

RESEARCH ARTICLE



A study of nonprofit temple organizations involved in community development— using Daitian Temple in Hamasen as an example

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Abstract

The concept of community governance of local affairs was developed in Taiwan after World War II. Located in Southern Taiwan, Hamasen is one of the communities formed after land reclamation following the Japanese colonial period. During the recovery period after the War, along with the booming of the fishery industry and a collective consciousness developed by immigrants who moved in to the community, Daitian Temple was built by the residents of Hamasen. Founded on religious principles, a nonprofit organization was set up in the spirit of mutual help and altruism to create a sense of community building distinct from that of governmental policies. This study observes the assistance of Daitian Temple to the community residents of Hamasen to form a nonprofit organization and participate in public affairs in the community, and compares differences between this nonprofit organization and others. Firstly, Hamasen is a community built by immigrants, and it played a pivotal role in the development of the fishing industry in Taiwan in earlier times. Industrial prosperity helped to develop a robust industrial chain in the community. The history of community development and industrial characteristics built collective memories and a strong consensus, both of which are necessary foundations for community building. Residents participated in public affairs ranging from community transportation, cultural preservation and community identity, to community events. Scholars worked with Daitian Temple to bring attention to the importance and historical value of the old train station and railway, using soft protest methods of traffic obstruction or collective kite flying. They also continuously negotiated with the local government to express their opinions regarding the name change of the MRT station. During these processes, Daitian Temple played a vital role.

Secondly, temple based nonprofit organizations are run with a religious, charitable, and volunteering nature, with a relatively small number of one-off volunteers and a stable financial income. In addition, their experience in funding the building of temples demonstrates their strong religious belief and loyalty to the temples that give them more flexibility than the non-religious nonprofit organizations. Furthermore, their background in community development and a strong community consciousness enable Hamasen to not rely solely on the structure of government in Taiwan. From the beginning, Daitian Temple has encouraged community participation in different issues, and now its role has been taken by different nonprofit organizations in the community to promote participation in public affairs such as historical culture, industrial services, and social services.

1 | INTRODUCTION

The observation of nonprofit organizations has been discussed in many different aspects of social research, from the theory and connotations of the rise of nonprofit organizations (Salomon, 1994), strategies to respond to environmental challenges (Tschirhart & Bielefeld, 2012), and the strategies of nonprofit organizations to compete (Barmon, 2002) and so on. This study is based on the central government of Taiwan's promotion of the "Integrated Community Development" strategy in 1994, which was started in response to the need for regional redevelopment. This scheme indirectly motivates the communities in the form of nonprofit organizations, long-term investment in community redevelopment work, and social reforms. It also explores the role of nonprofit organizations involved in community reform, and the transformation of the direction, operation methods, and implications for Taiwan's community development. The study uses the Hamasen community which is located in southern Taiwan as an observation and research subject. The Hamasen community experienced community reconstruction after the Pacific War and has experienced industrial prosperity for decades, which has led to the building of the community awareness of its residents. This study discusses and analyzes the process of self-funding the construction of Daitian Temple (the community's most important religious building) from 1949 to 1954, which was started through citizen participation. Daitian Temple also assisted and engaged in the community development of Hamasen in response to government policies in 1955, and subsequently created a unique community that was different from Taiwan's policies at the time. The cultivation and cohesion of community awareness, and the formation of the unique local culture of community development headed by regional nonprofit organizations and the relationship between the nonprofit organizations of Hamasen are discussed.

2 | THE PARTICIPATION OF TAIWAN'S NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The government of Taiwan experienced political martial law for more than 40 years. During that period, there were many restrictions on civil associations, until the political lifting of the law in 1980, and the influence of social trends in western countries, nonprofit organizations or non-governmental organizations has now become a new social force in Taiwan (Ku, Chung-Hwa, 1999). Nonprofit organizations are widely used abroad in different social aspects, from environmental issues, human rights issues, and social welfare to religion. Community development has been one of Taiwan's major national strategies for decades, and the central government has encouraged people to found nonprofit organizations to engage in community development in recent years. Community development is the creation of unique cultures for each region based on its own existing characteristics. It also involves industrial transformation, and the intergrowth and co-prosperity of residents and communities to achieve the goal of creating a "new hometown". The intention of the promotion of community development - from the forced service of people in the 1950s to the local administrative agencies of the early 1960s - was to guide the community to establish a "social movement organization (1)" in the form of a "Community Development Council". Much later, in 1991, the government policies tended to encourage and promote nonprofit organizations under the guise of "community development association" (LEE, Yih-jiunn, 2011).

Based on the model started in Japan, community development is designed to motivate residents to reform their living spaces. It is a bottom-up social reform that involves environmental transformation and local economic reactivation for the establishment of community networks. After Taiwan listed

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community development as a major national development strategy in 1994, it triggered a wave of civil society movements in Taiwan. In the early days of the policy, due to the lack of knowledge and experience among residents, government departments provided substantial financial assistance, and scholars led students and community residents to establish a "Community Development Association" and set up workstations to guide and assist the community to participate in public affairs.

According to the "Integrated Community Development" strategy of Taiwan, the ultimate goal is to form "community consciousness". Through community consciousness, the community can then mobilize its residents and participate in the decision-making and implementation of communal public affairs. That is, the central government grants citizens the right to the grassroots mobilization of self-determination in community affairs through subsidies. At that time, the Integrated Community Development Policy led residents and academics to explore local characteristics based on its history, geography and culture. Via community mobilization, it gradually inspired the community to pursue a sense of local identity and a collective consciousness.

In addition to the establishment of "collective consciousness," the proposal of community development policies is based on the establishment of "life communities." Chu-joe Hsia (2007:235) asserts that, according to Castells (1997:69), a sense of belonging to a community is achieved through the mutual influence, socialization and establishment of social networks on which people gather. This takes time to accumulate and the achievement of this result requires people to participate in the urban movement, and to discover and protect common values and interests. Moreover, this policy is also an attempt to respond to the concept of participatory design and to connect this design with social processes.

The definition of a community is broad, and it can be based on geography, divided by population, or according to areas with common interests, cultures or identities. The most common form of community development in Taiwan is to define the community as the administrative unit "village" (2). The village chief is then expected to organize a nonprofit organization in the form of a Community Development

Association to encourage residents to participate in public affairs. The work involved is mainly based on government-subsidized projects, but there are also a few communities that are organized and promoted by residents who are enthusiastic about the public affairs of their own community. Village chief lead community development associations have been the main driving force for Taiwan's community development since 1994. Salamon (1994:112-115) points out that the voluntary sector receives three kinds of pressures: from "below"- organizations with the power to improve their own situation or seek basic rights; from "outside", such as churches, private voluntary organizations and official aid organizations; and from government policies (like the ones "above") that can reduce government social expenditures and increase manpower. The nonprofit organizations for community development in Taiwan initially came from their cooperation with (or encouragement of) the government policies above, and their dependence on the government or experts and scholars was high. Therefore, it was a far cry from the essence of "bottom-up" autonomous community development. Yet, it played an important role in evolving the civil aspects of Taiwan's society. However, due to the lack of volunteers and the capacity for community development, enthusiasm gradually declined, and some villages cut ties with the community development association. Conversely, a few higher community-conscious areas abandoned the constraints of village division that were laid out by the government's administrative unit and the leadership of the village chief. Instead, idealistic and enthusiastic residents designated their own community and set their own community development goals, forming nonprofit organizations to promote and improve their own living areas. This is consistent with Salamon's claim that a bottom-up, nonprofit organization formed spontaneously is for the benefit of the people within the community. Moreover, there are also nonprofit organizations that are formed to compete with those in power because of the uniqueness of the region or in response to special issues in Taiwan. For example, the historical and cultural protection groups established to oppose the demolition of old buildings, the preservation of nursing homes for special diseases, and the protec-

A STUDY OF NONPROFIT TEMPLE ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT— USING DAITIAN TEMPLE IN HAMASEN AS AN EXAMPLE

tion of living rights through the prevention of infrastructure construction. Most of the members of this type of nonprofit organization come from outside the community, helping it to contend with those in power, and these organizations mostly dissolved after several incidents. The community development nonprofit organizations in Taiwan are dominated by the previous two types.

3 | RESEARCH OBJECT AND METHOD

3.1 | Research object-Hamasen

The Hamasen community, which is the subject of this study, is located at the foothills of Shoushan Mountain on the west side of Kaohsiung City. It was originally an intertidal zone and a fishing pond. During the Japanese governance of Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, a 12-year port construction project was initiated to develop cargo transportation and ocean fishing. When building the port and dredging the canal, the excavation of bottom mud and Mt. Shoushan soil and rock filled the intertidal zone to create land, creating the first modern community in Kaohsiung (the area of Hamasen is shown in Figure 1). Hamasen is also an example of the first application of urban planning in Kaohsiung, as the Japanese introduced western urban planning concepts for planning road systems, building public facilities and equipment, and setting up city halls, police stations, schools, railways and stations, making Hamasen prosper for more than half a century. From the Japanese occupation period to decades after the Pacific War, Hamasen was not only an important economic trade base for the transportation of goods in the colony, but also an important fishery distribution center in southern Taiwan. When the fishing market moved out of Hamasen in 1984, the community's economy quickly declined. Therefore, when the central government proposed a community development policy, the residents, with the encouragement and assistance of scholars from National Kaohsiung Normal University and National Sun Yat-sen University, launched a civil society movement in Hamasen.

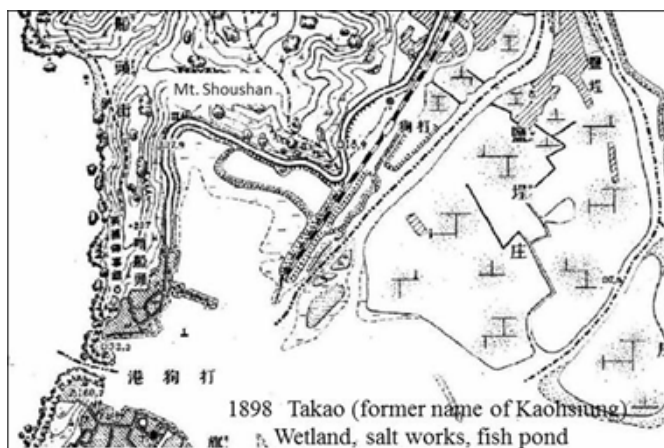


FIGURE 1: Hamasen Community Source: Compiled for this study

Salamon and Anheier (Salamon & Anheier, 1992:1) define nonprofit organizations as having five characteristics - formally constituted, nongovernmental in basic structure, self-governing, nonprofit distributing and voluntary to some meaningful extent. According to their definition, the nonprofit organizations of Hamasen have been divided into the following religious groups: Daitian Temple and Gushan Presbyterian Church; the Kaohsiung Wild Bird Association Society for environmental resource conservation; the Old Five Foundation and the Early Awakening Association for serving the elderly population; the Kaohsiung Hamasen Cultural Association, the Takao Renaissance Association, the Hamasen Vision Alliance and the Hamasen Promotion Association for redeveloping community. Hamasen can be said

to be one of the most vigorous communities in Taiwan's civic movement, which is also related to Hamasen's special historical development and its prominent economic status in the past.

Taiwan's traditional beliefs integrate Buddhism and Taoism; people believe that good deeds must be blessed. Donations to temples, volunteer participation and other charitable work serve the function of developing the collective consciousness of the community. It is a common manifestation of social power in the age of underdeveloped information. Daitian Temple is the most important religious center of Hamasen that was planned, designed and built under the common will of the residents. Through the democratic and automatic participation of the residents in the process of discussing, listening and respecting others, it fully demonstrates the essence of civil society. The Daitian Temple, which was built in 1954, is an important inner sustenance for the residents of Hamasen. It has also played the role of managing community affairs or being a non-governmental arbitrator for a long time, which has a profound influence on the community. Moreover, when Hamasen started community development, Daitian Temple provided great assistance to the nonprofit organization, Hamasen Culture Association, in 1955, which indirectly fostered the prosperity of nonprofit organizations engaging in Hamasen community development. Therefore, this research starts with the role of Daitian Temple in Hamasen community development, analyzes the operation and value of nonprofit organizations headed by temple involvement in community development, and compares the differences with the community development promoted by Taiwan's government policies. This research utilizes long-term observation of Hamasen and in-depth interviews with organizations and residents, to understand the development process of Hamasen's citizen participation. It also explains the actions and contributions of different nonprofit organizations in the community to engage in community development over the years, and how to construct existing Hamasen citizen participation profiles. In addition, the relationship networks between different nonprofit organizations, the connection with the community residents, and the impact on the construction of the Hamasen community are also discussed.

3.2 | Citizen participation in nonprofit organizations

Salamon (1994:109-122) observed the prevalence of global nonprofit organizations and the diversity of nonprofit organizations in different fields, describing this as a "global associational revolution." He pointed out that nonprofit organizations have long been applied in Eastern Europe to seek social reform. The view of nonprofit organizations in civil society is that they act as an intermediary between the state, the market and society. Evers and Wintersberger proposed the Welfare Triangle theory in 1990, and espouse a similar point of view. They believe that NPOs are part of the fourth sector which is separate from the family, the state, and the marketplace, and based on the concept of Welfare State Reform, they provide services on social issues that the state ignores (Tschirhart and Bielefeld, 2006:3). Among those theories of the role and formation of nonprofit organizations, the state failure theory believes that the burden of the government and the bureaucratization of administrative procedures limit the government's actions, as well as the flexibility of grassroots, small-scale and nonprofit organizations, effectively replacing the shortcomings of authorities (Salamon, 1994:109). As a civil society practice organization, nonprofit organizations are associations that voluntarily take public action when people are suffering from damage to their own welfare, an imbalance of public interests, or awareness of responsibility for public interests. This is an associational revolution in which citizens awaken to their responsibilities and participate in public affairs independently. Whilst the participation of nonprofit organizations that use the concept of civil society in public affairs may sometimes have a conflicting relationship with authorities, it can also have a relationship of cooperation and coordination.

3.3 | Theory of public participation in social action

After examining the diverse definitions of community, Sociologist Hillery (1963) pointed out that the commonality of community is social interaction. Carig (2007:339) believes that the 'community'

referred to in community development includes a specific geographic space, community identity, and is issue-oriented. Among them, the development of a community identity takes into account the different needs and interests of its residents, and the identity of the community would be achieved by aiming for common values, norms and goals. Castells has similar views on the formation of community and cultural identity, but it focuses on the intervention of social mobilization. Castells argues that people socialize and interact locally and build social networks among their neighbors (2010: 63). That is, people will gradually develop a sense of belonging over time, eventually forming a community and generating identity. Achieving this result often requires social mobilization. Through urban movement, people discover and guard each other's interests, share each other's lives, and generate new meanings. Whether social mobilization has achieved its goals is not the most important factor for citizen participation and the community; rather, the actions produce "meaning" and this meaning remains in the collective memory (Castells, 2010:64). Community development involves residents participating in public affairs by discussing and summarizing strategies or plans for the development of co-living spaces. During this time, the process of discussion, negotiation, and feedback increases the residents' cognition, allows learning and growing, and stimulates the community's ability to independently improve community affairs. In addition, community participation in public affairs is based on the pursuit of local cultural knowledge and characteristics, the articulation of residents and the public domain. It gradually evolves into the residents' shared reflections on and reconstructions of their new daily lives, strengthening social network relations (Shin-Ming Chen).

Taiwan's community development policy utilizes an understanding of the uniqueness of local culture, natural landscapes and characteristics to improve the public facilities, welfare and ethics of its communities. Scholar Wen-Cheng Wang (2011:5-7) asserts that the developmental context of community development in Taiwan is daily life. With the support of the government and academia, community action has bloomed in various regions of Taiwan and has launched a more "reflexive social

movement" throughout the country. Mbah (2019:19) pointed out that in the process of community participation, academia can respond to the needs of community well-being and sustainable development by understanding, co-creating, sharing and connecting the community with local stakeholders. To achieve sustainable living, residents also need to cooperate, participate in long term goals, clarify local characteristics and keep learning. By being conscious of their own needs, experts and scholars can work with residents to create an effective mechanism that suits the community. In this way, professionals take the role of integrating scientific knowledge and assisting people in acquiring knowledge as the energy to re-develop the community. Through a long-term citizen participation process, residents can also cultivate their diverse community capabilities to drive community participation and respond to social changes (Hung-Jui Tsia, Chin-Fen Chang, 2016: 29).

4 | POLICY DIRECTIONS AND ISSUES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN TAIWAN

Working as a nonprofit organization for community development, the Community Development Association (CDA) reached 6,919 members in 2019 in Taiwan. In terms of operating funding sources, about 20-30% of funding comes from government subsidies, and the rest come from donations, agency commissioned projects and more. The "Community Development Work Outline" (3) that was announced in 1991 and revised in 1999 and 2014 by the central government is the highest central policy in Taiwanese society to promote community development. According to this outline, the central policy guides the component of community development and also allows the community to formulate "self-created projects", in response to local characteristics and needs. However, as we can see from Table 1, the statistics of the main items of community development of CDA in Taiwan share many similarities with government policies. This is because of the requirements for continuously obtaining subsidies for NPO operation and the pressure of government effectiveness evaluation, leading to a high degree of consistency between community work and govern-

ment policies, and only a few communities propose autonomous programs to meet the needs of the community.

Table 1 Main items of community development in Taiwan

Main Items	1999-2000	2001-2011	2012-2019
1. Public facility construction			
• Community Activity Centers	✓	✓	
• Environment, sanitation improvement, road and drain repairs, parking facilities, etc	✓	✓	✓
• Community Greening	✓	✓	✓
2. Production Welfare (community production Funding, social welfare, kindergartens, communal industry development)			
• Community Care Locations	—	—	✓
3. Ethical construction			
• Elderly Community Club	✓	✓	✓
• Communal Mother's Common Room	✓	✓	✓
• Communal Mutual-help Program	✓	✓	✓
• Activities for Folk Literature & Art	✓	✓	✓
• Community Volunteer Service Teams	✓	✓	✓
• Community Publications	✓	✓	✓
• Community Libraries	—	✓	✓
4. Others			
• Topic Training	✓	✓	✓
• Community Exposition	✓	✓	✓

Source: Achievements of Community Development, Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2019.

<https://dep.mohw.gov.tw/DOS/p-2988-113.html>

However, the different policy goals announced for each period also reflect the social issues that Taiwan has faced. After the Second World War, the reconstruction of public infrastructures had been successively invested in for decades but it still focused on major public construction. Therefore, the construction of small-scale infrastructure becomes a responsibility of the community and is included in community development. The implementation of small-scale public facilities by residents in the form of subsidies can save the government's manpower costs, and can cultivate citizen participation and community awareness at the same time. The fact that the small-scale facilities can be built in a short period has an incentive effect on residents and society. The building of public facilities by the community could be seen as the beginning of community development in Taiwan after the War.

In the 1900s, other than hardware construction there were various types of growth classrooms for women, elders, or children, for learning and growth, leisure, and support. Later, when Taiwan's social and economic development reached a certain level, it also faced issues such as declining birthrate, a widening urban-rural development gap, and an aging population increase – all of which are common in developed

countries. At the beginning of 2000, the concept of social welfare was connected with community development, promoting the creation of a social welfare-oriented community with people and family as the center. The welfare of community focused societies includes the concepts of social welfare, welfare services and social assistance (Lee, Shang-Hou, 2008: 22-23). In response to the issue of Taiwan's aging society, Taiwan launched the "Community Care Location" program in 2005 to promote the establishment of bases in the community (according to 2019 statistics, a total of 2,435 locations were set up). The program also encouraged residents to volunteer and take care of the disadvantaged and other care services in order to create an "aging in peace community."

5 | HAMASEN'S NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Hamasen's first citizen participation in public affairs was the construction of Daitian Temple. In the age of underdeveloped technology, residents always prayed for the safe return of fishing boats and abundant harvests. Daitian Temple played a role of soothing anxiety and enlightening people, and even solving disputes. During the Pacific War, the Hamasen community located on the shore of Kaohsiung Harbor was the focus of coalition bombing. Residents who returned after the war started the reconstruction of the community. Some of it was built with the government's assistance, whilst some of it was completed by residents. After the war, in addition to the return of the original households, more people moved in because of the gradual and stable development of community fisheries. Residents living in Hamasen were mainly engaged in fishing or related industries, such as ship repairs, fishing boat-related groceries, customs broking, banks, ice factories and pharmacies. In other words, fishing was the common interest of the residents. According to an interview with Daitian Temple's director-general, born in 1936, process of community mobilization and the reason for the construction of Daitian Temple are as follows: "My father was a native of Keliao Village in Tainan County. He came to Hamasen as a laborer to pick up

A STUDY OF NONPROFIT TEMPLE ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT— USING DAITIAN TEMPLE IN HAMASEN AS AN EXAMPLE

broken ice and keep accounts on a Japanese fishing boat. When we returned to Hamasen after the war, my father started investing in fishing boats. During that time the Hamasen fishery was prosperous, and the life of the general population was good. Tainan people who lived in Hamasen invoked the spirit of the Gods from their hometown of Keliao Village to worship. At first, the statues of the Gods were placed in the believers' homes for worship and were taken to village squares or the coast for ceremonies. To determine which believer's home the God statues would be placed in, the ritual of "divination blocks" (4) was undertaken every year. In 1949, after several discussions, the residents decided to build a temple to arrange the statues for holding ceremonies. Residents set up a board to discuss where to build the temple and how to raise the money. Finally, the board decided that the owners of fishing boats would donate the worthless parts of the fish (the heads and tails), and sell them to get the money for obtaining land and building the temple. Moreover, some owners of fishing boats donated a whole fish at harvest time and some people with poor financial status also made small donations. The funds for building the temple were gradually accumulated and Daitain Temple was completed in 1954. (Interview with Director General of Daitian Temple)"

The Hamasen people, composed of immigrants, share the background of leaving their hometown to escape the poverty of their lives. Under the belief that wishes would come true in Hamasen, residents actively integrated into the industrial development and deepened community awareness through social mobilization by being involved in public affairs. In addition, religious-based charitable activities are widespread in the lives of the Taiwanese people, and it is the continuation of an important national tradition, and also the key to completing this public affair within six years. The connection between Daitian Temple and the community is profound. This study interviewed a few community residents, and their common memories of the community's past are mostly related to Daitian Temple: participating in the decision making process and execution of the temple construction; donating and raising funds for temple construction; the most lively daily market in the community is in the square in front of the

temple, and the most important event is the birthday of the Gods and Buddha rather than Chinese New Year. The ceremony before the first launch of the new fishing boat was to reward the Gods of Daitian Temple. Daitian Temple also filled in for the lack of government social welfare policies, taking care of the poverty and loneliness in the community and solving disputes between its residents. Daitian Temple's influence on Hamasen covers multiple aspects of life, spirituality and materiality; it also verifies the director-general's assertion that "taking from the community and applying it to the community is the management philosophy of Daitian Temple."

The village chiefs of Hamasen regard the community development association as a plundering of their existing administrative power and resources, and therefore adopt a conservative and unsupportive attitude towards its central policies. In line with the government's community development policy, the first community development nonprofit organization in Hamasen - the Kaohsiung Hamasen Cultural Association - was established in 1955 by the professors of National Sun Yat-sen University and National Kaohsiung Normal University. This was an attempt by the academia to establish an interaction between the university and the community, to fulfill its social responsibilities and assist the community in discovering its own unique culture and to create a new way of life for the old community. As a representative of the public opinion of Hamasen, Daitain Temple assisted and encouraged residents to promote community development, and it also provided funding for operating expenses and office space for Kaohsiung Hamasen Cultural Association. Even after Kaohsiung Hamasen Cultural Association was formally established, the first chairman of the NPO was also a member of Daitain Temple until the volunteer training was completed.

"The professors of Sun Yat-Sen University and Kaohsiung Normal University considered Hamasen to be the first modern community in Kaohsiung City. It is also located next to Sun Yat-sen University. The university and the community must interact with each other. The professors seek the assistance of Daitian Temple and the village chiefs. When a discussion meeting was held to organize a community development nonprofit organization, the village

chiefs refused to attend. Through the funding of Daitian Temple, we began to recruit and cultivate community volunteers, and we were one of the first volunteers.” (Interview with the third and current chairman of the Kaohsiung Hamasen Cultural Association).

The professional assistance of universities, the companionship of students, and the issue-oriented community development opened up the social empowerment of Hamasen in a way which is different from most communities in Taiwan. The courses of the Faculty of Social Sciences treat the Hamasen people as an object of practice, assisting residents in negotiating with the government on community transportation and living environment issues, and fostering the energy of Hamasen for community creation. Later in 2015, a deliberative democratic practical operation course conducted by the National Sun Yat-sen University Institute of Public Affairs Management invited residents, public opinion representatives and representatives of Daitian Temple to participate. The discussion topics were resonant and the ideas were highly agreed upon. The chairman of Daitian Temple inspired the convening and lobbying of all the nonprofit organizations of the community to cooperate for rebuilding the community, and gave birth to the Hamasen Vision Alliance. The sponsor of the alliance said in an interview with this study: “The Vision Alliance is not a group, but a group of groups. The purpose of its establishment is to enable everyone to discuss the issues of Hamasen and act together.”

The major social mobilization acts of Hamasen are shown in Table 2, including community environmental renovation design suggestions, historical buildings and site preservation, the naming of MRT stations to highlight the historical status and value of the community, and improvement of the community transportation system. Through the co-operation of nonprofit organizations, residents and universities, these events led to a high number of public discussions, resulting in the government facing the demands of the community and making policy changes in response. Through each process of community empowerment and urban mobilization, the residents of the community discover and protect each other’s

common interests (Hsia, Chu-joe, 2007: 230). In addition to the cohesion of community awareness, the goals and directions of community redevelopment have become increasingly clear.

Table 2. The impact of NPOs issue-oriented social movement on community development

Event/Incident	NPO	Appeal	Response of Local Government	Impact on the Community
Reconstruction of ferry pier No.1	KHCA	The west side of the ferry pier is the port entrance of Hamasen and it shall be developed as an open space for the development of the community's image.	NSYU was in charge of the New Urban and Rural Development Project and included this local appeal in the project implementation. The fishing pier was reconstructed as a yacht pier and the entrance was rebuilt into a park.	An image of Hamasen was added to the pier entrance, and the park has become a venue for community events.
Dismantling of the historic former Sazhwa Bank	KHCA	That building symbolizes the past glory and history of Hamasen and shall be preserved.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On February 26th, 2003, The City Government ranked it as a historical building and Hamasen was included in the subsidy project for the Representation of Historical Sites in 2016 by the Ministry of Culture. The building was completely repaired in 2019. 	The dismantling of the historical building constructed during Japanese rule was prevented, and the glorious cultural memory of the past booming financial industry was preserved.
Orientation and name change of K MRT O1 station	KHCA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The terminal station of K MRT shall be located in the Hamasen community and not in the NSYU. The station shall be named Hamasen, not Sazhwan Bay. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The local government re-discussed the possibility of relocating the Hamasen Station and cancelled the planning to set the Station inside NSYU. The Station was renamed Sazhwan-Hamasen. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Passengers need to walk to the ferry pier, Sazhwan, and NSYU through the Community and it helps to develop local businesses. The station was renamed to increase the popularity of Hamasen.
Road block to protest tourist buses across the community	HVA/ KHCA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stop large tourist buses from driving through Hamasen to Sazhwan. Adjustment of the transport system within the community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A large transportation center was built on the public land on the east side of the community and a circular route cultural bus from and to the community was provided. One-way lanes were built in the community to control the traffic flow of vehicles. The Eco-Mobility World Festival was held to promote the concept of car-free communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The large numbers of vehicles that enter the community has been greatly reduced and cultural shuttle buses from and to historical sites are provided to promote cultural tourism. The plan of one-way lanes helps to reduce traffic in the community for the benefit of pedestrians.
Preservation of square 3 land utilization and historical buildings	TRA	Japanese style buildings in Square 3 shall be completely preserved.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All buildings except the Japanese style buildings shall be renovated. The land of square 3 belongs to the city government and shall be handled legitimately. 	The construction of square 3 is still idle.
Railway Cultural Park	HVA/ KHCA / TRA	The fan-shaped rail in front of the historical Takao Station shall be preserved for the building of the Railway Cultural Park.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The area was designated as an urban renewal area and is now used for green land and the installation of sculptures in 2011. It was designated as a cultural 	The redevelopment strategy is still being discussed.

Source: Compiled by this study.

Note: KHCA short of Kaohsiung Hamasen Cultural Association; HVA short of Hamasen Vision Alliance; TRA short of Takao Renaissance Association. Kaohsiung City government has also put forward a strategy for making Hamasen the starting point of Kaohsiung’s modern urban development. The emergence of these measures is related to the concerns of cultural and historical groups, for the maintenance of historic districts. The establishment of the nonprofit organization Takao Renaissance Association was due to the issue of the preservation of old buildings during the Japanese Occupation. To this day, it continues to promote the renovation and preservation of the history of Hamasen and old buildings. Since 2015, the Kaohsiung City Government has proposed a subsidy policy for the renovation and operation of old houses. The primary renovation and operation

urban development indicator area is the historical and cultural old town of Hamasen. This policy attracts owners of old buildings and those who love old buildings and the unique atmosphere of Hamasen (including residents and non-residents of Hamasen) to participate in the renovation and repurposing of old buildings in Hamasen. In 2017, the city government proposed the Hamasen Project for the "Representation of Historical Sites," which gained subsidies from the Ministry of Culture, and began an eight-year Hamasen redevelopment plan. Due to the long-term efforts of nonprofit organizations, it has gradually attracted attention again, which indirectly promotes the small growth of commerce. Initiated by the residents who operate stores in the community, the nonprofit organization "Hamasen Promotion Association" was founded in 2015 by gathering business practitioners in the community.

"I was born in Hamasen and left to study and work; I return and keep a store now. Facing the decline of the community, I think someone should speak up for store operators, so I organized the storekeepers to establish this nonprofit organization. For those who are attracted by the rich culture and resources here, we can make Hamasen prosper again together." (Interview with the founder of Hamasen Promotion Association).

This NPO connects and organizes storekeepers, cooperates with government policies, or handles commercial marketing activities such as the Dragon Boat Festival Carnival or special cuisine promotion, etc., attracting tourists to stay and rekindle people's interest in this historical area. In addition to commercial marketing, NPO members have begun to pay attention to social issues in the community, especially the response to the aging community namely how to make community residents feel "happiness," and how to connect business activities with the residents' daily lives.

6 | DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 | Facilitation of immigrants for community consensus building

There are two important factors behind the successful building of Daitian Temple: on the one hand, Taiwan freed itself from the high-pressures of foreign colonial rule, and the limitations on traditional folk culture that was once thought to be superstitious were lifted. While community residents composed of immigrants were longing for concrete ways to reconnect with their homes, temple building was thought of as legitimate and comparatively less resistance was placed on it compared to other public affairs of the community. On the other hand, the government in Taiwan needed to handle several issues after the War and failed to take care of the needs of each area. Based on religious assistance and altruism under that situation (Salamon, 1994:121), community residents prayed for peacefulness and prosperity and put higher expectations on the temples than on the government. This community consciousness was developed due to the connection of new immigrants to their new homes and their recognition towards the new community in the form of a type of nostalgia. Unique social relationships were forged by immigrants in Hamasen, which produced important mutual friendships and a sense of belonging via religious connection, which in turn caused the quick development of community consensus.

6.2 | Community cohesion and mutual benefit brought by the industry

During its heyday, commerce and fishery development in the community were closely linked; for example, the establishment of fishing hardware, ship repairing shops, ice making shops, telegraph offices, banks or even clinics that removed the appendixes of fishermen, entertainment sites, foods for harvest ceremonies, and restaurants. The whole community was a merging site for the upstream and downstream fishery industry. The close industrial connection expanded to interpersonal relationships in daily life that formed a cohesive and reciprocal community system. Social services for family members of seamen

who were lost at sea including financial assistance, child education, and caring for the disadvantaged in Hamasen were provided based on cohesion and trust. The reciprocal cooperation was normally conducted through Rotating Savings and Credit Associations such as the Fishermen Association (or Farmers' Association at that time) in Taiwan. This type of social economy (Deforny and Develtere, 1991) existed in Taiwan. Although the coverage of this type of organizational service expanded to the whole Kaohsiung City Government, Daitian Temple played a different role in Hamasen. For the residents of Hamasen, Daitian Temple was the main social service provider.

The fishery industry built cohesion between community residents and provided sufficient funding for Daitian Temple to support reciprocal interaction in the community. Huge impacts were made on the community after the fishery industry moved out but Daitian Temple still contributed to the community because of religious beliefs and the responses of the collective memories of residents that triggered a greater participation of NPOs in community building.

Taiwan's development of social welfare began about three decades ago. In 1949, when the Nationalist government first took over Taiwan, public construction hardware was the focus and social services were mostly charitable and voluntary services of religious and private organizations. Anheier and Salamon (2020: 90-92) compared differences between NPOs and their formation concepts and pointed out that, based on the old concept of charitable and voluntary services, the role of NPOs should be to provide services for the disadvantaged or the public to get access to public interest. As a religious center for the community, Daitian Temple provides common charitable and educational services, a role that religious organizations rather than governments play. This had a significant impact when the Nationalist Government first came to Taiwan and there were scarce resources in society. In the wake of prosperous industrial development, Daitian Temple was supported by the belief that "what is taken from the people is used in the interests of the people," to participate in the public affairs and social services of Hamasen in diverse dimensions. Commendably, when the industry was declined, Daitian Temple

still worked in tandem with Taiwan's government policies in 1995 for the development of socialized nations to take a part in the community development of Hamasen.

6.3 | Financial and Operational Self-Reliance

As a religious organization, Daitian Temple has been funded via fund-raising or voluntary donations for building maintenance, religious rituals and administration, and its residual revenue goes into charitable services. Daitian Temple has been very successful in its traditional religious function and accordingly, within a period of just over than a decade, it has become one of the important temples in the Kaohsiung area. Many businesses originally from Hamasen still donate to Daitian Temple, which is a stable source of income, even though they moved out of Hamasen. In terms of management, most members of the Board are successful entrepreneurs and they manage the Temple in a non-traditional way. Thus, when fewer temples rent out their squares for diners, night markets, and retailer stands, Daitian Temple had already created its financial resources from this business model. Self-sustainable and sufficient financial resources enable Daitian Temple to refine its temple architecture with color paintings, stone carvings, wood carvings, mud sculptures and calligraphy from famous masters. Its maintenance work earned it the rank of "historical architecture" in Kaohsiung City. In addition to religious donations, Daitian Temple now also generates its income from tourism.

It has been almost 70 years since the establishment of Daitian Temple and now comprehensive organizational structure has been developed. Led by the President of the Board, the Board consists of directors, supervisors, and representatives. Temple affairs are implemented after being discussed and approved by the Board. Its organizational operation has more flexibility than governmental departments. Trust, norms, and the social network of the community forge collective power and a common sense of mission via member interaction, network relationships, and resource creation and utilization.

6.4 | Community and community development

Literature reviews define a community as a unit that consists of a group of people within a specific geographical boundary or with shared goals and interests, and is classified according to the size of its population. Under the governmental policy in Taiwan, “a community” is the smallest unit of local government. Practically, “Li” is commonly defined as the smallest administrative unit for the timely promotion of policies. This policy, however, results in several issues as listed below. Firstly, community development directed by policies relies heavily on governmental funding and in order to be eligible for subsidies, predictably, the community development agenda becomes inconsistent with governmental policies. Additionally, in lieu of the insufficient “knowledge” and “capability” of community residents, it is difficult for communities to create their uniqueness - not to mention the development of their identities. Reliance on government also limits the ability of NPOs formed by community residents to enhance self-management. It has been demonstrated that after a certain period of time, communities in Taiwan commonly create color paintings on walls or plantations on idle land as a way to “create” their communities.

Secondly, some communities are put under the governance of Li, yet the President of the Community Development Association is not the leader of Li. When they hold different views or fail to reach a consensus on public affairs, they become difficult to implement. Community development requires continuous development, a continuous drive towards community rebuilding, a consensus between residents and a dialogue process between the administrative agency and the public. If there has been no community consensus, there will be huge impacts on continuous operations and the effectiveness of NPOs. Additionally, NPOs led by the leader of Li often combine “public business” and “public affairs.” The focus of public business is to carry out governmental policies and when NPOs in communities become the facilitator of public business, conflicts will then arise due to their grass-rooted and autonomous nature.

From the perspective of historical development, in this study Hamasen Community consists of 11 Lis,

but the historical background of creation and development cannot be divided into geographical spaces. Hence, it is meaningless to discuss the community development of Hamasen based on “Li.” NPOs in Hamasen initiating from Daitian Temple were built on an area of land that was reclaimed by the Japanese and expanded their influence outwards during the peak of the fishery industry. Hamasen shall be defined as a community built by a group of people sharing common goals and interests (see Diag. 1). The “community” shall be defined by geographical space, the living area of a group of people sharing common goals and interests. Community development work in Hamasen shall be based on historical background, and common accumulated daily life experiences such as the War, the industry, and religious beliefs. Collective consciousness produced as a result of these experiences can impact the positioning of community re-development of NPOs and transcend the framework of governmental policy promotion. Table 2 shows the participation in public affairs on issues including traffic, infrastructure, historical preservation, and industrial revival.

Chang (2015:53-54) compared social services (Harris, 1995) offered by religious organizations in communities in both Taiwan and the US and found that temples in Taiwan participated mostly in charitable relief by holding recreational activities and providing consultation for youth to assist personal development. Temples in Taiwan do not often engage in community development and are more likely to provide hardware facilities. Daitian Temple also participated mostly in charitable relief and unlike other temples in Taiwan, it also focused on community development (see Table 3). When the contents of community development promoted by the central government in Taiwan (see Table 1) and those done in Hamasen (see Table 2) are compared, Hamasen is found to be less directed by governmental policies.

Table 3 - Comparison of community development work promoted by the Central Government and community services provided in Hamasen

Taiwan's Social Development Work	Other NPOs in Hamasen	Daitian Temple
1. Infrastructure building. Built/repared community activity centers. Improved environmental sanitation, roads, ditches, repairs, and parking facilities. Plantation and environmental beautification.	Improved environmental sanitation.	Provision of financial support.
2. Production welfare development (community production and development funds, day care centers in communities, development of the community industry.) Setting up of community caring stations.	Business organization of industrial regeneration.	Emergency relief and charitable relief.
3. Spiritual and ethical development. Community longevity clubs (centers). Community growth classroom (community mums' classroom). Community watch teams. Community folk art and culture classes/ teams. Community voluntary service teams/groups. Published community reports or news (number of volumes). Community libraries (reading clubs).	Reading clubs.	Making of donations to libraries and provision of funding support.
4. Others: Community leader training. Community learning via observations.		Supported training for community development personnel.

Source: compiled for this study

6.5 | Conclusion

Hamasen's unique charm and atmosphere incorporates the planning and developments made by the Japanese during the peak of the fishery industry, with foreign cultures introduced by immigrants, and the significance of Daitian Temple as a traditional religious center. Its exceptional infrastructure was built during the Japanese colonial period, but Hamasen was able to get rid of various limitations to build hardware and create a civil society that was quite different from other traditional communities in Taiwan, through public participation. The temple - built with the support of community residents - integrates a respect for the Gods with common life experiences, and religion is used as a tool for community cohesion and mutual cooperation. This expands the social functions and roles of religious organizations. Facing community recession after the fishery industry moved out, NPOs in Hamasen have been thinking about how to bring prosperity back to the community using various methods. Among them, Daitian Temple plays an active role in leading the changes. Continued observations of how Daitian Temple and other NPOs can mobilize residents are suggested for the next wave of promotion of autonomous community public affairs.

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1. According to the "Community Development Work Program" promulgated by the Executive Yuan of Taiwan, after the community is designated, the office of town, city, or district should guide the establishment of a community council. The community council is a community sports organization, which is organized by the representative of each household in the district and the election of directors. Later in 1994, the "Community Council" was changed to "Community Development Association". (LEE, Yih-jiunn, 2011).
2. Village: Taiwan's fourth-level administrative unit has a size of hundreds to thousands of people; the chief is elected by election and receives government payment monthly for personal service to the people.
3. Ministry of the Interior announced in 1991 and Ministry of Health and Welfare revised in 1999 and 2014
4. Casting divination blocks is a traditional ritual in which believers ask gods for direction, answers or promises.

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