

Collective Action as a New Approach to Rural Rejuvenation: Exploring Mobilization of Indigenous Community in Eastern Taiwan*

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The “Rural Rejuvenation Act” was legislated on 4th August, 2010 by the government, which was designed to revitalize the overall development of rural areas in Taiwan. As rural decline fell into a vicious circle, problems such as rural migration, aging, lower education, lower average labor productivity, and overall low levels of public service, the government would like to actively solve the so-called “declining industry”. It is enacted to establish a rural rejuvenation fund and hope to take care of the farmers and fishermen in rural areas. The aim of this fund is to make the rural community filling with “vitality, health, and happiness”. To implement rural rejuvenation policy, besides top-down integrating strategies, the bottom-up promoting strategies are also considered as an important method. The Amis indigenous community in Eastern Taiwan was encouraged to apply Empowerment Program. According to the rejuvenation course rule, once organizations which make their farmers or residents finish four stages of course (including beginner’s course, advanced course, core course, and rejuvenation course) are qualified to propose a Rural Rejuvenation Plan. The indigenous community was very happy about the four-year project which was approved by the government. However, whether the mobilization of whole community to execute Rural Rejuvenation Plan and achieve their rejuvenated goal of community development is needed to be investigated deliberatively. We propose an analytical framework to understand the role of collective action based on the interaction of two dimensions: group characteristics of the indigenous community and external environment which is depended on external support by government and non-government organizations. The implementation of the project depends on financial and non-financial support, such as subsidy to verification fees of organic farming or training and empowering farmers with specific knowledge. This study finds that: (1) The community did retain Amis culture; the leaders have been directly involved in strengthening operational capacity; (2) Leaders’ efforts of mobilizing the whole community to implement the project collectively resulted in rational ignorance of the villagers and even resource centralization; (3) The central and local government were lack of coordination; the inequality of

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resource allocation may hinder the indigenous community development. Our findings reveal that collective action is not a panacea to mobilize the villagers to attend community-oriented project.

Keywords: collective action, Rural Rejuvenation, operational capacity, indigenous community, external environment

Introduction

During 1960s to 1970s, Taiwan's agricultural policy was based on principles of "cultivating industry with agriculture and developing agriculture by industry"¹, which could be characterized by "Developmental Squeeze"², caused many agricultural problems (Liau, Huang, & Shian, 1986, p. 6). Though the policy has accelerated the industrialization of Taiwan and promoted the overall economic development, the surplus of agricultural productivity was transferred to the non-agricultural sector as the development of industrial capital, and through agricultural mechanization, the rural agricultural surplus manpower was transferred a lot to the commercial sector. The excessive transfer resources from rural area to industrial sector caused the poverty of rural area. The government launched "Guidelines of Rural Economic Construction in Current Stage" (1970), "Nine Measures of Rural Construction Acceleration" (1972), and promulgated "Agricultural Development Act"³ (1973) to lead the way for agricultural and rural development. The agricultural structure of Taiwan, which is dominated by small farms, had not been able to counter the impact of trade liberalization and globalization after joining the World Trade Organization (WTO)⁴. It is urgent that the acute problems of population migration, the aging population, lacking infrastructure, and employment opportunities in rural areas are to be solved. The way to reactive rural area may be collective action led by local population to create more jobs, preserve culture and lifestyle, and improve the living standard. These actions are the keys to sustain the rural regeneration.

Li (2011, pp. 436-437) pointed out the problems of unbalance development, resulting in agricultural shrinking, environmental damage, fallow of farmland, and even rural disruption. Initially, in 1990, the government intended to introduce rural development policies, so as to solve the above problems in a holistic manner. The rural development policy was found in the legislation in 2008, the presidential elector Ying-Jeou Ma's political opinion⁵. As Ma became elected president, the "Rural Rejuvenation Act" was enforced on 4th August, 2010 among the "12 Love-Taiwan Project", to revitalize the overall development of rural areas in Taiwan. Since the Rural Rejuvenation Policy has been implemented for more than six years, it is worth to investigate its effectiveness on the improved quality of life, well maintained the culture, triggered economic recovery, and attracted youth remigration in rural areas where Rural Rejuvenation Programs have been

¹ The Taiwan government promoted "Economic Construction Four-Year Plan" (1953-1968), indexed by the Council of Agricultural, website: <http://www.coa.gov.tw/phs.php?id=2445335>.

² The so-called "developmental squeeze" means "to take policy measures to promote the improvement of agricultural production in Taiwan to create" surplus "of manpower and property and to transfer such" surplus "to non-agricultural sector" (Liau, Huang, & Shian, 1986, p. 6).

³ In 1995, Taiwan for the first time promoted the release of agricultural land, intended to convert 160,000 hectares of agricultural land to factory and residential construction land. In 2000, acquisition of agricultural land was open for non-farmers to attract the capital and resources from non-agricultural sectors. However, the impact of amending the Agricultural Development Act on farmland use is inevitable.

⁴ Taiwan joined the WTO in 2002.

⁵ The 2008 presidential candidate, Mr Ying-Jiou Ma, proposed "12 Love-Taiwan Project", including the "Rural Rejuvenation" project.
https://www.ey.gov.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=631B45FCB3FE2D7E&sms=4ACFA38B877F185F&s=F91C6A080CA00A5E
 [Retrieved: 2017/09/24].

practiced. This article is purposed to explore whether the Rural Rejuvenation Policy could promote the strategy of bottom-up governance, fulfilling the software and hardware, improving community autonomy and other strategies to achieve the job creation, increasing the farm household income, and improving the overall environment.

In order to deliberate the investigation, the study is based on one of the indigenous communities in the eastern part of Taiwan. With the help of the Community Development Association, the community participated in the Rural Rejuvenation Program as a way to improve the living standard, agriculture production, and environmental condition, and recover the glory of Amis tribal groups. The study case, Nan-Fu Village, is located on the Tsalong indigenous community, and the decisions of village constructions are made in the meeting and subject to the views of the indigenous head, local representatives of the public, and the village head. Through internal and external communication, the village residents or voluntary groups (such as cleaning teams, women's service teams, etc.) are mobilized by the leaders of the village and local association. The Nan-Fu Village collectively applies for Rural Regeneration Plan successfully and gains the financial and non-financial supports from governmental and non-governmental organizations (such as universities, NGOs). The actions taken by the residents of the Nan-Fu Village for pursuit of shared interests are collective action (OECD, 2013, p. 58).

According to Meinzen-Dick, Di Gregorio, and McCarthy (2004), the collective action is "a group of people to take the action for the common interests" and the connotation of collective action includes two important key elements for the "group characteristics" and "external environment". As regarding group characteristics, Olson (1965; 1971, p. 63) argues that rational and self-interested individuals will not take action to achieve common or collective interests, and social incentives are important mainly only in the small group, and play a role in the large group only when the large group is a federation of smaller groups. Everyone not in the membership but gaining the benefits could be a free-rider, and the problem of free-riding will cause difficulties in cooperation, the possibility of avoiding the free ride problem is raised. As "the tragedy of the commons", Hardin (1968) indicates the problem of free-rider of collective action. It shows that personal pursuit of their own interests may hinder the maximization of collective action interests (OECD, 2013, p. 73). Ostrom (2005) argues that successful collective action can prevent free rider problems by advocating property rights to help individuals overcome them. Davies, Blackstock, Brown, and Shannon (2004) suggest that the implementation of monitoring systems among members is useful in the process of collective action. As concerning external environment, external forces and authorities often affect group activities, and financial support from governments and non-government entities is the key element to mobilize the practice of the group. However, either large group or small group, the members have homogeneity and heterogeneity of the viewpoints, it is needed to observe how leaders of the Nan-Fu Village coordinate and make use of governmental and non-governmental support, leading members of the community to achieve common interests as shown in the Rural Regeneration Plan. In the following sections, we shall review the relevant literatures, briefly describe the current situation of Nan-Fu Village, interpret the interactions of residents during the implementation of Rural Regeneration Plan, and give suggestions for the future collaboration.

Literature Review

Slee (1994) pointed out that by the 1970s, the basic concept of rural economic development was mainly based on local competitive conditions, such as resources and labor, and linked to regional economic systems.

Therefore, the state has recognized rural policy is the crucial for the process of rural development, and government should provide resources and strategies to assist the sustainable development of local community. The “Rural Rejuvenation Act” was legislated in 2010, which is formulated on the basis of Taiwan Rural Policy, includes four strategies of “bottom-up”, “project-oriented”, “community autonomy”, and “coordination of hardware and software”. The local government has to draw up the overall plan for rural rejuvenation according to the policy in order to provide the basis for the formulation of Rural Rejuvenation Project by local communities.

However, to implement the Rural Rejuvenation Plan effectively, residents should take collective action during formulation and enforcement procedure. It not only needs the majority of residents and stakeholders to participate in, but also needs leadership of combining the external environment support and access to the common interests of residents. In order to establish the theoretical basis of the follow-up analysis of this article, we will review the relevant literatures of rural rejuvenation, understand the existing problems of rural rejuvenation, how the leaders mobilize the residents, and explore the collective action theory to understand the relevant characteristics of the group and the external environment. We try to find the insight of literatures into our analysis.

Rural Rejuvenation

Rural Rejuvenation Objective

In order to promote the rejuvenation and revitalization of rural areas, the government has set out the budget of NT \$150 billion for the “Rural Rejuvenation Fund”. The main objective of the project is to focus on the “bottom-up” participation system to promote the Rural Rejuvenation Plan and to cooperate with the Man-power training project to empower the residents to plan for themselves. The government establishes the project of rich new countryside and hopes to improve the rural living environment and agricultural production infrastructure. These are the keys to helping the rural residents restore their dignities.

The strategies of rural rejuvenation are shown as follows: (Soil and Water Conservation Bureau, 2011, pp. 1-2):

- (1) Bottom-up governance: Let the community take charge. The government should distribute different resources to different types of areas, farming village or fishing village, and reach the consensus of area development with the local residents.
- (2) Project orientation: Through the empowerment program, the residents could raise the vision for rural development, and make the Rural Rejuvenation Project in the future.
- (3) Community autonomy: To encourage the community to develop the convention, self-management of the community construction, to maintain the characteristics of landscape appearance.
- (4) Providing software and hardware instrument: It could also put emphasis on people’s mind, importance of culture, skill succession, and environment protection. Philosophy of minimization could be another idea to reduce human or natural disaster and damage.

The above is the strategy and practice of promoting rural rejuvenation and it is also the goal set by government policy. However, the goal is not easy to be reached, the implementation of rural rejuvenation plan still has the long way to go.

Community Participation in Rural Rejuvenation

The Rural Rejuvenation Policy is based on the bottom-up spirit of self-governance, encourages community

participation in rural rejuvenation, and gathers community consciousness. Also, it's important to practice by self-governance and design the system to regulate the nationwide communities. These actions will be initiated from the Rural Rejuvenation Fund. With the grant of a renewable fund to plan a project to activate to the countryside in accordance with community needs, the following is a list of procedural requirements for participating in rural rejuvenation and obtaining a renewable fund subsidy:

(1) Rural rejuvenation must be based on "rural communities"

According to the Art. 8 of the Enforcement Rules of Rural Rejuvenation Act, provided that the rural community is located in the indigenous area, the population size should reach 25 households or 100 people. In addition, specific lifestyle, production, ecology, culture or any other special circumstances, these conditions should be recognized by the central government and shouldn't be restricted by Urban Plan Act or National Park Act.

(2) Manpower training

This training has four courses in different stage: care course, advanced course, core course, and rejuvenation course. The community could reach consensus through the procedure. The enforcement should work with the community and lead the community to discover their own needs, and avoid the minority taking over and lead the development of the community. These steps will help the community develop on the right track. According to the Rural Rejuvenation Act Art. 30 paragraph 4, community should get through training before initiating the project. There are regulations and steps to apply for the training program. There are also specific rules regarding the population. The community should have enough personnel to finish the four stages training before being eligible to prepare the rural rejuvenation plan.

(3) Rural communities should be represented by organizations or groups

The plan is made according to the needs of residents, the vision of future rural development, through the discussion of residents to develop a draft plan for rural rejuvenation, and then by the agreement decision of community residents to pass the report to the municipal or county (city) competent authorities for approval⁶.

(4) Set the annual Rural Rejuvenation Implementation Plan

After approval of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan by the municipal or county (city) government, the community can submit the annual Rural Rejuvenation Implementation Plan, but the items applying for subsidies should be limited to the list of regulation. The local government will collect all the annual plans and send to the Agricultural and Soil Conservation Bureau to apply for grants⁷, the completion of the above procedures, the community can begin to implement the overall improvement of rural communities, public facilities construction, agriculture-related industrial activation, cultural preservation, and ecological conservation and other hardware and software construction, and in accordance with the approved Rural Rejuvenation Plan.

(5) Rural communities to implement annual Rural Rejuvenation Plan

The annual action plan of rural rejuvenation should be formulated in accordance with the mass plan of rural rejuvenation. After the implementation of the annual action plan has been approved, either community or the government could implement it. The funding of community program is subsidized to hire the workers or buy some materials, and will be executed by the proposed community organizations or groups representatives.

⁶ Rural Rejuvenation Act, Article 9 Paragraph 1.

⁷ Rural Rejuvenation Act, Article 11 Paragraph 1.

The purpose of the system design is to promote the participation of rural communities in Rural Rejuvenation Plan, by the way of mobilizing and encouraging community residents to participate and gather community consensus. The design of participation system, requests different provisions at different stages, and if the communities meet the requirements, they can get the subsidies step by step. Especially for the training, to complete the four-stage training courses of manpower training plan, in addition to the provisions of each stage of the training time, it must meet the completion of the number of training standards. If the community failed to complete the manpower training of the community, it did not receive Rural Rejuvenation Plan qualification. It will be excluded from participating in rural rejuvenation opportunities.

Collective Action Theory

Group characteristics. The size of the group of collective action is relatively appropriate for small groups, which can lead to lower transaction costs (Olson, 1965, p. 21; Wade, 1988, p. 15; Ayer, 1997, p. 7). If the size of the group becomes larger, the consultation, supervision, and implementation costs will be increased (McCarthy, 2004, p. 10). Therefore, the hierarchical organization or system rules should be established to operate normally to cope with the situations.

Whether the group is working well, the leader is a key player in collective action. With the ability to lead, and mobilize the organization, leaders need to have experience, professional and good reputation, and actively participate enthusiastically to promote collective action. Lobo, Velez, and Puerto (2016, p. 982) point out that the role of leaders is to serve as an important intermediary for promoting and maintaining collective action, which can lead to sustainable solutions, but may also lead to internal conflicts within the community.

In addition, the identity and interests of group members may be homogeneous and share a similar social, economic, and cultural environment. For local resources, the objectives of collective organizations will have a common understanding and the endowments of members will be heterogeneous and complementary sharing experience and information (Dowling & Chin-Fang, 2007, p. 309; OECD, 2013, p. 83), with close interpersonal interaction to establish a good relationship of trust, accumulating social capital, including social networks, norms, trust, reciprocity, etc., may reduce the cost of transaction (Putnam, 1993, p. 167; Pretty, 2003, p. 1913), easier to communicate and reach an agreement to develop collective action more smoothly. However, studies have shown that heterogeneity with changes in social and institutional factors may affect the ability of a group to achieve a common goal, the changes in formal and informal systems may lead to the successful participation of group members in collective action to manage common resources (Kant, 2000, p. 288; Ostrom, 2005, pp. 123-125; Adhikari & Lovett, 2006, pp. 426-428; Sullivan, York, An, Yabiku, & Hall, 2017, p. 3). Bimber, Flanagan, and Stohl (2012, pp. 16-20) point out the importance of communication and its tools or technology in collective action. Digital media and communication technologies will enhance people's ability to cross boundaries in order to interact with others and participate in organizations. However, they do not necessarily make people more likely to contribute to collective action, but rather help to diversify the mode of participation.

External environment. In the initial stages of collective action, transaction costs are high and financial support and non-financial support from external authorities are required (Mills, Gibbon, Ingram, Reed, Short, & Dwyer, 2010, p. 157; Ayer, 1997, p. 3). Non-financial support is also derived from the government, which is responsible for setting basic rights, guidelines, and rules (including penalties and sanctions), and developing common goals for motivating collective action (Ayer, 1997, pp. 3-4). The external financial support comes

mainly from government, such as verification fees for organic agricultural products, investing in R&D, technology, innovating and training farmers, or external experts (academics, researchers) can also provide technical support.

External support is critical to local and central government co-operation. CEO Water Mandate (2013, pp. 24-26) points out that the public sector supports civil society and private sector for the development of sustainable governance mechanisms. Especially local governments have local knowledge, which is conducive to dealing with local issues by collective action. The central government has to provide financial resources such as subsidies. If the geographic area of collective action goes beyond the township level, the central government can provide more financial resources to support it.

In addition, local groups and governments sometimes require arbitrators and coordinators to overcome the obstacles to collective action. The arbitrators act as mediators of conflict or negotiation in order to facilitate the operation of collective action. The coordinator plays an important role and can be an individual or organization, such as local NGOs, government program staff, research centers, providing relevant topics and policy information to help participants communicate with each other as public administration and individual farmers and other landowners and intermediaries or coordinators of rural residents interested in resource management (Vanni, 2014, p. 42). It could be not only as land managers, peasant links, but also as a bridge of communication with the government.

Practice of Carrying out Rural Rejuvenation Plan in Nan-Fu Community of Guang-Fu Township in Hualien County

In this paper, the following interviews were conducted in depth interviews: leaders, government officials, consultants, and respondents were informed by the community. Each interview time is about half an hour to three hours to talk about the implementation period from August 2, 2015 to August 28, 2016. Interviews are mainly structured by semi-structured interviews, i.e., the main outline of the interview. The question is not limited to the preparing items, nor will it be asked in the order but will be further explored according to the respondents. So the question of access is flexibly adjusted according to the situation of the interviewee. The questions are divided into two major sections: group characteristics and the external environment.

The following will provide an overview of the geographical location of the community, the development of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan and the status of the community and the age group system in order to understand the collective action of promoting the Rural Rejuvenation Plan.

Brief Introduction of Nan-Fu Community in Tafalong of Hualien County

In 2009, Tafalong was divided into four communities (Bei-Fu, Nan-Fu, Dong-Fu, and Xi-Fu Community), and was preplanning the Rural Rejuvenation Program as a whole. Among them, the Rural Rejuvenation Plan of the Nan-Fu Community was approved in 2013, and the Tafalong Community Association was appointed to carry out the relevant projects by integrating voluntary support from the voluntary organizations.

The Nan-Fu Community is located in the south of the Tafalong tribe. Because the tribe has been divided into four villages, there are four village heads, four representatives, and two members of assembly in Hualien County (Figures 1 and 2). In Tafalong, there is Amis Indigenous Chieftain system, the allocation of resources to be discussed by the indigenous elite or the heads at the meeting. The conclusion will be approved by the representatives of the public and the villagers. If it is about community development matter, the decision will

The map illustrates the location of Hualien County on the northeastern coast of Taiwan. A blue arrow points from Hualien County to a detailed map of Guang-Fu Township. The detailed map shows the township's boundaries and its four communities: Dong-Fu, Bei-Fu, Nan-Fu, and Xi-Fu. Arrows point from each community name to its corresponding area on the map.

Figure 2. The range of Nan-Fu community, Tafalong Tribe. Source: http://ep.swcb.gov.tw/ep/Community.aspx?RG_ID=RG2013010709322400. Retrieved on 2017/08/20.

According to the Rural Rejuvenation Act, the community proposal is required for public facilities to be managed by enterprises or residents. On weekdays, the association of environmental protection volunteers maintains the environment of Nan-Fu community. Otherwise the community residents maintain and manage the community's public facilities according to the contents of the program. Since part of the fund will be raised by the association, it is truly a burden to the leader and the members.

The Implementation of Rural Rejuvenation Plans in Nan-Fu Community

According to the Rural Rejuvenation Plan of Nan-Fu Community, the working projects are overall environmental improvement, public facilities construction, individual house construction, agricultural activation, cultural preservation and utilization, ecological conservation (Association of Community Building, 2013, p. 42). Regardless of the construction project attributes (software/hardware), community associations need to invest in personnel, material, and financial resources to the bottom-up of the governance approach. For example, the greening and environmental improvement program, is an item of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan. Through the means of hiring labors, the community wall is beautified and the community has to make convention develop the public facilities of the program⁸. However, the maintenance of management work is one of the keys for rural development.

Another cultural preservation of the action plan is to preserve red glutinous rice for culture festival. The activities include the selection of tour guide location, so that the Nan-Fu Community creates lake ecological sidewalk, Kakita'an (cultural heritage ancestral house) and the columbarium inscriptions, Tafalong tribe's eight ancient wells and other places, through the activities of traditional ritual performance, expulsion of an evil spirit, praying for blessings to greet the New Year, the Amis of Tafalong tribe called it "Pipik Dan No Mihca"⁹, which increased the community's cultural recognition and consensus on the community.

How to carry out the preservation plan of legendary image record? With the assistance of professors and students from Donghua University in Hualien County, the residents of the Nan-Fu Community learn skills and knowledge of video recording in the form of lectures and workshop so that they can record the indigenous traditional singing or dancing independently. But the Nan-Fu Community contains about 1,000 residents¹⁰ (Association of Community Building, 2013, pp. 10-12), how to spread the knowledge, let the others learn the skills and pass on to more residents together to record Tafalong indigenous traditional culture and ecological resources is a main task in the future.

The Rural Rejuvenation Plan of the Nan-Fu Community was implemented according to the decisions of villagers meeting. The villagers meeting decided to agree the Association of Community Building at Tafalong to formulate and implement the Rural Rejuvenation Plan (Association of Community Building, 2013, p. 113). Nan-Fu Village Engineering Group is responsible for planning and implementation, the village head and adjacent neighbors are responsible for supervision. Therefore, in order to effectively implement the Rural Rejuvenation Implementation Plan, the whole project needs to be supervised and funded by the government and NGO, and implemented by local community.

⁸ Article 20 of the Rural Rejuvenation Act: "Community conventions shall be jointly established for the management, maintenance of public facilities, buildings and landscapes that have been approved for rural regeneration, and representatives of community organizations."

⁹ Refers to the turning point of a year.

¹⁰ According to the statistic in 2012, the population of Nan-Fu community is of 335 households, 993 villagers; however, the newly statistic is 344 households, 971 villagers, how to communicate with each is still an issue. http://em.hl.gov.tw/population_list.php?typeid=3077. Retrieved on Dec. 10, 2017.

Analysis of the Case Study on the Rural Collective Action

The analysis of this section is based on the implementation of Rural Rejuvenation Plan, and results of in-depth interviews. The interview outcomes are usually based on the subjective experience of the respondents. It is necessary to refer to the government, non-government and related statistical information, summarized as the basis for the analysis. The framework of the analysis is based on the work of Agrawal (2001), OECD (2013), and we will explore the group characteristics and external environment of the key elements of collective action affecting community implementation of Rural Rejuvenation Plan. Based on the analysis results and field interviews, then under the guidance of the Rural Rejuvenation Policy, we interpret how Nan-Fu community takes actions to create vision of the community development (Association of Community Building, 2013, p. 34), and keep on sustainable management of its community.

Analysis of the Key Elements of Collective Action

Group characteristics.

(1) Small groups with normal functioning

Olson (1965, p. 4) argues that the size of the group will affect collective action (Olson, 1965, p. 21; Wade, 1988, p. 15; Ayer, 1997, p. 7). If the size of the group becomes larger, it will hinder collective action (McCarthy, 2004, p. 10), so it is necessary to establish a hierarchical organization or system rule that can function properly.

The study case is an agriculture-based rural society and the land suitable for agricultural use reaches 55 hectares; and land use mode according to indigenous ancestors has handed down the traditional rural form to maintain. "I was a professional soldier, who had a career for 12 years and left home to the Hotel Royal Chiao Hsi of Yilan, then went back Hualien to take the event to plan a rural experience tour or a set trip," said N1, he is a young man when he returned home for farming. Due to the understanding of the status of the hometown, and later because of wishing to take care of his parents he returned to the tribe and started to grow red glutinous rice. N1 founded the production and marketing group of red glutinous rice which is a way to preserve the traditional culture of the tribe. It is a small organization and most of the members are indigenous people, and costs of communication and supervision could be decreased, since the organization is strong and united. For example, N1 invited N2 from his group to join manpower training course, he said: "The Monitor invited me and here I come, I had already taken the course organized by Soil and Water Conservation Bureau. I'm willing to join another."

Because the crops of Nan-Fu Community are still focused on rice, red glutinous rice, and bamboo, the community has not yet developed secondary or tertiary related industries. N2 is the president of longevity club, he considers that if the community can get the financial and non-financial support from the project, the traditional indigenous culture could be reserved and the villagers' income might be increased, it will fulfill the expectation of the community. N3 has started career as a framer since young. Now, he plants flower for the community. He said, "I want my community has a pavilion and as beautiful as Mataian tribe." He is also a member of environmental protect team of the Community Building Association, it is formed by volunteer from the local community. The team members have mutual understanding from each other and understand the needs of their community. They are able to collect information and supervise other's behavior. If Nan-Fu Community is willing to form such groups, all the groups will be considered as small groups.

(2) The homogeneity and heterogeneity of members' endowment

The Nan-Fu Community is an Amis tribe, one of the group characteristics is a strict age class organization.

Every two to five years old gap's boys are formed as the same class, they get together to study, live, and stay in the rally. All the male at the age of 13 or 14 years old must enter the rally to be trained as a man. In the rally, the companions of same class work together, a class is also a unit in case of reward or punishment. Virtually more closely with the same age of each man, and this relationship is a lifetime, until the death. Even the rally system has disappeared, the annual harvest activities still abide by the norms of the traditional age class in operation, so that the traditional way of living, sing, and dance training can be proceed continuously¹¹.

Through the training of age class, Amis men are cultivated to inherit group worker. The Amis groups are homogeneous in terms of identity and interests that can more easily develop collective action. They share the similar social, economic, and cultural circumstances, and it is easier for them to communicate and reach agreement (Dowling & Chin-Fang, 2007; OECD, 2013, p. 83). However, if the endowments of the members are heterogeneous, it does not necessarily have a negative impact on collective action. When these endowments are complementary and participants are mutually supportive, heterogeneous endowments can have a positive impact on collective action (Olson, 1965; OECD, 2013, p. 83). Though the Nan-Fu Community residents or members of the association are heterogeneous, they share the same identity and interests. The community association plans the investigation and monitoring of ecological resources, barrier-free space improvement, indigenous image recording according to the needs of community residents. There are different endowed residents to participate, such as young people are learning how to manage video records, and the elders ever working in Saudi Arabia are responsible for the painting walls and cement fortifications. The female residents are responsible for beautifying the environment, and male residents pay more attention to ecological resources survey. N1 said, "How to mobilize residents to participate in working together to complete the Rural Rejuvenation Plan, in order to improve the living environment, preserve the traditional culture and ecology, is the purpose of Rural Rejuvenation Policy."

According to the Amis tradition, the Nan-Fu Community will be required to develop and implement the Rural Rejuvenation Plan needed to be discussed in the indigenous meeting. Members of the indigenous meeting include two county councillors, four local representatives, four village heads and association directors, etc., whose status and interests are with conformity. N4 mentioned the difficulty of promoting the plan, "The identity issue and beneficial conflict haven't been solved from first year to second year that led to the project shut down." "After suspending for one year, the residents start to think about it, and the village chiefs join the rural rejuvenation manpower training classes." As for the delegates, N5 said that "the village head and the representative are the same group and they will discuss contents of the plan together." Community Building Association has been doing lots of things, these representatives of public opinion then come together to participate in the discussion. Although the representatives and residents may not have the same identity and interests, fortunately in the past the community sharing similar social experience has cultivated community cohesion¹².

(3) Social capital

Rural Rejuvenation Policy advocates a bottom-up approach to governance, focusing on local needs, emphasizing community construction. Therefore, how to satisfy local needs depends on the participation of residents. When the community residents participate in public affairs and if communication is fully related to

¹¹ Source: [http://www.tacp.gov.tw/home02.aspx?ID=\\$3051&IDK=2&EXEC=L](http://www.tacp.gov.tw/home02.aspx?ID=$3051&IDK=2&EXEC=L). Retrieved at 2017/10/14.

¹² See Hualien County, Guang Fu Township, Tafalong Tribe, Nan-Fu Community Rural Renewal Project Page 97, Hualien County Guang Fu Township Tafalong Community Building Association was established on November 27, 2005.

the formation of the consensus, the success of project performance may be expected. While formulating the Rural Rejuvenation Plan, the Community Building Association intends to assist the local farmers or young people with more opportunities of employment. However, it does not go smoothly. N1 said: "A mother of a community attends the meeting, there is a certain consensus on the Rural Rejuvenation Plan, but the land is registered in the name of her son; the other problem is, the land originally belongs to our brothers and sisters, but the brothers and his family are living in Japan, if it is necessary to make them all back we should spend a lot of time." It was lucky that the enthusiastic neighbors help to make phone calls and explain the key points, and get the agreement of land use right. This may be interpreted that the residents of the community have built the social capital to make cooperation more easily.

Either the village leader or Community Building Association wishes to promote the interaction between residents; however, it is not easy to carry out the achievement. Fortunately, through growing the tribe precious red glutinous rice, the Nan-Fu Community can pass the indigenous tradition of culture, to create a common talking topic or memory between residents, and it has considerable help for building social capital of community.

To improve barrier-free space of the community is the one of the implementations of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan, the majority of the Nan-Fu Community are the elderly, the current community public facilities are built for decades, for the elderly safety, the chairman of Community Building Association and tribal chief executive the Plan by hiring labors to do construction works, the design also refers to the indigenous traditional culture, and residents participate in the discussion of design patterns, the residents of the road section are responsible for maintaining to shape social capital with a sense of honor.

It is understood that there is a good way of interacting and communicating among the residents in the community and recognizing the Rural Rejuvenation Plan promoted by the chairman of the association to solve the common concern issues of the community. The key is through the mobilization, residents would volunteer to participate in the activities and cooperate with each other in the community (Hwan, Chuang, & Liu, 2011). Whether the social capital of the community is solid or not affecting the success of Rural Rejuvenation Plan, and it is an important element to the success of collective action.

(4) Communication

This study is based on the Amis tribe of the Tafalong, so the Amis language is the main one for communication, especially the communication between the elderly and the leader. First, it will help them to understand the importance of community development and to get the support of collective action. Second, the Nan-Fu Community wishes to promote red glutinous rice, chairman asks N6 to offer his own land for building agricultural culture tour center for red glutinous rice. N1 also said that "this land is agricultural and pastoral land, the landowner is willing to provide, it located just in the middle of the community, but the result is also after a long time to discuss with him." But, how to connect the community residents and the outside world and start the business in the community? N1 said, "Namoh Arang priest, he will help us tandem up, he has such a good idea, we agree, just follow the work, we work very hard!"

In fact, the purpose of Rural Rejuvenation Policy is to mobilize the residents of rural communities, but it is not easy. N1 joined the project because of N5. The project takes lots of time to have come up with a result. N1 mentioned "Most of locals don't even understand what rural rejuvenation is". "It is rather complicated to them and leads to many problems, such as fund distribution. These problems ended up members against each other." Tafalong tribal community has many representatives. If any of them wanted to promote the project, it would go through internal discussion and approved by the leaders. It just like the project must be approved by the head of

village. In this case, we have learned the tribe has rich social capital and bonded with each other deeply. Even the head of village has the will to promote the project but the question is whether the community of 971 villagers is willing to cooperate with each other. This is the crucial point of the observation.

(5) Common goals and understanding of the problem

The red glutinous rice in the community represents its traditional culture of Tafalong tribe. Establishing the “ecological and cultural zone for professional cultivation of red glutinous rice” into the Rural Rejuvenation Plan as a way to preserve traditional culture which Vanni (2014, p. 119) indicates that agriculture provides food and agri-environmental public goods such as agricultural landscape, biodiversity, drought and flood control, and carbon sequestration. How the community develops Rural Rejuvenation Plan, and how the community members pursue the shared interests, the villagers need to get together for discussion and find consensus. In particular, the Nan-Fu Community is part of the tributary of the Tafalong, for indigenous funding, N1 said, “At first, it is difficult to integrate the opinions, because there are members of assembly and representatives of village. But we are in the frontline fight for the actual execution, we understand the problem of rural rejuvenation and community common goals.” The chairman and chief executive of Community Building Association should take their part and lead the Nan-Fu Community to a better status, the common goal of the plan might be achieved some day.

External environment.

(1) Financial support

Nan-Fu Community in 2010 began to participate in related to the manpower training plan of rural rejuvenation hold by Hualien County Soil and Water Conservation Bureau and other related subsidized programs, such as the charm of the hometown plan from Hualien County Cultural Bureau, the health and safety of the community from the Council of Indigenous Peoples, etc. Since the main purpose of implementing the Rural Rejuvenation Plan is to provide the public goods, it would be better to take collective action to accommodate to the changing environment. The Government should adopt policies that promote collective action, such as Rural Rejuvenation Policies, the establishment of rural rejuvenation fund, and providing for community. The funding required for the implementation of Rural Rejuvenation Plans; such as the subsidy for organic agriculture, requires government financial support to help reduce the higher transaction costs in the early stages of collective action. However, only few of the farmers receive part of the subsidy, most of them even cannot afford to pay certification fees.

(2) Non-financial support

The developing of “Red Glutinous Rice and Organic Agriculture” is related with government, local community association and the Hualien District Agricultural Research and Extension Station of the Council of Agriculture (HDARES) offers technical supports, including breed improvement and planting skills. Though these external supports are not financial supports, they could cultivate the farmers. It could also form into a group by production and sale course. This can also help the community practice collective action.

Nan-Fu Community could also focus on tourism industry. Guiding by local university and college, they can combine local ingredient, like red glutinous rice and Usawa cane shoot (bamboo), into specific meal recipes. It could not only promote the local culture, but also create more jobs for the locals.

(3) Arbitrator and coordinator

The implementation of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan, not just needs volunteers but also needs proper distribution of resources, mission, and usage of land. N1 said, “If anything went through the tribe discussion,

the leader would offer aid.” Because the tribe leader is wise and has experience to settle the conflicts. The conflict coordinator could be a person or an organization, like NGO or government officials. They will offer information for the project and bridge between local and the government to create a contact channel used by the association to improve the level of cooperation. As for the arbitrator, the role of conflict or consultation, such as the individual’s land for the community for public use, if there are different views among the common people, can serve as arbitrators, to avoid conflict, so that collective action could be run, otherwise it will cause community residents both the dissipation of social capital, and even undermine the relationship of trust.

(4) Cooperation between local governments and central government

N7 was the head of the Nan-Fu village. He said the transformation from conventional to organic farming has cost some problem for the local farmers. These farmers had encountered the difficulty of inspection expense, machinery cost, and price issue of the crops. The central government should work with local officials to offer solutions for these issues. But enforcing Rural Rejuvenation Policy was not local officials’ responsibility, they even do not know those communities who propose the Rural Rejuvenation Plan. Although the local official is taking charge of the executive plan since 2016, the most important thing is to stimulate the locals to join the project and fulfill the specific demands of the community. If there is more cooperation between local governments and central government, such as relief the burden of production costs, Nan-Fu Community may promote organic farming included in the Rural Rejuvenation plan successfully.

Implementation of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan and Review of Problems and Predicaments at Nan-Fu Community

The role of community building association and community residents. According to the Rural Rejuvenation Act¹³, the local organizations and associations in rural communities are responsible for the preparation of rural rejuvenation plans. The proposal of this research case is organized as a member of the Tafalong Tribal Community Building Association of Guang-Fu Township in Hualien County, with a membership of about 50, but Nan-Fu Community includes about 1,000 people. The most important issue is how to fulfill the demands of local community by implementing the Rural Rejuvenation Plan. However, the number of residents of Nan-Fu Community attending the Rural Rejuvenation Meeting held in 2012 was only 102 people, decision of maintaining public facilities or management issues are required to building associations for responsibility.

How to mobilize residents to participate in the community for volunteer service, and why the residents participating in Rural Rejuvenation Plan are limited, it needs to figure out the reasons if that plan is to practice functions of production, life, and ecology, and increasing employment opportunities. After all, in the traditional rural areas, the lack of employment opportunities caused by the phenomenon of population migration is more serious. Since the community wants to create employment opportunities, the central government needs to cooperate with local governments to offer support and help residents to discuss together and find out which employment opportunities are appropriate for increasing their income.

Correlation between indigenous meeting and mobilization of community residents. The Rural Rejuvenation Plan in Nan-Fu Community is subject to the resolution of the indigenous meeting. However, the

¹³ Rural Renewal Ordinance Article 9: Local organizations and groups in rural communities shall, in accordance with the needs of the community residents, take the rural community as a project scope, formulate a rural regeneration plan after joint discussion, and push each other in a single organization in accordance with the law or hereinafter referred to as the representative of the community organization, the rural regeneration plan pictorial city or county (city) competent authority approved.

leaders, representatives, councilors, village heads, and directors of the association participate in meeting in the community, but cannot reach the consensus of all the residents of the community all the time. It is not easy for the leaders to mobilize all the villagers to attend the manpower trainings and indigenous meeting, since residents concern mainly about the employment or income issues. What relationship should be established between indigenous meetings and community residents, and how the community building associations, and the village head can use resources surveys to clarify how resources can be used between residents are in great urgent to find resolutions. Through the assistance of government and non-government supports, the residents of the community would recognize the purpose of rural rejuvenation policy rather than wait for subsidy continuously, in order to build the ability of themselves in the long term.

The problems of the elite capture and distribution of government resources in Tafalong tribal community. The indigenous meeting is to decide what matters to do or not to do, or who proposed to do so; nevertheless, it seems that the central and local government resources provide for the community directly, and the allocation of resources is too concentrated or uneven distributed, the community residents do not believe that government resources are allocated to the community fairly.

Whether the indigenous meeting has the validity to prevent the elite capture phenomenon, how to equitably allocate resources is another plight of collective action. And Rural Rejuvenation Policy is always under top-down of the governance, if in the beginning of manpower training curriculum the community residents do not understand the importance of resource allocation and utilization, they cannot monitor effective use of resources to prevent from the phenomenon of elite capture, the inequality of resource allocation may hinder the indigenous community development. How to mobilize the residents to supervise the fair allocation of resources is still a big issue.

Conclusion

In this paper, we discuss the process of planning and implementation of Rural Rejuvenation Plan in Nan-Fu Community by in-depth interviews, and summarize the problems faced by the community. Based on the collective action theory, we analyze the relevant characteristics of the group and the external environment while implementing the Plan in study area, and find out: (1) The community did retain Amis culture; the leaders have been directly involved in strengthening the operational capacity of residents; (2) Leaders' efforts of mobilizing the whole community to implement the project collectively resulted in rational ignorance of the villagers and even resource centralization; (3) The central and local government was lack of coordination; the inequality of resource allocation may hinder the indigenous community development. Our findings reveal that collective action is not a panacea to mobilize the villagers to attend community-oriented project.

Although only few residents are involved in the implementation of Rural Rejuvenation Plan at Nan-Fu Community, the infrastructures are well maintained and management works are carried out by the voluntary organization of the community. The geographical scope of the Nan-Fu Community is vast and the contents of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan are mostly to provide the public goods of the agricultural environment. It is necessary to take collective action to facilitate the effective provision. In view that public goods will cause problem of free-riders, the drafting and implementation of the Rural Rejuvenation Plan should focus on revealing the true needs of the community residents, and make good use of the rural rejuvenation fund to enhance the participation of the community residents.

The decision making at meeting of Tafalong tribal community is crucial to mobilize the residents to do something collectively because the Nan-Fu Community residents are Amis, with common traditional culture. Though the rate of residents who participate in the collective action in Rural Rejuvenation Plan at Nan-Fu Community is rather low, leadership of the association plays an important role in mobilizing the community residents to focus on the issues and find out the consensual solutions. Nevertheless, the financial resources allocation often is under control of the community elites. For example, the central government grants financial resources to Nan-Fu tribal communities, the leaders of the community also play a crucial role in resources allocation at tribal meetings. We found that the financial resources seem to concentrate on very few members of the community. It is still needed to deliberate how to supervise the plan administration to prevent the phenomenon of elite capture.

In early stage, the local government plays weak role in verifying the implementation of Rural Rejuvenation Plan, and there are few communications between the local government and communities. In 2017, the central government establishes the General Office of Rural Rejuvenation Fund at Department of Planning to be responsible for planning, coordination, and supervision of Rural Rejuvenation Policy, etc. The local government is assigned to put more efforts on guidance and assistance of executing the Rural Rejuvenation Plan in communities. Nevertheless, the division of work among the General Office, Water and Conservation Bureau, and local government is not distinct and triggering compliment and questioning. The central government has to delegate the local government with clear accountability and supervision to help community residents through empowerment mechanism to make bottom-up governance work more effectively.

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Appendix

Interview object data sheet

Number	Sex	Ethnicity	Age	Affiliated community (Horde) organization	Position
N1	male	Amis	38-40	Tafalong tribe Nan-Fu Community	CEO
N2	male	Amis	63-65	Tafalong tribe Nan-Fu Community	Resident
N3	female	Amis	64	Tafalong tribe Nan-Fu Community	Resident
N4	male	Amis	65-68	Tafalong tribe Nan-Fu Community	President of Longevity Club
N5	male	Amis	50-55	Tafalong tribe Nan-Fu Community	Chairman of the Board
N6	male	Amis	65-68	Tafalong tribe Nan-Fu Community	Resident
N7	male	Amis	64-66	Tafalong tribe Nan-Fu Community	Former village head
N8	female	Han	58-60	Soil and Water Conservation Bureau	Officer
N9	female	Han	30-35	Soil and Water Conservation Bureau	Officer
N10	female	Han	35-40	Consultant Company	Project manager