

*Growing with Time: By the Study of the Cultural and Spacial Representation of Three
Government-Run Immigrant Villages in Hualien, Taiwan*

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Abstract

In 1909 (the 42nd year of Meiji), Taiwan governor's office initiated an first immigration project in Central Hualien in Eastern Taiwan by building three government-run agricultural immigrant villages called Yoshino Mura, Toyota Mura and Hayashida Mura. This planning of villages influenced those villages in a great deal. Throughout the course of time, many colonial structures and spaces in these villages were left uninhabited/abandoned, transforming them into heritage/historical sites.

This study focuses on three historical sites that play an important role during Japanese colonial period, and seeks to investigate on the cultural and special representation of the government-run immigration villages of Yoshino Mura, Toyota Mura, and Hayashida Mura in Central Hualien. Three examples are the sites discovered in these three villages: temples, the residence of the stationmaster, and the tobacco towers that witness the three villages in three aspects- religion, transportation system, and tobacco industry. Belien temple, situated in Toyota Mura, was built as a place to worship gods and goddesses from both Japanese and Taiwanese traditional religion. It stands as an important structure for religion in the community. The residence of the stationmaster in Toyota Mura is now transformed into the Five-Flavors House, a community charity shop run by local children as well as teenagers with help from voluntary workers. There are many tobacco towers left In Hayashida Mura that now became a tourist site. Comparison of past and present conditions among these villages is done to reveal the difference from its original foundation to development, and to find out the relationship between these spaces and residences in the immigrant villages in order to analyze potential resources for sustainability and creativity of the cultural heritage for future development.

Keywords: Immigrant villages, Representation, Yoshino Mura, Toyota Mura, Hayashida Mura

1. Background

1-1 Introduction of Immigrant Village in Hualien

Taiwan had been colonized by Japan during 1895-1945. Because of this special historical background, there are many historical spaces built in Japanese style and the landscape planning from Japan colonial time influence later Taiwan a lot. This study focus on a particular case: government-run immigrant villages left by Taiwan governor in Japan colonial period.

The cause of the island of Taiwan immigrants can be divided into four stages: pre-privatization immigration projects, pre-the official camp immigrant business plan, the late private immigration business plan, post-government-run immigration business plan based on the establishment of the project on and off the end of. The government-run and private immigration undertakings biggest difference is that the former is the non-profit purposes; the latter the help of profit-seeking enterprise purposes colonize immigrants.

This study focus on the first established and largest of the three government-run agricultural migrant village: Yoshino mura; Toyota mura and Hayashida mura. The Hayashida mura. The purpose of immigrant villages are: (1) consolidating their domination of Japan; (2) developing advance preparation for Japanese movement into tropical areas; (3) adjusting the surplus population of the motherland and solving the shortage of farmland; (4) aims related to national defense and assimilation(Higashi,1914).The government-run migrant village settlements for production residence compound structure, the house is located in the production space, the village has the Directorate of Immigration the road before medical clinics, primary and secondary schools, shrines, missionary and other public facilities, residential and arable landcontact with the outside world to form a transportation network(Chang,2001).

1-2 Research Purpose /Research Question

The immigrant villages play important roles both of the important cultural heritages and the nice habitable places for local residences. The central purpose of this study was to investigate the representation and the relationship between past and present of the historical sites in three villages. The primary research questions to be addressed in this paper are as follows: (1)What are the roles of three historical sits play in village now? (2)How do the functions of three sits related to the original function in Japan colonial period? (3)What make the difference in three sites in terms of the functions of three sits related to the original function in Japan colonial period?(4)What are the potential resources or connections in those historical sits in terms of to make them revitalization? For purposes of this study, the contribution by bringing together of the literature review is the first work, and then the field survey and the interview from founding people in the village, followed by data comparison analysis.

2. Literature Review

A number of studies have investigated the immigrant village Japan colonial period since1986. During the past 20 years there have been many researches on the

history(1986), the anthropogeography(2009), the industries' development and how to inherit the immigrant villages Architectural Spaces in those villages(1998). The immigrant villages play important roles both of the important cultural heritages and the nice habitable places for local residences(2012). The central purpose of this study was to investigate the representation and the relationship between past and present of the Tobacco industrial heritages and to find an opportunity to the Tobacco industries.

2.1 Literature of Immigrant Village

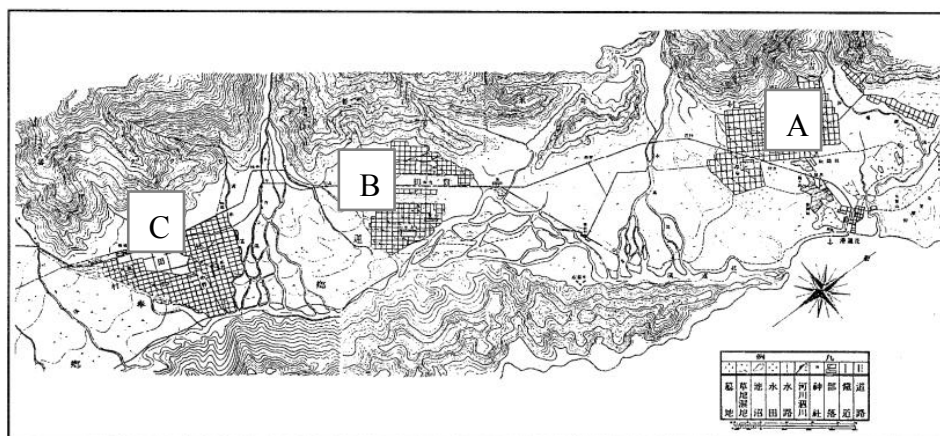
Author	title	year	from	content
Chung Shumin	Government run immigration villages during the Japanese occupation-by case study of Yoshino village	1986	Correspondence of Taiwan History and Relics,8, pp74-84	Refresh the view through the Japanese literature immigrant career success. Either to solve the population problem in national defense objectives and purposes of the experiment tropical move was not successful, then there is no point of view on the role of assimilation effects.
Huang Lansiang	building purposes and the operating organizations of residents of the government-run immigrant village-Yoshino, Toyota, Hayashida three villages	1997	watching east Taiwan Conference Proceedings, pp213-237	In the Japanese occupation era immigrant residents of the village organization operating as the focus, explore the immigrant village operating system. Historians argue that past cases run immigration views of the village is the failure results
Chang Sufen	The Japanese agriculture immigrants in Taiwan (1909-1945)	2001	Academia Historica	Detailed and complete overview of the Japanese government through the immigration project camp, and from the perspective of industry and social groups cut analysis, which cites a number of Japanese literature and Japanese immigrants interviews.
Chang Chiaching	the birth of a city -The formation and development of Hualien streets	1996	Hualien Cultural Center	Explore Hualien Literature local Consciousness and the starting point, and the development of Hualien City / Street writing
Yi-Hang Ma	Fictionality and Factuality , Mixture And Exchange Between Urban And Rural—An Analysis of A Sense of Place And Writing of City/Street in Hualien Literature	2008	National Taiwan University	the text for discussion spoke shaft, trying to write from the writer of "fiction" and "practice" mutual generation to explore local history, geography and personal experience clash between convergence.

2.2 Literature of Tobacco Industries

author	title	year	from	content
Hung, H sin-Lan	The Tobacco Industries in Taiwan	2004	Taipei, Yuan Tzu	divided into ten chapters — from the industrial history began to describe; then introduced four tobacco-growing areas in Taiwan (Taichung, Chiayi, Pingtung and Hualien) and tobacco growth process; further illustrate the tobacco monopoly, after which they go to the company of the international context; simultaneously cut culture, to explore the tobacco that fascinate
Su Lo Pi Yu	Tobacco Leaf Building (Yanlou) cultural property activating reuse – the case of activating reuse tobacco leaf building of Fonglin Township in Hualien	2008	The Department of Architecture & Urban, Chinese culture university	The research from long-term investigation and bibliography records knows Tobacco leaf building of Folin Town and aggregates have activating reuse value and functions. Especially travel of the nous combine agricultural landscape and leisure sightseeing to emerge the history memory value. The research target is to know how to activating reuse

3. The Evolution of Three village from 1913 to 2013

In 1911, Meiji 43 years, Yoshino mura immigrants guidance had been set, secondly, Toyota mura immigration guidance in 1913 in April, abolished by the end of March 1918, and set Hayashida mura immigrants guidance in 1914, abolished by the end of March 1918 (Taisho 7 years) .



C. Hayashida mura

B. Toyota mura

A. Yoshino mura

Fig.1 the location of the planning of immigrant villages in Hualien

3.1 The “hide and seek” of Time -Yoshino Mura to Ji’an township

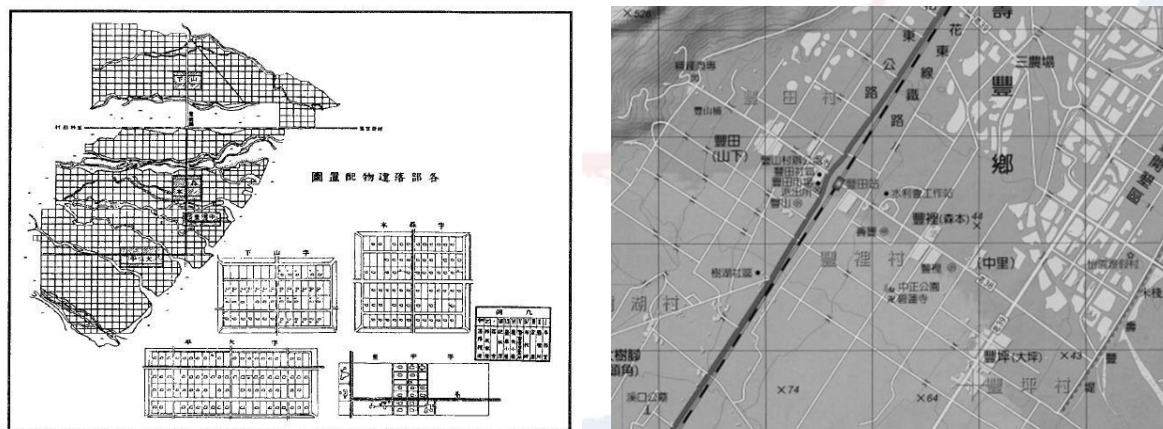


The planning map of Yoshino mura in 1911 The currently map of Yoshino mura in 2013

Fig.2 the comparison of location of pass and present of the Yoshino mura

Few Tobacco tower left in Ji’an. The owner lived next to the tower. Few tourists seldom visit. The shrine had been destroyed. The locations now have a traditional market. Only the monument of village left. The location of train station had changed by government. The original train station had been destroyed. The train station staff residence left, the residents want to preserve the building and have a series of events to gather everyone’s memory.

3.2 Corridor of Time -Toyota Mara to Soufeng township(Fenten community)



The planning map of Toyota mura in 1913 The currently map of Yoshino mura in 2013

Fig.3 the comparison of location of pass and present of the Toyota mura

The Tobacco tower is abandoned in Fengten. Become a storehouse of the owner. The shrines in Fengten become the Belien temple. Residents in Fengten still take this place as their belief center. The organizations of this village hold the activities for all

residents in Belien temple. The train station staff residence left and become “the Five-Flavors House”. This community charity shop, Wu Wei Wu (the Five-Flavors House) runs by local children as well as teenagers with help from voluntary workers.

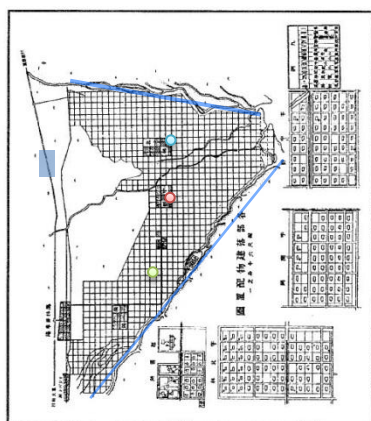
3.2.1 Wu Wei Wu (the Five-Flavors House)

This community charity shop, Wu Wei Wu (the Five-Flavour House), is located in Fengtian, a small village in Hualian County, and run by local children as well as teenagers with help from voluntary workers. The main objective of such establishment is not about economic interest but providing kids growing up in this remote area, via business transactions, with the opportunity to see the world outside, to accumulate a variety of interpersonal relationship and experience, to open up their visions, and to eventually boost their self-esteem.

All the commodities here are donations from all over Taiwan. Kids from neighbourhood communities work here for exchange of what they want, daily supplies mostly, and for exchange of knowledge and skills as well. Wu Wei Wu has so far succeeded in not only offering the kids long-term support and care as supplements to their families’ lack of certain functions, but also keeping a good pace toward the objective of being totally self-sufficient, i.e., not relying solely on governmental subsidies, due to its functioning as a second-hand shop.

The name, Wu Wei Wu, came from the kids themselves; came from the wording, “Wu-Wei-Za-Chen” (one feeling complicated as the five flavours in one’s daily life are tangled together), for they have actually caught a glimpse of human lives while sorting and selling all those second-hand goods. To be more specific, “Wu Wei Wu” indicates that one gets to taste the whole five flavours of human lives simply making business deals here in this small hut.

3.3 Frozen in Time- Hayashida Mura to Fenglin township



The planning map of Hayashida mura in 1911

The currently map of Hayashida mura in 2013

Fig.4 the comparison of location of pass and present of the Yoshino mura

The Tobacco towers preserve well in Fenglin Township. The owners have a good social network with the local organization. The number of tourists visited the tobacco tower increase. The shrine had been destroyed in 1970s. After the effect of local organizations and town office, they want to rebuilt the shrine and make it as a forest park. New train station, Fenglin, replace the station, Nanping, here. Most of people lived around the Fenglin station.

3.3.1 Tobacco Building Cultural Cluster

The cash crop of tobacco was imported into the Hualien area during the Japanese occupation, with the purpose of increasing the income of the Japanese immigrant villages located in the Hualien-Taitung areas. Lintian Immigrant Village, located in Fenglin Township, became a major center for the planting of tobacco. The tobacco buildings were used to store and smoke-roast the tobacco leaves. There are ten tobacco buildings located in Fenglin Township's Darong Village and Beilin Village area, making it Taiwan's most concentrated area of tobacco buildings. These tobacco buildings also happen to be better-preserved than most. Because tobacco is a strong cash crop, the tobacco buildings became a symbol of financial ability. In early years, one just had to see how many tobacco buildings each household owned, in order to guess the household's level of affluence.

Tobacco buildings come in two shapes, namely the Osaka-style and the Hiroshima-style. The smoke outlet of the Osaka-style tobacco buildings protrudes from the roof. Because of its tall, large size, it is efficient at expelling smoke. However, due to it facing more wind, it is easily damaged during a typhoon. The Hiroshima style tobacco buildings have the exact opposite circumstances. The smoke outlet does not protrude from the roof, so the building is more secure during a typhoon, however, fires easily occur. Most of the tobacco buildings in the Fenglin area are of the Osaka style. In recent years, the township office has started to repair several of these buildings one-by-one. As a result, these local cultural assets will be turned into tourist spots that provide educational and recreational functions. The tobacco industry requires intense manpower. During cultivation, one must be very careful to prevent blighting, and during the flue curing process, in order to control the moisture content, close attention to timing must be observed. In the past, timber was used for firing, and the tobacco farmers had to work in shifts, with no sleep or rest for 24 hours. Along with modern progress, electric firing is now done, and computers are even used to control the electric firing chambers. The tobacco farmers no longer keep watch by the arid chambers, and the cured tobacco leaves are of an even better quality than before. Villages

3.4 Analysis of historical sites in the three villages

Three examples are the sites discovered in these three villages: temples, the residence of the stationmaster, and the tobacco towers that witness the three villages in three aspects- religion, transportation system, and tobacco industry. The table as below shows the situations of those three historical sits between the original in Japan immigrant village and the current Taiwan village.

	Yoshino mura	Toyota mura	Hayashida
Belief	Shrine preaching house the monument preaching house	Shrine preaching house Belien Temple	Shrine preaching house the monument preaching house
Industry	tobacco agriculture agriculture	tobacco agriculture agriculture	tobacco agriculture agriculture tobacco
Transpo rtation	train station stuff residence culture association	train station stuff residence train station five flavor house	train station stuff residence train station

Fig.5 the representation of three historical sites of three villages

4. The role that historical sites play in present

4.1 The time flow of the historical sites

4.1.1 The Monument of Village, Shrine in Yoshino mura

1914-1940 Hayashida shrine in Hayashida mura

Yoshino shrine has been built in 1914. There are many events in the shrine, but mostly the participants were all Japanese. Taiwanese didn't know very clear about the events hold inside the shrine.



1950-60 martyr's shrine

After taking over Taiwan island in 1945, KMT government built totally different educational direction system and brought different belief of national identity. The Yoshino shrine in Yoshino mura is a typical practice for this trend. During 1950s to 1960s, the Ji'an town office had renamed the location of shrine into a martyr's shrine.



1970-2005 military court

Because Ji'an Township is near the Hualien downtown, the town office destroyed all the shrine and change it into a military courts for support the military camp in Hualien city.



2010-2013 The Monument of Village

After reducing demand for military, the military courts had been destroyed. The traditional markets have been built up on the original place of the shrine and the military courts. The only thing left is the monument of the village. Some of the element of the building of the shrine is hind under ground.



Photos courtesy of Huang, chia jung

4.1.2 Belien Temple, Shrine in Toyata mura

1914-1940 Toyata shrine in Toyata mura

Yoshino shrine has been built in 1914. There are many events in the shrine, but mostly the participants were all Japanese. Taiwanese always participate the events hold inside the shrine.



1950-60 Belien Temple

After Japanese left Taiwan. Taiwanese live in Toyota villages take the shrine as their belief center and move their god into it. In 1970s, Typhoon destroyed the shrine so that they built a new temple in the same location. and left many element from Japan.



Photos courtesy of Hualien County Nou-Li Intercommunity Association



Rebuild the Hayashida shrine 2010-2013

Because of the effect from the local organization, There are many events take place on the Temple. Not only the religion activities but also the children dancing, old people sing songs and some exhibition of the contribution for the community on last year. Through this kind of events, everyone in the village feel more involved in their village.



Photos courtesy of Hualien County Nou-Li Intercommunity Association

4.1.3 Martyr's Shrine, Shrine in Hayashida mura

1914-1940 Hayashida shrine in Hayashida mura

Hayashida shrine has been built in 1914. There are many events in the shrine, but mostly the participants were all Japanese. Taiwanese didn't know very clear about the events hold inside the shrine.



1950-60 martyr's shrine

After taking over Taiwan island in 1945, KMT government built totally different educational direction system and brought different belief of national identity. The Hayashida shrine in Hayashida mura is a typical practice for this trend. During 1950s to 1960s, the Fenglin town office had renamed the location of shrine into a martyr's shrine for the seventy two martyrs of the Huanghuagang uprising of 23rd April 1911. The elementary school and journal high school students was be asked come to this "martyr's shrine" to pray and do the environmental cleansing. Many teenagers took the shrine as a mystery part in the village and would like to have a date in this area.



1970-2012 abandoned shrine

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announce “the statement of broke off diplomatic relations with Japan” on September 29, 1972. Then the Ministry of the Interior have a policy that remove the colonial rule commemorative monuments points of the performance of Japanese imperialism superiority. The town offices want to remove all the building and build a new playground in the area of the shrine. They destroyed the ohtorii and the main building of the shrine only left the stairs of the shrine. However, in the end they didn’t build anything beyond the stairs of the shrine. After the destroyed, students no longer be asked to pray and clean there. Few and few people went to this place. In past twenty year, It become an abandoned area and surrounded by trees and rank grass.



Photos courtesy of Jia-Jong Huang

Rebuild the Hayashida shrine 2010-2013

In recent year, the culture activities in Fenglin town play an important role. The town office and local organizations put a lot of effect on restructure the culture resource in Fenglin. The organizations (Nukenza /Fenglin culture and history) started to clean the area of shrine, encourage people to go there by holding some activity such as the exhibition of old pictures to recall their memory of shrine. Due to the striving of the local organization and the town office, there are government subsidies for repair the shrine. They found old structure object and the ohtorii which had been destroyed and buried and Plant cherry blossoms around the shrine. Now the residence, the organization and the town office work together to make this area into a forest park with the story of shrine.



4.2 The representation in the three historical religious sites of immigrant village

4.2.1 The Production of Space

Henri Lefebvre's theory (1991) of the Production of Space offered a sounder theoretical basis for the cultural and spacial representation of the historical sites analysis. It divides the space into three levels: Spatial practice, Representations of space and Representational spaces.

(1) Spatial practice refers to the production and reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products. It also ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. "In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance"

(2) Representations of space "are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations". They also refer to "conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanity, technocratic subdivides and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent—all of whom identify what s lived and what is perceived with what is conceived"

(3) Representational spaces refer to spaces "lived" directly "through its associated images and symbols and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'...". These are the lived experiences that emerge as a result of the dialectical relation between spatial practice and representations of spaces.

5 Summary Current Finding

Much remains to be done, then, but this study anticipate that the work will generate important findings in the fields of the revitalization in Taiwan's immigrant villages. The results of this study show a clear and strong relationship between the residence's participant and identity in the historical sites and the representation of the historical sites. Those old building and space from japan colonial period grow with time. Some of them keep their original function. Some of them develop new function. Both of them create the important value sharing with local people and tourists in different way. The key issue influence the representation of the villages as below: (1) Policy making by government (2) Identity of residences and effect by organizations (4) Industries development (3) The memory of the residents of Japanese in immigrant village (5) Location: near downtown in Hualien

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