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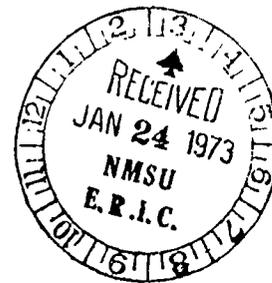
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ABSTRACT

An attempt to formulate a more global but functional framework for analyzing local organizations as mechanisms for citizen participation in development is presented in this paper. Both the review of the literature and the prescriptive guides to action are presented under the following headings: membership and leadership, management of alienation and grouplessness, access to training and education, channels for communication of innovations and change, mechanisms to mobilize resources, access to markets, access to power and influence, and other linkages and levels of organization. Major recommendations are that agricultural leaders should have some social science training, that participation analysis should be used in assessing the role of the local organization in the continuous integration of community members into a modernizing society, that studies of farmers' organizations as information and development promoting systems should also analyze the skill and learning aspects, that attention should be paid to the roles of economic and social information in developing effective communications channels, that attention should be given to the role of agrarian reform in the mobilization of human energies, that there must be adequate market access and more access to power and influence, and that additional levels of organization should be created. (PS)

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CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SERVICE AGENCIES
CONDUCTIVE TO DEVELOPMENT

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Rationale

It is no longer necessary to defend in a sociological forum, as did the 19th century sociologists such as Durkheim, Weber and Simmel, the social origin of human personality. The 19th century sociologists, particularly the two noted above, also recognized that all social phenomena rest on the actions and contributions of individuals acting in concert. While the conservatives saw only discontinuity and social degeneration in the democratization of the French Revolution and even Toqueville saw much to castigate in American democracy, both he and Weber recognized that the centralization of power and the growth of bureaucracy were not born full-blown with the revolution and its aftermath, but only intensified and emphasized thereby. (Nisbet, 1966 p. 108)

Our theoretical orientation to the problem of "local organizations" developed from some 25 years of wrestling with rural development through which people can collectively participate in any unified effort, while not consciously and knowingly borrowed from Durkheim and his latter-day apostles, coincides with his ideas regarding the relative roles of the individual, the state, and intermediate associations. His conception of the relationships may be summarized as follows: Prior to the creation of the state, man is submerged in tribe, clan and association. The state, which war and commerce help to create, creates the idea of individuality (first in legal, then in economic and moral terms) of the individual citizen, and protects this individuality by the creation and protection of private rights. By this means, it can hold its constituent societies in check and prevent their complete and repressive dominance over the individual. However, there is danger in the tendency for the state to become increasingly dominant and in the tendency of atrophy of social groups. The state can then become the leveler and the despotic repressor, without the intervening counter-balance of social groups. The latter, in fact "... form one of the conditions essential to the emancipation of the individual." 1/

Toqueville also concluded that democratic society requires, more than in other systems, numerous "intermediate" or "civil" associations. While clearly differentiating between political and civil associations, he observed "a natural and perhaps a necessary connection between these kinds of association" (Nisbet, 1966, p. 131.)

Note: 1/ Quoted from Robert A. Nisbet: THE SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITION, Basic Books, N.Y. 1966. p. 161. In fact, the above paragraph is basically a digest of material from pp. 159-161).

In agreement with many other less revolutionary analysts of his day, Marx saw the rigidities of traditional forms of association, and recognized modern commerce and capitalism as the instruments of liberation from feudalism. However, he considered that the new hierarchies of power and of class were becoming as despotic as the old and envisaged a solution in the creation of the socialist state and the elimination of intermediate associations and, particularly, of social class, which he saw associated with them. In fact, society, aside from the organization of production, appears to have been seen as contributing to inequality, tyranny, politics and the need for the state itself. Hence a final democratic control of the means of production and its adequate organization would make the state superfluous. He did not fully foresee the development of bureaucratic organization, made necessary by the increasingly larger units of production resulting from modern technology applied to the means of production, to its distribution and to communication and the movement of people.

In Durkheim's analysis, there is inadequate consideration of the importance of not only associations as such, but changes in the kinds of associations and the individual's relationship to them. Particularly, as associations become increasingly specialized and limited in their purposes, each serves (or emphasizes) different functions in the life of the individual, and allows him to play different roles. It is this choice between associations and this possibility of combining different social roles, depending on the group in which the person is acting, that really provides the means for greater variety of personality, greater development of and awareness of individuals, and greater richness of social life in modern society.

It appears that superficially, at least both socialist and capitalist state bureaucracies have shown a surprising propensity to develop in similar directions and the demands of production in the application of modern science and technology to the constituent processes have increasingly led toward a convergence of certain social and economic forms. It would seem that the rationalization of production with a view to maximum efficiency, specialization of function, and lack of concern for individual and local interests is characteristic of both the larger communist systems and the corporate capitalist systems. The centralization of state power tends in all modern states to conflict with the mediating functions of multiple associations existing in Western Democracies and reaching their greatest development in North America. The fears of the conservatives of the 19th Century seem to be justified in one respect: The possibilities of the tyranny of a populist state unmediated by intermediate forms of social organization; and - the levelling, depressing, and anomic effects on the citizen in his attempts to deal directly with the state either through a one-party political apparatus or through the clerks and minor functionaries of large state bureaucracies.

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It is in the context of long term trends, and competing political, economic and social philosophies of mass societies, in the context of a revolution of rising expectations, burgeoning populations, and the defense of existing institutional systems, that we are attempting to consider the role and characteristics of intermediate associations, with special reference to the local level.

In a number of developing countries, it is the aim of governments, to weaken or eliminate local groupings as much as possible (Tribe, clan, patriarchal family, etc.). Usually inadequate consideration is given to the need for their replacement at the local level, the changing nature of such social organisms, the processes of social change required to establish them and their relationships to the power and organisms of the state itself. Much experience is accumulating and inadequate global scientific study of the results have been made. More comprehensive studies are required which focus on the major characteristics of local "associations", their functional relationships to each other, to traditional ones (including the functional transformation for developmental aims), and to national or regional economic and governmental agencies.

This paper represents an attempt to formulate a more global but functional framework for analysing local organizations as mechanisms for citizen participation in development.

In pursuit of this task, we are faced with the problem of a rational analysis and pragmatic action in relation to several key factors: (1) The inappropriateness of an even obstruction of progress by traditional organizations, institutions, and customs; (2) The inability of the centralized power and uniform policies and functions of the national state and its centralized bureaucracy to come to grips with the local realities in enough detail to adequately involve the loyalties and energies and other resources of local people in programmes of development, and (3) The often arbitrary selection of proposed new forms of association (or old forms imported from developed countries) for the organization of development effort at the local and intermediate levels.

The multiplicity of interested parties with access to power in developing countries, both from internal and from external sources, with commitments to either conservative or radical ideologies and often limited knowledge of the outcomes (in forms of organization of development efforts extremely difficult.

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The differences in conditions and stages of development from country to country, and the many forces involved in decisions, and the necessarily contingent nature of such decisions indicate the impracticality or even impossibility of devising structural models that apply to more than one or a few countries. However, it should be possible to indicate some of the kinds of relationships that are required and the social processes to be facilitated both within the local system and in relation to those of the larger society.

Based on a considerable range of developmental experience and a general familiarity with the literature, the following headings were chosen for a comparative review of selected research and field studies, as well as more prescriptive guides to action:

1. Membership and leadership;
2. Management of Alienation and Grouplessness;
3. Access to training and education;
4. Channels for communication of innovations and change;
5. Mechanisms to mobilize resources;
6. Access to markets;
7. Access to power and influence;
8. Other linkages and levels of organization
(including the role of government in general)

The limits of availability of literature and time out from administrative duties have restricted the coverage to considerably less than the original ambitious conception. However, further coverage and revision of the framework is foreseen. Criticisms and suggestions from colleagues will be valuable.

B. Comments on the Literature

The major part of the literature used as source material for this study are in the fields of studies of diffusion and innovation of farm practices and of farmers' associations and cooperatives, with other selected materials on peasant movements and peasantry and development administration brought in as pertinent. No claim is made as to completeness of coverage. A considerable volume of pertinent literature in French has not been included for lack of time to cover it.

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1. Studies of Diffusion

The early studies of diffusion of innovations concentrated primarily on the questions of typology and classification of the adopters and the typology of classification of the sources of information and influence, and these primarily within a given social system. Only recently, have comparative studies been made which show that the patterns are quite different in various cultures and social systems (see especially Lionberger and Chang, 1970). It is true that many of the studies did consider social characteristics of the various categories of adopters, but only limited attention was given to the characteristics of the social and institutional systems within which the adopter or innovator operates, their modes of influence and relative salience for the various categories of adopters of new practices and innovations.

Rogers (1962) provides a useful review of 506 studies on diffusion of innovations. However, his 1969 study, "Modernization of Peasants", is the most pertinent to the present analysis. Diffusion studies have characteristically not considered the relevance of the cultural milieu and the organization of the relevant social systems, although Valkonin (1970) has recognized this in his discussion of "contextual analysis" for the explanation of causality in differential adoption behaviours. A most frequent finding of diffusion studies, frequently concealed in more complicated details of explanation, is that those who can afford to adopt modern practices do so. However, Rogers (1969) has also concluded from a Colombian study that economic, communication and social relationship variables appeared to have more effect on innovative than attitudinal and aspiration variables, and suggested further research be carried out in a social systems framework.

Subsequently, Lionberger and Chang have pioneered in such an analysis with their comprehensive study of the farm information system of Taiwan. Its attention to historical and cultural antecedents to the present system and its analysis and insights into the horizontal and vertical linkages between various parts of the system and its outside supports provides a pattern and a challenge for future research of this nature.

2. Farmers' Associations and Cooperatives

Studies of cooperatives and farmers' organizations have been made from highly variable perspectives, varying from Singh's rather formal description of some internal organizational and financial dimensions (Singh, 1970) through Prof. Kamiya's rather global historical/social/philosophic treatment of the Japanese Farmers' organizations as instruments of community development (FAO, 1967) to Fals Borda's study of local cooperatives as instruments of social change in Latin America (UNRISD, 1971). The

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racy draft report of the Advisory Committee on Overseas Cooperative Development (hereafter referred to as the ACOCD, 1971) on the basis of questionnaires sent to U.S. Cooperative experts, serving in 25 developing countries with its "Access to modern Agricultural systems" is useful, but shares with McGrath (ed. 1969) a core of common European-American assumptions about the basic nature of developed and developing societies and the structure of a proper cooperative system. McGrath's is basically a cook book from an "inside the system" point of view despite Ward's examples on organization from a number of developing countries and Heckman's review of the roles of governments in different countries.

3. Other Studies

Reference is made to other selected studies and documents on a more random basis. Intentions to review in detail selected reviews or major studies in community development and public administration were not realized. Digestion and incorporation of some of the useful concepts and background of Myrdahl (Asian Drama 1968) and more of Guy Hunter (1970) and others on administration of agricultural development would have enriched the present treatment of the subject.

II. ANALYSIS

A. Membership and Leadership in Farmers' Associations

In considering the problems of involving peasants in local farmers' associations one encounters a range of attitudes from the ebullient optimism of the ACOCD (Advisory Committee on Overseas Cooperative Development) through the certitude of success already attained in Kamiya and Lionberger and Chang to the scepticism of Hunter as to peasants' ability to succeed in cooperatives based on Indian and East African experience and Fals Borda's scepticism of both governments' intentions and viability of existing forms of cooperation for Latin American conditions.

In Taiwan (Lionberger and Chang, 1970), local organizations under farmer control are led by trusted neighbours and enjoy a great deal of autonomy. Township associations are managed by a general manager under a board of directors chosen by the township assembly. The assembly members are elected representatives of face-to-face groups of farmers called small agricultural units (SAU's). Membership is voluntary but nearly all bona fide farmers belong. Others are allowed associate membership.

Fals Borda's studies (UNRISD, 1971) of cooperative associations in Latin America where strong government support, guidance and inspection is lacking despite rather comprehensive legislation in many countries, has noted the low rates of participation, governing bodies that exist mostly on paper, and a tendency for officers (primarily managers) to fall victim to nepotism, perpetuate themselves in office, use the organization to advance personal interests, and frequently be coopted by the establishment of the larger society. Thus success in the cooperative enclave within the larger society leads to acceptance of the modes of success predominant in the larger society. This result is attributed to the training given the leaders and the ambiguous example of cooperative promoters enshrouding the idea of cooperation "in an aggressive entrepreneurial ideology."

Typically the key leader or "pivotal man" in Latin American Cooperatives studied by Fals Borda was a personification of the local culture but was literate, married and slightly younger than the average member. More important, he had a wider range of knowledge, contacts with the outside, was innovation prone, and possessed charisma. 1/ Their defeat of ignorance and social limitations, and their ability to deal with the outside world was admired and they provided members with a sense of protection. (See UNRISD 1971, p. 88). However, both Fals Borda and Kamiya, et. al have noted the problems of lack experience outside the local community when local peasant leaders are chosen.

Kamiya et, al (FAO, 1967) has noted the key role of influential community leaders in the early reforms and organization of farmers in the early beginnings of the movement and the leadership problems encountered when the post-war land reforms virtually eliminated the landlords from leadership positions, leaving something of a vacuum, and especially weakening the extra-neighbourhood relationships within the organizations, a gap partially filled by village administrations. Ward (in McGrath, 1969) also emphasizes the role of individual leaders in the success of cooperatives.

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1/ Rogers' (1969) multiple correlations of other factors with leadership (in the informal sense) provide indirect evidence for Homans (1961) "rare service" basis of leadership. In two traditional villages in Columbia, farm size, mass media exposure and political knowledgeability are distinguishing leadership characteristics. However, in modern communities, where average farm size is greater, neither farm size nor political knowledgeability distinguish opinion leaders from other farmers.

Hunter (1970) is pessimistic about an important role to be played by cooperatives, and especially organization above the local level, in developing countries of Africa and Asia. He considers that until national societies have developed to a certain level, viable farmers' organizations cannot be supported. Instead he supports the idea of some type of local organization, a pre-cooperative, under the tutelage of government, and argues, with some logic, that "to treat the small farmer (in a low level of development)...as though he could use banks, manage a cooperative, sit effectively on a local council, risk half a year's income on expensive inputs, change his secure method of cultivation for a new and risky one (even if the promised reward is higher), is to behave unreasonably." (Hunter, 1970, pp. 126-7).

On the other hand, the ACOCD (op. cit. 14) notes the inability of government organized and controlled organizations to express the will and needs of members, the passivity of such organizations and the lack of "horizontal communications" between farmers on modern methods. Hunter's answer is to reform government.

Hatfield (FAO internal report, 1971) emphasizes the need for a gradual approach to the organization of Sukumu livestock growers in Tanzania, placing increasing responsibility on representative decision-making bodies (and not doing things without them) and building on existing and appropriate traditions, felt needs and trends of change.

Hunter (1970) considers that direct servicing of individual farmers will be ineffective and inefficient and end up only servicing the larger farmers. Nor are cooperatives the answer "without strengthening and supporting the cooperative management" (a crucial distinction vis-a-vis his other judgments about cooperatives and local autonomy). Considering that "Big men are bound to dominate Cooperatives (or any other local institution where the majority of members are poor and illiterate) in one way or another" he suggests modifications that will control their excesses and enable "smaller men to compete and share in the process of control," and concludes that cooperation "may not even be progressive" in areas where "the big men have so many strings to their bow of domination..." (op. cit. p. 129).

The ACOCD (1971) also noted the tendency for cooperative systems in developing countries to increase the gap between rich and poor but credited this to the application of traditional standards of credit worthiness based on capital assets rather than the crop. Their answer is not that of replacing the traditional leadership (as tends to be the case in radical land reform programmes) but to loosen up rigid social structures of traditional villages by creating new leadership opportunities, subjecting traditional leaders to competition (by creating more leadership positions than there are traditional leaders to fill them), and subjecting them to the choice of becoming leaders of development or risking the loss of their prestige. Unfortunately, the ACOCD does not face either the problem of cooptation (UNRISD, 1971) or of probable domination of the organization by the larger operators posed by Hunter (1970).

Singh (1970) and others warn against allowing non-farm members to full membership in farmers' organizations, but recommend their use in professional capacities such as supervisors and auditors. Too little attention has been given, except in a more general way by social anthropologists, to the different approaches and long term results thereof in different cultural contexts and in different stages of "modernization", especially by the enthusiasts of a particular type of organization.

More research is needed on the initiating and establishment phases of farmers' organizations in these societal contexts and phases of economic development.

B. Management of Alienation and Grouplessness:

The question of alienation of the individual in a mass society (dealt with briefly in Durkheimian terms in the introduction) has received inadequate attention outside the field of community development, particularly by those concerned with farmers' organizations. It is assumed that in a rapidly developing society, the break-up of traditional forms may lead to a certain amount of alienation and grouplessness.

A reputed common characteristic of peasants, (Lerner, 1958) as quoted by Rogers (1962), i.e., lack of empathy or ability to see things from the other person's viewpoint, was shown by Rogers (1962) to be closely associated with measures of modernization until other effects, such as social status, were accounted for (contrary to Lerner's argument as to its centrality), but a logical finding from the standpoint of learning theory. The low empathy of peasants seems more logically explained by the limiting and alienating experiences of their social environment.

Another concept related to "alienation", hostility toward government, is said by Rogers (1969, p. 29) to be a carry-over from attitudes of mutual distrust of each other and is due to "a long history of exploitation at the hands of outsiders", and to the distance and inaccessibility of government, to having to evade or minimally comply with orders, demands, and levies in which they had no say. It is also seen as associated with a lack of self-help philosophy and a strong dependence on government for the solution of all kinds of problems, including those at the village level.

The mutual distrust reported by a number of investigators in as widely separated contexts as Mexico, Italy and India, is considered by Rogers (1969) to be partially explained by the concept of "perceived limited good". Such distrust, in terms of the required united effort for development, is certainly an alienating

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factor. However, the alienation aspect is compensated for at the individual level by the existence of solidarity on the family basis.

It is clear that this problem has been minimized in Japan in the past by the maintenance of the basic rural social system of family, buraku and village and the continuing meaning these basic social units have had for rural people. Nevertheless lower class farmers, who are not offered much economic benefit, tend to withdraw from the farmers' cooperatives (Kamiya, et. al., p. 33). Reforms appear to have been largely directed from the top downward, but usually in directions that met certain urgent needs or supported certain trends already underway. This is indicated, in part by the history of the Japanese Peasants' Union.

The Japanese Peasants' Union is said to never have included more than 10 percent of the tenant farmers, even in its heyday in 1927 (FAO, 1967, p. 55). It appears to have taken its inspiration from the growth of democracy in the west and the Russian Revolution and the growth of the labour movement; (op. cit.) and its opportunity from the dislocations caused by the rapid industrialization, the rice riots in 1918, and the decline of the role of landlords in the rural community affairs. (op. cit. p.6. Also see Brown, CERES, vol. 4, no. 5, 1971, p. 30 on the last point).

Brown (1971), based on studies in Latin America, concludes that "shifts in traditional power relationships" either in the local agrarian society (Valle de la Convencion of Peru and Pernambuco, Brazil), or in the national scene (recently in Chile and Bolivia and in Zapata's period in Mexico) has provided peasant frustrations a chance to be expressed in action.

It is probable that the vigorous measures taken by central government on rural and community problems to cope with crises of the 1930's and the post-war adjustments took away the needed incentive for revolution and weakened the appeal of the Peasants' Union in Japan. The basic reforms in government institutions, in both periods, strengthened local initiative and responsibility at the village level. The 1889 reform was only partially successful due to the "resistance from lower level administrative autonomies", and, in any case was modelled on an authoritarian system.

In 1947, greater local autonomy was given to all subordinate units of government. Village assemblies were made elective by popular vote and a universal franchise. The village office, with a paid staff, responsible to the village head and assembly, was given specific administrative powers over important general affairs and local development. 57% of revenues were derived from local taxes and fees and the balance from "allotments, subsidies or loans from the central or prefectural governments". (op. cit. p. 18).

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Prior to 1953 the village area and farmers' cooperative areas tended to coincide. However, the 1953 amalgamation is said to have "some serious adverse effects on farmers' organizations", by eliminating the close association of the village assemblies, composed mostly of farmers, with the farmers' organizations which gave farmers almost complete political control. Since 1953, farmers had to vie with townspeople for time and resources in the enlarged administrative units. The problems of farmers must be handled along with those of commerce, industry and manufacturing.

Thus, Kamiya suggests the lack of adequate development of "horizontal relationships" or "we feelings" under the influence of this traditionalism, coupled with the submersion of the farming minority in a growing urban society, the growing emphasis on individual incomes, and the complexity of the organizational structure with its many steps may be now contributing to a breakdown of the traditional feelings of solidarity. The question is then raised as to whether the necessary forms can be found to create adequate adjustment of an increasingly elderly farm population, increasingly a minority in their own communities, and with less voice in both local and national affairs.

In Iran, Agrarian Reform has produced a widening of social differences between the new peasant land-owners and the landless labourers than had existed when the peasants were tenants and both groups were subject to the power (and patronage) of the large landowners. It is the landless who are now becoming alienated in the rural communities. In part to overcome this, cooperatives (consumer, artisan, and labour contracting) are now being organized to overcome the situation or to limit its impact.

Thus, it may be concluded, pending more careful analysis on this point, that cooperatives of small farmers may have an effect in slowing down alienation, at least for those members of the rural community who qualify, and insofar as they can provide effective and meaningful services and other opportunities to their members for participation and social interaction. In this regard, it appears that the local neighbourhood unit plays an important role. Even when cooperatives have to be enlarged to provide for economically successful operations, the experience of Taiwan and Japan indicates the value of a continuing role for such groups.

It would be useful to develop and test measures of alienation valid cross-culturally and make comparative studies among farmers (inside and outside of associations) in countries such as Japan, Taiwan and Italy (and China) with strong traditions of "familism" in comparison with Latin America and Africa where formal local associations are weak or non-existent.

C. Access to Training and Education

Access to training and education has been selected for treatment as a local organization variable because it is both a causative or controlling factor and often a resultant factor. Level of education has been, in all studies, consistently associated with speed of adoption of all types of innovations (Rogers, 1969). Formal education imparts modern ideas and values, and world views and expands the possibilities for continuing receipt of outside information and for further learning experiences. Education and training are evidently major factors in the highly successful FA's (Farmers' Associations) in Japan and Taiwan. It appears they may be both a result of higher levels of general education and a means of access to continuing and practical education.

Most of Japan's agricultural leadership comes from its agricultural high schools of which there were 900 in 1966 (FAO, 1967, p. 91). In addition, specialized training for farmers' organizations is carried out by special training institutions such as the Junior College for Cooperatives, the Koibuchi Institute, and at prefectural (cooperative Union?) centers. Also the Agricultural Productivity Conference has sponsored "training for the most advanced leaders" in Nagano prefecture. New methods of selection and training of leaders are needed to supplant the ineffective Central Union Training Center Method of mass yearly training in a short course. Examples of new methods are the selection in one village of several leaders complementary to each other, and the "conference group" of leaders in Aomori prefecture. (What the group's functions are is not made clear). Kamiya (FAO, 1967) considers the "national weakness for maintaining horizontal human relationships" as a blind spot in all training programmes. Presumably this refers to the continuation of class and status lines fostering hierarchical administrative relationships, limiting vertical movement and communication (op. cit. p. 91) and limiting joint democratic horizontal organizational relationships.

A new kind of membership and leadership education is considered to be necessary to create a true farmers' membership organization (rather than a household membership organization), demonstrating communal responsibility but responsive to the needs of its members.

Lionberger and Chang (1970) describe the Taiwan Farmers' Association and related farm information system as one which educates and trains farmers in modern agriculture. In view of the heavy emphasis on higher education for extension workers in many developing countries (In Iran, for instance, the aim is to give each extension worker a college degree), it is instructive to note that none of the Taiwanese extension workers have a college degree. The main function of the FA

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extension agents is educational and their success is due to their ability to convince farmers. Their relevant characteristics are that they are farmers and neighbours, not much younger than the average farmer, and in "close and continuing contact with the research agencies", have had one or two training sessions each year, and are highly accessible to other farmers. (Lionberger and Chang, op. cit.).

The high quality of farm information made available from research stations and demonstration stations, the way in which farmers organized themselves (formally and informally), and the closeness of the extension agents to the farmers and to these sources of information are all factors contributing to rapid application of research results. However, radios were common among farmers and all could reach the township office of their association in 20 minutes.

The studies by Fals Borda (UNRISD, 1971) revealed two main types of education relating to cooperatives: (1) the initial ideological formation and propaganda (which appeared to be more effective when carried out by local personnel rather than by the professional employees of government bodies); and (2) technical and administrative training. The latter was primarily concentrated on directors and organizers. It was generally considered that the education provided was largely irrelevant. While training in administration and accounting was useful and was attempted following the initial formation period. Modern communication methods such as radio were not utilized for cooperative education. Nor were cooperatives involved in extension services to farmers nor in literacy campaigns sponsored by other agencies. Fals Borda concludes: "It is in the educational domain where one of the gravest failures of cooperatives in the communities studied can be registered".

At this point an incompleteness in Fals Borda's analysis may be noted. The cooperative movement started in Europe after the larger society had developed a considerable wealth of cultural and organizational resources from which such an organization could draw for help, guidance and intellectual resources. In most of the developing countries these resources are not available, especially in the rural areas. Therefore, the ideas, inspiration, information, and financial and physical inputs to development must all be fed into the rural areas in a rather massive way, and with a view to considerable drain-off, especially in trained personnel, to greater opportunities in urban centres.

In one successful cooperative system, that of Comilla County, E. Pakistan (now Bangladesh) the only major additional input was training to leaders and government officials. (Akhan 1968). Two kinds of meetings were held weekly--the first consisted of a series of training sessions for the village organizer, extension agent, etc. at the training school of the County Federation. The second was the weekly meeting of the village association. These meetings provide continuous communication with the outside and emphasize the continuity of development, and develops close and continuous personal relationships in a modernizing atmosphere, all essentials for "cooperative development in particular and rural development in general" (AC OCD 1971, pp. 47-48).

Hunter (1969) argues that in the first stage of growth, one of weakness, cooperatives are probably not the prime agent for moving to strength. The "downward pull of their members poverty" make it impossible to cope with the complex of "semi-literacy, lack of commercial experience, lack of resources (plus indebtedness), and dependence, aggravated (in India) by caste.." and all in the context of a weak economy make farmers needs difficult to meet (op. cit. pp. 78-9).

A serious dilemma is posed in that the lack of educational opportunities in the environment limit the possibilities of participation in development via local farmers' organizations, but once established, they stimulate a desire and demand for education and knowledge and can provide channels for learning on both formal and informal bases.

A major point of uncertainty and even of controversy seems to be the length and nature of the initial tutelage required for the sound establishment of local farmers' organizations in the different social systems and at different stages of development. Accounts of the Comilla experience, my own experience in the Center for Community Studies in Saskatchewan, work with the Rural Development Programme in the U.S. and rural development work in China and Thailand leave me with the conviction that a semi-autonomous or autonomous, but officially legitimized training institution, serving both government agencies and local organizations and communities, and free to investigate and experiment in pilot communities can play a central and even determining role in the tutelary period and even on a continuing basis, at least until voluntary organizations themselves can provide their own training institutions. This apparent dilemma is rather easily solved by adopting a view of "a learning society" or of the educational processes in society and approaches to the educational problem in its direct relevance to development. (see Mosher, 1966, Chapter 10 for a simple exposition of this approach). It appears that the Comilla farmers well understood this from their own experience. (ACOCD p. 48). From this point of view, and with the educational experience being the participation in the expanding activities of the farmers' associations themselves, the nature of the tutelage becomes much more clear and investment in it becomes a fundamental investment in development with a rather quick pay-off. It is obvious that its nature and extent changes and probably diminishes with development, and highly probable that a special institution with adequate flexibility and independence is fully justified.

It is urged that social scientists, especially rural sociologists, break out of their traditional molds and give more attention to the educational processes within and between development institutions in the context of systems analysis. In addition, the various institutional functions should be related to concepts of societal development from "traditional" to "modern" from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft, from local and tribal to national, etc.

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D. Channels for Communication of Innovation and Change

There is clearly some overlap between this concept and that of access to training and education, except that this one emphasizes more information flow and linkages to outside agencies which facilitate it as well as horizontal flow within the farming community.

Rogers (1969, p. 190ff) based on studies in India and Latin America has noted the following weaknesses in communications between sources of information and farmers:

- 1) Frequent lack of coordination between organizations responsible for research, extension (diffusion), and change agent training;
- 2) Lack of cooperation between different agencies (sectoral programmes) working with the same peasant clients;
- 3) Ineffective vertical communication within change agencies;
- 4) Lack of technical competence of change agents which results in lack of confidence on the part of clients;
- 5) Inadequate numbers of extension workers (without further elaboration);

and suggested that "a systems analysis of agricultural communication, from the origin of innovation to their adoption by farmers is needed."

Lionberger and Chang (1970) have made the kind of analysis Rogers suggested and in their illuminating analysis of the agricultural communications system on Taiwan provides an excellent challenge for future studies of innovating systems. At the top are two mechanisms. One is the "linking, legitimating, and integrating" mechanism for agricultural change heavily aided by U.S. aid and technical assistance, providing a forum for testing and adjusting the ideas of bilateral experts with Chinese leaders in agriculture, operating under a unanimous voting rule. The second is the administration of the farm information system proper under the Taiwan Department of Agriculture and Forestry. It administers the Research Institute, improvement stations and "public office" extension (the latter is primarily administrative and regulatory). Through yearly contracts it provides financial, technical and informational assistance in the educational extension work of the farmers' organizations. Its professional specialists train both extension workers and local leaders. It provides programme aide and materials and subject-matter guidance. In addition, extension workers have access and close ties to research institutes, and especially to local improvement stations and their technicians. They often collaborate with local farmers in testing new crops and practices. They get an important proportion of their research ideas from farmers and are in constant touch with "a selected group of farmers" to educate them and test local applicability of their findings, providing a direct link to the local farm communications system.

Farmers' Association hold regular discussion meetings with extension workers, and educational tours to research institutes and local result demonstrations provide opportunities to discuss and demonstrate new developments. Also, farmers functioning in the community as innovators, communicators of new ideas and legitimators tend to go direct to experiment and demonstration stations for information as well as using the local extension agents. In addition, such farmers are early adopters, are highly integrated into the local social structure and most valued by other farmers as personal sources of farm information (Lionberger and Chang, op. cit. p. 325).

Extension advisory committees function at provincial, county and township levels, are composed of persons knowledgeable about farm problems and presumably responsive to the needs of farmers (their method of selection is not explained).

Both Fals Borda (UNRISD 1971) and Kamiya et. al. (FAO, 1967) have highlighted the problems of vertical communications.

Despite the relative success of farmers' organizations in Japan, the FAO (1967) study notes a number of problems in adaptation to modern conditions and in a "hiatus between farmers and farmers' organizations (op. cit. p. 96). Important decisions are made at farmers' meetings "but there is no way in which these collective wishes can be acted upon". It appears that as farmers' organizations have become large and central unions more bureaucratic, they are no longer adequately responsive to the wishes of members. This is attributed to too much stress on economic activities on the part of cooperatives. However, it is not clear from the text to what degree this is due to a change in the cooperatives or whether, in fact, it is due to a new awareness and new concerns on the part of farmers. Will the Taiwan system eventually experience the same bureaucratic tendencies?

Some types of farmers' organizations, such as mutual relief associations, are said to be too "strongly influenced by administrative machinery" and other discontent arises from "the strongly administratively coloured land improvement districts relative to maintenance and renewal of land improvement properties", leading farmers to set up their own organizations outside of existing ones but without any central organization to receive their requests for help and service (op cit. p. 97)

One study revealed that administrative notices directed to farmers arrived at a rate of 14 or 15 per month at a local village office, but with disappointing results. This was attributed to the "closed" nature of the local rural society. Nevertheless the known productivity of Japanese farms and other statements by the author 1/ raise doubts as to his pessimistic assessment of results.

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1/ The success of technical communications downward is also reflected by statements such as that "agriculture and forestry policy" has changed from "increased production of staple foods to that of the right crop in the right place" and a note that measures to stimulate production have reached a limit and are being wound up, leaving central farmers' organizations (grown so accustomed to them) in "whirlpools and cross-currents" of old and new influence out of which they are making desperate efforts to emerge". (p. 95).

The UNRISD study does not consider communications systems or channels but does consider certain aspects of communications between officials and technicians on the one hand and local people on the other. Cultural distance was a factor (reflecting the need to train local people for the liaison job, e.g. a la Taiwan). New agricultural techniques were understood, but abstract ideas regarding organization and cooperation were not understood and negative attitudes between officials and local people obstructed effective communication (pp. 125-127). This appears to reflect a serious lack of persons and mechanisms for linking local units of organization to the national bureaucratic structure.

It further notes a lack of support from the cooperatives for local innovation but suggests that they have helped to diffuse new techniques "previously accepted by the communities at large." Cooperation itself did not spread by diffusion presumably requiring greater resources and bureaucratic support than was readily available.

Singh (1970) deals only indirectly with the important question of communications by emphasizing the value of local face-to-face groups to ascertain demand for supplies, timing for delivery and needed changes in procedures, and by observing that cooperatives in Asia are seldom adequately supported by advice on improved practices and by supply and marketing services.

The ACOCD speaks of the need for "a favourable climate for... growth" through appropriate research and "an effective extension education plan" and the need for a supporting system that gives producers, inter alia, "access to information."

In considering participation, the ACOCD underlines the importance, in the most successful cooperative systems, of adequate technical information services as an integral part of their cooperative development programmes. (Also, see Hunter, 1970, p. 131). Noting that "communications is part and parcel of social relations" and that "Horizontal Communication far exceeds vertical communication", they note that "effective extension work is done personally in the villages where the farmers or farm women gather". Thus, the importance of local meetings. Ward (1969) makes the same emphasis.

The Committee notes, however, the lack of any systematic effort to build horizontal communications as a routine part of daily farming activities in most developing countries.

Ward, while oriented primarily to technology, farm management, and relationships between agent and farmer stresses several important organizational elements important to the communication process, but provides no organizational techniques for accomplishing them.

The importance of horizontal communications between farmers has been emphasized by Kamiya (FAO, 1967) and by the ACOCD (1971) and to a lesser extent by Ward (1969). Fals Borda has also noted that local leaders are better able to communicate cooperative and technical ideas to their fellow villagers than government officials and technicians. Despite the need for cooperative associations larger than the local village in order to be technically and economically viable, the important role of face-to-face units of such societies seems to be well documented. To maintain the advantage of such groups, provisions were made in both Taiwan and in Comilla for the sub-cooperative groups or small Agricultural Units while maintaining the larger and more economical size for formal operations. Frequent and regular meetings, and a flexibility of agenda to allow discussion of whatever development problems seem important to the membership seems to be important as emphasized by Ward (1969) and the ACOCD (1971). This undoubtedly serves important horizontal communications function at the local level. Fals Borda noted the relatively high participation roles in neighbourhood cooperatives in contrast to state sponsored regional organizations. Kamiya, on the other hand, criticizes the Japanese for being too hierarchically oriented and, hence, unable to adequately organize (and presumably communicate on a horizontal basis.

Nevertheless, the effectiveness, especially in developing countries, of horizontal communication will depend finally on the effectiveness and usefulness of new inputs through horizontal communication. This is relevant to the later section on "linkages" but a few observations are relevant here. Fals Borda has noted the barriers to communication for anything but the most simple agricultural techniques and some of the cultural barriers between officials, technicians and local people, associated with relative non-success of cooperatives (UNRISD 1971, pp. 8 and 124 ff.).

In Taiwan, members instruct their delegates to the larger cooperative meetings, and advise on timing and quantities of goods and services, and help in distribution, and delegating depot responsibilities to a willing member.

In Japan, there is growing dissatisfaction with lack of responsiveness of upper levels to local concerns.

Both Kamiya and Fals Borda have underlined a major problem of leadership common to many developing societies with government in the hands of a traditional and/or a western educated elite, the bridging of the cultural gap between the national (and urban) society of officialdom (the educated and sophisticated elite), and that of the local rural society. Seldom can officials themselves bridge the gap, hence the great importance of the training of local leaders. Fals Borda has indicated the vulnerability and impermanence of the official who works too hard at the problem (op. cit. p. 127) and the hazards of cooptation and succumbing by local

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leaders to wider personal opportunities, once they have bridged the gap through the experience of their office (op. cit. p. 83ff). Perhaps in a developing society one should expect and even consider a gain, the loss of locally trained leadership "through the top", as it were and plan for such attrition but with adequate safeguards for the interests of the members left behind through adequate provision of standards, inspection, audit and leadership training. There is need, as emphasized by the ACODC and as actually carried out in Japan, Taiwan, Comilla and other countries, for massive and continuous education and training programmes for leaders and members, right from the beginning.

The following conclusions about communication channels seem justified by the review:

(1) Farmers' associations, with a high degree of autonomy greatly facilitate horizontal communication among farmers and reduce the burden and/or radically increase the effectiveness of extension agents;

(2) Their effectiveness depends on regularity and frequency of local meetings, their ability to produce evident advantages for members, an adequate percentage of overall farmer participation in the community;

(3) Effective communication of innovations seems also to depend on, and even have interaction effects on the supply of adequately applicable technology; multiple linkages with sources via agents, group activities and farm leaders; and farmer representation and influence in monitoring research and extension;

(4) Inadequate attention has been given to the roles of formal agricultural education and training and the role of economic and social information in addition to the technological, in explaining the success or failure of the systems at various stages.

E. Mechanisms to Mobilize Resources

a. The Human Resources

The ACODC (1971) declares that "Where cooperatives are doing well they are solving the crucial problem of small farmers--they are giving them access to the means of production, the financial system, and the market". (p. S-1).

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First of all, farmers' organizations are a means of mobilizing the human resources of the rural community for development (almost a tautology). This alone may explain why long term development of such organizations has usually been on a multipurpose basis. It also seems that any real success in local organizations for development depends upon the ability to involve a large percentage of the farm community. The degree to which different factions and interests can, in fact, be included will depend on the particular culture, the community, and the resources and regulations that a government puts behind the movement.

On the other hand such an organization must obviously offer advantages to present or potential participants. Kamiya has noted a growing middle-class character of farmers' organization through the withdrawal of the upper-class farmers (who presumably did not need such an organization) and of the lower-class farmers who received little economic benefit (FAO, 1967, p. 33). In contrast, the Comilla farmers considered that their ability to benefit from improved agricultural technology depended, first of all, on their ability to maintain the integrity of their modernizing institution, (ACOCD 1971). For Comilla, this was probably their first experience with a mechanism, basically in their own hands, even though with outside support, which was demonstrably bettering their lives.

In an entirely different setting in Japan, following two decades of post-war development which had included a radical land/reform and a period of rapid economic growth, Kamiya observes the individualization of farmers and their pursuit of economic gain, and loss of community solidarity with conflicting feelings. He perceives an increased bureaucratization of the administrative structure of farmers' organizations, an increasing inaccessibility to farmers and inconsistency of policies and services that leave farmers uncertain. The result he judges to be a lack of mobilization of "farmers' own social energy", and concludes that only a crisis situation, a threat of disaster or calamity can motivate farmers to form strong organizations.

Based on other experience such as Comilla and the peasant movements and uprisings discussed by Brown (1971) it appears that the mere awakening of hope through removing barriers and opening up new possibilities is also adequate motivation for peasant action. The history of organized labour also indicates that the greatest militancy is found among those who have already started to improve their lot.

The FAO/SIDA symposium noted that a mechanism "for motilizing human resources of the Rural Community" is required, but without indicating the nature of the mechanism, and recommended people's participation and promotion of peoples' organizations as separate items without indicating the two are necessarily linked (FAO, 1971, p. 8).

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It is my judgment that many analysts over-emphasize the role of individual leaders, and overlook the possibility that time and circumstance may as often make the leader as the opposite. Nonetheless, the role of a charismatic leader in initiating a reform or the beginnings of a new organization or movement is undoubtedly important to its success, especially in the early stages of breaking out of a traditional society into a modern bureaucratic type.

Strong and continuing local organizations for local participation also require strong and effective outside supports (especially through the political system) and competent and sympathetic advice and assistance of a professional nature on problems of organization and management.

Nor is it any accident that the most successful farmers' organizations are multipurpose in nature. Illiterate farmers, just emerging from traditional social systems based on subsistence agriculture need an institution with which they can identify and which can promote their interests and help them to work together and to rationalize and coordinate at the local level various programmes and policies of national agencies. Hunter (1970, p. 77) appears to be in disagreement with this point. A number of highly specialized local organizations require both a sophistication and a specialization of functions that only comes later in the development process.

(Fals Borda's conclusions from Latin American experience (UNRISD, 1971, p. 135) appear to contradict this point of view but this is probably due to the lack of institutional supports and resources for any effective rural advance (op. cit. p. 138).

b. Financial Resources

The need for more adequate financing of agriculture for modernization hardly needs emphasis here. The major characteristics of underdeveloped agricultural economies are low productivity, limited use of credit (and debt) and its high cost and the relative amounts of non-productive purposes for which it is used.

There is a tendency to start agricultural cooperatives, as in the case of Japan, as credit societies. However, they have not been a major force by themselves in modernizing agricultural communities.**

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** Fals Borda has noted that "specialized cooperatives" including credit cooperatives had less difficulty in becoming stabilized, but "mainly from the commercial or the banking point of view." (UNRISD, 1971, p. 135). Contrariwise, Hunter, viewing India considers them least successful--op. cit. p. 77.

The need for basic changes in the structure of rural society and particularly in the production system to meet the challenge of population increases and the rising levels of people's expectations, require a much better planned coordination and integration of developmental inputs. For agriculture this involves the coordination of extension with making available financial resources, physical production requisites, and adequate markets.*

The ACOCD is emphatic on this point, emphasizing a view sometimes promoted to the near exclusion of equally fundamental sociological aspects emphasized elsewhere in this paper:

"First of all, the cooperative technique of organizing people should be used to give small farmers institutional access to the means of production, the financial system, and the market." (ACOCD 1971, p. 8).

Because of the low levels of monetization and low productivity of agriculture (at the subsistence levels or less) in many developing countries, the initial financing of added inputs and capital investments in agriculture have to come from outside. Because of traditional attitudes and low rates of return, often aggravated by official pricing policies aimed at keeping down the living costs of non-farm consumers, private capital is not attracted. Neither are traditional capital suppliers concerned nor prepared to provide the necessary guidance to assure productivity and adequate incentives to the cultivators. Therefore, it is clear that governments must play an important initial role in the provision of capital and the establishment of adequate financial institutions to serve agriculture.

In Taiwan, the JCRR has provided a top-level mechanism to channel large amounts of bilateral assistance into agriculture and undoubtedly carries with it appreciable portions of domestic resources. The policy has been to channel a significant amount of this to and through farmers' associations.** Government assistance to Farmers' Associations is carried out through contracts with the Provincial (Taiwan) Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry.

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* On this point see Ward, 1969, p. 12 and ACOCD 1971, p. 30. It is pertinent to make the observation here that a likely major reason for the failure of community development to live up to its economic development goals in many developing countries was the tendency for using it as a means for cheap development divorced from the major projects and sectors of heavier financing and inadequately coordinated with programmes for increasing productivity, savings and investment.

** It has been estimated that about \$10 million per year of U.S. Aid was channelled through the JCRR for agricultural development. It is not known how much of this was in support of farmers' organizations. (Lionberger and Chang, 1970, p. 43).

Increasingly it is recognized that a mortgage system of credit is not an appropriate means for agricultural development among smallholders in developing countries. The surety system was the basis of the early credit societies of Japan, and as Kamiya observes, "the imposition of legal procedures to recover loans (under a mortgage system) would have ruined the borrower". (FAO, 1967, p. 23). With a multipurpose farmers' association handling both credit and marketing, the sale of the crop can easily be made the basis of collection of loans.

However, in addition to the initial contributions and/or guarantees or subsidies from the government, and possible later contributions for any needed large scale expansions, it is highly desirable (if not essential) to have a means of mobilization of local capital, through savings, and reinvestment.* It is seldom possible to secure adequate funds on a continuing basis from central governments or central banks alone. There is likely to be a greater sense of responsibility, of accomplishment, and of proprietorship for locally contributed and invested funds. As soon as appreciable gains in production is experienced, part of it can be channeled into savings and investment through multipurpose farmers' organizations.

The ACOCD notes that utilization of the authority of local cooperatives to receive deposits and sell shares is rare (op. cit. p. 30). However, a systematic "Forced savings" feature, a weekly savings deposit and a percentage of each sale, was provided for in the Comilla cooperative system which, despite a beginning from a very low income base, resulted in an appreciable amount of capital in a brief period of time, said to average \$195,000 per cooperative (loc. cit.) and part of which was invested along with locally marketed shares in transport warehouses and facilities for processing agricultural products. (op. cit. pp. 51 & 52). Maximum loans were determined by size of a farmer's savings account.

Similarly, in Ghana while total funds available to the Ankole District Cooperative increased only 4 times in four years (1965-69) the cooperative's own funds increased by 12 times, including a four-fold increase in personal savings. The 77 member village societies had voted to forego dividend payments of \$78,000 in order to build up capital.

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* The FAO/SIDA Symposium refers to this problem as the need for "A capital mobilization and investment mechanism" to mobilize rural capital and channel it into productive enterprises in rural communities and elsewhere. (FAO, op. cit. p. 5).

To support its extension work, in addition to outside sources of funds, the farmers' associations of Taiwan use profits from supply and marketing operations and collect fees from members on the basis of land owned or cultivated (Lionberger and Chang, p. 41). (Inadequate information was available to assess the degree to which farmers' associations create savings and invest in economic facilities).

Singh reports for Japan a similar reliance on deposits for working capital with a rapid growth since 1962 (Singh, 1970) and the OCOCD reports that deposits per cooperative range downward from \$570,000 in Korea. However, the average for most collage based cooperatives in Asian countries is less than \$400 (Singh, 1970, p. 70). Other important sources of funds for cooperatives in Japan are derived from channelling government rice purchase payments to farmers through their deposit accounts, popularization of special savings accounts at high interest rates (necessitating an offset by putting capital to work at higher rates outside agriculture); recent popularization of a farmers' salary system whereby they are encouraged to deposit the proceeds of their sales and take withdrawals on a monthly basis. Also, increasing land sales by farmers, and deposit insurance schemes are said to help (Singh, 1970, pp. 266-7).

Fundamental to the ability of the FA's in Taiwan and Japan to mobilize resource were the post-war programmes of land reform (1949-53) which placed control and access to farm land in the hands of those who do the farming and (in the case of Taiwan) the limitation of active membership to those who derive at least half their income from agriculture.

The local savings and investment systems need to be tied into an overall institution (such as a cooperative bank) to provide a complete financial system which meets the needs of and keeps available to the member organization the profits from financial operations of the system instead of allowing them to be drawn off into the central money markets and into speculative operations of middlemen and absentee land-owners. The exact nature of the institution would depend upon the nature of the national economy and its banking systems.

However, it appears that only at rather advanced stages of development is it possible for the farmers' organization system itself to build up enough capital to overcome primary dependence on government as a source of credit funds for production loans.

That the success of savings and credit systems in benefiting farmers and in eventually providing an adequate farm credit financial institution with adequate mobilization of local savings and capital formation in agriculture depends upon an integrated system with farm supply and marketing is now widely accepted (see ACOCD 1971), FAO (1971) and Ward (1969).

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F. Access to Power and Influence

The national state, with its control and access to resource, often becomes a major resource for individuals and groups competing for its favours. In developing countries it is primarily urban groups, large landowners, merchants, etc., who have the greatest access. Peasants, smallholders tenants, and rural labourers, as long as they are unorganized have little or no voice.

The deleterious effects of a lack of access to power and influence is well demonstrated in the negative characteristics attributed to peasants. Reviewing these attributes, Rogers (1970) considers that "A long history of exploitation at the hands of outsiders..." has caused peasants to view authorities and agents of economic power with hostility and apprehension (op. cit. p. 29). In the Columbia studies, the traditional villages were alienated from the larger land-owners and had little in the way of formal associations which provide the means to utilize change agency services and influence on higher levels of government.

Power may be exercised through economic influence or political pressure groups. Brown (1971), analysing the problems of Latin American peasant movements to retain or consolidate their gains concludes--

"without strong allies they are restricted to local influence and vulnerable to repression; with strong allies and an institutionalized role in government programmes they become vulnerable to cooptation".

He considers that the exaggeration of the "supposedly non-adaptive nature of the peasant mentality" helped to create this dilemma by lending credence to "elitist and 'vanguard' strategies" which patronize the peasant and distract attention from "the profoundly repressive nature of the traditional hacienda system". The result is to subvert "the independence of peasant movements and produce" a new form of manipulation and repression not essentially different from the old. (Brown, 1971, p. 33) where peasant organizations have been able to emerge and survive it has been due to "a gradual erosion of the traditional land based power structure" and their gains have been possible, especially in regard to land reform only with the active support of government through political parties (such as the MNR in Bolivia) and influential labour leaders, lawyers (as in Peru) and other outsiders, characterized as a "top-down phenomenon" in Pernambuco, Brazil and in Chile.*

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* (See G. Huizer, "Peasant Organizations and their Potential for change in Latin America" (Undated manuscript) for a similar view). Noting the rise and decline of the Japanese Peasant Union between the two World Wars and its resurgence in 1946, Kamiya, et. al. attribute this phenomena to, inter alia, "the lessening of landlord influence, the urban labour union development, the crisis of the rice riots in 1918, and the effect of external political developments (Western democracy and the Russian Revolution).

Two of the reasons given for its resurgence (democratization under the Allied Powers and the land reform) were obvious outside interventions that shifted the power balance and gave the peasants an opportunity to assert themselves. The speed of the implementation of the land reform is attributed by Kamiya to the support of the Peasants union which constituted 20 percent of the peasants in the country in 1947, as is the beginning of the subsequent community development movement.* It subsequently lapsed and its leadership was absorbed into the cooperatives, land commissions and food adjustment commissions. (FAO, 1967, p. 55).

A Central Union of agricultural cooperatives provides to its members political action in the form of lobbying and representation of member viewpoints in the Diet and the prefectural and National Chambers of Agriculture.

Prior to the 1953 amalgamations of municipalities, there was a close identity of leadership between village government and farmers' associations, in which the village was a coordinator of and exerted the key control over the various subvillage groups (buraku), and the village played the key role in control over farmers' organizations. Village assemblies dealt with problems largely of concern to farmers and they, in turn, virtually controlled the assemblies. After village amalgamation, the farmer-leaders "no longer have a majority in their assemblies" but had to "stand on an equal (or even minority) footing with commercial or industrial representatives" (op. cit. p. 18ff.). Thus, it appears they have lost power at the local level, but due to the bureaucratic tendencies of their organizations at higher levels, they lack confidence that they have access to power at the national levels. This is quite in contrast with most developing countries, in some of which the small farmers lack power at any level or are part of a traditional local system in which they are submerged and lack the means to break out into a modern system.

Fals Borda has emphasized the efforts of Latin American Governments and local power interest to contain and control peasant organizations through the "fragmentation of violence", the cooptation of leaders, and direct opposition and subversion. Without emphasizing the point, however, he has also documented the importance of connections with institutional legitimizers, (frequently priests or protestant church leaders) or agencies of rural development and reform) especially in their initial establishment. (op.cit. p. 58ff.). However, they were contained as "enclaves" with little impact and little ability to develop and spread until, as in the case of the Tenza Valley Federation, the Colombian Association of Cooperatives, assisted by foreign experts, decided to help the cooperatives to form a federation, first with foreign aid and then with the National Institute of Food Supplies.

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* Likewise a land reform on Taiwan set the stage for the strong farmers' associations there.

The existence of autonomous farmers' organizations with access to government at different levels through a multi-tier system of federation undoubtedly provides the means for farmer influence to be felt and encourages the crystallization of farmers' opinions on matters that effect their welfare. Linberger and Chang (1970) observe (with reference to agricultural research and extension in Taiwan) that "Policy and programme decisions generally are made with farmer interests and needs in view" which are "expressed through the farmers' associations, extension workers (some of whom are employed by the associations and responsible to them), field representatives, or farmers directly". (op. cit. p. 345) and concludes that "when farmers emerge as a vocal and organized segment of society to be heard and considered, appropriate action on their behalf and deference to their wishes is more likely" (p. 347).

Both Ward and Heckman (McGrath, op. cit. pp. 29ff and 123ff. respectively) emphasize primarily the role of government in initiating and supporting the cooperatives until they can stand on their own but with little emphasis on the reverse connections, and Ward notes the need for bargaining power in the market place in competition with "giant commercial corporations. However, for the ACOCD (1971) the access to power seems implicit in their conception of "access to the system". They note the importance of government in intervening initially on behalf of the small farmers (op. cit. p. S-2) and make an implied criticism of governments for not involving cooperatives in the national development plans, setting targets which must be met (or not) by the individual farmers (op. cit. p. S-4). And finally, it is stated specifically that one role of farmers' cooperatives in "representing the interests of farmers with government agencies and politicians". (op. cit. p. 10).

In many countries, it may also be important that top policy makers fully appreciate the important interdependence between (1) farmers' organizations to express farmers' problems and concerns; (2) motivation to participate in agricultural development on the part of farmers which is essential for development to occur; and (3) support for adequate resources to the agencies responsible for agricultural and rural development.

G. Access to Markets

Conceptually, this item refers to the need for a mechanism whereby farmers control their access to both production input markets and produce markets whereby they can receive the best possible price and efficient storage, processing and transport of their products to central markets. This matter is obviously related also to the question of higher levels of organization and of linkages.

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The FAO/SIDA Symposium lumps this item under "A mechanism for monetizing and commercializing the rural community to permit the easy transport of energies and materials, and to provide for the exchange of goods and services within the rural community and between it and the outside worlds". (FAO, 1971, p. 6), thus, seeming to overlap conceptually with their point on capital mobilization and investment.

Fals Borda's pessimistic evaluation of the role cooperatives have played in rural Latin America and the reasons why they have not been allowed to "succeed" in changing the social and economic systems may well explain the lateness with which the mechanisms of access to markets (e.g. federations) have been organized there. In the areas studied, federations were "barely beginning". However, the Tenza Valley Federation began in 1965 with five already existing but apathetic and passive small associations, with the National Institute of Food Supplies (INA) agreeing to pick up the sponsorship after being started with backing by USAID. Its first two years were dedicated to organizing and re-organizing consumer stores, providing supervision, simplifying accounting systems, and providing training courses for cooperative personnel. The next step, the stimulation of marketing development, proved successful enough to gain the support of INA for a nationwide programme to spread the work. The result was a new enthusiasm among the farmers. "Their apathy appeared to be a thing of the past, as they could well appreciate, by action and demonstration, the advantages of the Federation". The author concludes that, "the Federation might show ways to more authentic cooperative activities among Columbian farmers" (UNRISD, 1971) perhaps one of the most optimistic statements in the whole study.

Ward (1969) notes the important role of national marketing associations in enabling local cooperatives to pay higher returns, especially when granted exclusive or preferential status by governments, on a commission or fixed fee basis, for handling the collection and delivery of staple cereals. Meantime, the Federation provides the farmers a mechanism for representing their interests in securing adequate fees. Federations may start on marketing of a single major crop and gradually expand to others. Purchasing federations likewise are able to secure modern production technology according to seasonal needs of the farmers. In addition, they can provide member associations with management assistance and informational and educational assistance regarding the appropriate uses of the inputs themselves. Combining of marketing-purchasing in one federation, especially at the first level up from the local organization may be useful in simplifying relationships and economizing on scarce professional personnel. Also, it more closely coordinates marketing with credit and payment for supplies. (Ward, 1969, p. 20ff.).

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Kamiya indicated that the predominant type of general purpose cooperatives "have provided for a great expansion of business activities" which cover all aspects of farm management, but give priority to marketing and credit with lesser emphasis on cooperation for production. This close relationship of all segments of agriculture, it is argued, helps to relate all elements of farm management and makes the cooperatives management services more effective. (FAO, 1967, p. 31).

However, he considers that the insurance of the independence of the credit business argues for separating that part from the other services.

AC OCD, reviewing the 25 countries surveyed, observes the varying degrees of functioning of federations, quasi-federations and export marketing boards, and concludes "meaningful access for small farmers is not possible without the cooperative federation". The local unit of farmers' organizations cannot give access to regional, national and world markets. (op. cit. p. 21).

Hunter (1970) viewing the Indian scene, and noting with some obvious distaste the limited attempts at adoption of some American style institutional arrangements, has little faith that the farmers are ready to run their own services of supply and management. He therefore recommends organizing all government services "into management units for basic supply, technical service, and primary marketing, possibly abolishing the individual crop-credit system". Such a recommendation for all of India appears much too sweeping in its generalization and one wonders if, in compliance with his own "Principles of Administrative Method", especially farmer's autonomy and policy of enablement in extension, the same government effort in education and organization of peasants (a. la Comilla, for instance) might not be more productive.

In conclusion there can be no denying the importance to agricultural and rural development of orderly provision of orderly market access for the hundreds of millions of small farmers in developing countries. A great deal more attention should be given to the sociology of marketing with special reference to farmers' organizations.

H. Levels of Organization and Linkages

Consideration of previous topics supports the conclusion that appropriate forms of local organization are necessary for most farmers and village people to understand and integrate the often strange, technical and non-integrated pieces of information, resources, and directives from outside. Development means participation in functions organized and managed on a regional, national and even international basis. Therefore, a primary objective of development organization is to link the villager with agencies that in fact manage those functions. Traditional organizations are not appropriate. New organizations must be created, must grow and develop

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from infancy to maturity. The exact pattern of the outcome cannot be entirely foreseen, but some of the characteristics and some of its relationships have been examined, so far and primarily in relation to internal characteristics. It is now time to examine more specifically the external relationships.

Two general alternatives present themselves: One is that the government provide the organization and the other is that it provide the policies, education, guidance, infra-structure, and the basic rules for people to organize themselves for the task. (see Hunter, 1970) for a proposed marriage of the two). Countries with centrally planned economies and a monolithic political structure opt for the former, but are tending to decentralize to some extent. The western democracies opt for some version of the latter, and the developing countries are experimenting with various in-between formulas.

1. The Role of Government

In developing countries, as the FAO/SIDA Symposium pointed out, the government has an important task to see that the basic conditions for development are supplied, e.g. "the essential physical, business and social infra-structure, the general literacy, the modern information media and other factors for progress". The symposium could not, however, agree on how strong or central a role government should take in actual implementation, in contrast to private bodies and individuals (FAO, 1971, p. 5). The ACOCD espouses the principle that "Governments should begin as champion, continue as partner, and abide as friend". (ACOCD, p. S-2).

Most of the analyses of existing successful systems while providing useful models for other developing countries to utilize and modify in setting their sights, give little attention to the evolution of the systems. Three systems most frequently cited, at least by Americans, as successful models had their beginnings under a hierarchical and centralized form of government in which many of the elements and practices of a modern agriculture were learned by the peasant farmers. It therefore, still remains, scientifically, a moot question as to the degree, and under what cultural, political, and economic conditions a more permissive role can be played by government in initiating the forms and content of local participation in development. We could probably agree in principle to a maximum permissiveness consistent with maximum local initiative, minimum standards of welfare and social justice, and minimum standards of security of the State.

In any case, the initial degree of autonomy will be restricted through organizational weaknesses and dependence on government for resources. The degree of initial control will likely be determined by a combination of such factors as (1) the degree of distress experienced by the small farmers; (2) the strength and political philosophy of the government; and (3) reduction of the burden on and increasing effectiveness of government services.*

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* But see Hunter's reservations (1970) p. 217.

In any case, in addition to the creation of the basic social infra-structure education, and the basic social and economic rules of the society, government will have to champion the small farmer and see that he has available to him the basic means of production to become and remain a productive member of society. This frequently means taking the politically difficult step of reforming institutions, including property rights, particularly in land.* In many countries it is only through such basic steps that governments can demonstrate to peasants that they, in fact, can better their lot and that the government is on their side. They will need professional help, some freedom to experiment, in forming organizations to defend and promote their interests and adequately utilize the resources available to them.

The next step is to provide the basic ground rules for organization to meet the expanding needs and especially to give peasants access to markets and other institutions of the national society and to provide an adequate guarantee system such as supervision, inspection, and an impartial system of adjudication and sanctions. Only the government in the beginning (the peasants own organizations later) can prevent the traditional elites (and even the new leadership following the familiar pattern as Fals Borda has indicated) from usurping the new organization to their own benefits.

Governments must also provide for the basic institutions for research, training, and information dissemination in the developing countries where these institutions are often non-existent, weak, or poorly coordinated. In other cases, their standards and content are borrowed and poorly adapted to the needs for development at the local level due to inadequate links with the farming community.

In some countries, a special department or ministry for cooperatives or farmers' organizations is established. In some, the matter of initial organization is left up to private agencies or individual regional or special development agencies. Such a special department or ministry may be a good indication of the commitment of the government to the establishment of people's associations and can be a major channel for presenting their problems to the policy making levels of government until the associations themselves are well enough established. As they may play a major role in the governments intervention (and withdrawal) from active direction and management, more studies of such agencies and their historical development are needed.

2. Levels of Organization

Experience indicates that an eventual three level organization should be foreseen, starting with local units of some effective size, linked by federations at the District level and finally another level of federation or Union at the provincial or National levels respectively depending upon the size of the country. Too many levels would only increase the problems of communication and control and magnify the problems of bureaucracy. ./..

* For a comprehensive treatment of experience and strategies on a worldwide basis, with an assessment of progress and recommendations for national and international agency strategies for the Second Development Decade, see, Report of the Specialized Committee on Agrarian Reform; FAO, Rome, 1971. The report was based on visits by the Chairman and various members of the Committee and the FAO Secretariat of 16 countries and extensive special and routine documentation of experience.

2. The Local Level

The nature of the first level of organization has two major dimensions: one is technical and the other is that of political and social philosophy. With reference to the first, the primary formal unit of association must be large enough to support a viable technical and economic unit of organization. It should eventually support one or two paid staff and be large enough to efficiently procure, warehouse, and distribute supplies and inputs, and to handle the initial collection, temporary storage, and initial cleaning or semi-processing of products for shipment to market or a central processing and packaging plant at the district or provincial level. At the same time, these associations must be small enough to provide members a sense of ownership, participation and control. In Japan, with an average size of membership of township association it seems they may now be too small, yet in most developing countries they are much smaller (less than 50 in Ecuador, Thailand and West Pakistan to 182 in Ceylon and 525 in El Salvador. (OCOCD, 1971, p. 26).

The economic, social and psychological criteria will change over time and in relation to the stage of development of the country. Fortunately, the volume of inputs and products handled will likely increase over time and with the stage of development. In many developing countries, the traditional village and clan loyalties may be such as to make it difficult to initially organize associations involving a number of villages to attain adequate economic scale.

Also, the exact nature of the local units may differ as between communities of smallholders and those characterized by clan or communal ownership of land; and where ownership is communal, between those granting individual use rights and those practicing communal exploitation. In any case, the difficulties of initial organization will be least where the initial new elements of organization are the fewest and least strange. In any case, the initial organization and action projects should be as simple as possible and demonstrate early benefits. Governments will be justified in providing initial subsidies and servicing priorities in order to initiate the organizations and to eventually provide a local unit of input for services that will reach many more people.

In any case, the system should provide for face-to-face groups which meet frequently and have social and servicing functions for members, tying them more securely into the association.

Until there are enough local units on a sound enough basis for federation, economic advantages and significant access to markets will have to be provided primarily by government action or subsidies. Unless handled carefully, the latter have the danger of becoming permanent, obviating the need for any diverting attention from the need for the second and third levels of organization.

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b. Regional and National Federations

The local cooperatives by themselves are weak in the face of competition from established business, cannot provide large enough purchasing power or supply adequate amounts or qualities of produce to have bargaining power in the market-place, have any impact on government policies nor employ highly qualified professional services. However, by coming into federations and pooling their limited resources either of a general purpose nature or a specialized nature, provide some or all of these. Comparing the successful farmers' organizations in Asia "with those in Latin America (UNRISD 1971) one suspects that, aside from the lack of real support and commitment on the part of the governments concerned a primary reason for weakness may be the small size of local units and the lack of federation. Fals Borda's assessment of the "positive role" of regional federations may be too restrained (UNRISD, 1971, p. 136).

3. Linkages:

The content of the linkage systems has already been implied, in part, in our previous analyses of channels, mechanisms, and access. This leaves the questions of levels of organization and the linkages between the different types of institutions. I shall turn now to some of them along with special additional issues and return briefly to the rest later.

Diffusion and farm practice adoption research has established that farmers value other farmers most as sources of information. Lionberger and Chang (1970) found also that in Taiwan a farmer to farmer information patterns are associated with other kinds of social participation patterns. Rogers (1969) found in Columbia that homophily or the tendency to communicate with people of the same social status was a barrier to communication. Thus the social structure of the community will influence the flow of farm information and discontinuities in association may be particularly serious. The social psychological logic of the small agricultural units in large associations is thus evident.

As long as FA's and other citizens development organizations are strictly local they can only link effectively at the local community or lowest administrative level. The local extension officer, or sometimes the administrative officer, should be the primary link between the lowest level of government and the local association or an adequate two-way communication.

FA's should develop as soon as possible to the point of providing their own extension officers have access to other officials and higher levels as desired and this should be facilitated, particularly for communication of farmers' needs and problems, and to consult on policies and development programmes.

FAO, in its Indicative World Plan, (1969) vol. 2, p. 232 and the FAO/SIDA symposium (FAO, 1971, p. 8) have recommended area work based on market towns and close coordination between people's organizations and government agencies. The physical location of the offices of farmers' organizations and of the government agencies which serve them, in the same town and even the same or adjacent buildings, is an aid to communication and convenience to farmer members.

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* (See especially ACOCD 1971, and Lionberger and Chang, 1969)

Lionberger and Chang have described the key linkage functions fulfilled in Taiwan by the two sets of extension officers (Public Office and FA's), vertically linking their agencies with field officers and horizontally with research institutes, improvement stations, agricultural colleges and other agencies supporting extension work. The FA Supervisors had more frequent and direct contact with farm information sources and their contacts were more likely than public officer supervisors to be interactive rather than unidirectional (op. cit. p. 224). Consultative and advisory committees can be set up to formalize and facilitate consultation. Farmers need access to administrative agencies, planning bodies, and legislative councils at all levels to assure their adequate participation in development policies and processes.

There can be little doubt as to the key linking role played by the extension agent of the government in the initial phases of agricultural and rural development but may well diminish later. The determinants of this role are often complex and have not been adequately studied in their societal and systems aspects. (Lionberger and Chang (1970) have made a valuable contribution). Some key determinants are probably social origins of the agent, his preparation and training for his role, the attitudes of his superiors and the rewards and incentives of his agency (see Fals Borda in UNRISD, p. 127) the power of the FA's to affect his rewards and advancement, and the quality of the information he has to dispense to the farmers.*

Lower level training agencies (for farmer leaders and government field officers) must have continuing contacts with farmers and their associations to learn their problems and needs. In addition, they need close links with agricultural and rural social research agencies. They can utilize ongoing research and staff in their instruction work and probably should eventually develop their own studies and research programmes especially those that reveal programme, personal, and administrative problems that will be faced by the trainees on the job. It is my opinion from discussions with advisors to the Comilla Project that the published literature has yet to adequately analyse the key functions and critical and continuing supporting role of the Rural Institute at Comilla as an agency outside the normal administrative structure of the government and providing constant attention to development problems and processes (inside and outside government agencies) and providing consultation to government and local groups, trained staff of both local organizations, government service agencies and local government.

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* (On some of these, See Lionberger and Chang, op. cit. p. 323) Also Fals Borda's (UNRISD, 1971) observations on the cultural barriers between government officials supporting the cooperatives and extension programmes and the farmers', contrast with that of the farmer extension workers of the FA's in Taiwan. The fact that they themselves are farmers and share the farmers' points of view is considered to be one reason for their success. (Lionberger and Chang, loc. cit.)

My experience of the land grant college role in Rural Development in the U.S., the interesting, if brief, role of the Center for Community Studies in Canada, and observations over some 20 years in regarding the role of outside institutions in establishing the local framework for development action in rural areas has left a strong bias for the value of such a key social science studies and training institution. However, comparative studies are needed to establish the relative effectiveness of different types of training and consulting agencies vis-a-vis both local organizations and government services to farmers and local communities generally.

Agricultural research institutions where they exist in developing countries have too frequently been oriented primarily by their professional and even financial connections with the more developed countries, plagued by rapid turnover of personnel, shortages of funds, and lack of long range programmes of research. In most cases, they lack adequate formal links with the problems of rural communities and the farmers. In many parts of Africa, their colonial heritage left them with primary emphases on major export crops and little emphasis on crops for domestic markets and subsistence cultivation. Many beneficial changes in orientation of research programmes have been made in recent years. Undoubtedly more progress will be made in the future.

Lionberger and Chang have given a detailed account, within their information systems analysis, of complex formal and informal relationships of research with the other institutions serving agriculture. Some elements may be generally applicable. Two-way flow of ideas and information on a continuing basis between farms, farmers' organizations and research stations is essential to a rapid agricultural advance. The Improvement Stations on Taiwan represent the most applied aspects of agricultural research and adaptation to farm conditions and hence should and do have the most frequent formal and informal contacts with farm leaders and extension workers. Station personnel are involved in extension and frequently visit and consult with farmers. Local farmers and extension workers participate in adaptability trials. Leading farmers go direct to the stations and to Research Institutions for information.

At the national level under the Provincial Department of Agriculture the Agricultural Research Review Committee, representing all major agencies dealing with agriculture, and under the Provincial Department of Agriculture through a system of sub-committees meeting several times a year, reviews and coordinates research and determines what is ready and appropriate for release to farmers. Farmers' Association interests are represented. In most countries, benefits could be had by developing closer relationships between government administered and financed research stations and colleges of agriculture. In particular, there is need for more participation of faculty and advanced students in research programmes with economies to research projects and better trained graduates as a result.

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Recent reviews of agricultural research in developing countries and international conferences on the subject have noted and sometimes decried the lack of relevant sociological and psychological research in applied agricultural research programmes.* The addition of such social research elements will undoubtedly increase the applicability and the speed with which findings are utilized by farmers.

In this section we have particularly emphasized linkages and supports for initiating and establishing people's organizations with special reference to small farmers, and linkages to facilitate the generation and dissemination of useful information on agricultural improvements and management and for the training of personnel.

In previous sections emphasis was placed on linkages (mechanisms and access) for securing resources, for reaching and benefiting from markets, for getting training, and for influencing government policy regarding agriculture. Some statements have been made about the kinds of linkages and systems which would seem to benefit developing countries. Note has been taken, however, of the complicated relationships of such systems to the different stages of development and cultural and institutional settings involved. The sometimes dogmatic statements about the desirable linkages and levels of organization should be taken as hypotheses on which further studies within a historical and a systems context should be made. There is presently a dearth of such studies and special note has been taken of the pioneering work of Lionberger and Chang in this respect.

III. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

a. Source and Method

Based on a few fundamental sociological concepts about the nature of society and the kinds and directions of change from traditional to modern, from self-sufficient to industrial, and on years of association with development projects and programmes, the author has hypothesized 8 critical dimensions or sets of relationships as the most salient from the standpoint of planning

* See Clifford R. Wharton, Jr.; Research on Agricultural Development in Southeast Asia, The Agricultural Development Council, Inc. New York (1965), page 7;

Report of the Second Session of the Sub-Panel of Experts on the Organization and Administration of Agricultural Research, FAO, Rome (1970), page 9;

D.D. Solomon; "The Place of Rural Sociology in Agricultural Research", page 43 of the Report of the Second Session of the Sub-Panel of Experts on the Organization and Administration of Agricultural Research, FAO, Rome (1970)

Preliminary Report of the FAO Conference on the Establishment of Cooperative Agricultural Research Programmes between Countries with Similar Ecological Conditions, FAO, Rome (1971) page 6.

for the sound establishment of a farmers' organization system to facilitate the rapid agricultural and rural advance that is being sought by most nations in the "developing world".

No claims are made for representativeness of the literature selected on the basis of its ready availability and obvious relevance. Some intended areas could not be covered in the time available. It is proposed that the sets of relationships selected could be used to assess any national social system, although inadequate information was available to test its application to a socialist or communist system.

The categories of relationships used appear to be a useful way to compare different systems, but several inadequacies are apparent. Following are the substantive and methodological conclusions and recommendations arising from the analysis.

b. Membership/Leadership:

The scope of many test or pilot efforts is too small or fragmented areawise to test the effectiveness of a farmers' organization system and the major sets of relationships involved. Also there may be a "critical density" requirement in terms of the percentage of farmers who are members, and a minimum time, speed or opportunity factors in enlisting a major proportion of the farming community. A controversy (little discussed in the specific literature cited), over the question of initial voluntary or obligatory membership, especially in the initial stages and where rapid development in production is essential, cannot be clearly answered except on ideological or theoretical grounds. On the issues regarding the best initial approach in the development of farmers' organizations from communal and tribal systems to a modern farm organization system, considerable experience is being accumulated in the different developing countries but without adequate documentation in a comparable and adequate framework.

Other issues arise over the classes of farmers admitted to membership and their effect on the development of an equitable and effective organization for the majority or all of the farmers. Can rich and poor farmers, large and small and tenant farmers all be incorporated in the same local organization? There are obvious limitations to local autonomy in many situations without some basic agrarian reforms and organizational assistance to give power to the smallholder or participants in cooperative and collective production enterprises. What effective leadership roles, if any, can large landowners and former landlords play until new leadership can be trained, if a leadership vacuum is to be avoided? Or, should it be avoided? It seems clear that in traditional smallholder areas (and in some tribal areas under modernizing influences) any farmers' organization or other aids to farmers will help those most who have the resources, unless adequate institutional safeguards are built in.

Leadership development is always critical and usually inadequately dealt with in early stages. The principles of multiple leadership positions and continuous learning in a group development framework appears sound. More applied social science research on this problem and more social science training for agricultural leaders will help.

c. Management of Alienation and Grouplessness;

Normal social development processes in modernization appear to lead to individuation, and hence to alienation from primary groups though not necessarily from society as a whole, if other satisfactory affiliations are available. Both perceived means and motivations or incentives for participation affect the location of individuals (or groups) on the alienation-participation scale. The importance of "means" (social and economic) is best underlined by the observation that the strongest national farmers' organizations in this century have followed rather sweeping and radical land reforms, coupled with farm services, that have placed farmers in control of the means of production and provided incentives to use them.

Therefore, this factor might well be modified from the above-utilized rubric, with a focus on the analysis of who participates and who does not, to what degrees and with what results (including satisfactions). Through participation analysis, the role of the local organization in continuous integration of community members into a modernizing society could be assessed.

d. Access to Training and Education

In the context of development, learning of all kinds is primary. Hence, the learning components in every institution and their linkages with special training institutions are also important, especially in agriculture. Despite the undoubted impact of general education, most of the effective learning for agricultural development takes place in the rural community, on the persons own or neighbors farms, and with groups of friends and neighbors.

Therefore, studies of farmers' organizations as information and development promoting systems should also analyse the skill and learning aspects in more detail, including linkages with institutions for agricultural training and "contextual" factors affecting farmer participation and practice adoption.

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e. Channels for Communication

A national farmers' organization system can appreciably facilitate communication of modernizing information and speed its application if it: (1) has a high degree of autonomy, (2) observes regularity and frequency of local meetings, (3) produces evident advantages for members, (4) includes an adequate percentage of overall farmer participation from the community.

Effective communication of innovations has interaction effects on the supply of adequately applicable technology; multiple linkages with sources via agents, group activities and farm leaders; and farmer representation and influence in monitoring research and extension. Non-sophistication on the part of farmers is not an adequate reason for not utilizing these means.

It also seems that inadequate attention has been given to the roles of economic and social information in explaining the success or failure in developing effective communications channels, and to the role of education and training agencies in such systems.

f. Mechanisms to mobilize Resources:

Strong and active farmers' organizations, as a tool for mobilizing farmers, can (1) overcome suspicion of outsiders and government in particular, (2) reduce the farmer's risks and/or his estimate of risk in making changes. However, this will result only if (a) adequate assistance and supporting services are available, (b) obvious benefits in the farmers own terms can be demonstrated, and (c) farmers are made to feel they are participants and not just the tools or servants of government or vested interests.

From this point of view, this analysis, and those on which it is based, have given inadequate attention to the role of agrarian reform in the mobilization of human energies and the development of human resources.

While financial resources are important, simple credit cooperatives have not been a notable success. The need is for access to larger sources than are locally available, a system to move it where needed, a means to closely relate it to farm inputs and tie credit to production (rather than to capital resources) and to tie collections to crop sales. If initially planned to do so, FA's can accumulate sizeable savings and make appreciable investments in services, infrastructure, and vertical integration out of increased productivity. Local farmers' organizations can provide surety and distribution services under adequate government safeguards.

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Governments have been notably unsuccessful in administering directly effective credit to small farmers. Bureaucratic inflexibilities, high cost, inadequate amounts are some of the problems. Similar problems are found in regard to supplies of physical inputs. Yet the critical initial role of government demands more systematic analysis of the most effective relationships and their evolution.

g. Access to Markets:

Research and experience underline the need for market access as an early and essential element. Both social and economic criteria need to be considered in determining the types of government intervention and the means and timing of their relinquishment to control by farmers' through their secondary or tertiary levels of organization. There is not yet adequate sociological research under different stages of development and different national systems to provide clear guidance at given levels of development. One African country has requested a sociologist to study the social factors in their marketing system. Comparative studies should consider the possible conflict between goals of national development, productivity, and local and individual growth and autonomy.

h. Access to Power and Influence:

Studies of peasant movements and the history of successful farmers organizations demonstrate that farmers usually need powerful friends, sponsors and legitimizers in order to establish a viable organizational structure that can withstand the opposition of vested interests and compete successfully in the market place and on councils of government. A major reason for the frequent contrasts in urban affluence and rural poverty (yes, and urban poverty) is the lack of farmer access to and influence as a group over those who allocate the nations resources on the one hand and the lack of economic organization and power to be felt in the market place. Both kinds of access must be the goals of farmers' organizations and other rural citizens development groups. The importance of this goal of organization must be faced (rather than feared) by development minded individual and institutional champions of small farmers. More specific recognition and assessment of this factor in the development systems analysis is needed.

i. The Role of Government:

This point has already been covered in various ways. A more fruitful basis for an analysis would consist for a division into two separate aspects: i.e., (1) agricultural and rural policy, and (2) administrative organization and techniques (see Hunter (1970) for a liberal British view on this).

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The basic philosophy and social goals of a society will determine in a large measure social policy goals, and hence the economic and social purposes for the organization of farmers (and other institutions), and particularly the amount of autonomy that they will be allowed. The lack of adequate perspective on this relationship in most existing documentation makes it difficult to compare either systems or results, in a causal or interactional analysis.

j. Levels of Organization

Few conclusions can be drawn from this limited review. A number of farmer association systems, in fact most, were initiated on the basis of small neighbourhood or village groups capable of operating on a face-to-face basis but found that real economic gains and stability could not be achieved except by a larger unit of organization which could provide minimum facilities and support paid, full-time staff (at least a manager),* and closer relations with market towns and local government offices. Experience indicates that the face-to-face groups still have critical functions to play in developing countries.

Probably two additional levels of organization are needed (except in small nations) and a comparative study of the essential relationships is needed. A provincial or regional federation of the smaller units can provide effective access to markets through processing, selling, and bulk purchasing, a minimum level of effective credit and banking, and provide specialist services to member societies. A national level office can provide for over-all control, central banking, access to government policy levels, and access to international markets. Special cases and requirements will also arise within organizations for special crops or to provide special supplies and/or services, and manufacturing or processing for distribution to members. These will come late in the development of the system in most countries as they depend upon a firm establishment of the basic structure.

And finally, the higher levels of organization are essential for the autonomy of the system and the provision of maximum benefits to members.

* Hatfield, op. cit. has discussed such an issue in comparing the approaches to Ranching Associations and to Ujamaa Village Organization in Tanzania.

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