

## Article

# Founding Colonial Japanese Police Station To Contemporary Cultural and Creative Center (1896–2015)

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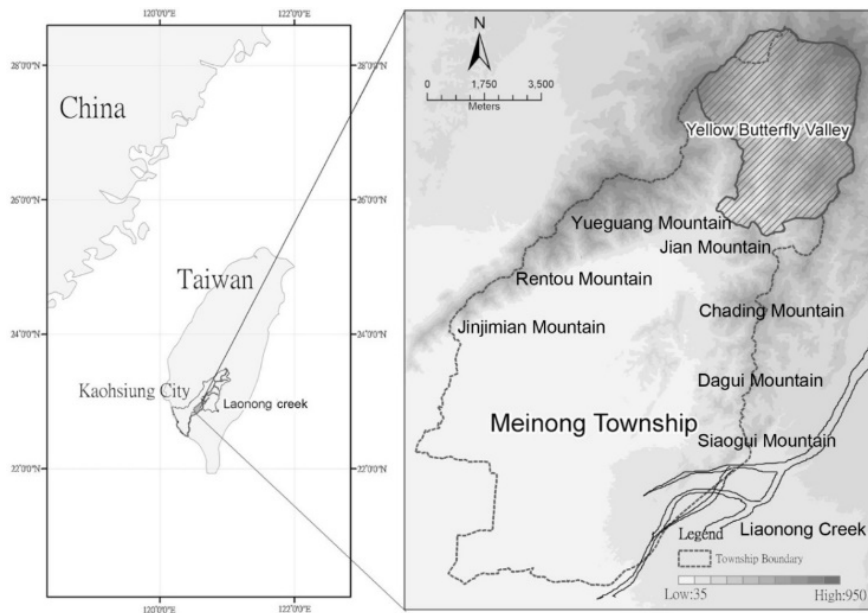
**Abstract:** We explore the founding and transformation of a historical building, a police station, during the Japanese occupation of Meinong, a Hakka gathering located in southern Taiwan. We focus on the construction process of transformation from an expropriating residential space into rebuilding a formal public office into remodeling for a popular cultural and creative center, which has gone through for over a century. The police station has undergone a total of five architectural form changes. First, it was established under the control of colonial governance three times, but it has been empty since the colonial factors disappeared. Secondly, the new government built another police station in front of it. Subsequently, with the preservation policy of historical buildings, the colonial police station was restored and reused. Through literature inquiry and the transformation process of architectural form and the political and historical aspects of that process, it is demonstrated how the migratory police bureaucracy was established from strange management during the period of Japanese occupation (1895–1945) to a formal police mechanism. Finally, it flourished within a popular culture with new values through historic preservation and reuse policy.

**Keywords:** Meinong police station, Japanese colonial period, Founding and transformation, Cultural and creative center

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Hakka Township of Meinong

Meinong is one of the thirty-eight districts in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, known for its well-preserved Hakka (kejia 客家) culture.<sup>1</sup> The township is surrounded by mountains and rivers with Yueguang Mountain, Rentou Mountain, and Jinjiamian Mountain along the northwest side, Jian Mountain, Chading Mountain, Dagui Mountain, and Siaogui Mountain on the northeast, the Laonong Creek on the south, and Meinong Creek, Youzilin Creek and Qiangziliao Creek cutting through the middle in a serene area about 42 km from central Kaohsiung (Fig. 1). The place is a typical agricultural community with its population comprised mainly of Hakka people.<sup>2</sup> Due to its relatively isolated geographical location which has effectively kept Meinong away from the mainstream Fujianese (minnan 閩南) culture influence,<sup>3</sup> Meinong has preserved most of its indigenous heritage and tradition in comparison with other major Hakka settlements in Taiwan. The place was selected by the Tourism Bureau as one of the top ten towns for tourism in Taiwan with its beautiful landscapes, sustainable environment, and authentic Hakka cultural preservation. In 2012, Meinong was also accredited a bronze medal by the International Awards for Liveable Communities for its effective use of natural resources and the good quality of life in its community (Chan, 2012).



**Fig. 1** Location and topography of Meinong, Kaohsiung. Source: modified after Bor-Wen Tsai et al., “Evaluation of PPGIS Empowerment: A Case Study of Meinong Yellow Butterfly Valley in Taiwan”, *Journal of Environmental Management*, 116 (2013), 206.

As a place of “good mountains and good water” (haoshan haoshui 好山好水),<sup>4</sup> the forerunners of the Meinong district had strived for a long way to protect their land, water, and resource revenues as well as to earn their integrity and maintain their cultural identity during the first fifty years of their settlement. They joined the so-called Six Units (liudui 六堆) confederation with other Hakka communities from southern Taiwan to form a mutual defense system and battle against the Fujianese migrants and the aboriginal tribes with the sole purpose of protecting their community framework.<sup>5</sup> The commanding center of this militia unit (tuanlian 團練) was often deemed to be located at the most powerful and revered person’s place, in this case, the Lin family. Hence, Lin’s courtyard house had become the training ground for martial arts practicing and the information gathering center of this Hakka community, that is, a military facility, an intelligence liaison unit, and a representative symbol of power and authority for a few decades (Fig. 2).



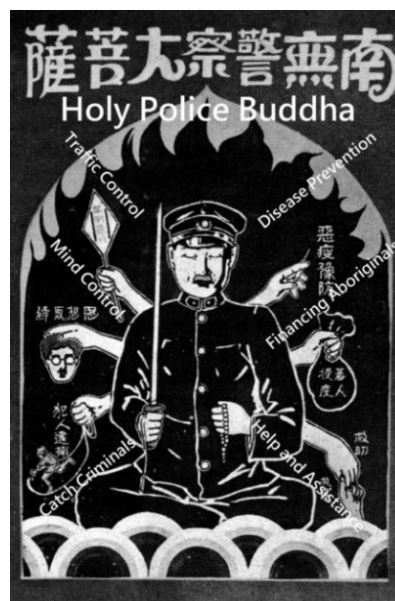
**Fig. 2.** Stone tablet, which used to be erected in Lin’s courtyard, signifying Lin’s merit rewards over certain rebellion forces, was also a spiritual endeavor to the Hakka militia unit. (Source: photograph by Min-Chia Young, 2012)

Lin's family included the chief commanding officer Lin Fengshan and deputy commanding officer Lin Guishan of the Six Units defending forces, who earned their reputation in the war against the Wu Fushen Rebellion, and were responsible for leading the first Hakka settlement into Meinong (nowadays the area of the Middle Village) and established the first communication link, Yongan Road, between households in 1736 (Wu, 2009). After settling at Meinong, Lin's family had become the Chief Executive (zongli 總理) for four generations, and their courtyard house had remained the commanding center, fighting against external invasions and helping other Hakka communities to build up their space and place until the landing of an alien force, the Japanese army.<sup>6</sup>

Following the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ceded Liaodong Peninsula, Penghu, and Taiwan to Japan in 1895, the new colonial ruler soon encountered a myriad of armed resistance from guerilla bands led by a congeries of prominent civilians, criminals, and outcasts all over Chinese mainland and peninsulas (Lamley, 2007). From 1895 to 1902, there were over eight thousand confrontations between the Chinese and the Japanese forces (Chou, 1989).<sup>7</sup> The seizure of Meinong was no exception. The Japanese were challenged by the opposing forces led by Zeng Rongxiang and Song Shousi at the East Gate Tower (dongmen chenglou 東門城樓) before entering the township (Meinong zhenzhi bianji weiyuan hui, 1997). However, the confrontation did not take long. The challengers were soon neutralized by the Japanese authority with brutal forces. Harsh disciplines and punishments were superimposed on the enslaved villagers by the alien ruler in order to gain full control of these lesser human beings (erdeng gongmin 二等公民) (Lee, 2011).<sup>8</sup> The township's first law enforcement office was thus installed at Liu's courtyard house near the East Gate Tower to assert the absolute power of the new regime. To further enhance the extreme dominance and control of this law enforcement unit, that is, a police station, an extra installment was placed right next to it, namely an execution square.

### 1.2. Sacred and Profane

To most Taiwanese, the image of the Japanese police officer was like a watchtower in the darkness or a Holy Buddha (namo da pusa 南無大菩薩) who sits aloft, with the world spread out below for his inspection (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> The omnipotent and omnipresent police officer during the colonial period, to certain extent, was deified by the Taiwanese citizens who were terrified by the imperial Japanese military, medicine, and scientific innovations, which simultaneously deprived and empowered their rights, needs, and privileges.<sup>10</sup> That is to say, with the help of modern technologies, the Japanese police played a decisive role in assisting the colonial government in its management of various administrative works. These movements and activities, to an extent, permeated all aspects of the Taiwanese community as well as their daily life.<sup>11</sup> The dominance and control of the community watch system were like Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, which served as a form of a surveillance system with discipline and punishment, constantly exerted its mechanism of power in the form of public torture, making sure that the villagers being observed, controlled and contained at any moment without excessive forces.<sup>12</sup> In the eyes of the Taiwanese petty bourgeois, these miraculous deeds could only be the deeds of a divine being, that is, their lord.



**Fig. 3.** Image titled the Holy Police Buddha depicted the omnipotent and omnipresent nature of the colonial police Source: Lai He, "Re shi" (Trouble Making), in *Xiaoshuo qingchun duben* (Popular Youth Fictions), ed. Zhang Shuqing (Taipei: Yuanliu chuban she, 2005), 39.

Therefore, the colonial police officer became the only lord (daren 大人). Most Taiwanese Qing officials or rulers had never laid their feet on this petty island (Chen, 2002). This omnipresent lord was like an extension of the sovereign's body adored, revered, and feared in the Taiwanese popular culture. He could easily detect and correct a layman's "misbehaviors" from randomly generated ideas and arguments, such as the accusation of "the vendor's scale was inaccurate" (Lai, 2000), the assertion of "the ox cart was for transporting goods not for carrying people" (Lu, 2006), or the compulsion of "a permit is needed for catching fishes from the creeks nearby" (Yang, 2000). All of which were invented or perfected under the dominance and affection of the mighty lawman. To a certain extent, this "Holy Majesty" could even do his jobs at his preferences, that is, with excessive forces and without any excuses at all.

The demarcation of the sacred and profane became obvious when excessive power was superimposed to reduce a human's awareness of himself/herself, and as such he/she could easily be manipulated and exploited by the dominating part at will. Therefore, it became a perfect excuse for a police officer to trash ignorance and innocence, decent conduct to slap a panicked child from crying, and a righteous act to deny any misconduct of the superior part (Lai, 2000). Overall, the Japanese built a Police Empire in Taiwan with the Lord Police (jingcha daren 警察大人) as the sole representative of power and authority. He was the lord, the role model, and a civilized one as well. The rest were merely lesser human beings or barbarians who needed to be tamed.<sup>13</sup> The impact of the police as a monarch, a dictator, and a scoundrel had even furthered the first few decades of the Republic of China, when the best way to stop children from screaming and crying was to tell them that "the police is coming" (Ye, 2010).<sup>14</sup>

## 2. Materials and Methods

We conducted investigation and research in the way of literature review and analysis. Related texts published between 1895 and 2013 were analyzed, too. The review involves the correlation between time (epoch), local events, and the police system in the Japanese colonial period. Based on the result, we aim to understand the idea of the police system during the Japanese colonial period and the location, method, and spatial content of the police station. Therefore, we present the reconstruction process of the building and understand its historical significance of the building.

The topics selected for this phase of research include the following.

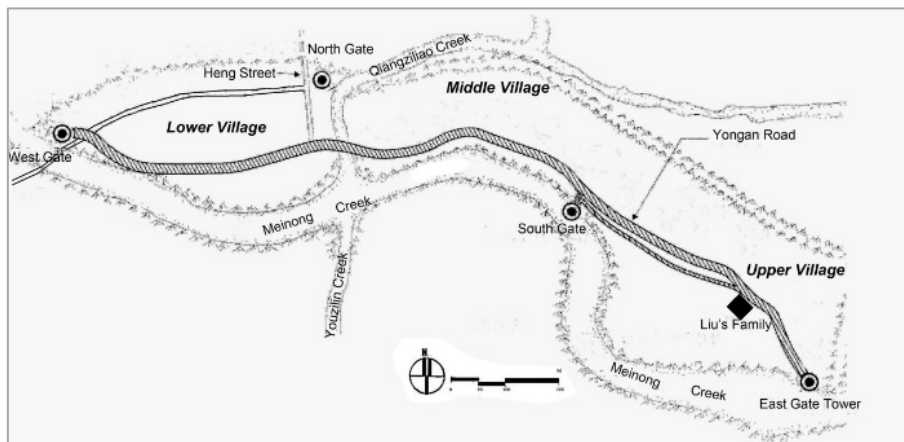
- (1) Oral history
- (2) Method of obtaining construction land
- (3) Local supervision and governance
- (4) Japanese colonial police system
- (5) Architectural drawing
- (6) Building preservation and reuse

Finally, we present the preservative process of building and transforming the building into a local cultural and creative center.

## 3. Results

### 3.1. First Police Station: Folk House

Meinong's first installation of a police station was performed in 1896 (Taiwan zongdu fu gongwen leizuan, 1906). The act was a borrowing, a lease contract between the Japanese and Liu's family, in which Liu agreed to lend parts of his courtyard house to the Japanese as their police headquarters. The borrowing was a symbolic act. First, Liu's place was close to the East Gate Tower, where the Japanese entered Meinong after a victory over the defending forces (Fig. 4). Second, Liu's family was the first one that summoned and brought all the villagers together, surrendering to the Japanese army in goodwill at the intersection between Yongan Road and East Gate Tower.<sup>15</sup> As the wealthiest and most influential family at that time, Liu's courtyard house was magnificently constructed and the most recognizable one. Hence, the borrowing was both the recognition of Japanese supremacy and the endorsement between the rule and the ruled. The act is also a reflection, a gesture of the Japanese righteous act and humaneness. That is, they did not take the whole house. Instead, it was a borrowing, a partial renting to return it though in the name of "wuchang 無償" (free of charge).



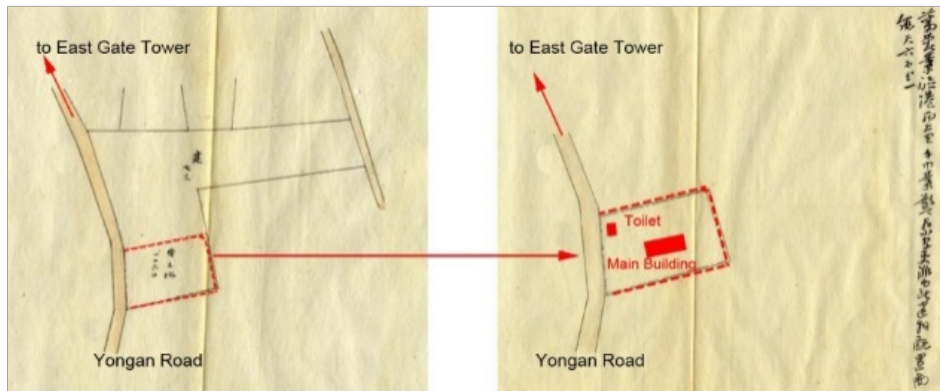
**Fig. 4.** Yongan Road and its relation with the four directional defending gates. Source: modified after Li Yun-Pei, “Qingmo zhi rizhi shiqi meinong juluo renwei huanjing zhi yanjiu” (The Study of the Built Environment of Mei Nung Settlement, South Taiwan, during the Period of Late Ching Dynasty to Japanese Occupancy), (Master diss., Chung Yuan Christian University, 1989), 57.

Liu’s house was situated on the upper part of Yongan Road, the main access to the Meinong district from the east to the west. During the first few years of the Japanese rule, Yongan Road was the only and major communication between the Upper Village (shangzhuang), Middle Village (zhongzhuang), and Lower Village (xiazhuang). The initial lease was a ninety-nine years agreement between Liu and the Japanese army, in which part of the courtyard house would be marked and run as the police department. This was the time when the Japanese army, military police, and civil police joined forces to take full control of the township politically and economically.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, other than the police station in the Upper Village, there were also administrative offices in the Middle Village and Lower Village to impose, monitor, and assure the martial law could function effectively.<sup>17</sup>

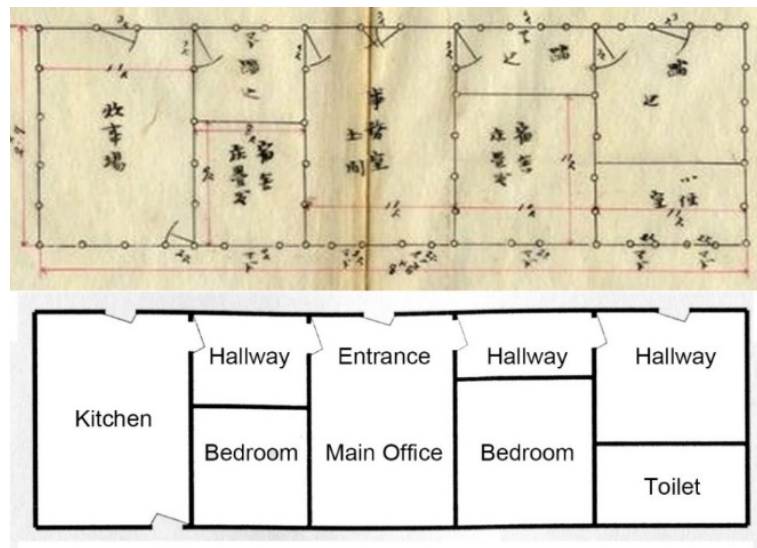
In 1898, the Taiwan Governor-General Office (taiwan zongdu fu 台灣總督府), the highest authority in colonial Taiwan, issued a Colonial Police Services Regulation to cope with the existing community-based law enforcement system named “baojia 保甲” (neighborhood watch) to bring in additional manpower to handle the increasing civil works (Meinong zhenzhi bianji weiyuan hui, 1997). The integration of the Baojia system into the colonial bureaucracy enhanced and expanded the power of the colonial police forces over the existing army-police joint force system, which often resulted in conflict and tension between the two (Hong, 1992). The new integration recognized the importance of the relationship between the community and the police services in maintaining peace and order during wartime. It introduced the “letting the Han Chinese govern the Han Chinese” (yi han zi han 以漢制漢) policy, reforming the old neighborhood watch system, which had the selected household deputies to protect the villagers. Instead, the new installment had the deputy (jiazhang 甲長) and the deputy chief or headman (baozheng 保正) watch and monitor every move of the villagers, and report it back to the police station (Meinong zhenzhi bianji weiyuan hui, 1997).<sup>18</sup> This was an act that most Chinese would rather die than try, hence, the positions were often handed to some ruthless or cowardly Chinese, especially those wealthy peasants or gentry landlords.<sup>19</sup>

The refurbished system then coined a legal supplementary agency named Baojia Bureau (baojia ju 保甲局) with a Director (baojia juzhang 保甲局長) in charge of the communication between the Taiwanese and the Japanese. These regulations focused on the application of the rule of collective responsibility following various degrees of punishment and reward (Chen, 1975). Each household was charged with the responsibility of “watching” his neighborhood to ensure the system’s functioning and to avoid any trouble arising. The use of “the Han Chinese governing the Han Chinese” proved to be functioning well and had since played an important role in maintaining the community’s stability under the eyes of the Japanese police jurisdiction. It not only successfully minimized the Japanese manpower in the colonial governing works but also effectively pacified the local dissidents and the continuing anti-Japanese activities, that is, in Japanese words, dohi 土匪 (bandit).<sup>20</sup>

During the first few years, the police department in Meinong had executed a number of the so-called “bandits” at the execution square in front of the public. The Liu family and the surrounding neighbors were terrified by these endless nightmares. They soon decided to seek a new place in the Middle and Lower Villages to move into.<sup>21</sup> The Japanese seemed to be quite content with this result. They then signed another agreement with Liu to borrow an adjacent lot from his property (Fig. 5). The new contract allowed the Japanese to own the spot for ninety-nine years without charge and agreed to grant them the right to construct a new building upon it (Taiwan zongdu fu, 1906). The new building was developed under the principle of “office with official residence” with the spatial dispersion of the main office centered to the entrance and two residential units adjacent to both wings (Fig. 6).<sup>22</sup>



**Fig. 5.** Allocation of Meinong’s first police station in 1900. Source: modified after Taiwan zongdu fu gongwen leizuan (The Archives of Taiwan Governor-General’s Office), 4965, No. 7 (1906).



**Fig. 6.** Spatial dispersion of the police station in 1900. Source: modified and redrawn after Taiwan zongdu fu gongwen leizuan (1906). 4965 (7).

In 1902, the Baojia Bureau was abolished due to the ceasing of bandit movements, the lack of official funding, and the need to neutralize the power of the rich and the famous (Hong, 1992). The Taiwan Governor-General Office decided to remove the bureau but kept the system running. That is, the Director was no longer in charge, instead, more focus was placed on the headmen, who took no remuneration for their work under the strict guidelines of the Japanese Police Sergeant (*junsa bucho* 巡查部長). The new regulation heavily increased the power of the headmen, making them part of the Japanese policing forces, shifting between the native and the alien authorities.

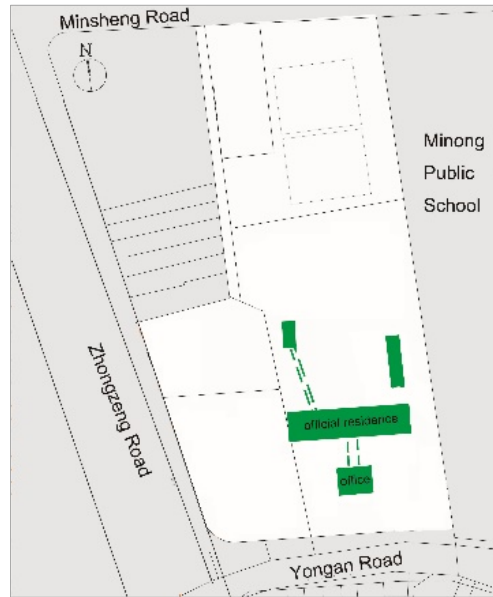
When the confrontation between the Japanese and the native forces became less intense, the Japanese further utilized this satisfactory household registration as a valuable auxiliary administrative organ, improving sanitary conditions, collecting taxes, and supplementing agricultural organizations through the help of local police station to “civilize” the villagers (Chen, 1975).<sup>23</sup> When the Upper Village gradually failed to serve as an avenue of communication and transportation center due to the constant flooding and gradual closure of Meinong Creek, the Japanese started to seek a better place to relocate their law enforcement center to further impose their reforms. The Middle Village soon became the ideal venue for their pursuit, especially the intersection between Yongan Road and Zhongzheng Road, where the “three creeks” (*sanqiashui* 三治水) met, a perfect place for the new police station (Figure 7).<sup>24</sup>



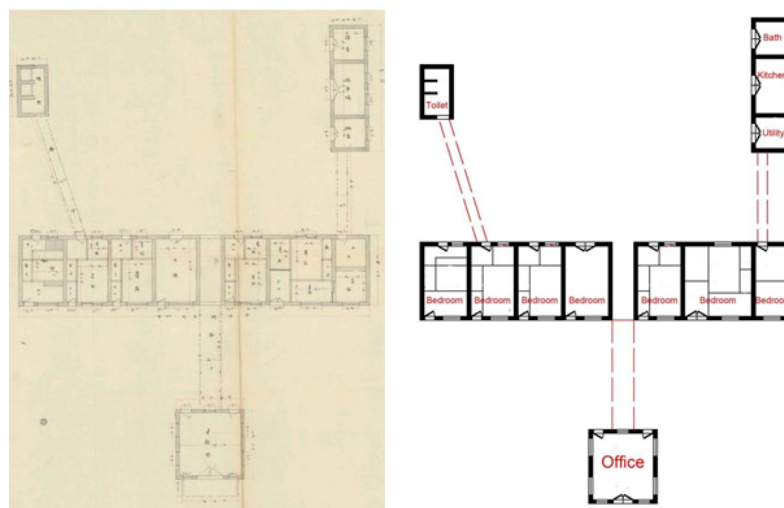
**Fig. 7.** Location of the police station in the Middle Village. Source: modified after Ni Pei-Chun, “Cong chuantong juluo fazhan tantao dushi jihua zhi yinying duice yi meinong yongan juluo weili” (A Study on the Strategies for the Urban Plan from the Traditional Settlement Development of Yongan Settlement in Mei Nung), (Master diss., National Cheng Kung University, 2008), 41.

### 3.2 Second Police Station: Meinong Police Official Substation

The new Japanese police station was located in the Middle Village. It was another borrowing from two local gentries, this time, the Lin and Liao families. Geographically, the place stood at the highest point of the village, where the impact of Meinong Creek’s flooding could be minimized. Historically, the place used to be the commanding center of Meinong’s militia unit since the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), a symbolic representation of the power and authority of this township. Hence, the recruitment was obvious a social and political agenda, as the Japanese were eager to create and exhibit their supreme power over the native ones. The second police station was named Minong Police Official Substation (minong jingcha guanli paichusuo 瀾濃警察官吏派出所).<sup>25</sup> It was constructed under the guidelines of the “office separated from official residence” (shiwushi yu susedong fenli 事務室與宿舍棟分離), an origin from the Japanese rural area, having the public area distinguished from the private one (Cai, 2008) (Fig. 8). That is, the office building was the main structure, and the façade of the police station, facing the entry area with the residential units stood behind it. All bedrooms had the axis of their main access parallel to the office, and the toilet, bathroom, kitchen, and utility room were assigned to the rear quarter of the residential building on both wings (Fig. 9). To the Japanese, the necessity of separating the working and living spaces was apparent, as the police station, ideologically, a symbol of power and authority, could only deal with things that were law abiding on the table, but the residential units, ideally, a more private and secure place, could engage with things that needed to be done under the table.



**Fig. 8.** Allocation and spatial arrangement of Meinong’s second police station in 1906. Source: modified and redrawn after Taiwan zongdu fu gongwen leizuan (The Archives of Taiwan Governor-General’s Office), 4965, No. 7 (1906).



**Fig. 9.** Spatial dispersion of Meinong’s second police station in 1906. Source: modified and redrawn after Taiwan zongdu fu (1906). 4965(7).

By this time, the police system throughout Meinong had taken form and remained intact throughout Japanese rule. Especially the neighborhood watch system, which served as a powerful instrument for administrative management, was deemed to be the most effective practice for the Japanese to carry out sanctions when the Chinese refused to comply. That is to say, despite the usual duties the Baojia officers were required to perform, they needed to cooperate with the Police Sergeant to ensure that both parties’ interests were taken into consideration: interests that could only be discussed in the residential unit and could only be claimed when the inferior party could be granted with proper official titles (Cai, 2008). Therefore, there was a significant increase in the number of bedrooms in the second police residential unit due to the increasing civil police work. Selected residents were recruited to assist the building of Japan’s colonial empire with official titles. One room, in particular, without a partitioning layout named “earth floor” (toma 土間) was designated for the Chinese patrolmen (junsu 巡查) to cope with their culture and to ensure their mobility (Jiu, 1939). However, due to the lack of sufficient findings and supporting evidence, it is still uncertain whether this Japanese law enforcement building was a refurbished unit from Lin’s courtyard house or a newly built one. An image of a Meinong police station has been widely circulated and recognized as the sole Japanese colonial police station in Meinong (Fig. 10).

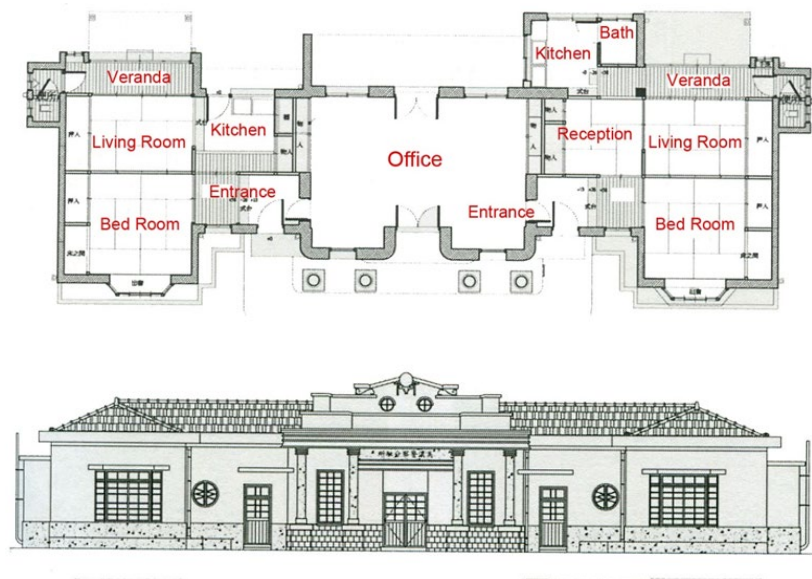




**Fig. 10.** Once mistakenly recognized as the only Japanese police station in Meinong was actually the third installation of the colonial law enforcement. Source: Meinong zhenzhi bianji weiyuan hui, Meinong zhenzhi (The Gazetteers of Meinong), (Meinong: Meinong zhengong suo, 1997), 1153.

### 3.3 Third Police Station: Meinong Police Official Station

The third installation of the Meinong police station was occurred in 1933 due to the deterioration, rotting, and termite infestation of the original building. Under the influence of Police Sergeant Hayakawa, who claimed the worsening situation could have a potential impact on the image of Meinong and jeopardize the development of the township, the Village Chief Lin Engui and other key community members thus raised thirteen thousand dollars to rebuild a brand new “office with official residence” police station with fire safety and fighting equipment at the front, and an official residence added at the back (Yoshida, 1933) (Fig. 11). The station was renamed as Meinong Police Official Substation (meinong jingcha guanli paichusuo) at the Japanese disposal.<sup>26</sup>



**Fig. 11.** Reconstruction of the front elevation and floor plan of Meinong’s third police station. Source: courtesy of Liu Jiazhen.

The new police station was a Japanese-style (*dongyang* 東洋) one, which had splendid western architectural motifs and elements harmoniously in concrete, stucco, and paint.<sup>27</sup> Four Doric columns were proportioned upon a high stone terrace on the sheer front side of the entrance. Two circular dormer windows were installed in the pediment of the gable, centering to the frieze and architrave in contrast to the perpendicular windows and door panels below. The building largely increased the proportion of the office space with Baroque decorations and an arcaded façade, making it the focal point of the small community (Meinong, 1997). According to Reporter Yoshida Tokizo (1933), the building of the police station was a symbolic gesture to the Police Sergeant Hayakawa from the villagers who chose to express their gratitude and support for the sergeant’s leadership. At a time when the township’s financial crisis was multiplying, the gesture could not but be interpreted as a sign of a growing awareness of the need to comply with the Japanese rule to ensure the institutional framework of the community remained intact.

### 3.4. Fourth Police Station: Existing Meinong Police Official Station

The fourth installation of Meinong’s police station was a concrete and brick two-story building completed in 1984 under the government of the Republic of China (1945–present) (Fig. 12). The original plan was to demolish the Japanese one and have a brand-new law enforcement unit erected to distinguish the old and the new regimes. It ended up having the station constructed right in front of the colonial one due to the lack of funding as well as the voice coming out from the community, which argued that the station was the only cultural heritage and historical building in Meinong to have survived from the wanton destruction of the so-called modernization and globalization (Fig. 13).



**Fig. 12.** Comparison of the third police station (left) and the fourth installation erected in front of it (right). Source: Meinong zhenzhi, p. 1153 .



**Fig. 13.** Fourth police station (left) was constructed right in front of the entry columns of the third one.

### 3.5. Review of Research Results: Founding and Transformation of a Colonial Japanese Police Station

The study of the historical development of the Meinong police station demonstrated that novel things were assimilated into an existing system. The assimilation of the Qing Baojia neighborhood watch scheme into the Japanese police system was a process of modern surveillance techniques and domestic intelligence networks to restore law and reinforce order when the relationship between the ruler and the ruled had been challenged. This implementation was obvious to the area alongside the Yongan Road, the major communication and transportation sector of the Meinong township, especially in the section of the Middle Village, where Yongan and Zhongzheng Road intersect. This is the initiation of the Hakka settlement in Meinong as well as the generation of a succeeding commercial and political center. It witnesses the change and transformation of alien law enforcement through three different styles in three different times and spaces (Fig. 14). The overlapping of time and space, ranging from the Manchu-ruled Qing dynasty to the Japanese colonial period, and then to the Republic of China for a total of more than a century, have turned this place from secular to sacred, and into a cultural heritage as a valuable asset for the people of Meinong historically and psychologically.

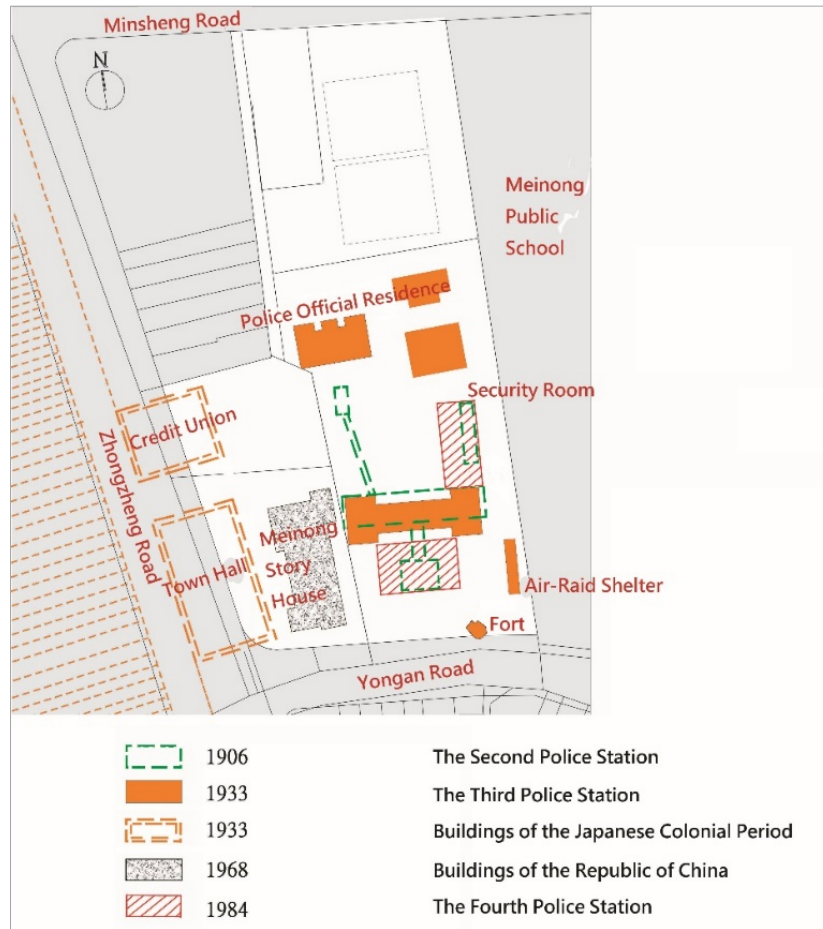


Fig. 14. Allocation and spatial arrangement of Meinong’s second police station in 1906. Source: modified and redrawn after Taiwan zongdu fu gongwen leizuan (The Archives of Taiwan Governor-General’s Office), 4965, No. 7 (1906).

#### 4. Transform into Meinong Cultural and Creative Center

The police station was named Meinong Police Substation (meinong jingcha fenzhusuo 美濃警察分駐所) to cope with the concurring police system under the Ministry of the Interior. It was located in the midtown of Meinong, where Yongan Road and Zhongzheng Road intersected, that is, the heart of the township’s economic and political center close to the town hall, official residence, credit unions, markets, post office, and schools. The building had only been in service for over thirty years when Kaohsiung City and the surrounding county merged in 2010, and a larger space was needed to handle the cumulating civil and transportation constructions. After a year’s environmental assessments and administrative reviews, the Hakka Affairs Council in Kaohsiung secured funding to launch a project named “the Historical Space and Environmental Landscape Design and Construction of the Middle Village, Meinong District” (meinongqu zhongzhuang linshi kongjian huanjing jingguan zhengti guihua sheji ji gongcheng 美濃區中歷史空間環境景觀整體規劃設計暨工程) to rework on the planning and development of this memorable landmark, focusing on the restoration of the Japanese colonial police station and the renovation of the official residence behind.

The first schedule of the design construction was executed on 10 August 2012, which relocated the current police force into the Council of Meinong Representatives (meinong zhenmin daibiao hui 美濃鎮民代表會) for a much more suitable space to work on. The second stage was to demolish the concrete and brick building in front of the Japanese colonial police station. The demolition began on 31 October 2013 and was completed at the end of the same year. On 3 January 2014, the Hakka Affairs Council of Kaohsiung held a press conference, inviting the locals, county officials, and the county’s cultural and historical workers to participate and witness the initiation of the restoration and renovation project, ushering in a new era of Meinong’s historical development (Fig. 15).



Fig. 15. Revealing of the Japanese colonial police station after the demolition. Source: Xu, B. (2014). *Meinong rishi paichusuo xiufu: fenghua zaixian*. *Minzhong ribao*, p.A02.

It has become the local cultural and creative center of Meinong . It organized seasonal cultural and creative exhibitions and special experiences with literature, art and music as the main axis. activity. This old Meinong police station was officially opened and transformed into a "Meinong Cultural and Creative Center". It is currently managed by "Love Hope Foundation" (薛伯輝基金會). The business contents include architecture, art, and food. It has become a local leisure place and a tourist service center (Fig. 16).



Fig. 16. Meinong Cultural and Creative Center and the indoor activities.

## 5. Conclusions

We present a process of investigation, preservation, and reuse of a historical building and explore the history of the construction of the Mino police station. There were four reconstructions, including renting an existing residential house, building an additional building after adjustment, and building a new government office. At the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the police station started using the old houses of the Qing Dynasty, and a new one was built and gradually adjusted the development pattern. In the Republic of China, another police station was built next to each other. Finally, under the concept of preserving historical buildings, the fourth Meinong police station was demolished to build the third Meinong police station, which was restored to become the Meinong cultural and creative center. Although the restoration and renovation project of the Meinong Japanese police station and official residence was accompanied by the re-design, reconstruction, and re-landscaping, the ultimate goal is to provide a comfortable environment for the residents to engage in and experience the development of their community. This development nevertheless bears certain social and cultural responsibility to the small community. The restoration of the Japanese police station is an example, and the image of a ruthless dictator might surface from the colonial-style building. To those who have been through the Japanese rule, the re-erected station becomes a trigger to their unpleasant memories. In terms of the historical aspect of this particular Hakka settlement, the demolishing of the fourth police station creates a gap in the overlapping time and space and then

jeopardizes the wholeness of this memorable place. The concrete and brick building of the Republic of China, though aesthetically unpleasant, needs to be treated as part of the history of the development of this economic and political center. The reluctance to provide an identity of the fourth police installation fails to provide a smooth transition between the Japanese colonial period and the Republic of China, hence, has marked down a period in the everlasting chapter of this enchanting land.

Summary and overview of the Meinong police station, in addition to its long history, special architectural structure, and unique aesthetic form, it also has the process of witnessing the development of settlements in the Meinong area. From the perspective of history, architecture, and settlement history, the significance of the historical development and changes of the Meinong area witnessed by the Meinong police station during the Japanese colonial period has important historical and cultural value.

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## Notes

1. Hakka people are an ethnic group that migrated to Taiwan approximately 300 years ago from southeastern mainland China. They first settled in the Tainan area along with the chief commander of the Ming loyal troops, Zheng Chenggong, who took over Taiwan from the Dutch in 1662 in order to form a countervailing force against the Manchu-ruled Qing dynasty. However, the first Hakka settlement in Meinong was in 1736 led by two brothers named Lin Fengshan and Lin Guishan, see Li Yun-Pei, “Qingmo zhi rizhi shiqi meinong juluo renwei huanjing zhi yanjiu” (The Study of the Built Environment of Mei Nung Settlement, South Taiwan, during the Period of Late Ching Dynasty to Japanese Occupancy), (Master diss., Chung Yuan Christian University, 1989), 14. For detail information about Hakka people and their culture, see Xiao Shenghe, “Yige kejia juluo qu de xingcheng ji qi fazhan: yi gaixiong xian meinong zhen weili” (The Formation and Development of a Hakka Gathering: an Example from Meinong District, Kaohsiung), (Master diss., National Taiwan Normal University, 2004), 4 and Chen Mei-Ju, “Meinong diqu butong shidai de kejia zuqun dui kejia yinshi wenhua de renzhi ji yinshi xingwei shi xiangguan yanjiu” (A Correlation Study among the Different Generations’ Cognition of Hakka Dietary Culture and Eating Pattern of Meinong Area), (Master diss., Tainan University of Technology, 2010), 4-6.
2. According to the Department of Household Registration of Taiwan, the population of Meining in 2011 was 44,889 in which ninety percent was Hakka, see Yang Bi-Fen, “Qaoxiong shi meinong qu juzhu huanjing manyi du yu renkou qianyi guanxi zhi yanjiu” (The Study on the Relation with Satisfaction at Residential Environment and Population Migration in Meinong District in Kaohsiung City), (Master diss., National Pingtung University of Education, 2012), 12 and 15.
3. Before the Hakka settlement, there had already been immigrants from Fujian, who occupied the area around Laonong Creek and Nanzi Xian Creek, see Meinong zhenzhi bianji weiyuan hui, Meinong zhenzhi (The Gazetteers of Meinong), (Meinong: Meinong zhengong suo, 1997), 32.
4. The term “good mountains and good water” was coined in a Meinong Hakka folk song named “Let Us Start Singing Folk Songs” (wodeng jiulai chang shange 我等就来唱山歌), see Li Xuanbin, “Meinong juluo yule shenghuo kongjian zhi yanjiu” (The Studies on the Places of Entertainment and Living Spaces in Meinong: from Rural Theater to Theater), (Master diss., Tainan National University of Arts, 2009), 8.
5. The Six Units, namely, the Right Unit (liudui 右堆), Left Unit (zuodui 左堆), Front Unit (qiandui 前堆), Rear Unit (houdui 後堆), Middle Unit (zhongdui 中堆), Vanguard (xianfengdui 先鋒堆), are from the regions of Hakka settlements in southern Taiwan, mustered for battles over the hostile aboriginal groups living in the foothills and the earlier Fujianese settlements around the central area, see Li Yun-Pei et al., “Kaohsiung xian kejia shehui yu wenhua” (The Hakka Society and Culture in Kaohsiung County) in Kaohsiung xian wenxian congkan (Journal of Kaohsiung County Historica), vol. 9, ed. Xu Zhenguang (Fengshan: Kaohsiung County Government, 1997), 16-17. The aboriginal groups are mainly the Paiwan 排灣 Lukai 魯凱 and the Pinpu 平埔 tribes, for further information about these ethnic groups, see Tung Yu-Shih, “Paiwan zu yu lukai zu tuteng fuhao yixiang zhi tantao ” (A Study of Totems and Symbols in Paiwan and Rukai Tribes), (Master diss., Chung Yuan Christian University, 2013), 3-10 and Shi Zhengfeng, “Pinpu zu yuanzhu minzu shenfen de sangshi yu huifu” (The Loss and Regain of the Pinpu Tribe’s Identity), Taiwan yuanzhuminzu yanjiu xuebao (Journal of the Taiwan Indigenous Studies Association), 2, No. 4 (2012), 113-114.
6. For the successive Chief Executive of Meinong before the Japanese rule, see Qiu Jinhui, “Kaizhuang jin sanbai nian meinong mingxian beichu” (The Three Hundred Years Since Its Settlement: the Rich and Famous in Meinong), Liouduai fengyun (Liouduai Past and Present Magazine), 6 (1989), 27-28. For detail information about the battles against foreign intrusions, see Meinong, Meinong zhenzhi, 39 and 88.

For the definition between place and space, see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 3-7.

7. Over 6000 Taiwanese were killed in the first six months of the Japanese occupation, and as many as 12000 were brutally slain from 1898 to 1902 without due process, see Lamley, "Taiwan under Japanese Rule", 207 and Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 35.
8. During the Japanese rule, the Taiwanese were often regarded as low class inferior being, and were associated with names, such as uncultured people (tumin 土民), humble servant (nucai 奴才) or brute (chusheng 畜生), see Lai He, "Buxing zhi mai youzha kuai de" (The Unfortunate Fried Bread Stick Seller), in *Laihe quanji* (The Complete Works of Lai He), ed. Lin Ruiming (Taipei: Qianwei chuban she, 2000), 7-12.
9. In an Exhibition of Police and Sanitation held in Taipei, 1925, an image of a policeman associated with various powers of Buddha, named "Holy Police Buddha" (namo jingcha da pusa 南無警察大菩薩), was used to describe and show the power and authority of the colonial police. See Chiang Yu-Lin, "Namo jingcha da pusa: rizhi shiqi taipei zhou jingcha weisheng zhanlanhui zhong de jingcha xingxiang" (Buddha Police: the Image of the Police in the Taipei Police and Hygiene Exhibition during the Japanese Colonial Government), 112 (2009), 1-44.
10. Prior to the Japanese colonial period, the living standard of the Taiwanese society was hardly adequate. With the help of modern technologies that the Japanese brought in, the hygiene and environmental health of the Taiwanese communities had significantly improved. In terms of the education system and religious belief, the Japanese colonial government implemented a policy of compulsory primary education as a mechanism for facilitating the colonial control. They also promoted the existing Buddhist religion and adopted certain Taiwanese popular culture, such as having the deities painted in gold, trying to accelerate the assimilation of the Taiwanese culture into the Japanese one. That is to say, the Taiwanese citizens, though were not explicitly content at being colonized by the Japanese, could still acknowledge the miraculous impacts of this "exotic ethnic group". See Tai Wen-Feng, "Huafan weishen: fanzai shen xinyang de kaocha" (The Research of Savages became the Deities Belief of Chinese), (Master diss., National University of Tainan, 2012), 67-78.
11. According to an official police study, the patrolmen in Taiwan spent a total of 459,962 hours or 57,494 days in assisting general administrative works in 1931. See *Taiwan sotokufu keisatsukyoku ed., Taiwan no keisatsu* (The Police in Taiwan), (Taipei: Taiwan sotokufu keisatsukyoku, 1937), 109-115.
12. For the mechanism of the panopticon, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 195-228.
13. The Japanese regarded themselves as the civilized and the Taiwanese as the uncivilized, who could only learn from harsh punishments. Corporal punishment was preferred by the colonial rulers as a term of imprisonment to the Taiwanese was associated with relaxation and pleasure, which meant free labor, free accommodation and free meal. See Chu, "Zhimindi de guixun", 122 and 127. In Li Li's words, the Japanese colonial police system in Taiwan differed significantly from their homeland in its confluence and diversification, making it a centralized administrative and executive body, that is, "Police Monopoly" (jingcha zhengzhi 警察政治), see Li Li, *Riju taiwan shiqi jingcha zhidu yanjiu* (The Study of the Police System during the Japanese Colonial Period), (Taipei: Cross-Strait Academy, 2007), 161.
14. It is worth noting that not all the Japanese colonial police were evil, there were others, who treated the Taiwanese with respect and a kind heart, see Nitt Jun, "Ikezoi no ie" (Home of the Riverside), *Taiwan Shibao* (Taiwan Times), 257 (1941), 131 and Ye, "Cong taiwan rizhi", 202-205.
15. The information was given during an interview with a renowned Hakka culture scholar Huang Sensong on 3 April 2012.
16. It is worth noting that when the Japanese first landed in Taiwan in 1895, there was no police officer in their governing body. The first recruitment of the colonial police officers was held in Japan in September 1895 in which all with military background, see Hong Qiufen, "Riju chuqi taiwan de baojia zhidu" (The Baojia System in the Early Japanese Colonial Taiwan), *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo jikan* (Bulletin of The Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica), 21 (1992), 455-456.
17. The administrative office in Middle Village was located in a rich peasant, Chu's courtyard house and the one in the Lower Village was placed on Heng Street close to Yongan Road, see Meinong, *Meinong zhenzhi*, 93.
18. Initially, the Baojia system requires ten households to form one "jia 甲" with a jiazhang installed, and ten jia for one "bao 保" with a baozheng elected, for detail information about the system, see Ye Ren-Jie, "Cong taiwan rizhi shiqi de hanshi zaitan rizhi jingcha baozheng yu baojia zhi xingxiang" (Discusses Police from the Japanese Rule Time's Taiwan Tradition Poem the Image), *Wenshi taiwan xuebao* (Taiwan Studies in Literature and History), 2 (2010), 213-223 and Hong, "Riju chuqi taiwan", 437-471.
19. To most Taiwanese, working for the Japanese would be regarded as a disgrace and a humiliation to the family; these people were referred to as "three-legged being" (sanjiao zai 三腳仔) as most Taiwanese deemed themselves as a two-legged human being, the Japanese a four-legged dog, and the one who went in between as a three-legged being, see, Zheng Qingwen, "Sanjiao ma" (Trouble Making), in *Xiaoshuo qingchun duben* (Popular Youth Fictions), ed. Lian Cuimog (Taipei: Yuanliu chuban she, 2005), 26 and Lai He, "Wuliao de huiyi" (Bor Memoir), in *Taiwan xinwenxue: laihe xiansheng quanji* (Taiwan New Literature: Lai He), ed. Li Nanheng (Taipei: Mingtan chuban she, 1979), 230 and Chen Jialing, "Riju shiqi taiwan duanpian xiaoshuo zhong de jingcha miaoxie" (The Descriptions of Colonial Policemen in the Taiwanese Novels and Fictions during the Japanese Occupation), (Master diss., National Chengchi University, 2002), 59 and 75. However, it is worth noting that there were also passive resistances among some headmen, who did not take measures to assist the alien forces, see Chen Ching-

- Chih, "The Japanese Adaptation of the Pao-Chia System in Taiwan, 1895-1945", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 34, No. 2 (1975), 407.
20. Most Japanese publications, especially the pre-1945 ones, termed the Taiwanese dissidents as "bandits"; however, most Taiwanese and Chinese writers prefer to use the term "anti-Japanese elements or activities", see Chen, "The Japanese Adaptation of the Pao-Chia", 395, note 30.
  21. The information was based on the interview with Huang Sensong on 3 April 2012.
  22. The residential unit in the "office with official residence" police station is not merely a temporary shelter for the staffs to rest as the ones in Japan. It was specially designed for the Japanese officers, who came all the way from their homeland to the new colony to serve their country. See Tsai Ming-Chih, "Zhimindi jingcha zhi yan: taiwan rizhi shiqi de difang jingcha shehui kongzhi yu kongjian gaizheng zhi lunshu" (The Gaze of Colonial Police on the Colonized: Discourse on the Colonial Police, Social Control and Space Reform in Colonial Taiwan), (PhD diss., National Cheng Kung University, 2008), 99 and 116.
  23. To the Japanese, Taiwanese were mostly filthy and uncivilized; they needed to be tamed, trained and educated, see Chu Hwei-Chu, "Zhimindi de guixun yu jiaohua: rizhi shiqi taiwan xiaoshuo zhong de jingmin guanxi" (Disciplining and Cultivating the Colonized: Literary Representations of Ethnic Relations between Japanese Policemen and Taiwanese People), *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao* (Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies), 10 (2010), 122. For further information about the modernization of the Taiwanese society under Japanese rule, see Ts'ai Caroline Hui-yu, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 13-43.
  24. The term sanqiashui—literally meaning the confluence of three water—refers to the meeting of Meinong Creek, Youzilin Creek and Qiangziliao Creek, see Hung Hsin-Lan, "Yancao meinong: meinong diqu kejiya wenhua yu yanzuo jingji" (Tobacco Meinong: the Hakka Culture and Economical Value of Tobacco in Meinong District), (Master diss., National Tsing Hua University, 1998), 63.
  25. During the early Qing times, Meinong was named Minong. For the origin of the term, see Xiao Shenghe, *Youdui meinong de xingcheng yu fazhan* (The Origins and Development of Youdui Meinong (Taipei: Wenchin chuban she, 2009), 72.
  26. After the Japanese autonomy implement in Taiwan in 1920, Minong was named Meinong.
  27. The term dongyang 東洋, literally, eastern sea, traditionally referred to the ocean area east of China beyond its immediate control. However, during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, under the influence of a popular Japanese concept tōyō 東洋 (とうよう), the term expanded to include both geography and culture from Japan, see Guo Hui, "Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2010), 25.

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