

極



FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN TAIWAN

A Report to the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction
Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to China

By

W. A. ANDERSON

行政院農業發展委員會
圖書室
COUNCIL FOR AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AND
DEVELOPMENT, EXECUTIVE YUANG
LIBRARY

Hsien T Chang
from
W. A. Anderson
with best regards

December, 1950

Taipeh, Taiwan
China

行政院農委會圖書室



0021974

CONTENTS

Section	Page
I. The Point-of View	1
II. Background and Present Status of the Farmers' Associations	5
III. The Present Organization Pattern of Associations	10
IV. Present Operating Activities and Problems	15
V. The Physical Equipment of Associations	21
VI. Financial Support for Farmers' Associations	24
VII. Membership Relations and Problem	27
VIII. Leadership in Farmers' Associations	31
IX. Maintaining Membership Relations	36
X. The Small Agricultural Unit and the Group Approach	39
XI. The Agricultural Adviser System and Extension Work	42
XII. The Taiwan Farmers' Association Agricultural Council and Policy Determination	46
XIII. Daily Necessities and Consumer Goods Activities	48
XIV. Coordinating the Work of the Three Level Associations	51
XV. Home Improvement and Youth Programs	58
XVI. JCRR and the Farmers' Associations	61
XVII. Summary of Recommendations	63
Appendix I - Questionnaire to Farmers' Association in Taiwan	
Appendix II - Summary Tables of My Study of Farmers' Associations in Taiwan	
Appendix III - Detailed List of Services Performed by the Farmers' Associations	

FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN TAIWAN

By W. A. Anderson

I - The Point-of-View

The Challenge of Rural Taiwan Today

Taiwan offers today the prize opportunity to develop the most efficient and productive agricultural and rural life program powered by democratic principles in the Orient. I have reached this conclusion after much study of rural life in Taiwan as well as in most Eastern countries from Egypt to China and Japan.

The major element in this conclusion is the unique heritage of which Taiwan is the possessor. The farmers' association system which the Japanese developed and of which China is now the inheritor, gives a single structural pattern through which agricultural and rural life can be promoted. There is no large number of competing organizations, nor need there be in this country in this field.

Fifty years of Japanese emphasis upon the scientific approach to farming problems has developed a farm population that understands and appreciates technical advances and seeks their benefits. One does not have to convince Taiwanese farmers of the values of improved seed or better sanitation, for example. He knows their values and wants to use them. This is vastly different from the situation in any other Oriental rural area, except Japan. In addition, the Taiwanese have learned the benefits of work. He has initiative, drive, and is honestly earnest.

The challenge to the national and provincial governments, then is that they will take this heritage of organization, knowledge, and ambition and make it work along democratic lines to build the whole life of the rural people. Only thus can a sound economy for the Island and the

Note:

Dr. W. A. Anderson is Professor of Rural Sociology at Cornell University. He is serving as Special Consultant on Farmers' Associations to the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, ECA Mission to China from September, 1950 to January, 1951 inclusive. This report is the result of his study during this period of these associations in Taiwan. He also spent $2\frac{1}{2}$ weeks in Japan studying the reorganization of the Farmers' Associations under SCAP.

Dr. Anderson has been ably assisted by E.C.H. Hsia, Senior Specialist in JCRR, with his field study, statistical work, and report translation. He expresses particularly his appreciation for this assistance. He also thanks all the JCRR and ECA staff personnel for many expressions of kindness and help.

greatest well-being of its citizens be accomplished. Such objectives actively promoted, will create an enduring confidence and respect from the rural population for the national and provincial governments. This can be the most vital result of any achieved. If such a rural attitude prevails little difficulty with increasing production will be experienced and cooperation will be whole-hearted.

The challenge of this heritage to ECA and JCRR is that they motivate all activities to these ends. The only justification in the eyes of the American public for these programs in this land is that they are aiding a friendly government to help the rural people of Taiwan to a better level of living. This ECA and JCRR have stated as their purposes on many occasions.

Specific Objectives for Rural Life Improvement are Basic

There must, however, be more than broad general objectives if actual progress is to be accomplished. Specific ends that can be transferred into habits of practice by the people are required.

The Japanese had rigidly defined the specific ends they wished to attain. She created the Island's farmers' association and rural cooperative program as a source of wealth for herself. She took the colonial view. She emphasized two things: increased economic production and the health of the people. She saw with considerable wisdom that the people of the Island must benefit too from their increased production. Japan gave fair prices and promoted healthful conditions. Her method was autocratic; she used the police power to gain her goals. The strength of autocracy is that it can move swiftly to its goals once they have been defined for the power of force is its tool. Likewise force demands clearly defined objectives. This is an advantage: One who compels must know what he is compelling toward. However, the weakness of autocracy is that it never really obtains the whole-hearted respect and support of the people.

Those who believe in the rights of the people cannot follow the Japanese way. They must rely upon a set of ends that envision the social-wellbeing of all the citizenry achieved by and with these citizens.

Both the national government of China and JCRR are committed to the democratic way of developing the total life of Taiwan. The fact that agriculture is foundational makes the objective of the government and of JCRR all the more significant. There can be no high level of living in Taiwan if agriculture is not prosperous. At the present writing over one-half the value of Taiwan total production is in raw agricultural products and if the processing of products as sugar, tea, and pineapples are included in agriculture, then over three-fourth of the Island's output is agricultural. There are considerable industrial and mining possibilities in the Province. These must be developed. But agriculture will remain the foundation of this economy. The farmers and their way of life must not be neglected or ignored.

But the broad aim must be subdivided into more concrete goals that become specific ends. These must be expressed in activities that forward the ends if the general aim is to be anything more than a vision and the program anything more than a series of piecemeal projects based on opportunism, as valuable as they may be.

I therefore suggest that any society that wants its people to have a good level of living must seek to accomplish six concrete goals:

- 1) The creation of a healthy population living in a sanitary environment.
- 2) The extension of knowledge to give understanding and appreciation.
- 3) The creation of wealth, personal and public, to satisfy felt and unfelt basic and enjoyment needs.
- 4) The promotion of avocations to satisfy the desire for new and constructive experience.
- 5) The development of beauty in the person and his surroundings to enhance harmony and symmetry and promote spiritual well-being.
- 6) The promotion of right social relations to achieve, within the home, the community, the nation, and internationally, social-civic cooperation.

Taiwan will make social progress only to the degree that these concrete ends are gained. The government and JCRR will contribute to this progress as they advance these ends.

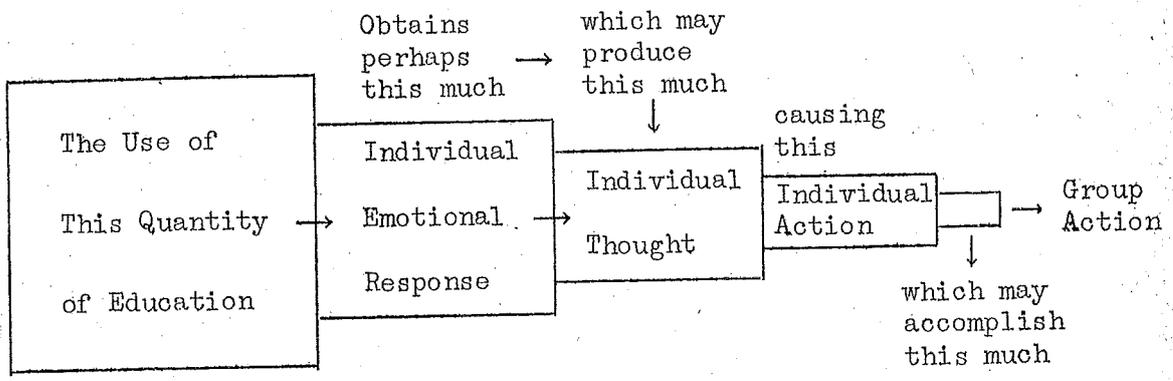
Objectives must be Achieved through Organizations

It is possible to know basic social ends without achieving progress. Ideals can be held but they are only effective as they express themselves in habits of practise. Habits of practise are established only through programs conducting repeated activities and repeated activities are carried on primarily through organizations. Organizations are the devises, the machines through which ends are achieved. That is one reason why they are so important. The machine is the mechanism through which goals become practical and possible. The nature of the organization itself conditions the ends that can be achieved through it. That is another reason why the organization is so important.

In Taiwan the farmers' association is the organization through which rural social ends are largely to be accomplished, if at all. Their nature as well as their smooth functioning will determine how far the larger development of the Island will proceed. Anything therefore that can improve their nature in the interest of rural social well being as well as help them operate more efficiently will help Taiwan, her government and her rural people.

Type of organization grows from ideas. It is easy to give people physical goods which they can use directly in their livelihood. To get them to practise ideas is a slow tedious constant task. One cannot obtain speedy results, especially if they are to be permanent. Over and over educational methods must be applied until eventually enough conviction is created to accomplish action. There is much loss in this process, therefore repetition is essential. Democratic organizations grow slowly. Once established they are on solid foundations, for they are rooted in a convinced public opinion, the most powerful of forces.

I present the following diagram to emphasize the process of democratic education. It stresses the necessity for constant education. The diagram shows how losses occur before group action is accomplished. My diagram says: More and more stress on educational methods with all the devices at command presented by the most skillful of operators.



II - Background and Present Status of the Farmers' Associations

The Japanese Period, 1907 to 1943

It is not necessary to review in detail, for the purposes of this report, the development of farmers' associations in Taiwan. History is important here chiefly to make clear the present status of the farmers' associations and define their more crucial problems.

It appears that organization among Taiwanese farmers first came from the initiative of the farmers themselves at the beginning of the 20th century. Groups voluntarily banded together in order to "guarantee their rights to till the land and reduce rent." The Japanese decided to use these associations in 1907 and to expand them island-wide to promote agricultural production. With these voluntary associations as a foundation, they transferred the system they had evolved to promote agriculture on their own Islands. While they introduced much that was new, they founded it upon what already existed. They did not ignore the all-ready accepted procedures. They used them. It is always wise, in developing social organization, to begin with what exists. It is doubly difficult to introduce the new when the old is ignored or decried. Effective development of the present day farmers' associations must recognize this principle.

After starting the organization, the Japanese characteristically utilized their authority in promotion. They provided detailed stipulations relative to mode of organization and operation. They defined rigidly membership responsibility and backed it with compulsory recruitment of members and collection of fees. They organized the associations of which there were two types, cooperatives for financial support and farmers' associations for educational and extension purposes, on three levels, the provincial, the prefectural or county, and the townships. They organized the Small Agricultural Unit in the local village to serve as the direct contact medium with the farmer for group educational and promotional purposes. Here they gave instructions and provided help.

The Japanese considered these organizations the most important elements in their plans for the agriculture of the Island. The Island's Governor-General was the executive head of the Provincial Association and the chief Japanese official in each Prefecture and Township was the chief executive officer of the farmers' organization in his jurisdiction. They coordinated closely the work of the associations on these levels through these officials. They recognized the vital position of the associations by providing adequate financing.

Results of the Japanese Period

This Japanese period is vital in today's operations. It gave the Island a sound organization soundly promoted and supported. Today Taiwanese farmers tell you (they have told me on many occasions) how

7

efficient and how beneficial the Japanese associations were. They criticize its domineering operation but they appreciate its efficiency. They have a mental picture of effective organization and valuable technical assistance devoted to helping them with their problems. They compare today with yesterday. They ask for what they had yesterday minus its limitations. They will judge the extent to which today's organizations measure up by the standards of these previous times.

The Japanese kept the chief responsibilities in the associations' operations for themselves. Few Taiwanese held major positions. It was easier for the Japanese to control in this way. They did not train leaders among the Taiwanese for top-level responsibilities. When the Japanese left, top-level executives were not available. Mainland Chinese who took over or native Taiwanese who were given major responsibility were inexperienced. But there are many Taiwanese who had considerable experience as clerks and minor executives. Of 4366 employees of 230 associations which we have studied, 39 percent had experience working with the Japanese. (I conducted a brief 30 question mail study of all the farmers' associations in Taiwan, in addition to my direct observation in travels throughout the Island. To date, 285 questionnaires have been returned (December 3, 1950). The necessity to use the facts obtained and the time required for tabulation and summary compelled us to complete tabulations from the first 230 returns received. Fifty-five returns are not tabulated but are available for further study. However, 230 returns from 318 associations gave us a 70 percent sample. This is such a large proportion of all the associations that the results of our summary are completely reliable and the statistics will not be significantly changed by further additions.) Of 2424 directors of these same associations 38 percent had worked with the Japanese. While I put adequately trained and motivated leadership as the number one problem of the Taiwan associations today, I emphasize that there is a large potential of leadership in the Taiwanese who work in the associations today who have this previous experience. Training them to ably direct their associations can be a major contribution of the government, the Provincial Farmers' Association, and JCRR. The large proportion of inexperienced personnel in the association further emphasizes this necessity.

The Japanese supported the farmers' associations generously. They saw how vital they were to their own ends. A similar appreciation in the present government and the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry should bring forth an adequate support program for the associations. It too is essential.

While the Japanese did not neglect the individual farmer, especially in technical aid, they used the group approach as their chief method of spreading knowledge. The small agricultural unit rooted in the hundreds of villages of the province was an almost perfect technique for reaching every farm family. It conserved leadership and made it more useful, for always the technicians and agricultural leaders were handing on their ideas through groups of farmers. The conservation and stimulation of these units is a core element in improving association values today.

8

The Japanese were primarily interested in Taiwan for the economic returns they could get out of it for themselves. They needed Taiwanese rice and they wanted to get its sugar. They wanted a market for their own products especially commercial fertilizer. Over the years they made considerable net money gain. While they instructed the farmers in scientific agriculture and even compelled acceptance, they did not work out a program to meet the whole life of these people. They emphasized health so as to have a strong farm labor force, not for the sake of the health of the people as a general value. They did little in recreation, avocations, social-civic development, home improvement and child care, or youth programs. What they did in areas outside the economic was done simply to improve the economic.

The farmers' associations today are now largely limited to this heritage. But activities to meet the other aspects of the life of the rural people needs to become part and parcel of the general program. It never follows that other elements of the better life will come into existence upon the solution of the economic problem. These other elements must be achieved for their own sake and because of their own inherent values.

The Chinese Period -- 1945 to the Present Time

Taiwan was restored to the Chinese in 1945 upon the surrender of the Japanese. During World War II Taiwan was bombed severely. Many farmers' association properties were considerably damaged. During the war Japanese personnel attended to war responsibilities. It was inevitable that as the war deteriorated for the Japanese, the operation of the farmers' associations should also deteriorate. When the war was lost and the Japanese returned to Japan, the leadership of the associations was greatly weakened. Personnel, property, and the general psychological atmosphere was at a low point.

When the Chinese from the mainland took over, it became inevitable that they would place men loyal to their views in top positions. While many were talented, few were experienced. In local associations many Taiwanese who had worked with the Japanese, rose to control, but few had experience for executive work.

But the factor that influences the associations more perhaps than anything else is the over-all view of the government. The Nationalists must have food, chiefly rice, for a large army, their government employees, and some dependents. They must develop a program that will give them the largest possible foreign exchange, as well as increase agricultural production to support a suddenly increased population. The farmers' associations derive small returns from services they perform for the government. These are a large part of their present activities, especially the storage of rice and the distribution of fertilizer. Practically all service fees are gone, government subsidies hardly exist, and income has been small. Operating capital is difficult to get.

9

While the government recognizes the value of the associations, they have not considered them in the same light as did the Japanese. The associations are not now the key units in the agricultural program of the province. The fact that other agencies such as the Food Bureau for instance are operating key functions which the associations could perform, while government agencies who could give the farmers' associations work and support its activities, use other agencies, supports this view.

Under such circumstances the farmers' associations are compelled to grasp at any activity that seems to have some hope of giving them a source of support. As a result there is little coordination and in some instances little relationship between the associations of the three levels. More vital than this, there is no clear policy running through their operations. Opportunism is their chief characteristic now, as evidenced by the fact that managers all over the Island suggest the possibility of innumerable temporary activities to increase their revenues. It seems almost futile to suggest a widened program to encompass the whole life of the farm family, when the associations are living from hand to mouth and must be concerned altogether about making their finances come out even.

Present Use of Associations by Farmers

Are Taiwan Chinese farmers now using the farmers' associations? This would be a vital indicator of the present status of the associations.

Our survey of the associations of the Island seek to get the answer to this question and to get information about related problems. In addition I have visited associations in every area of the Island to see if this is true as well as to study other problems. The questionnaires were addressed to the general manager of the association and completed by a chief officer in almost all instances. The manager answered our questions in 73 percent of the instances. The executive directors (Chairman of the Board of Directors) answered in 14 percent of the cases while a clerk completed less than 4 percent of the forms.

All prefectural associations were located in cities where the total population served including their hinterland, totaled well over 100,000 people and 20,000 or more families. Of the 218 township associations, 77 (38 percent) reported total populations to be served of over 25,000 and 44 percent reported 4,000 or more families. Only 31 (14 percent) reported populations of 10,000 or less and only 40 (18 percent) reported families of less than 2,000 to be serviced. All prefectural associations served farm populations of over 25,000 people and over 5,000 farming families. Township associations served farm populations of over 10,000 people in 60 percent of the instances and farm families of more than 3,000 in 55 percent of the instances. Only 4 of 208 township associations reported farm populations of less than 2,000 persons in their areas while only 7 of 217 associations located in urban centers reported less than 500 farm families in their areas.

There are large populations in the areas of practically every association that can and should use these farmers' associations. The size of the clientele justifies the existence of the associations in practically every instance. There might be a question of the value of the associations in a few cases, but not in many. These few might be studied further from this viewpoint.

To what extent do these persons now use the services of the farmers' association regularly? Practically all farmers must make some use of the associations. Most of them must get their fertilizer through the associations. Some other monopoly goods were almost wholly available only from the associations. Some family necessities were best obtained from the associations. Our concern is not for occasional use. The farmers' associations are the mediums through which the farmers, cooperating together, could meet practically all of their economic needs and most of their general and social needs.

We asked the managers this question. Their tendency would probably be not to underestimate the proportions using the association facilities. Yet 49 percent said less than 20 percent of the farmers in their association area now used their associations regularly. Thirty-five percent said, on the other hand, that 80 percent or more of the farmers made regular use of their associations. Sixteen percent of the associations reported that from 20 to 79 percent of the farmers used their associations regularly.

These facts probably indicate that the majority of the associations are now at a low point of efficiency. The farmer seeks to satisfy his needs where they can best be served. His own farmers' association is, in many instances, unable to help him and he goes elsewhere.

On the other hand, some of the associations seem to be working with considerable effectiveness if the amount of use farmers make of them is an indication.

The lesson for those of us interested in these associations and in the farmers' welfare is to recognize how desperately the associations need help.

III - The Present Organization Pattern of Associations

The nature of an organization pattern has a direct relationship to its functioning. While we often use generic names to describe a type of organization with a general function, the way the specific organization is put together has much to do with how it can operate. Therefore organizations with the same function may operate very differently. It is vital therefore to describe the present pattern of organization of the farmers' associations to see the problems of functioning it presents.

A Three-Level-Organization Pattern

As has been previously stated, farmers' associations in Taiwan exist on three levels: The Province, for which there is one association; the Prefecture, for which there are 18 associations, and the Township, for which there are 318 associations. In each township area, small agricultural units exist comprised of farm families from the village areas. It is estimated that there are about 4,900 such units with an average of 150 families in each unit. They are the local units for educating and informing the farmers.

Theoretically these associations of the different levels are related to each other through the composition of their supervising bodies.

Organization of the Associations

Each of the small agricultural units in a township elects 3 to 4 representatives to the township representative assembly. This means about one representative to each 20 to 40 families. This assembly meets annually or as called. The assembly's most important function is to conduct the annual association affairs meeting of the association.

This assembly elects at the annual meeting, a board of directors, usually of 9 to 15 members, and a board of supervisors of 3 to 5 members. The board of directors is the controlling body of the association. They elect the Chairman of the Board, who often is a full-time or at least a part-time employee of the association. The chairman of the board selects the general manager, who is approved by the board. There is rarely a veto of the chairman's selection. The general manager is, in a sense, the chairman's man.

The Board of Supervisors is virtually a committee to inspect and approve the financial operations of the association. They are supposed to audit the financial records at least once a year.

Township associations also elect at the annual affairs meeting 2 to 3# representatives to the assembly of the prefectural association.

Some associations in the Pescadores and on the east coast are allowed a larger number of representative.

The prefectural association pattern is the same as that of the townships. Their annual affairs meeting elects the boards of directors and of supervisors. The functions of these boards is the same as those of the boards in the township associations. The chairman of the board who is a full-time employee of the prefectural association, though he need not be, selects the manager, who again is usually his man. The prefectural annual affairs meeting elects representatives to the assembly of the provincial association. The number of representatives from each prefecture ranges from 3 to 15 depending upon the number of farmers' association members in the prefecture.

The provincial association follows the pattern of the prefectures and the townships and the functions of boards are the same as in the other associations. Officials are elected or selected in much the same way as in the other 2 types of associations.

Coordination of the Associations

The thread that runs from the member of the township farmers' association to the operation of his provincial farmers' association is his representation in the general assembly of the township, then the prefecture, and finally the provincial association. Like every form of organization that seeks to encompass a large clientele over a wide area, three serious problems arise here.

The first problem is how to be sure the organizations of the different levels truly represent the farmer. This increases in seriousness the further away from the farmer one gets, for more and more people who are not directly associated with farming enter the picture. Employees must be interested and devoted to the cause of agriculture, if the associations are to succeed.

The second problem is that of keeping the farmer himself psychologically alert to the fact that these associations are his associations. It is easy for him to lose this awareness and interest, especially if he gets the services he wants. His attitude may easily become one of unconcern. He can easily reason: Why should I care who runs or how they run these associations, so long as I get good service at reasonable costs? Nothing is so important in maintaining effective organization of the membership type with membership responsibility as a continuous live interest of members. Constant membership education in association policies, objectives, and programs is a sine qua non for these associations.

The third problem is that of preventing the organizations from becoming a tool for the benefit of others than those for whom they primarily exist. This becomes increasingly serious the farther away from the foundational clientele one progresses, although difficulty on this score may arise at the base because membership qualifications are not carefully defined. The practical methods of handling these problems will be considered in their proper place. They are most important in the successful operation of a democratic agency.

Divided Responsibility

Here I will present my suggestion for taking care of a serious problem that I have inferred arises from the way the farmers' organization is patterned. To make any democratic organization work efficiently, it is necessary to be able to fix responsibility. Too often passing the responsibility for decision and execution makes organization ineffective. I know this is true in the township and prefectural associations from numerous first hand experiences. Likewise one person, often the chairman of the board or the manager, assumes responsibilities and makes decisions for the association that he should not. In many instances because others are responsible for divisions of the association, the chairman or the manager is not aware of the activities of the association in the area because he assumes the other top person is supervising. I was astonished on many occasions of the ignorance the chairman or manager exhibited about activities of his association with which he should be fully acquainted. These difficulties arise because the pattern of organization allows for divided responsibility and so shifting responsibility is easy. It is not necessarily a criticism of the personnel.

The pattern of the farmers' organization calls for a chairman of the board of directors who is frequently a full-time paid officer of the association and in practically every instance is at least a part-time employee. He assumes the position of chief executive officer. The manager is employed to be the chief executive officer. It is this circumstance that gives rise to many inefficiencies in the associations, especially on the township level.

In addition many of the members of the board of directors are employees of the associations and decide, with the other directors, the policies that apply to themselves. This is not to be criticized in a strictly commercial organization where the directors have large investments of their own in the organization and are elected by stockholders, but it is unwise in a semi-public organization where policies are determined relative to a body of clientele who are their employers. It too often leads to decisions favorable to the interests of the employed director.

Recommendation for Association Reorganization

I recommend that the PDAF, JCRR and the PFA seek to change the farmers' organization pattern to overcome these limitations. My recommendation is that the annual affairs meeting of these associations elect a board of directors similar in size to those at present which shall be the control and supervisory groups for the association. They should all be non-paid directors, receiving only a reasonable per diem to cover travel expenses to necessary board meetings. Their chief responsibility shall be to employ the manager who shall be the chief executive officer hired to direct the affairs of the association. In

In addition this board shall make the decisions on the policies and activities the association shall follow and give instructions to the manager for their execution. The board shall of course expect the manager to present detailed reports of the activity of the association at least once per month for their approval. The manager should present at least every 3 months a complete financial statement of the association's affairs as well as to report fully on its other activities. Annually the board of directors shall make or shall have made by engaging competent persons a certified audit of the accounts of the association that are submitted by the manager accompanied by proper supporting documents. They should have the authority to employ or dismiss the manager.

The present board of supervisors can be omitted since the board of directors is responsible to the association for supervising the activities and auditing its accounts. The chairman of the board of directors and the manager of the association shall give the annual affairs meeting a complete report of the associations activities and financial operations, together with a certified audit of accounts. They shall report the conditions of the association at any other regular or special meetings that may be called.

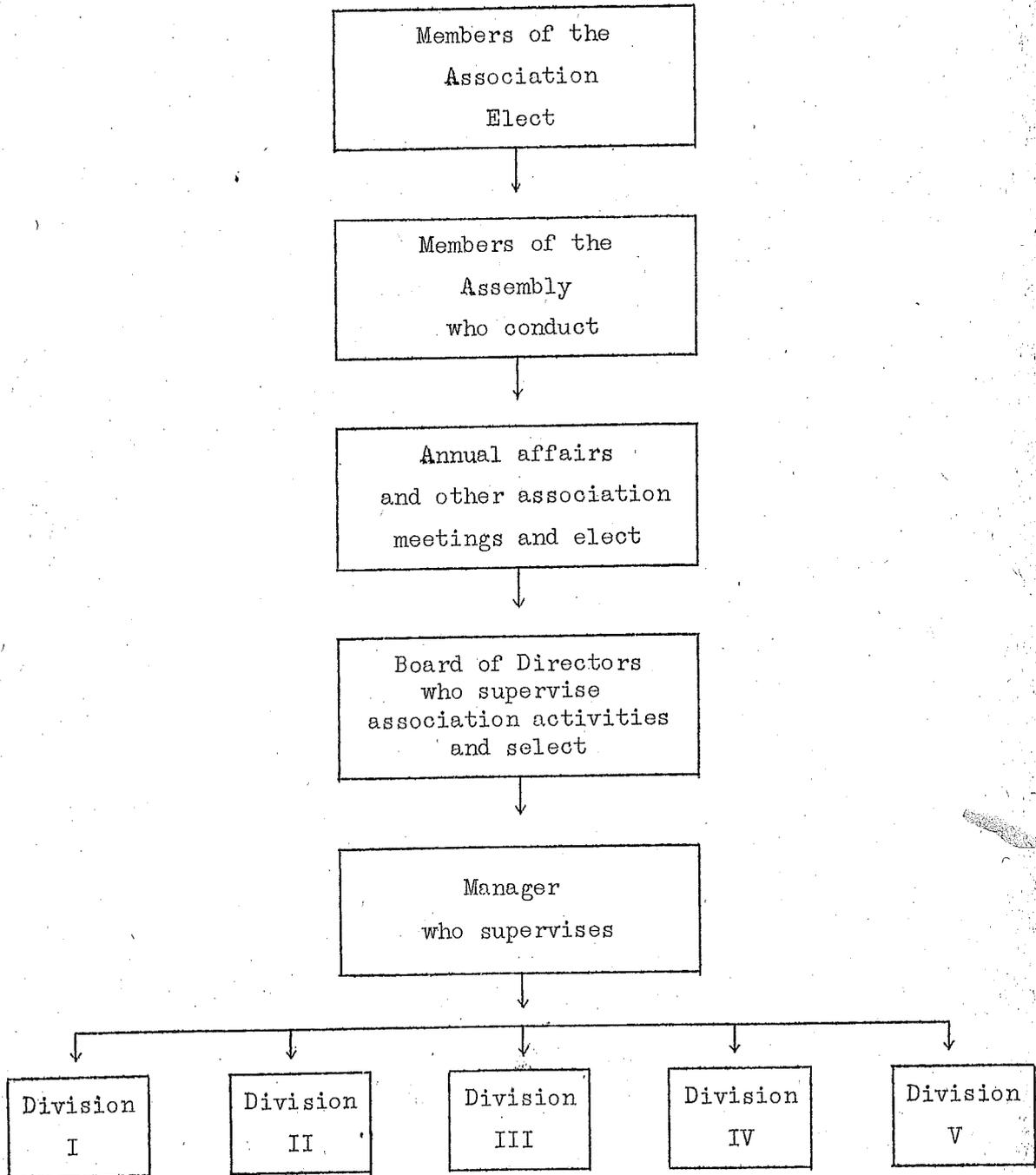
The board of directors shall organize itself, electing one of its members as chairman, one vice chairman, one as secretary, and one as general treasurer, with no board member holding more than one office. Chairmanship should be changed every two years.

Members of the board of directors of an association should not be eligible to reelection if they have served for 5 consecutive years until 2 years have elapsed after their fifth year. But election of board members should be on an annual basis and election for the office should be understood to mean only for the specific year.

The manager shall be the executive officer whose duty it will be to supervise the work of each division established by the board of directors with the approval of the annual affairs meeting. He shall be responsible for the employment of competent personnel to head each division and approve the employment of other persons.

The heads of the divisions are to be responsible to the manager for the proper execution of their division work. The manager, with the approval of the board, shall employ or dismiss the division heads, while the manager, with the counsel of the division heads, shall employ or dismiss other personnel.

A diagram of the organization pattern of the three types of associations would thus be as follows:



IV - Present Operating Activities and Problems

Time the Associations Have Been Established and Farmer Attitudes

The farmers' associations of Taiwan have in most instances been in operation for some time. The Japanese established associations in all communities where a clientele seemed to justify it. Thus of 227 associations that gave us information, 199 or 88 percent have been operating for the farmers 10 years or more and 14 or 6 percent more have operated from 4 to 9 years. Only 14 (6 percent) of them have operated less than 4 years.

These associations are not new. Their activities are patterned through long use. Farmers had become accustomed to them. They looked to them as the agencies upon which they could rely to provide them essential aid in obtaining the materials for their farm operations and supplies for their household necessities. In addition, they were their direct contact for technical assistance and advise through the agricultural advisers.

Our question here is, what are the present operating activities of these associations and what problems do they present?

Number and Types of Services Performed

Our 230 associations average 6 different services each for the farmers. Only 35 or 15 percent of them performed less than 5 services, while 40 of them (17 percent) carried out 8 or more services. Most associations have a full program, if number of services is an indication.

A listing of the detailed services associations perform is not essential to this report.^{1/} However, it is necessary to give an idea of the range of these activities so as to judge the value of the associations. In general terms then, the associations conducted services in rural credit,^{2/} technical advisory aid, government and other agency activities, rice milling, warehousing of rice and fertilizer, the sale of daily necessities,^{2/} the sale of production commodities, marketing of agricultural products, crop and livestock improvement, providing farm tools, health activities, transportation, and other utility services. If one examines the detailed classification he will see how wide a range of rural problems in extension, credit, government agency, and economic activities the associations are attempting to deal with. All of them are not, of course, performing all of these services. It is clear from the distribution of the number of services that some carry on only a few but many do attempt all of these activities. To make possible the addition of essential services where not available is an objective.

^{1/} See appendix for classification of all the services.

^{2/} This will be dealt with in a separate report - Daily necessities will also be dealt with separately.

The Importance of the Services to Farmers

I attempted to learn how important these association managers considered the services they rendered were to the farmers. I asked them to tell me in interviews about this. But I also asked for this judgement in our survey. We asked the managers to list the services their associations performed in the order of their importance. The results are enlightening and confirm observations. On a weighted average basis, the order of the importance of the services is as follows: Furnishing rural credit, first; distribution of fertilizer, beancake, monopoly goods and conducting other activities for the government, second; giving technical aid to the farmers, third; the sale of production commodities such as fertilizers, equipment and tools, beancake, pesticides, fourth; handling of daily necessities, fifth; marketing services, sixth; rice milling, seventh; warehousing, eighth; utility services, ninth; transportation, tenth; and health, eleventh.

While some farmers and other interested persons emphasized these services in different order in different localities, my own impressions from interviewing and study are confirmed by these ratings. While I am not suggesting that support to farmers' associations be applied in this order, I do emphasize that present operating activities may need improvement in these areas.

Services Added by Associations in the Last 3 Years

Another way to get at the importance of association services to farmers is to find out what activities have been added and what dropped in the last several years, especially since the Chinese took over. Of 225 associations reporting, 8 or 3 percent added no services in the last 3 years, while 117 (50 percent) more added one or two. Only 15 (6 percent) added 5 or more services and most of these were in new associations. The pattern of services performed from association to association is pretty well-fixed. Changes in operation are likely to be to add services that are desired but for some reason could not previously be obtained or was not available. Completely new services are not likely to be added to the service program without strong incentive. This is a matter of importance. Careful consideration must be given to the value of any new service before it is promoted for incorporation.

Of the services added, distribution of goods as agents for the government was by far the most common. This is to be expected since the government uses the associations as its distributors. They must give these services. But the addition of technical advisory aid, developing marketing facilities, improving livestock and crop foundations, which rank next in this order, do emphasize what is most important in the farmers' mind since these must be paid for from association resources. Other added services stressed include credit, rice mill operation, daily necessity distribution, disease and pest control.

Services Dropped in the Last 3 Years

One hundred ninety-three associations responded to our question about services dropped. Sixty-two (about one third) said they dropped no services at all. Of the other association, 78 (40 percent) dropped one service, while 43 (22 percent) dropped two. Only 10 associations dropped 3 or more activities and only two dropped as many as five. The fact that so few associations dropped services in the last 3 years is interesting in the face of difficulties these associations claim to have. Curtailment in scope of operations was much more general than abandoning services altogether.

The services dropped include in the order of frequency mentioned by 215 associations: giving government and other agency services, credit, marketing of agricultural products, utility services such as threshing and packing machines, sale of daily necessities, health education, and transportation. Each of these was dropped by 10 or more associations. Government services were dropped by 64 associations, credit services by 36, marketing by 19, and utility services by 16.

Why did associations drop these services? All are important to farm and family home operation. The reason most frequently given was lack of sufficient capital. Of 243 reasons stated, this was given, 111 or 45 percent of the times. Inadequate facilities ranked second as a reason and was emphasized 34 times. Government orders was stated as the cause for dropping an activity 32 times. The inability to compete with other agencies was stated as the cause for dropping services 19 times, while complicated procedures, transfer of a service by the government, and losing money entered into consideration eight to eleven times. Lack of adequate personnel and non-cooperation of members was given as the reason for dispensing with a service only 2 or 3 times each.

Certain reasons stand out as the cause for doing away with activities. Insufficient operating funds caused the dropping of credit services, handling rationed sugar, marketing agricultural products, sale of daily necessities, together with rice milling, warehousing, and transportation. Government orders abolished handling sugar, salt, some daily necessities, while transfer of the service to others effected handling ration goods and milling operations. Inadequate facilities influenced collecting in kind for the government, warehousing, and rice milling, while inability to compete with others influenced handling rationed sugar, transportation services, and health activities.

Associations can be assisted in their operation if representatives of the Provincial Farmers' Association, the PDAF, and JCRR will work closely with them so as to get careful consideration of all the possible advantages and disadvantages from dropping (or from adding) a service. One of the major functions of the Provincial Farmers' Association should be to provide skilled technical advise on such problems for local associations, helping them to compute costs, determine markets, and find methods for handling services in the most efficient manner.

19

Farmer Appreciation of Services

Managers of farmers' association are in an excellent position to judge what services the farmers appreciated most. They hear their complaints. They get their praises. They are being approached all the while for help on this service and that service. So we sought their judgement about this. We asked them to "list in the order of their importance the services of your association you think the farmers appreciated most." The weighted average results of the summary of 776 ratings put credit services first, government distribution of fertilizer, beancakes and other commodities, second, the sale of daily necessities third, the sale of production commodities fourth, technical advisory aid, fifth, while marketing, warehousing, rice milling, and providing equipment and tools followed. Health services and transportation were at the bottom.

Rating of the services in this manner was done by 226 of the associations. On the average they rated 3.4 services as being most appreciated. Only 16 (7 percent) of them rated only one service, while 51 (22 percent) rated 5 or more in this way. Putting the results of the rating and these facts together, one sees that, under present operations and conditions, it is credit, the distribution of fertilizers and other production needs, and the providing of daily necessities that seem to mean the most to the farmers so far as direct services go, while providing production commodities and giving technical advisory aid follow closely. This would mean that helping the farmers through their farmers' associations at the points they consider of most value in services now offered must be done at these points.

Major Difficulties Faced in Performing Work

We wanted to know, and asked on all occasions, what the major difficulties were these associations faced in carrying on their work best. The 228 respondents stated 2.1 difficulties each on the average. Only one association listed no difficulties while 2 stated 5 and 16 named four. Altogether the number of difficulties listed totaled 486. One stands out far and above all others. It is "insufficient operating funds." Of the total of 486 mentions of difficulty, this was stated 209 times. Over 4 out of each 10 statements of a difficulty stressed this.

One may ask whether this might not be exaggerated somewhat since this was a JCRR study and the hope of obtaining help might influence the responses. This might be true to a degree but when a need is emphasized so generally, it probably has foundation in fact. My own visits to the associations also confirm this. Everywhere I went the need for operating capital was stressed.

I am not here suggesting that JCRR should consider furnishing capital for these associations. In fact I am emphatically opposed to such a suggestion. The associations should get their working capital from members, earnings of the associations, and Taiwan Government aid.

This does not mean that JCRR should not help subsidize various associations projects, but they ought not to furnish general capital funds. The associations must be built on sounder grounds than that. I will treat of this subject under the heading of support for the associations.

The next difficulty that stands out, but mentioned fewer than one half the number of times (80 in all) insufficient operating funds were, is shortage of storage space. This was named 80 times or one in each 6 of the times a difficulty was named. Taiwan agriculture demand much local warehousing, especially for rice, rice cleaning, and fertilizer.

Several things have created this shortage of storage space. War damage and destruction of warehouses was large in Taiwan. The storage and holding of a large rice crop for the National Government has required a lot of space. The occupancy of warehouses as living quarters for Nationalist soldiers has also taken a number of warehouses.

Soldiers should be removed from these warehouses as soon as possible. The government should compensate the associations for the use of the warehouses and the damage done to them by soldiers. Small organizations like farmers' associations cannot afford such losses. The government should compensate them for use and damage. The provincial farmers' association should ascertain the extent of this use and damage and aid the local associations to gain some recovery. This is one way the Provincial Association can develop closer cooperation with local associations.

I recommend that JCRR forward a memorandum to the Provincial Association on this subject, suggesting that they seek to find out and do something about this problem.

I will treat of government use of warehouses for rice storage and fertilizer handling in the section on government relations.

JCRR can nevertheless help with construction and repairs to warehouses where need is clear. I have already indicated my support of this in the development of the present plan to include in the budget of JCRR for January 1, 1951 to June 30, 1951, \$183,600 U.S. for the repair and construction of 90 of these warehouses in a joint project with the Provincial Food Bureau and the local associations involved. I recommend that this project be approved. Once the warehouses are constructed or repaired, the local associations should be able to maintain them.

Other difficulties stressed include: personnel problems, 22 mentions; no rice mill or out of order, 20 mentions; lack of government support, 19 mentions; small agricultural units not operating and too small credit association deposits, 16; expenses exceed income and members too poor, 13; and inconvenient communications, 10 mentions. It will be noticed, however, that none of these are as much as 5 percent of the difficulties. Reference to table 25 in the appendix will show that almost any difficulty one can think of was listed one or more times by the associations. Personnel working with the associations to improve their activities could use this list in giving help.

How to Improve the Associations

The final question we shall consider in this section is how the work of the farmers' associations may be most effectively improved. We got 730 total suggestions for improvement from 230 associations (See appendix table 40 for details). They include 58 different suggestions.

The 10 suggestions stated most frequently in the order of that frequency include building or adding warehousing, (68 mentions); develop the agency services for government and other organizations, (53); increase capital fund, (52); educate farmers in use and programs of associations, (47); develop the small agricultural units, (33); develop marketing, (33); extend credit services, (32); develop low interest operating loans, (31); obtain government subsidies, (31); encourage credit association deposits, (29); expand technical services, (29). We stop here, not because the other suggestions are not important, but because the details are not too essential. Again I suggest that persons working with the associations study these suggestions. Some in the list not mentioned as frequently as others may even be more important. In certain associations some specific suggestion may be much more important than those most commonly stressed.

The suggestions made do stress warehousing, farmer education, expanded technical services, financing and credit, government service and aid, better staff efficiency, repairing equipment, so that in all our questioning and observation there is a consistency in problems stressed.

Major Conclusion

It would be possible for me to point out JCRR's relation to each of the difficulties and suggestions for improvement that has been made. However, that is not needed. The most important conclusion that all of this factual information and experience leads me to is that, since farmers' associations are so important in Taiwan's economy and do have so many opportunities and possibilities for assisting the people and the government, they be given the attention they deserve. JCRR, the PDAF, and the PFA must work together to concretely develop these possibilities expressed in the suggestions on services performed, added, and dropped, services appreciated and difficulties faced, together with these concrete suggestions for improvement.

V - The Physical Equipment of Associations

Agriculture in Taiwan Needs Considerable Equipment to Handle it

The nature of Taiwan's agriculture necessitates the development of considerable physical equipment to receive, store, process, and distribute its products. Rice, after drying, must be stored in water-proof warehouses. Commercial fertilizer needs covered space for distribution, storage, and mixing. Fruits like bananas and pineapples need centers for collecting, packing, and marketing. The processing of the products before they can finally be put on the market also calls for equipment, especially machinery and handling tools. Rice must be dried on drying floors and milled, fertilizers mixed, beancakes ground, jute processed and packed. Packing and shipping requires bags, rope, trucks. The manufacture of products like noodles and the care of plants like tea also need space, equipment, and machines. The handling of consumer's goods, commonly called daily necessities, and handling farm tools and equipment requires space. I will deal with this in the section on Daily Necessities and Consumer Goods Activities.

In addition there is the need for office space for carrying on the accounting and handling procedures for these activities as well as to care for the credit division of the association. There is need for meeting space for association gatherings and reception space for guests. Space for health clinics, reading centers, and recreational activities, especially to make it possible for small groups of village and farm people to visit together comfortably, need consideration.

Now each association does not need all of this equipment. The agriculture of the area served and the extent of association activities determines what physical equipment is essential for associations. These should be given careful study in any consideration of constructing new or altering old facilities.

The War Period Had Considerable Influence on Association Equipment

I have already pointed out that World War II damaged much of the physical equipment of the associations. Warehouses and the machinery in them were bombed and burned causing total losses in some instances. The long depressed period of the war and its aftermath caused deterioration while the difficulties in operating profitably caused machinery to rust and parts that were difficult to replace to wear out. I know of one association where the leather belts to the rice milling machine were sold and another, where the lumber from a partly damaged warehouse that was to be used in repairing other buildings, was sold to pay wages of workers.

My Suggestions on Equipment Problems

I have already indicated my support for financing the warehouse building and repair program that the Food Bureau and JCRR are proposing for the first half of 1951. I cannot deal with details of construction, repair, and improvement here.

There are three recommendations I wish to make as a result of my study of this problem. The PDAF has a division where farmers' associations may obtain help in planning buildings and furnishing equipment for their activities. This is good service to the associations. But this division acts on request after an association has submitted some plan for a project it has in mind.

A need is for a section in the Provincial Farmers' Association where study has been made and suggestions developed of what is required in the way of physical equipment and its cost to handle a type of association problem. One engineer with perhaps some drafting aid could perform an excellent service as architect and designer for farmers' associations. Local associations could approach this person with their needs. When the need is studied and general suggestions given, specific assistance on detailed plans and costs could be worked out by the Agriculture and Forestry Division of the Prefectural Bureau of Reconstruction. Likewise such a person could serve as architect while the construction is under way. This is another way in which the Provincial Farmers' Association can give concrete assistance to Prefectural and Township Associations and help to integrate the work of the three association levels more closely.

I recommend that the Provincial Farmers' Association consider the feasibility of establishing an Architectural Bureau as one of its services to the Taiwan farmers' association.

The relationship of JCRR to farmers' associations with respect to physical equipment is in providing financial assistance. I have two recommendations here. One, I am sure, is already partly in operation. JCRR should not approve financial aid for equipment construction or repair without the Division on Farmers' Associations and the Engineering Division scrutinizing carefully the detailed plans and costs for such projects. This should mean that sufficient time is taken to carefully consider the merits of a project. Haste is often costly. Associations requesting help should be advised that a request for help has been received. This should be done as soon as such a request is received. But this notice should be accompanied with an estimate of how soon the association may expect a decision on the request. I had some embarrassing times in a number of associations that said, "We submitted a project sometime ago but we have had no word about it" and in some instances they said they had not even been notified that the request had been received.

246

My second recommendation is that JCRR should not accept the whole cost of construction or repair jobs for associations. I get the impression from my contacts with many associations that they are beginning to look upon JCRR as a kind of Santa Claus. JCRR should help meritorious projects. But there is a principle relative to this form of help that should be observed, namely that those aided should themselves make some sacrifice and that if they are able to care for the project out of their own resources, they should do so. This means that JCRR should also scrutinize the ability of associations to pay before supporting a project and then should enter it only on some partial support basis, if at all. Resources will go further and, more important, projects be more carefully considered before proposal and more carefully carried out upon approval. Final financial payments should not be made until projects are completed and approved. If a project is replanned after money has been paid toward it, as I know to be true in some cases, the whole replanned project should be given reconsideration and the association asked to return the money previously advanced until such reconsideration is made.

VI - Financial Support for Farmers' Associations

The Japanese Gave Farmers' Associations Generous Financial Support

I have stated at several points in this study that the Japanese considered the farmers' associations one of the most important units of their program in Taiwan. They showed this in a number of ways. Their point-of-view was strongly emphasized by the generous financial support program they evolved for the associations. In the beginnings of their activities as far as can be learned, they gave large subsidies to get the association's economic and educational program started.

By 1944 when the associations were carrying on as large a business and educational program as at any time, associations of each level had resources from their business activities, from fees including membership, land tax, production and livestock, from government subsidy, and from property rentals. The unique feature of this financing program in addition to subsidies, was the system of fees associations were allowed to collect. They were given a 20 percent surtax on the regular land tax, a production fee computed by multiplying one percent of the land tax times a production factor, and allowed to collect fees on livestock sold and slaughtered. In addition there was a small membership fee. In order to get fees adequately distributed on the different levels of operation, the Provincial Association got 10 percent of all such resources, the prefectural associations 30 percent, and the township associations 60 percent. These resources added to excellent earnings gave all associations ample funds for all aspects of their program. No wonder they worked so efficiently.

Resources under Reorganization

The only major source of income for farmers' associations under present circumstances is their earnings from business operations. Practically all fees except the membership fees have been eliminated. Government subsidies are gone. In 1945 government grants to Taiwan agricultural associations amounted to nearly 8 million yen and the associations spent eight and one-half million yen for technical advisory services. Little of this is available now.

The proposed budget of the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry for 1951 includes NT\$1,707,700 out of a total of almost 13 million NT dollars. This is one-seventh of the total budget of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry but is less than one half the total revenue of the Taichung Prefectural Association alone in 1942. Of the NT\$1,700,000, NT\$1,100,000 is proposed for the subsidy of technical and extension workers.

I do not want to be understood as urging government subsidies. I recognize subsidies as valuable to get programs of social value initially under way but if they are economic programs and are sound, they must carry their own weight after establishment. I agree that the government

should support the extension and educational program including the local agricultural advisers. In fact I recommend that PDAF include not only the salaries but the field expenses of all extension personnel in their budget and make such funds available to farmers' associations where the agricultural advisers and extension specialists are attached to the farmers' associations. Theirs is educational work. As such it should not have to be supported from the earnings of farmers' associations. This is no more a correct view than that any other adult education program should be supported from the earnings of a given group. These costs should be borne by all of the society to whom the results contribute.

Farmers' associations should pay for economic activities out of earnings. Likewise they should get the benefits from such programs in the quality and cost of the supplies they need and in dividends from their cooperative activities. The most serious circumstance that I can point out here, however, and I cannot emphasize it too strongly, is that the associations are having extreme difficulty in earning under present conditions.

Provincial Government Services

The Provincial Government requires the farmers' associations to perform services for it. This is proper. It is as it should be. One of these services is to store government rice received in exchange for fertilizer. The association must also handle the distribution of the fertilizer. These were services from which the farmers' associations previously earned a good part of their revenue. The farmers' associations are compensated for handling rice for the government in the following manner. They are not paid a storage fee on quantity handled. The government requires that of each 100 catties of their rice received, the associations deliver 75 catties. In the milling process, the associations that have mills may get 78 to 80 catties. They are entitled to keep the 3 to 5 catties in excess of government delivery requirement plus in a few cases the bran. This is true however only where they are permitted to carry the milling through to completion, that is both husking and final polishing. In many cases the associations are allowed to do only the first milling while final polishing is done by private merchants who have mills. This mode of compensation is not good practise. It can lead to many improper activities. In addition the government has given private merchants orders on some farmers' associations to deliver rice to them for milling. The associations lost the opportunity to mill the government rice. Those associations that did not have mills were able to get some storage fees but they all reported that this was difficult and returns were small. There was no uniform payment but returns depended on ability to persuade.

In handling fertilizer, the associations were allowed the benefit of a small shrinkage percentage, usually $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent. In the disposal of the fertilizer this $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent return was divided between the associations and others involved in handling such as transportation lines. The farmers'

associations actually obtained 1.1 percent of this shrinkage allowance. Its yield therefore was not large. I understand that a new proposal is now being made that associations be given a fee of 3.5 percent of its rice-equivalent generally payable in cash at government rice prices as compensation for their work. Compensation from shrinkage allowance has the same defects that are true of the way of compensating for rice milling. Both are exceedingly uncertain and can lead to practises that are not constructive.

It would be much better if the government authorities worked out with the farmers' associations a fair flat fee arrangement on the basis of quantity handled both of rice and fertilizer and paid for milling on the basis of so much per 100 catties. Then associations would know approximately what they could count on for they know approximately their storage and handling capacities. I recommend that the Provincial Food Bureau study this possibility in consultation with PDAF, PFA, and JCRR.

Farmers' associations also have been commissioned to handle government monopoly goods. These have yielded uncertain returns for quantities to be handled have been uncertain and other handlers have been given the same privilege in competition. Some associations have lost revenues when these handling privileges have been withdrawn altogether. Likewise, some government agencies have not supported farmers' associations when they might help. For example one government agency used inferior bags from competing agencies in preference to better straw bags formerly furnished by associations.

Another source of association revenue is from their credit divisions. Here farmers' associations have been "hard hit" from lack of their own capital, small deposits, and obtaining capital loans at favorable interest rates. I shall deal with this in the section on Rural Credit, however.

If the associations can be supported with adequate compensation from the government services they perform plus their other economic revenue, in addition to the aids they are now being given to improve equipment, they can in my opinion be put in good financial condition.

However, when one adds these circumstances together plus the needs associations were faced with to build and repair warehouses and other equipment plus the probability that poor leadership effected revenues, one can understand why the economic condition of the associations are so difficult. If they are to perform their work and contribute as they can to Taiwan economy, they should get such assistance as I have suggested.

VII - Membership Relations and Problems

The farmers' associations in Taiwan are organizations of operating farmers for the purpose of improving their agricultural activities, solving their marketing problems, providing credit, and helping in proper ways to increase their levels of living. Under present circumstances (December 1950) the associations are performing many services at the request of the government that supplements their original functions. These later will be considered in the section on government relations.

How Membership is Attained

Membership in the association is accomplished at the present time in the following way. The prospective member presents his application, together with the membership fee and an introduction from the chief of the small agricultural group of his village, to the farmers' association. The application is reviewed by the board of directors, and upon board approval, he is considered a member, with all the rights and privileges thereof. A membership card or certificate is issued as evidence of this membership. The name of the member is reported to his small agricultural unit and the township association's annual affairs meeting.

Many associations were found by us to be lax in the review of applications, particularly where they were anxious to increase income. Many persons not closely related to agriculture are admitted. Others were lax in the issuance of membership cards or certificates. They were failing to use this way of emphasizing membership.

Present Membership Composition

When the farmers' associations were reorganized in 1949, all old members of the previously existing farmers' associations plus all old members of the rural cooperatives were automatically made eligible for membership in the unified organization. This brought into the organizations many persons who were not in any way connected with agriculture. The report of the farmers' organizations division of JCRR covering the period from July 1, 1949 to February 15, 1950 indicates that, as of that period, practically 30 percent of the membership of the township associations were non-farmers (merchants, professional people, urban workers). Present admission practises are tending to increase this further.

A report made in August 1949 on the associations previous to their reorganizations stated that 18 percent of the members were not related in any way to agriculture.

Our own inquiries in visiting township associations throughout the Island revealed that in almost every association visited a significant proportion of the members were non-farmers. My estimate is that non-farmer members range from 10 percent of all in strictly rural units to

60 percent in urban type associations. In a number of associations, in order to get more revenue, members were being admitted who were non-farmers.

The Problem of the Non-Farmer in Farmers' Associations

Historically it is true that no farmers organization developed to serve agricultural interests has ever survived for long when its membership contained a significant proportion of non-farmers. This has been true in America and in Europe. It will no doubt prove true in Taiwan unless membership is properly guarded.

The reasons for this are not difficult to ascertain. Non-farmers too often forget the purposes of these organizations and use them to serve their own interests. These interests are often directly opposed to the interests of the farming population and soon conflicts arise. This becomes doubly difficult when the non-farmer holds responsible offices in the organization. European and American agricultural history are strewn with the wrecks of such experiences over two centuries. There are many instances in the present composition of Taiwan farmers' associations to make the suggestion that this is a real danger here also. The farmers' associations can degenerate rapidly as agencies to serve agriculture if non-farmers dominate it.

This does not mean that non-farmers may not be employees of the associations. If non-farmers have a genuine knowledge and sympathy for agriculture, they may well be the best employees if they have had business and public experience. Many farmers' organizations also have been wrecked because they sought to use farmers to conduct business and educational operations with which they had no experience and of which they had no knowledge.

The place at which the non-farmer is dangerous to the farmers' organization is in the determination of policies and programs to be followed. Too often persons who do not worry about the consequences of policies or programs upon the farmer are in a position to determine these policies, because of their positions in the organizations. Organization patterns and membership rules must protect against this possibility.

Practical Suggestions for Future Membership Regulations

a. Membership Types:

Active membership in farmers' associations should be limited to bona fide farmers. I recommend that there be two classes of members in order to accomplish this; active and associate members.

Active membership should be limited to one representative of each family that earns 70 percent or more of its income from farming and actively operates farm land either as owners, tenants, or farm laborers. Active members shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership, including voting, holding any office, participating in organization meetings, and using any facility of the association.

Associate members should have the right to attend association meetings, to express their views on association matters, and use the facilities of the association on the same basis as active members. They should not, however, enjoy voting privileges, nor be eligible to hold elective office in the association.

Such a definition of membership would assure the Taiwan associations of being truly organizations of the farmers for the farmers. Yet it will allow all other interested persons to participate in its activities and use its services, while at the same time making it impossible for non-farmers to control the associations. Evidence of active or associate membership should be presented when services giving advantage to the users are made available.

The above suggestion was developed and written at the end of November, 1950. During the past four weeks (now December 3, 1950) I have been privileged, at the instigation of JCRR, to study farmers' cooperatives in Japan. It was heartening for me to learn that my suggestion of two classes of members for Taiwan associations was in force in Japan. This same practice can be shown for other countries as well. Taiwan should adopt this practice at once to protect its associations.

b. Procedure in Association Meetings:

Democratic procedure not only requires that membership be carefully defined as to qualifications and privileges, but it also requires that this membership be able to express itself without fear or intimidation. There is a simple device to eliminate such difficulties. In matter of policy determination and in the election of officers and other personnel, the secret ballot should be used. This makes it possible for persons to express themselves freely without detection and eliminates fear of reprisal or other undesired consequences.

I recommend that the practice of using the secret ballot wherever and whenever the membership desires, be advocated and adopted as regular procedure in any of the association meetings, and particularly in the annual affairs meetings of the township, prefectural, and provincial associations.

Farmers' Associations and Politics

The farmers' associations in Taiwan must be wholly divorced from politics. They must be kept that way if they are to do their job as

the organization through which rural life is bettered. This does not mean that farmers' associations should not take action through resolutions that express their views on agricultural programs promoted by the government. Good government wishes to have these expressions. But farmers' associations must not actively engage in politics, supporting candidates, and presenting tickets for election. This type of activity has always destroyed the farmers' organization engaged in it. None have survived political aggressiveness.

There is some danger of political behavior in Taiwan by officers of farmers' associations that might be construed as representing the associations. I visited several associations this fall where the manager and the chairman of the board of directors were actively engaged in political campaigning during time when they should have been engaged in association work. One association was suffering internal dissension because of opposing political action by association officials. I heard of others that were having the same troubles.

There should be a clear-cut policy expressed in resolutions of the township, prefectural, and provincial associations, that no association should of itself support any specific political candidates, and that no association employee should support, in the name of the association, any specific candidate. Association employees should avoid the suspicion of political action in the name of the association by conducting all political activities at times and under circumstances that make it impossible to construe such action as representing the association. All associations should make this clear in annual affairs meetings and by other pronouncements.

VIII - Leadership in Farmers' Associations

Importance of Leadership

The quality of the leadership available is always the final determinant in an organization's success. This is even more true in a democratic society than in an autocratic one. No institution in a democracy can rise higher than the level of its leadership. Voluntary organization demands that leaders be interested in people, interesting to people, and interested with people in the solution of their problems. Such leadership is founded upon the possession of high ideals, adequate knowledge of the field of operation, and a devotion to achievement that is motivated by social well-being. The possession of a sensitive social consciousness always marks the constructive democratic leader.

Leadership under the Japanese

Farmers' associations were given the best leadership available by the Japanese consonant with their objectives. Governor-Generals, top political officials, and the best trained agricultural technicians were put in control and development jobs to make the farmers' associations the devices for increasing production, developing scientific techniques, controlling diseases and pests, and as a consequence getting the largest net returns possible.

Unfortunately, Taiwan Chinese were used only in minor positions, so that when the Japanese left the Island, there was a tremendous dearth of qualified personnel to man the associations. Chinese from the mainland took over. They, however, knew little about these associations, and some of them did not see the key position the associations could hold in their own program. It is true that migrant people take their own institutions with them and fit these, as far as possible, to the situation they take over. Thus the mainland Chinese have introduced patterns that they are familiar with. In some instances these have assumed functions the Japanese carried out through the associations.

Farmers' associations have been compelled to put into major control people not adequately trained for the responsibilities they must assume because of the dearth of leadership. The Japanese did not give the Taiwanese a chance for college or university training. Of about 450 students annually enrolled in the Taiwan University during the Japanese regime, no more than 30 were Taiwanese. Practically all of them were students of medicine. The Japanese did not allow Taiwanese to study agriculture, science, art, law, economics on the university level in any significant numbers. Nor did they allow Taiwanese to train as school teachers in their normal schools. There were practically no university trained Taiwanese in the farmers' associations, and none to take over leadership upon the expulsion of the Japanese. The Japanese did maintain agricultural schools of the junior and senior middle school levels. The Taiwanese agricultural technicians dealing with the farmers were trained in these schools. They worked with and under Japanese

university trained technicians. They benefited greatly from these contacts but in the main they carried out Japanese instructions. The clerical staffs of the associations also have been recruited from those with experience under the Japanese as far as possible, but few of them have had much schooling. The survey published in August 1949 indicated that 68 percent of the township associations' personnel had only primary school education, while 15 percent were from vocational schools. Only slightly over one percent had any college training. My own inquiries in visiting associations confirm these conditions.

Experience under the Japanese is a valuable asset. It probably is a chief reason why these associations could operate at all after the Japanese left. Of almost 4,500 employees in the 230 associations we surveyed, 39 percent had experience working under the Japanese. Of the nearly 2,500 directors in these associations, 38 percent had worked under the Japanese. These are large proportions of employees and board members. They emphasized, however, the larger number of untrained and inexperienced people in the operation and employment of the farmers' associations at the present time. When 6 out of each 10 directors and employees have had no previous experience in association work, there is a lot of room for education among them.

Training Needs for Personnel

a. Two to Three Week In-Service Training Schools:

Training may in general be said to involve two groupings of people: (1) Those presently employed by or directing the associations, to improve their knowledge and skill; (2) replacement personnel on all levels.

I do not find any significant employee training programs conducted at present by the PDAF, the PFA, or the JCRR, either by themselves or in cooperation with each other.

I recommend, as an important need, the establishment of employee and director personnel training schools. They should be conducted for a long enough time to be more than inspiration meetings. They should be real schools, adequately staffed, adequately financed, and dealing with the particular phases of farmers' association work normally included in the program of the associations.

I suggest that such training schools operate for at least two and perhaps three weeks.

Staff should be obtained from the most experienced and successful workers in farmers' associations together with professional persons in the Taiwan University, JCRR, PDAF, and PFA. Such staff members should be selected for their competence in a given area of association work.

Training schools of this kind should not be general schools including a few lectures or activities related to the many phases of farmers' associations work, but should be devoted to a specific area of the associations activity. Thus there should be a school for association directors, one for association managers, one for persons responsible for the rural credit division, one for accountants, another for directors of the daily necessity or retail goods division, another for agricultural technicians. Others can be developed as need and experience suggest.

I recommend the addition of an educational director to the staff of the PDAF who shall be responsible for the development of these schools at selected points on the Island, organizing the staff, arranging curriculum, providing facilities, arranging for field laboratory experience, developing promotion.

I recommend that if such a plan is worked out, JCRR appropriate a considerable sum of money to provide staff compensation and aid associations in paying the expenses of personnel selected to attend such schools.

I also recommend that JCRR, PDAF, and PFA work together in obtaining a capable educational director and that each contribute to an adequate salary for such a person.

JCRR should make as one of the major tasks of its own farmers' association personnel, this educational and training task. A member of JCRR's farmers' association staff should be specifically assigned to the job of promoting training programs for employed personnel, as well as to promote a wider educational activity.

b. Provincial Farmers' Association Training Institute:

I recommend the establishment of a one or two year institute to be promoted by the Provincial Farmers' Association in order to give the promising personnel in the Associations further training than can be offered in the short courses of 2 to 3 weeks and in order to train higher middle school youth for specific work in the divisions of farmers' associations.

Such an institute can serve as the chief source for providing rather quickly better trained personnel than is now available and without waiting for those trained in a longer curriculum such as may be provided by Taiwan University. Staff members for such an institute may be recruited from the Provincial Farmers' Association staff, the best association managers, JCRR personnel, and the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

Farmers' associations should provide scholarships to aid students of such an institute, and the PDAF and JCRR should subsidize its operation.

The curriculum should be built around actual management and advisory functions, including work in the technical problems of Taiwan agriculture, cooperative principles, economic principles, business management and accounting and related subjects. This could be the core element in providing the quality of trained personnel so sorely needed by the associations.

c. Taiwan University Curriculum for Farmers' Association Workers:

If replacement personnel that improves the quality of association leadership is to be forthcoming, some possibility of getting persons with university training must be worked out. While the middle schools give agricultural training that serves well as a foundation for professional careers and their graduates might work as secondary technicians in some association areas, these graduates just do not get the training that is needed for management, or educational responsibilities nor can they handle, except after long experience, the credit and other service divisions.

To meet this pressing need, I recommend that JCRR, PDAF and PFA, working together, encourage the Taiwan University and the Ministry of Education to establish a curriculum designed to train high level employees for farmers' associations, who can obtain from such training their college degrees.

I estimate that there are not less than 1,500 to 2,000 farmer association posts that are justified in seeking college trained workers. This number will increase as the associations expand and as economic success is developed. This is a large vocational field. If properly presented, I do not see how the Ministry of Education could refuse to approve such a curriculum. I think Taiwan University would be anxious to train graduates for such a large vocational field.

The creation of such a curriculum should not be difficult for the University. It already has a complete program of courses in agriculture. These would naturally form the foundation for such a curriculum. Likewise the colleges of arts and of law include courses in economics, psychology, accounting, sociology and others important to this field. Courses in farmers' associations (their history, organization, functions), cooperatives, rural sociology, business organization and management could be introduced. They would prove valuable to other university students as well as those specializing in this field.

I recommend that JCRR subsidize 2 professorships at the University if such a curriculum is developed. One should give the work in cooperatives, farmers' associations, and rural sociology and promote the farmers' association curriculum. The other should give courses in business organization and management, personnel problems, and related subjects.

In addition, I recommend that JCRR make a grant to assist the University with the payment of the salaries of some of the professors who would be offering courses that students in this curriculum would choose.

It is my conviction that these three types of educational programs, the short course of several weeks, the Institute program of one or two years, and the curriculum for farmers' association workers of University grade, can be among the important factors guaranteeing the future success of the associations. It is hard to believe that these associations can be successful without more trained leadership. At present no provision is made for developing it.

IX - Maintaining Membership Relations

Need for Membership Education

I have said that the number one problem in making Taiwan farmers' associations successful lies in the quality of its leadership. Effective leadership, however, often has a difficult time when membership is disinterested. A smoothly operating organization of the people requires intelligence and concern in the members as well as in the leaders. Since there is always a decided loss between the methods used to keep membership aware and awake and constructive actions by them, membership education is important. It is often more important where the organization is economically successful than where it is not. It is easy for farmers not to be concerned about organization problems so long as prices are good and services are generous. Interest is lost as often under such circumstances as when economic reverses are common. Education is necessary under all circumstances.

It is important therefore that membership relations be maintained on as close and intimate a basis as possible with their farmers' association both under advantageous and disadvantageous conditions. This means that a constant flow of educational material must be presented to them. They must have knowledge about the policies, programs, services, activities of their associations and of agriculture in general.

I have been impressed by the almost complete absence of farmer education in association affairs as I have studied the farmers' associations of Taiwan. Little is being done along these lines on a township, prefectural, or provincial basis. It is clear that the townships are too small and have too few resources to conduct their own general education program. Members and clientele should get complete and factual information about their own local association. Managers and boards of directors have a responsibility here. But broader information about cooperative principles, policies of an Island-wide concern, information of technical value in farming practises can be most economically presented by a larger unit. The Provincial Farmers' Association is the natural unit in the whole program to assume this responsibility. One of the best services it can perform and one that will help to tie the provincial, prefectural, and township associations together is for it to conduct the Island-wide educational and informational program for the associations.

Methods Available

The ways in which farmers may be reached are innumerable in this era of modern means of communication and transportation. Taiwan can have practically any of them, for power is available everywhere. The problem is to select those that have proven to be the most effective.

Three forms of communication are today recognized to be the most useful in effecting public opinion; the radio, newspapers and magazines, and audio-visual technics such as movies, projected pictures, charts and diagrams.

All of these can and should be used by the Taiwan farmers' associations. The Provincial Association has just introduced a radio program and has, along with the PDAF, asked the cooperation of JCRR. This is a worthwhile project but must be given careful consideration before final arrangements are completed. I have already indicated my own support of a radio program for the associations. But careful study of the nature of the program, the types of materials to be used, the length of the program, availability of program director and announcer with imagination and creativity, the time for presentation and the cost involved must be made before assent should be given for support. Likewise the Information and Education Section of JCRR should look into the question of radio availability for farm population, group listening and discussion opportunities, the possibility of using the radio program to revivify the meetings and discussions of the small agricultural units, the number, distribution and condition of radios available in farmers' associations and other village and rural centers, and the probability of being able to supply radios at low cost to farmers and farmers' groups.

I recommend that, if after careful study of the above topics, the Information and Education Section and the Farmers' Association Division of JCRR, think support of a radio program feasible, JCRR should help to support this activity both financially and with program materials and staff participation.

The second technic for developing an informed membership is the use of the newsletter or newspaper. Here again the Provincial Association has just established a venture and put out its first issues. This can be useful. The Associations need this "house organ". It should have staff personnel who know newspaper technics and reader taste and attractiveness.

The USIS is considering the establishment of a "Farmers Newspaper". I have given it my encouragement. There are some successes in this field already. "The Christian Farmer", published in China before the communists took over, had a large farmer reading public and performed a good service. Since there are no general farm papers in Taiwan, this kind of newspaper or magazine is all the more important. JCRR can use it as a medium for presenting information about agriculture and farm organizations by furnishing news stories with reader interest.

I recommend that JCRR designate its farmers' association personnel to study the possibilities in a farmers' association house organ or newsletter and the proposed farmers' newspaper of USIS and give them both the moral and financial support that seems advisable.

The third educational technic is the use of audio-visual equipment. There should be a section of the Information and Education Division of JCRR that has in its possession educational pictures, charts, and diagrams of the agricultural life of Taiwan, together with recreational materials. These should be accessible for use by all staff members of JCRR whenever field trips are contemplated. Nothing attracts attention or gives so much pleasure to rural people as pictures, especially colored pictures. They educate in a double sense, since seeing is added to hearing and explanation is made in concrete form.

There are available large numbers of black and white and colored slide materials from innumerable sources such as FAO of United Nations, USDA of America, other agricultural offices of many countries that can be obtained to supplement, both by loan and purchase, the materials on Taiwan. The Information and Education Division should work with the Farmers' Association Division to obtain such materials.

One caution can be given. It has been shown that the use of moving pictures is difficult in extension field work. The equipment is bulky, intricate, and subject to mechanical difficulties. It usually requires special personnel for its successful use. In Taiwan where electric power is available almost everywhere, the use of two by two colored slides, if available, and black and white slides, appears to be the best medium for rural life education in the fields of interest to JCRR. Equipment is simple, easy to operate, and easy to transport. It is my judgement that JCRR would be unwise to go in for complicated machinery and equipment. But because of the wide interest in pictures, especially colored pictures, I strongly urge that this medium be given much attention.

I recommend that the Division of Information and Education and the Farmers' Association Division work together to assemble a series of picture-lectures for use in farmer education programs, made up of materials on Taiwan and other areas and problems of interest to the rural people of this country, and that these be made accessible to staff personnel for extension work to be used in farmers' association and other rural group meetings.

X - The Small Agricultural Unit and the Group Approach

The Small Agricultural Unit is an Element of Genius

One of the elements of genius in the pattern of extension work developed by the Japanese is the small agricultural units. I do not know exactly whether they planned this unit from the first or added it to their 3 level association organization. It appears that because the township, prefectural, and provincial set-up did not reach down to meet small community and individual farmers needs, they began to develop small village units through which to extend their activities. The Japanese put the farmers into these units, using the village and the surrounding vicinity as the functional area. They selected persons to serve as unit leaders. When information was to be given the farmer, the unit leaders were notified and they spread the news. When technicians wanted to instruct in some phase of operations, groups of farmers were brought together by units. Thus their chief uses were to serve as means for dispatching instructions and for giving education. The Japanese got attendance by ordering villagers to be present.

The present organization has inherited this way of getting down to the farmer and his family. It cannot order attendance but must rely upon service for farmer support. In my judgment, it is one of the best aspects of the whole farmers' association set-up and should be used to the fullest. Ready-to-hand is this device for good educational work among the farm families.

Three Suggestions Relative to Present Operation

My study of these units as I have visited communities over the Island leads me to emphasize three points about their present operations. The first is, that, though the units exist in name in almost every part of Taiwan, their use as a means for getting farmers together for instruction and information is being seriously neglected. In some places no meetings of any sort have been held during the past year by their units and in many others, no more than one or two. I do not remember any association that reported that their small agricultural units met regularly. I know that at many associations, the association personnel and the farmers themselves responded with enthusiasm when asked if they would like to see these units revitalized.

The second point is that now the unit leader is being depended upon to give instructions and get information out to the farmers. In other words, farmers' association personnel, including technicians, are telling these leaders what should be done and expecting them to do the job of instruction. The serious consequence of this is that the associations and the technicians lose their contacts with the farmers. Direct contact is the only way real education can be promoted. This is a serious condition and can lead to ineffectiveness in the educational work.

At this point I wish to emphasize my strong opposition to a practise that is coming into vogue in some associations. Unit leaders are being paid small sums of money, usually \$10 per month, by local associations to serve as leaders. This practise came about because farmers, even the leaders, lost interest in their units, as the usefulness of the associations declined. The farmers' associations wanted more dependable errand boys to spread the news about the arrival of fertilizer, daily necessity goods or other materials. This stresses that the real functions of the small agricultural units are being forgotten by the association personnel and the farmers themselves. Here is a job of reeducation.

This practise of paying unit leaders, if it becomes general, can develop a situation that may damage the usefulness of these units. In one instance I know leaders are already demanding more pay for serving as leaders and doing something which is for their own benefit and they should be glad to help do anyway. If money payments become a practise, then leaders will want to keep the jobs for the sake of the money. Local leadership should be voluntary and should be spread around so that sense of personal possession cannot develop. Voluntary leaders might be asked to serve no more than 3 years in succession without reelection until one year has elapsed, to be sure this sense of personal possession does not evolve and more voluntary leaders are trained.

My third point is that technicians are now using the individual approach in their educational work and neglecting the use of the group approach. They are going out to visit individual farmers who have production problems instead of making use of the groups within the small units.

Leadership of the technical sort is scarce. It is poor employment of this leadership to try to deal with one farmer at a time. Leaders can operate over a much wider area if they use the group approach. When a problem arises the association representative or technician should always get a number of farmers together through the channels of the local small agricultural unit and instruct them as a group. They should always say, when requests for help come in, can we get a number of farmers together to see the demonstration or discuss the situation or watch the application, so that many may be trained?

A further value results from this group approach. Many practises can be taught to many farmers. They in turn can become teachers of groups, as well as handlers of their own situations. This is one way to spread leadership and knowledge and do it economically.

My Recommendations

If I were to sum up this situation in a recommendation, I would say: I recommend that attention be given to the revitalization of the small agricultural unit as the teaching device for dealing with the

farmer, and that contacts with the farmers about problems they have be always conducted on the group basis, unless absolutely impossible circumstances arise.

This recommendation leads to a further point. Farm advisers have, in a number of associations, been unable to do field work because no money for field travel has been provided or the sums have been so small that the advisers could make few contacts. Many farm advisers have been spending their time in offices doing routine office work. It is a poor investment of funds to pay salaries for workers who cannot do their jobs because they cannot attend small unit or other group meetings. This situation has had a deadening effect on the small agricultural units and been a major cause in their decline. Revitalization of these units as the chief means for farmer education depends on continuous contact with them by the farm advisers.

I recommend that JCRR study the need of farm advisers in the farm associations for travel funds and work out a matching program with the PDAF and the local associations to help overcome this limitation. The extension work of the associations will be ineffective without it.

XI - The Agricultural Adviser System and Extension Work

The Japanese Developed the Agricultural Adviser System

The Japanese concentrated on increasing agricultural production in their economic program in Taiwan. They made agricultural extension work the center of their rural activity. At their height they employed 13,000 extension workers, 9,000 of whom were agricultural advisers located in the small villages and associated with the local farmers associations. These technicians worked through the small agricultural unit. Agricultural specialists were attached to the prefectural and provincial associations. They supervised the work of the agricultural advisers and informed them as to what to do and teach.

The Japanese promoted a scientific agriculture. They believed fervently in "science with practise." Therefore they were exceedingly careful to use well-trained technical personnel. They conducted schools for technicians constantly. They used their best scientists to promote this education. These trained technicians taught the farmers' groups. Government orders assisted them. These are the reasons why the Taiwanese farmers are themselves scientifically intelligent about their practises. This is why they seek technical help.

The Provincial Department of Agriculture & Forestry is using This System

The PDAF inherited this system when they took over. The PDAF, as the government agency responsible for agricultural extension work, is using the system now. But the differences are enormous. Where the Japanese had 13,000 extension workers, the system now includes not more than 400 township and prefectural extension people. The service of the agricultural adviser is decidedly limited all over the Island. Where the Japanese had an adviser in almost every village, now the advisers must serve 10 to 20 villages each. Their territory is large and widely scattered-service to village units is infrequent. In fact a major reason for the decline of the small agricultural units and their disappearance in many places is due to the absence of the agricultural adviser altogether.

While the agricultural advisers are paid, their pay is extremely poor. The township adviser's pay ranges from NT\$120 to 180 per month plus a rice allowance. I found only a few places where the adviser got NT\$200 per month. Most of the men are married and have families. I am told that most of them could make more money as rickshaw coolies or in day labor jobs. I asked why they did not get other jobs. They are not trained for other work, I am told. But more important, large numbers of those who are trained are in other jobs. They cannot earn a living from this work.

Two Problems Influencing the Adviser's Work

The work of these men is greatly limited by two other conditions: Lack of travel expenses money and government routine services. The allowances for their field travel expenses are about NT\$1.60 per day. This cannot cover bus or other fares or pay for meals. Increasingly government routine jobs of a supervisory sort are given to these men. They must develop government reports and help with government agency activities. This plus the low allowance for field expense means one thing -- they do not do field work, small agricultural unit meetings are not held, the agricultural extension work they are supposed to do is neglected.

The Japanese had a rule about the work of the agricultural technicians. They could not be given supervisory tasks to perform. They were limited to agricultural instruction of farmers' groups. This would be an exceedingly good rule for the PDAF to adopt now in relation to these men. There are so few of them that each one is needed for instructional work. I recommend that this be given serious consideration. It is the only way to protect extension work. It will keep government offices from assigning such work to the technicians. It will keep them from becoming "desk" men sitting in offices.

I have already supported the recommendation that JCRR supplement the budget of salaries of the PDAF to make it possible for the agricultural technicians now employed to get travel allowances so they can do field work, and especially revivify the small agricultural units. I reiterate that recommendation here.

Other Problems of the Agricultural Advisers

How long the agricultural adviser system can last with such low salaries available for this work is a question I have pondered. The technicians now available may continue. But I predict a slow drainage of those men into other jobs. If conditions of work better there will be a rapid loss. If replacements are not trained and if the work does not pay better salaries, the whole thing can fail, as far as any really trained persons go. Quality of personnel and quality and type of work will degenerate.

It is this future situation that is important. Few young men will be challenged by this work if they cannot have respectable jobs at respectable wages. Not even middle school graduates can be recruited, let alone college graduates. If the agricultural extension work deteriorates, it will be inevitable that production will suffer. This is a serious problem to me. It is so easy to neglect a situation like this, especially because the results are so difficult to note.

I recommend that the PDAF study ways and means to expand and strengthen the agricultural adviser program, especially with reference to number, quality, and salaries of workers.

The agricultural advisers are under the jurisdiction of the PDAF. As such they are government employees. They are attached in most instances to local government offices where they are stationed. They are not attached to the farmers' associations except where they are assigned to them. In a number of instances they are. Usually they are closely associated with the association for offices are often in or near the same places. In a few instances farmers' associations employ their own agricultural advisers.

Personally I would like to see all agricultural advisers stationed at the farmers' associations. It would aid in keeping them from becoming government report clerks. It would keep them closely in touch with what is going on in the associations and among the farmers. If the PDAF adopts the rule that they cannot do government clerical work but must devote themselves to extension and educational activities with farmers, this would be a more satisfactory location also. I recommend that the PDAF consider this matter of the physical location of the agricultural adviser.

The in-service training of agricultural advisers is considered in my discussion of leadership. There should be a series of two to three weeks schools throughout the Island for them as well as other farmers' association personnel. See my discussion of leadership for suggestions on plans and procedures for such schools. As to training replacement personnel, my suggestions about the Provincial Farmers' Association Institute and the Taiwan University Curriculum apply.

The Japanese had many agricultural specialists, highly trained and capable, who did research and extension work in the Island. One of their functions was to train and supervise the agricultural advisers. They were stationed at the experiment stations, the prefectural offices of the farmers' associations, and at the provincial offices. They passed on knowledge, taught in short courses, and aided in field activities.

The PDAF also has such specialists. They are much fewer in number than when the Japanese operated. Their contacts with the agricultural advisers and the farmers are much less frequent. They stay on the higher levels. I remember one agricultural adviser who told me that he had not seen a government agricultural specialist of any kind in over a year's time. In fact it appears as if the agricultural advisers are pretty much left to themselves as far as technical help and guidances are concerned. This too is one of the limiting factors in the adviser system today. Without fellow professional stimulation, guidance, and direction the advisers will stagnate. I recommend that the PDAF study their organization to see how a closer tie-up of specialists and agricultural advisers can be effected.

Farmer Attitude to the Agricultural Advisory Service

I want to close this section by stressing that everywhere I went on the Island farmers and farmers' association personnel talked of the values of the advisers to them. They urged their greater use. When I would inquire about this, there was enthusiasm for it. Many farmers said it was the most helpful service they got. This is born out by the fact that advisory technical aid was listed third among all the services received in the degree of farmer appreciation in the study we made of these associations.

XII - The Taiwan Farmers' Association Agricultural Council and Policy Determination

Policies are Important in Effecting Agriculture

An important element in the determination of agricultural and rural life activities is the policies that undergird them. If farmers' associations are to fit into the general program of agricultural development on the Island, and if farmers themselves are to have a voice in this development, there must be some instrument through which their views can be given expression.

At the present moment agricultural policy in Taiwan seems to be determined by government authorities from the PDAF, the Provincial Food Bureau and other divisions acting under the stimulation of the larger national interest. This is excellent so long as agencies that represent segments of the population can express their views through adequate channels as to how to promote this national interest best while at the same time protecting the welfare of the clientele they represent.

The farmers' association is the general organization representing and promoting farm family welfare in the Island. Yet so far as I can discover it has no constituted group through which this organization can and does give careful consideration to policies and programs suggested for agriculture and make pronouncements thereto that represent the farmers' interests.

This is a useful agency in any society that hopes to give consideration to all views so that, through synthesis, the best procedure may evolve. Such agencies are essentials in a democracy, lest policies come altogether from the top down just because of lack of their existence.

The Taiwan Farmers' Association Agricultural Council Can Serve Important Purposes

I recommend therefore that the farmers' associations establish, at the annual affairs meeting of their Provincial Association, the Farmers' Association Agricultural Council and that this become an integral part of their organization.

The purpose this Council shall serve is to be the policy creating unit of the farmers' associations. The Council should not itself promote action. If the farmers' associations wish to promote activities that encourage the adoption of the policies, suggested, they may do so through action of their township, prefectural, or provincial associations, usually at a general affairs meeting. The Council should limit itself to the study of what is best for Taiwan agriculture, the farmers' associations and the farm people and give expression to their findings, so that the associations and other agencies interested may consider their findings and act as their decisions dictate.

No prescription can be given as to how often such a council should meet. Perhaps not less than twice per year as a minimum. One of these meetings should precede the annual affairs meeting of the provincial association so that the policies the council suggests for the following year may be considered at this meeting. Other council sessions may be held as often as conditions demand.

Organization of the Council

The Council should have a chairman elected from its membership by these members. The chairman of the board of directors of the provincial association should be its Executive Secretary and decide, in consultation with the chairman or upon the request of 10 council members, when, in addition to the 2 regular meetings, the council should be called to consider questions of policy. The Executive Secretary shall give public expression to the policies formulated at the direction of the council.

Since this council is to present the viewpoints of the farmers, its composition should truly represent them. I suggest that the council include not fewer than 21 members and not more than 36. Representation should, in case of a council of 21, be distributed in about the following ratio: 3 persons from the Provincial Association; 6 persons from Prefectural Associations; and 12 persons from Township Associations. Members should be elected for not longer than 3 years each and township and prefectures should not have representation continuously. These organization arrangements should be worked out by a committee appointed by the Provincial Annual Affairs Meeting.

Members of the Council should serve without salary. They should be paid travel expenses to and from meetings, together with a reasonable per diem for meals and hotel expenses.

Such a council should not limit itself to pronouncements that relate only to the farmers' associations, but should consider all areas of rural life betterment and express views for consideration thereto. For example, the council might well want to express the farmers' view about rural schools, roads, rural health and many others of importance to him.

Monthly Meetings of Township Association Heads

It should be understood that the establishment of such a council is not intended to suggest the elimination of the monthly meetings of the chairmen of the township associations promoted by the prefectural associations. This council can well serve as the higher level medium through which the problems emphasized by these monthly conferences get wider expression. Often these monthly conferences present points-of-view that should be given wider hearing. The council can be such a medium. The monthly conferences should be feeders of ideas to the council. But the council should speak for the farmers and the farmers' associations of the whole Island. It should be the voice of the rural people of Taiwan.

47

XIII - Daily Necessities and Consumer Goods Activities

Importance of This Service

A service farmers' associations generally perform is that of distributing what in Taiwan are called "daily necessities". They are consumer's goods for household and farm use. They include the sale of food, soft drinks, beer, shoes, clothe and clothing, rubbers, boots, bicycle tires, farm tools, electric bulbs, switches, and other small electrical items, candies, soap, salt, peanuts, canned fruits, fish, and other canned supplies. In addition, there are farm tools such as hoes, rakes, shovels, threshing machines, rice weeders, and others. This is not a complete list, and is given only as illustrative. Some associations handled feed and seed as a part of this service.

That this is an important service is shown by the fact that practically every association I visited had a "daily necessities" division. Almost all of the 230 associations whose questionnaire responses we have tabulated indicated that they handled consumer's goods of these types. Of course the service is stressed more in some associations than others, but practically every one carries on the service.

Its importance is also shown by the fact that the association managers who gave our questionnaire their responses placed it fifth in importance in the long list of services performed. In addition, they rated it third in the amount of appreciation they thought the farmers had for the different services of the associations.

Conditions of the Service

The way in which the service is handled by the local and prefectural associations, however, make me conclude that they do not consider it or at least treat it as importantly as they say it is. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that usually the "daily necessities division" was shoved off in a small corner of the general office or warehouse space, the few items for sale usually in a state of disorderly arrangement. They were often dirty from street and warehouse dust, and attended to in a most haphazard way. There were usually no show-cases. No effort at neat and attractive displaying was made in most instances.

I saw one exception to this. It was so exceptional that I describe it specifically. In a mining community near Keelung a farmers' association whose main business was handling daily necessities since there was little rice and fertilizer to handle and the clientele was chiefly miners had organized their daily necessities store in a neat attractive set of displays. It was clean and orderly and had a large variety of food and household necessities. Not only were they able to handle large quantities of such goods for their association members but they carried on in excellent competition with local stores dealing with the general public.

Further, the goods for sale in most of the associations were generally obtained from merchants in the larger towns and purchase in large quantities for price advantage was uncommon. While the prefectural associations did, in some instances, get quantities of goods like clothe or tires and distribute them to local associations, what is commonly known as wholesaling was not generally a part of the system. Even farmers' tools and rice threshing machines were obtained by the local associations from local blacksmiths or manufacture shops. There is no reason why these machines and tools cannot be made and distributed in wholesale lots at good price advantages to farmers.

In contrast to these units, I am reminded of the "Konsum" stores of the Swedish and Danish farmers with their large supply of groceries, vegetables, household supplies in beautifully ordered store displays. Behind them is a retailing and wholesaling system that encompasses the whole of these countries. There is a similar possibility on the Island of Taiwan. I do not make this contrast to criticize. I make it to emphasize the possibilities. I believe that the consumer's goods division of the farmers' associations has large opportunities for helping the farmers and earning for the associations. But these possibilities can only be realized by careful study, planning, and work.

The Provincial Association and Daily Necessities

My last statement brings me to the problem of improving this service. This is an opportunity and a responsibility for the Provincial Association. How can it serve in this matter?

My first suggestion is that the Provincial Association get a person in its organization who understands through study and experience the retailing and wholesaling of products. The second is that this person makes a careful study of the range of family food and furnishings, farm tools and supplies, and other household necessities now handled by local associations and purchased by farmers. He should also look into other supplies rural families say they need and that could be supplied by the associations. Third he should study the possibilities of properly displaying and advertising such materials in the local associations. Fourth he should go into the question of purchasing in large quantities at advantageous prices those goods now sold through associations that farmers must have and of distributing them from a common center to prefectural and local associations, in other words establishing a farmers' association wholesale service.

Here I must, in self-defense, throw out a caution. Expanding consumer goods' services has difficulties in it. Too often farmers' organizations have met with early success in these areas and then expanded too rapidly and into areas that are too risky. Study must be complete. Suggestions must be sure. First help must be given in relation to organizing and displaying goods that already are in demand and use. Improving the location of the present daily necessities

51

section, helping local employees who are responsible to understand order and display, assisting them to find supplies that are advantageous in quality and price, and being sure that quality sold is always as represented, these are first steps in such a program. The others will come as normal expansions of these if the services are good.

Again I want to say that it is service of this sort to local associations that justify a Provincial Association and will forward the integration of the associations of the Island.

JCRR and Daily Necessities

The tasks just described area, in my opinion, the responsibility of the Provincial Farmers' Association. They should take the initiative. But the Farmers' Association Division of JCRR can act as a stimulating agent in this matter, if the Provincial Association wants to act. It can consider, when the proper time comes, giving some concrete help in personnel for conducting study and may be in helping to subsidize the Provincial Association's efforts along these lines. I would make such a recommendation.

XIV - Coordinating the Work of the Three Level Associations

Little Coordination and Integration of the Associations

A chief characteristic of the Farmers' Associations in Taiwan during the Japanese regime, as far as I can learn from the literature and from interviews, was the extremely close integration of their Provincial, Prefectural, and Township Associations. This integration was accomplished in policy, program, and activity by making top Japanese government officials heads of the associations on various levels. Policies were decided at the top. They were transmitted "down the line" for action. This type of integration is characteristic of autocratic programs. It gets things done as certain groups want them done and with speed. It does not consider the interest of the individual as basic.

The Japanese have, I learned from my recent study of cooperatives in Japan, been able, in spite of the break-up of the old associations and the creation of many cooperatives, to develop an effective coordination and integration of their cooperative activities on the local and prefectural levels under present circumstances. They have done this through the development of Federations of Cooperatives.

The farmers' associations here in Taiwan now evidence little coordination and integration of their activities. The loss of leadership, bad economic circumstances, the creation of a new self-direction policy, all contribute to a situation where each association functions almost as an independent entity. Theoretically the pattern of organization does not intend this. Practically it is true. I would say that associations are now in a state where freedom pretty largely means license. They do not seem to realize that the greatest freedom is often achieved through cooperation and that going one's own way is often unprofitable.

Evidence of Lack of Coordination

The opinion I have just stated is supported by our study of the 230 township and prefectural associations as well as my field study. We asked them to indicate the ways in which the prefectural associations served the township units and the ways in which the provincial association served them all. Of 230 associations, 31 (13 percent) made no comment at all about the services of the prefectural associations. Seventeen (7 percent) said, "in no ways," while 45 more (20 percent) said, in only "one way." Thus, of all the township associations studied, one in five said they received no service from their prefectural association. One in five more indicated only one service. On the other hand, 37 (16 percent) said they received four or more services.

There are two points to emphasize here. Relations between a large number of township associations and their prefectural units are at least weak if they exist at all. The fact that some associations get a number of services from the prefectural units shows that there are relations to be promoted between these units.

What are the services that exist here? Of a total of 449 services mentioned, help in handling government programs was given most frequently, 80 or 18 percent of the times. Promoting sale of production commodities was named second, 58 or 13 percent of the times. Then follows technical advisory aid, 53 (12 percent) times. Promoting the sale of daily necessities, helping with the marketing of agricultural products, and help on disease and pest control are mentioned about equally frequently, from 36 to 38 times or 8 or 9 percent of all. Then followed with much less frequency, allocation of farm equipment and tools (27 mentions), financial assistance (22 mentions), aid in crop and livestock improvement, liaison with the government, JCRR, and other agencies, and administrative advice (17 to 22 times each).

Everyone of these services could be characteristic of the relationship between the prefectural and township associations. No one of them occurred with great frequency and many occurred only occasionally. This is clear evidence, in my opinion, of the weak relationship between prefectural and township associations. It emphasizes what possibilities and opportunities exist here.

What of the relations of the township and prefectural associations to the Provincial Association? They are much less frequent than between the township and prefectural associations. Of 230 associations, 102 (44 percent) did not mention any relationship. Thirty-four more (14 percent) said there was no relationship. It appears that over one-half of the associations had no contact with the provincial unit. Of the 94 who indicated a relationship, 55 or 58 percent said they got only one service, while only 5 said there were as many as 4 services. None indicated more than 4 services.

Of the services performed, help in handling government activities was mentioned most frequently, 37 out of 153 or about one in each 4 mentions. Next came marketing of agricultural products, 23 mentions, sale of production commodities, 18 mentions, and liaison with government, JCRR, and other agencies, 18 mentions. No other service was named as frequently as 10 times. Administrative advice, sale of daily necessities, disease and pest control, warehouse repair, and livestock improvement were mentioned three to 9 times each.

These data are evidence enough to show that there is a large job ahead, if the matter is taken seriously, in developing a unity of program and activity among these associations. It is an important aspect of making these associations serve their largest purpose in Taiwan's agricultural economy and giving the best results in aiding the government and people.

Suggestions for Promoting Integration and Coordination

Practical promotion of the coordination and integration of the three levels of farmers' associations should take place in the following areas: The organization pattern, policy determination, administrative guidance, economic services, technical agricultural assistance, liaison with government and other agencies, and public education and promotion.

I state two things relative to my suggestions about these areas. The first is that I have or will treat some of these in other and special sections of this report. The other is that specific activity relative to some of the areas of relationship must be based on study and promotion. But I shall suggest how I think the integration should come about in each area of functioning.

1. Integration of the associations of the different levels must be founded in the general pattern of organization. The farmers' associations are supposed to be organizations of farmers, controlled by farmers, to serve farmers in their economic and social problems. I have indicated how this organization may really be accomplished in Taiwan in my sections of this study that deal with organization pattern and membership. (See these sections). I need not repeat this analysis except to say that the Board of Directors of the Provincial Association and the Board of Prefectural and Township Associations through their farmer member must give this integration. They really can tie the associations together. Therefore it is imperative that such reorganization in membership and organization pattern as I have suggested take place as quickly as possible.

2. Policy determination I have treated in the section on "The Taiwan Farmers' Association Agricultural Council." (See this section). If the farmers are to have a unified and consistent program, a body to determine and present policy statements to the associations and to the public is necessary. My suggestion of an "Agricultural Council" of the associations for this purpose is new to Taiwan. But it is based on long farmer organization experience in the West. It has proven valuable in many instances in promoting agricultural and rural welfare. Many of the finest achievements in American rural life can be traced to the work of such councils existing in New York, Wisconsin, and other states. Not only have they aided in price programs, transportation and marketing, government regulations, to name a few economic services, but also in rural school betterment, good roads development, and other aspects of rural life that need advancement. Such a council can do the same, perhaps, in Taiwan as well as promote farmer association activities directly.

3. Administrative guidance and council. This is a topic I have not treated elsewhere. It is significant particularly at this time in Taiwan because of the difficult circumstances under which many associations operate. Managers and Board personnel are inexperienced. Help with business management and organization can be useful. This can be

55

another way in which the provincial association can tie in with prefectural and township units. If the provincial association had a person of experience and success in administering a farmers' association, he could more than save his salary through acting as adviser on business management, personnel, and organization guidance. The provincial association must look into this possibility. I recommend it as worthwhile.

4. Economic services. In the section on Daily Necessities and Consumer Goods, I have stressed with conviction, I hope, the idea that the Provincial Farmers' Association should promote the welfare of all the associations by working on the retailing and wholesaling of these goods. Here I expand that suggestion.

In addition to daily necessities or consumption goods, farmers need to be able to get production materials, like farm tools and machinery, seed, pesticides, fertilizer and household supplies, at prices that are advantageous to them and of a quality which is better than they can ordinarily get on the public market for the same price. One of the important principles for farmers' associations to remember is that quality must be commensurate with cost. They should stress quality goods and services at the lowest price possible. But they must always build and protect the reputation for quality.

The township associations cannot possibly service themselves adequately at these points. The only way that they could get best quality supplies at prices attractive to farmers is by working with other associations to handle such matters cooperatively. Here is the big opportunity for the prefectural and particularly the provincial association. It can go into these problems, find out needs, discover advantages in wholesale purchase of goods, arrange distribution from prefectural to local associations.

We saw this process at work in the Japanese cooperatives. Threshing machines of best quality similar to those used in Taiwan were distributed by the Prefectural Federation in Saitami to the local cooperatives all through their districts. In turn they went to the farmers at excellent savings over local market prices. Bicycles were handled from Chiba prefectural federated cooperative to the districts, then to local units in the same way. So it went with many farm supplies and family requirements. There is no less opportunity in Taiwan to do the same thing.

These services cannot be conducted advantageously by individual associations, not even by a prefectural association. This is one place where cooperation of all the associations is demanded. It is a chief justification for the existence of the associations. Here again the provincial association has a big opportunity to prove its value.

There is another area of economic service that requires cooperation of all the associations that is as important as the supplying of goods. It is in the marketing of the farmers products. At the present time,

rice and fertilizer do not present a marketing problem. The government handles most of these commodities. There are problems about this handling which I will consider under government relations. But the farmer now knows to whom his rice goes. He knows where he can get his fertilizer. Later on when the government is no longer interested, however, the farmers' associations will have to handle the marketing relations involved in these commodities. They can gain valuable experience and evolve a good marketing program if they work with some agricultural products now. Fruits like pineapples and bananas have considerable marketing difficulties. Vegetables and livestock also present problems.

I refer to our Japanese experience again. I could use innumerable examples from my own knowledge of cooperative marketing in America and Europe like the Dairymen's League Milk Marketing Cooperative of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania or the Luma Cooperatives of Sweden who handle electrical and other supplies. I use Japan, however, because it is intimately known to Taiwan. We saw the vegetable market of a series of district vegetable marketing cooperatives in one of the large towns in the Chiba area and heard described the system of marketing vegetables for these farmers as far away as Hokkaido prefecture in the north. Assembling, grading, packing, shipping for a number of associations took place at the federated center. We saw farmers bringing cartloads of spongy gourds, each marked to the individual farmers and local associations credit, to be packed for further preparation for foreign shipment. All the way along the marketing chain one cooperative worked with another. There is some aid of this sort here in the Taiwan associations. It can be much improved and expanded.

5. Technical agricultural assistance. Farmers now get most of their technical agricultural assistance in Taiwan from the agricultural advisers who are employees of the local and prefectural associations. I shall discuss their work in a separate section. Here I only want to make one point about this as it refers to the provincial associations. I do not advocate that the provincial association develop a complete technical advisory service on farming problem. It should, however, have at least one person in its organization who operates as a liaison and promotional assistant stimulating the work of scientific help to farmers through the local and prefectural associations and correlating this work with the agricultural specialists of the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry. Such a person can be especially helpful in receiving requests for help from associations throughout the Island and channeling them to proper places and persons so that they may receive prompt aid. More of this in the separate section.

6. Liaison services. Farmers and farmers' associations must have assistance in their contacts with government and other agencies. This is a legitimate aspect of provincial association work. It is important as such because the provincial association personnel should be able to contact the proper offices much more effectively than the local associations.

57

I have been surprised to find that JCRR, for example, gets many requests directly from local farmers' associations. No screening has been done of most of these, not even by the prefectural association to say nothing of the Provincial Association. The requests not only come in written form but delegations and individuals wait on JCRR division people to press their need. They do the same way with government requests. I am not criticizing the local associations for this. It is now their most effective approach. However, it wastes time and work and makes the whole matter of entertaining projects cumbersome and inefficient.

A specific example is in the matter of help in warehouse building and repair. Dozens of such requests have come directly to JCRR since I have been here. Nobody had previously considered them except the local folk. Dozens of other such requests come to the PDAF. They were simply assembled and sent to JCRR without any examination. The channels for preparing and forwarding projects and of dealing with officials are to say the least not clear.

My recommendation here is that the Provincial Farmers' Association establish a liaison service for the prefectural and township associations. This section or division of the provincial association should make itself available to associations for receiving project requests and scrutinizing them for validity, necessary information, and significance. Where the division is unable to give such scrutiny itself because of lack of qualified personnel or for other reasons, it should get such examination made by the PDAF, the Prefectural Farmers' Association and the Prefectural Reconstruction Bureau. The division should help the associations prepare their requests in the best form after the examination and present them to the proper agency for consideration. If government and other agencies know that information submitted is accurate, plans are correct, and the request is considered reasonable by the Provincial Farmers' Association, this in itself can go a long way in expediting decision relative to it. The agencies will know that the provincial association is supporting the request. If the provincial association does this job well, an increasing confidence can be developed toward association requests that can mean much to the associations.

I also recommend that JCRR not receive requests for consideration from associations directly but refers all received to the provincial association with instructions that they study the request, examine information, and give at least a tentative judgement. While it may seem that this might slow up action, in the long run if done properly it will speed action.

7. Public Information and Education. I have already given my consideration to this in the section on Maintaining Membership Relations. I have discussed radio programs, newsletters, and audio-visual techniques, and suggested particularly the role of the provincial association in these activities.

My final suggestion on coordinating the work of the associations is to suggest that these areas of interrelationship that I have stressed should form the functional divisions of the Provincial Farmers' Association. One of the basic principles in good business organization is that functions should determine organization. The Provincial Association should develop its pattern of organization on the performance of the above functions in the service of all the associations. If it has divisions on policy determination, administrative guidance, economic services, technical agricultural aid, government and other agency liaison, and public education and promotion, it can develop personnel who can perform these functions with greatest efficiency. Only so can it give its best help.

59

XV - Home Improvement and Youth Programs

The Japanese used the farmers' associations as organizations through which to increase agricultural production on Taiwan so as to give themselves a net profit from exportable and importable goods. They developed their association program so as to make the Taiwanese farmer agriculturally intelligent. They succeeded well. They also knew that a good workman had to be a healthy workman as well as an intelligent workman. So they laid much stress on health. They developed clinics and hospitals in the fields of general medicine, surgery, and dentistry. The only field in which they allowed Taiwanese to acquire a university training to any extent was in medicine. The Taiwanese could serve Japanese economic objectives in this area of the higher levels. They, however, were not concerned to improve the life of Taiwanese in the other essentials of a good culture. They did little in avocations. As to the social-civic responsibilities of the Taiwanese, their chief end was to get subserviency to the Japanese rule. This they did with a well-organized police force.

The result of their overall viewpoint was that they had no interest in promoting programs to improve the whole life of the people. There was therefore no educational work with women or with youth except in their formal school programs. During the war they organized both youth and women for its promotion. But extension work with rural people under normal conditions limited itself to agricultural production problems and dealt almost altogether with adult men.

The new government, therefore, found nothing on the Island in these broader fields on which to build when they took over. Nor had the Chinese of the mainland developed any pattern of work with women or youth, except some that related to political and war-time loyalty. In fact attitudes on the mainland hindered working with women to a degree. In addition the problems of increasing production so as to feed a swiftly and suddenly increasing populace on the Island were so paramount that they could not consider these other items seriously. A high agricultural official said to me when I raised the question of possible work with home improvement, family life, and youth, "Why, we have never even thought of such a thing."

This means that if educational work in home improvement and family life and educational work with youth is desired and to be promoted, one must start from the beginning. There is little to build on, not even intelligent appreciation among the leaders. The creation of such an appreciation can well be the most difficult task, especially since so many other needs press for attention. It will prove difficult, if not impossible, to get support for the areas of activity, because they will not contribute immediate results in more food, more economic goods or added wealth.

Therefore if JCRR enters these areas, she must be willing and would be wise to support such work largely out of her own resources supplemented by cooperation with the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry. She must get some persons who are capable in these areas, give them a chance to study the situation, and then be willing to support a demonstration or two in a limited geographic area that would prove the value of such work as a part of the general program. She could thus hope that a foundation was laid which could expand and get further support.

Because the farm acreages are so small in Taiwan and because women work in the fields along with their husbands at all seasons, little thought is given to home improvement, child care, nutrition and other essentials. Custom is the social guide. Habit is the personal motivator. It is just because women are not only housekeepers and mothers but farm workers, however, that attention should be given to these problems of the home. Family and public welfare demand it. Any way that can help the mothers in their household responsibilities is a decided contribution.

It will also contribute to Taiwan's future rural well-being if youth can be helped through organizations to appreciate the values in agriculture and to understand the science of farming. The future of the Island rests with these youth. As industry develops more of them will go to the urban centers. Yet agriculture will always be Taiwan's greatest industry. Most youth will have to stay in farming. If they can be helped to see the honor in it as an occupation and helped to operate as farmers more successfully, a better rural life can be achieved. That is why work with rural youth is so worthwhile.

I saw the results of work on home improvement and with youth on my recent trip to Japan. Beginning in 1948 and using what foundation there was to build upon, though small, these two programs have met with rapid success. The agricultural advisers are developing agricultural study clubs, research discussion groups, 4-H and future farmer programs among youth throughout the Island - Already there are 15,500 rural youth clubs in Japan with over 500,000 members. I saw a group of twelve 4-H club members, 8 boys and 4 girls, put on demonstrations of home improvement through kitchen rearrangement, soil analysis and soil testing, vegetable pickling, analysis of results of a chicken raising project, and several other items, in addition to arranging and conducting a meeting, that any adult group could be proud of. They received a real stimulus from these activities.

On the home improvement side, I met with 17 home advisers in Saitami prefecture at their monthly meeting and heard them discuss housing, kitchen improvement, nutrition, clothing, health, fuel conservation. These are only some of the projects on which the home advisers are working.

Already Japan has 609 home advisers, women well-trained and getting further training, for this work. The Japanese are happily encouraging and supporting the work, and while there are many problems still confronting the program, it is founded on strong support by the national and prefectural governments, well-educated and practically trained home advisers (60 percent have one or more years of college training and have had special training) and an enthusiastic acceptance by the farm women and most of the farm men.

These programs encouraged me to believe that here is a fine opportunity for aiding Taiwan rural life.

Since I think that if JCRR is to help with the broader phases of rural life building, she must venture into those fields, I make the following recommendations.

First, I recommend that JCRR invite two specialists to Taiwan for a period of one year; one in the field of home improvement and family life, the other in rural youth work, JCRR to finance completely their work.

The specialist in home improvement and family life should have training in child care, human nutrition, family relations, possibly in home nursing. She should, if possible, know Chinese family life and understand Chinese viewpoints. If a Chinese woman with such a training could be found, she might be ideal. Otherwise a Westerner with Oriental experience might lay the ground work and recruit from the native field, persons who could take over.

Without seeming to make a direct recommendation but to illustrate the type of person I feel is needed to give such work an intelligent foundation, I would like to call the attention of the commissioners to Irma Highbaugh, Ph. D. in Family Life work from Cornell University. She has over 25 years experience in China working in these fields and has made an outstanding reputation. If such a person could be obtained to study Taiwan rural family life and work out a program, you could be sure, I think, of sound suggestions.

I know no youth worker that I personally could suggest. But contact with the Extension Division of the USDA and other youth agencies could assist in locating such an individual.

Second, I recommend that projects in these two fields be limited to an area not larger than a prefecture (county) and developed intensively on the service basis as demonstrations of what can be accomplished.

If these workers limited their organization efforts to a single prefecture, after they became acquainted with rural Taiwan, they could use the service approach (helping families and youth with some of their acute problems as a mode of gaining confidence) and develop this one area. Thus activities, programs, methods could be tested. The wider program could be based on this experience as the experience proved how valuable this work can be.

XVI - JCRR and the Farmers' Associations

I have made recommendations throughout this report of the ways I think JCRR can now help improve farmers' associations in Taiwan. I think it must be clear that I consider these farmers' associations the organizational key to success in aiding the agricultural economy and rural life of Taiwan. In my own thinking ECA and JCRR can perform, and has, many services like providing fertilizer, repairing warehouses, and equipment, helping to improve crops and livestock, aiding with irrigation and others that are important. Most of these emphasize the economic and they are good. These forms of aid were essential and still are to enable the associations to use their facilities. After the war damages and the depression years, such aid had to come if the associations were to perform any of their services.

However, if the organization through which these activities are performed is not strengthened and the human relations mechanism motivated by and developed on sound and high principles, the economic aids, helpful as they are at the time, will not give the Island the long run benefits it really must have; it will not achieve the objectives I outlined in stating my point-of-view (See Section I).

In my study of the activities of JCRR on the Island, I am impressed with the excellence of these economic helps. But I am also impressed with the overwhelming emphasis upon money, aid for repairing buildings and equipment, and furnishing "goods". I do not decry this. It is helpful and necessary but is not enough. This work must be undergirded by help in the human motivation and relationship area if JCRR wants to get its best results.

In our survey of the Island's associations, 219 of them reported that they had received slightly over an average of 2 types of help each from JCRR. Only 17 of those surveyed had received no JCRR help at all, while 40 had been helped in 4 or more different ways.

The aids given emphasize my point. Of the 219 associations, 92 obtained aid with warehouse building and repair, 120 with the construction of pig-sties, 158 with animal breeding, 42 with the repairing of retting ponds, and smaller numbers with livestock disease control, pest controls, cyanamide demonstrations and a few others. All are economic aids. Little has been done as far as personnel problems and management arrangements are concerned and little on education in farmers' association objectives and organization or membership relations. It is now recognized that membership relations, understanding of membership rights, and obligations and the principles underlying the role of the member are key elements in making any farmers' organization, economic or otherwise, successful.

Here I make a recommendation to JCRR about its own organization. Persons are not considered in my suggestion. The best operation of JCRR is more important than single persons and personalities are not involved in my thinking.

I recommend that JCRR establish a division on farmers' associations as an independent unit of its organization on a par with the other divisions now in existence.

I make this recommendation for the following reasons: First, the establishment of this division on a par with other divisions will emphasize that JCRR recognizes the importance of the roles of the associations in Taiwan rural economy. This will have a good psychological effect upon those in farmers' association work; it will encourage the association people themselves, and tell those responsible for association supervision in the provincial government that JCRR puts human relationship problems on a par at least with other activities. It will also have a beneficial effect upon JCRR's own personnel. It is my own feeling that many of the present staff consider the associations through which they must work in a minor manner. Some of them have said to me, however, that they have already found that their own problems in getting across better marketing programs, better production practises and so on, are chiefly problems of the relationships between people.

Second, this will give the farmers' associations division similar attention in planning programing and support that other areas of interest get. As it is now, farmers' associations are linked with agricultural production in the set-up. They could be linked with any other division as well, for it is through the associations that each of them does or should work. If it is a division, each other division will consider its relation to farmers' associations more directly. At present the production program demands a lot of attention and the bulk of the staff of the agricultural production and farmers' association division work on production problems. This is true even of the two persons who are supposed to work on farmer association problems.

Third and most important, it will make it possible to focus direct attention upon the most difficult yet vital problems of farmers' association activities. Repairing warehouses is important but having managers who can use them to fullest advantage is more important. Efficiently operating rice mills are needed but clerks who can keep records efficiently and honestly are a greater need. If there is a division with personnel who can think, plan and promote the relations between the township, the prefectural and the provincial associations, perhaps a real integration of activities can be evolved. These are human, not material, problems and need direct consideration. A division that can focus all its efforts on these problems is the only way JCRR can do its work relative to these associations.

XVII - Summary of Recommendations

All of the recommendations that are suggested in this report are summarized here by subject as they appear in the report. Therefore a quick review of my suggestions for these farmers' associations can be obtained from this reading.

1. Pattern of Organization

I recommend that the annual affairs meeting of the township, prefectural and provincial farmers' associations elect a board of directors similar in size to those at present which shall be the control and supervisory groups for the association. They should all be non-paid directors, receiving only a reasonable per diem to cover travel expenses to necessary board meetings. Their chief responsibility shall be to employ the manager who shall be the chief executive officer hired to direct the affairs of the association. In addition this board shall make the decisions on the policies and activities the association shall follow and give instructions to the manager for their execution. The board shall of course expect the manager to present detailed reports of the activity of the association at least once per month for their approval. The manager should present at least every 3 months a complete financial statement of the association's affairs as well as to report fully on its other activities. Annually the board of directors shall make or shall have made by engaging competent persons a certified audit of the accounts of the association that are submitted by the manager accompanied by proper supporting documents. They should have the authority to employ or dismiss the manager.

2. Operating Activities and Problems

I recommend that JCRR help with construction and repairs of association warehouses where need is clear. I have indicated my support of this in the development of the present plan to include in the budget of JCRR for January 1, 1951 to June 30, 1951, \$183,600 U.S. for the repair and construction of 90 of these warehouses in a joint project with the Provincial Food Bureau and the local associations involved. This project should be approved.

I recommend that JCRR forward a memorandum to the Provincial Association on the subject of the occupancy of warehouses by government troops, suggesting that they seek to find out the extent of this occupancy and do something about it.

Soldiers should be removed from these warehouses as soon as possible. The government should compensate the associations for the use of the warehouses and the damage done to them by soldiers. Small organizations like farmers' associations cannot afford such losses. The government should compensate them for use and damage. The Provincial Farmers' Association should ascertain the extent of this use and damage and aid the local associations to gain some recovery.

3. Physical Equipment

I recommend that the Provincial Farmers' Association consider the feasibility of establishing an Architectural Bureau as one of its services to the Taiwan farmers' association.

There is need for a section in the Provincial Farmers' Association where study is made and suggestions developed of what is required in the way of physical equipment and its cost to handle association physical problems. One engineer with some drafting aid could perform an excellent service as architect and designer for farmers' associations. Local associations could approach this person with their needs. When the need is studied and general suggestions given, specific assistance on detailed plans and costs could be worked out by the Agriculture and Forestry Division of the Prefectural Bureau of Reconstruction. Likewise such a person could serve as architect while the construction is under way.

I recommend that JCRR not approve financial aid for equipment, construction, or repair for any farmers' association without the Division on Farmers' Associations and the Engineering Division scrutinizing carefully the detailed plans and costs for such projects. Sufficient time should be taken to carefully consider the merits of a project. Associations requesting help however should be advised that a request for help has been received. This should be done as soon as such a request is received. But this notice should be accompanied with an estimate of how soon the association may expect a decision on the request.

I recommend that JCRR not accept the whole cost for construction or repair jobs of associations. JCRR should help meritorious projects. But there is a principle relative to this form of help that should be observed, namely that those aided should themselves make some sacrifice and that if they are able to care for the project out of their own resources, they should do so. This means that JCRR should also scrutinize the ability of associations to pay before supporting a project and then should enter it only on some partial support basis, if at all. If a project is replanned after money has been paid toward it, as I know to be true in some cases, the whole replanned project should be given reconsideration and the association asked to return the money previously advanced until such reconsideration is made.

4. Financial Support

I recommend that the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry include the salaries and the field expenses of all extension personnel in their budget and make such funds available to farmers' associations where the agricultural advisers and extension specialists are attached to the farmers' associations. Theirs is educational work. As such it should not have to be supported from the earnings of farmers' associations.

I recommend that the Provincial Food Bureau in consultation with the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry, the Provincial Farmers' Association and the Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction work out with the farmers' associations a fair flat fee payment on the basis of quantities handled to compensate the associations for their services in storing rice and fertilizer and for processing these products.

I recommend that all government bureaus that require services of farmers' associations make definite written agreements for fair compensation for these services. Such agreements should definitely indicate how long such relationships should last or be made on an annual basis with 30 days notice from each party if the contract is to be terminated.

5. Membership

I recommend that there be two classes of members in the farmers' associations of Taiwan: active and associate.

Active membership should be limited to one representative of each family that earns 70 percent or more of its income from farming and actively operates farm land either as owners, tenants, or farm laborers. Active members shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership, including voting, holding any office, participating in organization meetings, and using any facility of the association.

Associate members should have the right to attend association meetings, to express their views on association matters, and use the facilities of the association on the same basis as active members. They should not, however, enjoy voting privileges, nor be eligible to hold elective office in the association.

6. Procedure at Meetings

I recommend that the practise of using the secret ballot wherever and whenever the membership desires, be advocated and adopted as regular procedure in any of the association meetings, and particularly in the annual affairs meetings of the township, prefectural, and provincial associations.

7. Politics and the Associations

I recommend that all farmers' associations, township, prefectural, and provincial, announce and practise a clear-cut policy of non-political activity. No association should of itself support any specific political candidates, and no association employee should support, in the name of the association, any specific candidate. Association employees should avoid the suspicion of political action in the name of the association by conducting all political activities at times and under circumstances that make it impossible to construe such action as representing the association. All associations should make this clear in their annual affairs meetings by passing strong resolutions stating that farmers' associations are not and cannot be political organizations.

8. Leadership Training

a. Short Courses

I recommend, as an important need, the establishment of employee and director personnel training schools. They should be conducted for a long enough time to be more than inspiration meetings. They should be real schools, adequately staffed, adequately financed, and dealing with the particular phases of farmers' association work normally included in the program of the associations.

I recommend that such training schools operate for at least two and perhaps three weeks each.

I recommend the addition of an educational director to the staff of the PDAF who shall be responsible for the development of these schools at selected points on the Island, organizing the staff, arranging curriculum, providing facilities, arranging for field laboratory experience, developing promotion.

I recommend that if such a plan is worked out, JCRR appropriate a considerable sum of money to provide staff compensation and aid associations in paying the expenses of personnel selected to attend such schools.

I also recommend that JCRR, PDAF, and PFA work together in obtaining a capable educational director and that each contribute to an adequate salary for such a person.

I further recommend that JCRR make as one of the major tasks of its own farmers' association personnel, this educational and training task. A member of JCRR's farmers' association staff should be specifically assigned to the job of promoting training programs for employed personnel, as well as to promote the wider educational activity.

b. Training Institute

I recommend the establishment of a one or two year institute to be promoted by the Provincial Farmers' Association in order to give the promising personnel in the Associations further training than can be offered in the short courses of 2 to 3 weeks and in order to train higher middle school youth for specific work in the divisions of farmers' associations.

Farmers' associations should provide scholarships to aid students of such an institute.

I recommend that JCRR and the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry encourage such an institute by allowing staff members to serve on the institutes faculty, and by including a subsidy to support the institute in their budgets on a matching basis.

c. Taiwan University Curriculum for Farmers' Association Personnel

I recommend that JCRR, PDAF and PFA, working together, encourage the Taiwan University and the Ministry of Education to establish a four year college curriculum designed to train high level employees for farmers' associations, who can obtain from such training their college degrees.

I recommend that JCRR subsidize 2 professorships at the University if such a curriculum is developed. One should give the work in cooperatives, farmers' associations, and rural sociology and promote the farmers' association curriculum. The other should give courses in business organization and management, personnel problems, and related subjects.

I recommend that JCRR make a grant to assist the University with the payment of the salaries of some of the professors who would be offering courses that students in this curriculum would choose to assist the University with overall expenses.

9. Promoting Membership Relations

a. Radio

I recommend that if after careful study of the nature of the program, type of materials to be used, program length, availability of effective program director and announcer, time of presentation, and cost, together with radio availability and group listening possibilities of farmers, the Information and Education Section and the Farmers' Association Division of JCRR, think support of a radio program feasible, JCRR should help to support this activity both financially and with program materials and staff participation.

b. Farmers' Association Newsletter and USIS Farmers' Newspaper

I recommend that JCRR designate its farmers' association personnel to study the possibilities in a farmers' association house organ or newsletter and the proposed farmers' newspaper of USIS and give them both the moral and financial support that seems advisable.

c. Audio-Visual Aids

I recommend that the Division of Information and Education and the Farmers' Association Division work together to assemble a series of picture-lectures for use in farmer education programs, made up of materials on Taiwan and other areas and of problems of interest to the rural people of this country, and that these be made accessible to staff personnel for extension work to be used in farmers' association and other rural group meetings.

10. Revitalizing the Small Agricultural Unit

I recommend that much attention be given to the revitalization of the small agricultural unit as the teaching device for dealing with the farmers, and that contacts with the farmers about problems they have be always conducted on the group basis, unless absolutely impossible circumstances arise.

I recommend that the practise of paying the volunteer leaders of small agricultural units for their services be discouraged and abolished.

11. The Agricultural Adviser System and Extension Work

I recommend that the practise of using technical farm advisers for other forms of work than agricultural extension teaching such as carrying out government supervisory chores and completing routine government forms and office work be discouraged and abolished, and that the rule be adopted that the work of the technical agricultural advisers shall be limited to extension education.

I recommend that JCRR study the need of farm advisers in the farm associations for travel funds and work out a matching program with the PDAF and the local associations to help overcome this limitation.

I recommend that the PDAF study ways and means to expand and strengthen the agricultural adviser program, especially with reference to number, quality, and salaries of workers.

I recommend that the offices of technical agricultural advisers be located in the facilities of the farmers' associations.

I recommend that the PDAF study their organization to see how a closer tie-up of agricultural specialists and technical agricultural advisers can be effected.

12. Taiwan Agricultural Policy and Farmers' Associations

I recommend that the farmers' associations establish, at the annual affairs meeting of their Provincial Association, the Farmers' Association Agricultural Council and that this become an integral part of their organization.

This Council shall be the policy creating unit of the farmers' associations. The Council should not itself promote action. The Council should limit itself to the study of what is best for Taiwan agriculture, the farmers' associations and the farm people and give expression to their findings, so that the associations and other agencies interested may consider their findings and act as their decisions dictate.

I recommend the continuance of the monthly meetings of the heads of the Township Farmers' Associations for purposes of considering local association and agricultural programs and policies.

13. Daily Necessities and Consumer's Goods Activities

I recommend that the Provincial Farmers' Association employ a person for its organization who understands through study and experience the retailing and wholesaling of products. This person should make a careful study of the range of family food and furnishings, farm tools and supplies, and other household necessities now handled by local associations and purchased by farmers. He should also look into other supplies rural families say they need and that could be supplied by the associations. Third he should study the possibilities of properly displaying and advertising such materials in the local associations. Fourth he should go into the question of purchasing in large quantities at advantageous prices those goods now sold through associations that farmers must have and of distributing them from a common center to prefectural and local associations, in other words establishing a farmers' association wholesale service.

I recommend that JCRR's farmers' association division stimulate the above suggestion and when the proper time comes advise JCRR as to what concrete help in studying the consumer goods work and in supporting proper personnel in the PFA to advance it, it should give.

14. Coordinating the Work of the Three Level Associations

I recommend that the Provincial Farmers' Association give special attention to coordinating the work of the township, prefectural, and provincial associations:

First, by developing the membership of the associations as active and associate;

second, by creating and using the Farmers' Association Agricultural Council;

third, by giving administrative guidance and council;

fourth, by developing retail and wholesale purchasing and selling services that carry through all associations, and aiding in marketing needs;

fifth, by giving technical agricultural services through a technical adviser in its organization who acts as liaison person between the associations and the PDAF;

sixth, by establishing a liaison service between the farmers' associations and the government and other agencies;

seventh, by developing a public information and education service that will educate the public and create favorable public opinion relative to farmers' associations and their programs.

I recommend further that the Provincial Farmers' Association study its own organization and develop divisions which handle (1) agricultural policy (2) administrative guidance (3) membership education and relatives (4) administrative guidance (5) economic services (6) technical agricultural aid (7) government and other agency liaison (8) public education and promotion.

I recommend that JCRR's farmers' association work with the PFA to effect such a functional organization.

I further recommend that JCRR not accept requests for aid to associations for consideration from associations directly but refers all those received to the Provincial Association with instructions that they study the request, examine information, and give at least a tentative judgement as to its worthwhileness.

15. Home Improvement and Youth Programs

I recommend that JCRR invite two specialists to Taiwan for a period of one year; one in the field of home improvement and family life, the other in rural youth work, JCRR to finance their work completely.

Second, I recommend that projects in these two fields be limited to an area not larger than a prefecture (county) and developed intensively on the service basis as demonstrations of what can be accomplished.

Third, I recommend that, if these trial projects are successful, JCRR press for the introduction of such work in the PDAF.

16. JCRR and the Farmers' Associations

I recommend that JCRR establish a division on farmers' associations as an independent unit of its organization on a par with the other divisions now in existence.

Appendix I - Questionnaire to Farmers' Association in Taiwan

W. A. Anderson, Consultant - November 1950.

1. Association name..... 2. Address.....
3. Person completing..... 4. Title.....
5. Total number of families in the area served.....
Farm families in area.....
6. Was this association active 10 years ago?
7. If not when established.....
8. List in the order of their importance, the services conducted by the association:
(1).....(2).....(3).....(4).....
(5).....(6).....(7).....(8).....
9. List the services that have been added in the last 3 years: (1).....
(2).....(3).....(4).....(5).....
10. List the services that have been dropped during last 3 years:
(1).....(2).....(3).....(4).....
(5).....(6).....
11. List the services dropped that the farmers miss most as indicated by their complaints:
(1).....(2).....(3).....(4).....
(5).....(6).....
12. Give reasons why you were compelled to drop the services you listed:
(1).....(2).....(3).....(4).....
13. List in order of their importance the services of your association you think the farmers' appreciated most:
(1).....(2).....(3).....(4).....
14. State the ways JCRR has served this association: (1).....
(2).....(3).....(4).....(5).....

15. (a) State the ways the Prefectural Association helps you: (1).....
(2).....(3).....(4).....(5).....
(b) State the way the Provincial Association helps you: (1).....
(2).....(3).....(4).....(5).....
16. State the major difficulties your association has in performing its work best?
(1).....(2).....(3).....(4).....
17. How many farm families regularly use your association services?.....
18. Do you have a credit division?
19. How many depositors now?
20. What was largest number of depositors you ever had?
21. How many loans have you made in the last 9 months?
22. What is the amount of your deposits now?
23. What was the largest amount of deposits the association ever had?
24. What is the amount of your total loans now?
25. How can your credit service be made more effective?
(List not more than 3 ways)
(1).....(2).....(3).....
26. How do you think the work of the association can be most effectively improved?
(1).....(2).....(3).....
(4).....(5).....
27. State present size of staff & laborers:
28. How many worked under Japanese?
29. How many Directors in the association?
30. How many Directors worked for the association or cooperative under the Japanese?

Appendix II. Summary Tables of My Study of
Farmers' Associations in Taiwan

The following 32 tables summarize the information obtained from 230 Township and Prefectural Associations in Taiwan in November, 1950. We have received 290 questionnaires at this time (December 12, 1950) from the 318 Township and 18 Prefectural Associations in the country. However, the last 60 arrived too late for inclusion in our study. We added some facts in those 60 to our original study. The inclusion effected the results obtained from the 230 questionnaires only slightly. A total of 230 schedules from 336 associations or 70 percent of all is a large proportion on which to base our suggestions and is a reliable sample of such a small universe.

An additional 13 tables are included in the special report on Rural Credit and the Farmers' Associations.

Table 1
(Question 4)

THE TITLE OF THE OFFICIAL WHO
COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Title	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
General Manager	95	21	5	121
Executive Director (Chairman of the Board)	27	12	2	39
General Manager and Director	16	5	0	21
Assistant General Manager	4	2	0	6
Head of General Affairs and Production	11	4	0	15
Executive Director and General Manager	8	0	3	11
Clerk	6	4	0	10
Total	167	49	10	223

Table 2a
(Question 5)

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION
SERVED BY THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS

Total Population	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Less than 5,000	4	0	All prefectural	4
5,000 to 9,999	26	1	associations	27
10,000 to 14,999	30	2	served areas of	32
15,000 to 19,999	40	5	over 100,000	45
20,000 to 24,999	21	7		28
25,000 to 29,999	26	10		36
30,000 to 39,999	21	12		33
40,000 to 49,999	3	9		12
50,000 or more	0	1		1
Total	171	47		218

Table 2b
(Question 5)

DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL FARMING POPULATION
SERVED BY THE FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

Farming Population	Rural	Urban	Prefectural	Total
1,000 to 1,999	2	2	All prefectural	4
2,000 to 2,999	2	3	associations	5
3,000 to 3,999	3	5	serve farm	8
4,000 to 4,999	4	5	populations of	9
5,000 to 7,499	21	8	over 25,000	29
7,500 to 9,999	21	6		27
10,000 to more	110	16		126
Total	163	45		208

Table 3a DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES
(Question 5) SERVED BY FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

Number of Families	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
500 to 999	5	0	No prefectural	5
1,000 to 1,999	32	3	association	35
2,000 to 2,999	40	2	served less	42
3,000 to 3,999	37	3	than 20,000	40
4,000 to 4,999	33	7	families	40
5,000 to 7,499	22	18		40
7,500 to 9,999	2	13		15
10,000 or more	0	1		1
Total	171	47		218

Table 3b DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES
(Question 5) SERVED BY FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

Number of Families	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
0 to 499	1	6	No prefectural	7
500 to 999	13	11	association	24
1,000 to 1,999	51	17	served less	68
2,000 to 2,999	66	7	than 5,000	73
3,000 to 3,999	23	5	farming	28
4,000 to 4,999	11	1	families	12
5,000 to 7,499	5	0		5
Total	170	47		217

Table 4 PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION SERVED
(Question 5) BY THE ASSOCIATION THAT IS RURAL

Percent that is farming	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Less than 10	0	5	0	5
10 - 19	1	8	1	10
20 - 29	2	10	2	14
30 - 39	4	3	2	9
40 - 49	4	11	1	16
50 - 74	58	8	2	68
75 - 99	93	0	1	94
100	1	0	0	1
Total	163	45	9	217

Table 5
(Question 5)

PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL FAMILIES
SERVED BY THE ASSOCIATIONS
THAT ARE FARMING

Percent Farming	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Less than 10	1	10	0	11
10 - 19	0	7	2	9
20 - 29	0	11	3	14
30 - 39	3	11	0	14
40 - 49	16	5	2	23
50 - 74	68	3	2	73
75 - 99	79	1	0	80
100 %	1	0	0	1
Total	168	48	9	225

Table 6
(Question 6)

LENGTH OF TIME THE ASSOCIATION
HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED

Length of Time	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
More than 10 years	159	33	7	204
10 years	0	0	0	0
1 - 3 years	3	11	0	14
4 - 6 years	8	2	3	13
7 - 9 years	1	0	0	1
Total	171	46	10	227

Table 7
(Question 8)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF SERVICES
PERFORMED BY FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS
IN 1950

No. Performed	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None				
1	1	1	0	2
2	0	2	0	2
3	3	7	0	10
4	18	3	0	21
5	33	10	3	46
6	46	6	2	54
7	40	13	2	55
8	21	5	2	28
9	6	2	0	8
10 or more	3	0	1	4
Total	171	49	10	230

THE SERVICES PERFORMED BY THE FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS
IN THEIR ORDER OF IMPORTANCE

Table 8
(Question 8)

TOWNSHIP ASSOCIATIONS

Services Performed	Order of Importance								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Technical advisory aid	66	26	28	23	15	9	6	or more	173
Crop improvement	5	1	1	2	4	3	1		17
Livestock improvement	4	5	6	6	6	6	1	1	35
Disease and pest control	5	2	2	2	1	1	2		15
Equipment & tool sale & loan	2	7	2	9	7	5	1		33
Credit services	77	33	25	22	21	12	2	4	196
Gov't & other agency services	45	28	26	27	15	11	8	1	161
Rice mill operation	11	23	19	24	7	7	3	1	95
Warehousing of rice and fertilizer	4	16	19	19	10	8	3	1	80
Transportation		4	2	3	3	4	1	4	21
Other utility services		4	3	13	4	15	2		41
Sale of daily necessities	12	45	52	28	33	9	3	2	184
Sale of production commodities	12	47	51	22	17	1	1	1	152
Marketing of agricultural products	10	29	25	24	17	6	2	1	114
Health education, miscellaneous		1	2	1	5	4	3	2	18
Total	253	271	263	225	165	101	39	18	1,335

Table 9
(Question 9)

THE NUMBER OF SERVICES FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS
HAVE ADDED IN THE LAST 3 YEARS

Services added	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None	5	3	0	8
1	49	15	1	65
2	44	5	3	52
3	42	15	1	58
4	20	3	4	27
5	8	3	0	11
6	1	0	1	2
7 or more	0	2	0	2
Total	169	46	10	225

Table 10
(Question 9)

THE TYPES OF SERVICES ADDED BY
ASSOCIATIONS IN THE LAST 3 YEARS

Types Added	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Technical advisory aid	72	15	2	89
Crop improvement	11	6	3	20
Livestock improvement	25	7	3	35
Disease and pest control	14	4	3	21
Equipment and tool loan and sale	6	2		8
Credit services	19	11		30
Gov't & other agency services	108	31	8	147
Rice mill operation	25	5		30
Warehousing of rice and fertilizer	6	3		9
Transportation	12	4	2	18
Other utility services	7	2		9
Sale of daily necessities	19	7	3	29
Sale of production commodities	13	3	3	19
Marketing of agricultural products	42	7	4	53
Health, education, & miscellaneous	10	5	1	16
None	1			1
Total	390	112	32	534

Table 11
(Question 10)

THE NUMBER OF SERVICES FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS
DROPPED IN THE LAST 3 YEARS

Services Dropped	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None dropped	42	15	5	62
1	61	14	3	78
2	35	7	1	43
3	6	2		8
4				0
5	1		1	2
Total	145	38	10	193

Table 12 THE TYPES OF SERVICES DROPPED BY FARMERS
(Question 10) ASSOCIATIONS IN THE LAST 3 YEARS

Type of Services Dropped	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Technical advisory aid	1	1	1	3
Crop improvement	4		1	5
Livestock improvement	4	2	1	7
Disease and pest control				0
Equipment & tool loan & sale	3			3
Credit services	28	8		36
Gov't & other agency services	48	15	1	64
Rice mill operation	8	1		9
Warehousing of rice & fertilizers	7	2		9
Transportation	9		1	10
Other utility services	13	1	2	16
Sale of daily necessities	10	1		11
Sale of production commodities	7			7
Marketing of agricultural products	16	1	2	19
Health, education, & miscellaneous	9	1	1	11
None dropped			5	5
Total	167	33	15	215

Table 13 NUMBER OF SERVICES LISTED AS DROPPED
(Question 11) THAT FARMERS SEEM TO MISS MOST
AS INDICATED BY THEIR COMPLAINTS

No. Services Missed	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None dropped	45	17	4	66
1	54	16	2	72
2	35	7	3	45
3	9	3		12
4	1			1
5			1	1
Total	144	43	10	197

Table 14 TYPE OF SERVICES LISTED AS DROPPED
(Question 11) THAT FARMERS SAY THEY MISS MOST AS
INDICATED IN THEIR COMPLAINTS

Services Missed Most	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Technical advisory aid	2		1	3
Crop improvement	5		1	6
Livestock improvement	6		2	8
Disease and pest control	1			1
Equipment & tool loan & sale	3	2		5
Credit services	30	8	1	39
Gov't & other agency services	40	14		54
Rice mill operation	11	4		15
Warehousing of rice & fertilizers	11	4		15
Transportation	6		1	7
Other utility services	8		2	10
Sale of daily necessities	5	2		7
Sale of production commodities	5			5
Marketing of agricultural products	14	2	3	19
Health, education, & miscellaneous	7	2	2	11
Total	154	38	13	205

Table 15 REASONS STATED FOR DROPPING SERVICES
(Question 12) IN LAST 3 YEARS
(Summary of Summarized Reasons)

Services Dropped	Township			Prefec- ture	Total
	Rural	Urban	Sub total		
Technical advisory aid	1		1	2	3
Crop improvement	4		4		4
Livestock improvement	8	2	10	3	13
Disease and pest control					0
Equipment & tool loan & sale	4	1	5		5
Credit services	31	9	40	2	42
Sugar rationing	29	6	35		35
Salt rationing	6	3	9		9
Monopoly goods	5	2	7		7
Farm tax & other collections in kind for the government	10		10		10
Fertilizer distribution	1		1		1
Beancake distribution	2	1	3		3
Rice mill operation	13	2	15		15
Warehousing	11	3	14		14
Transportation	8		8		8
Other utility services	7		7	3	10
Sale of daily necessities and production commodities	20	3	23		23
Marketing of agricultural productions	15	1	16	4	20
Health, education, & miscellaneous	6	2	8	1	9
None dropped	7	1	8	4	12
Total	188	36	224	19	243

Table 15

(Question 12)

Services Dropped	Insufficient operating fund	On Gov't orders	Inadequate facilities; short of storage space	Inadequate supply and too complicated procedures	Proceeds do not meet expenses
Technical advisory aid	1				
Crop improvement	2		1	1	
Livestock improvement	5	1	2		
Disease and pest control					
Equipment & tool loan & sale				2	1
Credit services	28	1			
Sugar rationing	8	14		2	
Salt rationing	1	1			1
Monopoly goods	2	1		1	1
Farm tar and other collections in kind for the government			9		
Fertilizer distribution					1
Beancake distribution	1				
Rice mill operation	5		5	2	
Warehousing	3		7		
Transportation	4		2		
Other utility services	3		2		1
Sale of daily & production commodities	12	2	2		1
Marketing of agricultural products	10	1			1
Health, education and miscellaneous services	4				
None dropped					
Total	89	21	30	8	7

REASONS STATED FOR DROPPING SERVICES IN LAST 3 YEARS

R U R A L				Sub	U R B A N				
Services transferred	Unable to compete with private enterprise	Members do not cooperate	Contract expired and discontinued	T o t a l	Insuf- ficient operat- ing fund	On Gov't orders	Inadequate facilities; short of storage space	Inadequate supply, & too com- plicated procedures	Proceeds do not meet expenses
				1					
				4					
				8	1		1		
				0					
		1		4	1				
1	1			31	6	2	1		
	5			29	3	3			
2	1			6					
				5	1	1			
1				10					
				1					
	1			2					
1				13		1		1	
1				11	1	1	1		
	2			8					
	1			7					
2	1			20	1	1			1
1	1	1		15				1	
	2			6		1			
				7					
9	15	2	0	188	14	10	3	2	1

Unable to compete with private enterp.	Services transferred	Sub	P R E F E C T U R E					Sub	TOTAL
			T o t a l	Insuf- ficient operat- ing fund	Lack of proper per- sonnel	Gov't proce- dures com- plicated	Ser- vices too trans- ferred		
		0	1	1				2	3
		0						0	4
		2	2	1				3	13
		0						0	0
		1						0	5
		9		1			1	2	42
		6						0	35
2	1	3						0	9
		2						0	7
		0						0	10
		0						0	1
1		1						0	3
		2						0	15
		3						0	14
		0						0	8
		0	2					3	10
		3						0	23
		1	3		1			4	20
1		2				1		1	9
		1						4	12
4	1	56	8	3	1	1	1	19	243

Table 16
(Question 13)

THE NUMBER OF SERVICES LISTED AS
BEING APPRECIATED BY THE FARMERS

Number Listed	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
1	12	4		16
2	29	8	2	39
3	45	14	1	60
4	43	13	4	60
5	28	6	2	36
6	10	1	1	12
7	2	1		3
Total	169	47	10	226

Table 17
(Question 13)

THE TYPES OF SERVICES APPRECIATED MOST BY
FARMERS IN THE ORDER OF THEIR IMPORTANCE

(Summary of Township Associations)

Services Appreciated	Order of Importance							Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Technical advisory aid	22	15	13	10	6			66
Crop improvement	4	8	6	3	3		1	25
Livestock improvement	8	12	10	9	1	3	3	43
Disease and pest control	9	7	7	7	3			33
Equipment & tool loan & sale	1	7	7	3				18
Credit services	60	48	20	17	3			148
Gov't & other agency services	94	40	15	3	1			153
Rice mill operation	7	4	8		2			21
Warehousing of rice & fertilizer	7	6	9	4	1	1		28
Transportation	1	1	1					3
Other utility services		4	4	4	1	2		15
Sale of daily necessities	6	27	21	24	2	1		81
Sale of production commodities	4	24	18	14	4			64
Marketing of agricultural products	5	7	15	3	4			34
Health, education, and miscellaneous		1	4					5
Total	228	211	158	101	31	7	1	737

Table 17.
(Question 13)

THE TYPES OF SERVICES APPRECIATED MOST BY
FARMERS IN THE ORDER OF THEIR IMPORTANCE

(Summary of Township & Prefectural Associations)

Services Appreciated	Order of Importance							Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Technical advisory aid	24	16	13	10	6			69
Crop improvement	7	8	6	4	3		1	29
Livestock improvement	8	12	13	9	1			46
Disease and pest control	11	10	8	8	3			40
Equipment & tool loan & sale	2	7	7	3				19
Credit services	60	48	20	17	3			148
Gov't & other agency services	99	43	15	3	1			161
Rice mill operation	7	4	8		2			21
Warehousing of rice & fertilizer	7	6	9	4	1	1		28
Transportation	1	1	1					3
Other utility services		4	4	4	1	2		15
Sale of daily necessities	6	29	22	25	2	1		85
Sale of production commodities	4	26	19	15	4			68
Marketing of agricultural products	5	8	15	3	4			35
Health, education, & miscellaneous		2	6	1				9
Total	241	224	166	106	31	7	1	776

Table 18 THE NUMBER OF WAYS JCRR HAS SERVED EACH ASSOCIATION
(Question 14)

No. of Ways Served	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None	10	6	1	17
1	50	13	1	64
2	49	13	2	64
3	25	9	0	34
4	18	4	3	25
5	9	1	2	12
6	1	0	1	2
7 or more	1	0	0	1
Total	163	46	10	219

Table 19
(Question 14)

TYPES OF SERVICES JCRR RENDERED
TO THE FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

Services Rendered	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Construction of compost serving pigsty	90	23	7	120
Warehouse repair	73	16	3	92
Livestock disease control	10	4	1	15
Berkshire hog breeding	39	6	6	51
Supply of transplanting guides	5	0	0	5
Calcium cyanamide demonstration	0	1	0	1
Pest control	16	6	3	25
Rice seed multiplication	7	2	1	10
Repair of jute rotting ponds	34	7	1	42
Repair of jute packing machine	0	0	1	1
Repair of fertilizer mixing plant	0	0	2	2
Repair of grain drying yard	0	0	1	1
Bull breeder	78	23	6	107
Total	352	88	32	472

Table 20 THE NUMBER OF WAYS THE PREFECTURAL ASSOCIATIONS
(Question 15a) SERVED THE TOWNSHIP ASSOCIATIONS

No. of Ways Served	Rural	Urban	Total
None Stated	13	4	17
1	35	10	45
2	45	12	57
3	32	11	43
4	21	4	25
5	9	2	11
6	1		1
Total	156	43	199

Table 21 TYPES OF SERVICES PREFECTURAL ASSOCIATIONS
(Question 15a) PERFORMED FOR THE TOWNSHIP ASSOCIATIONS

Types of Services Rendered	Rural	Urban	Total
Technical advisory aid	43	10	53
Financial assistance	17	5	22
Crop improvement	12	6	18
Livestock improvement	16	4	20
Disease and pest control	28	8	36
Allocation of farm equipment & tools	23	4	27
Gov't & other agency services	58	22	80
Repair of warehouses	1		1
Sale of daily necessities	32	6	38
Sale of production commodities	49	9	58
Marketing of agricultural products	30	7	37
Liaison with government and JCRR	14	4	18
Liaison with other associations	14	3	17
Administrative advice	16	4	20
Miscellaneous	3	1	4
Total	356	93	449

Table 22 THE NUMBER OF WAYS IN WHICH
(Question 15b) THE PROVINCIAL FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS
SERVED THE TOWNSHIP FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS

No. of Ways Served	Rural	Urban	Total
None stated	29	5	34
1	40	15	55
2	19	5	24
3	8	2	10
4	4	1	5
Total	100	28	128

Table 23 TYPES OF SERVICES PROVINCIAL FARMERS ASSOCIATION
(Question 15b) PERFORMED FOR THE TOWNSHIP ASSOCIATIONS

Types Services Performed	Rural	Urban	Total
Staff training		1	1
Technical advisory aid	8	4	12
Financial assistance	4		4
Livestock improvement	2	1	3
Disease and pest control	6	1	7
Allocation of farm equipment & tools	1		1
Government & other agency services	29	8	37
Repair of warehouses	3		3
Sale of daily necessities	6	2	8
Sale of production commodities	12	6	18
Marketing of agricultural products	21	2	23
Liaison with government and JCRR	12	2	14
Liaison with other associations	3	1	4
Administrative advice	8	1	9
Miscellaneous	3	6	9
Total	118	35	153

Table 24 NUMBER OF MAJOR DIFFICULTIES
(Question 16) IN PERFORMING WORK
BEST THAT WERE LISTED

No. Difficulties Listed	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None listed	1			1
1	41	19	2	62
2	74	14	3	91
3	42	11	3	56
4	11	4	1	16
5	1		1	2
Total	170	48	10	228

Table 25
(Question 16)

TYPES OF MAJOR DIFFICULTIES IN PERFORMING
WORK BEST THAT WERE LISTED

Types of Difficulties Listed	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Insufficient operating fund	156	43	10	209
Short of storage space	58	20	2	80
Personnel problems	18	1	3	22
Lack of government support	16	3		19
No rice mill or mill out of repairs	18	2		20
Too little deposits	13	3		16
Expenses exceed income	10	3		13
Short of office space	5	3		8
Insufficient equipment	3			3
Members are little informed	7	1	1	9
Member are too poor	12	1		13
Members do not cooperate		3		3
Government does not exempt taxes	3	2		5
Food Bureau delays payment of handling charges	1			1
Procedures too complicated for handling commodity distribution	7	1	1	9
Credit services unable to compete with private enterprises	2			2
Interest rate too low on credits to farmers	4	1		5
Unstable market prices	6	1		7
Insufficient supply of commodities	5			5
Unable to obtain good breed livestocks	1	1		2
Local political commotion	1			1
Small agricultural units not strong enough	11	3	2	16
Inconvenient communications	7	3		10
Only small percentage of members are farmers		1		1
Lower level associations in the area unable to develop fully			1	1
Poor irrigation facilities			1	1
No fixed income because of no fixed services			1	1
Insufficient data of reference			1	1
Lack coordination among organizations			1	1
Gov't organizations do not understand F.A.			1	1
Hard to collect membership fees			1	1
Total	364	96	26	486

Table 26

PERCENT OF FARM FAMILIES IN THE AREA
USE THE FARMERS ASSOCIATION REGULARLY

(Question 5 & 17)

Percent Use	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None	2	1	1	4
1 - 9	66	14	2	82
10 - 19	6	5	0	11
20 - 29	3	1	0	4
30 - 39	0	2	0	2
40 - 49	3	1	0	4
50 - 59	4	0	0	4
60 - 69	5	2	0	7
70 - 79	7	2	0	9
80 - 89	16	4	0	20
90 - 99	9	3	0	12
100	14	6	2	22
Over 100%	14	2	0	16
Total	149	43	5	197

Table 27

THE WAYS IN WHICH THE WORK OF THE FARMERS
ASSOCIATIONS CAN BE MOST EFFECTIVELY IMPROVED

(Question 26)

Ways to Improve	Rural	Urban	Prefec- tural	Total
Increase staff members	8	3		11
Increase technicians for field work	16	4	4	24
Develop small agricultural units	23	8	2	33
Train staff members for efficiency	22	2		24
Increase capital or operating fund	40	11	1	52
Require JCRR financial and/or technical aid	19	1		20
Require government subsidy	19	7	5	31
Build or repair office	2			2
Build, add, or repair warehouse	51	16	1	68
Operate, repair or increase rice mill	19	5	3	27
Increase staff allowance	10	5		15
Restore old equipment for operation	6			6
Require low interest loan for operation and credit service	27	4		31
Encourage deposits	25	4		29
Extend more credits, develop credit services	24	8		32
Develop agency services for government and other organizations	39	14		53
Crop improvement	18	4	1	23
Pest and disease control	6			6
Develop livestock industry	9	3		12
Develop or add transportation service	10			10
Supply tools and production commodities	11		2	13
Develop sale services	1			1
Develop marketing service for agricultural products	28	5		33
Association to monopolize all rural production services	15			15
Reduce price of allocated commodities, simplify procedures	3			3
Educate farmers to know more about association	34	11	2	47
Educate farmers with technical knowledge	26	3		29
Promote cooperation among farmers	4	2		6
Listen to farmers' opinions	4			4
Operate cinema theatre	1			1
Gov't exempt taxes (income tax on association and stamp tax)	4	3		7
Increase welfare facilities	9	1		10
Collect membership fees	1		1	2
Encourage members develop side-lines	4	1		5
Government raise price of rice	2			2
Increase commodity handling allowance	7	2		9
Cash payment for fertilizer instead of paddy barter	3	1		4
Extend loan in kind	2	1		3
Require power supply	1			1

Table 27 (cont'd)

(Question 26)

Ways to Improve	Rural	Urban	Prefec- tural	Total
Promote relationship with other organizations	2		1	3
Amalgamate association with public office	1			1
Prevent sale of green crops of rice	1			1
Require JCRR loan at low rate of interest		1		1
More supervision from upper levels		1		1
Improve agricultural management		1		1
Establish demonstration units		1		1
Association monopolize sale of agricultural products		1		1
County fair		1		1
Require gov't prompt consideration of F.A.'s proposals		1		1
Desire JCRR grant free agricultural tools & pesticides		2		2
Association develop side-lines		1		1
Gov't allow prefectural associations to operate credit services			3	3
Fertilizer be mixed by association before distribution			3	3
Allocated fertilizer must include sufficient NPK			1	1
Profit from economic services be used on technical advisory aid			1	1
Develop and strengthen all present services			1	1
Free seeds and fertilizer for farmers		1		1
Develop audio-visual education in rural area			1	1
Total	557	140	33	730

Table 28 DISTRIBUTION OF SIZE OF PAID STAFFS
(Question 27) OF FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

No. of Staff	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Less than 10	24	13	0	37
10 to 14	32	5	0	37
15 to 19	43	11	3	57
20 to 24	33	4	1	38
25 to 29	18	11	0	29
30 to 34	11	3	1	15
35 to 39	8	2	1	11
40 or more	2	0	4	6
Total	171	49	10	230

Table 29 THE NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN THE AREA
(Questions 5 & 27) SERVED BY FARMERS ASSOCIATION
PER STAFF WORKER

No. Per Staff Worker	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
Less than 50	1		All	1
50 - 99	11		prefectural	11
100 - 149	47	3	associations	50
150 - 199	46	9	served	55
200 - 249	39	5	large	44
250 - 299	18	6	numbers	24
300 - 349	3	1		4
350 - 399	3	2		5
400 or more	2	22		24
Total	170	48		218

Table 30 PROPORTION OF PRESENT STAFF WORKERS
(Questions 27 & 28) WHO ALSO WORKED UNDER THE JAPANESE

Proportion	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None	6	3	0	9
Less than 10	7	1	0	8
10 to 19	14	11	2	27
20 to 29	27	4	0	31
30 to 39	27	12	2	41
40 to 49	34	8	1	43
50 to 74	48	8	3	59
75 to 99	6	1	1	8
Total	169	48	9	226

Table 31
(Question 29)

THE NUMBER OF DIRECTORS IN THE
FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

No. of Directors	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
3	1	0	0	1
8	2	1	0	3
9	123	24	0	147
10	1	0	0	1
11	6	2	0	8
12	2	0	0	2
13	4	2	0	6
14	0	1	0	1
16	29	17	3	49
21	0	0	5	5
27	0	0	2	2
Total	168	47	10	225

Table 32
(Question 30)

PROPORTION OF DIRECTORS WHO HAD SERVED
FARMERS ASSOCIATION OR COOPERATIVE
UNDER JAPANESE

Proportion	Rural	Urban	Prefecture	Total
None	6	2	0	8
Less than 10	4	2	0	6
10 - 19	20	8	0	28
20 - 29	39	8	0	47
30 - 39	28	12	1	41
40 - 49	33	6	2	41
50 - 74	34	7	3	44
75 - 99	3	2	2	7
100 %	1	0	0	1
Total	168	47	8	223

Appendix III. Detailed List of Services Performed

by the Farmers' Associations

(Classified under headings)

I. Agricultural Advisory Service

1. Advice on production
2. Training of staff members

II. Agricultural Extension Service

1. Improvement of crops

- a. Seed multiplication
- b. Distribution of improved seeds
- c. Maintenance of seed plots
- d. Encourage planting of vegetables
- e. Loan of agricultural equipment and tools
- f. Encourage planting of green manure crops

2. Improvement of domestic livestocks

- a. Breeding of cattle
- b. Breeding of pigs
- c. Distribution of breeders
- d. Castration of bulls

3. Disease and pest control

- a. Veterinary service (including livestock disease control)
- b. Crop disease and pest control

III. Credit Service

1. Extending of loans
2. Deposits
3. Credit against mortgage
4. Credit of production fund
5. Credit in kind
6. Credit against mortgage of green rice crops
7. Remittance
8. Loan to small farmers
9. Loan to assist farmers become owners

IV. Serving as Agents for Government & Other Organizations

1. Handling of township treasury
2. Agent for cooperative bank
3. Purchase of jute fibre for Taiwan Textile Co.
4. Purchase of sweet potato chips for PFB

5. Fertilizer distribution
6. Beancake distribution
7. Sale of monopolized items
8. Rationing of sugar
9. Salt rationing
10. Cloth distribution
11. Collection of land tax rice for PFB
12. Sale of revenue stamps
13. Agent for Post-Office

V. Economic Services

1. Rice mill
2. Warehousing
3. Transportation
 - a. Trucking
 - b. Bus service
4. Other utility services such as retting ponds, threshing machines and packing machines

B. Supplies services

1. Sale of daily necessities
Food stuffs and other commodities that are not rationed
2. Sale of commodities needed for production
 - a. Agricultural equipment and tools
 - b. Commercial fertilizer
 - c. Commercial beancake and other feeds
 - d. Pesticide
 - e. Seeds (not distribution)

C. Marketing of agricultural products

- a. Rice
- b. Livestocks
- c. Fruits
- d. Vegetables
- e. Other farm products

D. Miscellaneous Services

1. Scholarship
2. Charity
3. Funeral service
4. Clinic
5. Development of understanding of farmers' associations
6. Rural education
7. Barbershop-Bath
County Fairs