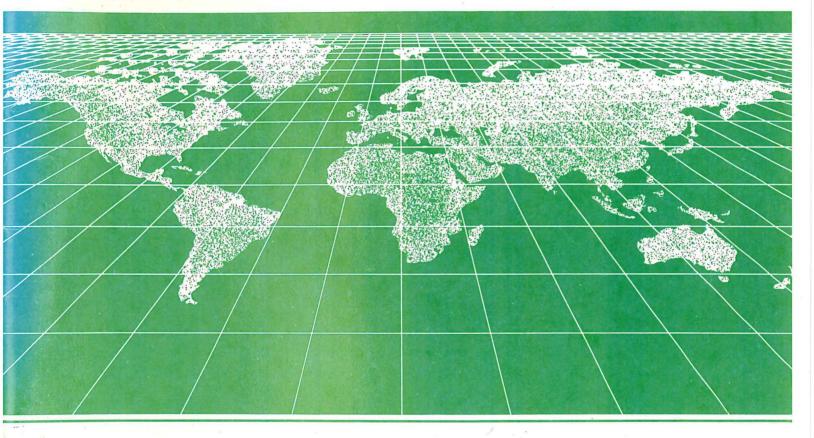


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The Forum

Interest in Rural Racial and Ethnic Minorities

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EDITORS INTRODUCTION

The Forum section for this issue, on race and ethnic relations, has been "in the works" for many months. The topic is particularly appropriate following the recent RSS meetings and the growing public concern over problems associated with racial and ethnic tension. Each of the forum papers offers a timely yet considered response to both phenomena.

The discussion in The Forum is practical and challenging; and its success is due to the hard work of Bill Kuvlesky. Bill suggested the idea for the topic and accepted our invitation to serve as guest editor. In this role he recruited authors, collected manuscripts, negotiated textual changes and delivered the package to us in a timely manner. (Perhaps only past and present journal editors can appreciate the kind and quality of work this entails). We thank you, Bill, for your commitment to see this issue through. We hope it is widely read, and that it will serve to stimulate further interest and research among society members.

This issue also contains news of importance to the Society, as well as two papers in the "Sociological Imagination" section. The first, by Dishongh and Worthen discusses soil conservation service policy research needs concerning limited resource farmers. The second, by Shultz and Regan describes computer software packages designed to analyze and map various kinds of demographic data of importance to rural sociologists.

The editors appreciate and encourage your contributions and suggestions to the journal. We look forward to the Spring issue, which features several papers on the topic of rural development, with Ken Wilkinson serving as guest editor of The Forum.

COPIES OF LOWRY NELSON'S MEMOIRS AVAILABLE

Lowry Nelson was one of the founding members of the Rural Sociological Society, and served as one of the Society's earliest presidents. The family of Lowry Nelson has donated the last few dozen copies of his memoirs, *In The Direction of His Dreams* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1985) to Utah State University to help generate funds for the Lowry and Florence Nelson Fellowship, which provides financial support for graduate students involved in rural community studies at USU. Copies of this hardbound volume are available, as long as the supply lasts, at a cost of \$16.75, including postage and handling. Orders may be sent to:

> Lowry and Florence Nelson Fellowship Fund Mountain West Center for Regional Studies Utah State University Logan, Utah 84322-0735

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The Forum: The strength of any discipline is in its ability to critically examine the basic premises and assumptions that underlie the discipline and its sub units. Debate is a scholarly activity that is seldom a part of social science journals. The Forum is a continuing feature for encouraging debates of topics relevant to rural sociologists. We welcome and encourage your comments on this issue or other topics you would like to see discussed.

INTEREST IN RURAL RACIAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

WILLIAM P. KUVLESKY, Guest Editor*

Less than three years ago I decided to attempt to change what I perceived to be increasing neglect on rural ethnic minorities among rural sociologists. There is no question that interest in this substantive problem area was on the wane as indicated by some observations about RSS affairs. At the 1988 meetings in Athens, Georgia there was only one paper or panel session, out of about 85, that included explicitly the mention of "race", "ethnic" or made reference to a particular U.S. ethnic group. A look at the membership of the RSS indicates that miniscule proportions were ethnic minority members (Willits and Ghelfi, 1988). How many rural sociologists who are also Chicano, American Indian or African American do you know?

I tried very hard at the 1988 meeting to recruit RSS members to work with me in building a formally organized interest group of colleagues having a primary interest in the problems and needs of rural ethnic minorities. I was discouraged at the general lack of interest of my RSS colleagues at the meetings. I recruited my good friend and colleague Clark Knowlton to work with me to increase the visibility of the substantive area of race and ethnic studies at the 1989 meetings in Seattle. Through these efforts we did increase presentations on the program and, in the process, developed a network of over 20 people interested in forming an RSS interest group. With generous support from the RSS Council, who approved our request to form a recognized interest group as part of the RSS, we had a base to build on. A crucial opportunity for growth was again provided by the RSS when Rex Campbell invited us to announce our formation of an interest group in the Summer 1989 issue of TRS (32-34). Gene Summers' selection of "Rural Minorities" as the theme for the 1990 meetings in Norfolk, Virginia was a fortunate coincidence which gave us a once in a lifetime opportunity to build the interest group. Working closely with Jess Gilbert, Program Chair of the 1990 RSS meetings, we were able to assist him in organizing 16 sessions, which included some 50 papers on the subject of rural ethnic minorities. As of now we have 53 members in the interest group, and I think we have become a positive force in expanding RSS membership.

Gene Summers' initiatives, coupled with our organization effort, should provide for an exciting future for those of us in the RSS interested in research and action programs aimed at the problems and needs of ethnic minorities. In addition to this special issue of TRS, the editors of *Rural Sociology* are organizing a special issue on rural minorities. And Tom Durant (LSU) is back in the RSS; he's organizing on the behalf of the interest group, a monograph on the subject of rural ethnic minorities. The US as a total

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^{*}Department of Sociology, Texas A&M University.

society and rural America in particular, are no doubt experiencing a social and economic regression; however, the RSS is definitely moving forward and broadening its base of membership.

This special issue consists of volunteered pieces from four members of the RSS having a primary interest in research and policy related to problems of racial and ethnic minorities in our society. The foci of these pieces are fairly diverse. Tom Durant (LSU) and Rogelio Saenz (Texas A&M) give their views on minority involvement, or lack of involvement, in the RSS and the subdiscipline of rural sociology. They offer specific suggestions on how to change the present situation of the underrepresentation of Afro-Americans and Mexican-Americans. Matthew Snipp (University of Wisconsin) takes this opportunity to inform rural sociologists of current intergroup problems facing American Indians and provides suggestions of how rural sociologists can provide assistance. A long-term member of RSS and a civil rights activist, Bill Payne of the Office of Advocacy and Enterprise, USDA, shares with us some observations of institutional discrimination that need to be addressed. I find these statements provocative and challenging. My hope is that they will stimulate responses from you. Do you disagree with some proposition or assertion made by them? Do you have relevant experiences or additional suggestions you would like to share? Help get some dialogue flowing by sending in a statement to *TRS*.

If you are interested in joining the Rural Racial and Ethnic Minorities Interest Group, let me know. Also, I am working on an annotated bibliography of current research reports by rural sociologists relevant to our interests. Please send me any papers, reports, or articles you would like to see included.

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RURAL ETHNIC MINORITIES: An Endangered Species

THOMAS J. DURANT, JR.*

It has been 58 years since Aldous Huxley wrote *Brave New World*, a prophetic and provocative essay that stirred much alarm about the future of the world. Huxley's prophesy was that we will be overwhelmed by the onslaught of advanced technology that will create new "species" and endangered "species." As we move into the 21st century we must address critical questions implied by Huxley, such as: Are rural sociologists becoming an endangered species? If so, then why?

Eighty-three years ago Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois (1907), in a collective work entitled, The Negro In The South, assessed the economic progress of "Negroes" in the South. Fifty six years ago Charles S. Johnson, (1934) in his book entitled, Shadow of the Plantation, examined the institutional status of "Negro peasants" of the southern plantation. An alarming fact is that the relative status of rural African Americans has not improved much since the days of Washington, DuBois and Johnson. In the wider scope, the decline of blacks and other ethnic minorities in rural areas has left in its wake endangered ethnic species. As the "old" south became aroused by labels such as emerging, rising, awakened, fighting, changing, enduring, persistent, and violent, the status of rural ethnic minorities in the institutional structures of the "new" south begs attention from social science researchers. Will rural sociologists meet the challenge?

My prediction is that if appropriate and affirmative action is not taken, rural sociologists along with rural ethnic minorities, will become an endangered species in the Brave New World of the 21st century. One indication of this prophesv is that applied rural sociology has been abandoned while innovative and creative developments have lagged (Durant, 1981). Another indication is the underdevelopment of international rural development. Traditional and conventional wisdom must face the present reality that we live in a global world system. Other indications are that rural studies have declined in number; the study of rural poverty has waned; the family farm has been abandoned as an area of research; professional training of ethnic minority rural sociologists continues to be plagued by "scarce supply" syndrome; research support for 1890 historical African American universities continues to be a low priority among public and private funding agencies; research on rural ethnic minorities has been underrepresented and limited in scope to analyses of "race" as a variable as opposed to studies on "ethnicity" or "culture"; community studies have declined in number as well as popularity; and research on rural ethnic minorities has become an endangered phenomenon. As native Americans, Mexican Americans and African Americans in rural areas fade into the sunset of rural society (NACRP, 1967) and many emerge in depressed urban areas, there is a need for a new research agenda in this area. The question is why has research on rural ethnic minorities been neglected by rural sociologists and, how can this trend be reversed?

There is a need for self-renewal of the professional brain trust of the rural sociology subdiscipline. A ray of hope for the future appeared when the Rural Sociological Society selected the theme "Rural Minorities" for its 1990 Meeting in Norfolk, Virginia. Indeed, this was a bold step into the Brave New World of the 21st century. At

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^{*}Department of Sociology, Lousiana State University.

this meeting, 16 sessions and 50 papers included race and ethnicity, an increase of 460 percent over the previous year. And a minority travel fellowship funded by the Ford Foundation and sponsored by the RSS was largely responsible for one of the largest number of participants at RSS meetings in recent years. This stands as a testament to the fact that affirmative action leads to affirmative results.

However, a one shot approach is inadequate to reach the multiple and diverse targets of the 21st century. Where will rural sociologists and the RSS go from here? What should rural sociologists do to keep themselves from becoming an endangered species? What can rural sociologists do to prevent rural minorities from becoming an endangered species? These questions are inextricably interrelated because if we cannot renew our research thrust then our discipline will be threatened.

A broader agenda must be established which includes the following: (1) provide training for

more minority rural sociologists who have an interest in research on rural minorities: (2) provide graduate scholarships and fellowships for research on rural minorities; (3) support the development of rural research at historical African American universities: (4) develop a special issue of Rural Sociology with a focus on rural minorities; (5) publish an RSS monograph on critical research issues and problems among rural ethnic minorities; (6) sponsor research paper competition among professors and graduate students on rural minorities; (7) establish regional research studies on families, poverty, and cultural contributions of rural minorities; (8) obtain additional travel fellowships for minorities to attend annual RSS meetings; and (9) provide meaningful and active roles for minorities in the Rural Sociological Society.

If we can meet this challenge, then perhaps we can prevent rural ethnic minorities, as well as rural sociologists, from becoming an endangered species.

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WHY SO FEW CHICANO RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS?

ROGELIO SAENZ*

In recent years a number of efforts have been made within the Rural Sociological Society (RSS) to increase the visibility of studies focusing on rural minorities. Despite such efforts, however, there are still relatively few minority rural sociologists in the fields. Of the various minority groups, perhaps no other group is as sorely underrepresented in rural sociology as Chicanos or Mexican Americans. For example, the latest directory of the RSS shows that only 132 (1.2%) of the 1,035 members living in the U.S. are persons with a Spanish-surname (a crude measure which includes all Latinos regardless of ethnic background and citizenship status). Of these, I can only confirm that two are Chicanos.

This scarcity of Chicano rural sociologists, unfortunately, persists at a point in time when many rural communities in the Southwest, the region where Chicanos are predominantly located, are facing crucial problems related to their social and economic structures. While one may be tempted to dismiss the importance of Chicanos in rural settings because of the large presence of Chicanos in urban areas, there are noticeable pockets of Chicanos in rural areas of the Southwest. In addition, Chicanos have been traditionally more dependent on the agricultural sector of the economy than most other minority groups.

In this essay, I explore possible reasons for the absence of Chicanos in rural sociology. While the discussion focuses on sociologists, it has wider implications for other social scientists as well. The relative absence of Chicanos in the field in part reflects the small pool of Chicano PhD

*Department of Rural Sociology, Texas A&M University.

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sociologists in the discipline of Sociology as a whole. Yet, a critical mass of Chicano sociologists is emerging. The fact that Alfredo Mirande (1985) has called for the development of a paradigm for Chicano sociology clearly reflects the presence of Chicanos in the discipline. This is not the case in rural sociology and institutional and attitudinal factors have militated against the development of a critical mass of Chicano rural sociologists.

One of the major reasons for the relative absence of Chicano rural sociologists is that rural sociology has traditionally had little to offer Chicanos. In particular, the subject matter of rural sociology is not inviting for Chicano sociologists. The articles appearing in Rural Sociology serve as a good barometer of the subject matter of the discipline. A cursory examination of research published in Rural Sociology illustrates the marginal status of minorities as a subject matter within the discipline. The historical significance of this fact is clearly documented in the content analysis work of Christenson and Garkovich (1985) concerning the topics of articles published in Rural Sociology. My own perusal of articles appearing in the journal since 1980 reveals only a handful of articles dealing with minorities, regardless of subject matter (e.g., community development, demography, etc.). Out of 332 articles published in Rural Sociology between 1980 (vol. 45:1) and 1990 (vol. 55:3), only 24 dealt with minorities, with one-fourth of these appearing in the form of "research notes" or "brief articles." Of the 24 minority-related articles, only 7 focused on Chicanos or Latinos in general.

The composition of sessions at the RSS annual meetings further reflects the peripheral position of minorities in the subject matter of the discipline. One exception to this pattern was the last

annual meeting, held this past August in Norfolk, Virginia. This meeting, which had the theme of "Minorities in Rural Society," had a relatively large selection of sessions devoted to rural minorities and attracted a noticeable number of minority social scientists. Yet, the divergent pattern resulted because the meeting marked the 100th anniversary of the 1890 black land-grant institutions. The relative marginal status of minorities, and Chicanos in particular, within rural sociology does not help the case of attracting Chicano scholars into the discipline. In fact, the absence of Chicano social scientists within rural sociology today reflects the discipline's lack of effort to attract members of this ethnic group years ago.

Not surprisingly, there is an absence of a solid foundation supporting the development of Chicano rural sociologists. In particular, the institutions training Chicano rural sociologists, the Chicano trailblazers in rural sociology, and the network systems of Chicanos within rural sociology do not exist. This contrasts with the situation in sociology in which certain institutions have served as training grounds for Chicano graduate students. Certain Chicano scholars such as Julian Samora found a niche within the discipline as early as the 1950s, but a network of Chicano sociologists have little knowledge about rural sociology.

Given the absence of such a support system in rural sociology for Chicanos, the discipline has been unable to attract and retain Chicano sociologists. This situation has been exacerbated by the discipline's lack of initiative in creating measures in the past to increase the participation of Chicanos within the discipline. In fact, the few Chicano sociologists that have labelled themselves or have been labelled by others as "rural sociologists" have probably drifted into rural sociology through factors beyond voluntary choice. Without knowledge of what "rural sociology" is, some of these individuals have ended up as graduate students or faculty members in land-grant institutions with rural sociology programs. Through association, then, the Chicano sociologist is transformed into the Chicano "rural sociologist." In my own case, the label "rural sociologist" was initially pinned on

me after I chose my major professor, a rural sociologist, in graduate school at a land-grant institution. Not surprisingly, the absence of a firm, solid foundation to support the development of Chicano rural sociologists often results in Chicanos having only a fleeting encounter with rural sociology. Thus, as the Chicano "rural sociologist" completes his/her training or makes a job change away from a land-grant institution, the individual is likely to drift out of rural sociology.

The absence of a solid base for Chicano rural sociologists in the field has important implications for future generations. Indeed, the fact that there are few Chicano rural sociologists today suggests that in the future there are also likely to be relatively few Chicano rural sociologists. Chicano graduate students today find relatively few Chicano rural sociologists who can serve as mentors. As a result, because Chicano sociologists generally do not run in circles with rural sociology, the graduate students are likely to participate in networks in sociology, ethnic studies, or chicano studies.

Institutional factors have also played a part in the persistently low participation of Chicanos in rural sociology. For example, agricultural extension services and experiment stations located in land-grant institutions housing rural sociology have long exhibited a social-class bias with regard to their clientele. Despite their intended mission to serve the people of their particular state, agricultural extension services and experiment stations have generally not had the lower classes and minority groups, especially Latinos, among their clientele. Thus, Chicanos have generally not been exposed to the type of work rural sociologists and their applied-oriented colleagues carry out in agricultural extension services and experiment stations. Only recently, in the presence of ethnic demographic shifts, have these entities begun to slowly recognize that they have neglected Chicanos, the nation's fastest growing ethnic group. But such recognition has come about primarily because of the ethnic group's increasing political clout due to its growing numbers.

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In addition, in contrast to their African American counterpart, relatively few Chicano social scientists have received their training in land-grant institutions. While the number of African American rural sociologists is not unusually large, still the training and networking of these scholars have been greatly facilitated by the existence of the 1890 black land-grant institutions. The presence of such an institutional structure greatly facilitates the development of the support system needed to create a pipeline of young social scientists interested in matters related to rural minorities. In contrast, the Chicano community has not had any institutional structure that supported and fostered the development of Chicano social scientists. While some may argue that a number of colleges and universities in the Southwest whose student bodies consist primarily of Chicano students can be considered "Chicano institutions," it is clear that Anglos comprise the power structure of such institutions.

While the subject matter of rural sociology and institutional factors have at least partly hindered the development of a critical mass of Chicano rural sociologists, there are other factors which must be identified. As suggested earlier, many Chicano sociologists trained in institutions lacking rural sociology programs tend to have little, if any, information regarding rural sociology. In the absence of concrete knowledge regarding rural sociology, it is likely that Chicano sociologists invoke ideas about what the discipline is all about through the word "rural". Since the term "rural" in our urbanized society conjures a variety of negative connotations such as "backward," "naive", "unsophisticated," "hick", and "red-neck," some Chicano sociologists, like some of their counterparts in the discipline of sociology, may be indifferent or negative toward rural sociology. In addition, activist Chicano sociologists may also view rural sociology as conservative in nature, particularly since institutions employing rural sociologists have served farmers, owners of the means of production employing Chicano and Mexicano proletariat farm workers. Furthermore, like their colleagues in certain circles of sociology, some Chicano sociologists may view rural sociology as

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"second-rate" because of its historic applied emphasis.

In this essay, I have identified several factors that appear to be responsible for the relatively small number of Chicano rural sociologists. I contend that rural sociology has had relatively little to offer Chicano sociologists, as exemplified by the fact that the study of minorities, particularly Chicanos, has historically occupied a relatively small portion of the subject matter of rural sociology. At the same time, the discipline has done little to increase the participation of Chicanos in rural sociology. As a result, there has never been a solid, firm base for attracting and retaining Chicano social scientists in rural sociology. Furthermore, Chicano sociologists in general have little knowledge concerning rural sociology and the land-grant institutional structure that supports the field. In the absence of such knowledge, many Chicano sociologists rely on attitudes toward "ruralness" in defining what "rural sociology" is. The image arising from this is not always positive. Not surprising then, as a result of these factors, we find relatively few Chicano rural sociologists.

Will the number of Chicanos in rural sociology increase in the future? I am pessimistic that the presence of Chicanos within the discipline will grow significantly over time. Years of neglect of Chicanos by the discipline and the institutional structures supporting rural sociology have helped bring about the present situation. The increase of Chicanos in rural sociology would only occur in the presence of significant, perhaps paradigmatic, shifts within the field of rural sociology. In essence, rural sociology would have to undergo dramatic transformations regarding its subject matter, how the subject matter is studied, and the assumptions that are made in understanding the subject matter.

Furthermore, the current state of rural sociology does little to attract Chicano social scientists. Chicano social scientists are well aware of the uncertainty associated with obtaining degrees in areas that do not have a solid foundational base within the university structure. Indeed, more than one Chicano mentor has discouraged young Chicano social scientists from pursuing degrees

in "ethnic studies" or "Chicano studies" because of the uncertain status of such programs in the future. Ethnic studies and Chicano studies programs for the most part are not cemented into the core curriculum of most colleges and universities. Rural sociology, to a certain extent, is in the same boat as ethnic studies programs, particularly because of its somewhat tenuous position within the agricultural complex of landgrant institutions and the demographic decline of rural areas. Thus, I doubt that Chicano sociologists will be flocking to rural sociology in the future.

Yet, there is room for Chicano sociologists in rural sociology. The fact that rural sociology has little knowledge of Chicanos at a time when the ethnic group represents the fastest growing ethnic group in the nation, suggests that opportunities exist for Chicano sociologists to make an impact on the discipline. In addition, at a time when the discipline of sociology appears to be taking a course away from applied sociology, Chicano sociologists interested in pursuing applied, practical careers may receive good training in rural sociology. Furthermore, the recent development of the rural minorities interest group within the RSS potentially represents the seeds for a network system for minority social scientists. Still, however, stronger forces need to be set in motion to increase the presence of minority social scientists within the discipline. In particular, fellowship programs or monies to support travel to annual RSS meetings could be established for minority social scientists. The American Sociological Association has been quite successful in increasing the presence of minorities in Sociology through its Minority Fellowship Program. If the RSS is seriously interested in increasing the presence of minorities in the discipline, a similar program could be formed.

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THE INDIAN WARS, AGAIN?

C. MATTHEW SNIPP*

Once again, Indian Wars are being waged across the country. But the new Indian Wars are being fought by lawyers, legal aides, and expert witnesses of every conceivable sort; federal courtrooms are the theaters for these struggles. At stake in these conflicts are the basic rights, resources, and political autonomy of Indian people living on federal reservations.

Tribal Sovereignty and Treaty Rights

The issue of tribal sovereignty is central to the conflicts involving American Indians. This is an extremely complex subject embedded in the federal legal system. Few legal scholars can claim to understand it well. And very likely, most rural sociologists are hardly aware that this doctrine exists.

Briefly, the doctrine of tribal sovereignty was originally established in some of the first opinions issued by the U.S. Supreme Court. It was founded upon the recognition that American Indians were fully self-governing before the arrival of Europeans. Reconciling the prior rights of sovereignty enjoyed by Indian tribes with the formation of the United States as a new sovereign authority, the Court found recourse in another doctrine--the rights of conquest. Because Indian tribes had been conquered by the Europeans. this made them subordinate to their conquerors, specifically the United States government. As conquered sovereigns, Chief Justice John Marshall opined that Indian tribes were "domestic dependent nations" and as a vanquished people, their "relation to the United States resembled that of a ward to his guardian" (Prucha, 1984:209-210).

*Department of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

There are two points here that are absolutely essential for understanding the implications of tribal sovereignty. One is that tribal sovereignty existed before the United States curtailed some. but not all of the political autonomy of Indian tribes. Taken together, this means that the federal government has not given special rights to Indian tribes. The political authority exercised by tribes exists by virtue of the fact that the federal government has not pre-empted or otherwise restricted the remaining rights claimed by tribes as independent sovereigns. Looking at this another way, the federal government cannot give special rights and privileges to Indian tribes because rights exercised under tribal sovereignty are rights that have been claimed in perpetuity. Critics who argue that Indian tribes are the beneficiaries of special government favors seem not to understand this point.

In the late eighteenth century, Indian tribes were fully autonomous sovereigns and in the years since, Euro-Americans have been actively engaged in finding ways to restrict these rights. The usual way this was accomplished was through treaty agreements made with tribes by the federal government. These agreements were usually a means of settling or averting military conflicts.

From 1790 to 1871, literally hundreds of treaties were negotiated with the leaders of Indian tribes. Most of these treaties provided various annuities and promises of future non-encroachment in exchange for land cessions and peace promises. Except for the specified annuities and vague promises about the future, treaties have never given anything to American Indians. More correctly, these treaties specified in often ambiguous language what *would not* be taken away from them. Furthermore, like many legal documents such as real estate deeds and bills of sale, the treaty agreements signed in the nineteenth cen-

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tury were made in perpetuity; they were not affixed with an expiration date.

The struggle facing American Indians today is not one in which tribes are pressing for special dispensations by virtue of their indigenous status. They are instead clinging to the few rights that have not been already usurped by an encroaching Euro-American culture. Modern treaty claims are for the restoration of property illegally taken or rights illegally restricted. This may appear to be a fine distinction but it is crucial for understanding the American Indian perspective on the conflicts in which they are involved.

The New Indian Wars

Conflicts between Indians and non-Indians have broken out across the country. Most of these struggles arise from the objections of non-Indians to the exercise of tribal sovereignty, or rights reserved in treaty agreements. In particular, it is the demand of the non-Indians involved in these clashes that tribes should cede further their remaining rights guaranteed by treaties and abandon their claims to sovereignty. Of course, the tribes take precisely the opposite view in these disputes.

Struggles involving the enforcement of treatybased claims have taken place throughout the west and upper midwest. One of the most intense and widely publicized conflicts pitted the tribes of Puget Sound in Washington state against commercial fishing interests in the surrounding area. In 1974, the *Boldt* decision held that treaties signed with these tribes reserved for them fifty percent of the salmon harvest in this region. This decision partitioned a resource of enormous value and outraged non-Indian fishermen (Olson, 1988).

In response, the state of Washington deployed an array of bureaucratic strategies and legal tactics designed to undermine the sovereignty of the tribes and circumvent the terms of the treaties. This resulted in years of litigation and political wrangling (Olson, 1988). Lloyd Meeds, a congressman from Washington state not surprisingly became an advocate for the unilateral abrogation of all treaties made with Indian tribes. At the grass roots level, so-called "equal rights" citizen groups rallied against Indian fishermen and sparked episodes of physical violence.

More recently, northern Wisconsin has been the scene of an intense controversy surrounding the exercise of reserved treaty rights. In a series of treaties negotiated in 1825 and later, the Ojibwa reserved the right to hunt, fish, and harvest timber on lands in northern Wisconsin that they ceded to the federal government. In 1987, the federal court affirmed the validity of these agreements and opened northern Wisconsin lakes for spearfishing walleye pike and muskie by Ojibwa fishermen, over the objections of Wisconsin authorities.

The struggle for the Ojibwa rights to fish and harvest other resources has not been settled yet. The state of Wisconsin has challenged the legal validity of the federal court rulings. And at the same time, it offered the Lac du Flambeau reservation a multimillion dollar package to surrender its treaty rights — an offer that was rejected. To force a settlement, the entire Wisconsin congressional delegation, liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans, attempted to extort the Ojibwa by threatening to curtail federal funding for tribes if they did not renegotiate their treaties. In a letter to Ojibwa leaders dated April 18, 1989, they wrote that "members of the [Wisconsin] Congressional delegation will certainly have to take into account the tribes' lack of cooperation and their lack of sensitivity in assessing tribal requests for grants and projects."

An equally vociferous opposition to the exercise of reserved treaty rights has developed in the communities adjacent to the Lac du Flambeau reservation, making this area a flashpoint for Indian and non-Indian conflict. Organizations such as Stop Treaty Abuse (STA), and Protect American's Rights and Resources (PARR) have mobilized to protest Ojibwa spearfishing on lakes where it is taking place. To date, these protests have been mostly peaceful but arrests have been made for rock and bottle throwing, and for attempts to interfere with Indian fishing. Perhaps most unsettling has been the incipient

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racism at these events where Indian fishermen and their supporters have been taunted by name calling ("timber nigger") and bumper stickers proclaiming "save a walleye, spear an Indian."

In Oklahoma, the conflicts between Indians and non-Indians have been less strident. They have been intense however, and especially over the sovereign rights of tribes to regulate business development on land under their jurisdiction. Oklahoma, by virtue of its former status as the Indian Territory, is home to a large number of tribes and many that are desperately poor. To raise money for tribal services affected by federal cutbacks and to create job opportunities by promoting economic development, a number of these tribes have established tobacco shops and gambling operations, usually bingo halls. Tribal sovereignty limits state jurisdiction and states cannot levy taxes or prevent gambling if the tribes choose to legalize it. Tribal tobacco sales undercut local merchants because they are exempt from state taxes and can be sold for lower prices.

Needless to say, these activities incense a variety of non-Indian constituencies. Local merchants resent the competition from Indian tobacco sales. Bible-belt fundamentalist groups are abundant in Oklahoma and they are morally affronted by gambling. State and local authorities focus on the tax revenues that could be gained if the tribes could be forced to pay them. Using litigations and police force, Oklahoma authorities have tried repeatedly to shut down Indian tobacco sales and gambling operations in the name of unfair competition or public morality. They also have tried to force the tribes to pay taxes. These efforts have been unsuccessful and repudiated in federal courts. Nonetheless, opinion makers such as newspaper editors also have taken up the cause against Indians. In a 1988 Christmas Day editorial, David Averill, a writer for the Tulsa World, advocated the abolition of tribal government and the suspension of tribal sovereignty. He complained about the revenue losses caused by untaxed tribal sales and that the tribes were unfairly receiving a special dispensation from the federal government; Indians and non-Indians should be treated "equally" he argued.

These cases are not isolated events. They represent a broader conflict taking place between Indians and non-Indians. In fact, if time and space allowed, it would be possible to recount a variety of disputes ranging from the use of animal furs and feathers to the practice of religious ceremonies. These disputes have in common that they stem from the exercise of reserved tribal and treaty rights, and the objections of non-Indians to those rights.

Future Prospects and the Search for Allies

Unlike the nineteenth century struggles, the modern conflicts engaging American Indians eventually will be resolved in legal and political arenas. Fortunately for American Indians, public opinion is considerably more sympathetic toward them today than in the mid-1800s. No one is advocating the wholesale extermination of American Indians and even anti-treaty groups argue that their proposals are fair because they advocate "equal rights" to Indians and non-Indians alike. Nonetheless, Indian leaders face a daunting challenge in finding allies, organizing supporters, and bringing their case to the public.

Finding allies sympathetic to the political agendas of American Indian tribes has not been a simple matter. Ordinarily, progressive liberal politicians sympathetic to minority causes might be counted on for support. However, confronted by angry constituencies opposed to tribal actions, the support of liberal politicians can quickly evaporate. Robert Kastenmeir (D-WI), one of the most liberal members of Congress, signed the aforementioned letter that threatened the Lake Superior Ojibwa with the loss of federal funding for their programs.

Some tribal leaders have found common interests with activists in the environmental movement, the Greens for example. A shared respect for the natural environment brings these groups together. Tribes can offer environmental groups some additional legal leverage in their opposition to developers and land management programs. Environmental groups can offer tribes organizational resources and the support of their members.

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The alliance between Indian tribes and environmental groups is relatively new and developing. Walt Bressette, an Ojibwa activist, was recently a featured speaker at a national meeting of the US Greens. Whether this alliance can be sustained remains to be seen. Tribal interests in developing reservations' resources, especially in mining and tourism, run afoul of the strong preservationist objectives of some environmental groups. Likewise, few Indian people look upon wildlife in the same way as members of animal rights groups.

Organizing supporters has been another problem for the tribes. When a tribe becomes embroiled in a conflict with neighboring communities, local non-Indian support is difficult to muster. Local news media are often unsympathetic, and the tribes seldom have the resources or expertise needed to shape local opinion.

Because local support is rarely forthcoming, tribes often rely on the ad hoc assistance provided by groups distant from the reservation. This strategy poses at least two problems that are not easily overcome. One is that coordinating activities with support groups distant from the reservation requires resources for travel, telephone, and postage that are scarce for the tribes and support groups alike. Another problem is that support from groups outside the reservation, often in urban areas, lends credence to the claim that "outside agitators" are responsible for the disputes between Indians and non-Indians. This can further galvanize the local non-Indian population against the tribes, intensifying these conflicts.

The groups that have mobilized support for American Indians are highly diverse. They are often coalitions of interdenominational religious organizations, *ad hoc* citizen support groups, and activist student organizations. Support form organizations such as the NAACP or other groups representing racial and ethnic minorities is usually limited or nonexistent; presumably this reflects a lack of awareness among these organizations and not active opposition.

In Wisconsin, most of the treaty rights support organizations are based in Milwaukee and

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Madison, the state's two largest cities. In Madison, the treaty rights support group includes a significant number of persons affiliated with the University of Wisconsin. One of the most active treaty-rights support groups is HONOR (Honor Our Neighbor's Original Rights) and is located in Milwaukee. This organization is affiliated with the Lutheran Human Rights Association of America. There is also a small citizens' group active in the northern part of the state, closer to the Lac du Flambeau reservation where the most intense conflicts have taken place.

Bringing the activities of these groups and the issues they are confronting to the public's attention has been a problem. They have had relatively little success in shaping the debate over treaty rights and especially in placing these struggles within a larger context of Indian/non-Indian conflict. Some of these groups take the position that these struggles are driven by the aspirations of post-industrial capitalism seeking access to tribal lands. From this perspective, the struggle is not between Indians and non-Indians but pits the interests of Indians, workers, and preservationists against those of capitalist developers. Perhaps not surprisingly, the media have been skeptical about this message, or at the very least have declined to report it widely.

In fact, there is a great deal of local attention devoted to these conflicts but usually the coverage is "content-free". That is, the news coverage tends to dwell on the visible manifestations of these conflicts: name calling, rock and bottle throwing, police arrests, without saying much about the causes of these events. Or worse, these conflicts are portrayed as a reaction to the so-called "special privileges" enjoyed by the tribes. In Wisconsin, news stories about anti-treaty protests are common but in-depth analyses of these protests and the validity of their claims have been few.

While local media often cover these struggles extensively, national coverage has been slight or non-existent. Certainly there has been no effort to report these conflicts as part of a larger struggle taking place across the nation. One reason is that they are not sufficiently intense, nor involve the amounts of resources deemed

necessary to command national attention. As I was told by one reporter from a large eastern newspaper, his editors were not willing to commit much ink to the northern Wisconsin conflicts unless there was major bloodshed. They were, however, preparing a story in the event that serious violence materialized.

Roles for Social Scientists

Amid the controversies involving American Indians, the roles for objective social science may not be apparent. In fact, rural sociologists can play a significant role in mitigating these conflicts directly and indirectly. The activities of rural sociologists as educators and as extension workers are especially important in this context.

As educators, rural sociologists can deal directly with the misconceptions that abound about American Indians. Non-Indians know relatively little about contemporary American Indians, even when they live in close proximity. A particularly pernicious belief is that treaties are antiquated documents giving away special rights and privileges to undeserving recipients. The same people who make this argument probably would find nothing amiss in the idea of farmland being inherited across six generations. Yet in principle, there is little difference in the inheritance of property rights and reserved treaty rights. Misconceptions about American Indians are pervasive and need to be addressed. Even if the audiences are small groups of students, any improvement would be desirable.

Careful studies of the impact of treaty settlements, reservation development, and other tribal activities are another contribution that could be made by social scientists. In the heat of these controversies, unsubstantiated claims are often mistaken for unassailable truths. Social scientists have a role in sorting the former from the latter. For example, in Wisconsin, anti-treaty groups claimed that Ojibwa fishermen would decimate the game fish population and subsequently destroy tourism in the region. This claim was made to inflame and mobilize anti-Indian sentiments—the local economies of northern Wisconsin are heavily dependent on tourism. In fact, Ojibwa spearfishing took only 2.5 percent of the total walleye harvest in 1987. Tourism showed no sign of being affected by the Ojibwa fishing. If anything, there were some indications that tourists were more concerned about encountering angry mobs of anti-Indian protesters than about the impact of Indian spearfishing.

Social scientists also have the resources for providing important technical assistance to Indian tribes. This assistance could be offered in the form of advice about economic development, resource management, or about a variety of other problems facing tribes. Specialists in dispute and conflict resolution have an opportunity to make an important contribution, and perhaps to test their ideas about this process. Experts in political organization might have insights about how to develop allies and mobilize support for tribal causes.

I would like to conclude this essay with a commercial pitch to those concerned enough to open their wallets. The Native American Rights Fund (NARF) is the lead organization in handling potentially precedent-setting litigation concerning treaty rights and tribal sovereignty. Their work is extremely important, and they are overburdened and underfunded. They would be very grateful for any contribution that you could donate. If you would like to send financial support, please mail it to: Mr. John E. Echohawk, Executive Director, Native American Rights Fund, 1506 Broadway, Boulder, CO 80302.

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INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION IN AGRICULTURE PROGRAMS¹

WILLIAM C. PAYNE, JR.*

Introduction

Why is it, in a country which has so many laws against discrimination based on color, national origin, sex, age, religion, and disability-in public facilities, education, housing, voting, employment, and federal programs-do we still have so much discrimination in society? Except for some Asian American subgroups, many racial and national origin minorities rank lower than non-minorities in many socioeconomic measurements. One reason for this may be that the discrimination which produced these inequalities has operated for so long that it cannot be eliminated "overnight," as it were, even when there is a strong, sustained national will for doing so. But is that all there is? Will the problems of society which result in discrimination simply resolve themselves if given enough time? I think not. They could continue unresolved. They could get worse.

Discrimination is a reality. It appeals to the worst in human nature. It finds support in our economic system which makes subordination and exploitation of one person by another the way inequality is perpetuated. It is a part of our social, political, and economic culture. Through acceptance, reinforcement and repetition, it becomes "the way we do things." In short, it becomes institutional.

Institutional Discrimination in Agriculture Programs

The Department of Agriculture, like many other agencies of government, has been part of the

pattern and practice of institutional discrimination. Because many of its programs are based in federal-state relations and take place at the county level, both the employees and the programs assume the character of the dominant culture. Prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many USDA offices were segregated.

There were few minorities employed in the USDA programs. Those who were employed were generally relegated to lower positions or made to operate along segregated lines of work (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1968). Credit for minorities, when given, was more likely to be for subsistence agriculture, while non-minorities were more likely to receive loans for capital development (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1965). USDA funds seldom found their way to 1890 colleges and universities (Payne, 1970).

In the years following 1964, segregated USDA offices have been eliminated. The minority proportion of the USDA work force has risen from eight percent in 1967 to sixteen percent in 1990 but is still below that of the civilian labor force and well below that of the Federal government average. Seven percent of the executives and ten percent of the middle managers in USDA are minorities. Almost eleven percent of those in professional occupations (comprising a third of USDA's work force), seventeen percent of those in technical occupations (comprising another third of USDA's work force), eighteen percent of those in administrative occupations in USDA's 98,000 member permanent work force are minorities. A new USDA initiative, known as Framework for Change (1990), sets a goal of a USDA work force approximating the civilian labor force by the year 2000.

After dropping to a historic low of only 20 farm ownership loans to Black borrowers in 1988

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^{*}Office of Advocacy and Enterprise, USDA.

(only one percent of all such loans made that year), averaging a little over \$29,000 per loan, the USDA made 71 farm ownership loans to Black borrowers in 1989, (six percent of all such loans) averaging over \$57,000.

Since 1971, USDA funds have gone directly to 1890 colleges and universities and to Tuskegee University. In 1990 these funds amounted to nearly \$60 million.

While some manifestations of institutional discrimination in USDA programs have changed or been eliminated, others remain. Compliance reviews by the USDA Civil Rights Office in 1988 found segregated recreation facilities that had been financed through USDA loans. Some rural rental housing projects are *de facto* segregated in communities where integration would be expected. Likewise, some extension programs for youth and homemakers remain segregated.

A similar problem exists for many boards and committees which relate to USDA programs. Soil and water conservation district boards, ASCS committees, FmHa committees, extension committees, boards of REA-assisted electric and telephone cooperatives, and commodity marketing committees are often found with few or no women or minority members in areas where women and minorities comprise a significant proportion of persons participating in the programs. A recent review in one state, where over a third of the population is Black, found that a 12 member State Extension Advisory Committee had only two Black members in 1989, only one in 1988.

While employment opportunities for minorities in USDA are only slowly improving, nonfederal employment in USDA-related programs like extension, ASCS county offices, and rural cooperatives continue to show that minorities and women are underrepresented. A recent review of one state's extension program found that not one of 53 professionals hired over a 30 month period was Black. The state has a Black population of 35 percent.

So what does this mean? How does institutional discrimination—the way we do things that re-

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sults in discrimination—affect society? One measure of the impact of institutional discrimination has been the virtual disappearance of Black farmers from agriculture. There were 925,000 Blacks farmers in 1920. The 1987 Census of Agriculture found only 23,000 (Bureau of the Census, 1987). Experts tell us that not more than 3,000-4,000 can be considered viable, full time farmers.

If Blacks had left agriculture at the same rate as Whites over the last 70 years, there would still be over 300,000 Black farmers. I realize that such an estimate may not be entirely accurate because a larger percentage of Blacks in agriculture in 1920 were sharecroppers and tenants. But the point is valid: Blacks have left agriculture at a rate which far exceeds that of Whites. Why? Can we say that neutral economic factors account for the difference? Surely not all the difference. Institutional discrimination of the type described in this paper has played a significant part in the disparities which some Blacks and other minority groups experience in agriculture programs.

Institutional discrimination expresses itself in subtle and indirect forms-forms like the kinds of assumptions made about minorities by policy officials which become self-fulfilling in the programs that result or in the way programs are carried out. For example, the Extension Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) was intended to supplement the national attack on hunger through education. Yet, the program has been funded at a static level for many years. The result is that inflation has severely reduced the numbers that can be reached through the program. In the meantime, poor nutritional status continues to plague intended beneficiaries. Is it because the program has a large number of minority participants that it has been allowed to atrophy?

There are only 42 Black foresters in USDA out of a total of more than 5,400 permanent employees in that occupation. Could it be that there are so few Black foresters because there are no forestry schools at 1890 colleges and universities? Examples of how institutional discrimination manifests itself could be multiplied:

- An FmHA county supervisor tells a civil rights reviewer that he is "too busy" to conduct outreach to promote minority participation in FmHA programs.
- A poster announcing USDA's non-discrimination policy and how to file a complaint is kept in an office area where clients cannot see it.
- A USDA agency measures its work in acres rather than farms, thus promoting service to large scale enterprises.
- A "competitive" research grants program effectively excludes the 1890 colleges and universities, disadvantaged by decades of discriminatory federal and state funding which kept them in a noncompetitive position.
- Many USDA public information materials do not take into consideration the problems of persons who are sight or hearing impaired or who do not read English.
- Resources for civil rights enforcement in USDA have remained static or have dropped since 1981.
- Civil rights considerations have not been integrated into overall program management in USDA.

Many of the programs which could mitigate the social and economic disparities experienced by minorities are not adequate to the dimensions of the problems, either in scope or content. Indeed, many problems of equal opportunity many not be solvable by civil rights remedies alone. Many of the problems of equal opportunity are problems of human and community development making the playing field level and ensuring that the victims of past discrimination have the tools to compete equally without the extra burden of race, color, or national origin.

Conclusion

Discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, and sex is something about which we think we know much. Still, we have much more to learn about what it is that makes discrimination "institutional." Much more dialogue and research is needed. Social science can contribute to the elimination of institutional discrimination by recognizing its existence, by describing its effects, and by suggesting policy solutions. I urge my colleagues to apply their skills to bring us a better understanding of institutional discrimination-what it is, what causes it, what it does to us, and ways we can overcome it. Institutional discrimination is like a bone caught in the throat of society. Unless we clear it, we will die.

NOTES

1. Deputy Associate Director for Equal Opportunity,Office of Advocacy and Enterprise, U.S. Department of Agriculture. From remarks made at the panel discussion, "Institutional Discrimination in Rural America," Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Norfolk, Virginia, August 10, 1990. The views in this paper are the author's and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of Agriculture.

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The Sociological Imagination: New ideas are the life of our discipline. We are searching for innovative conceptual and empirical articles which for a variety of reasons may not fit the requirements of traditional journals. Our intent in presenting these papers is to focus attention on aspects of social life that have in part escaped previous analysis.

FEDERAL FARM PROGRAMS AND THE LIMITED RESOURCE FARMER: A Black Perspective

GAIL L. DISHONGH and DREAMAL I. WORTHEN*

Introduction

At the 1990 Rural Sociological Society Annual Meeting, a panel discussion was held on "Federal Farm Programs and the Limited Resource Farmer." Five issues/questions were posed to panel participants.

This article summarizes the responses of one panelist to the issues. The responses are based on a study conducted in five north Florida oounties. The study was a cooperative effort of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (A&M) Agricultural Research Department and the Florida Soil Conservation Service (SCS), an agency within the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). The mission of SCS is to provide technical assistance to farmers and ranchers on the protection and enhancement of the nation's soil, water, plant, air, and animal resources. While this article focuses on select findings from the Florida study, its primary objective is to challenge the rural sociological scientific community to assess its role in the development of policy, program design, implementation and evaluation of LRFs.

*Soil Conservation Service and Florida A&M, respectively.

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A Florida Black Perspective

1. Accessibility to Government Services/Programs. Do Limited Resource Farmers (LRFs) know about programs/services?

Florida A&M was one of five 1890 land grant universities that participated in a joint study with the University of Maryland Eastern Shore (UMES) on the "Availability and Accessibility of Information by Limited Resource Farmers" (USDA, 1988). The study was designed to examine the potential impact of the conservation component, Title XII, the Food and Security Act (FSA) of the 1985 Farm Bill on LRFs. In the study, an LRF was defined as an agricultural producer with a total household income of less than \$25,000, and the farm or ranch size was 50 acres or less. A random sample was drawn from 29 countries in Alabama, Florida, Maryland, North Carolina and Texas. The counties selected had the highest number of black farmers. Interviews were conducted with 1,390 farmers and 29 SCS District Conservationists. Of the 1.390 farmers who were interviewed, 831 were Black. Farmers were interviewed on issues concerning their level of conservation planning, familiarity with FSA, degree of participation with USDA programs, and information sources and information use.

The results of the study revealed that Black LRFs, in comparison to Hispanic and White LRFs, had the lowest participation rate in at least one USDA program (24 percent). Black LRFs were less familiar with the FSA (19 percent). These findings imply that the traditional methods of providing information to the minority small scale Black farmer were outdated and unsuccessful.

2. Appropriate "outreach" strategies by government personnel. Do agency employees effectively and efficiently reach Limited Resource Farmers?

Further analysis of the UMES study revealed that most farmers preferred printed materials as the means of obtaining information from USDA agencies. Their second and third preferences were visits to agencies and visits by agents.

Based upon results of the UMES study and data supplied by Florida LRFs, Florida A&M University, along with the Florida USDA Soil Conservation Service ventured into a community outreach program focused on five north Florida counties--Jackson, Gadsden, Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton. These particular counties were chosen because of their high minority farm populations. A preliminary list of LRFs was compiled using the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service cooperators list as the initial source.

To establish the basic structure of the outreach program, organizational meetings were held with local community leaders, farmers, Florida A&M University field representatives and local SCS personnel. Once the basic structure was established, non-traditional methods were used by the SCS State Office for distribution of information on agency programs and services.

As a result of the UMES study, a profile of a successful Florida interviewer's characteristics was created and included the following: ability to engage in informal conversation with the farmer; middle aged; and knowledge of SCS programs. To aid with the community outreach programs, local field representatives were hired by SCS. Field representatives were then selected

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for each Florida county. Personal visits to local farmers to provide basic information about SCS programs, emphasizing the FSA, were conducted.

These personal visits ultimately matured into friendships, an important element for LRFs, and government personnel could then make needed suggestions concerning conservation plans. As a result, the number of conservation plans has steadily increased. The preliminary list of LRFs had to be modified after the direct contacts as field representatives were supplied with new names during the one-on-one visits.

Along with direct contacts, public information programs, through various media forums, were developed. Specific emphasis was given to SCS activities. News briefs for radio and television were distributed throughout the five counties. Public service announcements appeared in local and regional news publications, and early morning and midday television interviews were aired in various cities throughout the five participating counties. When surveyed, only a small percentage of LRFs reported having received their information from the myriad of media sources. Modifications were made and local farmers were featured on television talk shows.

A non-traditional method was used to promote community involvement. Community forums were conducted in each of the five counties. Upon arrival to the community forums, the LRFs were given folders that contained information about the Soil Conservation Service, the county extension office, Farmers Home Administration, the Agricultural and Stabilization Conservation Service and the Division of Forestry.

As a result of SCS's non-traditional approach of outreach to the Black farmer, particularly oneon-one contacts, television spots using local farmers and community forums, there has been an increase in awareness and participation in SCS programs as well as an increase in small scale farmers contacting the SCS for assistance. Despite the gains, the overall participation rates in the cost share programs by Black LRFs remain low. The challenge continues to exist for USDA agencies to implement more efficient and effec-

tive outreach programs. More affordable conservation plans, especially for Black LRFs, must be made available if participation rates are to substantially increase.

3. Theoretical basis of policy formulation and program design and delivery. What is the role of social sciences in policy and program design and delivery?

The adoption-diffusion model, with its variations on a theme, has served as the predominant theoretical base for rural sociological research on conservation behavior. The UMES study and the subsequent Florida A&M outreach program were designed using many of the premises and assumptions of the model. The question needs to be raised: Does the model have application for policy planners and program applications, particularly for SCS and its LRF program? A task force could be formed to "brainstorm" this issue and to discuss the merits of developing a universal policy program model.

Another question emerges on the use of social science. Can qualitative studies be designed for use by agency personnel? Traditionally, the conservation behavior of LRFs has been described, explained and predicted solely in terms of correlation coefficients or regression formulas. A quantitative/qualitative approach to LRFs should be considered. Any modifications to the adoption-diffusion model which would have applicability to LRF programs must include mechanisms for follow-up and evaluation.

4. Protection of the resource base. Do federal farm programs encourage or discourage the protection and enhancement of the resource base?

If LRFs are only minimally aware of federal farm programs and have comparatively low participation rates, then the protection of resource base becomes a moot issue. With a recent media blitz, as well as a state and nationwide campaign, many LRFs are aware of the need for conservation. Yet their particular characteristics serve as obstacles in bringing about the desired changes. While many LRFs would readily make physical changes, cost becomes an issue, particularly as it relates to structural changes. Additionally, many Black farmers have not had equal access to the "know how" of making needed changes.

5. Behavioral response. How does the individual operator act or fail to act in response to federal programs?

In those instances when Black farmers in the Florida sample knew about federal programs, there was a tendency to act. However, when minority farmers did not know about federal programs or didn't fully understand how a particular program operated, there was, and is, a tendency not to participate in farm programs. As programs are designed using non-traditional methods such as direct one-on-one contacts, affordable structural practices, training in alternative management practices, et al., appropriate behavioral responses can be anticipated.

Conclusion and Implications

The adoption-diffusion model with its specific set of premises and assumptions was used to frame an approach to the study of the LRF. The model was used to frame the UMES study. Subsequent to the study and based on study findings, the Florida A&M and SCS outreach program was designed and implemented. The challenge to the rural sociological scientific community lies in the area of modifying the adoption-diffusion model for its general applicability in federal farm policy design, program delivery and evaluation. Specifically, the model should be modified for its application to LRS. The rural sociological scientific community must modify and/or design a model in which descriptions of particular farming groups can be "translated" into "real world" application. In August, 1990. SCS issued its policy on providing assistance to LRF which includes the definition and characteristics of LRF (USDA, 1990).

Definition:

LRF is a term used to describe those farmers who, when compared to other farmers and farm operations in a given geographic area, such as a

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state, county, or project area, have distinct disadvantages in obtaining U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) program assistance.

Characteristics:

LRFs have one or more of the following characteristics:

- (a) Gross farm sales average \$40,000 or less in each of the last three years, and there is no non-farm income.
- (b) Total household net income, farm and nonfarm, is 75 percent or less of non-metropolitan median income level for the state or county.
- (c) Lack of access to capital, labor, or equipment.
- (d) Farm or ranch size is significantly smaller than average size.
- (e) Social, cultural, customs or language barriers, minimal awareness of USDA programs, limited management skills, the level of formal education is below the county average or undereducated, and are less likely to take business risks and adopt new technology.

The policy outlines the roles and responsibilities of agency personnel in implementing the policy.

It is apparent that rural sociologists could assist SCS, and for that matter, all USDA agencies which have program responsibilities for LRFs. In order to assist SCS in the implementation of the LRF policy, among those questions that need to be answered are:

1. Are LRFs a homogeneous group? Are the conservation attitudes and behaviors of Black LRFs the same as that of Asian Americans, as Native Americans, as Appalachian farmers?

- 2. If LRFs are not a homogeneous group, what differences exist across farm boundaries, or county, state, or regional lines?
- 3. What methods can be used to increase both awareness of and participation in USDA programs?
- 4. What methods can be used to evaluate program activities?

What SCS and other USDA agencies need from the rural sociological scientific community is a modified adoption-diffusion model. Attitudes and behaviors associated with the adoptiondiffusion of conservation technologies is as relevant an issue as it was in the 1930s. Yet, with few exceptions, little attention has been given to "translating" the model's descriptions, explanations and predictions into "formulas" for policy makers and program managers. Rural sociologists, in applied settings, need strategies to assist managers in implementing programs. LRFs will not read journal articles that tabulate their age, education and ethnic status. LRFs need outreach programs such as that implemented in Florida.

So where do we begin? As a first step, agency personnel and the scientific community should meet to define those characteristics of LRF that are important to the researcher, the policy maker, program manager and α LRF. From such "brain-storming," hypotheses can be formulated that would have utility for both the rural sociologist engaged in research as well as the rural sociologist who assists policy makers and program managers in USDA agencies.

If you, the researcher, or you, the practicing rural sociologist, are interested in this "call to action," feel free to contact Gail Dishongh.

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THE 1990 CENSUS, GIS TECHNOLOGY, AND RURAL DATA NEEDS

STEVEN SHULTZ* and JOHN REGAN**

Introduction

Geographic Information Systems (GIS), have been adopted by many federal, state, and local governments in order to efficiently store, manipulate and analyze spatial and topological data. The results of the 1990 Census are to be released as a map data base named 'TIGER' which is expected to be compatible with many of these GIS This paper explores the possibilities systems. and limitations facing rural sociologists who may want to integrate rural data bases, TIGER data files and GIS technology. More specifically, GIS technology is described, the details of the 1990 census and TIGER are highlighted, and finally, specific examples and suggestions detailing how rural sociologists can use GIS technology to improve the quality of their research are provided.

GIS Technology

The basic definition of a GIS is: a computer based system to capture, store, edit, manipulate and display geographically referenced information. A GIS is not just an elaborate computer graphics or map making program. It also enables users to interactively model, manipulate, and analyze many quantitative and qualitative features of the real world (Burrough, 1986).

Most GIS systems incorporate the following *three* basic functions: data entry, manipulation, and

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display. Data entry can involve digitizing (or scanning) spatial information (usually maps) into a computer with the aid of software or, simply entering descriptive data that directly relates to spatial data (points, lines, or areas). Various data layers (also called geographies or themes) containing both spatial and descriptive data, can be integrated, analyzed, and presented in a wide variety of ways as a result of data entry activities.

GIS then, is really a spatial database. In this database are various tables each representing a theme such as: vegetation, soil type, population, income, age, etc. These themes are also referred to as 'data overlays'.

By *manipulating data overlays* with a GIS, one can perform various computer functions. These include logical, mathematical, geometric, and network analyses and a variety of other spatial and temporal modeling procedures.

The third basic function of a GIS is to *display data* in either a tabular or report form, or with high quality color maps.

There are a whole series of *advantages associated with utilizing GIS technology* in place of other more traditional information systems. Several of these have been noted by Dangermond (1984) and include:

- Large volumes of data can be maintained in a compact form.
- A variety of data manipulation techniques including thematic map overlays, complex spatial analyses, and most of the commonly used 'relational' data base operations, can be

^{*}School of Renewable Natural Resources, College of Agriculture University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, 85721.

^{**}Advanced Resource Technology Program, College of Agriculture University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, 85721.

conducted relatively easily and quickly. In fact, a relational data base is built into almost all GIS software packages.

- Graphic and nongraphic information (i.e. geographic and socio-demographic data) can be merged and manipulated in a "related" matter.
- Conceptual models which represent spatially related data can be readily tested, which in turn facilitates both scientific and public policy analyses.

These advantages associated with the utilization of a GIS have been recognized as important for policy makers and academic researchers involved with many types of rural development issues (Reinsel, 1989; Wright *et al.*, 1989; and Shultz, 1990).

Different Types of GIS Software

Numerous types of GIS software are available for personal, mini, workstation, and mainframe computers. Such software is advertised and reviewed frequently in journals such as *GIS World*. Basically, the types of different GIS software that are presently available can be divided into three categories: 1) inexpensive and userfriendly, 2) more advanced and expensive, and 3) public domain GIS software.

The inexpensive user-friendly software packages such as 'Map Info', 'Atlas GIS', 'Map Maker', and 'GeoSpreadsheet' are often referred to as "desktop mapping programs". They are relatively inexpensive (usually less than \$3000), and marketed mostly to 'non-professional GIS practitioners'. That is, such software packages tend to be user-friendly and simple to run on most personal computers. They are geared towards business and persons who want to analyze socio-demographic data in a geographical context.

There are two important limitations associated with 'desktop' GIS software. First, these packages are often limited in their range of available GIS tasks such as dealing with very large GIS data sets, producing the highest quality detailed maps, etc.

Second, the spatial data sets (i.e. mapped areas ranging in detail from individual street grids to a whole county) which are necessary for most GIS analyses, are often proprietary to the software company and in fact sold separately from the software. This means that it is often not possible for individual users of such software to digitize their own geographical information or even import such digitized data (from other GIS sources) into their own GIS software package. In addition, there are many types of geographical information such as soil types, vegetation, rainfall, etc., which may not even be available from these particular software companies because such data is considered to be too user specific and hence prohibitively costly for them to produce. It should however be noted that several desktop GIS packages such as 'Atlas GIS', have developed modules with their software that permit the import/export of a wide variety of GIS data (including 'ARC/INFO' files). Such a feature greatly increases the ability for GIS users to access numerous types of public domain GIS data.

The second type of distinct GIS software can be characterized by two types of more expensive, comprehensive, and *advanced GIS systems*. First, software packages such as 'GeoVision', 'Synercom', 'McDonell Douglas', and 'Intergraph' are based upon what has been termed '*AM-FM technology*' and have been used most often for engineering and design related tasks.

Second, there is the ARC/INFO software by 'ESRI' which is a vector based system that performs GIS analyses on polygons (fully enclosed and unique geographical areas). Such analyses are very easily applied to various types of planning and natural resource management issues. ARC/INFO which can be run on personal, workstation, and mini computers, has become one of the standard software tool of the GIS industry. In fact, it was found that in Arizona almost every state agency was using ARC/INFO for a variety of different applications (Shultz, 1990). The cost for ARC/INFO is approximately \$15,000 to \$30,000 per site, making it significantly more expensive than many of its 'desktop mapping' counterparts.

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Despite their high costs, several of these 'professional' GIS systems have been widely adopted.

They permit users to: digitize maps; import data from other sources: conduct a wide range of manipulation and analytical functions; and produce very high quality detailed colored maps. There are however some drawbacks associated with such software. First, the cost of the software and all of the necessary support equipment (from high powered computers to digitizers and plotters) is prohibitively expensive for many potential users. Second, this software is somewhat cumbersome and difficult to learn. In summary, these software packages do not permit users to quickly and inexpensively begin geographical analyses. Instead, they are top of the line, high quality GIS systems designed primarily for professional GIS users.

The final type of GIS software can be classified as *public domain*. Two of the most common ones are 'GRASS' and 'MOSS', developed jointly by the US Forest Service, The Bureau of Land Management and other federal government agencies. The advantages of these software packages are that they can potentially be used effectively to model natural resource processes (Graham *et al.*, 1988) and they are public domain, therefore technically free of charge.

However, as you might expect, there are some major limitations associated with such public domain GIS packages, especially for social science researchers! Specifically, they are extremely difficulty to learn and operate, run only on mainframe or workstation computers, and, are somewhat 'dated' in comparison with other available GIS software products. Both the Forest Service and The BLM are preparing to acquire a new national level GIS sometime in the near future (Parker, 1990).

Utilizing Census Data with a GIS

University researchers and government officials who deal with rural development issues rely heavily on federal government data sets compiled from the general population census which is collected every 10 years, and the agricultural census which is conducted every five years.

It is widely recognized however, that there are some serious *limitations associated with census data.* For example, census data are often too narrowly defined for the needs of specific users because of their limited geographical detail (especially in rural areas). They also quickly become outdated (Christenson, 1989).

These problems associated with census data in rural areas will most likely be alleviated with the TIGER system developed in conjunction with the 1990 census, and, with the utilization of GIS technology combined with survey research.

The 1990 Census and TIGER

The most striking difference between the 1990 and past censuses is the inclusion of TIGER (a topologically integrated geographic encoding and referencing system). TIGER is an extensive national digital map data base created from the 1980 'DIME' Files and USGS maps. TIGER includes features (roads, railroads, rivers, etc), address ranges and zip codes (in urban areas only), census statistical areas, and political or administrative boundaries for the whole country. In addition to providing more geographical specificity to census data, TIGER was used to assist the Census Bureau with its various enumeration activities in 1990.

According to Robert W. Marx, Chief of the Census Bureau Geography Division, the TIGER system will not only improve census operations, but it will make possible a variety of other computerized geographic products:

"It is easy to let ones' imagination conjure up new and exciting products -- full color maps of data distributions, micro-computer based geographic information systems, all the maps of the entire country on a laser disk, direct access to census data tabulations through a 'map' displayed on a color graphics computer terminal" (in Robey, 1989).

The geographical detail of the 1990 census will be greatly improved over past efforts because TI-GER has enabled census data to be related to

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and easily retrieved from more than 6.9 million census blocks nationwide, which are themselves directly related to various geographical features. A census block (which is the smallest census geographical area) will contain approximately 1000 people (i.e. a city block) in urban areas, and incorporate several square miles (based on physical features and political boundaries) in rural areas.

The release of census data will begin in 1992 via CD Rom and computer tape (both in the ASCII and dbase III formats), and such data will be directly linked to the geographical areas specified by TIGER. The 100% census data (also known as the 'STF 1 and 2' data sets), will be released at the block level in all areas, while the sample data that includes more detailed statistical information (STF 3 and 4 data) will be released at the block level in urban areas (with a population greater than 2500), but only at the block group level in rural areas. These block groups are replacing enumeration districts and will contain a maximum of 99 blocks or 1000 people in rural areas). (LaMacchia and Tomasi, 1990).

The cost of the TIGER data base (without census data) will be approximately \$250 for each state and the final version of TIGER for the 1990 census will be released in early 1991. In order for TIGER to be used with census data and other maps/and or data, certain GIS software must be utilized. Most of the GIS software discussed earlier will enable users to *integrate* TIGER, census, and other attribute data, with various GIS coverages.

It is clear that the introduction of TIGER along with other features of the 1990 census will greatly improve the geographical specificity (detail) limitations associated with previous census data.

An illustrative example of such an integration of census data and geographical location can be seen in the accompanying map '1989 Population by Census Tract, Pima County, Arizona'. This particular map includes only one data variable (population), and only a few geographical features due to size and color limitations. Nevertheless, it does provide an example of how an actual census TIGER file may be presented via a micro computer GIS. Again, it should be emphasized that GIS software will perform a wide variety of analytical techniques (querying, overlays, real world distance measurements, statistical calculations, etc.) with such geographically referenced census data.

How Rural Sociologists Can Use a GIS to Improve Their Research

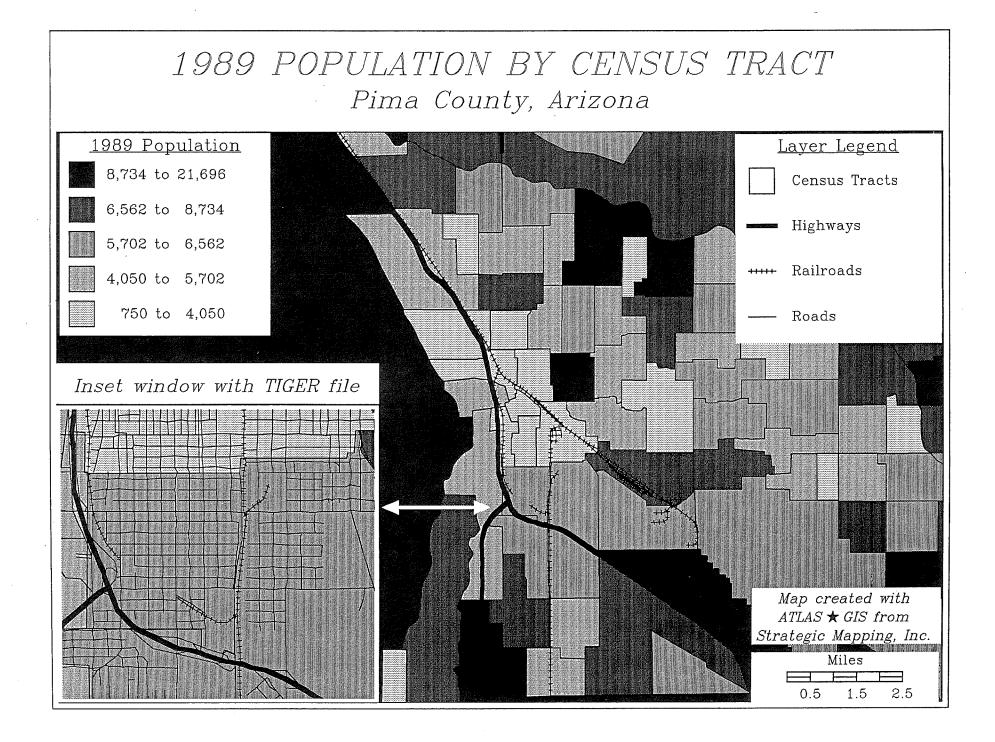
The use of GIS will enable geographical specificity to be incorporated with the census and other demographic data that is heavily used by rural sociologists, and it will permit numerous types of natural resource data to be accessed and potentially integrated with socio-demographic data. Therefore it is quite obvious that virtually all the past, present, and future research activities of rural sociologists could greatly benefit from the use of GIS technology. Three summarized examples of this include:

- Luloff and Befort's (1989) use of GIS data and techniques to quantify and analyze land use changes in several rapidly growing rural New Hampshire counties.
- Recent work by EPA researchers who used GIS technology in conjunction with population estimation techniques to determine an efficient and accurate methodology of estimating populations exposed to various environmental risks (Mynar and Hewitt, 1989).
- An upcoming study (Shultz et al., 1990), that will use a GIS to integrate US Forest Service natural resource information with county level revenue data in order to estimate the economic impacts associated with specific public land use changes in a rural Arizona county.

Suggestions for Rural Sociologists Interested in Using a GIS

For rural sociologists and others who may have an interest in using GIS technology as a tool for rural development research and applications, we make the following suggestions:

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- 1) Do not avoid getting involved with GIS technologies because of the false notion that "GIS technology is not yet ready to be used in the real world". While it is true that the actual development and implementation of GIS technology has been delayed due to various operational constraints and changing technologies, it is now being readily adopted. For example, numerous federal, state and local agencies throughout the country have invested literally billions of dollars in GIS systems, many of which are now being utilized.
- 2) Find out what agencies or departments in your university and/or state are currently using GIS technology and what specific GIS hardware/software they are using. This will greatly reduce the chance of investing in a non-compatible GIS system and/or data, and enable the development of cooperative agreements that will help avoid duplication of similar GIS tasks.
- 3) Become familiar with GIS technology and learn both its potentials and limitations before undertaking specific GIS related applications. While it is true that newly developing 'desktop mapping' GIS software will facilitate the use of many straightforward GIS applications, there are many advantages associated with being familiar with the general principles of GIS, and the specific procedures of some of the more complex GIS

packages. Some approaches to learning such GIS details include:

- Enrolling in GIS short courses offered by some of the larger GIS software companies, GIS consultants, and even local GIS institutions (i.e. the GIS lab at your university).
- Auditing college level GIS courses.
- Working through the tutorials that accompany many of the GIS software packages
- Subscribing to the journals such as GIS World and URISA that cover the latest technical and application developments occurring in the GIS field.

Finally, in addition to having the quality of their work improved by GIS technology, rural sociologists can also have a strong and positive impact on the rapidly changing GIS applications. From our personal experiences in the public, private, and academic sectors, we have discovered that most present day GIS professionals have primarily technical backgrounds, and are very open to suggestions from social scientists on how to improve methodologies and effectively apply their GIS products to the real world. In the past, rural sociologists have risen to similar challenges and it is hoped that this trend can be continued.

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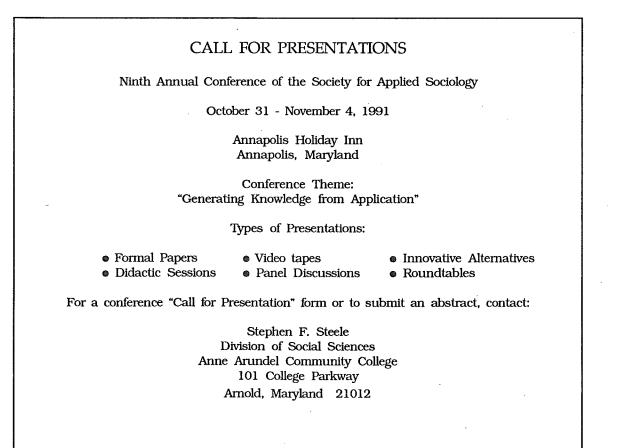
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THE NEWS

SOCIETY NEWS AND REPORTS

1890 CENTENNIAL PLENARY SESSION OF THE 1990 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RSS: Keynote Address

DR. WESLEY McCLURE*

I really owe a debt of gratitude to the members of the program committee for your kind invitation to present one of two presidential addresses at your annual meeting. I am especially grateful to my longtime colleague and friend, Dr. Christopher N. Hunte, for any role you may have played in this decision. More generally, I pay special recognition to officers of this distinguished organization; its membership, USDA officials, especially Dr. McKinley Mayes; research directors; extension administrators; deans of agriculture; honorees, including my mentor, Dr. R.D. Morrison, other special guests, friends, ladies and gentlemen.

In the academy, which perhaps better than any institution has the ability to tolerate intellectual hypocrisy, we claim that we are bound by certain inalienable principles. We value human and cultural diversity; we believe in the values of selfdetermination and in the view that no race or class is superior by act of God to any other group; we hold education as the great protector of democracy; we believe that the fundamental difference between a learned person and an unlearned person is his or her capacity to cling to the highest purposes for which we were created.

I understand that my presence may represent a recognition on the part of this organization for

*President, Virginia State University.

1890 institutions. I suspect then that the differences between the 1890s and the 1862s extend beyond the dates when they were established by act of Congress.

To be sure, the definitive concept known as the Morrill Act enacted by Congress in 1862, represented the culmination of political activity over a period of many years. It was in response to calls and demands from the citizenry to expand opportunity for all people. Some have described the creation of land-grant institutions as the most significant single representation of the democratization of higher education--a social phenomenon that had been ongoing not only since the nation's founding, but in reality, since the early 1600s.

We observe then, a kind of legal exclusion which pertained to whites as much as it does for blacks, even since the beginning of this great experiment in democracy called the United States of America. Thus, when one of America's greatest sons, Thomas Jefferson, established the University of Virginia, even he was guilty of intellectual hypocrisy. Indeed, some have suggested that higher education has prospered because of its ability to engender unlimited tolerance for intellectual and political hypocrisy.

Three years before President Abraham Lincoln offered the now famous Emancipation Proclamation, the Morrill Act had already set into law three main doctrines for the provision of higher

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education opportunity. First, this Act aimed to develop human resources capable of meeting the needs of a rapidly developing industrial nation.

In 1862, in response to a recognition of the inadequacy of the labor force to meet the needs of an industrialized society, prudent men took prudent action. In so doing, America positioned itself as the leader in engineering and technology, one which it would hold into the 21st century. To accomplish the goal of industrial superiority, it was necessary to import experts from Europe. This nation swung wide its doors to those who would emerge as the intellectual leaders of their times in research and development.

American agriculture was already in ruin. Again, prudent men took prudent action, and in so doing, established the production of food as perhaps this nation's greatest weapon. Food, engineering, and technology were the seeds which gave rise to two world wars.

The second aim of the Morrill Act was to expand postsecondary education to young people who otherwise would have no access to it. Mind you, this was 1862, and I suspect that the access doctrine had little, if anything, to do with blacks. The fact is that few people of any race even went to high school.

I can recall my teachers telling me of the need to educate the "industrial classes." Those young people not served by the traditional universities which prepared the children of the elite now had at least a chance for success in a society which accorded them second-class status.

Thirdly, the act aimed to assure that young people would receive a truly good education. Apparently, even in 1862, Congress discerned disparities in the quality of education afforded whites in this nation.

While there were other purposes of the Morrill Act of 1862, I use these three as examples to establish some foundation for why I believe that the recognition and celebration of 1890 institutions are as American as MacDonald's hamburgers and New Orleans jazz.

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With the passage of the 1862 Morrill Act and the provision of increased funding for the those institutions, we do not observe a great rush to admit blacks to them. Here we are in an age of populism and new equalitarianism. Here we observe an open rebellion against classical education. Here we see great celebration which compares favorably to the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. Yet, prudence neither suggested, urged nor required even remote consideration of blacks. Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, this nation missed a great opportunity when it allowed these newly-endowed institutions to exclude blacks and native Americans.

While I do not claim to be a history scholar, I believe that every President has an obligation to lean heavily on history in the proper discharge of his or her moral and legal responsibilities to the society.

While men and women of all races joined together after the Civil War to address the injustice imposed on blacks by denying educational opportunity to them, we did not observe a response at the federal level until 1890. Again, with no pride for scholarship in American history, I find it fitting and proper to note for the record that the second Morrill Act had neither the intent nor the effect of advancing the three doctrines which served for the basis for the 1862 Morrill Act.

Today, a century later, our tolerance for intellectual hypocrisy allows us to come together to discuss common matters of interest while knowing that the gap between these two categories of institutions remains essentially unchanged.

As distinguished colleagues of the American Rural Sociological Society and persons of impeccable credentials, I challenge you to explain how a nation which felt the threat of industrial, technological and agricultural supremacy of Europe in 1862 cannot have learned such a simple lesson in 128 years.

Europe is back. We concede technological supremacy to Japan and certain European nations. Study after study confirms that our system of public education ranks far below those of other nations. The list of societal ills normally associated with underdeveloped nations need not be chronicled here. We have perfected theories in economics to justify an unlimited national debt. The nation with the largest and most sophisticated health care delivery system is one of the world's most unhealthy nations.

I make these observations in an effort to establish that the purpose for the existence of the 1890 institutions ought to be the same as it is for 1862 institutions.

Blacks have a reverence for learning. Blacks are prepared to accept the universal invitation to engage in inquiry and in the search for truth. Historically black institutions have the same kind of funding needs as their counterparts.

Yet, I find it increasingly appropriate and necessary to refute the claims of some that 1890 institutions are somehow inferior and may no longer serve a valuable purpose in American higher education. Such claims, while vicious and even insulting, give rise to the creation of public policy which directs greater and greater resources to one set of institutions while giving only minimum attention to another set of institutions. One would think that given the common bases on which these two sets of institutions were founded--to respond to foreign threat; to assure access and opportunity for all; and to secure the doctrine of quality--one would think that at some national meeting, we would bond together and denounce inequitable funding and unfair public policy as relates to the posterity of our institutions.

There simply is no basis for 1890 institutions to be the object of political vengeance. I personally do not believe that this nation can maintain its place of prominence in the world arena while failing, perhaps ignoring, the invaluable resource which is afforded by 1890 institutions. This nation is beset with urban problems that will require quality training of large numbers of individuals to enter existing and emerging professions. It seems to me that 1890 institutions may be in the best position to solve many of these problems. As rural sociologists, you have the awesome challenge to address existing and emerging needs of rural America with the understanding that the problems and ills of urban America are also those of rural America.

There is no such thing as rural America. But with our propensity for intellectual hypocrisy, we will find ingenious ways to distinguish one group of people from another on the basis of the purposes for which they pay local taxes. I doubt very seriously that any person assembled here today believes that George Washington Carver was conducting black research, or rural research, or 1890 research. He was but one of thousands of blacks in America who have used minimum resources to do extraordinary things. As a result of these extraordinary things, all institutions have benefitted.

While the attention of the world seems to be focused upon a crisis in the Mideast, one which some claim will set the course for economic development into the 21st century, we have the unexciting task and opportunity to try to understand what set of actions and inactions led us to this point.

In just 15 years, the focus of foreign policy has moved from third world issues, to global competitiveness, to the fall of communism, and now to the issue of which world power or powers will inherit the vast resources which are located in just a few nations of the world.

This crisis in Iraq will pass. The verdict in the trial of Marion Berry will make its way unto the front pages of the Washington Post and make its graceful exit. Some resolution will be achieved in the apartheid issue of South Africa. We will make it through the next recession. The anger and frustration which we feel about those who exploited the savings and loan system will subside. Indeed, these headline crises only mask the real issues of our times.

Just as Justin Morrill and those of his time perceived the real threat and responded with extraordinary genius, this nation begs a similar response for the same reasons.

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As a President of an 1890 institution. I would be remiss if I failed to declare that we cannot afford to continue to accept and promote the kind of intellectual hypocrisy which flourishes at our institutions. I simply do not believe that African Americans can take much more of this. The amount of land owned by blacks continues on a downward spiral toward zero; the number of blacks receiving terminal degrees continues on a downward spiral toward zero; the availability of student financial aid for the vast majority of blacks in all professions continues on a downward spiral toward zero; the existence of laws and provisions which assure justice, equality and opportunity for blacks continues on a downward spiral toward zero; the availability of health care for blacks, especially for the elderly, the poor, and even the middle class continues on a downward spiral toward zero; the availability of public education for blacks continues on a downward spiral toward zero.

I began this statement with a brief historical overview on the way in which whites were brought into the mainstream in response to a perceived need in the agenda of a nation that was less than 100 years old. This nation rejected early on both the premise and the practice which excluded certain classes from receiving a quality education.

What would have happened if the first Morrill Act had never come into existence? I think of such institutions as the University of Wisconsin, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Cornell University, Texas A&M University, the University of California, and North Carolina State University.

Access, opportunity and quality ought to have a special meaning at these institutions. These doctrines should incite actions which promote greater inclusion and participation. These are the institutions on which the industrial, technological and agricultural superiority was achieved. These institutions know fully that when adequate resources and recognition are brought together for noble purposes, noble results occur.

Those who were a part of the 1892 land-grant movement could readily distinguish between

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elitism and populism. They were the founding fathers of democratic education. They were jealous of their belief that people considered uneducable by society can become distinguished scientists, engineers, teachers, and public servants. They fully realized the dangers and immorality that are associated with under-education and no education.

More importantly, their institutions represent the first public expression of the principle that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. All we seek at 1890 institutions is recognition as individuals of equal standing with certain inalienable rights--life, liberty, access, opportunity, and quality education.

I would propose that organizations such as this one would do more than celebrate 1890 institutions. All too often, celebrations are followed by hangovers. I do not believe that those who control the resources of this nation are any more inclined to honor the 1890 doctrines any more today than their forbearers were 100 years ago.

This American Rural Sociological Society can speak clearly and forcefully to a simple proposition; namely, whatever benefits accrue to 1862 institutions as a result of adequate support can accrue to 1890 institutions if accorded the opportunity.

The benefits derived from increased investments in 1890 institutions can provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and assure domestic tranquility.

Let us leave this place with a renewed resolve to make real the dream of Thomas Jefferson and Justin Morrill. Let us take one small step to divest ourselves of holdings in intellectual hypocrisy. Then, let us together, public and private; 1862 and 1890; community and four-year; research and comprehensive; urban and nonurban--let us together resolve that this nation cannot afford to deny opportunity for one individual at the expense of the other. We, the 1890 institutions, value human and cultural diversity; we know the importance of informed choices; we believe in the principles which support a strong democracy and we have demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that peanuts, basketballs, and even oppression can be used for many positive purposes.

XIIth WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY MADRID, JULY 1990: A Report

PHILIP McMICHAEL*

Madrid was hot in July. Not because it was inundated with sociologists though. The Ciudad Universitaria apparently is closed down in July because its non-air-conditioned buildings simply heat up and retain their heat during this period. Locals were surprised that the Spanish Organizing Committee of the International Sociological Association had scheduled the World Congress there. Many sociologists were seen waving fans or sweating it out in the long session hours before the sun went down. Others adopted the local custom of laying low during the afternoon, and reviving for the long nights in Madrid. Local sociologists were also hot under the collar about the language thing--the fact that so few sessions had interpreters, and therefore tended to be held in English. Nothing like a little cultural imperialism, or cultural reductionism--to the English language.

Anyway, there was a large contingent of sociologists from the USA, including rural sociologists. The program was unbelievably extensive in scope. In addition, some sessions had upwards of two dozen paper givers scheduled. How closely that system of open acceptance corresponded with methods of airline ticket reservation is not clear. This was the ASA annual meeting writ large, with the additional advantage of a comparative and international perspective that sets the international sociology movement off from the more parochial U.S. sociology discipline. Whether rural or general sociologist, the World Congress of Sociology is a feast, and well worth attending.

*RSS Representative to the International Sociological Association. The sessions most closely related to rural sociologists were seemingly more ordered than the larger sessions. The official ISA Research Committee on the Sociology of Agriculture was closely managed by Alessandro Bonanno and his global network. The Sessions held were:

- 1. The Globalization of the Agri-Food System (Organizer: Bill Friedland)
- 2. Agricultural Labor and Informal Economy (Organizer: Pat Mooney)
- 3. Commodity Systems and Food Systems (Organizer: Phil McMichael)
- 4. Science and Technology in Agriculture (Organizer: Roland Waast)
- 5. Political Movements in Agriculture (Organizer: Bertrand Hervieu)
- 6. Sociology of Agriculture (Organizer: Placide Rambaud)

Presenters in these sessions came from as far afield as Brazil, France, USA, India, Venezuela, Australia, Mexico, Italy, Canada, Hungary, Chile, and Nigeria. The papers were just as diverse, ranging from the Hungarian informal economy through the inter-nationalization of the poultry industry, the rural crisis, North and South, the culture of nature and the nature of culture, to ecological movements in India. There was much to build on here, and one hopes that future meetings of the RSS will be able to attract some of this internationalist perspective as global integration proceeds.

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The International Rural Sociology Association (IRSA) will hold its Eighth World Congress for Rural Sociology at Penn State University August 11-16, 1992, immediately preceding the fiftyfifth Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological The theme of the World Congress, Society. selected by IRSA President Giampaolo Catelli (University of Catania, Italy), is "Rural Society in the New World Order." The program, which will include plenary sessions, thematic working groups, organized panels and contributed papers sessions, is being developed by a planning committee under the leadership of Joseph J. Molnar. This planning committee is part of the IRSA Program Committee, an international group appointed by President Catelli. Local arrangements are being made by the faculty and graduate students of Penn State's Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. As in the past, the IRSA General Assembly (business meeting) will occur during the World Congress.

Following the World Congress, the RSS will hold its annual meeting at Penn State August 16-19, (with the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association to follow in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, August 20-24).

Volunteers are invited to serve as thematic session organizers, panel organizers, contributed papers session lead and discussants on the World Congress Program. Contact: Professor Joseph J. Molnar, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, 301 Comer Hall, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama 36849-5406 USA, Telephone 205-844-5615, FAX 205-844-4814.

The formal call for papers and preregistration/ lodging materials will be issued during the early months of 1991.

President Catelli, announcing the theme of the World Congress, has issued the following statement:

Rural Sociology, forced to choose between passively observing the perverse effects of the deterioration of rural society and actively contributing to the construction of a new world order, must assert and reinforce its cultural role as a generator of global solidarity. The International Rural Sociology Association, representing rural sociology in all countries, dedicates the Eighth World Congress to this task. The theme of the World Congress will be "Rural Sociology in the New World Order," Plenary and thematic sessions will seek to stimulate creative research on rural and agrarian policy, particularly as related to the expansion of multinational systems, and to contribute to a new cosmopolitan understanding of poverty, weakness and ecological breakdown in contemporary rural sociology.

ENDOWMENT FUND SUPPORT

In 1989 the Rural Sociological Society initiated its first endowment drawing to help raise funds to increase the base of the endowment fund to support two fellowships. In 1989, the drawing earned \$925. In 1990, the drawing earned \$1,335 after expenses. Over the two year period, members contributed \$2,159 to the Endowment Fund. As retiring Chair of the Endowment Committee, I want to thank the members for their support.

Donald R. Field University of Wisconsin-Madison

> MAKING EDUCATION PART OF THE RURAL SOLUTION: A Vision for the 1990s

National Conference on Rural Adult Education Initiatives June 20-22, 1991 Kansas City, Missouri Information: 913-532-5560

Hosted by the Rural Clearinghouse for Lifelong Education and Development

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NOMINATIONS AND PROPOSALS SOUGHT FOR THE OFFICE OF TREASURER

FREDERICK H. BUTTEL*

On December 31, 1991, Patrick C. Jobes' threeyear term as Treasurer of the Rural Sociological Society will expire. Pat served as Acting Treasurer in 1987-1988, and at the 1988 midyear Council meeting he was appointed, and confirmed by Council, as Treasurer for a three-term term that began January 1, 1989.

The RSS Bylaws (Articles IV and V) contain the following provisions with regard to selection, term, and qualifications of the RSS Treasurer:

The treasurer shall be the chief financial and fiscal officer of the Society. The Treasurer shall submit financial reports to the council. These reports shall be distributed to the membership [which has traditionally been accomplished by distributing the financial report at the annual business meeting and by publishing the report in The Rural Sociologist along with the minutes of the council and annual business meetings; F.H.B.J. The treasurer shall receive all incomes of the Society with the exception of those specifically excluded by the council. The treasurer shall be bonded, shall invest funds in secure accounts and shall see that an audit of financial records be made annually.

The treasurer shall be appointed by the president subject to ratification by the council. The term of office shall be three years and may be extended or renewed subject to ratification by the council. Officers and committee members shall be members of the Rural Sociological Society.

Over the past several decades the duties of the RSS Treasurer have progressively expanded, and accordingly the Treasurer has been provided with funds to hire a fractional-time person to serve as an accounting assistant and secretary. The role of the Treasurer thus now includes supervision of the RSS Business Office.

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As the person who will be responsible for appointing the Treasurer, I am keen to receive proposals from persons who would be interested in the office, as well as nominations of persons who would be appropriate for the position. If a person is nominated, I will need to have an indication of whether that person has expressed willingness to serve in the office. Pat Jobes has indicated to me that he would be willing to continue to serve as treasurer, if requested to do so by me and the Council.

Written proposals and nominations for the office of Treasurer will be due to me by 1 May 1991. My nomination will be made to the council at Columbus. Nominations should be sent either to the Address below, by fax at 607-255-9984, or by BITNET to WJRJ@CORNELLA.

CORRECTION

The following correction should be noted for Vol. 10(4) of *The Rural Sociologist*, Society News and Reports, page 46. The heading of the financial summary should read as: RSS 1988-1989 Financial Statement.

Association for the Study of Food and Society

Fifth Annual Meeting Tucson, Arizona June 14-16, 1991

For more information contact:

Dr. William Hart Department of Dietetics School of Allied Health Professions St. Louis University 1504 S. Grand Blvd. St. Louis, Missouri 63104 314-577-8523

^{*}Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, Warren Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853; President, Rural Sociological Society.

HOW AND WHY I BECAME A SECOND CLASS CITIZEN IN RSS

STEPHEN B. LOVEJOY*

Upon receiving my Fall issue of The Rural Sociologist, I promptly put it in my briefcase hoping to find an opportunity to read it. A few days later, I had a few hours on planes and in airports in which to spend some time on TRS and other accumulated readings. Since I had more time than usual, I decided that I needed to catch up on internal RSS business by reading the minutes of the 1989 business meeting and various council meeetings. To my surprise and shock, the March 1990 Council minutes reported that they had passed a motion to institute a sliding dues schedule. This peeked my interest considerably since that was a major factor in my decision several years ago to terminate my membership in the American Sociological Association.

Upon returning to my office, I quickly called a member of the Council to find out why this was coming up and had been voted upon without widespread discussion by the membership. I was informed that the Council minutes, over the past two years, contained discussion about this initiative. I was also informed that the 1990 Business Meeting, which I was unable to attend, passed the sliding scale proposal without any dissent.

While I understand the Society's need to raise additional revenue to offset rising costs, I seriously question whether the sliding scale initiative will achieve the goal or, more importantly, what are the other ramifications of the policy. As social scientists, we often caution policy makers and implementors about the unintended consequences of new initiatives and suggest that some serious discussion and analysis could assist in avoiding or at least anticipating the negative impacts. It appears that we are better at giving such advice than taking such advice.

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Where in our constitution or bylaws does it state that a goal of the Rural Sociological Society is to redistribute income? I had always thought that RSS was a professional society that would assist me in performing my job, advancing my career and providing me an arena in which to establish and maintain collegial relationships. I had never thought that membership in RSS *mandated* me to financially assist my friends and colleagues. While we have always given students a reduced fee membership, I always interpreted this as a loss leader that would get them hooked on being an RSS member throughout their career.

Another factor is the impact of this upon the morals of our members. I have had several members suggest that the new scale would not affect them since they would just lie about their income; after all, RSS doesn't have the investigative or enforcement powers of the IRS. This creates a very perverse situation where members no longer view themselves as part of a collegial body. They start to see RSS membership on a par with membership in the Republican National Committee or national Audubon or with their subscription to Mother Earth News. Clearly, this would not be a favorable outcome.

I realize that a good part of the blame rests with myself and other members who did not read Council minutes in 1989 and were unable or did not attend the 1990 Business Meeting. However, it appears that the Council could have written up a short discussion piece for *TRS* sometime in 1989 or 1990. Major policy changes deserve considerable discussion and analysis by the members. Such discussion *should be* a part of the nature of organizations like the Rural Sociological Society.

At first, I considered resigning my membership in RSS as I had done several years ago with my ASA membership. However, I feel that RSS still provides me with many positive benefits and being a Rural Sociologist is important to me. I

^{*}Associate (nonvoting) Rural Sociologist, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana 47907.

quickly dismissed lying about my income, especially since it was not the dollars that concerned me as much as the principal. However, I felt that it was essential to show my displeasure with the new dues structure. Therefore, I decided that in 1991 I would become an Associate (nonvoting) member of RSS. I also wanted to be certain that my actions be based upon principal rather than dollars. Therefore, I paid my \$30 Associate dues and donated \$30 to the RSS Endowment Fund. While I am no longer able to vote for or against resolutions or bylaws, I hope that my actions will prompt Council to reconsider this action. I also encourage other members to reconsider what they expect and want from *their* professional society; and if they are not satisfied, they may want to follow my lead and become nonvoting Rural Sociologists or second class RSS members.

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP

Agricultural Knowledge Systems and the Role of Extension

Bad Boll, Germany

May 21-24, 1991

Direct all Communication to:

Prof. Hartmut Albrecht/ H.J. Tillmann University of Hohenheim (430) P.O. Box 700562 7000 Stuttgart 70 Tel: 0049-711-459-2646 FAX: 0049-711-2785

AGENDA 1993!!!

The 15th European Congress for Rural Sociology will be organized at the International Agricultural Centre and the Agricultural University of Wageningen, The Netherlands, from 2 to 6 August 1993.

Scientific Committee: c/o David Symes University of Hull School of Geography and Earth Resources Cottingham Road Hull, HU6, 7RX United Kingdom

Local Organization: c/o Anton J. Jensen Agriucltural University Department of Rural Sociology Hollandseweg 1 6706 KN Wageningen The Netherlands

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JOB ANNOUNCEMENTS

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

Tenure track position in land grant Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology (60% extension, 40% research). Primary focus of position is demography, emphasizing topics of importance to rural communities such as labor force, employment, and population redistribution; and interdependencies of agriculture and rural communities including the social aspects of rural economic development. The person in this position will be responsible for developing and carrying out educational and applied research programs to address community and social issues in rural Idaho. Support of county extension faculty and program development and implementation is an important aspect of the position.

Required qualifications are a PhD in Rural Sociology, Sociology or related field; and strong academic preparation in social demography and sociology of rural areas and communities. Desired qualifications are understanding of leadership development and public policy processes and of small communities and rural areas.

The search will be closed when a sufficient number of qualified applicants have identified but not earlier than March 1, 1991. Send a letter of application, resume, college transcripts, and names of five references to:

> Dr. James R. Nelson, Head Dept. Agricultural Economics & Rural Sociology University of Idaho Moscow, Idaho 83843

Telephone 208-855-7635 FAX 208-885-5759

AA/EOE, women and minorities are encouraged to apply

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ASSOCIATE/FULL PROFESSOR

The Agricultural Technology and Family Farm Institute in the College of Agriculture & Life Sciences is seeking someone with strong administrative skills, interests, and academic (research, instruction, and/or extension) experience in the issues involving technology, policy, and agriculture structure with an emphasis on family farms. This associate or full professor with tenure position in a social science department in the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences (CALS), University of Wisconsin-Madison will begin on July 1, 1991. The appointment will be 50% administrative funded by the University of Wisconsin-Extension and 50% research and instruction. Salary will be commensurate with experience and qualifications. Additional benefits include state group health care, life and accident insurance, income continuation insurance, and state teacher's retirement benefits. The UW-Madison is located in Madison. Wisconsin a community of about 250,000. The UW-Madison has 45,000 students and a strong history of undergraduate and graduate programs. Letter of interest with a vita, and three reference letters should be sent by March 31, 1991 to:

Rick Klemme, Director Center for Integrated Agricultural Systems 146 Agricultural Hall University of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706

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GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

FELLOWSHIP AVAILABLE FROM THE RSS ENDOWMENT FUND

The RSS Endowment Committee announces the Fellowship Program for 1990-91. A stipend not to exceed P10,000 will be awarded to one successful applicant in either of the following programs:

THE EARLY CAREERS PROGRAM. The aim is to promote and enhance professional growth and development of rural sociologists in the first five years of their careers. Proposals will be considered for activities that develop skills in teaching, research or the application of rural sociology. Examples include participation in training workshops or internships/apprenticeships with research or policy groups.

THE POLICY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM. The purpose is to create opportunities for rural sociologists to gain knowledge of and offer input to policy-making that affects the well-being of rural people. Recipients of a policy fellowship, for example, might spend a period working with an international, national, state or provincial agency, or with a legislative group. Proposals for the 1990-91 award should not exceed three pages in length and should indicate the plan of work, the person(s) with whom the applicant would work, the institutional setting within which the work would be done and the expected benefits to the career of the applicant and to rural sociology. A curriculum vita and list of publications also should be included, and applicants should request three letters of recommendation to be sent directly to the Endowment Committee Chair, including one from the sponsor or administrator of the proposed activity.

PROPOSALS and letters of recommendation should be sent by April 1, 1991 to Kenneth P. Wilkinson, Chair, RSS Endowment Committee, 207 Weaver Building, Penn State University, University Park, PA 16802. The award will be announced by May 15, 1991. The stipend may be used during the following 12-month period. A final report of accomplishments is requested at the end of the fellowship period.

RESIDENT FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The National Center is pleased to announce that applications are now being accepted for the 1991-92 Resident Fellowship Program. The Center will award up to three resident fellowships in food and agricultural policy. The award is open to individuals in any discipline who have completed their doctoral requirements by the beginning of the 1991-92 academic year. Midcareer professionals who wish to pursue scholarly work on current or emerging national public policy issues related to food and agriculture and professionals who will be on sabbatical leave during the fellowship period are encouraged to apply. The application deadline is April 1, 1991.

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For more information and application forms, write to:

Linda Gianessi National Center for Food and Agricultural Policy Resources for the Future 1616 P Street, NW Washington, DC 20036



RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY Membership Application/Renewal - 1991

(office use only)		(not for publication, please check one)						
ID #:	ETHNICITY:	🗆 AmerIndian	□ Asian	Black	🗆 Caucasian	🗆 Hispanic		
NAME: ADDRESS:		TELEPHONE:			DATE OF BIRTH: GENDER:			
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DEGREE: FIELD: INSTITUTION:	YEA	R:	TITLE:					
AREAS OF RESEARC	CH/COMPETENCY:	(reference l	ists on back of form)				
WORLD REGIONS OF	F INTEREST:							
RESEARCH AND INT	TEREST GROUPS:		٨					

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1 ACTIVE:	up to \$40,000	\$40.00	\$120.00	MEMBERSHIP DUES	\$
	\$40,000 - \$50,000	\$50.00	\$150.00		
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	\$60,000 +	\$75.00	\$225.00	CONTRIBUTION	۷ \$
2 ACTIVE WIT	HOUT PUBLICATIONS	\$20.00	\$ 60.00		
3ASSOCIATE	(nonvoting)	\$30.00	\$ 90.00		
4 INTERN'L ASSOCIATE (nonvoting)					
(Other than N.	American)	\$25.00	\$ 75.00		
5 EMERITUS		\$20.00	\$ 60.00	TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED	¢
6 STUDENT		\$20.00	\$ 60.00	(U.S. Currency only)	φ

SIGNATURE

DATE Return form with payment to: RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY PATRICK C. JOBES, Treasurer Department of Sociology Montana State University Bozeman, MT 59717

Telephone: 406/994-5248 FAX: 406/994-2893 BITNET: ARUBS@MTSUNIX1

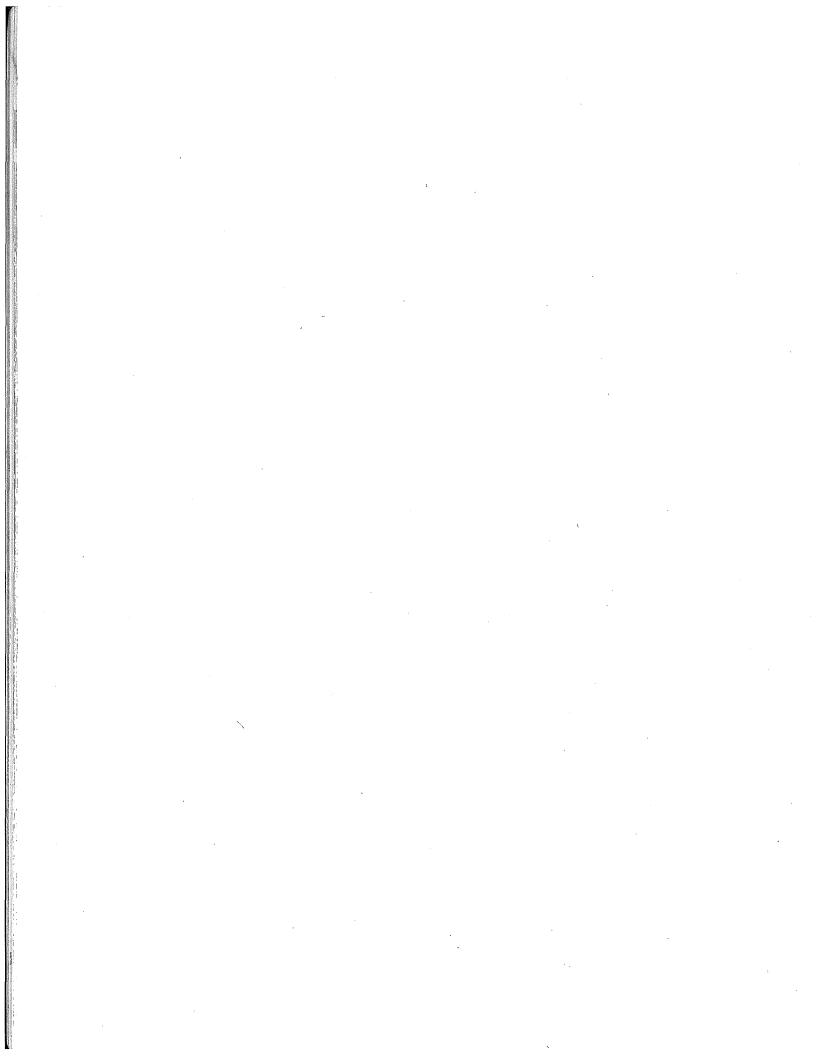


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"RURAL DIVISIONS OF LABOR: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES"

1991 RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

August 19-21, 1991 Columbus, Ohio

TYPES OF SESSIONS:

- * Plenary and Thematic organized by Program Committee
- * Research Groups organized by research group program committee representatives
- * Contributed Papers submit abstracts to Program Chair
- * Panels submit abstracts/outlines to Program Chair
- * Business Meetings of Research Groups submit requests to Program Chair

DATES TO REMEMBER:

February 1991	Abstracts/outlines FOR ALL		SESSIONS to Program Chair; in-				
	clude complete authors	title,	name,	and	address	of all par	ticipants/

- April 1, 1991 Graduate Student Award papers (complete manuscript) submitted to Program Chair
- April 15, 1991 Completed papers due to Program Chair

DIRECT ABSTRACTS, OUTLINES, PAPERS AND QUESTIONS TO:

Patrick H. Mooney Chair, Program Committee Department of Sociology University of Kentucky Lexington, KY 40506 - USA BITNET: SOC168@UKCC

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY Wilson Hall Dept. of Sociology Montana State University Bozeman, MT 59715

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