

出國報告（出國類別：進修）

行政院農業委員會農業菁英培訓計畫研究報告－農村永續發展策略之研究

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摘要

人口的老化與減少被許多國家視為是農村永續發展的嚴峻挑戰，該問題被認為是社會、經濟與政治層面的不平等所產生的結果，並進一步導致地方發展陷入惡性循環的困境。因此，對於公部門而言，如何支持農村地區解決所面臨之困境為一大挑戰。近年來，「社會創新(Social innovation)」的概念受到相當程度的關注，許多學者們紛紛呼籲應關注其在農村發展內的潛力，本研究計畫透過質化案例研究，以行動者網絡理論與行動者導向方法為理論架構，並藉由文獻回顧與深度訪談，探討臺灣 4 個農村發展實例，以揭示社會創新在農村振興中的潛力。

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一、計畫背景

人口的老化與減少被許多國家視為是農村永續發展的嚴峻挑戰(OECD, 2016)。臺灣自 1975 至 2018 年期間，農村人口出現急遽的減少，從一千萬人(約佔總人口的百分之六十)減少到五百萬人(佔總人口的百分之二十二)。該趨勢也被預估將持續下去，預期 2050 年臺灣農村人口將不足三百萬人，約占總人口的百分之十三(United Nations, 2018)。農村人口的流失被視為是社會、經濟與政治層面的不平等所產生的結果(Kühn, 2015)，此結果進一步導致地方發展陷入惡性循環的困境(Bock, 2016)。因此，對於公部門而言，如何支持農村地區解決所面臨之困境為一大挑戰。

近年來，「社會創新(Social innovation)」的概念受到相當程度的關注，作為解決社會不平等的機會，它的功能充分體現新內生農村發展(Neo-endogenous development)由下而上(Bottom-up)、集體行動(Collective action)及網絡連結(Networking)等核心價值，而它的出現也被視為是新內生農村發展成功的先決條件，許多學者們紛紛呼籲應關注其在農村發展內的潛力(Bock, 2016; Bosworth et al., 2016; Neumeier, 2012; 2017)。

社會創新可以被理解為「新的解決方式(商品、服務、模式、市場、過程等)，同時滿足社會需求(相較於已存在的解決方式更有效率)，導向新的或改善的能力及關係，以及對於資源及資產的更加運用。換言之，社會創新不僅僅對社會好，同時也增強了社會應對挑戰的能力(The Young Foundation, 2012:p. 18)」。這意味著農村社會創新的出現，亦將面臨偏鄉地區長久發展的困境，即，越是偏鄉越有可能重現地方內部既存缺少社會資本的弱點，越需要外部由上而下或政策協助(Bock, 2016; Murdoch, 2000: p.416)；然而，越多的外部干預介入，卻將越影響地方核心精神與創新的進程(Copus et al., 2011; Pollermann et al., 2013; Dax et al., 2016)。因此，如何在政府農村政策干預中尋找平衡點，並將社會創新鑲入農村發展政策與計畫，以瞭解其在農村發展中的潛力，對於未來嚴峻的人口挑戰與農村的永續發展至關重要。

本研究計畫係屬質化案例研究，以揭示社會創新在農村振興中的潛力。本研究藉由行動者(Actor)的角度，探討臺灣4個農村發展實例，其中，2個案例為社區驅動型農村實踐，另2個為外部支持型農村實踐。期藉由釐清農村社會創新的出現機制、各行動者的角色與不同型態農村社會創新之促進方法的分析優缺點及差異比較，歸納出以社會創新為架構鑲入農村永續發展之建議。

一、 農村發展的典範轉移

「農村該如何發展？」對於許多學研究者來說，是一個被長期頻繁探討的問題，農村發展是基於改善農村人們的生活品質所驅動，因此，它具有與所有農村人類資源相關之多層面的影響，包含了農業的發展、環境與社會經濟(Moseley, 2003)。文獻中，許多的研究揭露農村發展的典範轉移，從早期由上而下外生發展到由下而上內生方式(Van der Ploeg, 2000; Wood, 2005)，到更近期結合內外生發展優勢的新內生發展(Ward et al., 2005; Ray, 2006; Bosworth et al., 2016b; Gkartzios & Lowe, 2019)。

早期的外生發展模式將農村地區視為是都市地區的延伸(Lowe et al., 1998)。外生模式的決策過程主要是由政府外部驅動，這樣的方式反映政府試圖透過基礎建設或工作機會的直接投資以現代化農村地區(Wood, 2005)。然而，外生模式常被批評其對於外部資源的高度依賴性，導致具依賴的、扭曲的、破壞性的和指定的等不永續的發展特徵。這些批評最終引導至內生發展模式的出現，該模式視地方為首要，並強調區域發展，探索地方資源及培育地方民眾對於能力建立及克服社會排除(Lowe et al., 1995; Ray, 2006)。這樣的模式轉換被視為是由農村實務經驗所驅動，如歐盟的 LEADER (Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale)計畫(Lowe et al., 1995; Van der Ploeg, 2000)。

然而，在許多 LEADER 的實際案例，學者們批判著對於外生與內生模式的二元對立，並強調就地方現實來說外部力量的影響是無法忽視的。Ray (2001, 2006)提出了新內生發展模式，以跨越內生與外生發展模式的限制。該模式透過促進地方與地方外的連結，藉由跨部門網絡。作為一個整體的方法，新內生發展以最大化地方資源的價值與強化地方競爭力，甚至藉由地方行動者與外部影響之網絡連

結促進創新(Gkartzios and Lowe, 2019; Lowe et al., 2019)。因此，新內生發展結合了早期外生與內生之優點，型塑並影響近期農村政策、計畫設計與執行(Gkartzios & Lowe, 2019)。

然而，新內生發展模式主要在兩部分被批評：其一，該模式的成功恐難在邊緣化嚴重的農村地區發生，因為缺乏建構內外部網絡連結的能力，這樣的缺乏意味著既存的弱點將重複地被產生(Bock, 2016; Murdoch, 2000: p.416)；其二，外部支援所帶來的官僚制度與由上而下的政策干預對於社區行動的核心精神與創新的過程恐產生負面影響(Copus et al., 2011; Pollermann et al., 2013; Dax et al., 2016)。這兩部分的批評揭露了新內生發展模式面對農村邊緣化的關鍵瓶頸，即越邊緣化的農村地區，越多的外部支持與由上而下的政策干預需求；然而，越多的這些需求被滿足，越多外部影響產生，導致潛在地阻礙了社區驅動創新的過程。

對於邊緣化農村地區，Bock (2016)提出了「重新連結方法(nexogenous approach)」，該方法根本上基於社會創新的功能。該方法強調重新連結與建構跨越地理邊界與農村空間的社會政治連結，而非完全專注於區域發展。這意味著外部資源的潛力不在被區域概念所限制，而是在跨越空間的某處，內生力量與外部資源對於促進社會創新相吻合。然而，對於前開討論新內生發展的瓶頸仍然是個疑問，型塑社會創新中內部力量與外部影響之張力，以及社會創新對於農村發展的貢獻之潛力仍然需要更多的實證研究去釐清(Bosworth et al., 2016a; Bock, 2016; Neumeier, 2017)。

二、定義農村發展中的社會創新

「社會創新」一詞被廣泛運用在政策、學術及實務上，並與許多專業，如規劃、地理、區域經濟與管理等有關(Moulaert et al., 2013; Neumeier, 2012)。許多的學者提出了該詞在定義上難以說服其他人具有共同定義的困境(Pol and Ville, 2009; Bock, 2012; Neumeier, 2012; TEPSIE, 2014)。為了讓定義社會創新有一個共同的基礎，Pole and Ville (2009) 指出社會創新是「增進人類福祉之新的想法」(p. 4)。換言之，以追求更好的生活品質上，社會創新與農村發展在根本上具有相同的願景。

從農村發展的角度，Neumeier (2012)透過跨領域的文獻回顧，試圖釐清社會

創新與其在農村發展所扮演的角色。他定義社會創新為「一群人在加入一具有共同利益，且與群體的經驗水準有關的網絡，產生新的或改進的群體內外的合作行動，從而產生群體的態度、行為與觀點的改變」(p.55)。從他的觀點，社會創新存在於創新的過程(innovation process)，以及它最終的產出不僅只有新的合作型態與社會關係，並包括了行動者們在態度、行為及觀點等無形的產出。

不同於 Neumeier 試圖給社會創新一個共通的定義，Bock(2012)認為社會創新應考量個案並基於其基本特徵與解釋去定義(p.62)，因此，她以一個較廣闊的視角提出社會創新具備的三個解釋面向。其一，「創新的社會機制」，強調社會關係、實踐與價值的創新；其二，「創新的社會責任」，聚焦於滿足某種社會需求；其三，「社會的創新(innovation of society)」，其目的在追求一個更好更平等的社會，如社會包容與正義。這三大解釋面向意味著社會創新的三大核心價值，即創新的過程、社會的變遷及社會責任。

從歐洲政策的角度，The Young Foundation (2012)定義社會創新為「新的解決方法(商品、服務、模式、市場、流程等)，同時滿足社會需求(相較於既有的方法更有效率)，並且產生新的或改進的能力與關係、更佳的運用資產與資源。換言之，社會創新不僅對社會是好的，更強化了社會行動的能力。」(p.18) 這個定義在社會創核心特徵上與 Neumeier 及 Bock 的觀點重合，然而它提供了一個清楚的視野說明社會創新試圖透過建立新的社會關係與合作，以及培力(Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2005; Howaldt and Schwarz, 2010; Neumeier, 2012)。

綜上所述，我們可以總結社會創新對永續社會利益上，具有提供非物質的與無形的好處，這也是社會創新重要且獨特於其他創新形式的地方((Howaldt and Schwarz, 2010, p. 21; Neumeier, 2012))。本研究透過上述討論所提之核心特徵釐清社會創新，包括(1)社會創新的產出代表著新的方法；(2)社會創新致力於滿足社會需求；(3)社會創新動員利害關係人去實踐集體行動，以及(4)社會創新的結果產生在一個新形態的公民行動與社會關係中。

三、 理論架構

本研究以行動者(Actor)的觀點出發，進行案例發展的研究，並試圖涵蓋社會

學知識論(epistemology)中具代表性的建構主義(constructivism)與社會建構主義(social constructionism)之觀點下的行動者理論，包括行動者網絡理論與行動者導向理論：

(一) 行動者網絡理論(Actor-network theory, ANT)

行動者網絡理論(ANT)是由社會學家 Bruno Latour Michel Callon 與 John Law 在 1980 年代初期所發展，廣義來說，ANT 採取建構主義方法透過連結人類與非人類的異質網絡去描述社會與自然世界(Callon, 1990; Law, 1992)。異質網絡的概念意味著「事物」與「人」在 ANT 裡是平等的，這拒絕了傳統的社會與物質世界二元論(Latour, 1996; Murdoch, 2000; Long, 2001)。ANT 同時也不具備本體論的假設(ontological assumptions)(Bueger & Stockbruegger, 2017)，並視社會力量是人類與非人類行動者互動的結果(Long, 2001; Latour, 2005)。在這背景下，ANT 強調描述社會活動而非解釋他們 (Latour, 2005)。

轉譯(translation)是 ANT 的關鍵過程，能將有關的行動者從真實世界轉換到行動者網絡(Callon 1986, Latour, 1987)。本研究採 Callon (1986)提出的四個轉譯時刻作為 ANT 的分析架構，其中包含(1)問題化(Problematisation)：一個試圖定義各行動者針對一個共同問題或目標的動態過程，在這個時刻強制通行點(obligatory passage point, OPP)是關鍵，迫使所有相關行動者會急於某個目標；(2)利害關係化(Interessement)：試圖解釋各連結的群體行動以穩定其他行動者與盟友鎖定在網絡上(Callon, 1986, p. 203)；(3)徵招(Enrollment)：為一個提供各行動者間的角色與合作之一系列具體論述與解釋；(4)動員(Mobilisation)：一個確認各代言人具代表性的過程。最後，再轉譯過後，所有行動者連結在一異質網絡代表著某個凍結時刻之社會與自然的情況(Latour, 1987; Callon, 1990; Tsohou et al., 2012)。分析架構如圖 1 所示：

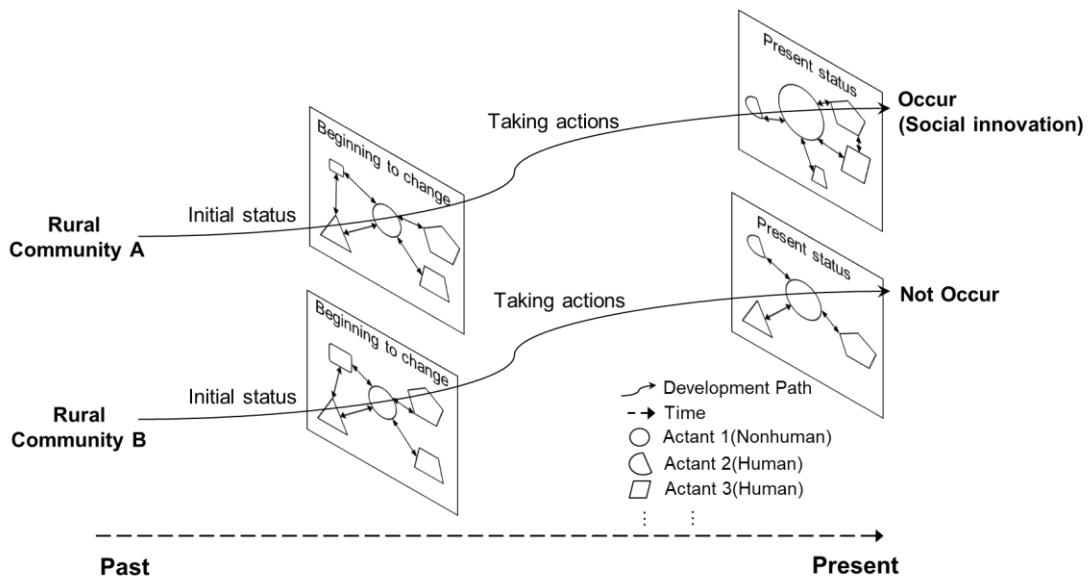


圖 1. 本研究採行動者網絡理論進行個案分析之分析架構(圖片引用自 Chen et al., 2022 Fig.1)

(二) 行動者導向方法(Actor-oriented approach)

行動者導向方法源自於 1990 年代蓬勃發展的發展研究領域(development studies)(Booth, 1994; Preston, 1996)。由農村社會學家 Norman Long 所提出，採用社會建構主義的觀點，行動者導向方法聚焦於不同的社會行動者間互動與他們解決特定問題的可行性或有效性，以及更廣泛的社會影響的策略、意向與條件的探討。其中三個核心元素為(1)代理(agency)：這裡的概念側重於人類方面，指的是「與影響或塑造自己和他人的行為和解釋的行為（和反思）相關的知識、能力和社會嵌入性 (p.240) 」；(2) 社會行動者(social actors)：為主要的行動者，可以是個人、組織或群體等；(3)介面分析(interface analysis)：為透過一個社會介面分析社會行動者，可以被定義為「生活世界、社會領域或社會組織層次之間的關鍵交叉點，基於價值觀、利益、知識和權力的差異，最有可能出現社會不連續性(p.243)。」

本研究採用以行動者導向方法為基礎之「地方集體學習創新架構(place-based joint learning and innovation framework)」進行分析。該架構提供了一個對於農村集體學習的整體的觀點，透過分析操作介面與合作的時刻去連結三個不同的社會空間領域，包括農村、政府部門與知識支持架構以分析集體學習的過程(Wellbrock,

2013)。如圖 2 所示：

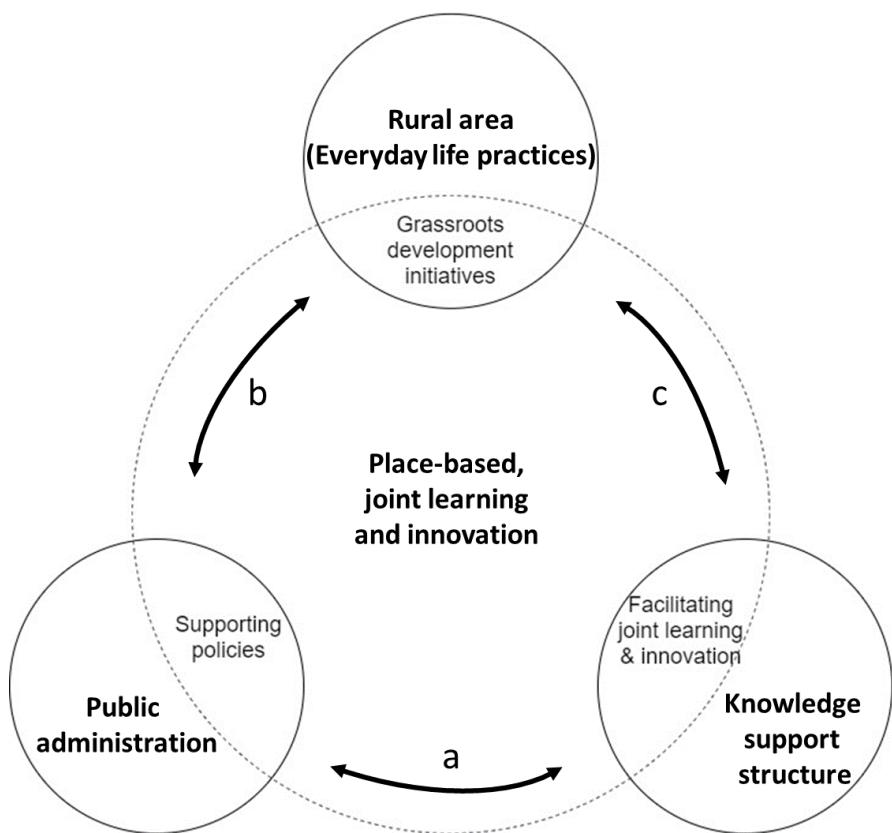


圖 2. 地方集體學習創新架構之分析架構(引用自 Wellbrock, 2013: p. 143)

二、研究方法

本研究針對四個農村再生相關計畫的案例進行質化個案研究，其中共榮社區與埤前社區透過行動者網絡理論進行案例分析、藺子與梨理人則透過行動者導向方法進行個案探討。資料蒐集部分透過田野調查與深度訪談方式進行資料蒐集，並透過 NVIVO 軟體進行資料編碼處理與分析。田野調查共分為兩階段，第一個階段於 2019 年 8 月針對新北市三芝區共榮社區與嘉義縣義竹鄉埤前社區進行訪談，共計訪談 22 人。第二階段於 2021 年 2 月針對藺子與梨理人所帶動的社區產業進行訪談，共計 20 人。

表一、共榮與埤前案例之訪談人數

訪談者角色						總計
地方組織	水土保持局/	地方政府	輔導團隊	其它在地組織		

	台北/ 南投分 局					
共榮	5	2	-	-	5	12
埤前	4	2	1	2	1	10
Total						22

表二、蘭子與梨理人案例之訪談人數

	訪談者角色				總 計
	苑裡/仁里 居民	水土保持局	水土保持局 台中分局	學生/員工	
蘭子	4	2	2	3	11
梨理人	4	2	2	1	9
Total					20

四、重要結論與成果

(一) 重要結論：

- 農村社會創新可能是非意圖性的結果，內部的行動者與其追求社會的創新，他們更傾向解決實際且有形的問題，這與文獻中強調社會創新的無形產出有所衝突。儘管如此，核心幹部以及規律地學習討論的空間與機制對於社會創新的產生至關重要。
- 外部行動者往往能帶來新的觀點，協助內部行動者以不同的方式看待問題。然而，外部行動者將面對溝通上的挑戰與困難，如何克服外來者所帶來的鴻溝，為外部支持所驅動之社會創新成功的關鍵。外部行動者可作為農村協助者有效發揮，充分來自於地方與公部門的協助是需要的，並作為自身成長的養分以克服所面臨之挑戰。
- 社區驅動型社會創新與外部支持驅動型社會創新是一體兩面的，前者更為地方問題導向，以及涉及地方行動者的參與；而後者則較為議題導向，專注於目標問題，而參與之行動者則無地理邊界之限制。
- 社會創新呼應為跨越新內生發展而生的「重新連結方法(Nexogenous

approach)」，該方法不保證農村社會創新的成功，然而它提供給公部門一個參與的機會，公部門的角色對於農村地區不再是純粹的夥伴或贊助角色，他們可以做為一座橋梁跨越地理邊界連結某處的潛在夥伴。

5. 社會創新在農村振興中的潛力可以被總結為四大特點，它的產出具永續價值、它的出現是不確定的、它受到農村現實的挑戰，以及它的機會在於外部連結。如果未來人口的減少與農村的凋零是不可避免的，如何在這樣的現實影響下生存與適應是關鍵；換言之，社會創新貢獻於未來的農村發展，並非在於消除農村邊緣化的原因，而是提供了一個方式去適應它所造成的影響—這意味著，未來的農村，也許不會有太多的人口，然而他們具有較佳的組織運作能力—不論是倡議者、行動者或是外部夥伴，以及他們的連結將驅動於解決共同的社會問題的需求—跨越了邊界限制。

(二) 其他重要成果

本研究於德國第六十屆 GEWISOLA 研討會「農村發展的挑戰-基於經濟與社會科學視角」完成 1 篇學術發表，另有 1 篇學術文章發表於國際期刊「農村研究 (Journal of Rural Studies)(SSCI)」。如下：

- Chen, H., Knierim, A., 2020. Unravelling processes of Social innovation in rural areas: a comparative case study based on actor-network perspective 60 Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften des Landbaues (GeWiSoLa), online, 23-25 September 2020 (Oral presentation and paper contribution)
- Chen, H.; Knierim, A.; Bock, B.B. The emergence of social innovation in rural revitalisation practices: A comparative case study from Taiwan. Journal of Rural Studies. 2022, 90, 134 – 146. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.02.003>

五、 心得與建議

非常感謝農委會農業菁英培訓計畫與水土保持局各長官的支持，讓本人能有這樣的機會在德國進行學術研究，從中學習到德國人對於學術嚴謹的態度與對於永續發展議題如環保、減碳、生態、糧食安全與動物道德等議題，以及對於團隊合作的重視，這些理念也將成為未來本人在公務或學術上的核心價值。

臺灣農村的未來充滿挑戰，根據人口統計預測，未來農村人口的減少與凋零

是不可避免的，而其原因為大環境下的社會經濟政治不平等所導致的結果，並非單一地方倡議所能逆轉的結果(Kühn, 2015；Bock, 2016)，地方如何在這樣的現實影響下生存與適應是關鍵；進言之，現行農村政策又或是地方創生，不該著重於以消除農村邊緣化的原因(如人口逆轉)為目的，而應以協助偏鄉地區去適應與度過邊緣化所造成的影響，才能更務實協助地方因應鄉村凋零的困境。公部門應積極扮演橋樑的角色連結地方行動者與潛在外部夥伴，同時提供外部行動者適當的支持連結地方。具有「可被達成的共同目標」對於農村地區社會創新至關重要，公部門可藉由競賽型的計畫作為政策介入工具，以引動農村社區內部參與。教育或學習型的計畫應受到更多的關注，以建立社區自我學習機制。

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七、附加圖表：

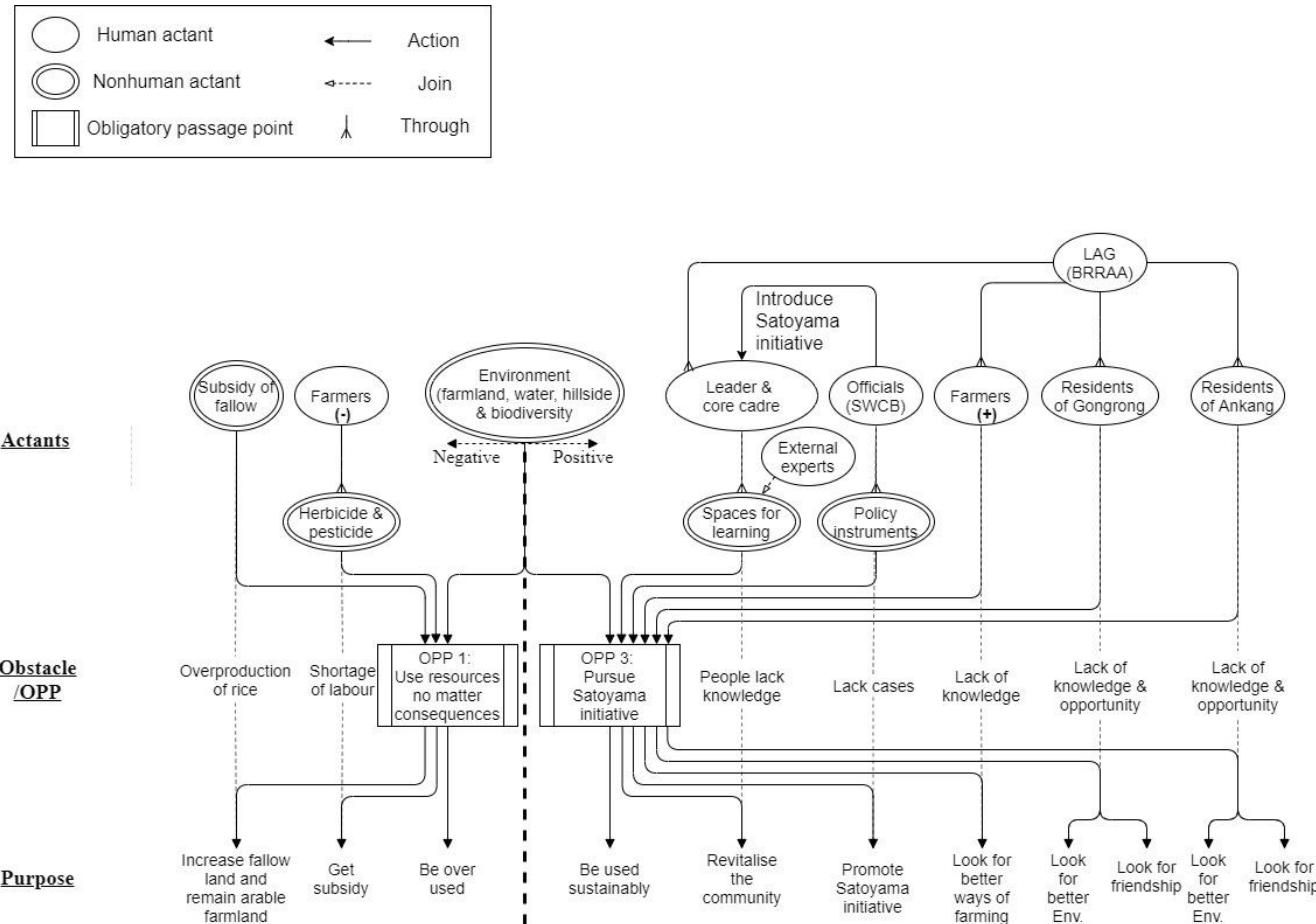


圖 3. 共榮社區行動者網絡(轉變開始) (圖片引用自 Chen et al., 2022)

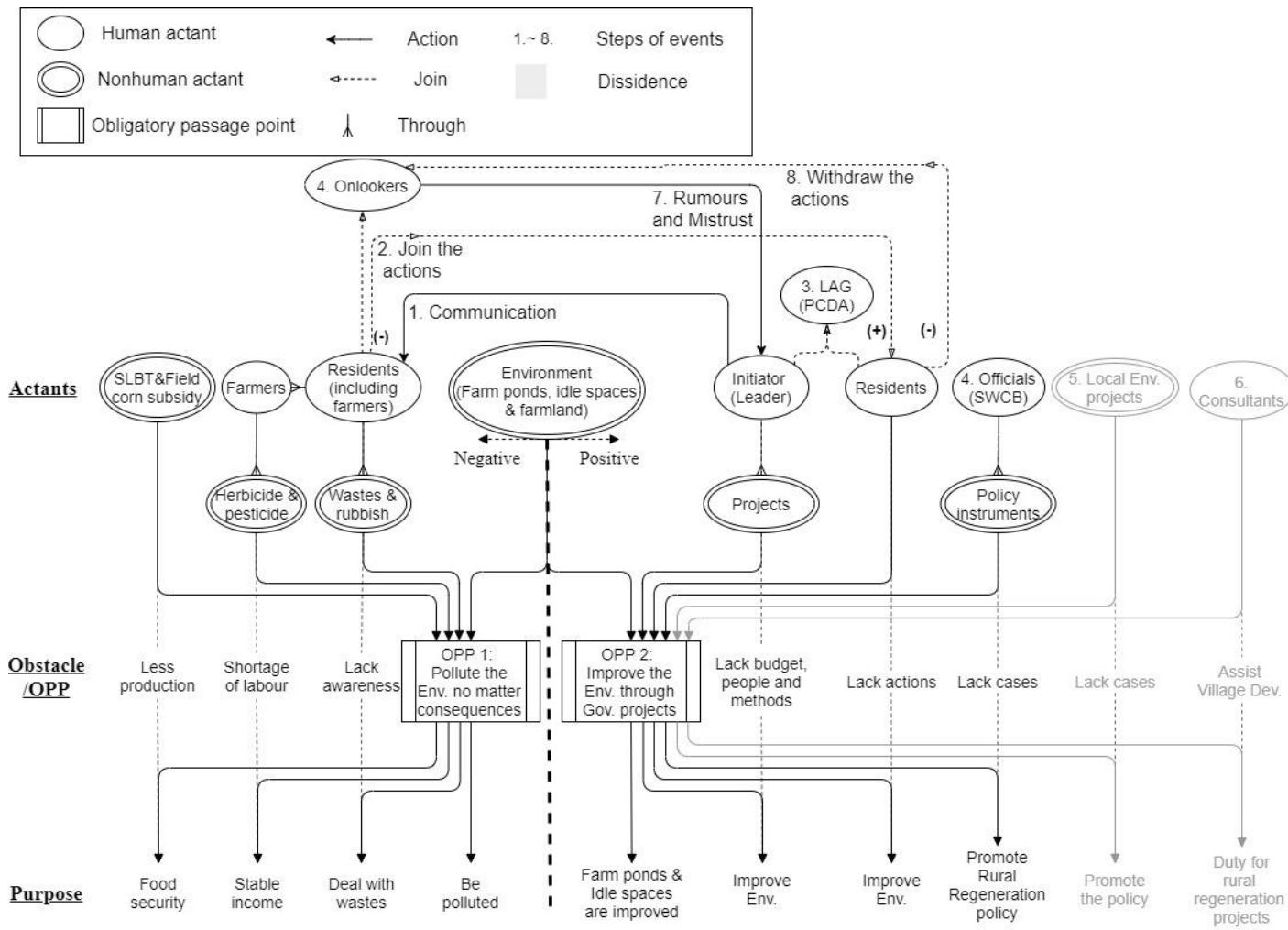


圖 4. 墾前社區行動者網絡(轉變開始) (圖片引用自 Chen et al., 2022)

表 3. 共榮社區行動者網絡轉變彙整(表引用自 Chen et al., 2022)

Time phase	Initial status	Beginning to change	Taking actions	Present status
Events	Policy-driven fallow subsidy Hillside development projects Herbicide overuse on landscape	Protest for selling water resources Increasing number of participants in the training course (from 6 in 2005 to more than 100 in 2010) Regular Friday meetings since 2011	Self-organised patrol Eco-friendly farmland area increased from 1.3 to 32 ha (2011-2018) Brought back once-vanishing biodiversity	Yearly Satoyama Festival An example of the International Partnership for the Satoyama Initiative (IPSI)
Actants	Actants-OPP 1: Nonhuman: the environment (hillside, farmlands, water resources, and biodiversity), fallow subsidy, herbicide, and development projects. Human: farmers (non-eco) & politicians	Actants-OPP 1: Nonhuman: the environment, fallow subsidy, herbicide, and development projects. Human: farmers (non-eco) Actants-OPP 2: Nonhuman: the environment, spaces for learning, and policy instruments Human: Initiator & initial group, SWCB officials, eco-farmers, residents of Gongrong, and residents of Ankang	Actants-OPP 1: Nonhuman: the environment, fallow subsidy, herbicide, and development projects. Human: farmers (non-eco) (-) Actants-OPP 2: Nonhuman: the environment, spaces for learning, and policy instruments Human: Leader & core cadre, SWCB officials, eco-farmers (+), residents of Gongrong, and residents of Ankang	Actants-OPP 1: as on the left Actants-OPP 2: Nonhuman: the environment, spaces for learning, and policy instruments Human: Leader & core cadre, SWCB officials, eco-farmers (+), residents of Gongrong, and residents of Ankang
OPP	OPP 1: actants believe that the benefits from overusing resources are more important than the effects	OPP 1: as on the left OPP 2: actants believe that the environment can be restored through education.	as on the left	OPP 1: as on the left OPP 2: actants believe that pursuing the Satoyama initiative is their common goal

表 4. 埤前社區行動者網絡轉變彙整(表引用自 Chen et al., 2022)

Time phase	Initial status	Beginning to change	Taking actions	Present status
Events	Policy-driven subsidy (SLBT & field corn) Filthy farm ponds and spaces	LAG was established in 2007 Rumours	16 completed projects that improved farm ponds & idle spaces, Lack of a core cadre and people, Rumours	Stopped acting in 2016 Rumours
Actants	Actants-OPP 1: Nonhuman: the environment (farm ponds, farmlands, and idle spaces), SLBT & field corn subsidy, herbicides & pesticides, and waste & rubbish. Human: residents & farmers (non-eco)	Actants-OPP 1: Nonhuman: the environment (farm ponds, farmlands, and idle spaces), SLBT & field corn subsidy, herbicides & pesticides, and waste & rubbish. Human: residents & farmers (non-eco) Actants-OPP 2: Nonhuman: the environment (farm ponds & idle spaces), projects, local environmental projects, and policy instruments Human: leader, residents, SWCB officials & consultants	as the left	Actants-OPP 1: as on the left Actants-OPP 2: Nonhuman: the environment (farm ponds & idle spaces), projects, and policy instruments Human: leader, residents (-), and SWCB officials
OPP	OPP 1: actants believe that they can benefit and reach their interests by polluting the environment regardless of the consequences	OPP 1: as on the left OPP 2: actants believe they can benefit and reach their interests by improving the environment through government projects	as on the left	OPP 1: as on the left OPP 2: actants believe that maintaining the environment and waiting for people to change are their common goals

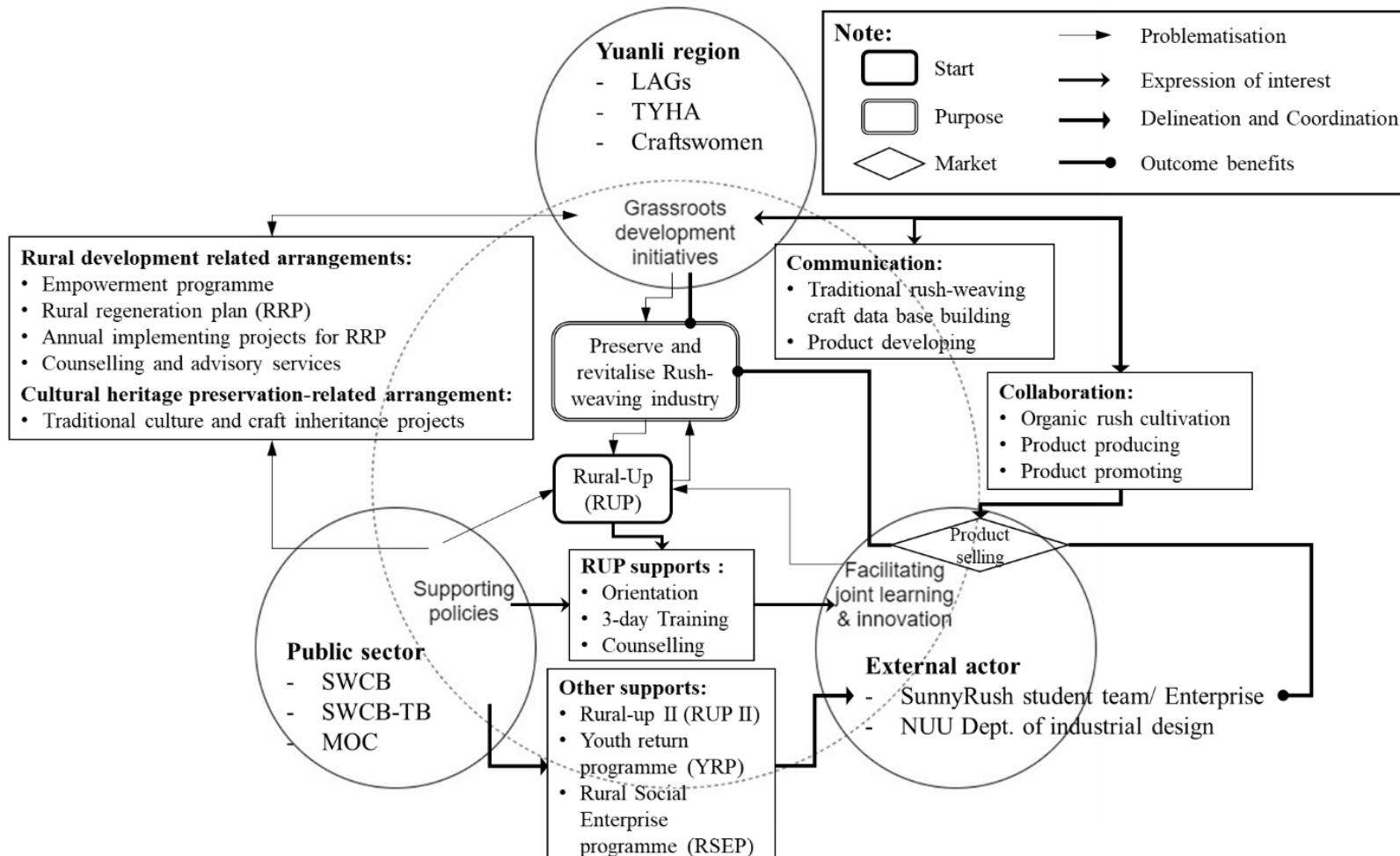


圖 5. 蘭子案例界面分析

表 5. 蘭子案例界面分析與社會創新關聯彙整

Processes of SI Interconnections of the operational interfaces	Rural Areas & Public Administration	Public Administration & Knowledge support structure	Knowledge support structure & Rural Areas	Convergence
Problematisation	RDPs (Annual Projects support and consultant)	RUP (Online recruitment, Programme orientation, 3-day training workshop)	NUU team (Prof. Yang) SunnyRush team for RUP	RUP (first talk among students, locals and officials)
Expression of interest	as the above	-	Implementing RUP (2 months in rural areas) MUJI Bronze medal	-
Delineation and coordination	as the above	RUP II YRP RSEP	Ran SunnyRush Company and found other craftswomen in Yuanli: *Aim for taking care of craftswomen and culture preservation *Technics preservation *Collaboration with other craftswomen *Products developing and producing *Marketing and selling *43 craftswomen following *Income increasing *New type of networking and collaboration	-

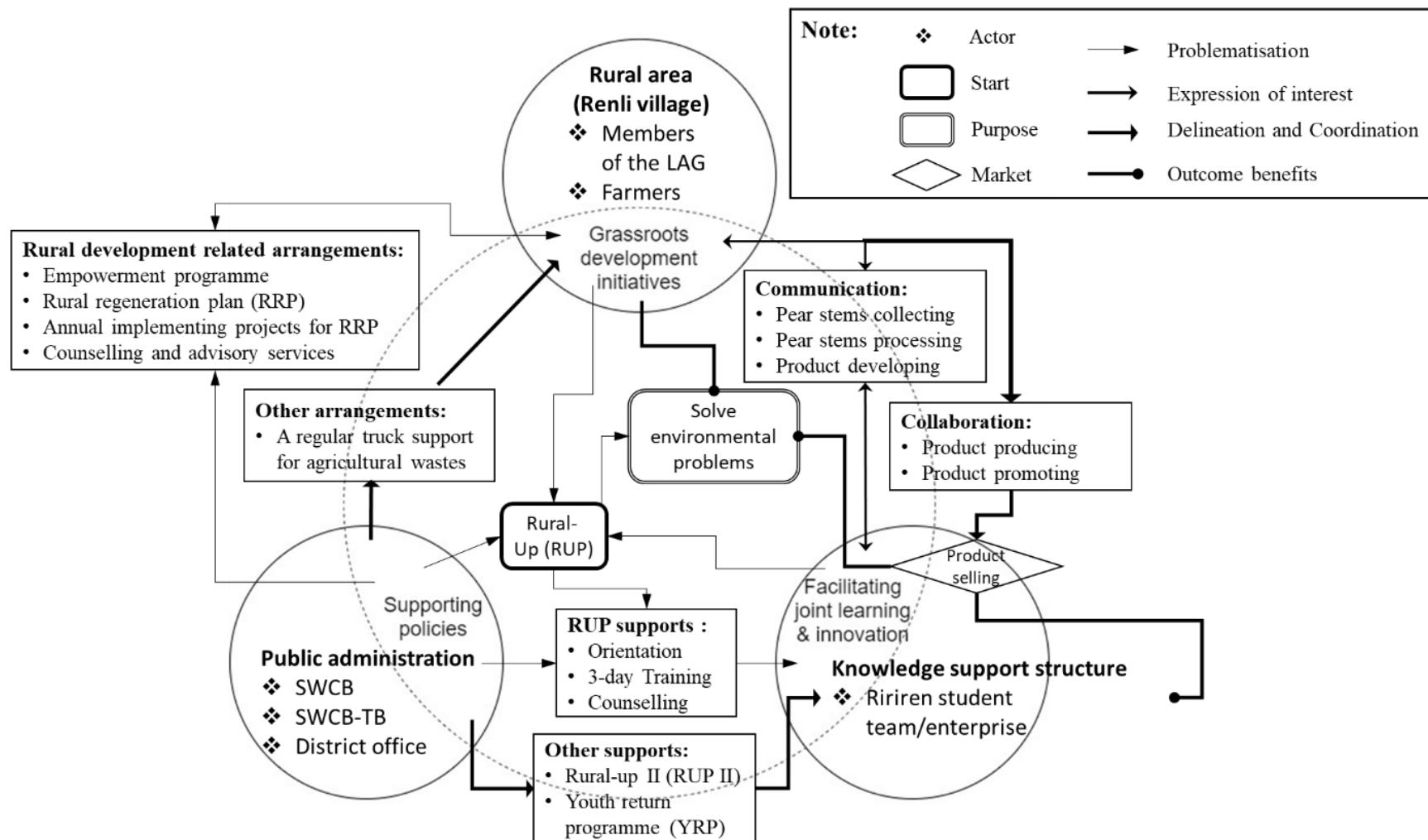


圖 6. 梨理人案例界面分析

表 6. 梨裡人案例界面分析與社會創新關聯彙整

Processes of SI Interconnections of the operational interfaces	Rural Areas & Public Administration	Public Administration & Knowledge support structure	Knowledge support structure & Rural Areas	Convergence
Problematisation	RDPs (Annual Projects support and consultant)	RUP (Online recruitment, Programme orientation, 3-day training workshop)	NUU team (Prof. Yang) SunnyRush team for RUP	RUP (first talk among students, locals and officials)
Expression of interest	as the above	-	Implementing RUP (2 months in rural areas) MUJI Bronze medal	-
Delineation and coordination	as the above	RUP II YRP RSEP	Ran SunnyRush Company and found other craftswomen in Yuanli: *Aim for taking care of craftswomen and culture preservation *Technics preservation *Collaboration with other craftswomen *Products developing and producing *Marketing and selling *43 craftswomen following *Income increasing *New type of networking and collaboration	-

