin. “Food and
Identity: Eating at Home
in Taiwan.” *Foundation of
Chinese Dietary Culture*, n.d.
p. 3.

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02



Fig. 55 Typical food stall vendor selling soup dumplings & oyster omelette

PART 02 // DISCOVERING TAIWAN - FOOD SPACES IN TAIPEI & TAINAN CITY

//Introduction

The investigation of the project consists of extensive documentation of graphical analysis of visiting food experiences and spaces. Through personal observations and research, these documentations will provide a speculative proposal for the communities of Toronto's West Chinatown community.

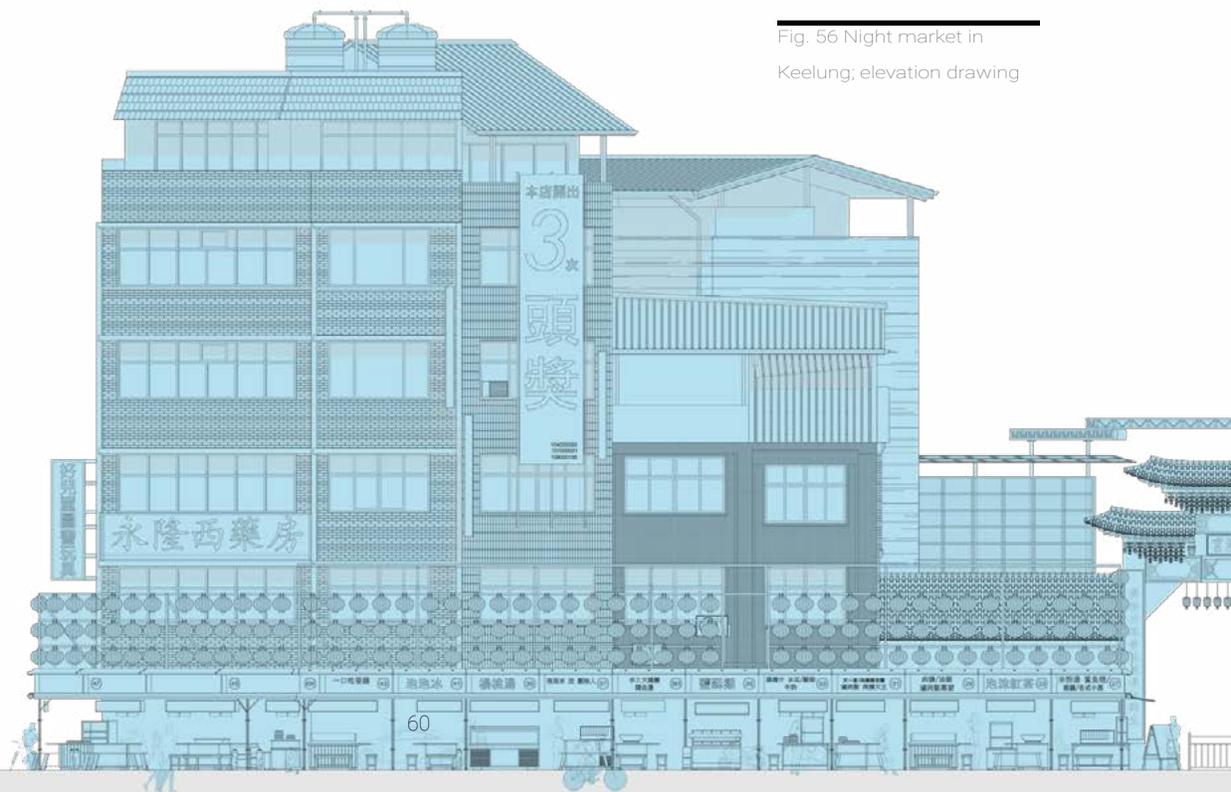


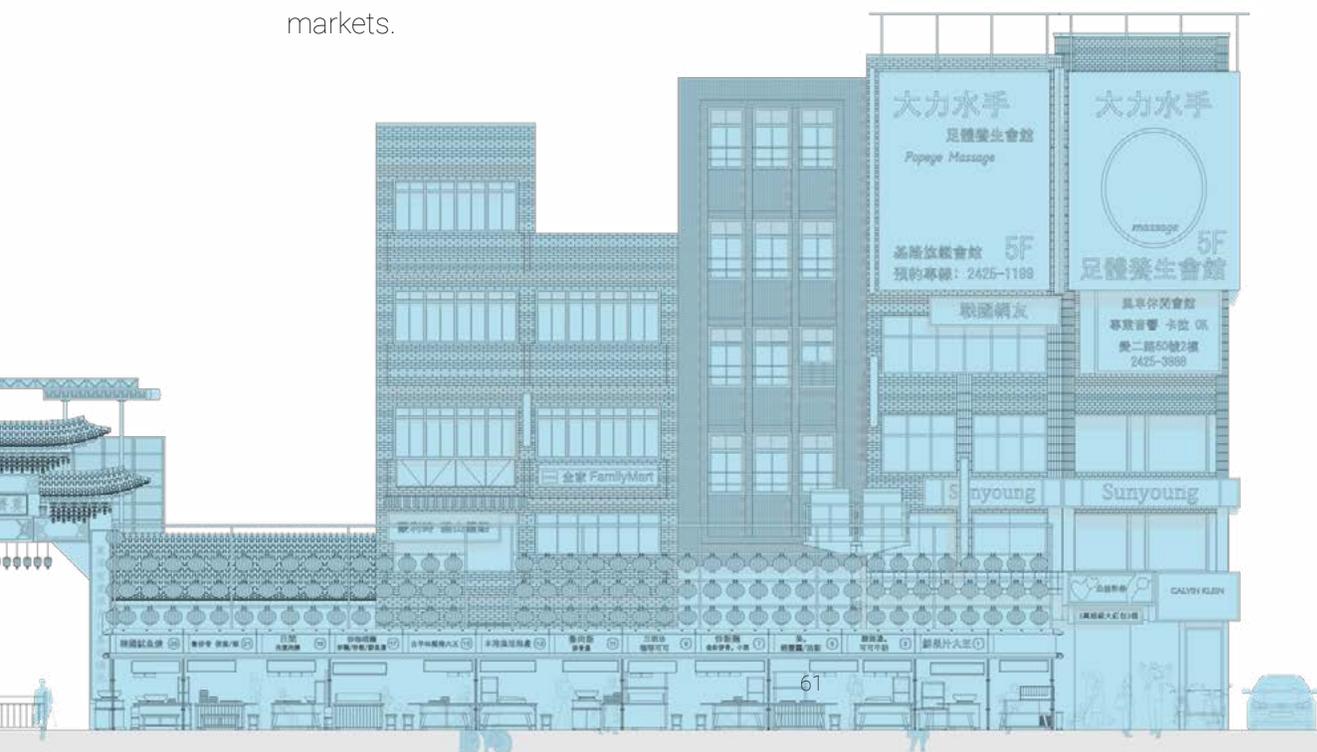
Fig. 56 Night market in
Keelung; elevation drawing

//Types of Taiwanese Cuisines

Through the three-months of working and living in Taiwan, it became apparent that Taiwanese cuisine is not the same across all of Taiwan. The capital city, Taipei (northern part of Taiwan) is far more commercialized than other cities and thus includes much more westernized foods in their diet, whereas Tainan (southern part of Taiwan) tends to have more aboriginal influences and styles of cooking. But as a whole, Taiwanese cuisine can be divided into three broad categories: gourmet, local specialties, and Taiwan Xiao-chi (snacks). The most iconic design within Taiwan's gourmet cuisine is the restaurant brand Ding-Tai-Fung for its Soup-filled dumplings: "a delicacy that has captured the taste of customers to such an extent that it can now be found globally."³² For local specialties, each region offers its own array of specialty foods and cultural experiences. And of the three major types of identified cuisines, the most common attractions throughout the trip were xiao-chi served extensively at Taiwan's infamous night markets.

32.

Chang, Yu-Hsin. "Food and Identity: Eating at Home in Taiwan." Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture, n.d. p. 6.



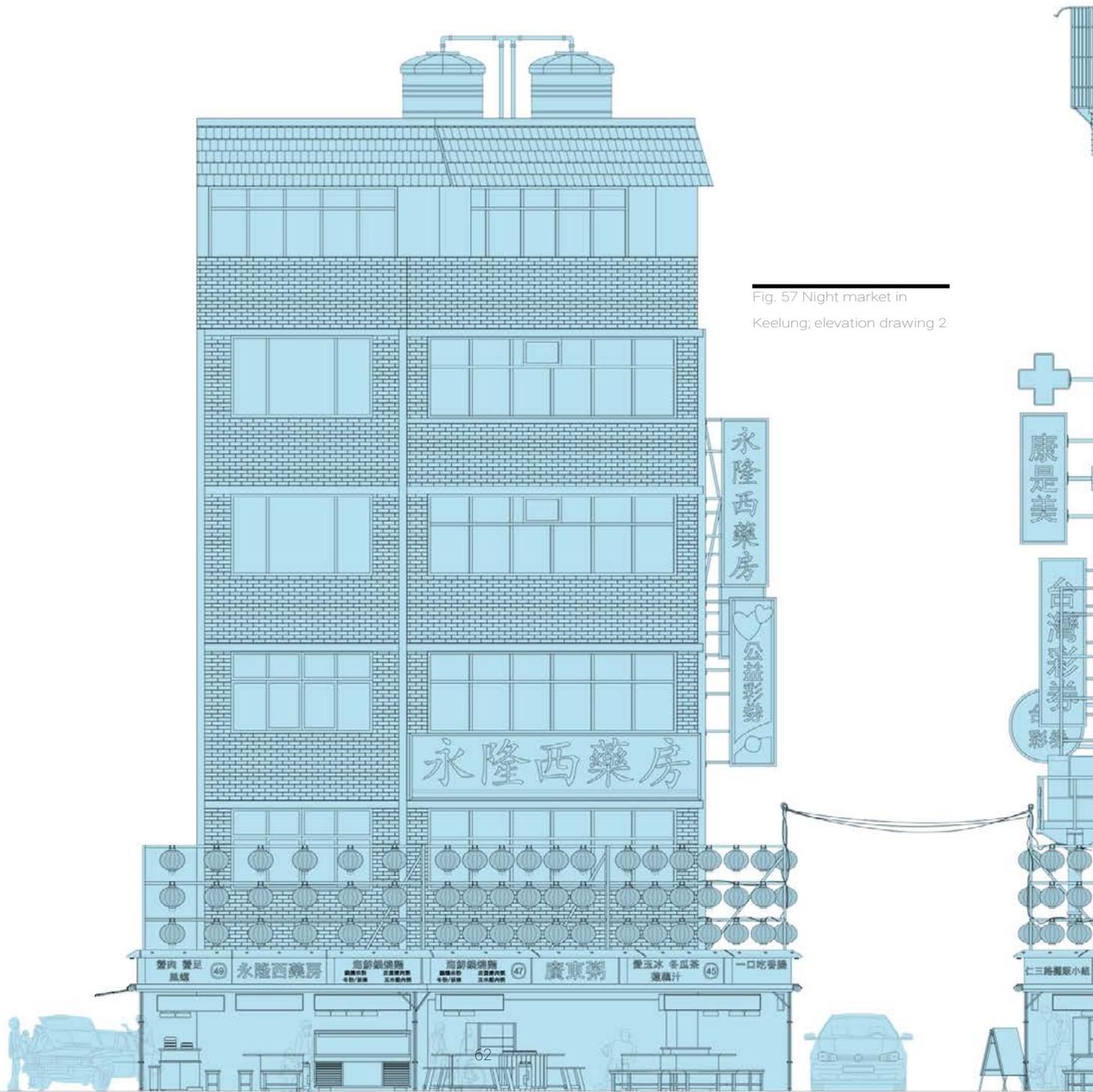
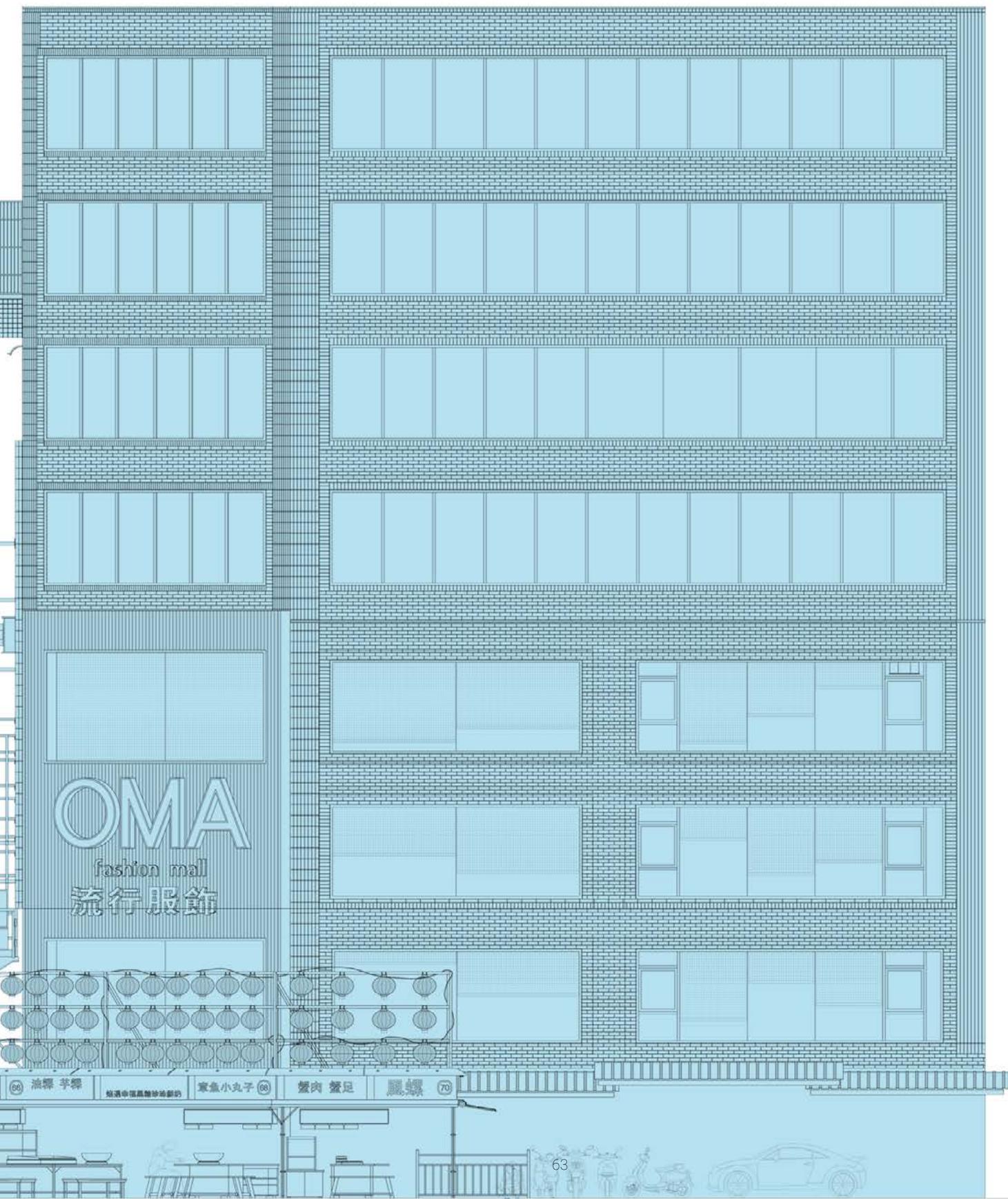


Fig. 57 Night market in Keelung; elevation drawing 2



//Xiao-Chi (Snacks) Craze



Despite their modern popularity, night markets are not a new phenomenon. As early as the Tang Dynasty in ancient China, night markets have been “a natural development from the vendors that cropped up on many street corners” rooting along busy streets or at the foot of temples.³³ Likewise in Taiwan, night markets and xiao-chi attractions were also common practices often within proximity with local temples and other important social places in cities and towns. During Taoist festivals, vendors would bring their xiao-chi and set up stalls nearby religious sites, creating makeshift markets. With inexpensive prices for all to afford, night markets become a place not just for food but also to gather and socialize. After all, where people gather, there will be food.

Fig. 58 Food stall specializes in selling lamb skewers and other types

33.

Ning, Alan. “Night Markets: The Cultural Melting Pot.” Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy, University of Toronto. Accessed February 2022.

Fig. 59 Xiao chi (left to right); fried shrimp, BBQ corn, Taiwanese salty chicken

Amidst today's boom with mega-mall culture, night markets retain a strong hold within Taiwanese culture. This is partly due to the extremely dense urban landscapes and smaller living spaces in major cities; Small kitchens and limited dining areas in family homes are often not conducive to cooking and partaking in large meals and thus the people turn to other avenues for food. Another important caveat for the endurance of night markets is the emphasis on xiao-chi which are often now available year-round in stalls offering specialty snacks. The bustling frenzy of the crowd, the noise of market attendants peddling their wares, and the myriad of smells; All around are stalls filled with unidentifiable foods speared on skewers, curries and stews in take-out containers and brightly coloured sweets. Taiwan's night markets can initially feel overwhelming. But once visitors know what to expect and understand how to navigate the food culture, one will quickly come to appreciate the chaotic charm Taiwan's night market has to offer and realize why the experience is an essential part of life in Taiwan.





There is something to be learned from every aspect of the built environment and the experiences as one navigates through Taiwan's food culture. It is evident that the experience of "dining out" and "eating in" is foreign in comparison to the food cultures in Toronto. In Taiwan, where it seems the people live to eat, "it is said that there is a snack store every three steps and a restaurant every five steps."³⁴ The pace of life is much quicker, places are denser and amidst the informal cityscape fabric of Taiwan, the overall built environment resolves the spatial issues and communicates a certain expression of Taiwan's temporal way of life.

34.

Chen, Ying-Yu. "The Role of Food in Tourists' Experience: A Case Study of Taiwan." University of Waterloo. 2013. p. 8.

Fig. 60 Xiao chi (top row left to right); oden, taiwanese sticky rice sausage, stinky tofu

Fig. 61 Xiao chi (top mid row left to right); ba wan (meat ball), pig's blood cake, fried sweet potato balls

Fig. 62 Xiao chi (bot. mid. row left to right); beef soup, bubble tea drinks, sugar-coated haws

Fig. 63 Xiao chi (bot. row left to right); chinese medicine herbal chicken, DongShan duck head, Indigenous BBQ



PART 02 // DISCOVERING TAIWAN - NAVIGATING FOOD SPACES

//Introduction

Makeshift structures are made, assembled, stacked, and fastened unconventionally, expressing a constant notion that these built structures are serving their functions without being concerned about its appearance. Workers and chefs utilize every inch of their allocated space to operate while preparing and serving their patrons. A series of photos and dialogues are documented here, highlighting the venture of a traveler's attempt to make sense of the space and his connection to 'home'.

Fig. 64 Food stall vendors setting up their makeshift kitchen for the night market

//Traveler's Log - A Diary of the Traveler
& His Connection to Home

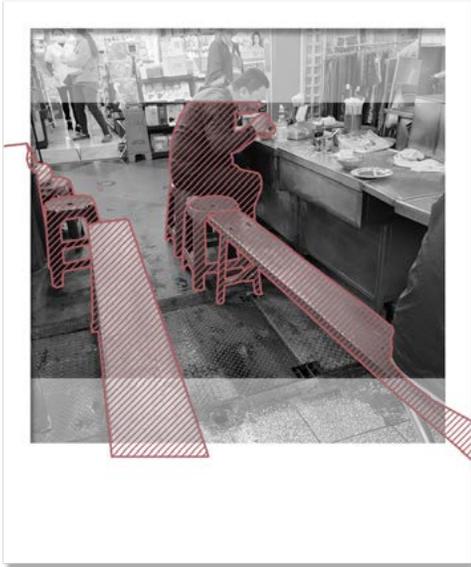


Fig. 65 Dining inbetween makeshift kitchens

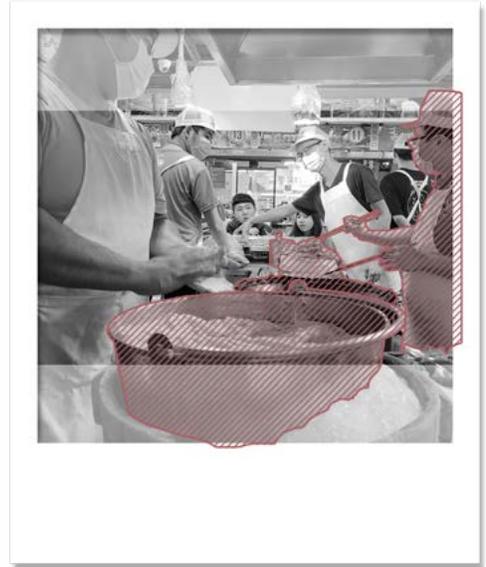


Fig. 66 Up and close eating with cooks
preparing ingredients & meals



Fig. 67 Casual customer ordering at a food
stall on the street



Fig. 68 Chefs preparing vegetables on the
side of main street curbs



Fig. 69 DIY fly swatters at a bakery stall



Fig. 70 Typical dining menu



Fig. 71 DIY outdoor kitchen



Fig. 72 Pedestrian pathway into residential areas used as parking spots for scooters



Fig. 73 Dining outdoors along sidewalk curb with ongoing vehicular traffic



Fig. 74 Shared dining and kitchen space

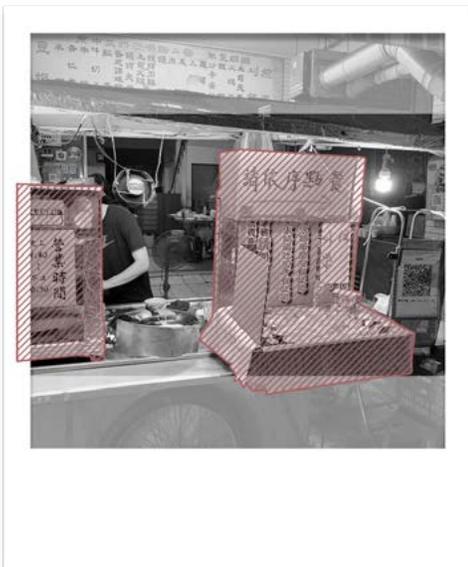


Fig. 75 Midnight snack stall operating late during the night (9:40pm-10:30am)



Fig. 76 Typical dining cutlery at restaurants



Fig. 77 Dine-in hotpot restaurant experience

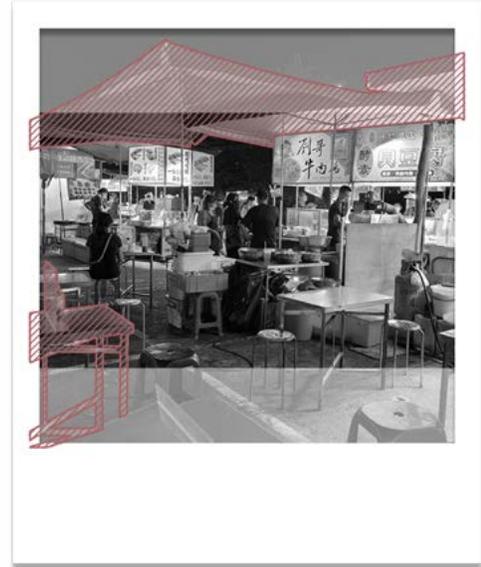


Fig. 78 Canopies installed at night markets sitting area



Fig. 79 Typical night market food stalls



Fig. 80 Makeshift food stall operating along sidewalk selling skewers



Fig. 81 Vehicular and pedestrian pathway shared within city infrastructure



Fig. 82 Awaiting for the traffic light to turn green to join ongoing traffic on the sidewalk



Fig. 83 Propane tanks often used to cook at food stalls

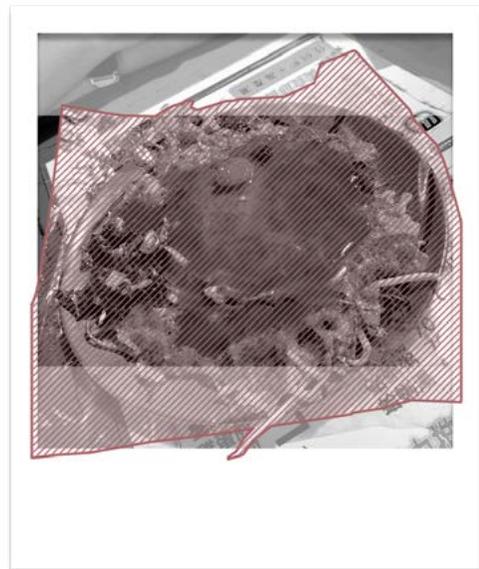


Fig. 84 Oyster ormelette served with plastic wrapped plate



Fig. 85 Kitchen tools for cooking



Fig. 86 Kitchen accessories and equipment left out on the sidewalk



Fig. 87 Customers waiting at cramped spaces for their drinks



Fig. 88 Typical bubble tea cup holder



Fig. 89 Food stall stored along the sidewalk



Fig. 90 Kitchen equipment being cleaned late during the night



Fig. 91 Makeshift shops built fronting street curb



Fig. 92 Fruit vendor selling products on makeshift shelving units



Fig. 93 Food stall operating at sidewalk corners often blocking crosswalk

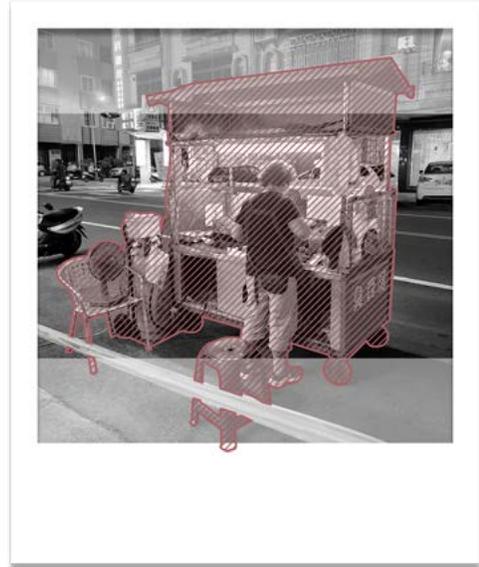


Fig. 94 Food stall operating late at night on vehicular roads



Fig. 95 Kitchens operating along pedestrian pathway due to the lack of unit space



Fig. 96 Customer casually ordering at food stall while waiting for traffic light

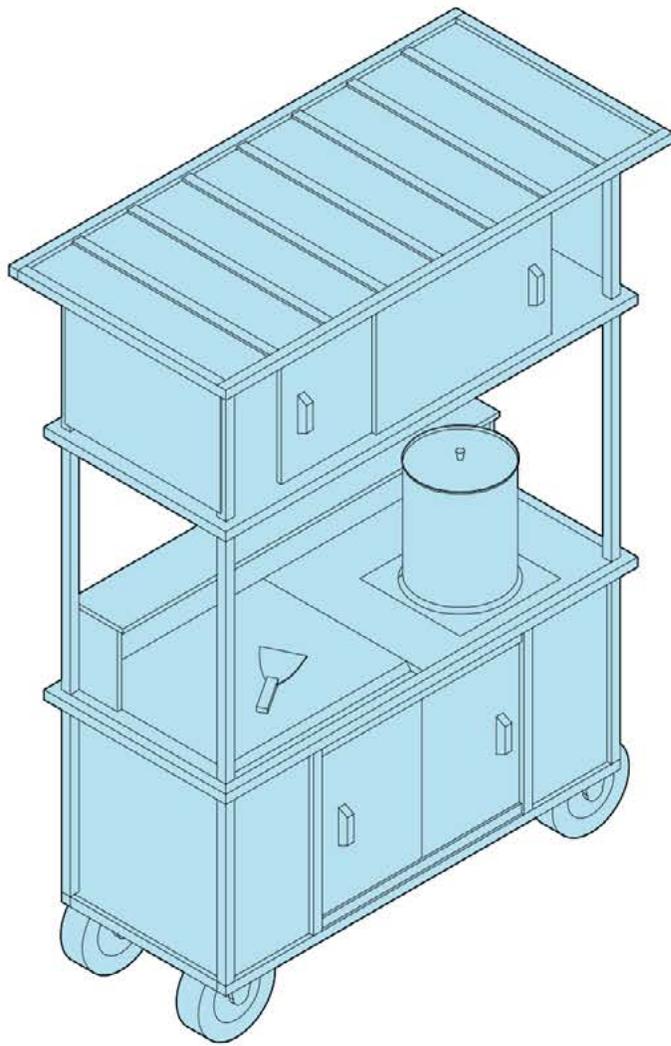


Fig. 97 Typical tools of making; axonometric drawing

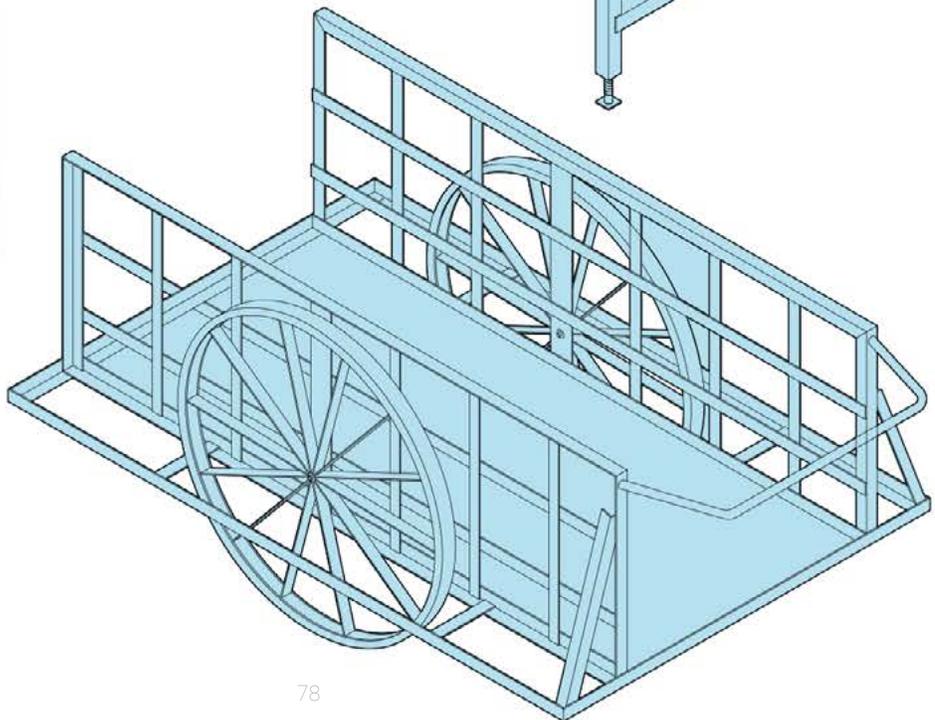
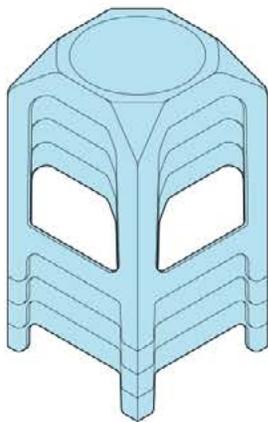
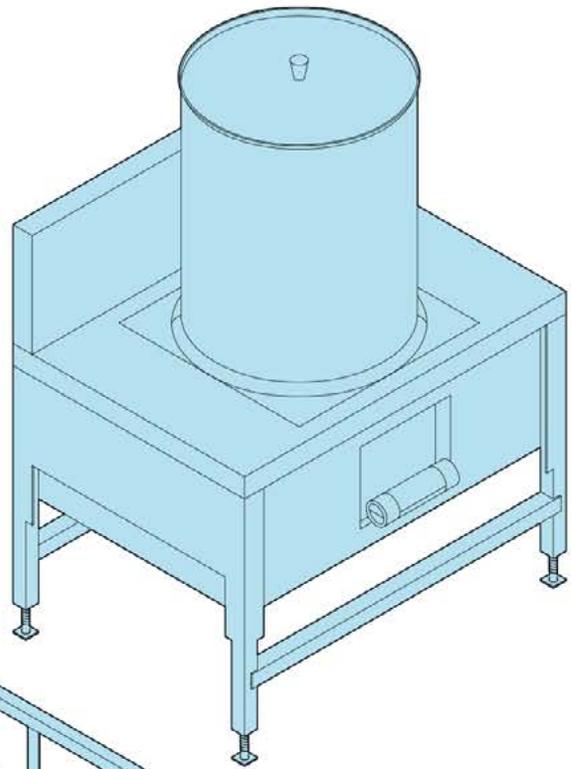




Fig. 98 Typical tools for eating at night markets (long toothpicks)



Fig. 99 Fruit vendor selling products on makeshift shelving units 2

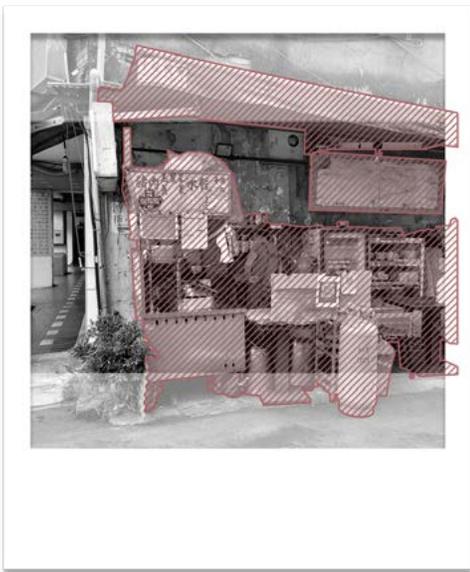


Fig. 100 Makeshift kitchen along alleyways



Fig. 101 Makeshift kitchen operating on vehicular streets



Fig. 102 Tables and stools set along streets due to the lack of unit space



Fig. 103 Pedestrians are often squeezed onto vehicular streets due to overcrowded stalls



Fig. 104 Makeshift canopies extending from city infrastructure to street



Fig. 105 Shops displaying merchandise along pedestrian pathways

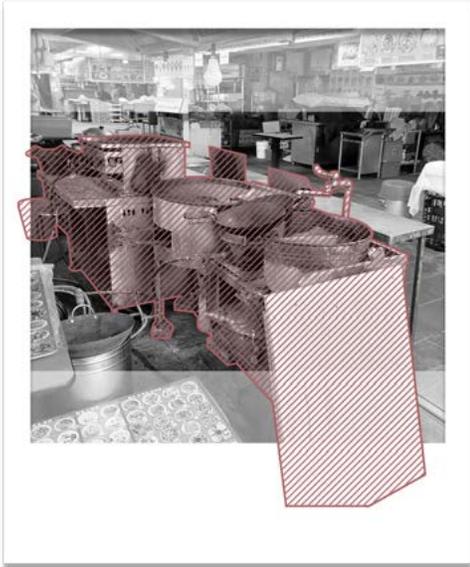


Fig. 106 Kitchen equipments and accessories left out on pedestrian pathways

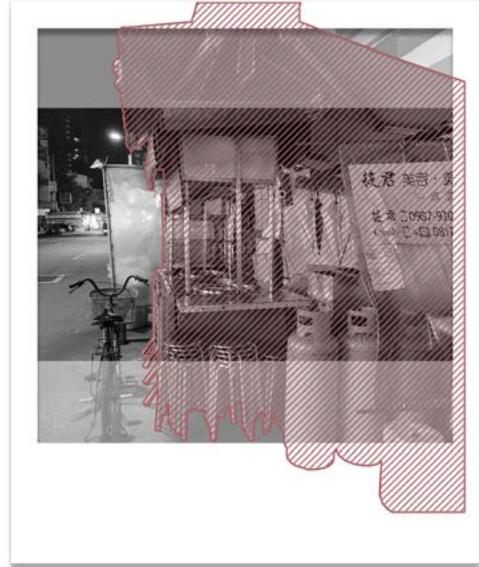


Fig. 107 Food stalls are cleaned up and stored openly along vehicular streets



Fig. 108 Makeshift sink for stalls to operate along the street



Fig. 109 Fish vendor preparing and displaying products on the street

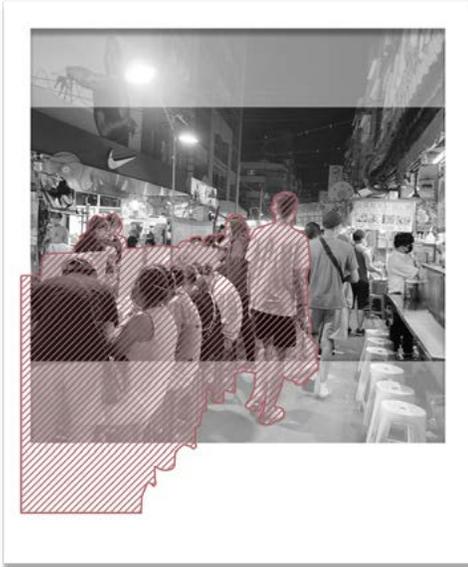


Fig. 110 Arcade machines at night markets displayed at the centre of street



Fig. 111 Tofu vendor using vehicles (trucks) as extra real estate during operation



Fig. 112 A customer in idled vehicle waiting for their order



Fig. 113 Closed alleyway kitchen openly leaving their shop on the street

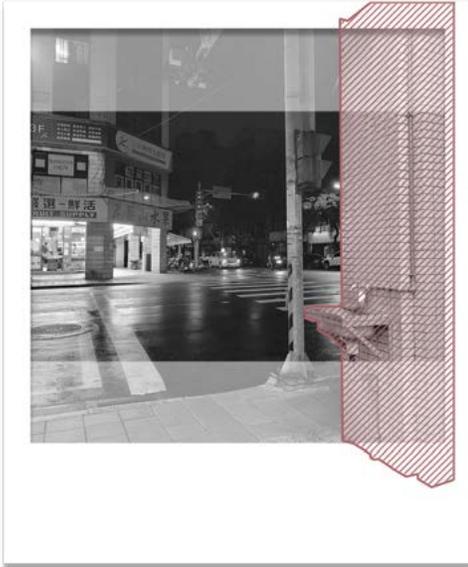


Fig. 114 City infrastructure typically provides water access along columns



Fig. 115 Traditional convenience store extending their operation onto street



Fig. 116 A local sorting recycling along pedestrian pathways

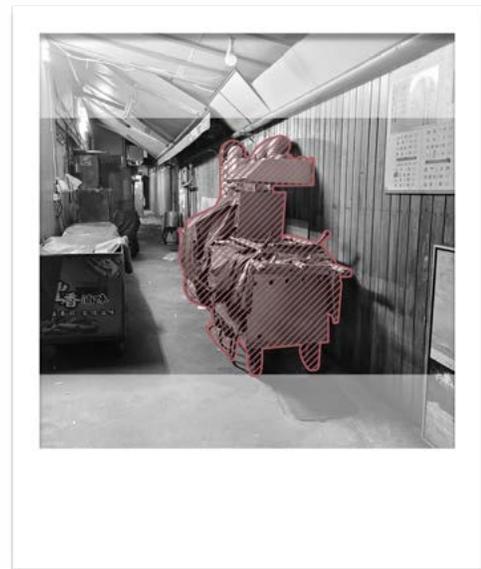


Fig. 117 Food stalls and kitchen equipments stored in alleyways

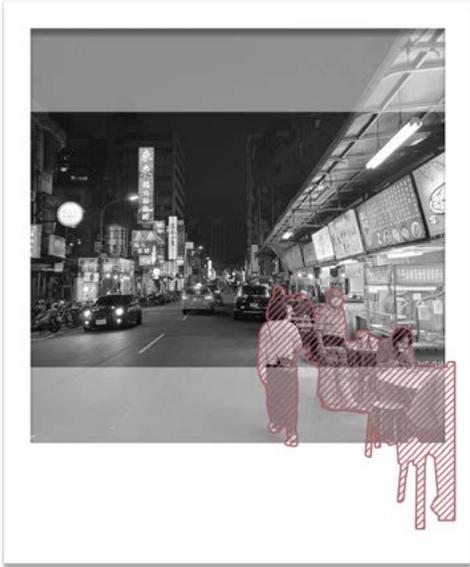


Fig. 118 Customers dining on the street



Fig. 119 Store owner setting up dining space on the street for a late family dinner



Fig. 120 Food stall owner preparing to set up shop for the night market on the street



Fig. 121 Merchandise overflowing onto pedestrian pathways



Fig. 122 Merchandise overflowing onto pedestrian pathways 2



Fig. 123 Dine-in experience is cramped but intimate



Fig. 124 Tools of making



Fig. 125 Makeshift canopy for customers to dine-in during raining days



Fig. 126 Vendor storing equipment into a storage place

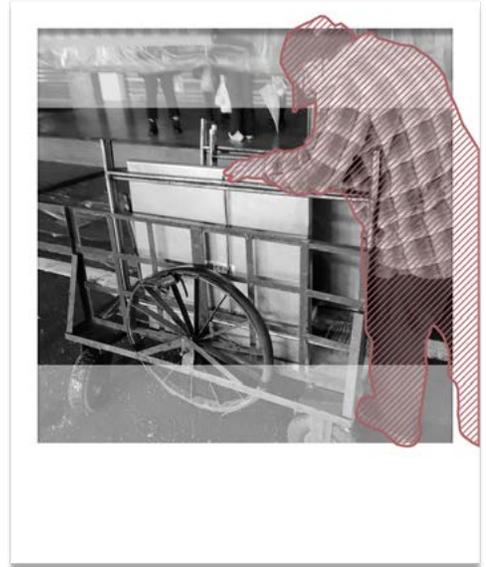


Fig. 127 Makeshift wagons used to store food stall equipments



Fig. 128 Makeshift wagon used to store food stall equipments 2



Fig. 129 Makeshift wagon used to store food stall equipments 3

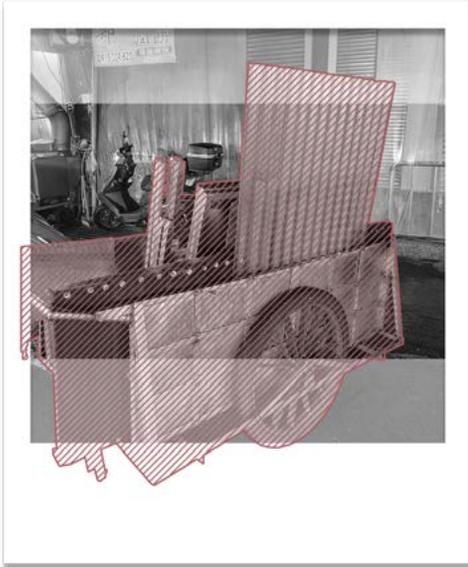


Fig. 130 Makeshift wagon used to store food stall equipments 4



Fig. 131 Vendors cleaning up late at night (1:00am)



Fig. 132 Vendors cleaning up late at night (1:00am) 2

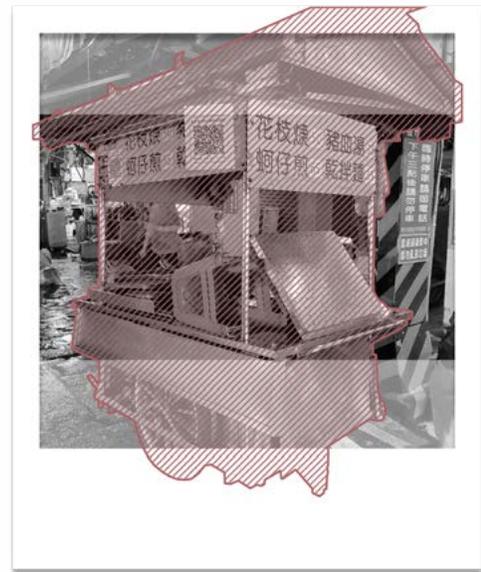


Fig. 133 Food stalls are packed meticulously after operating hours



Fig. 134 Vendors using accessible water from city infrastructure to clean the kitchen area



Fig. 135 Kit-of-parts kitchen equipment



Fig. 136 Some wagons are creatively built to anchor onto trucks



Fig. 137 Fish market operating along the street (2:00am)

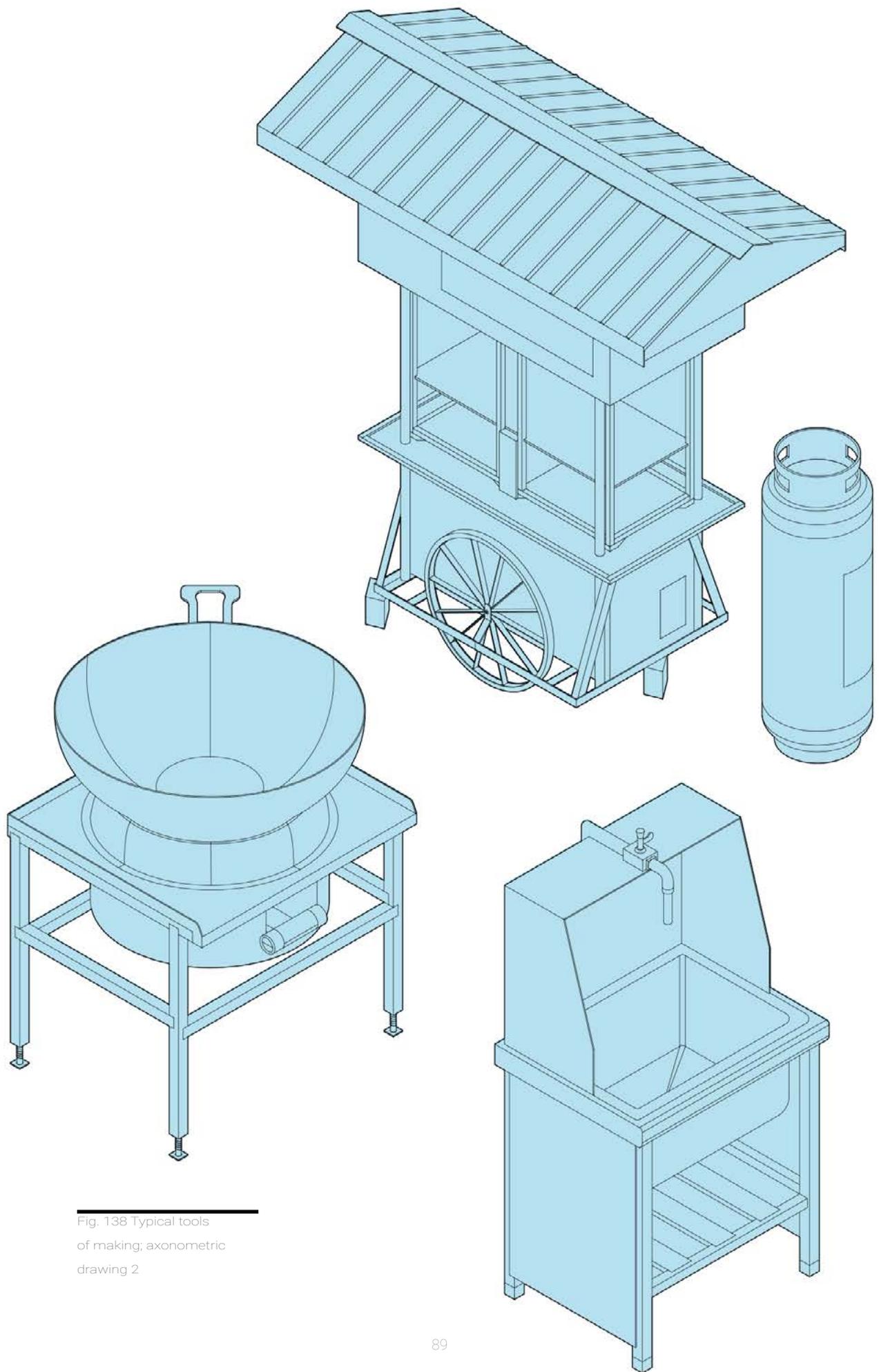


Fig. 138 Typical tools
of making; axonometric
drawing 2

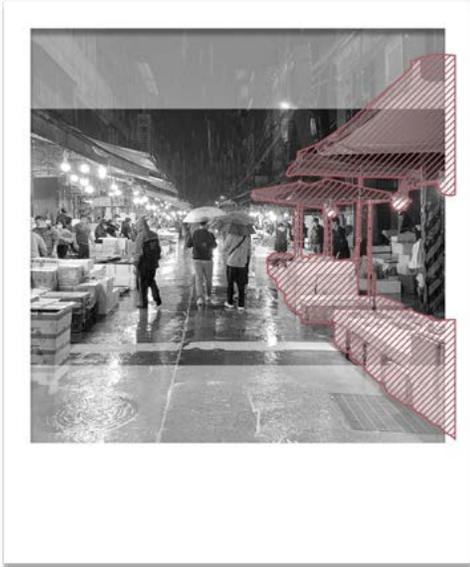


Fig. 139 After night market, area turns into a fish market (2:00am)

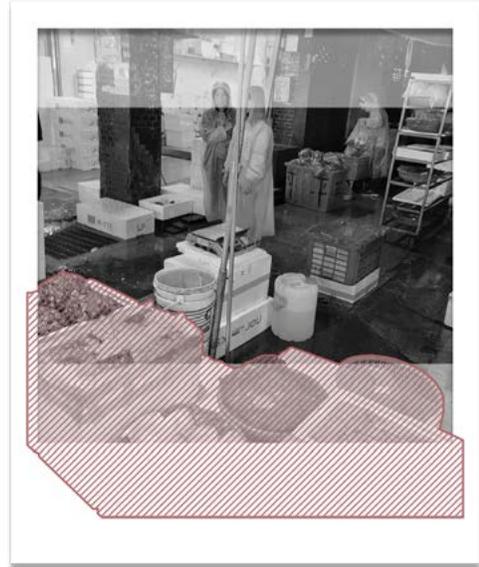


Fig. 140 Fishermen and handlers selling products directly on the street

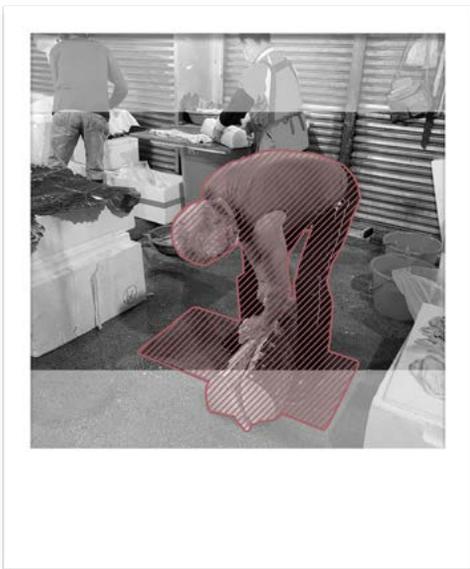


Fig. 141 Fish vendor filleting fish on the street

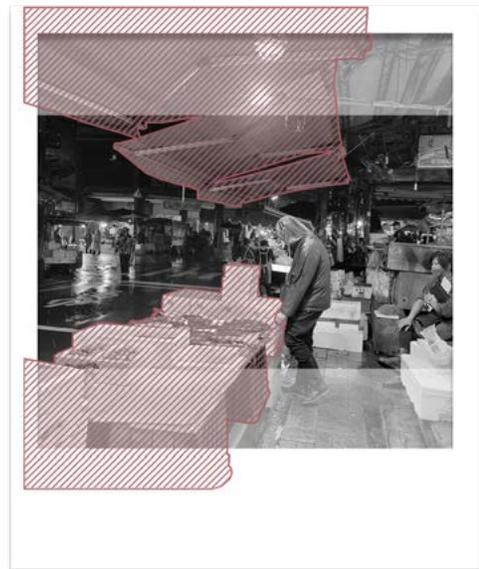


Fig. 142 Makeshift canopies used for night markets are reused for fish market

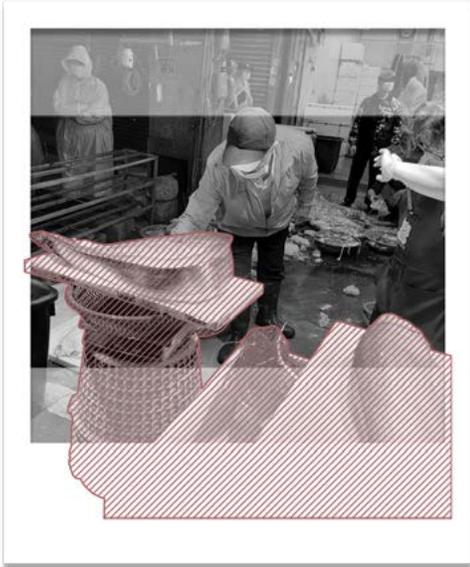


Fig. 143 Particular vendor weighing & selling the largest fish of the night



Fig. 144 Restaurants operate late at night near fish market cooking delicious fish dishes



Fig. 145 Makeshift canopies used for night markets are reused for fish market 2



Fig. 146 Clam vendor sorting products on the street

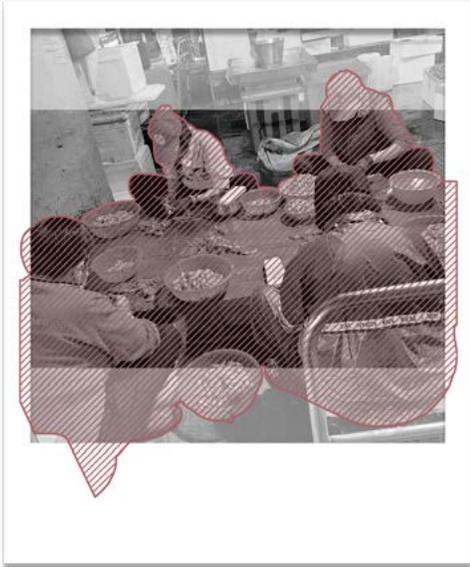


Fig. 147 Vendor gutting and peeling shrimp under a highway infrastructure



Fig. 148 Makeshift canopy structure built to completely cover pedestrian pathway

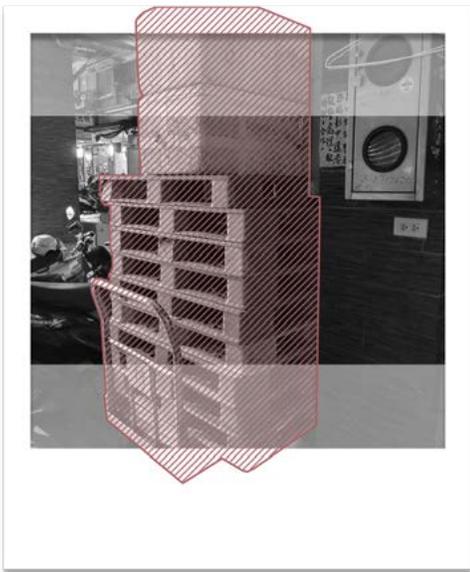


Fig. 149 Miscellaneous fish market waste left on the side

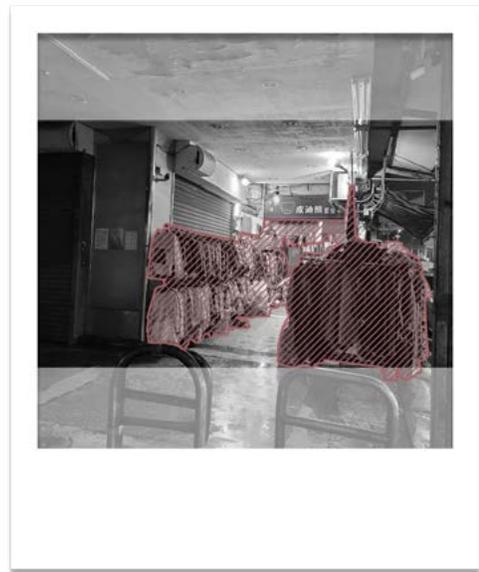


Fig. 150 Late night clothing vendor operating on the sidewalk without a unit space



Fig. 151 Highway infrastructure within Keelung city (Parking space during the day)



Fig. 152 Highway infrastructure within Keelung city (Fish market space during the night)



Fig. 153 City infrastructure typically provides water access along columns 2



Fig. 154 Merchandise overflowing onto pedestrian pathways & vehicular street



Fig. 155 Steam bun vendor operating at street corner



Fig. 156 Steam bun vendor operating at street corner 2



Fig. 157 Vendors idling food stall equipments awaiting for allowable set-up time @ 4:30pm



Fig. 158 Trucker unloading propane for night market (4:00pm)

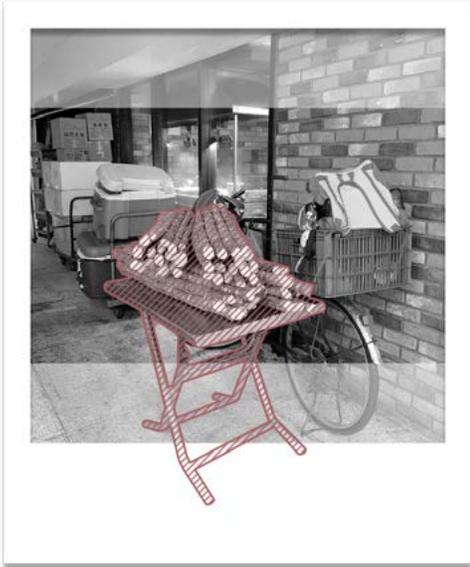


Fig. 159 Idled sugar cane ingredients along alleyway



Fig. 160 Makeshift alleyway kitchen preparing night market food



Fig. 161 Rentable food stall storage place



Fig. 162 Makeshift alleyway kitchen preparing night market food 2

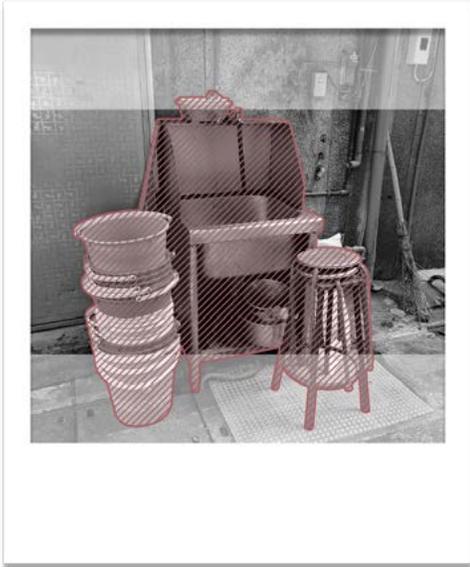


Fig. 163 Makeshift sink for stalls to operate along the street 2



Fig. 164 Rentable food stall storage place 2



Fig. 165 Vendor waiting at electrical outlet (4:15pm)



Fig. 166 Parade of food stalls appearing onto street around 4:30pm



Fig. 167 Food stalls are set-up before 5:00pm for night market



Fig. 168 Adjacent arcade opened up for night market



Fig. 169 Vendor operates from the trunk of his car selling drinks



Fig. 170 Typical night market food container

PART 02 // DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES - HISTORY OF TORONTO'S ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

//Introduction

Throughout history, humans have always moved in search of better opportunities and better life. However, Laurence Ma, the author of "Space, Place, and Transnationalism in the Chinese Diaspora" mentions that "the concepts of international migration are simply incapable of capturing the essence of the rapidly changing nature of global migration."³⁵ The result of people's increasing mobility and the scale in how information transcribes from one place to the next requires a different framework to understand "the emerging plural societies, dual loyalties of populations, and multiple affiliations of the transnational corporations, social organizations and family networks."³⁶

The effects of migration and the large-scale movements of people away from native lands forms a diaspora which Laurence Ma defines as a "geographical expression of human interaction across the global space."³⁷ It is important to note that these geographic expressions do not necessarily evoke a specific physical location, rather something spatial and is a "place-based process of population dispersion."³⁸ As such, this chapter of the thesis will present an overview of Toronto's history and highlight the movement of diasporic Asian immigrants to better understand the complex spaces of diasporic communities.

35.

Ma, Laurence. *Space, Place and Transnationalism in the Chinese Diaspora*. Hongkong: The Centre for China Urban and Regional Studies, Hong Kong Baptist Univ., 2002.

36.

Liu, Haiming. "The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity (Review)." *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 2, no. 1 (2006): p. 150.

37.

Ma, Laurence. *Space, Place and Transnationalism in the Chinese Diaspora*. Hongkong: The Centre for China Urban and Regional Studies, Hong Kong Baptist Univ., 2002.

38.

Li, Ting Guan. "Learning from Chinatown." Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2013. p. 8.

//18-19th Century Migration

The earlier periods of Chinese settlements overseas were not as well documented prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Smaller expansions in Southeast Asia were undertaken due to economic interests and as time went on, larger ambitions took place as technological advancement developed. China's emerging interest in the eighteenth century was collaterally related to the progressive expansion of European interest in overseas trade, colonization, and settlements. And thus, by the beginning of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, there was much more Chinese international migration and a significant number of overseas settlements were created that went beyond the boundaries of Asia expanding to many other parts of the world.

Fig. 171 Transpacific trade centre established in Guang Zhou, China, 19th century



Fig. 172 19th century Sino-US maritime trade encouraged Chinese emigration to America



The first wave of Chinese immigration to North America was fueled by southern Chinese farmers being “pushed out of their homeland by civil wars, a corrupt government, famine, poverty, natural disasters, and high taxation.”³⁹ The force pulling them to North America was the prospect of fortunes to be made as prospectors in the Rocky Mountain ranges (known as “Gold Mountain” in China) as well as promises of stable employment promoted by the labour recruiters of North American railway companies. Both these avenues would prove to be false promises for the Chinese immigrants; their labour was harsh and severely underpaid, the promised passage back to China once their work term ended was denied them.

39.

Chan, Arlene. “From Chinatown to Ethnurb : the Chinese in Toronto.” Vancouver : University of British Columbia Library, October 16, 2012. p. 1.

Fig. 173 Chinese railway CPR workers in the mountains of B.C., 1884



"[Canada's] economic development hinged upon cheap labour, handily provided by over 10,000 impoverished peasants from south China."⁴⁰ The expansion of the Canadian Pacific Railway was key to connecting Canada from coast to coast and fulfilling a commitment with British Columbia in joining the Confederation in 1871. Chinese immigrants were brought in for the harshest terrains and given the most dangerous jobs. It is said that "one Chinese worker died for every mile of track laid through the Rocky Mountains between Calgary and Vancouver."⁴¹

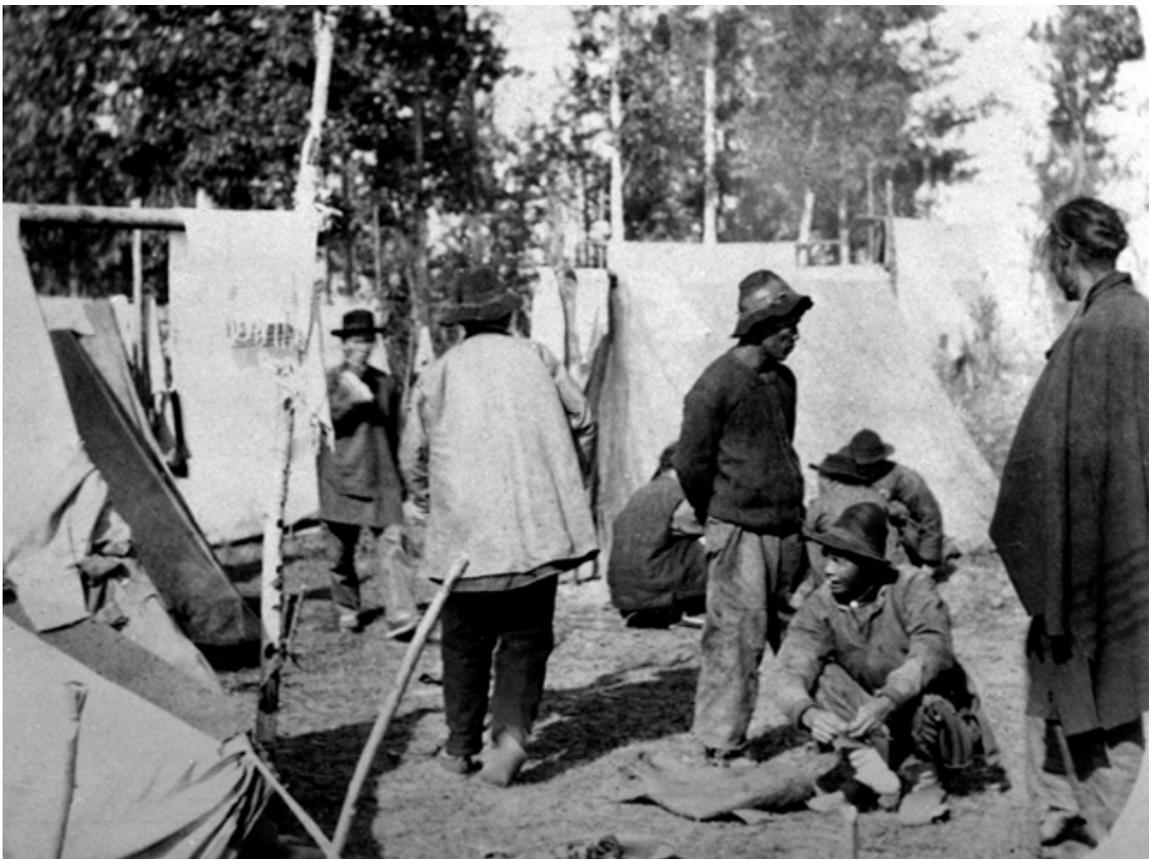
40.

Chan, Arlene. "From Chinatown to Ethnoburb : the Chinese in Toronto." Vancouver : University of British Columbia Library, October 16, 2012. p. 1.

41.

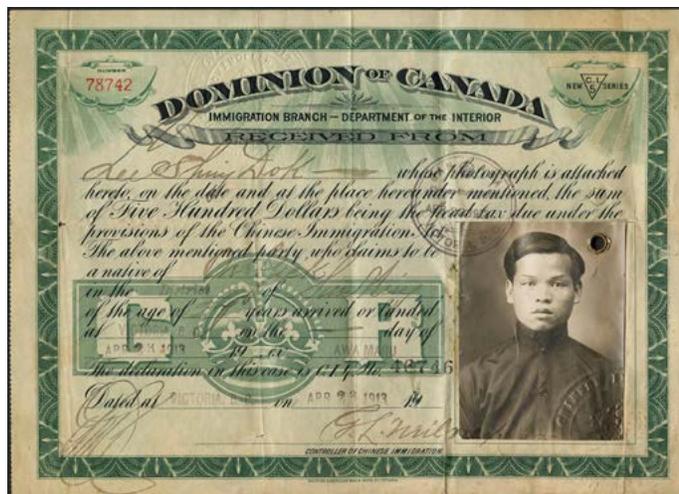
Trade, Ministry of International. "Building the Railway." Province of British Columbia. Province of British Columbia, January 19, 2017.

Fig. 174 Chinese railway CPR workers poor living conditions, 1881



Upon the completion of the railway in 1885, populating the West was another crucial factor that influenced the mass wave of Chinese immigrants as “the promise of free land was advertised widely” however, the Chinese were exempted.⁴² Despite the crucial labour they provided in fulfilling the unification of Canada, the Canadian government implemented a series of laws to discourage permanent Chinese settlement and immigration. Head taxes, as an example, were levied on every Chinese landing in Canada as “the desired national identity was a white society drawn from European immigrants” thus making the arrival and reunification of families virtually impossible.⁴³

During the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the community resided in segregated areas, occupying the poorer parts of towns. “Landlords would not sell or rent properties to the Chinese unless [they] were [living] on the fringe of town or in the cheapest districts with low-class saloons and brothels as neighbours.”⁴⁴



42.
Chan, Arlene. "From Chinatown to Ethnoburb : the Chinese in Toronto." Vancouver : University of British Columbia Library, October 16, 2012. p. 1.

43.
ibid. p. 2.

44.
ibid.

Fig. 175 A typical Chinese immigration certificate issued in the early 1900s (Head Tax)



Fig. 176 Chinatown, a cultural centre became a magnet for anti-Chinese sentiment, 1880s

Local governments also denied essential services to the areas where the Chinese were congregating, refusing to connect these neighbourhoods with storm and sanitary sewage systems, clean water and garbage disposal. As a result, the following years saw the immigrant's living spaces also become unsanitary and thus associated their community "Chinatown" with a full range of negative connotations which were then used by politicians and journalists "to fuel their anti-Chinese sentiment and opinions in speeches, newspapers, and legislation."⁴⁵ Despite racial claims and discrimination, Chinatowns served the needs of the community and became a place of haven from the hostile and racist affection from host society that surrounded them. By 1910, clusters of small Chinese businesses started to flourish. Eventually Chinatowns grew into bustling commercial and residential centers, however, the community continued to remain isolated socially and residentially.

45. Chan, Arlene. "From Chinatown to Ethnoburb : the Chinese in Toronto." Vancouver : University of British Columbia Library, October 16, 2012. p. 2.



Fig. 177 Illustration forcing a Chinese immigrant to leave BC, 1879 (assimilation)

Despite efforts in creating an intricate network within their communities, the Chinese still experienced discrimination and segregation. A Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, also known as the Chinese Exclusion Act was introduced which ultimately prohibited immigrants entry into Canada for the next twenty-four years. With the exclusion act set in place, in Chinatown, "Chinese immigrants [continue to be] discriminated against and socially isolated, and thus developed a high degree of tolerance for hardship – and, being poor, maintained an efficient Chinese lifestyle."⁴⁶

46.

Li, Ting Guan. "Learning from Chinatown." Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2013. p. 2.



There are 169 vets
in Toronto that can
help if it's okay your
dog ate that.



03

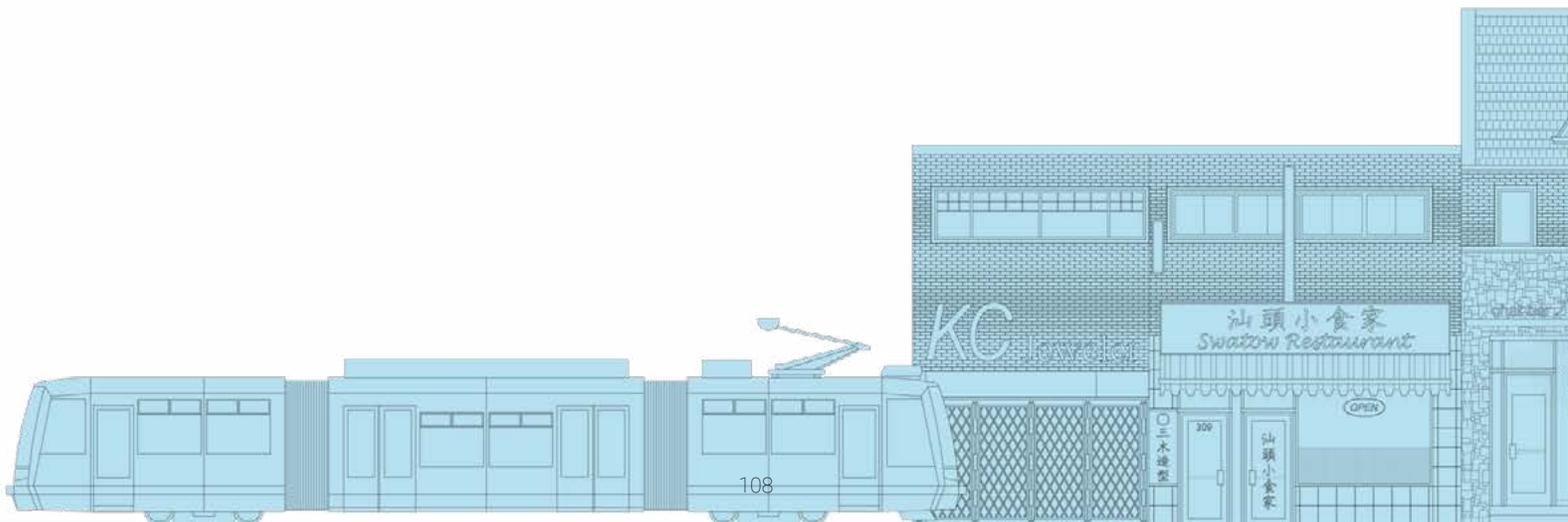
Fig. 179 Street view of Toronto's Chinatown

PART 03 // IDENTIFYING TORONTO - WEST CHINATOWN PAST & PRESENT

//The Past

Within the broader historical context, each Chinatown in North America has its own unique stories and local texture, but every one of these places highlight the resilience of the communities within them. Toronto's Chinatown is no exception. It is steeped in a complicated history whilst constantly changing due to the never-ending engagements in daily negotiations of space and identity.

Toronto's West Chinatown, Toronto's largest and most established Chinatown, is located within the downtown core along Dundas Street and Spadina Avenue. It extends outwards along both streets and butts adjacent to several well-known neighbourhoods including the Kensington Market to the west, Queen Street West to the south, the University of Toronto to the north, and Grange Park to the east.



“Though Toronto’s Chinatown’s early community was fairly homogeneous, that wasn’t to say it was removed from the Jewish, Italian, and African-Canadian communities that occupied the space before it.”⁴⁷ With the redevelopment of Toronto’s new City Hall in the 1950s, “many Chinese immigrants were displaced from their original area of settlement of York and Elizabeth Streets between Queen Street and Dundas Street, and relocated west.”⁴⁸ Despite efforts and support from reform politicians, by 1958, two-thirds of the original community’s land was expropriated by the city. Many businesses and residents were forced to relocate westwards from Bay Street to Spadina Avenue, into the established Jewish community.

47.

Leung, Lilian. “Future through Memory Virtual Storytelling in Toronto’s Chinatown.” OCAD University Open Research Repository, April 2021. p. 18.

48.

Li, Ting Guan. “Learning from Chinatown.” Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2013. p. 15.

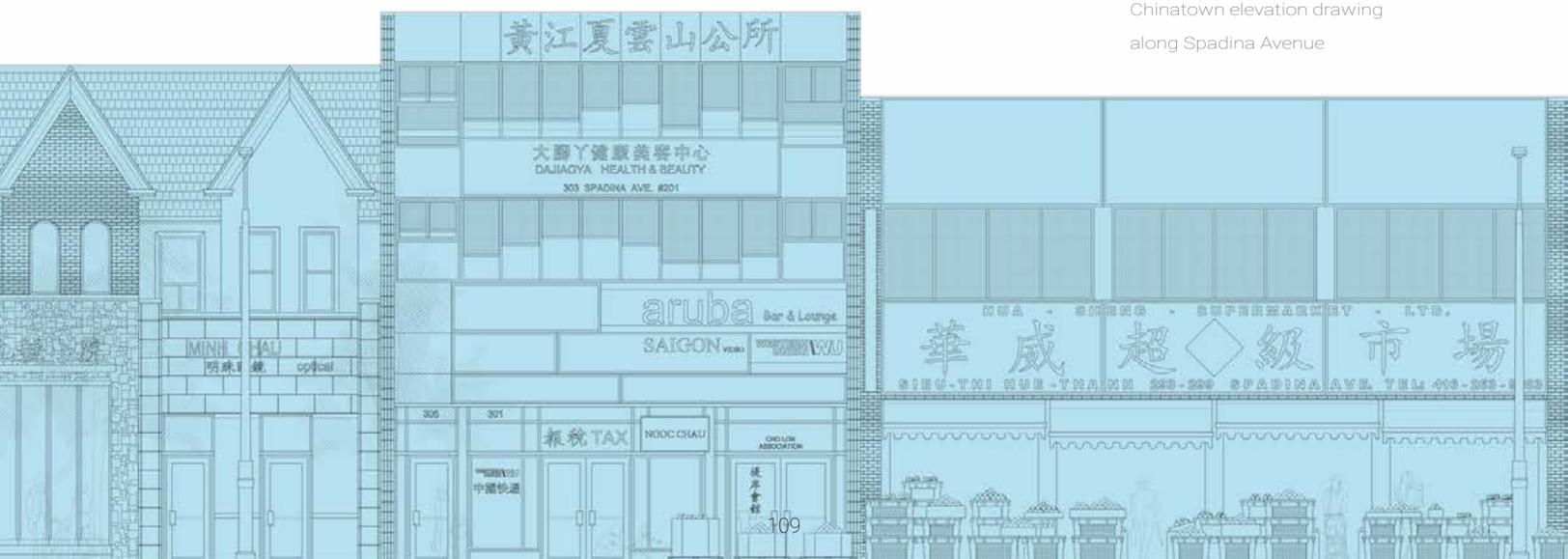


Fig. 180 Toronto's Chinatown elevation drawing along Spadina Avenue

“By 1970, the Jews had moved further north along Bathurst Street to larger housing, leaving more vacancies that were taken by the Chinese looking for affordable and available spaces for their businesses.”⁴⁹ The 1970s also saw new, more permissive immigration policies set in place and as a result, an influx of new immigrants from China, Taiwan, Vietnam, and Hong Kong poured into Canadian cities. These new immigrants were, for the most part, educated professionals and skilled workers who settled in existing Chinese communities less because of racial segregation policies, but more due to the desire for belonging, for finding a familiar environment far from home. As such, the economic health of Chinatown West saw much growth in the 1980s and 1990s, and added layers of complexity to the existing Chinese community practices. Immigration from Hong Kong in the 1990s shifted the primary language in Toronto’s Chinatown from Taishanese to Cantonese and brought with it many new food items and methods of cooking. The shifts continue today with more mainland Chinese immigrating to Canada in the twenty-first century, once again shifting the language to standard Mandarin.

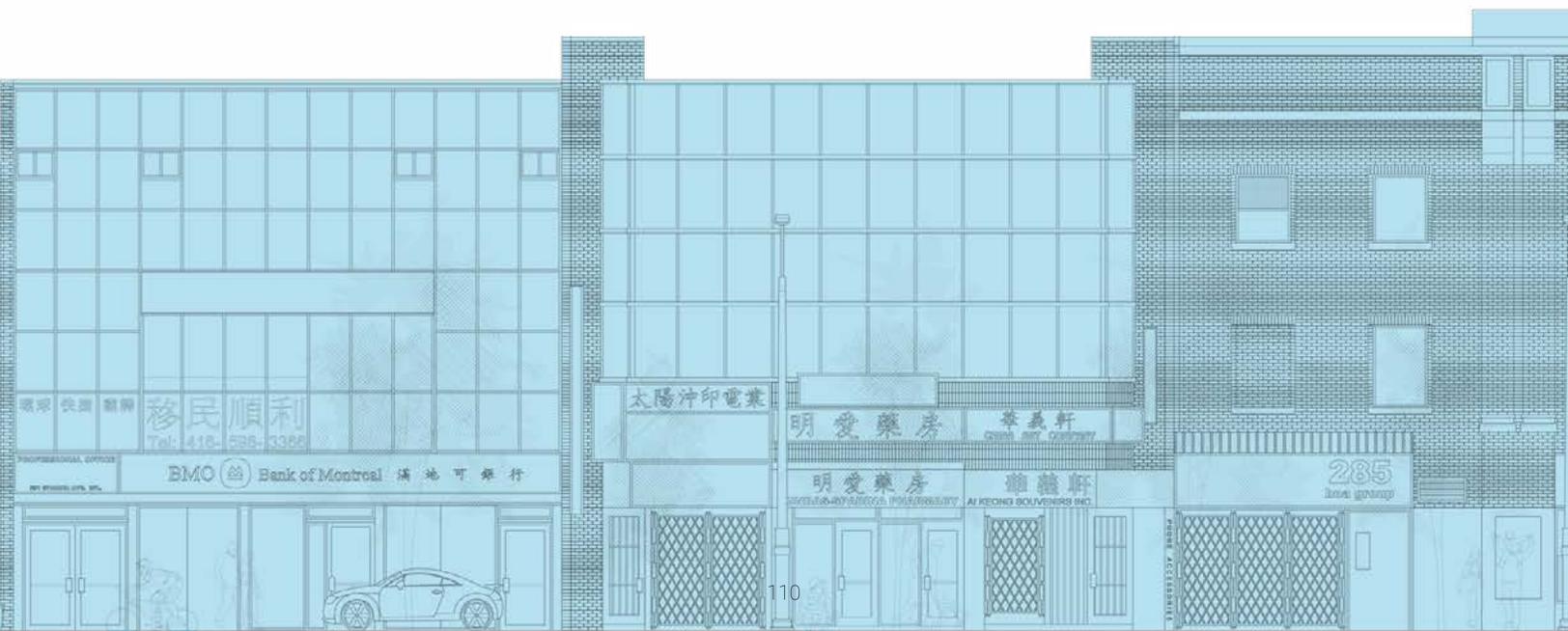
49.

Luk, Chiu M., and Mai B.

Phan. “Ethnic Enclave
Reconfiguration: A ‘New’
Chinatown in the Making.”

GeoJournal 64, no. 1 (2005):

p. 19.



With the surge in new immigrants, Toronto's Chinatown very quickly became overpopulated. The existing infrastructure could no longer keep up, resulting in a move away from Downtown Toronto beginning in the 1970s. Chinese Ethnoburbs: pockets of Chinese settlements in the suburbs enticed new immigrants to decentralize in areas like North York, Scarborough, Mississauga, Richmond Hill and Markham. These new locations offered larger living spaces and still preserved a sense of community such as Chinese churches, grocery stores, shops and diners.

New dynamics of cultures, languages, religion, and food practices emerged from once a traditional Chinatown space to now Toronto's Chinatown West; a new contemporary community with rapid expansions of ethnic practices.

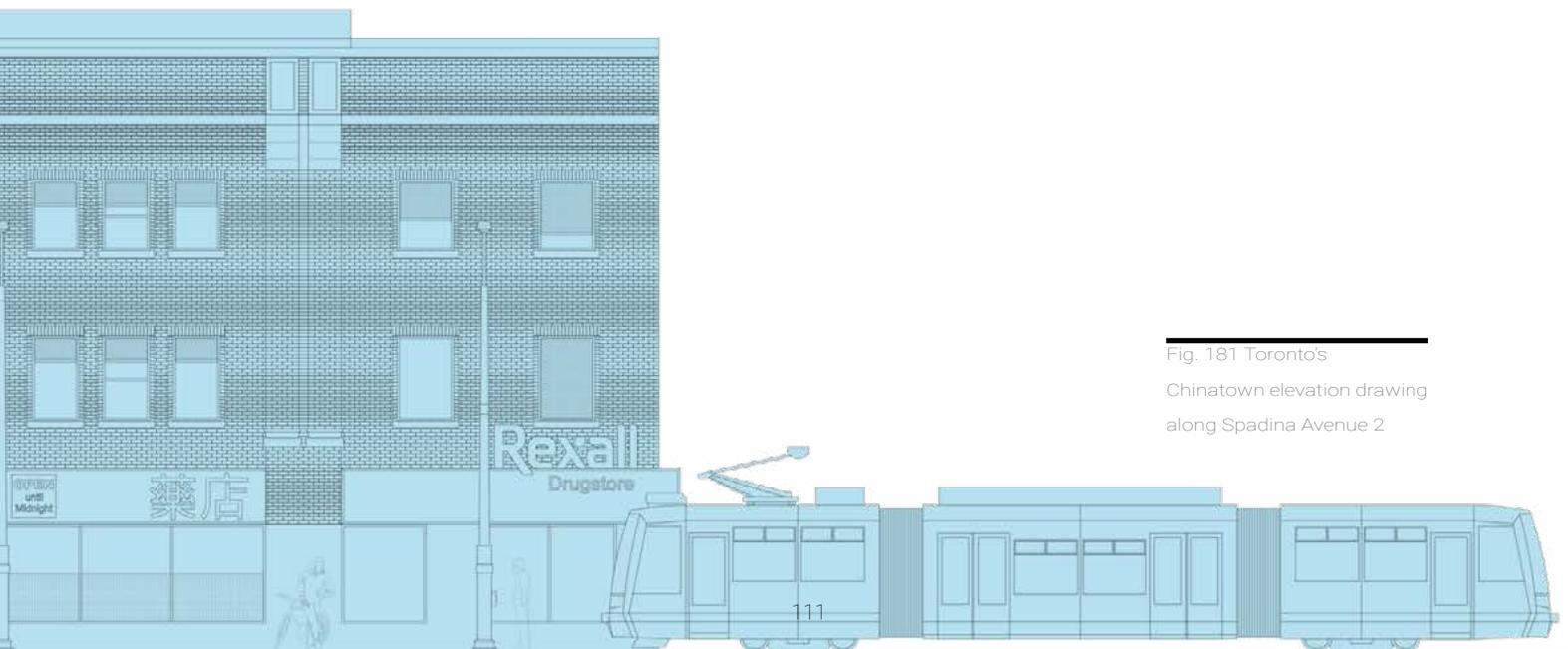


Fig. 181 Toronto's
Chinatown elevation drawing
along Spadina Avenue 2



Fig. 182 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West, 2002



Fig. 183 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West, 2022

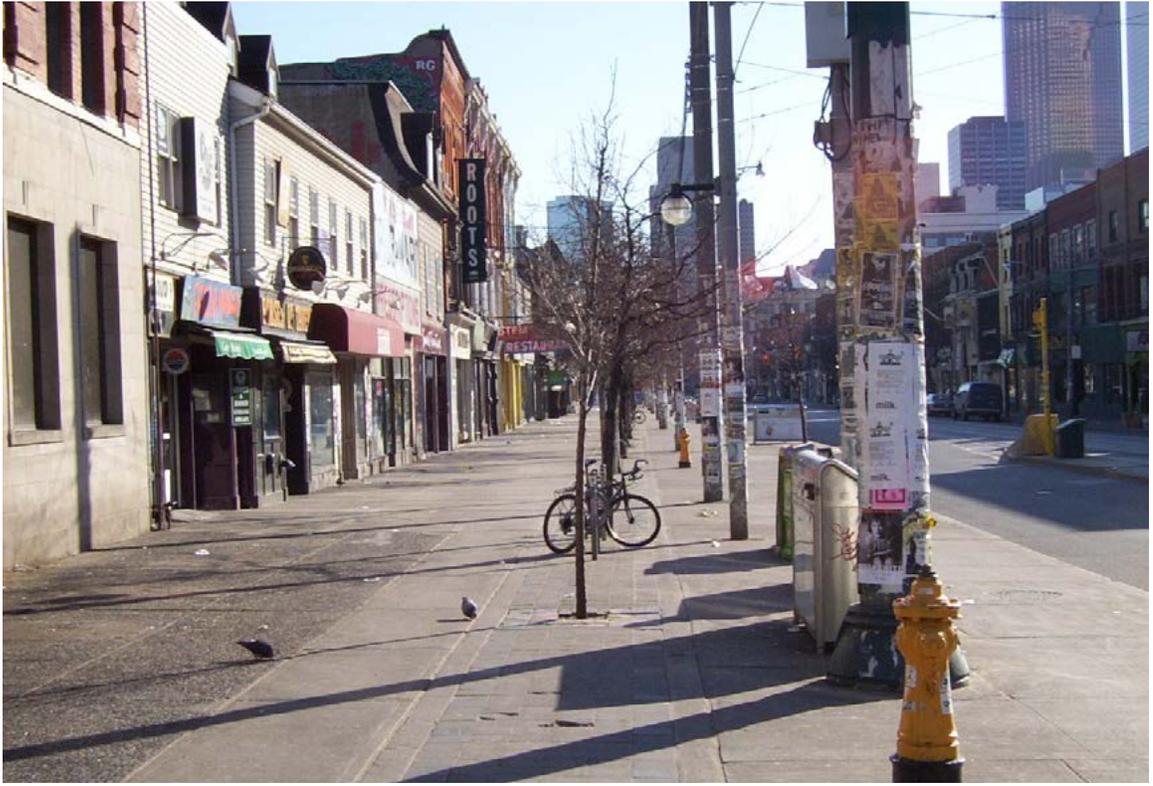


Fig. 184 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West 2, 2002

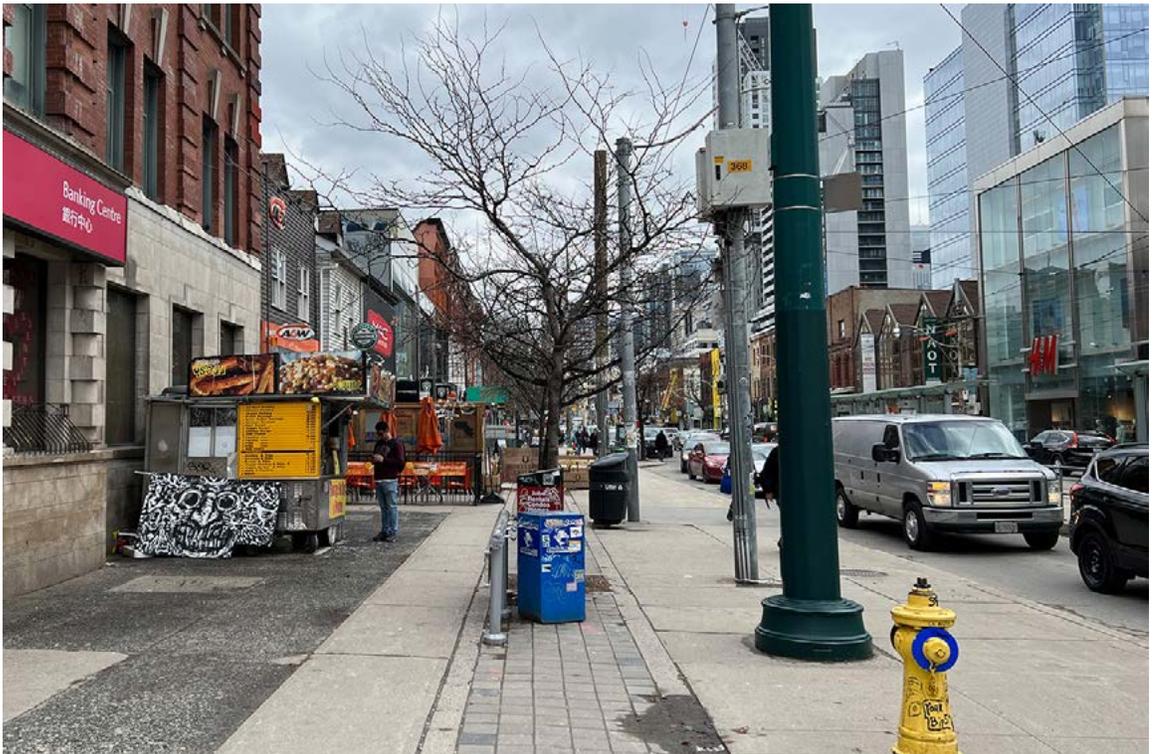


Fig. 185 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West 2, 2022



Fig. 186 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West 3, 2002



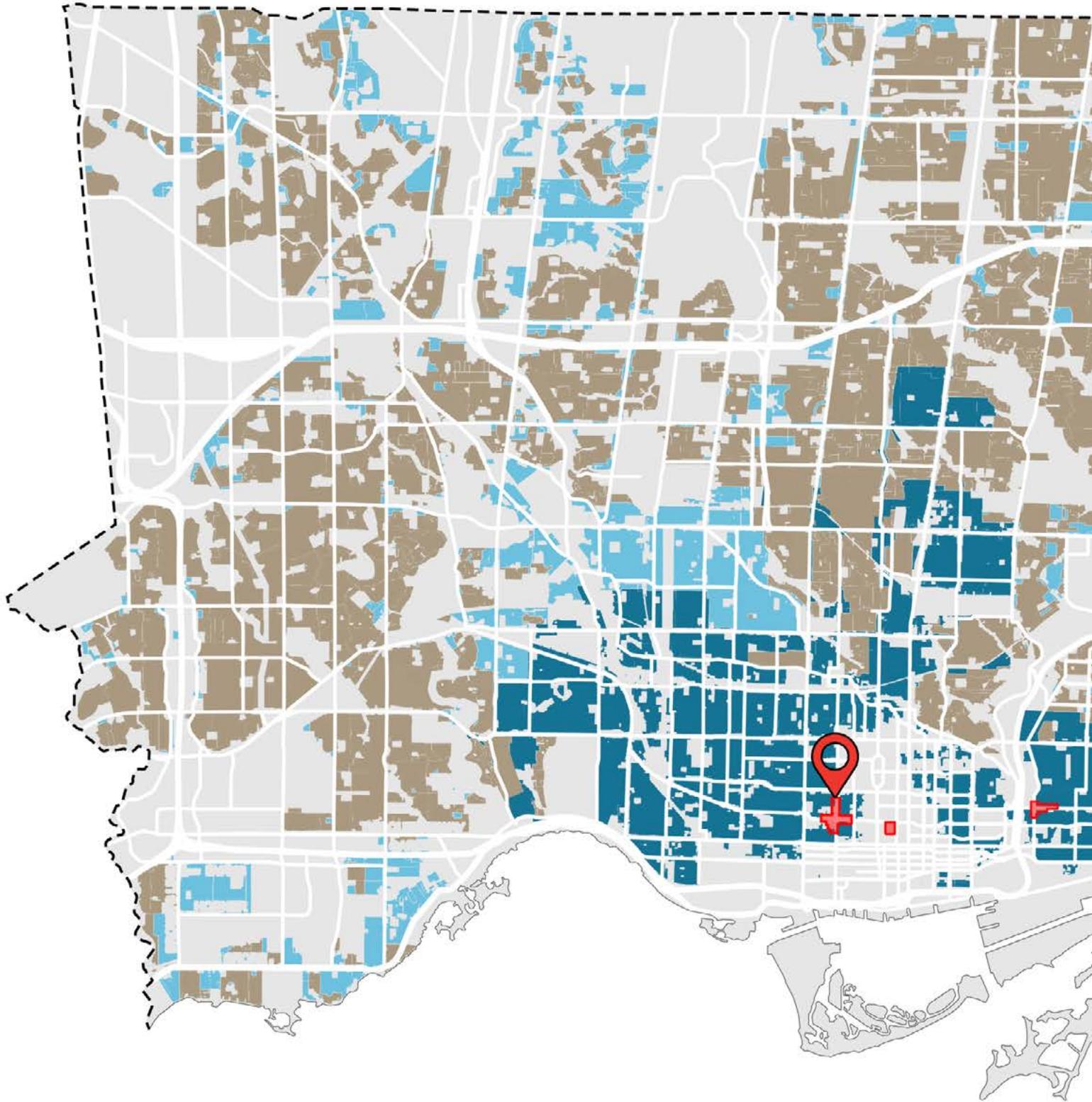
Fig. 187 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West 3, 2022

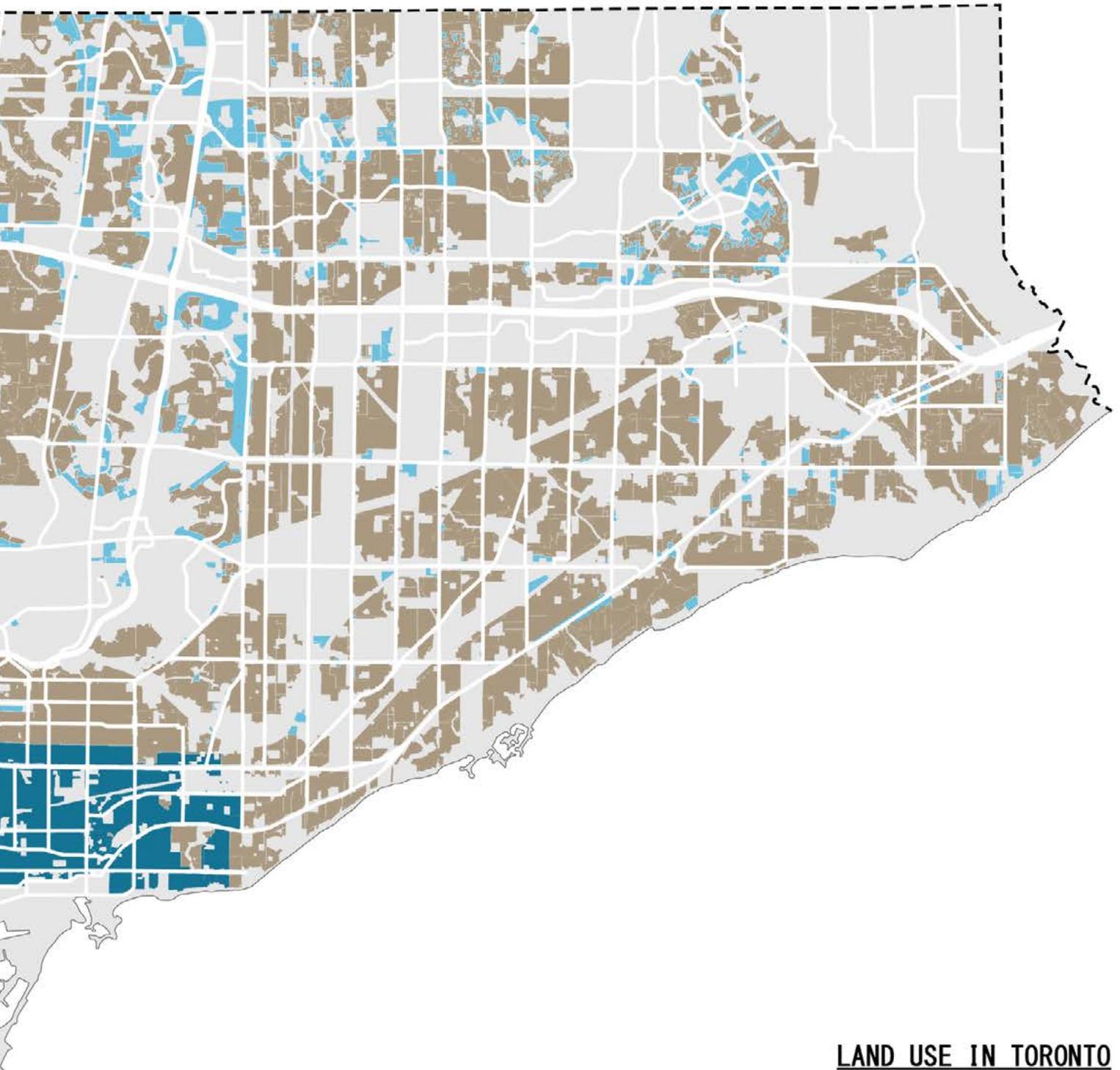


Fig. 188 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West 4, 2002



Fig. 189 Intersection of Spadina Avenue & Queens Street West 4, 2022





LAND USE IN TORONTO

-  DETACHED/SEMI-DETACHED (2 STORIES MAX.)
-  TOWNHOUSES (5 STORIES MAX.)
-  HIGH RISE TOWERS (5 STORIES MIN.)
-  OTHER ZONING DESIGNATION (COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL)

Fig. 190 Land use zoning map of Toronto, 2016



//The Present

The height of Chinese immigration came in the mid-2000s with more than 42 thousand per year. Many of these new immigrants were often educated, skilled professionals with families who bypass Downtown Chinatown for the less crowded living conditions and better school districts of the ethnoburbs. As a result, Chinatown became a sort of time capsule for more than a decade, a slightly anachronistic tourist attraction of its 1970s-1980s glory days. Even with the introduction of streetcars down Spadina in the 1990s, better connecting Chinatown to the rest of the rapidly developing city, very little development happened within Chinatown itself.

In the past decade however, the face of Chinatown is changing again. Young Chinese professionals and international students are now moving in and occupying many of the spaces left by those who departed for the suburbs; seeking the downtown lifestyle while still remaining connected to their cultural roots. These recent years saw many new food establishments and businesses open along Spadina and Dundas, streets that were beginning to fall into disrepair.

Despite the gradual resurgence of Chinatown, other pressures are present in the new developments of the area. The proposed development of 315-325 Spadina in 2019 sparked outrage and debate amongst the community. While some welcomed the new development as a means to bring in new residents and boost the local economy, most see it as a warning sign of things to come. Amongst the 219 residential units in the proposed buildings, only 22 were earmarked as “affordable rental units”. The new development would also see the demolition of beloved Chinatown staples; a bakery, a dim-sum restaurant and several other small businesses that would not be able to afford the rent in these new developments. The face of Chinatown is changing, and not all the changes are community driven. Indeed, many of the new businesses, opened just a few years ago, are now boarded up, awaiting demolition.

“OUR HERITAGE POWERS AT THE CITY IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO, OUR HERITAGE POWERS DON’T PROTECT THE CULTURAL ELEMENTS OF A SPACE. THEY PROTECT THE PHYSICAL BUILDING AND THAT’S IT...SOME PLANNING POWERS CAN HELP MANIPULATE WHAT BUILDINGS LOOK LIKE, HOW THEY’RE READ, AND HOW BIG SOME SPACES ARE, WHICH CAN IMPACT THE AFFORDABILITY OF IT, BUT IT GETS LESS SPECIFIC WITH TENANTS, TYPES OF BUSINESSES, ETC.”

~ Mike Layton, City Councilor of Ward 11

For a diasporic community with a collective history of displacement who also pins hope to a new country that they call home, it is unfortunate that even today, they would once again be forced to uproot and move. "Current threats of redevelopment come with the very real risk of losing local, culturally competent businesses, affordable food vendors and housing, and a wealth of intangible, unquantifiable heritage."⁵⁰ And while neighbourhoods and communities naturally change with time, many in power of legislating zoning does not allow representatives within the Chinatown community to have decision-making power over its own public spaces. Indeed, when the proposal notice sign for 315-325 Spadina was erected, on the side of the building to be demolished, the sign was written entirely in English, a language inaccessible to many of the neighbourhood's residents. The immigrant community is once again excluded from the conversation, as has been the historical trend.

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Wong, Charmain. "Tracing Chinatown: Understanding Toronto's Chinatown West as a Space of Cultural Placemaking." *Issue*, June 25, 2021. p 11.

Fig. 191 A close-up shot of a building Toronto's Chinatown

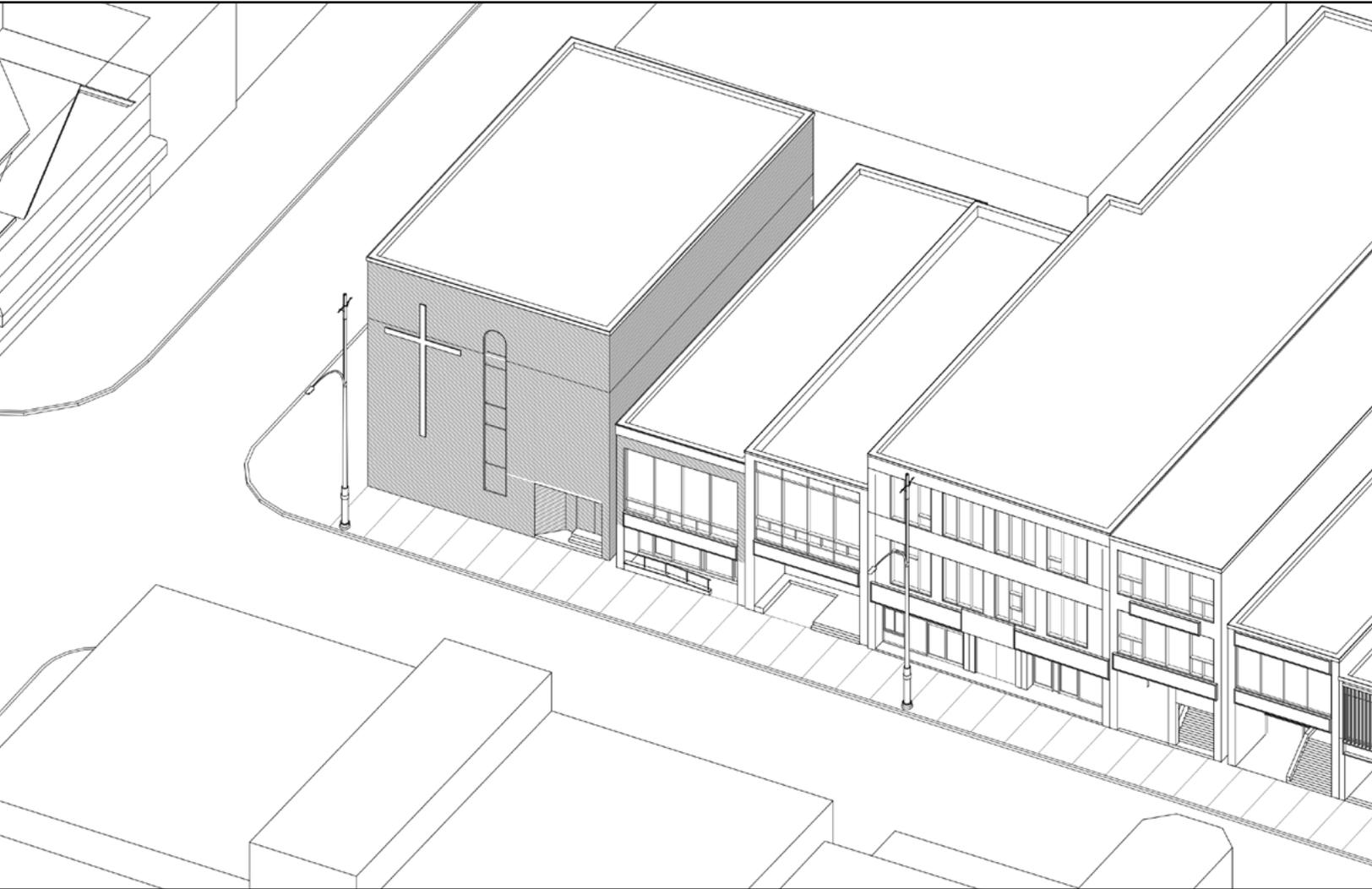
PART 03 // ADAPTING TORONTO - FRAMEWORKS & DESIGN METHODOLOGY

//Introduction

Is Chinatown still necessary? Immigration patterns have changed, and a lot of newly arrived immigrants are moving to the suburbs. In the formative years of Toronto's Chinatown, it provided its community a safe place of haven, protecting from unwelcomed scrutiny. At the beginning, all residents of Chinatown would have come from the same region in China and spoke the same dialects. But the oncoming waves of Chinese immigrants, following with migrants from Hong Kong, Indochinese countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Taiwan etc., its role have changed; serving as an entry point in the city for newcomers who identify with the culture if not physically, then emotionally and mentally. Today, Chinatown continues to become a symbolic representation of having a place in the city. It serves an important purpose as it is a space for empowering its community as Chinatown was born out of resistance and continues to be resisting city planning goals or sentiments of "cleaning up" Chinatown.

In Toronto Chinatown, these resistant architectural elements contribute to both the success and failures of a space; How it engages the works in the public, how it defines its cultural identity of place, and how it contributes to the area economically. From extensive field research, these identified architectural moves are successful in promoting the street that is conducive to a night market culture scene born out of the necessity of the community. By focusing on night markets which are uniquely tied to cultural food spaces and architectural practices in Taiwan, it brings a layer of Asian culture to Toronto Chinatown as it is currently lacking based on spatial configuration of streets. These vacant spaces within the cityscape leaves a void where developers can insert programs and buildings that are financially incentivized instead of culturally incentivized strategy adding additional generalism architecture which is not something that the community appreciates and wants. The aim of the design is to understand the current potential typologies of the site and reconstruct them spatially within the streetscape of Toronto Chinatown. By introducing a framework that formalizes these typologies, it becomes an expressive architectural language emphasizing the identity of the community.

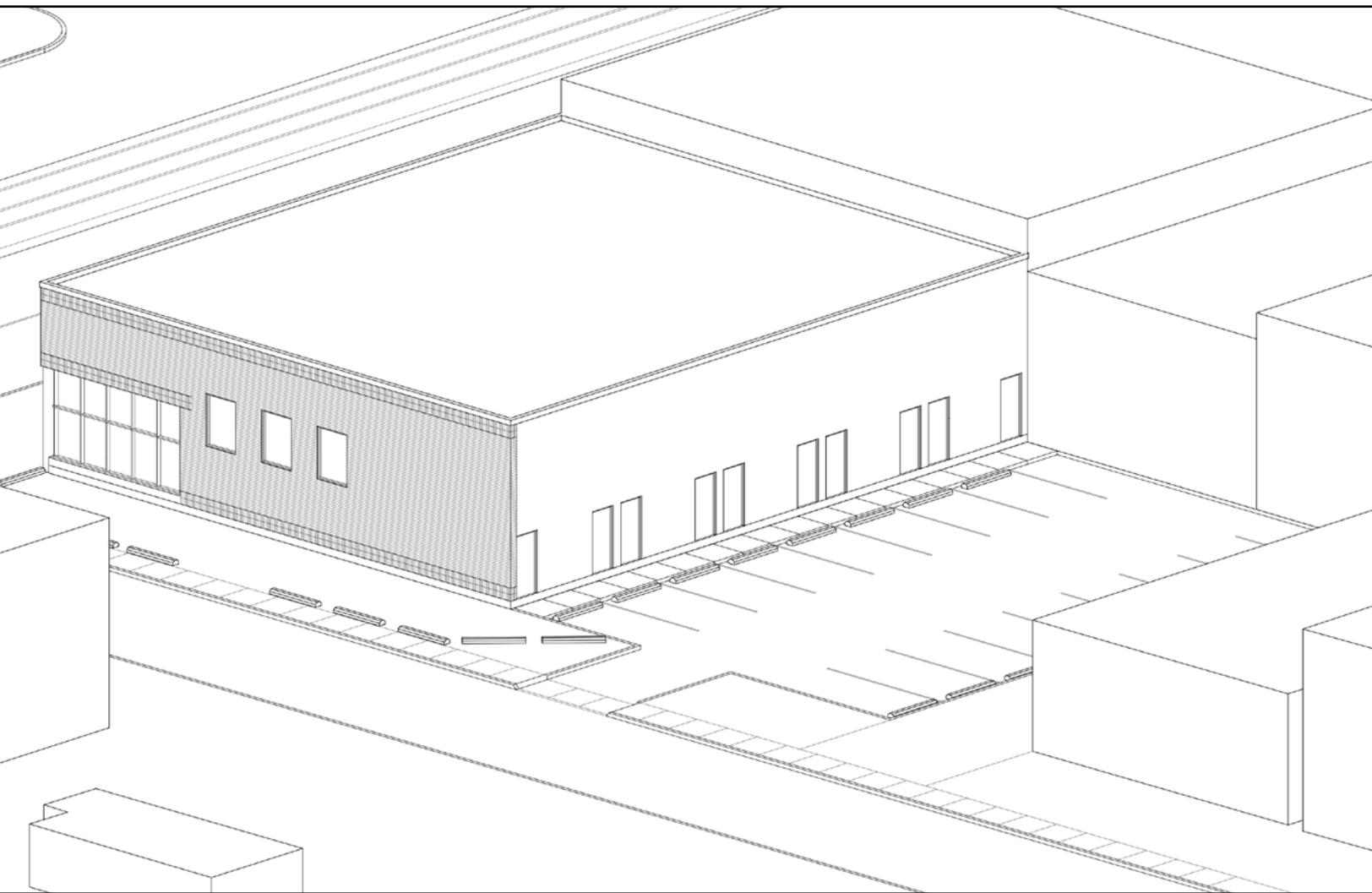
//Deficient Areas of Site



Much of Toronto Chinatown is dedicated to vehicular use. This particular location is along Dundas St. W. and often times, the food practice experience of the space are not transparent. Restaurants and shops are confined in their own space.



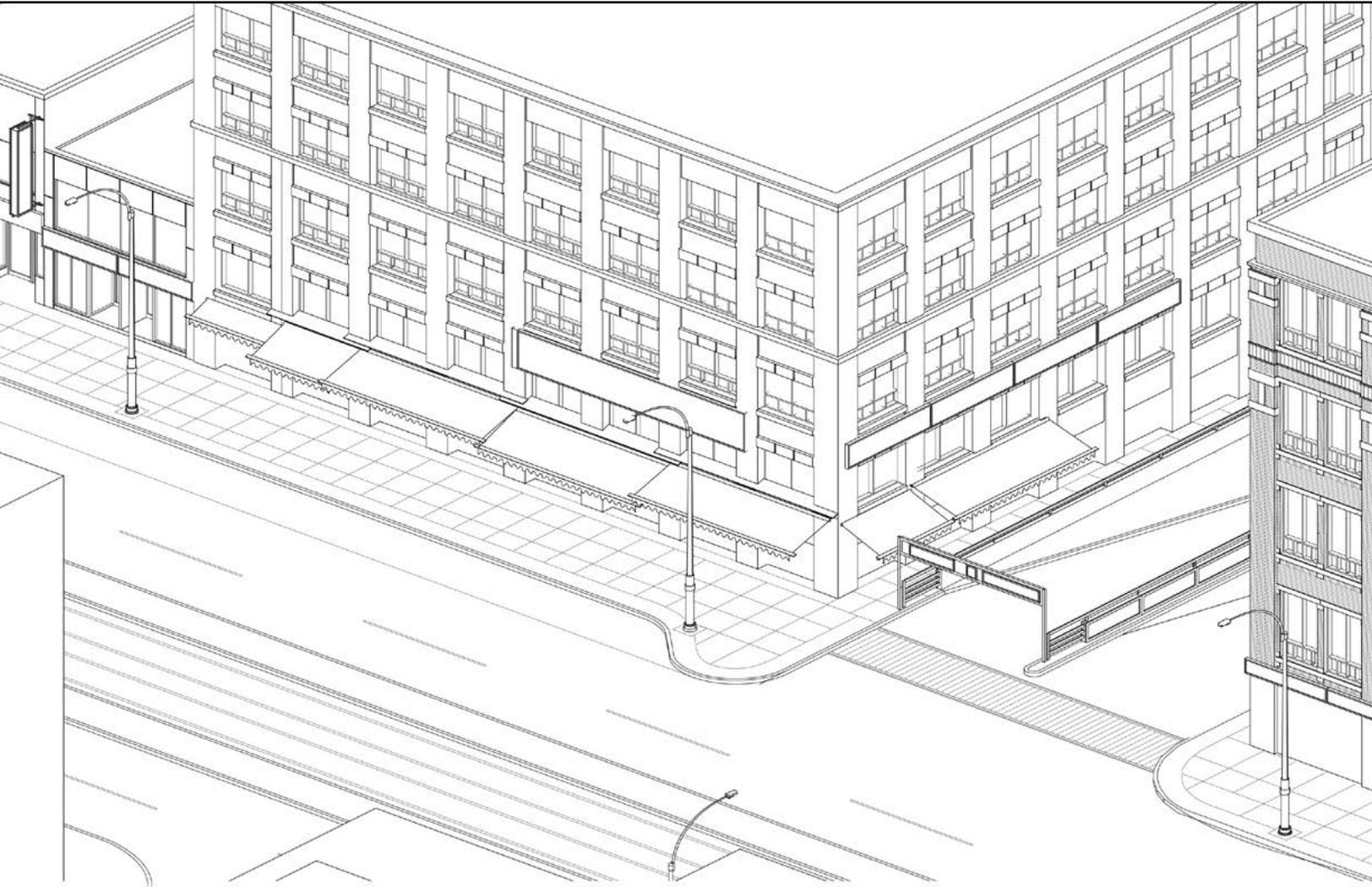
Fig. 192 Toronto's Chinatown deficient site
vignette 1



Right beside the Spadina Ave, many vacant parking spaces exist throughout Toronto's Chinatown. These leftover spaces are within the community are often neglected for any social interaction possibilities.

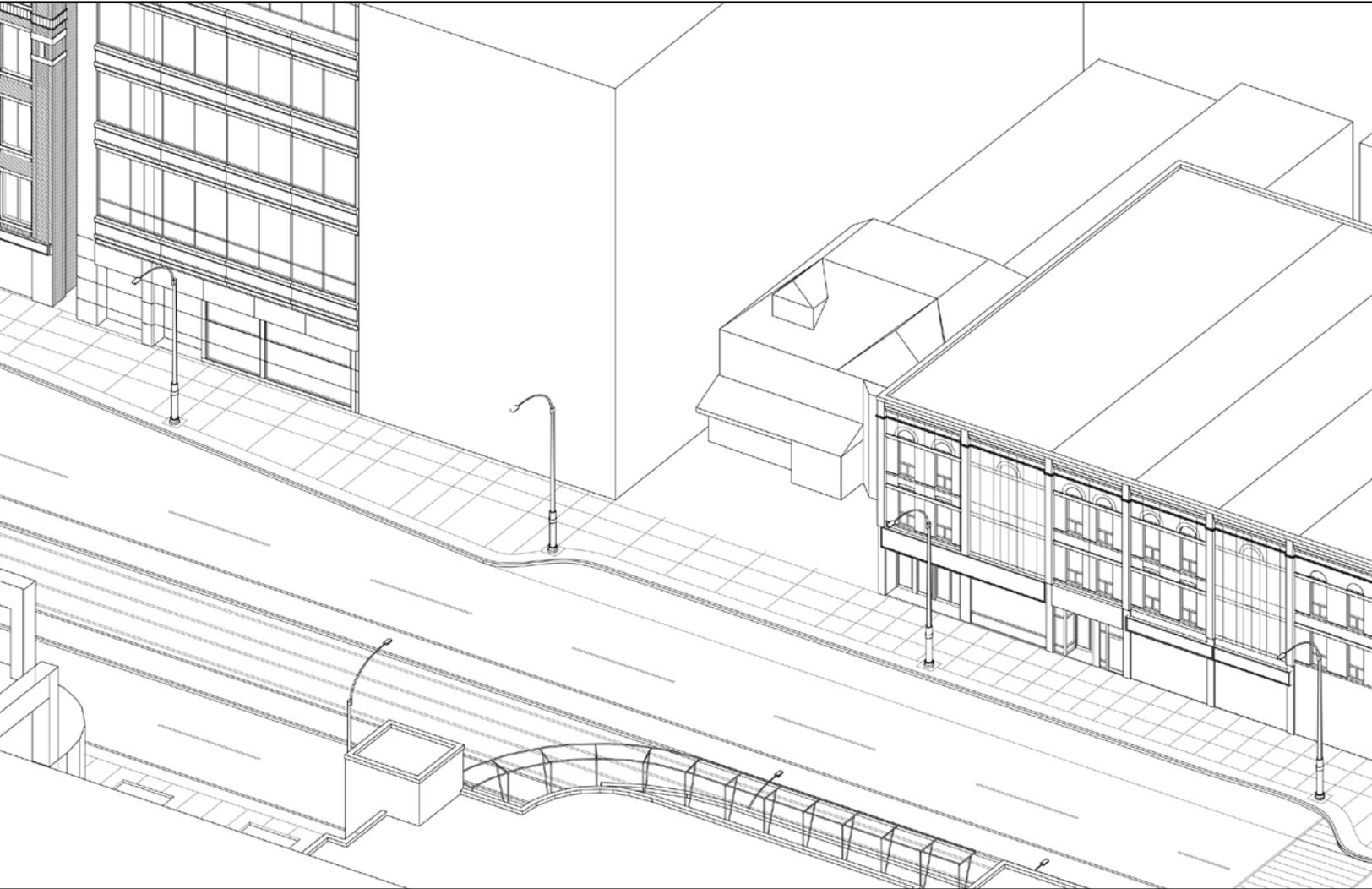
Fig. 193 Toronto's Chinatown deficient site vignette 2





As noted from the previous area, there are also underground parking garage entrances fronting the main boulevard street which discourages any sort of social opportunities.

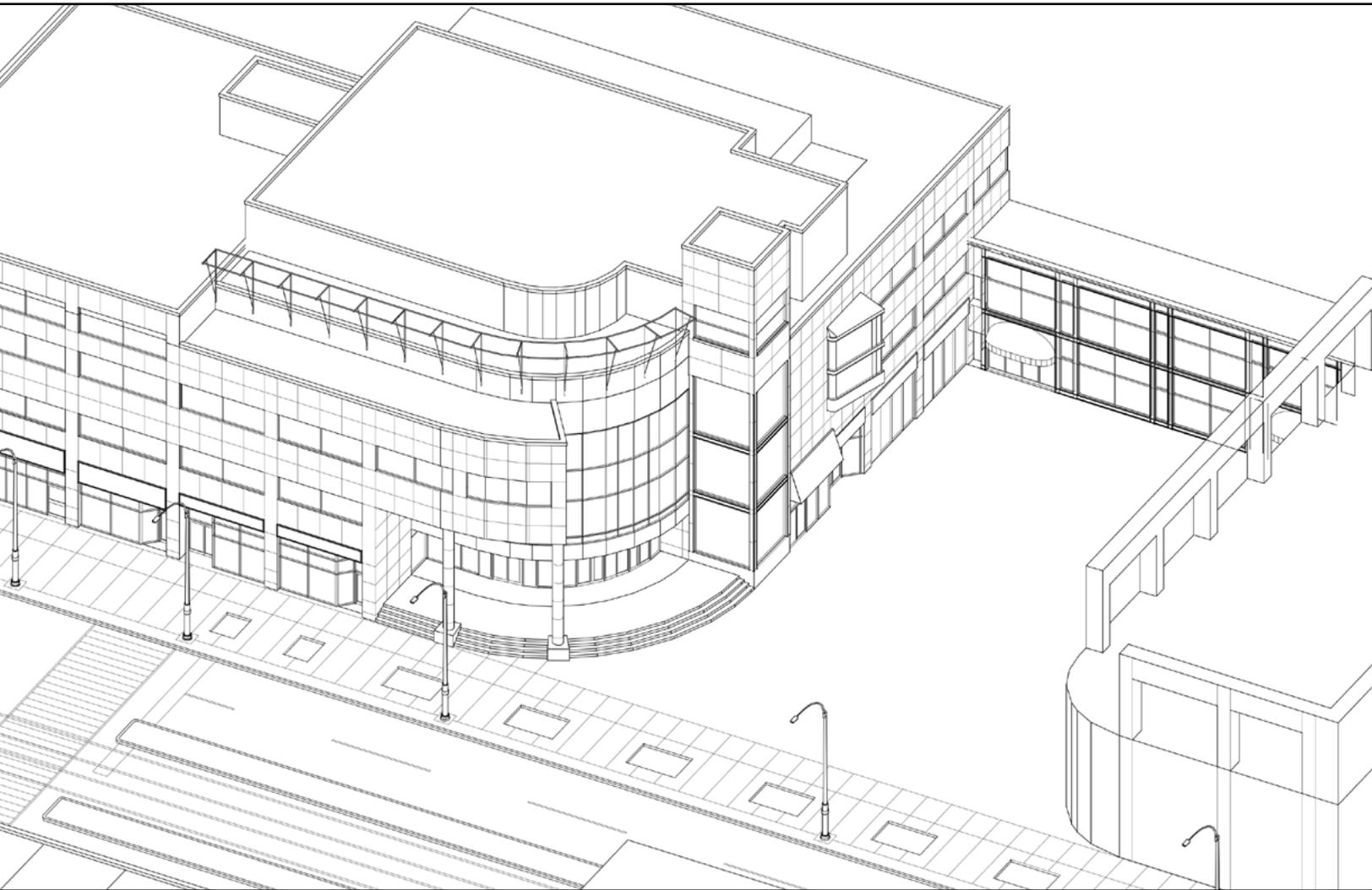
Fig. 194 Toronto's Chinatown deficient site vignette 3



Due to the wide boulevard between the streets the stretches across Spadina Avenue, there's a disconnect between place.



Fig. 195 Toronto's Chinatown deficient site
vignette 4



The Chinatown Centre is often a space that provides many cultural practices and services including a food court. However, these services remain non-existent due to the lack of frontage onto the main street.

Fig. 196 Toronto's Chinatown deficient site vignette 5



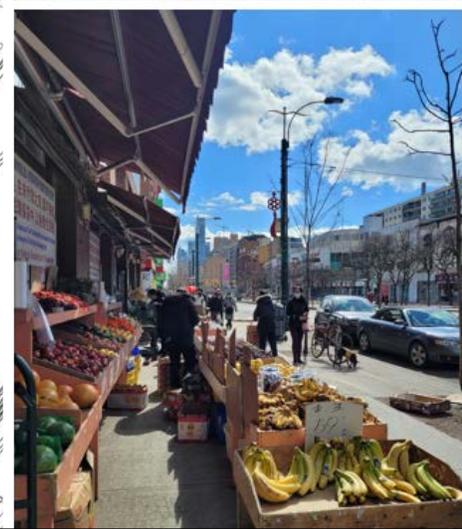
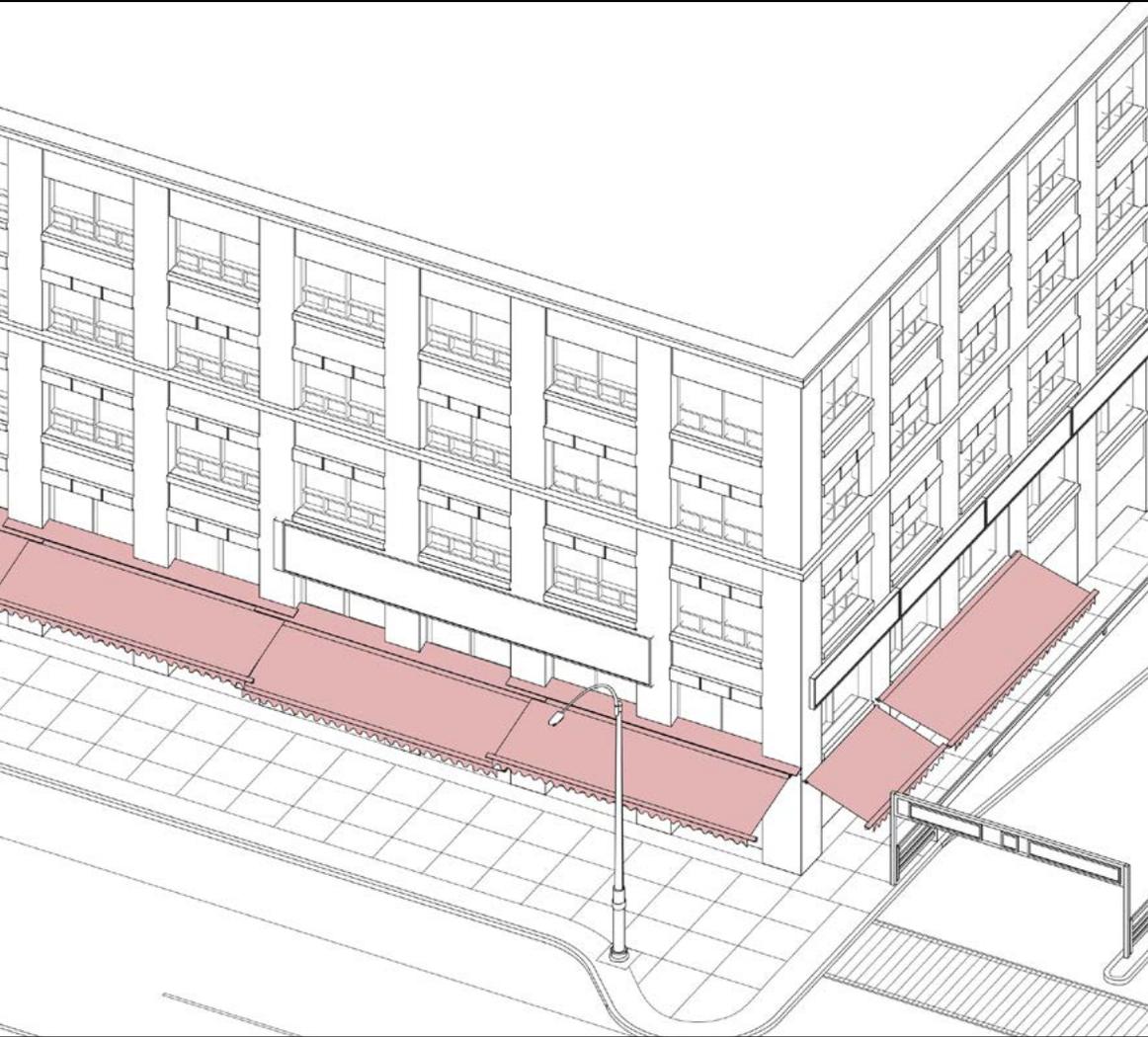


Away from the main street intersection exist many ad-hoc spaces. Although there are activities and shoppes available, these spaces do not promote social connections due to many barriers and blockades.



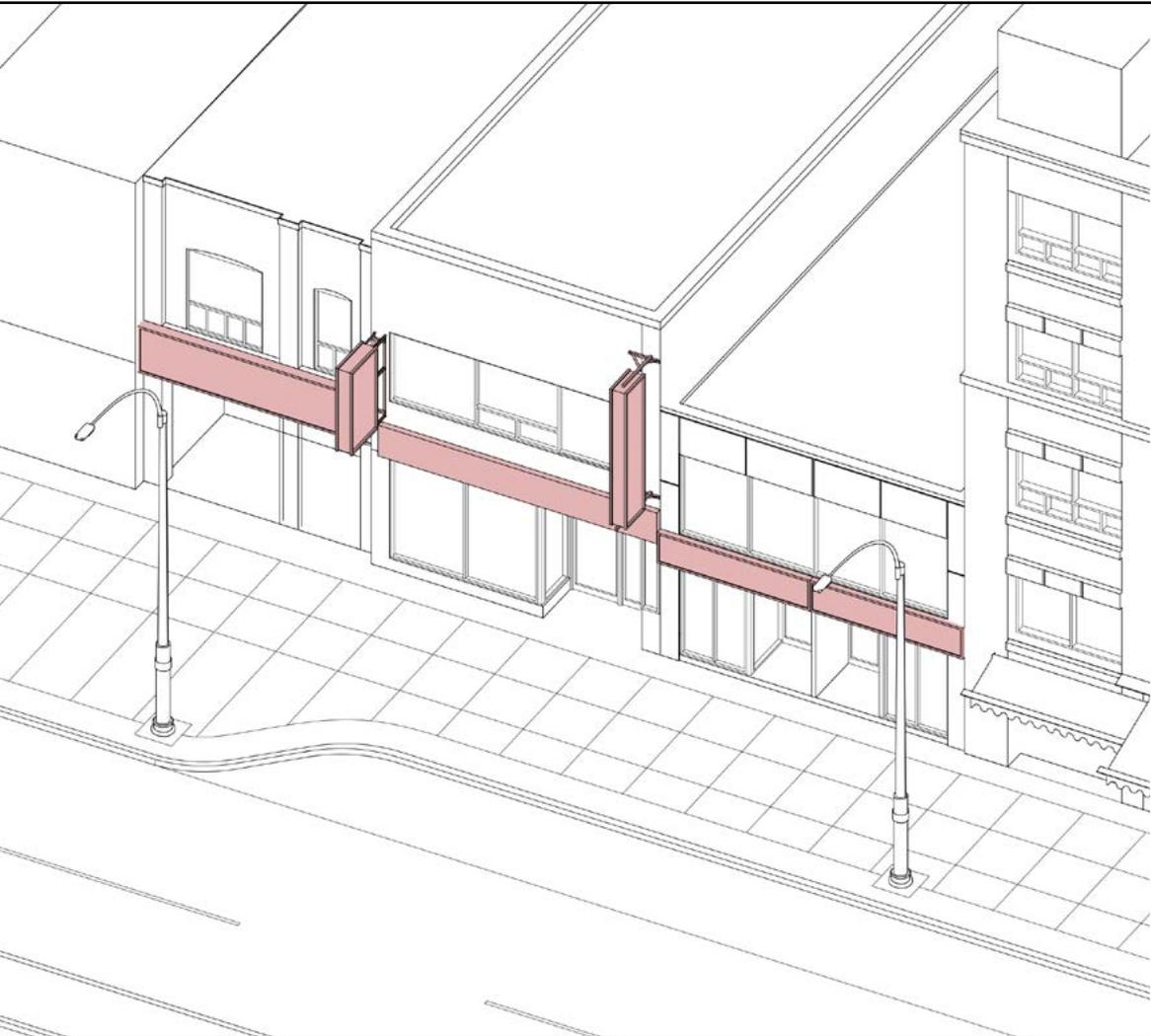
Fig. 197 Toronto's Chinatown deficient site vignette 6

//Four Existing Architectural Typologies



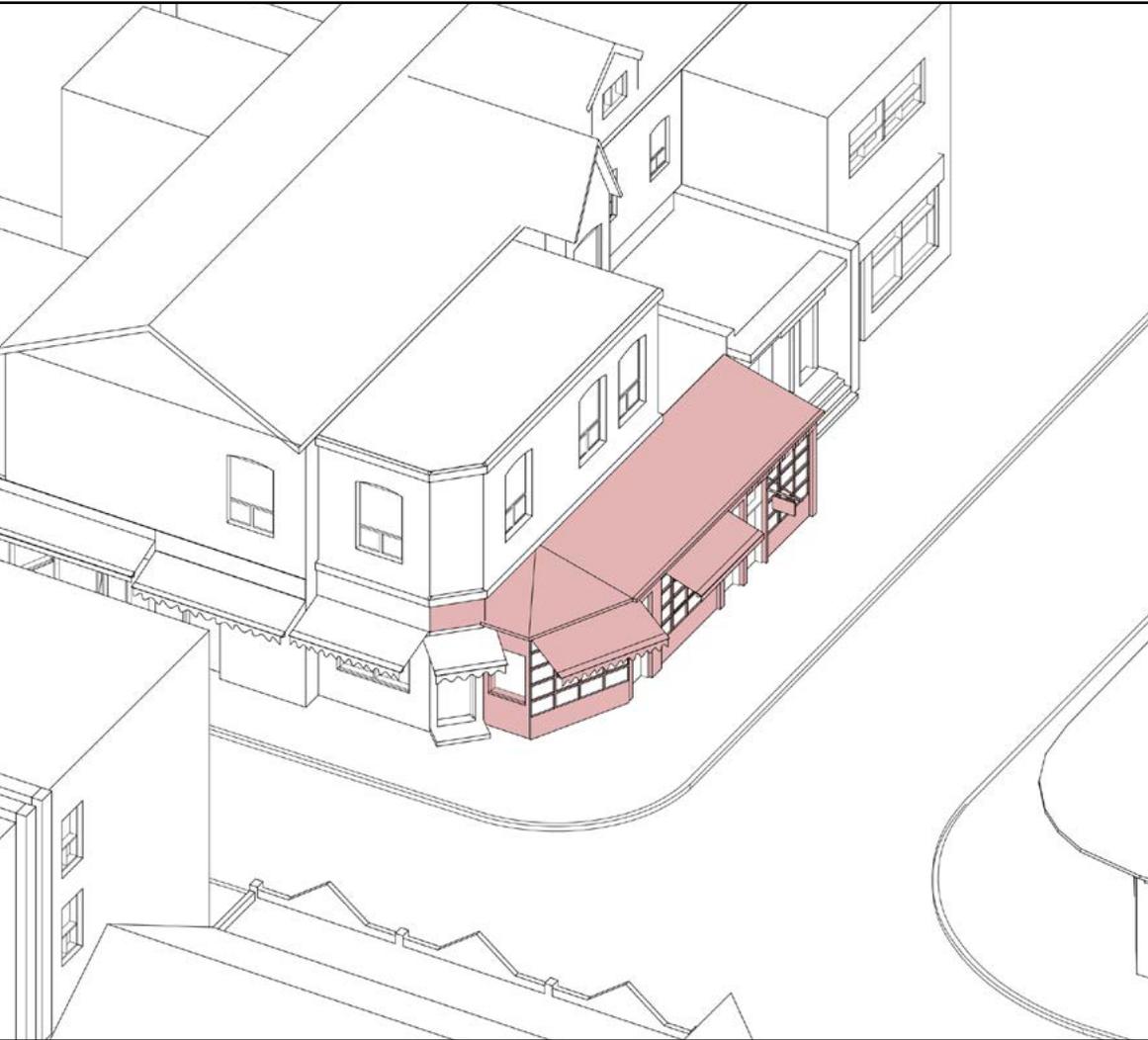
Extending Typologies are roughly installed canopies fastened onto existing building shells that extends onto the sidewalk streets.

Fig. 198 A local grocery store in Toronto Chinatown attempting to extend



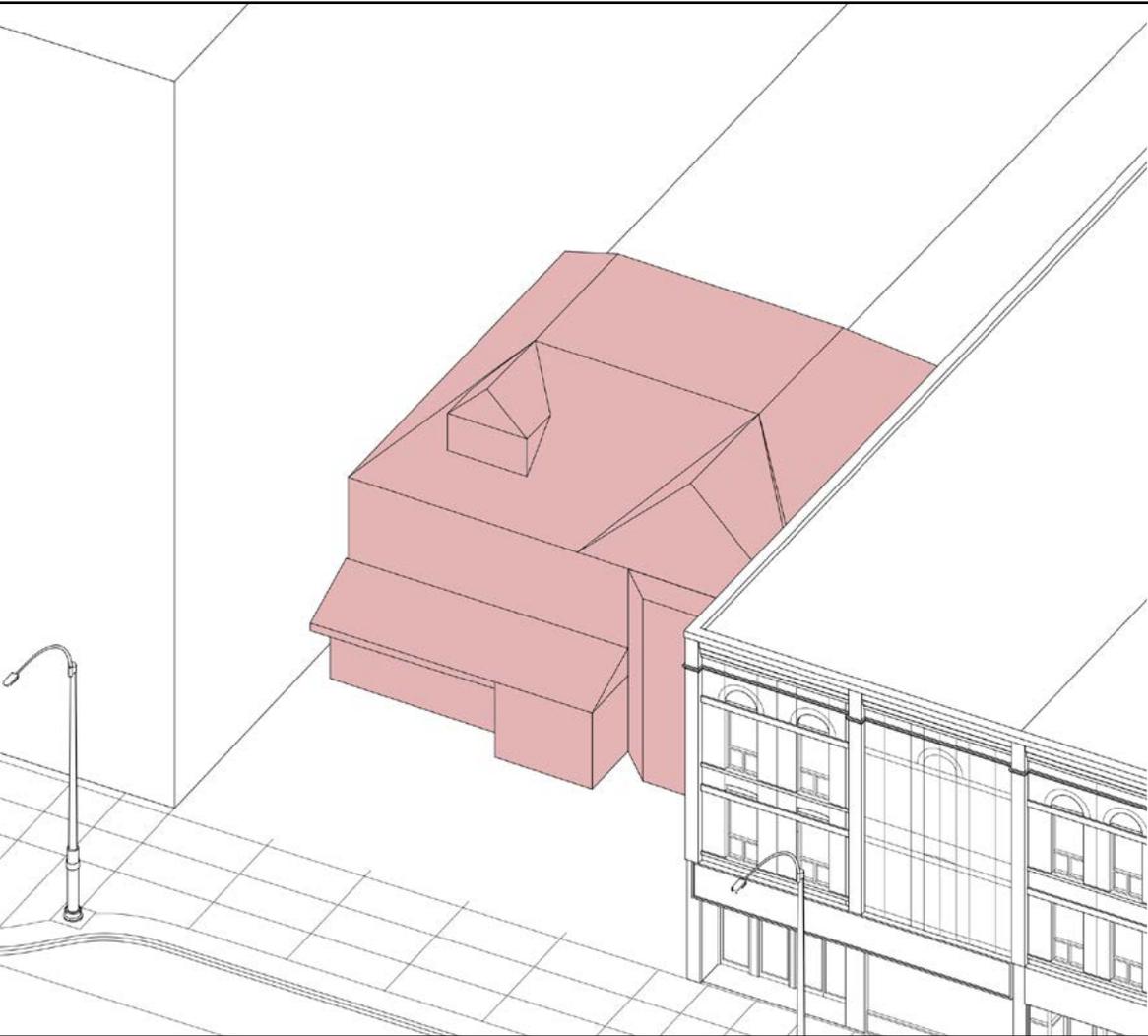
Stacking Typologies are mostly signages of restaurants and shops that stack on top of each other. They attempt to extend however, due to zoning requirements and policies, limitations restrict extending possibilities.

Fig. 199 Stores using creative ways to promote business; signages on window display, shelves



Transitioning Typologies are makeshift buildings that expands outwards from existing building shells however, these expansions do not exceed the allowable setback requirements.

Fig. 200 Spaces originally only have a roofing structure however, walls are eventually built to enclose the space



Squeezing Typologies are leftover ad-hoc buildings that houses two or several businesses under one roof. Due to development pressures, these buildings are “squeezed” between new buildings.

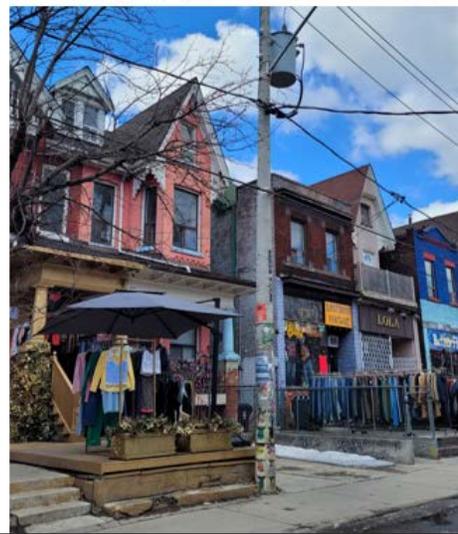
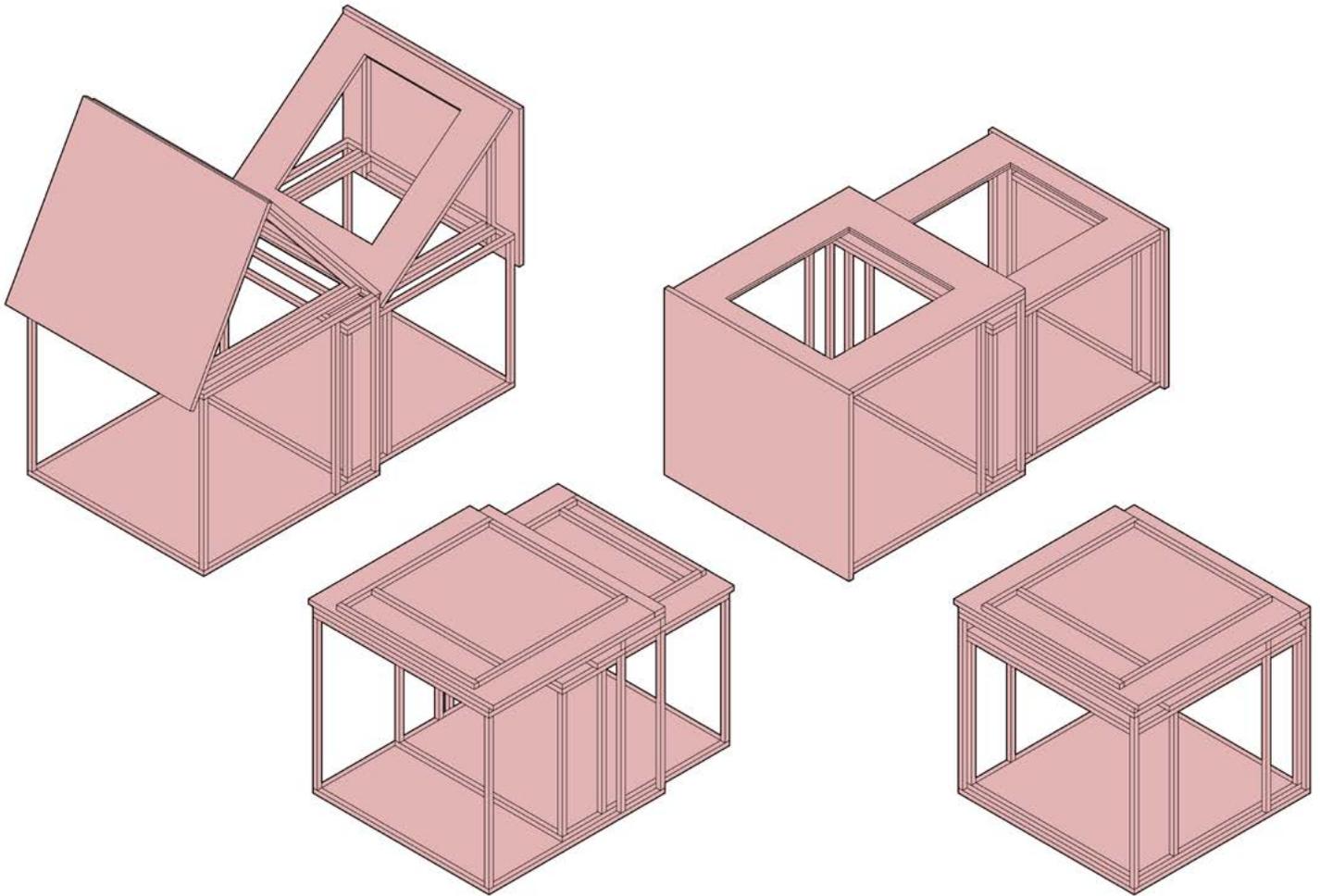


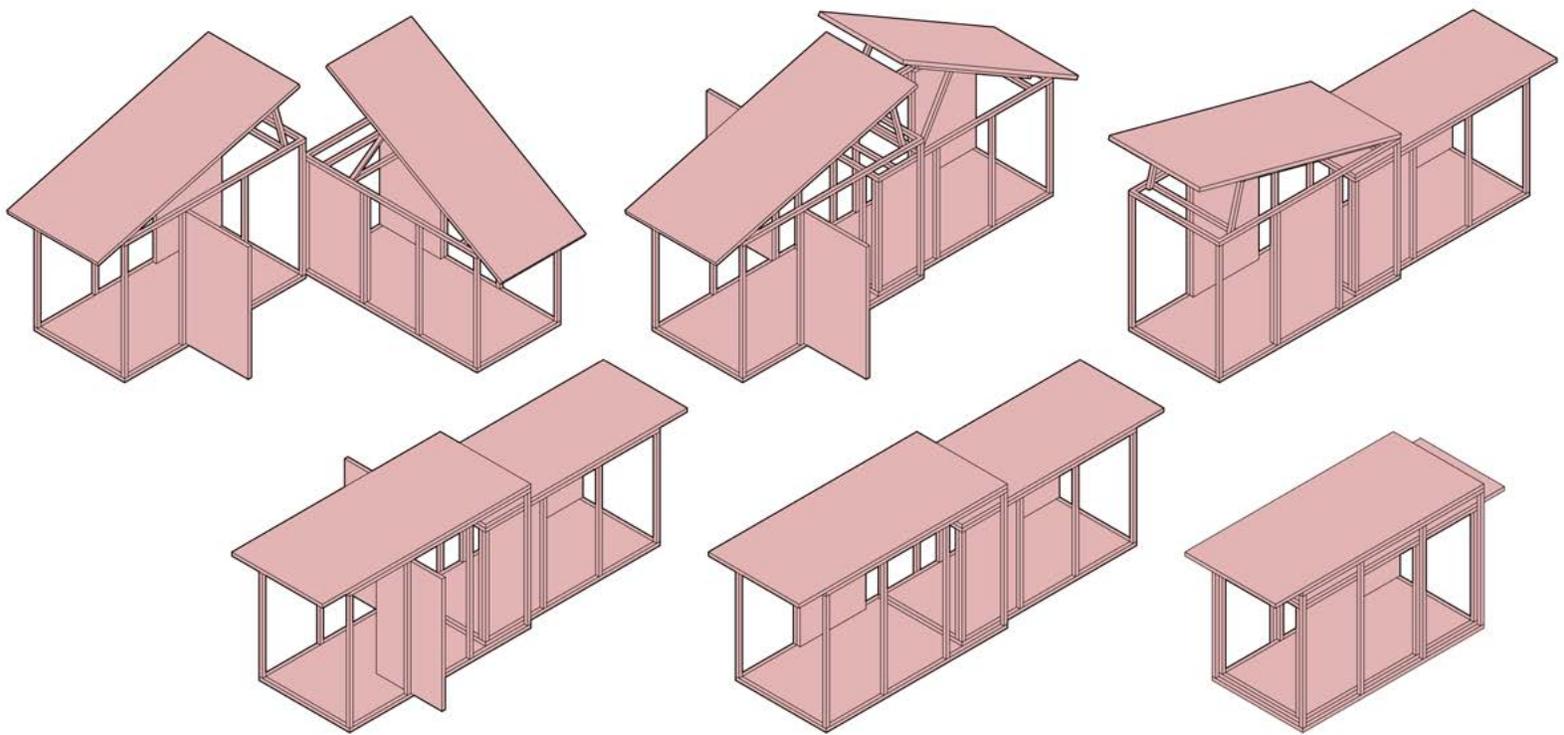
Fig. 201 Unaffordability to expand businesses, owners are forced to pile products on the side

//Modular Structural Framework



The thesis design develops further ideas by creating a flexible modular architecture that can be applied to improve deficient areas spatially which will in turn improve spaces culturally. Like a kit-of-parts, the idea is to create a framework that is temporal, scalable, and customizable. Not entirely its own entity but together it creates and promotes deficient spaces.

Fig. 202 A kit-of-parts framework that is temporal, scalable, and customizable

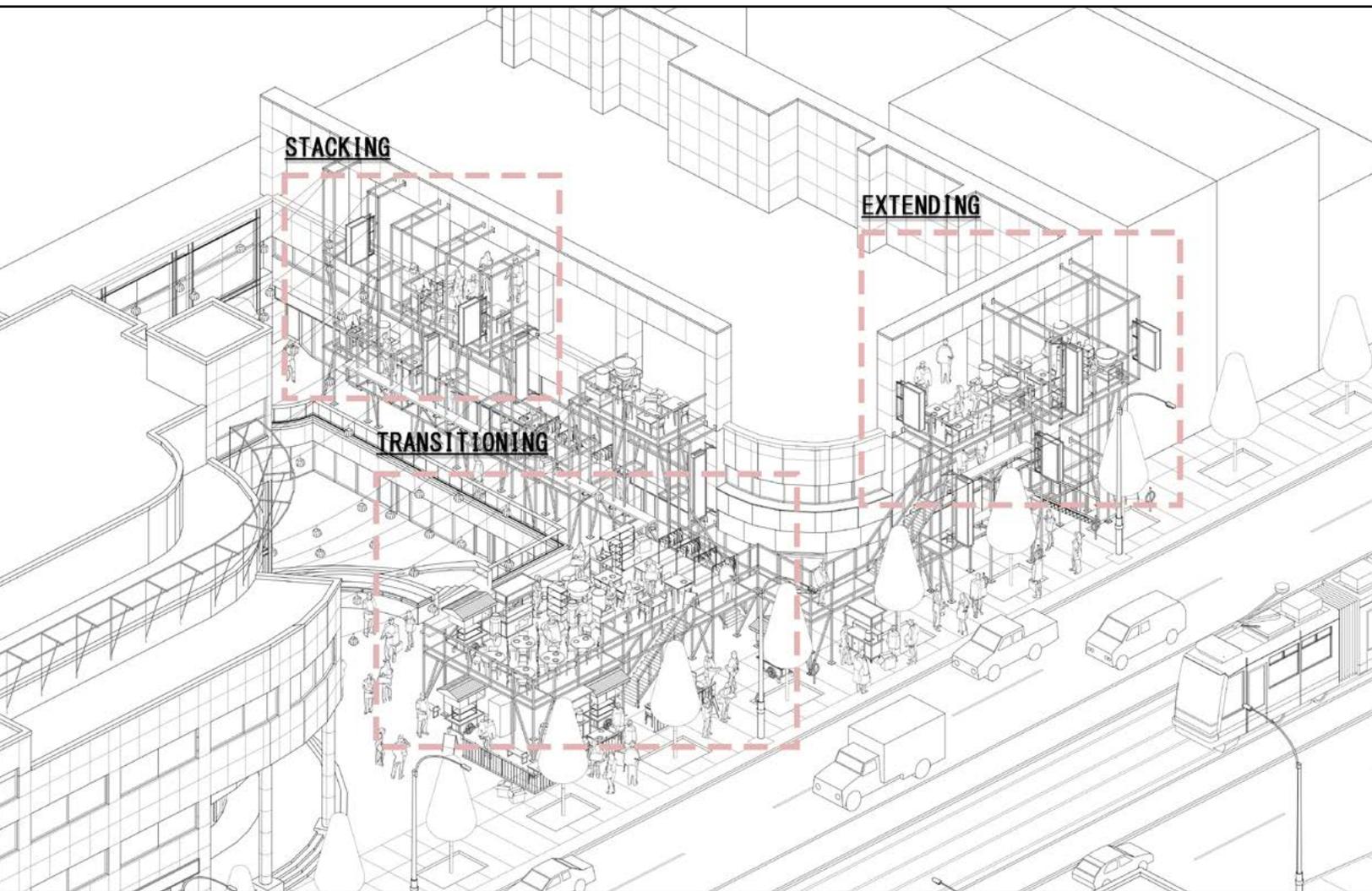


By establishing a “community policy” pioneered from ventures in Taiwan and building structural frameworks on site, dwellers are able to build together using architectural interventions such as wall panels, roofs, and kitchen accessories. Like ingredients of a dish, the flexibility of ingredients allow dwellers to plug and play into the urban context.

Fig. 203 A kit-of-parts framework that is temporal, scalable, and customizable 2

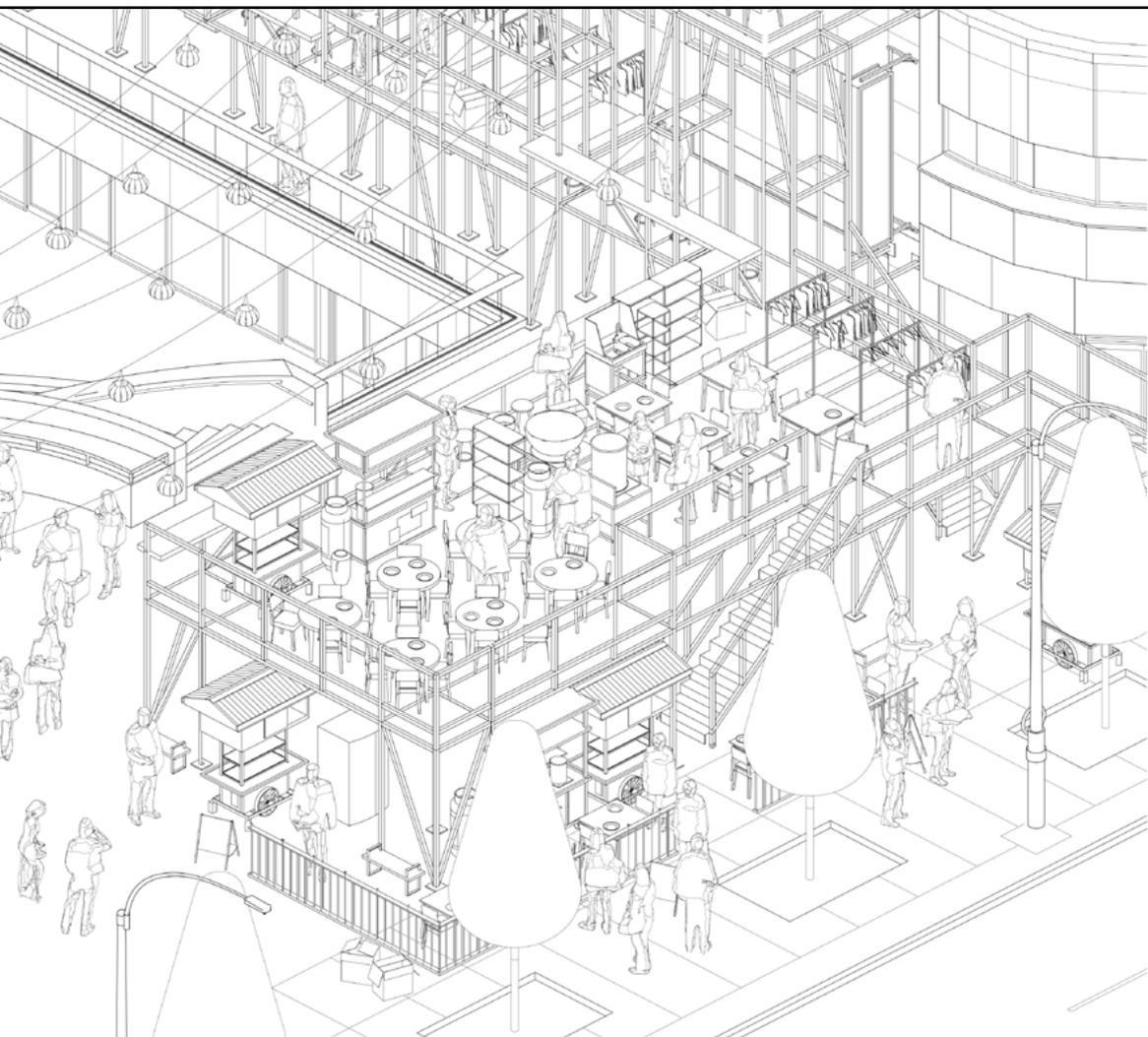
Fig. 204 Speculative design
1 vignette

//Speculative Thesis Design 1



Spaces within Chinatown Centre are often not efficiently used. Events and gatherings are hosted primarily indoors and by promoting these strategies on site to see, it generates interests and invites different cultures to come together and celebrate.





Spatial configurations are inspired by certain night market snacks and recipes. This one in particular is inspired by beef noodle soup. Ingredients are seared and slow cooked prior to making the broth bringing out the aroma of the beef and vegetables. The idea of lifting and revealing is created by establishing a presence on the street frontage. The framework is built upwards and out creating a spacious and flexible platform.

Fig. 205 Speculative design
1 vignette 2

Fig. 206 Making beef noodle
soup

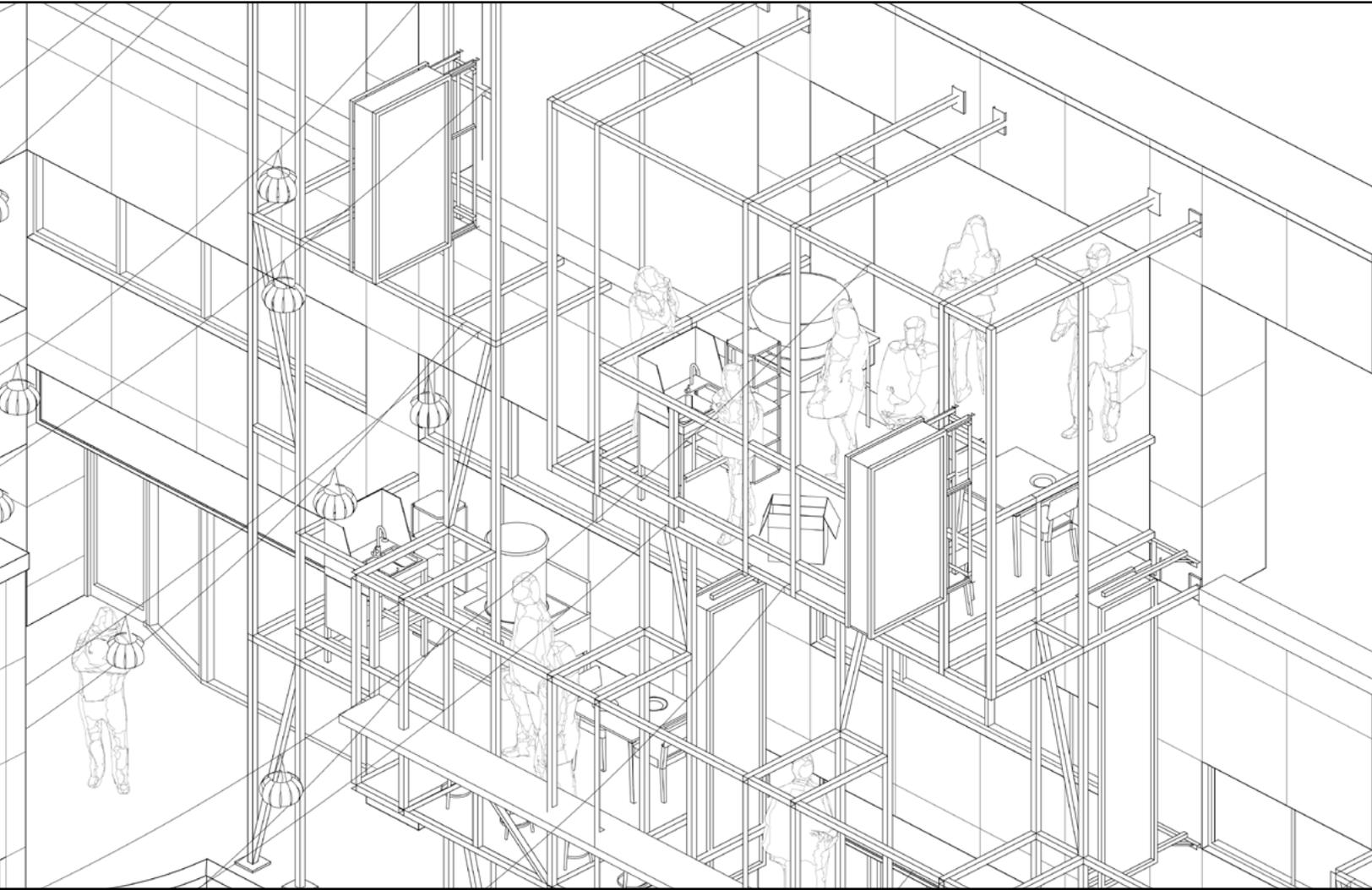


Fig. 207 Speculative design
1 vignette 3

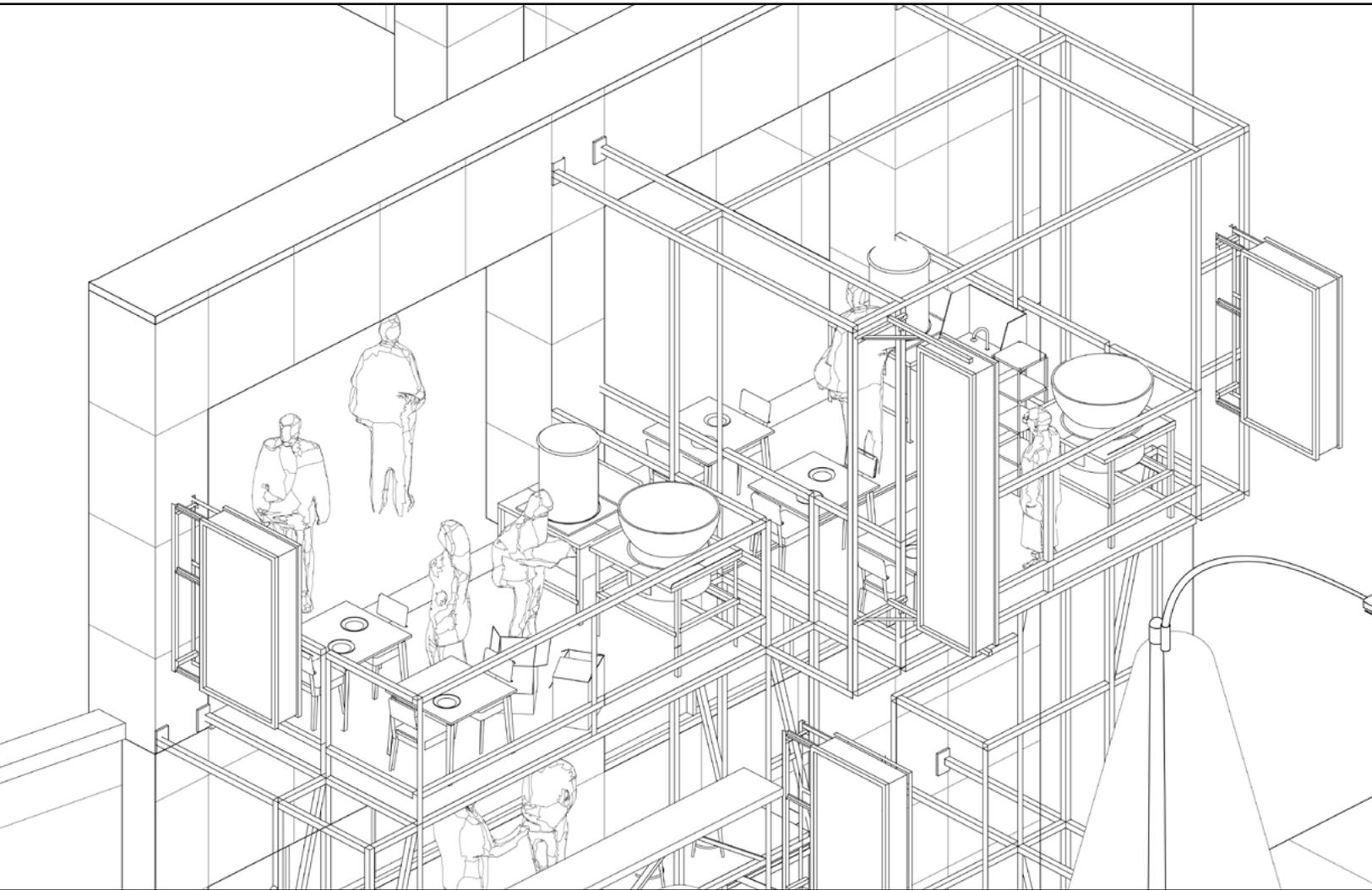


Fig. 208 Speculative design
1 vignette 4

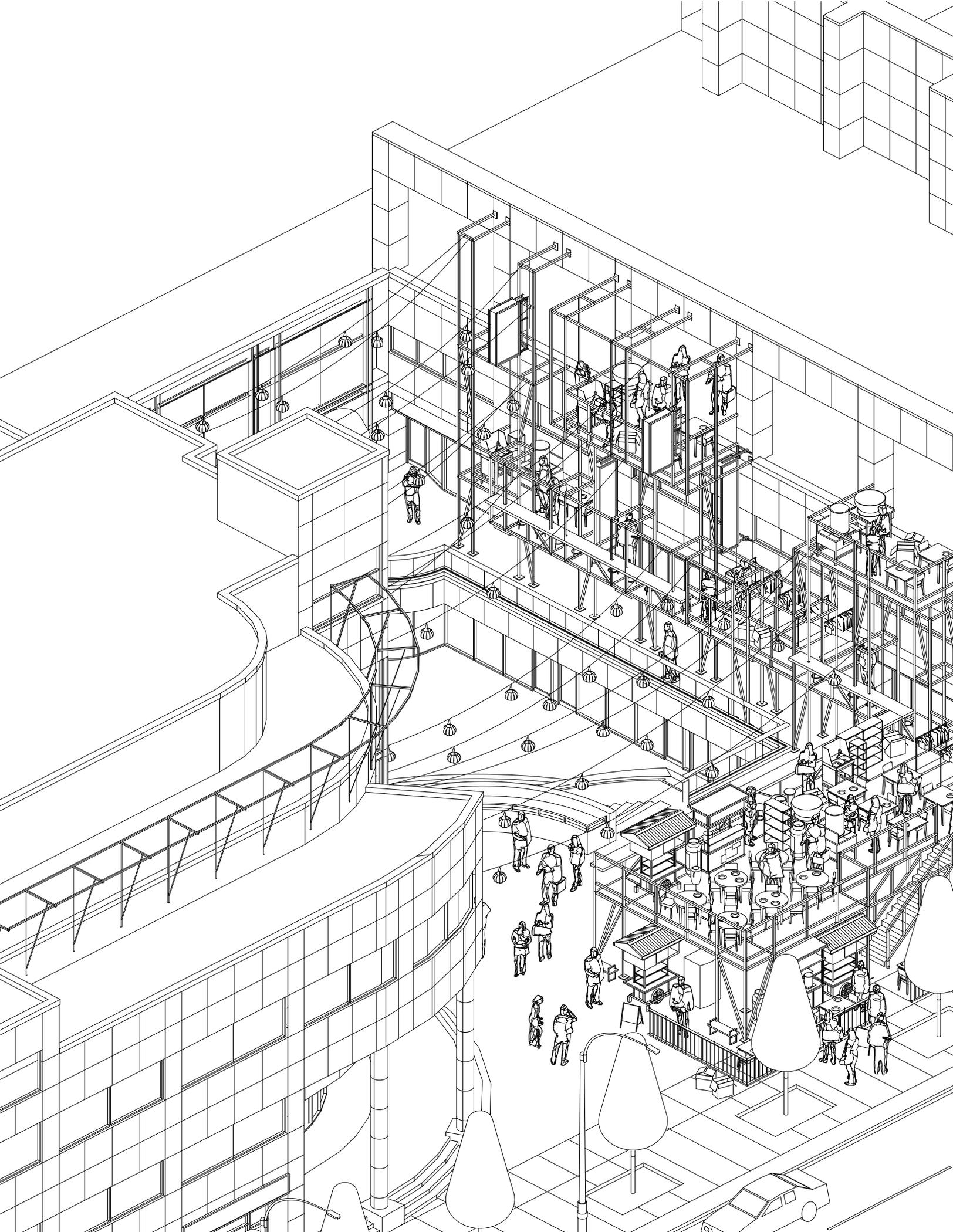
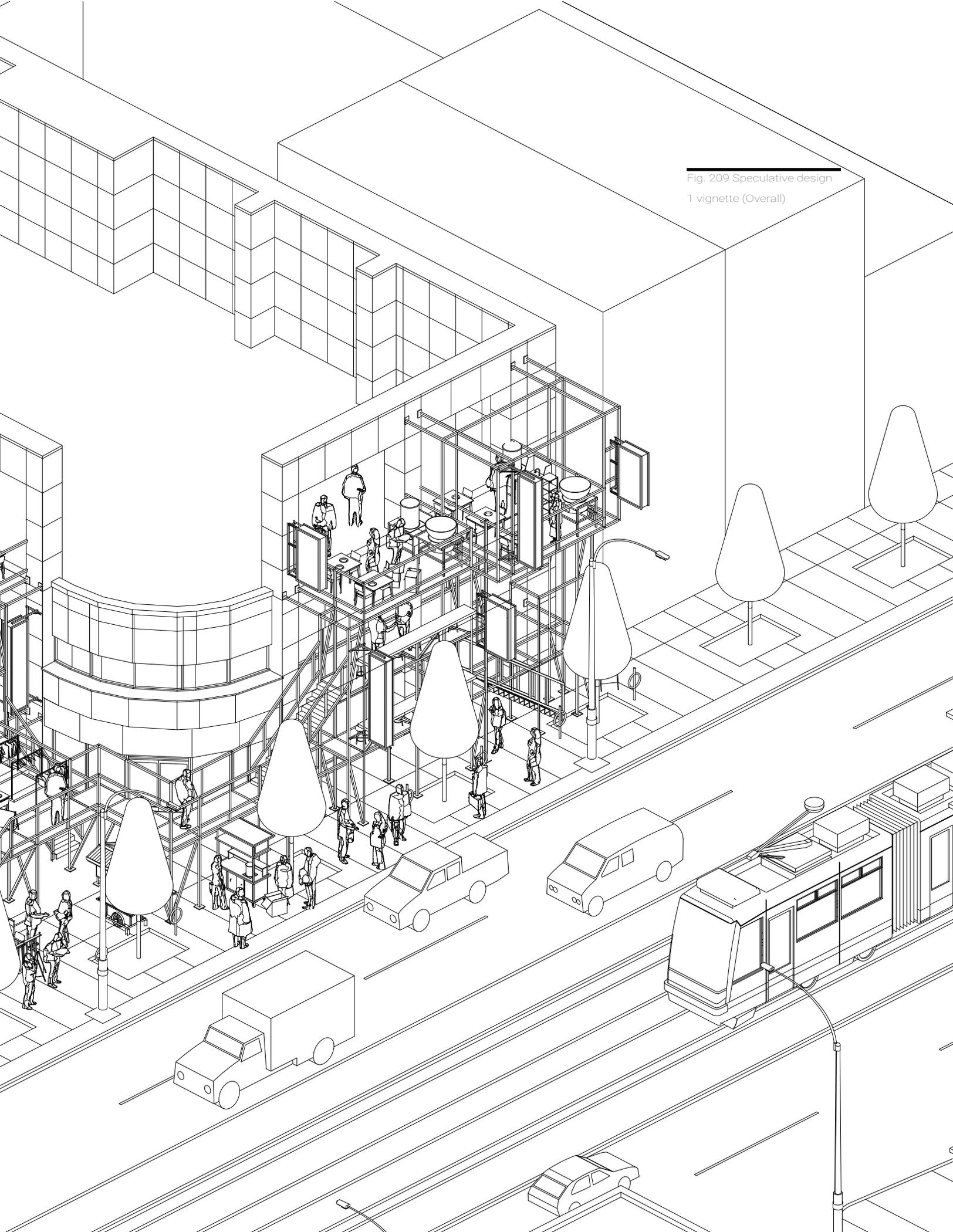


Fig. 209 Speculative design
1 vignette (Overall)



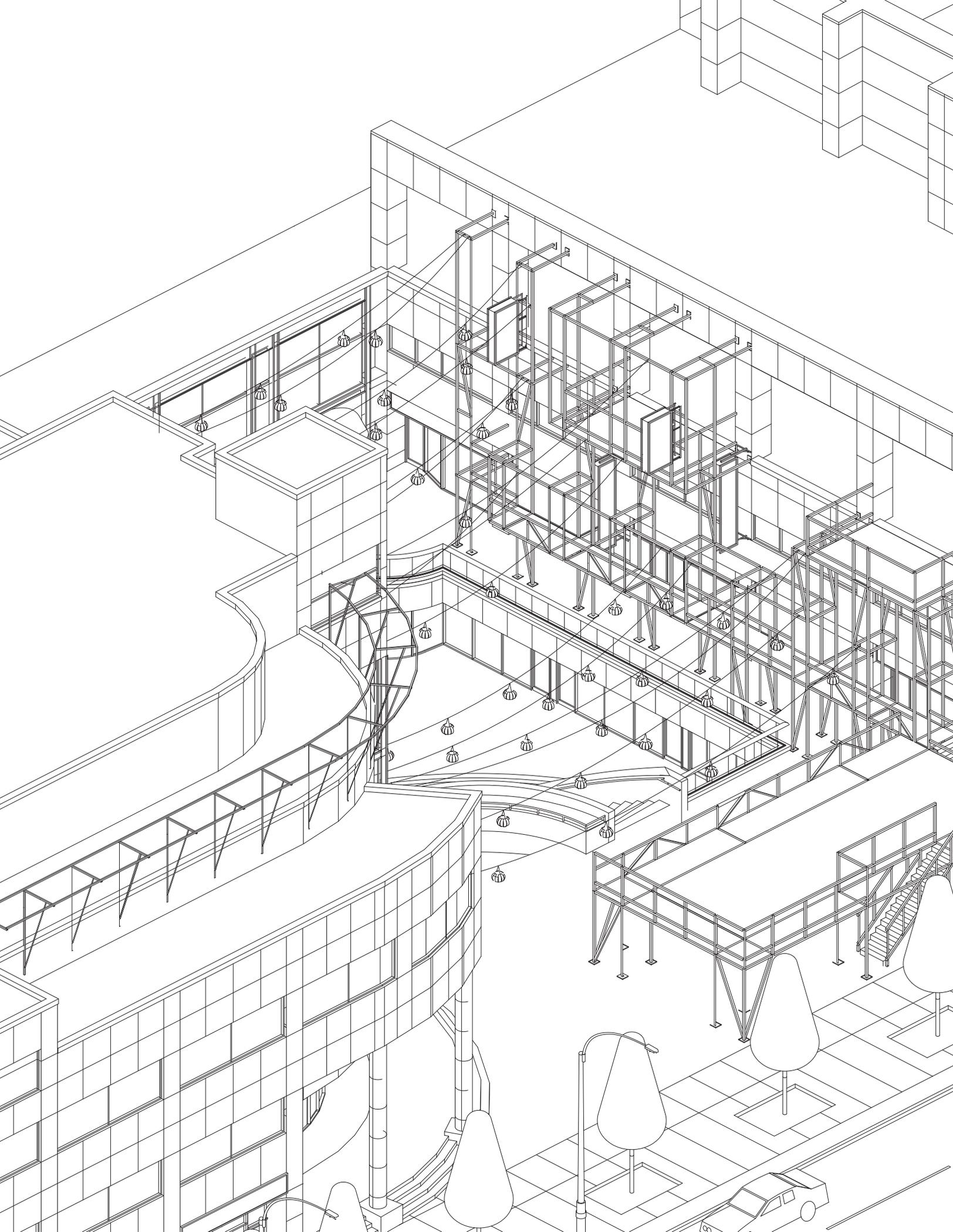
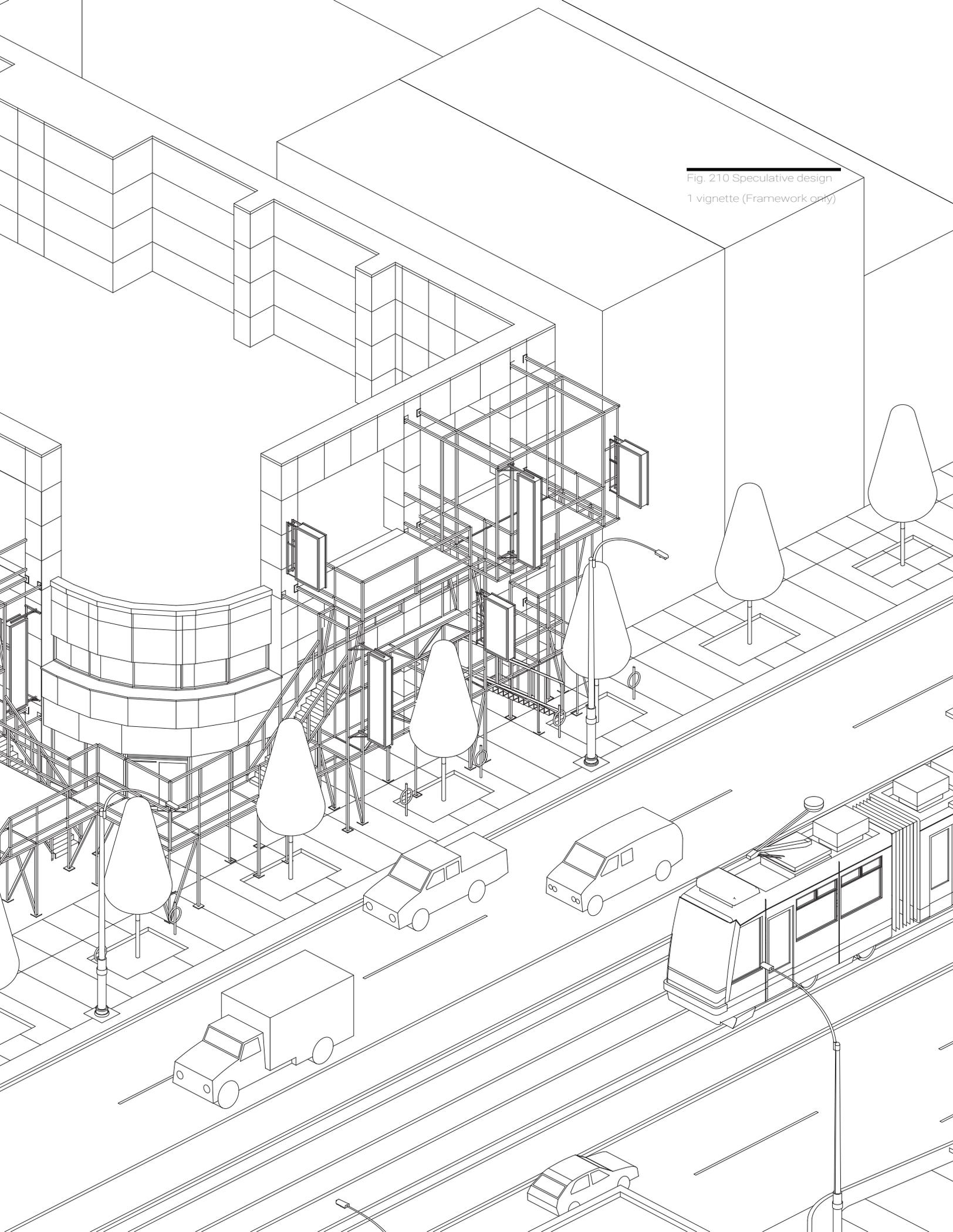
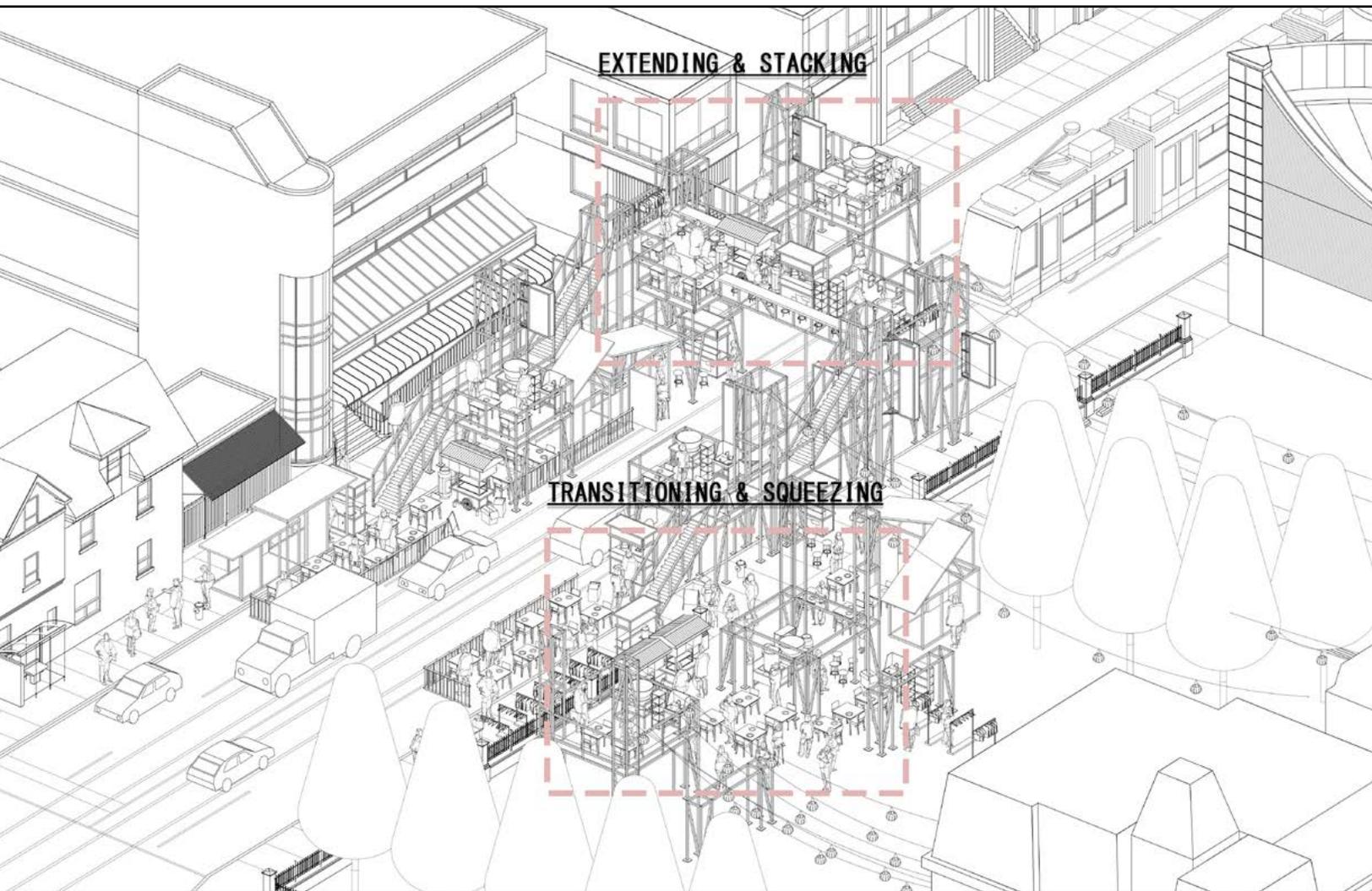


Fig. 210 Speculative design
1 vignette (Framework only)

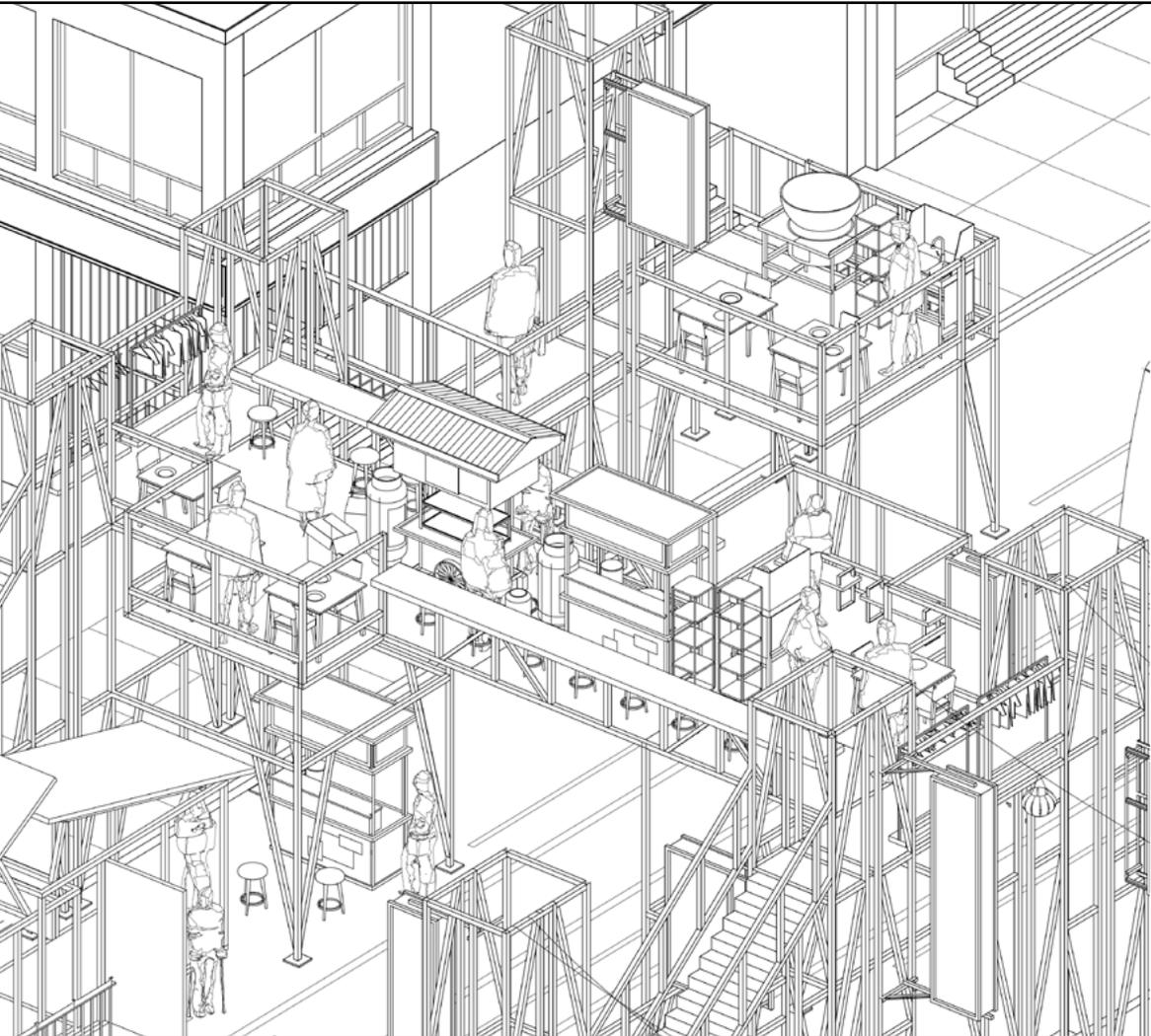


//Speculative Thesis Design 2



Along Dundas St W., there is often a disconnection between the parallel streets. As well, there is a disconnect to the context of space where a privately owned space should in turn be a privately owned public space. The intent is to bridge these spaces together by extending and stacking. Through squeezing, it promotes neighbouring ties, a cross-pollinating of ideas knitting the community together.





This particular area, the framework is built on top of each other. Inspired by the steaming of soup dumplings stacking on top of each other in bamboo steamers, it creates a presence on the street, creating a visual connection to the site culturally.



Fig. 212 Speculative design
2 vignette 2

Fig. 213 Making soup
dumplings

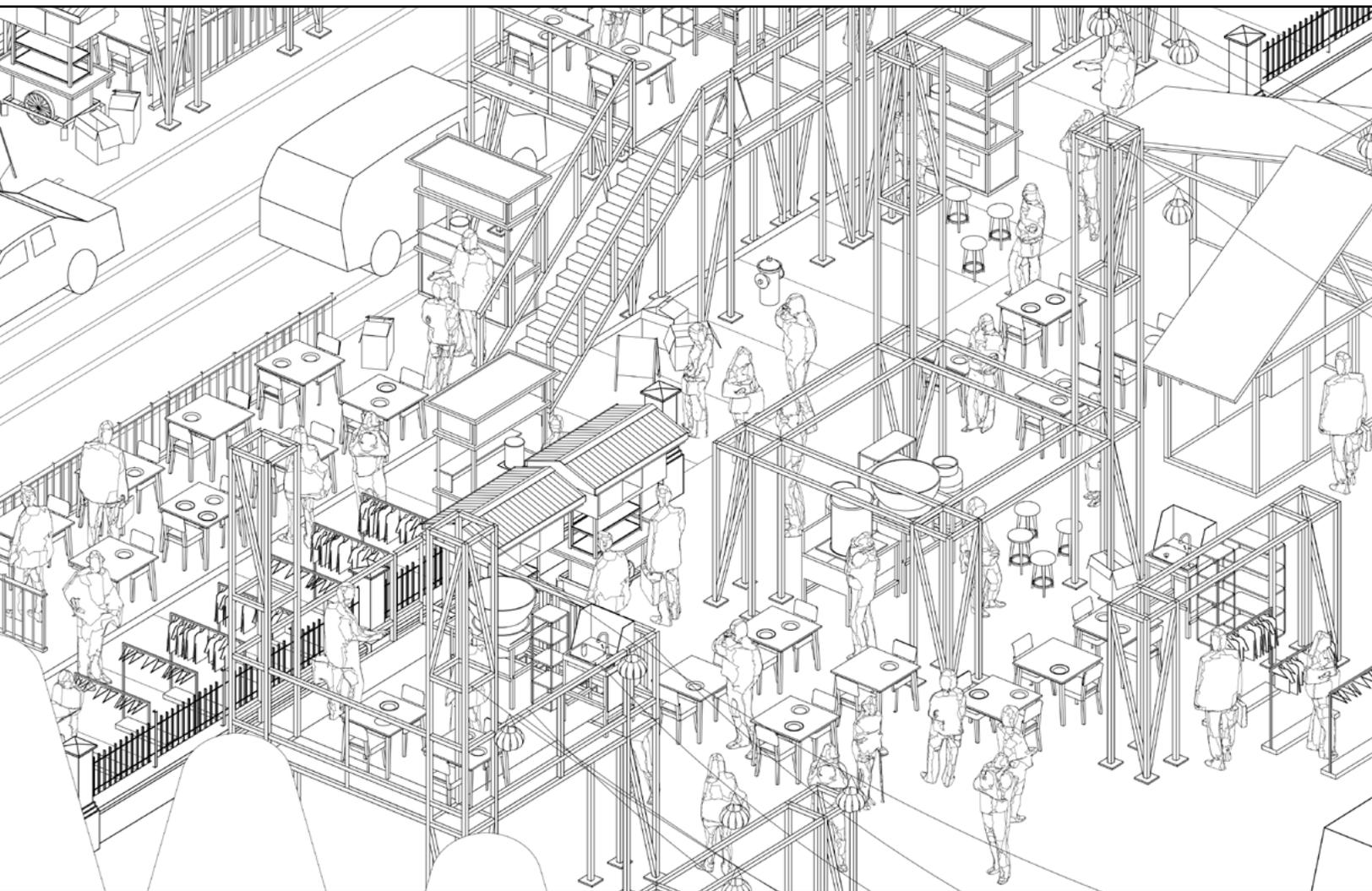


Fig. 214 Speculative design
2 vignette 3

Fig. 215 Speculative design
2 vignette (Overall half)



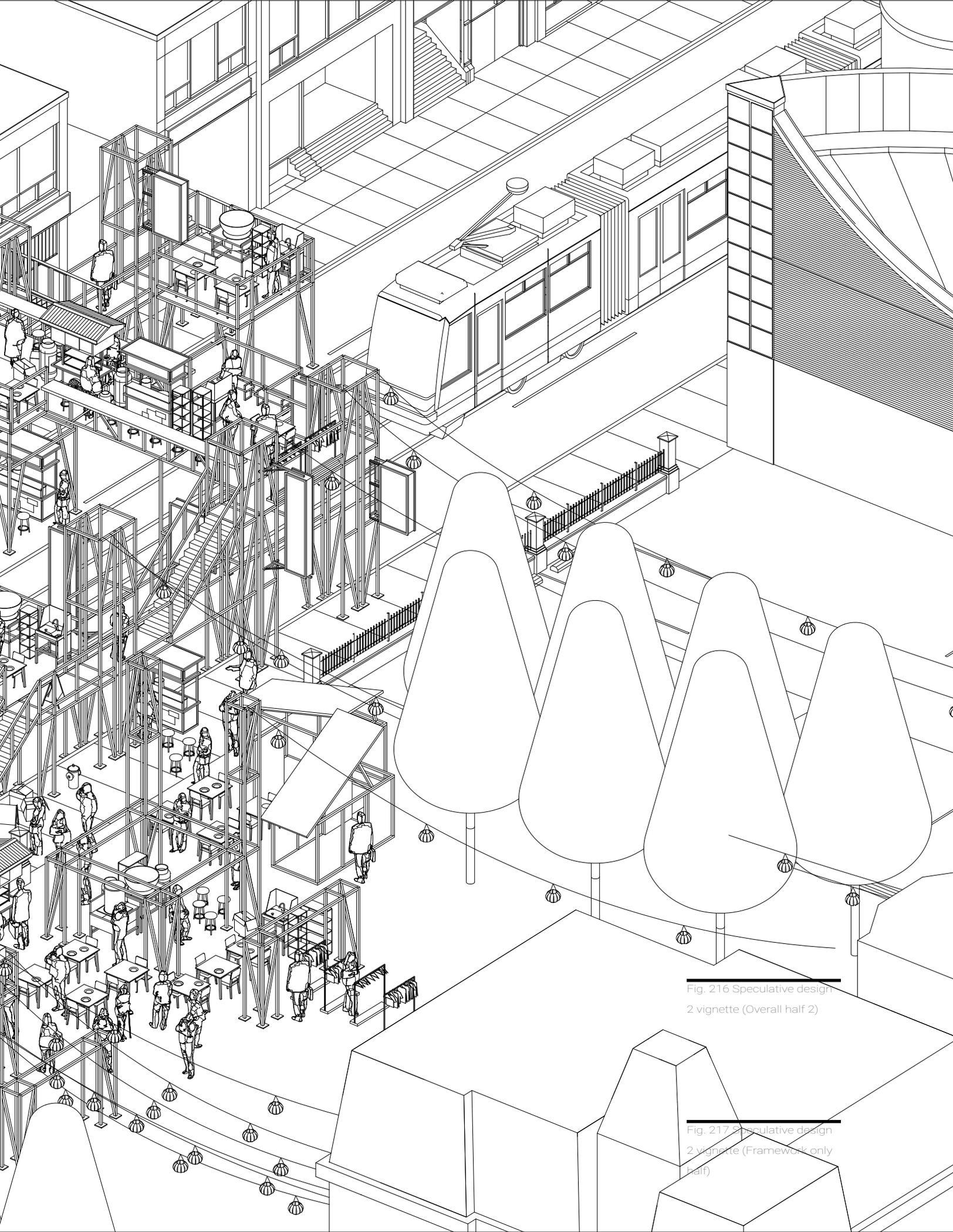


Fig. 216 Speculative design
2 vignette (Overall half 2)

Fig. 217 Speculative design
2 vignette (Framework only
half)



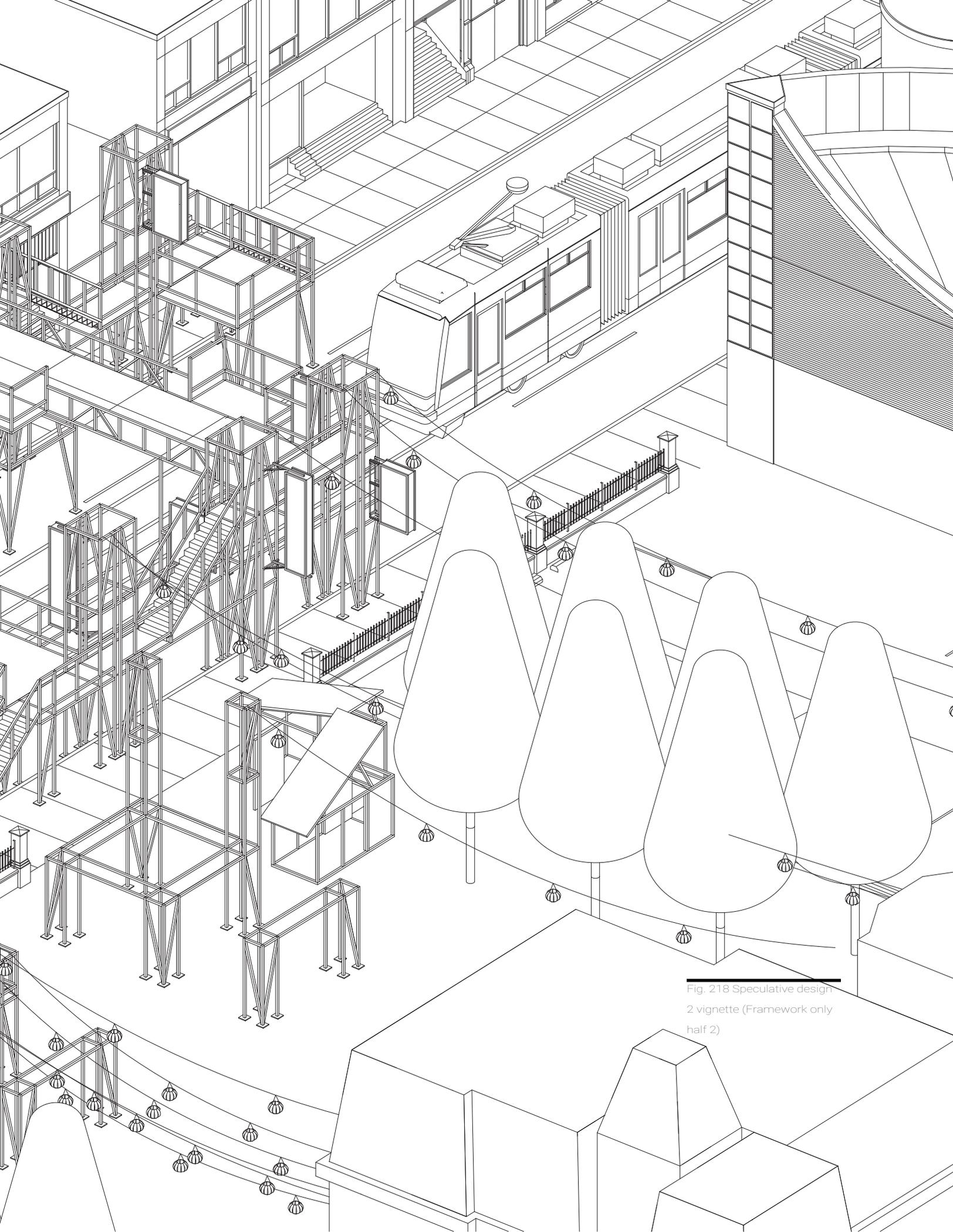
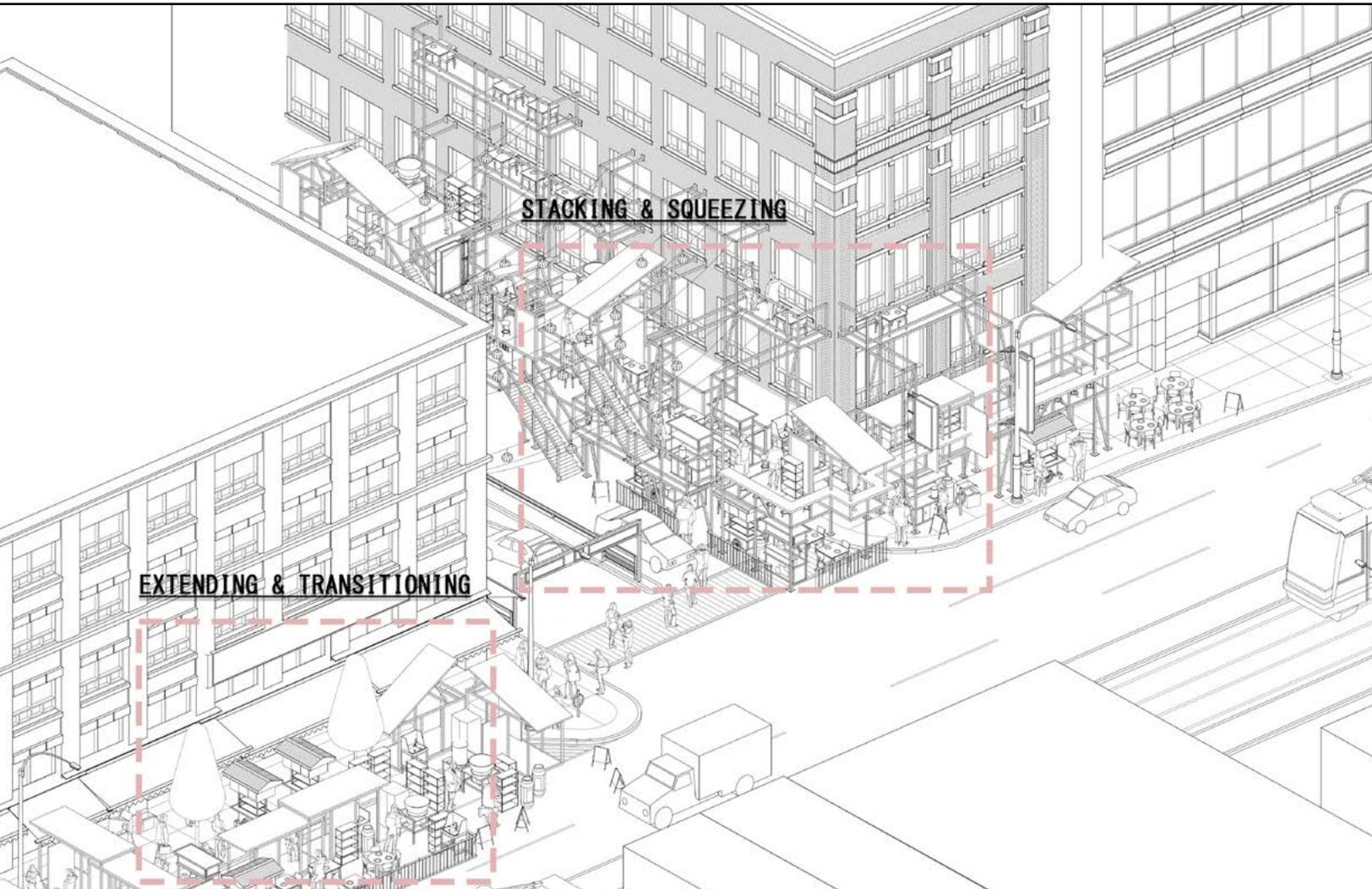


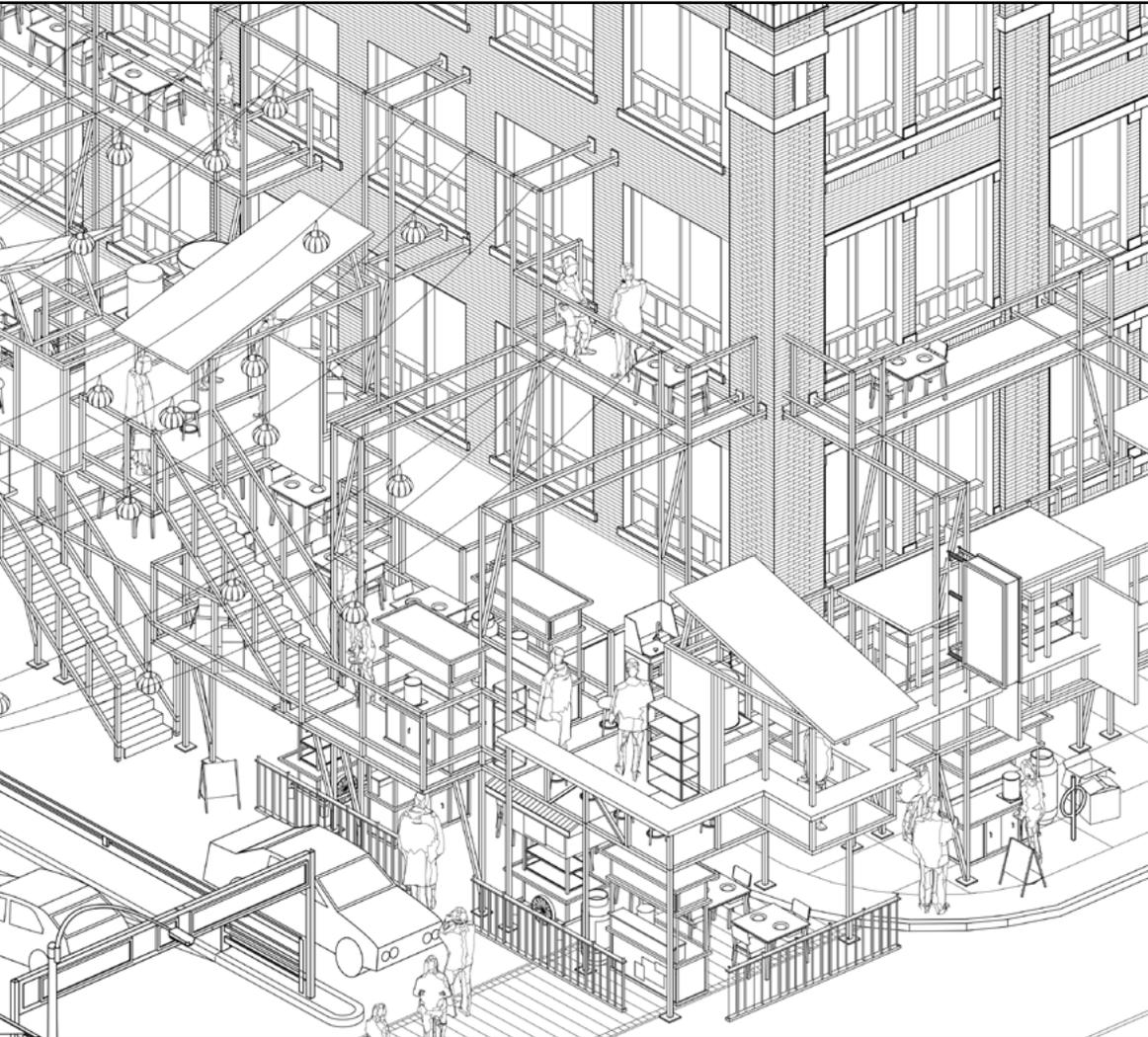
Fig. 218 Speculative design
2 vignette (Framework only
half 2)

//Speculative Thesis Design 3



Similar to the previous speculative design, there is also a disconnect between streets due to the large Spadina boulevard. However, instead of building a framework that bridges across, modular frames are extended onto the streetscape creating a transitioning typology which favours temporality instead of permanency. The space becomes flexible for the needs of the community to extend beyond zoning boundaries.





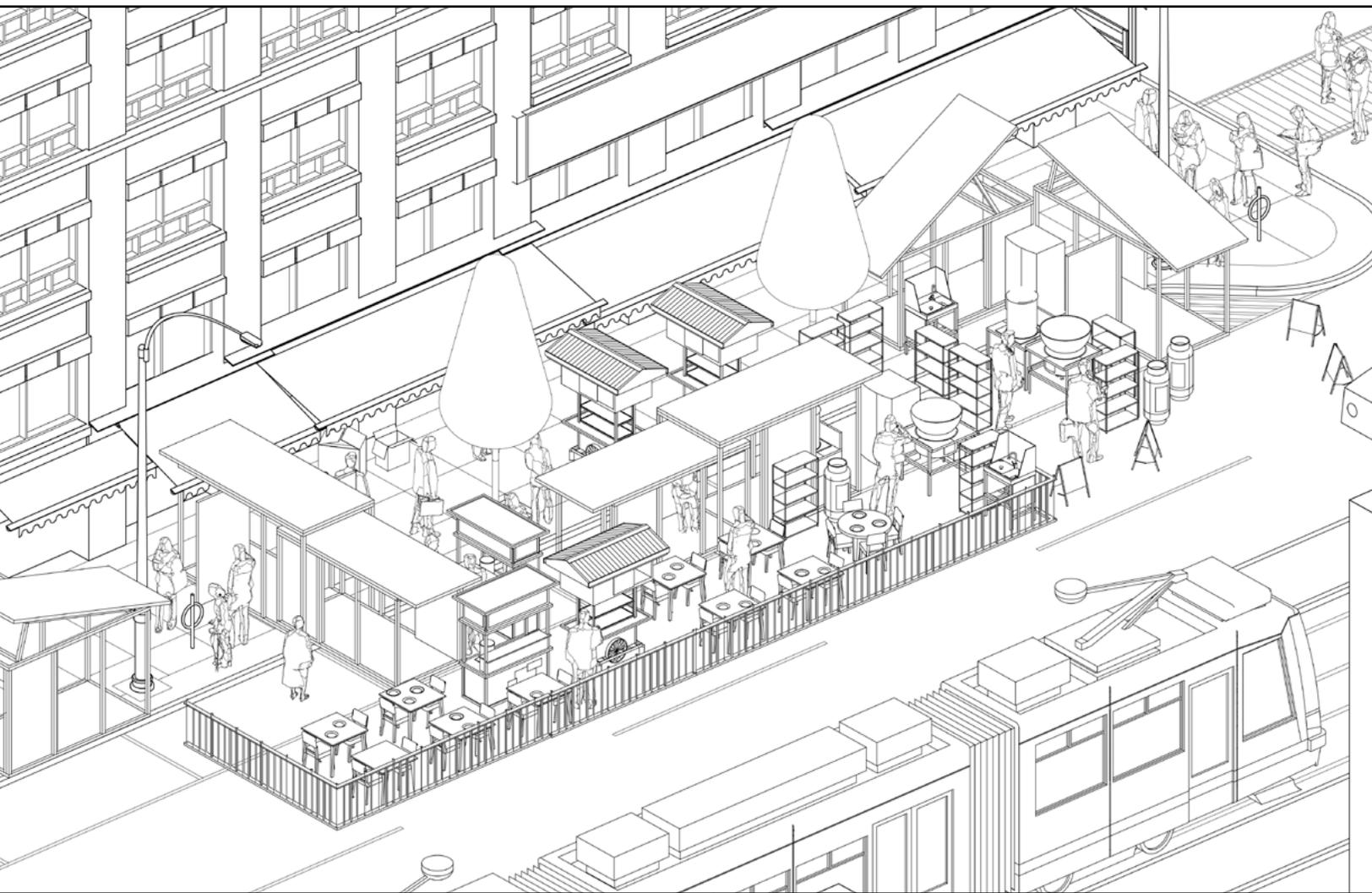
Alleyways are often neglected without any connection to place. The intent is to promote vacant spaces by stacking the structural framework creating a presence on site. By doing so, the space becomes a squeezing typology, promoting its neighbourhood area and knitting the community together.



Fig. 220 Speculative design
3 vignette 2



Fig. 221 Making sticky rice
dumpling & soup dumpling



The overall spatial orientation of the structure is inspired by 2 recipes: the wrapping of ingredients when binding sticky rice dumplings together with a string and the repetition of creating consistent folds for soup dumplings when wrapping the pork filling together.

Fig. 222 Speculative design
3 vignette 3



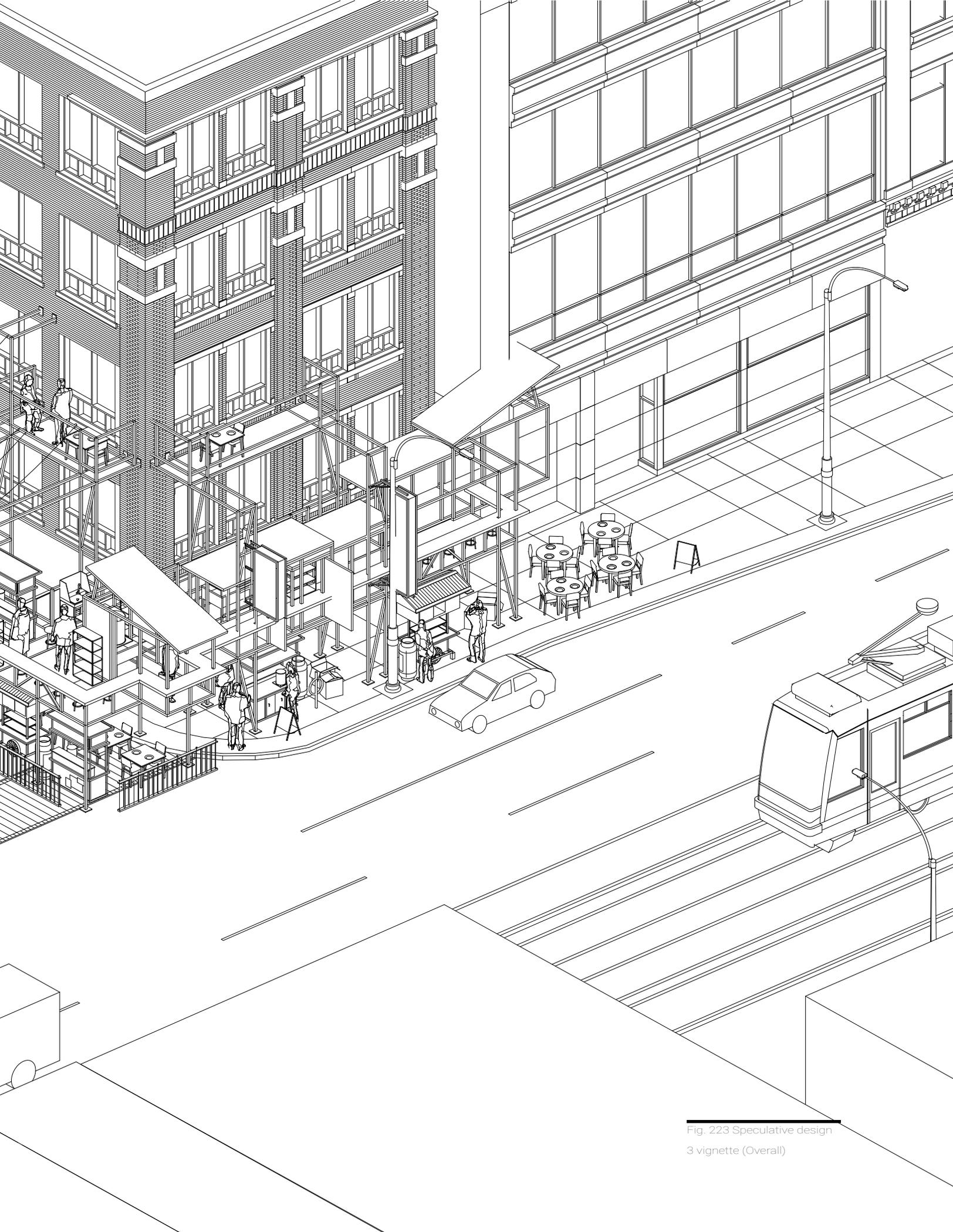


Fig. 223 Speculative design
3 vignette (Overall)



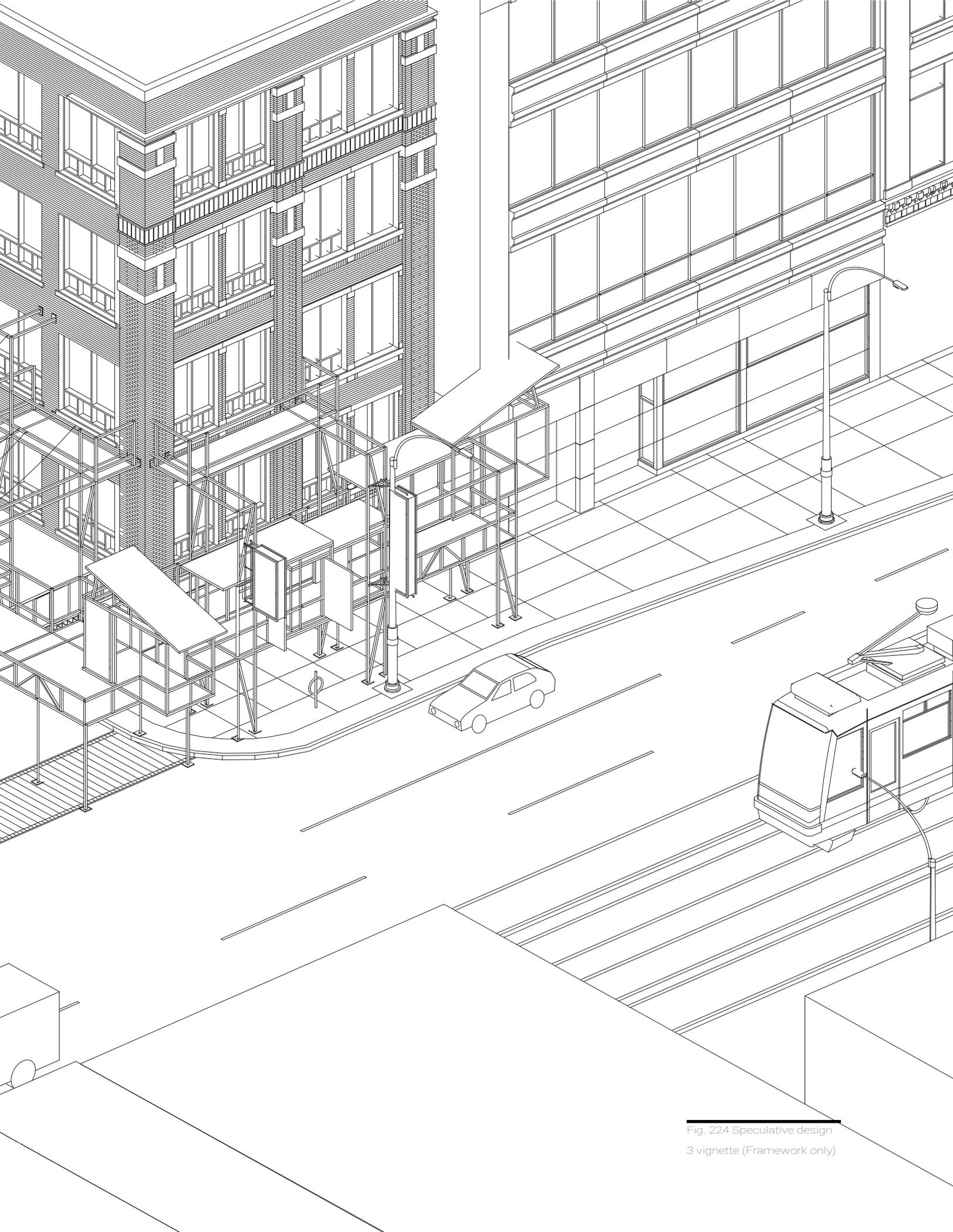


Fig. 224 Speculative design
3 vignette (Framework only)

PART 04 // CONCLUSION

By developing these spatial typologies and creating these frameworks that are uniquely tied to the behaviours of cultural food spaces and architectural practices from Taiwan, it can help revitalize the space and fight back against the development pressures of Toronto allowing locals and visitors to experience the cultural food spaces Toronto's Chinatown has to offer.

The aim of the thesis was never meant to actuate a design proposal but to reveal the hidden complexities within ethnic minority communities through struggles of the community's identity, culture, and food practices. By understanding conflicts within mainstream culture and society where architectural food practices can be seen as clear differences, it is important to advocate and bring voice to such communities so that they are able to maintain their individual identity of place. How we express these identities within the city can be challenging however, it reveals a community's relationship and connection to place. History has shown us how colonial appropriation can drastically alter the cultural landscape whether it is locally or abroad. These modes of appropriation can often lead to cultural differences and conflicts due to restrictions of social practices let alone food practices. Whether this thesis achieved to highlight these barriers, it is important to understand these complexities within a displaced community. By understanding diversity within ethnic minority groups of people, it adds vibrancy and uniqueness within the urban context of the cityscape.

//APPENDIX

//Performative Film: Navigating The Immigrant Vernacular: A Spatial Archive of Dumplings

YouTube Link: <https://youtu.be/KpE1rMp4OgM>

Film is a powerful medium within our culture today. The narrative and representational aspects of film allow viewers to understand the hidden complexities of these stories. Such stories such as the film "Navigating The Immigrant Vernacular; A Spatial Archive of Dumplings," (which was filmed and edited during the semester prior to my thesis year) allowed individuals to fully participate the experience in which immigrants encounter as they navigate through spaces of familiarity and unfamiliarity.

"Without feeling a full participant in society who is able to access all that is offered to locally-born residents, it is difficult for immigrants to feel at home, welcomed, or valued and be able to integrate into and contribute to the society"

Like the background of this thesis, the initial inspiration of the thesis was drawn from a personal exploration; a performative piece that highlighted my family's generational experience as an immigrant to Canada. It was a study on identifying conditions of Black Flight however, during that studio semester, I was specifically interested in looking at conditions of Black Flight within my cultural background. The film was not intended to solely showcase the process of how dumplings are made but using text, sonics and visual illustrations, the film, as a performance explored a personal exploration of the Chinese immigrant vernaculars and identifies not only the nuances of migration through food but an understanding of family histories, how traditions are shared and the spatial transitions from the known to the unknown.

// GLOSSARY

Ban Mian // 板麵 (Egg Noodle Soup) is a popular Chinese noodle dish that consists of egg noodles served in a flavourful soup, often with some type of meat or fish, vegetables and various spices. Dried anchovies, minced pork, mushrooms, and leafy vegetables such as sweet potato leaves are also possible ingredients served. Traditionally, ban mian are served with egg noodles with a simple fish stock soup base.

Cinavu (pronunciation: chi_na_vu) is a local delicacy introduced from the Rukai Tribe community. It is a steamed leafy wrapped snack with ingredients all locally grown and harvested. Ingredients contains locally grown taro, which is smoked for weeks and grinded into a powdery form, wild boar meat scavenged from the mountain range within the community, and special spice mix that are all wrapped together into an addictive bite-sized roll for steaming.

Community policy in this thesis context refers to the cultural food practices adopted from the research in Taiwan. During a specific time-frame and a specific location of a city, streets are closed, and the entire dedicated city space is transformed into a night market.

Ethnoburb is a suburban community with a notable cluster of a particular ethnic minority population. Although the community may not constitute the majority within the region, it is significant number. Ethnoburbs allow for ethnic minority communities to maintain their individual identity, but that may also restrict their ability to fully assimilate into mainstream culture and society.

Gua Bao // 割包 (Pork Belly Buns) also known as pork belly buns is a succulent portable delight. It consists of a slice of stewed meat and condiments sandwiched between a flat steamed bread. Can be seen as an Asian taco, a traditional gua bao is a taco like bun or bread wrapped with a slice of red-cooked pork belly, typically dressed in stir-fried pickled mustard greens, and topped with coriander and ground peanuts.

Japonicas or Japonica rice sometimes called sinica rice, is one of the two major domestic types of Asian rice varieties. Originated from Central China, Japonica rice is extensively cultivated and consumed in East Asia. Characteristics of Japonica rice grains can be seen as rounder, thicker, and harder compared to longer, thinner, and fluffier indica rice grains. Japonica rice is also stickier due to the higher content of amylopectin in comparison to the starch content of indica rice which consists of less amylopectin and more amylose.

Kuomintang (KMT) // 國民黨 also referred to as the Guomindang (GMD) or the Chinese Nationalist Party is a major political party in the Republic of China throughout its historical periods in both the mainland China and Taiwan. It was the dominant ruling party of the Republic of China on the mainland from 1928 to 1949 until the party was forced to exile from the mainland due to its defeat in the Chinese Civil War. It retained its authoritarian rule over Taiwan until democratic reforms were enacted in the 1990s.

Lei Cha // 擂茶 (Pounded/Ground Tea) or ground tea is a traditional Southern Chinese tea-based beverage that comes from Hakka cuisine. Lei cha is also very traditional among Hunanese people in Northern parts of Hunan Province of Mainland China however, it is to note that there are differences between Hakka Lei cha and Hunan Lei cha. Lei cha is often served alongside a main dish for lunch or dinner.

Mi Fen // 米粉 (Rice Vermicelli) is a thin type of noodle. It is often referred to as rice noodles made from mung bean starch or rice starch rather than rice grains. Rice vermicelli is a part of several Asian cuisines often eaten as part of a soup dish, stir-fry, or salad. Taiwanese fried rice vermicelli is a stir-fry cooked with other ingredients which includes sliced pork, dried shrimps, and carrots.

Min Nan // 閩南 (Min Chinese) is a group of linguistically similar and historically related to Sinitic languages that form a branch of Min Chinese spoken in Fujian (Minnan region). In Taiwan, the variants of Southern Min spoken in Zhejiang province are similar to the three Fujian variants and are collectively known as Taiwanese (Hokkien). Variants include Minnan Proper under the Quanzhang division, Teochew under the Chaoshan division and Leizhou/Hainanese dialects under the Qiong-Lei division.

Republic of China (ROC) is also known politically as Taiwan.

Southwestern Coastal Plain in this thesis context is the overall geographical region of China of the time. During the seventeenth century in mainland China, there was a power struggle waged between the Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty forcing communities from different provinces and regions to amalgamate to unsettled areas bringing traditional and agricultural practices with them.

Xiao Chi // 小吃 (Street Food Snacks) are street food snacks that are sold in markets at food stalls or small restaurants specializing in one or a few food items. Xiao chi are highly local and in some cases, one city's markets, or even one food stall or restaurant, can become famous for their food specialty. Night markets are especially known spaces where these specialty food items are sold. Sometimes they are served as take-out or sometimes served on the side of the road with small tables and stools for seating. Xiao chi is an important integral part of Chinese and Taiwanese food practices

Xiamen // 廈門 (Xiamen Chinese) is provincial city in southeastern Fujian province. As a historical context, the area was largely bypassed by the Qin and Han conquests and colonization of Guangdong in mainland China. During the Qing and the early 20th century, many southern Fujianese emigrated to Taiwan and Southeast Asia spreading Hokkien language and culture overseas.

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Fig 4. Communal family dining table

Fig 5. Various delicious chinese dishes (dim sum)

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Fig 6. Typical Taiwan urban infrastructure

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Fig 7. Aerial View of Taiwan, Taipei

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Fig 10. Rukai and Paiwan Indigenous tribe festivities

Fig 11. Rukai and Paiwan Indigenous tribe festivities

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Fig 14. Governor Kenjiroo who executed the assimilation policy

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Fig 15. Portrait of Rukai Cheif during the Japanese rule

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Fig 17. Map of Keelung city “Peace of Land” (1667)

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Fig 18. Battle of Fort San Salvador in Keelung (1642)

Fig 19. Spanish & Dutch areas of influence in Taiwan

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Fig 20. Sugar cane factory

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Fig 22. Agricultural infrastructure; rice fields

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Fig 24. Zheng Cheon-Gong (Koxinga) besieged the Dutch at Fort Zeelandia

Siege of Fort Zeelandia. n.d. Wikipedia. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/01/Surrender_of_Zeelandia.jpg.

Fig 25. Indigenous communities fighting back Japan invaders

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