The Development and Role of Taiwan's Neighborhood Governance

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Abstract

In western countries, neighbourhood governance is a very important issue. However, in Taiwan, it has received little attention. This paper has reviewed relevant literatures, and founded that there were few studies on neighbourhood governance in Taiwan in the past and the main focus was on community governance and local governance. On the contrary, western countries have paid attention to participation in neighbourhood governance and operation of democracy. In the literature review, this study divides neighbourhood governance into three models: one is western style, another one is Chinese style, and the other is Taiwanese style. The Taiwanese style neighbourhood governance is still evolving, especially in a society with immigration of new immigrants. In this paper, in-depth qualitative interview was used to describe the current status of neighbourhood governance in Taiwan. During the interviews, it was found that the immigration of new immigrants would make the mode and operation of neighbourhood governance more different. In terms of a legal point, the design of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance includes village and community development association. Finally, this paper presents relevant analysis and conclusion.

Keywords: Community Development Association; Neighbourhood Governance; Taiwan; Village

I. Introduction: The Importance of Neighbourhood Governance in Taiwan

Neighbourhood governance is a very important issue in the western countries. However, in Taiwan, it is a less discussed issue. First, this study tries to clarify the current situation and operation of neighbourhood governance in Taiwan and tries to put forward an outline of neighbourhood governance. Meanwhile, after reviewing relevant literatures, the neighbourhood governance is preliminarily divided into western style, Chinese style and Taiwanese style.

Each of the three models has its own focus. To sum from the literature, the neighbourhood governance in the western countries emphasizes democratic participation. It China, it explores the relation between a nation and politics as well as the governance of political party. The Taiwanese style is still unclear but most focuses are on activities of villages and community development associations. Regardless of western style or Chinese style neighbourhood governance, they are discussed in many literatures. However, Taiwanese neighbourhood governance is less discussed.

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Therefore, the study summarizes and compiles the discourse of relevant literatures such as Le Galès (1998) and Yip ed. (2014), and defines the Taiwanese neighbourhood governance as "the focus on shaping the property and capacity of a village, including the administrative group 'lin'." Furthermore, this study is based on in-depth qualitative interview with several scholars and new immigrant, trying to find the context of neighbourhood governance.[1] Summarized from two points of view from the interviewees, the neighbourhood governance should be based on village or it should comprise village and community.

According to the data of National Immigration Agency (2014), there are about 500, 000 new immigrants living in Taiwan which would also affect the complexion of neighbourhood governance in Taiwan. The diverse background of the new immigrants and their stable increase appear to resemble the concept of diverse ethnic groups in the western society. The immigration of the new immigrants makes the mode and operation of neighbourhood governance different from usual. From the legal and institutional points of view, Taiwan's neighbourhood governance includes two types of systems: village officers and community development association. If both cooperate, the operation of neighbourhood governance is smooth. In contrast, if both do not cooperate, the operation of neighbourhood governance is hindered and disturbed. Finally, this study analyzes and discusses the current status of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance, and proposed relevant conclusion.

II. Neighbourhood Governance: Its Importance, Type, and Application

As far as neighbourhood governance is concerned, it is mainly from the neighbourhood operation of the western countries. Therefore, we should return to the relevant issues in the western countries:

1. Importance of Neighbourhood Governance

For the western countries, neighbourhood governance is an important democratic issue (Farrelly, and Sullivan, 2010). Besides, neighbourhood governance is a way of community participation (Farrelly, 2009). The content of neighbourhood governance includes re-establishment of communities such as renaissance of communities, urban renewal and public participation, integration and improvement of social ability, good governance and bad neighbors (Börzel, and van Hüllen, 2011). The neighbourhood governance in this regard is related to the governance and neighbourhood policies of the EU (Gaenzle, 2008). Relevant issues, such as exploration of the appearance of "big society," the process from weak government to strong society and the interaction between nation and society; or description of the process of "neighborhood change," how to make the public identify with the activities of community, the relation between community and police; or discussion on the interactive relationship among leadership, trust and social capital in the neighbourhood governance, and none is indispensable; there are also concerns about problems at individual level and political discourse of neighbourhood parliament. In summary, the aforementioned arguments are mainly democratic participation process based on community, neighborhood, and people (Purdue, 2001).

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[1] The more details of Interviewees are listed in the appendix 1.

Secondly, the focus of neighbourhood governance can be poor places in cities, public participation, channel for public participation (Fagotto and Fung, 2006; Uitermark, Justus. and Duyvendak, 2008), neighbourhood governance council (Maxwell, 2007), political and economic interaction, local democracy, neighbourhood governance democracy, family strengthening, neighbourhood activities and differences, neighborhood planning, networking, neighborhood management, collective action, police relation, crime prevention (Hughesand and Rowe, 2007), climate change (Smith, and Hopkins, 2010), sustainable management, police, democratic talks, etc（Churchill, 2008; Glasze, 2005; Musso, et al., 2007.

In other words, the focus of neighbourhood governance is very diverse, from small areas of concern, such as neighborhood security and public participation, to big issues such as climate change. These issues are referred back to the neighbourhood participation and the trust to the government. To sum, the neighbourhood governance concerned by the aforementioned literatures are mainly from the village and neighborhood relations or discourse related to community. The neighbourhood governance of the western countries focuses on democratic participation, the relationship between leadership and community and stimulation of community. Alternatively, neighbourhood governance can be the collection of the competence of neighbourhood society.

2. Type and Application of Neighbourhood Governance

Similarly, neighbourhood governance has developed into several different models. The differences among the models are mainly due to contexts. Different types of neighbourhood governance are as follows:

(1) Western Style Neighbourhood Governance: Emphasizes Democratic Participation and Establishment of Systems

The development of western-style neighbourhood governance has long emphasized democratic participation and establishment of participation system which has leaned towards implementation of systems. The main reason is that the neighborhoods in the western countries comprise diverse ethnic groups and multi-culture. The western-style neighbourhood governance pays attention to neighbourhood cooperation and emphasizes trust relation, and their issues include firefighting and community security, police administration, etc (Purdue, 2001). Like the aforementioned foreign literatures, these are basically the focus of the western countries.

(2) Chinese Style Neighbourhood Governance: Focuses on Political System and Neighbourhood Elections

In addition, another type of neighbourhood governance that is frequently talked about and applied is mostly from the research on Mainland China. Due to the impact of many reasons related to political system, the neighbourhood election in Mainland China is subject to regulation.

As a result, the public opinions cannot be heard by the government through a genuine election system. The neighbourhood of Mainland China emphasizes more on the political impact and neighbourhood election of the villages or neighbourhood governance and the control of political parties. For Mainland China, community and public participation are less mentioned in the neighbourhood governance. Furthermore, according to the definition of neighborhood in the book of Yip ed. (2014:2-5), the author argued that the concept of neighborhood should not be narrowly viewed as residential area. It is more like matters between "neighbors." The concept of neighbor is activities under village and community but over residential area. Meanwhile, the book also believes that neighbourhood governance is a confused concept.

Furthermore, Yip ed. (2014) quoted the definition of Lowndes and Sullivan (2008) of neighbourhood governance, and pointed that neighbourhood governance mostly are the experience of western countries rather than China's own experience. Therefore, this paper argues that the neighbourhood governance discussed by Yip is partial to village level. Village includes the administrative group of "neighborhood." In other words, most neighbourhood governance addressed in the western democratic countries is the mechanism design. In contract, it is different in Mainland China where political operation is discussed more often.

(3) Taiwan's Neighbourhood Governance: Focuses on the Village Level and Participation in Community Activities.

Taiwan's neighbourhood governance is more toward to village-based governance. Some villages comprise one community and other villages consist of a number of communities (Liao, 2014). Thus, the unit of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance should be based on village. Meanwhile, village is the most basic administrative governance unit. Taiwan's scholars have not really explored the feature of neighbourhood governance, but, at most, described the status quo of the neighbourhood governance in the western countries. In Taiwan, the most frequently discussed concept closer to the concept and operation of neighbourhood governance is community governance. In terms of the neighbourhood governance in the western countries, Taiwan's villages and community development associations are considered as the system design of neighbourhood governance.

To conclude, the western style neighbourhood governance emphasizes democratic participation; the Chinese style highlights political parties and political process; and Taiwan is still under development. Regardless of which model, this paper believes that the definition of Le Galès (1998) "neighbourhood governance can be conceptualized as an ability to shape neighborhood property" is applicable to the western style, Chinese style and Taiwanese style. According to Le Galès, the neighbourhood governance mainly is to shape neighborhood property. At the same time, based on Yip ed. (2014), it should be focused on village level. Therefore, referring to the definition of Le Galès and the analysis of Yip, the definition of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance in this paper is "the focus on shaping the property of Taiwan's village including the administrative group 'lin'(neighborhood)."

III. The Core Role and Mode of Taiwan's Neighbourhood Governance.

After the aforementioned relevant origin and the definition by Le Galès (1998), the next part is the pole of the participants in Taiwan's neighbourhood governance and neighbourhood operation involved. They are discoursed as follows:

1.   The Operation of Village: Based on Village or Village and Community

In general, when talking about Taiwan's neighbourhood governance, the village level is always discussed. Village is the most basic administrative term in Taiwan and is the most basic local autonomous unit. "Li", or 里, is the village under district, county-controlled city and town; "cun", or 村, is the village belongs to township; "lin" is the group under cun and li. In this study, the aforementioned "li," "cun," and "lin" are referred as village.

In a village, village officers are the most basic level of public officials which are assigned by offices of township, town, city, or district to assist chiefs of villages, and they are the legal executives of village affairs. To further analyze, "lin" is the administrative group under village. Generally, it is not specifically named. Generally, but represented by number. Chiefs of lins are not elected. They are appointed by the chiefs of villages and hired by the offices of township, town, city or district. Usually, chiefs of lins have no offices, administrative staff and relevant funding. Their main job is to assist chiefs of villages in advocate village affairs. However, interestingly, it often becomes a rewarded duty during the election of chief of village. The size of lin ranges from 10 to 200 households.

For Taiwan's neighbourhood governance, the real impact on grass-roots operation is in village. As for the village governance and operation, Chen (2014) used the way the public affairs of villages are promoted in central Taiwan as an example where two operational modes of public affairs, "promotion with governments' resources" and "voluntary participation of residents" exist. In addition, he also thought that the village operation and governance are often ignored, and there are not many literatures available, either. This implies that Taiwan's neighbourhood governance is not taken seriously. Be honest, village is the most basic administrative organization in Taiwan. It not only faces the public directly, but also is a window to provide public services directly.

If take the discretion of the village chiefs and village officers for example, Zhong-An Hsieh (2008) found that the administrative staff is the primary actors of policy execution. Their judgement and discretion conduct will affect the rights of the public. Moreover, Cheng-Hsiang Hsieh (2008) looked at the role of village chiefs in governance network, the village organization today is the most basic group in Taiwan's local autonomy, and the soundness of its operation affects the development of local governance.

This article found that (1) the seniority of the village chief affects whether the village chief holds positive or negative attitude when playing the role. (2) When dealing with disputes, junior village chiefs hold resource-based hostile attitude while senior village chiefs hold human-oriented peaceful attitude. (3) When fighting for space resources and material resource, the junior village chiefs are more positive and focus human resources on the neighborhood residents while the senior village chiefs are more conservative and focus the human resources on political figures.

In accordance with the relevant provisions of the "Local Government Act," one point of view believes that neighbourhood governance should include villages and communities. Interviewee A said,

The definition of neighbourhood governance can be discussed from two aspects: legal system and theory. According to the provision of Article 3 of the "Local Government Act," village is a unit in the local autonomous group. The village chief, upon the instruction and under the supervision of the mayor of township (town, city or district) (Article 59 of the Local Government Act), shall handle village affairs, and neighborhood is a group within village. It, in nature, is the most fundamental administrative division and is classified as a top-down compulsory policy implementation unit in the local administrative authority. Therefore, in terms of the legal system of local autonomy, the basic unit to define neighbourhood should be village. Furthermore, according to the provisions of Article 2 of the "Community Development Guidelines," community is delimited by the competent authority of community development of township (town, city or district), and community development association is established in accordance with regulations which is an organization or activity region to promote community development. It is classified as voluntary, bottom-up, non-compulsory and non-profit civil group in nature, and is cross-boundary in space (might comprises two or more villages). To conclude, the scope of neighbourhood governance should include village and community (Interview Code A).

For the definition of neighbourhood governance, another point of view is that "village" is the unit of neighbourhood governance. Interviewee B said,

I believe the neighbourhood governance should be defined at the village level rather than community. One village might comprise one community or several communities.(Interview Code B)

In the "Local Government Act," neighborhoods in Taiwan should be defined as "lin." However, if it is simply defined as "lin," the scope of governance is too small. Therefore, this study takes the point of view of Yip ed. (2014) who believed that neighborhood should not be narrowly viewed as the matters between "neighbors." Instead, the meaning of neighbourhood governance should be expanded to the activities under village and community but above 'lin'.

According to interviewee A, the neighbourhood governance should include village and community. This point of view intersects with interviewee B's point of view who believes that neighbourhood governance should be defined at the village level. Thus, to conclude from the aforementioned interviews with the experts and scholars, we can be sure that one argues that neighbourhood governance should be based on "village" and the other is "village and community."

The intersection of these two arguments is "village," and this point of view is, based on Le Galès and Yip, neighbourhood governance in Taiwan, "the focus on shaping the property of Taiwan's village including the administrative group 'lin'" as mentioned in the paper earlier.

2. Community Development Associations: Political Power and the Transition of Old and New Chairpersons

In addition to the implementation of public affairs by the village chief and village office, another organization also plays an important role. Chen（2014）believed that

Besides the office of the village chief, the most common unit in promoting public affairs is the community development association trumpeted by the government.

Community development association is a civil organization which is also a setup of a mechanism. According to the point of view of Chang (2003),

Establishment, the most fundamental work of a community development association, is mostly done with the assistance of county/city government and office of township, town, city or district which completely violates the principle that the residents of a community establish a community development association voluntarily and cooperatively based on common needs. In addition, the organizational structure of community is not stable and the source of its power is problematic. Serious lack of resources and the exactly the same geographical jurisdiction as village also makes it hard for community residents to recognize the community development association.

According to the preceding argument, we know that the community development association is promoted by the government from top to down rather than voluntarily developed by the residents.With regard to the interaction between village and community development association, according to the point of view of Chen (2007: 49),

Village and community development association are the local grassroots organization of Taiwan. However, they have long been in different systems. One is an administrative organization in civil political system and the other is a civil group guided by social political system. Village is a political organization and community development association is a social group. Village and community non-profit organization are organizations that are established to promote local infrastructure. Both are substantially overlapped geographically, and they are quite consistent in their function and targets. Even members of the organization and subject of service are considerably overlapped. As a result, the interaction between the two will affect the achievement of their organizational goals.

Village is an organization of the civil political system, and community development association is the civil group of the social political system. They belong to different systems and have different roles. With regard to community development, Tsai, Chen, and Wang (2007) believed that community development association is the most important role in promoting neighbourhood community development.

During elections, communities almost become the subject of mobilization of political figures. The chairperson of community development association and village chief often belong to different groups, resulting in counteraction. The author also argued that the basis of neighbourhood interpersonal relationship is still in community. However, the concept of community is highly overlapped with village which is the issue of concern in elections currently. Because of the intervention of political power, village and community development association have become more complicated and they might cause differences in the village or community. Further, Wu (2014) believed that there is a transition period between the old chairperson and new chairperson during the operation of the organization.

After the term of office expires, the directors and supervisors of the community development association must be reelected. Some directors and supervisors hold the position because of their favorable relationship with the chairperson or they are only in name. Thus, once the incumbent chairperson steps down, some directors and supervisors also step down with the chairperson. The community services are often interrupted because the new chairperson lacks experience and the community manpower constantly changes, resulting in interrupted experience inheritance which is a tough challenge for the sustainable development of community.

In addition to intervention of political force and the problems of new and old chairpersons, another important change in the community development is the increase of new immigrants. The new immigrants are the specific realization of "lin" as well as the concept of "neighbors." Many new immigrants cannot speak mandarin in Taiwan. For example, the new immigrant interviewee C said,

I am a Vietnamese Taiwaese. I only speak Teochew dialect, and cannot speak mandarin. We have group meetings between Vietnamese friends, and less often participate in the activities organized for village residents. (Interview Code C)

On the other hand, with regard to the extent of the new immigrants' participation in neighbourhood organization and capacity building, the immigrant interviewee C said,

Most of us are foreign spouses. Most of the time, we take care of children or learn Mandarin in continuation schools. We haven't had time to participate in relevant neighbourhood activities in Taiwan, but we consider ourselves integrated into the society of Taiwan.(Interview Code C)

When the new immigrants move to Taiwan, multi-culture forms between village and community. Interviewee A said,

If the identity of different cultures or ethnic groups is taken as the reference subject of neighbourhood, it is difficult to distinguish and define the neighbourhood in Taiwan because the neighbourhood environment in Taiwan is unlike the United States which has communities clustered by ethnic groups. Moreover, most of the cross-cultural marriages in Taiwan involve immigration of foreign females. Assuming that the foreign females are disadvantaged in economic or physical condition, based on the view of traditional Taiwanese society, many adopt the customs of the original family of the males which makes it more difficult to present the characteristics of different cultures and ethnic groups. (Interview Code A)

The priority of new immigrants in Taiwan is to take care of children. The main limitation is that without ID cards, they cannot work, so they can only take care of children or go to continuation schools to learn Mandarin. The new immigrants are often more vulnerable. At the same time, language learning helps them to integrate in Taiwan's society. The latest session of legislators, even comprise representatives of new immigrants. The interviewee B mentioned:

In 2016, the first new immigrant legislator-at-large nominated by KMT was elected. This is the best example which will bring about a certain degree of concern and change to the affairs of new immigrants. (Interview Code B)

The aforementioned village and community development association constitute the appearance of neighbourhood governance in Taiwan. Interviewee B said,

Neighbourhood governance in Taiwan is formation and reformation of a system. Taiwan's neighbourhood governance can be shaped. (Interview Code B)

Taiwan should reconsider the appearance of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance and the way democracy works in these two types of neighbourhood governance. Unlike the western countries, Taiwan does not have real slum characters or poverty cluster. However, Taiwan's problems of new immigrants are similar to the western countries. These new immigrants may not be able to integrate into Taiwan's society using fluent mandarin.

IV. Analysis and Discussions: the Image and Challenge of Taiwan's Neighbourhood Governance

Neighbourhood governance has its application, but it also involves the basic core value and the level of participation of people in the community.

1. Taiwan's Neighbourhood Identity and Reconstruction: The Increase of New Immigrants

Taiwan's discrimination against immigration policy in the past and the communication problems of the immigrants have led to many conflicts. For example, Lin, Wang and Wu (2005) believed that,

Thanks to Taiwan government's discrimination policies against female new immigrants, the attitude of the committee of women's association is consistent outward. What is more difficult to deal with is the internal interaction of the organization. Conflicts often arise from interaction of the ladies. In one year or so, the organizer often becomes the channel of complaint or expression of emotions among the ladies.

This text also expresses that in the early stage, Taiwan's new immigrants policy is often not encouraging in nature, but discriminative. At the same time, Taiwan already has had the character of immigrant society and it has been shown. For example, Wu (2009) argued that,

Taiwan is an immigrant society. In different periods, waves of migration have been caused by different factors and backgrounds. Marriage immigration is the larger scale of immigration in recent year. There are two main sources: Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macao and Southeast Asia. Based on the observation between 2001 and 2008, the immigrants were mostly from Mainland China because of language and cultural similarity as well as increasing cross-strait exchange. The second most was from the Southeast region. However, it has been slowed down in recent years.

The number of spouses from Mainland China and Southeast Asia, according to the statistics of the National Immigration Agency (2014), is nearly 500,000, including Mainland spouses, Southeast Asian spouses and foreign spouses. The huge number of population is shaping the appearance of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance.

From the perspective of place identity, Lee (2012) summarized relevant views: (1) "place" often means ownership or a person and specific location or certain connection with buildings. It comprises the concept of privacy and sense of belonging. Thus, the place referred here is a "meaningful location." (2) Identity is an objective sense of belonging or awareness of belonging which is a process a person forms senses of attachment and belongings to surroundings in the living space of self-awareness. (3) Identity is a feeling of personal location as well as a social relationship. (4) After staying in a "space" for a long time and feeling develops, "space" becomes "place."

Lee (2012) further took the new immigrants in Xinzhuang District for example, the issues of concerns were "enhancing participation rate of neighborhood activities, strengthening the promotion of community awareness," "reinforcing security maintenance and home environment safety, promoting the concept of mutual assistance," "organizing local new immigrants dating group," "enhancing services to new immigrants and adding multilingual version to the website of the district office," "organizing activities for the new immigrants to know more about the village, and promoting the awareness and understanding of the local culture," and "recruiting new immigrant volunteers, and enhancing the sense of honor through participation."

To conclude, the neighbourhood governance seems has participation mechanism set up. However, without the recognition of local residents or the substantial participation of new immigrants, neighbourhood governance might lack of adequate participation of representatives. However, what is more important is how to attract the public to participate in the neighbourhood governance or how to make more new immigrants participate in the neighbourhood affairs. This seems to receive less attention in Taiwan's current situation.

In other words, even the Taiwanese community has little understanding of the participation of neighbourhood governance or even little participation. For people live in the cities or countryside, their understanding of the concept of neighbourhood governance is different. That is to say, the neighbourhood governance is related to the awareness of the public and the implementation of democracy. Meanwhile, compared to other countries, the current status of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance is different. For example, Taiwan's new immigrants are mostly blue collars; Taiwan has yet to deepen the democratic process and the real degree of the implementation of neighbourhood governance requires inspection. However, it is feasible that with the increase of new immigrants, the backgrounds of the members of the neighbourhood governance will become very diverse.

2. The Context of Neighbourhood Governance in Taiwan and Preference of Participation in Religious Affairs

Take Taiwan's neighbourhood governance for example, with regard to the public's participation in public affairs, relevant researchers, such as Chen (2014) said,

The general public in Taiwan rarely voluntarily participates in public affairs. In terms of local affairs, what bring about people's interest are religious affairs such as construction of temples, worship, or pilgrimage. Generally, religious affairs are what most local people participate in.

Interestingly, the participation of religious affairs is the main of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance which is different from the neighbourhood governance of the western countries. In terms of participation in public affairs and identity, whether the positions of participants are equal, Lin and Chiu (2014) pointed out,

Under the construction of Communitarians or civil society which emphasizes 'consensus' and 'identity', the government, power parties or communities are often expected to communicate, conciliate and compromise in the constructed public areas in the community. However, the combination of Communitarians and public area might be too 'idealistic' or 'unrealistic', which overemphasizes that every participant has equal communication opportunity and ability in the public area and ignores the 'micro-politics' in the public area: the unequal ability to participate in public affairs, the power and domination among different participants, and the opinions of the few elites become 'public opinion'.

However, such discourse of construction and mobility of community whether in Europe or Taiwan often attempts to combine with moral "consensus" or cultural "identity" to unite the action and opinions of local people or groups. In other words, behind the "consensuses," there might be rationality constructed from specific moral value, professional knowledge and expert discourses, and it dominates the consensus formation and discussion. Therefore, when constructing village or community activities, it should still be based on respect to community individuals and equality and avoid extreme opinions.

The aforementioned participation of religious public affairs is also how villages draw consensus and participate in public affairs, and it is also one way to make friendly contact. The priority of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance mentioned above and discussed by relevant scholars is compiled in the following table:

Table 1: Religious public affairs and village affairs

Pririty	Scope of concern	Degree of concern	Consensus
First priority	Religious public affairs	Everybody's business (relatively non-discriminative)	High
Second priority	Village affairs, including community and neighbor affairs	Personal business (relatively discriminative)	Low

Source: compiled by the author

Therefore, the focus of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance is mostly religious affairs, followed by village affairs. The consensus of religious public affairs is also higher than village affairs. Furthermore, Chen (2014) summed up the limitation in the development of Taiwan's village governance. There are two main points: (1) it is difficult to integrate social resources; (2) the conflict of power and interests between the chairperson of the community and village chief. That is to say, the development of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance is not an easy one, and there are still risks. In other words, the community development association occupies an important position. If it goes well, it can go hand in hand with the village chief. However, if the composition of both parties is different, it might cause opposition. The village chief and community development association is bound to form a unique partnership. The government supports the growth of the village and community through policy resources. It should achieve the policy objective but cannot interfere with the growth of the community.

V. Conclusion: the Development of Taiwan's Neighbourhood Governance

Two key roles of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance are village and community development association. If the community development association is composed of the same group of people as the village officers, the operation of neighbourhood governance is much smoother.

On the contrary, if they are different groups of people, the neighbourhood governance might be impeded. In other words, the community development association can be viewed as an institutional tool to shape the capacity of the village. This definition is also in line with the discourse of Le Galès and Yip. However, it is worth noting that the community development association is being affected and interfered by political power and there are problems of the handover of old and new chairpersons during transition. The definition and operation of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance are not as clear as that in the western countries.

This study tries to clarify the status quo of neighbourhood governance in Taiwan and its operation mode. This study found that the relevant interviewees believe that the neighbourhood governance should be based on village or village and community. This study suggests that the intersection is "village." Therefore, it is clear that the neighbourhood governance should be based on village which includes the administrative group of "lin."

Furthermore, Taiwan's neighbourhood governance is undergoing a change, which is the immigration of new immigrants from China and Southeast Asia. The continued increase in the new immigrants is similar to the concept of diverse ethnic groups in the western society. As the new immigrant interviewee said, language learning and taking care of children are what most new immigrants care about. The majority of the new immigrants are still in a disadvantageous position in Taiwan. Due to the growth of the new immigrants, the mode and operation of neighbourhood governance has started to change, and such change will change the democratic participation and neighbourhood activities. Taiwan's neighbourhood governance still relies on the village chiefs to perform public affairs, and thus the community development associations can be viewed as a supportive role. Finally, this study believes that integration of the new immigrants into Taiwan society and establishment of consensus and identity will be the most important key role and core of Taiwan's neighbourhood governance in the next stage.

Appendix 1 List of In-depth Qualitative Interviewees

Interview code	Time	Interviewee	Reasons for Choosing Interviewee
A	2015/12/29	Adjunct Associate Research Fellow, Cross Boundary Management Education Foundation, Taiwan (R.O.C.)	The main research fields of Associate Research Fellow are urban governance and cross boundary governance.
B	2015/2/2	Research Fellow, Institute of Knowledge Economy Development, Shih Hsin University, Taiwan (R.O.C.)	The main research field of Research Fellow is organizational research and integrity governance.
C	2015/2/2	New Immigrant	The interviewee is a new Vietnamese Taiwanese.

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