BIBLIOGRAPHIES

RURAL POVERTY, COMMUNITY, AND LAND USE

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jennifer Sherman

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction ................................................................................................................................... 1

*Defining Poverty* .......................................................................................................................... 2

*Changing Landscapes, Contested Spaces* ...................................................................................... 3

*Introduction/Overview and Policy* .............................................................................................. 5

*Explaining Rural Poverty* ........................................................................................................... 7

*Rural Minorities* ........................................................................................................................ 9

*Community, Class Relations, and Social Capital* ................................................................. 11

*Gender and Rural Poverty* ....................................................................................................... 12

*Labor Markets* .......................................................................................................................... 13

*Environmental Themes* ............................................................................................................. 14

*Property Rights and Land Tenure* ............................................................................................. 15

Annotated Bibliography ................................................................................................................ 16

Non-Annotated Bibliography ...................................................................................................... 126

Internet Resources ..................................................................................................................... 127

*August 1999*
RURAL POVERTY, COMMUNITY AND LAND USE: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jennifer Sherman
Department of Sociology, UC Berkeley

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is focused first and foremost on rural poverty, its distinct causes and its alleviation. Most of the annotated works were written within the last 15 years (between the mid 1980s and the late 1990s), with the weight on more recent works. The main thrust is on literature that identifies the distinctiveness of rural poverty, in contradiction to the much more frequently studied urban poverty. The works in this bibliography all explore rural poverty and its alleviation through discussing the attributes that are particular to rural areas. Among the most important differences between rural and urban areas is the heightened sense of community conferred by size and social history. Other factors that link people in rural places are the limitations of rural economies and labor markets, which in many rural areas have been, or continue to be, tied tightly to natural resource based and extractive industries. Thus people are interconnected not just in the ways that they relate to one another, but also in the ways they relate to the environments that they inhabit. Rural communities wax and wane with local livelihoods. People rely on the local resources for their sustenance, and suffer when access is restricted.

Rural poverty, community, and land use is less of a field in and of itself than an intersection of multiple fields. It is a subject whose discourse varies widely depending on the particular attributes and issues of the area under study. U.S.-focused literature is generally very different in tone and scope from international literature. The themes of rural poverty, community and land use are addressed in such diverse arenas as agricultural labor markets in the U.S., forest management in Asia, and economic development strategies in Latin America.

Although this bibliography is international in scope, it is weighted largely toward U.S. literature, in order to bring these often excluded works into the debate on rural poverty. Thus there is an attempt to link first and third world discourses through their similar types of issues, as will be done throughout this introduction. Nevertheless, U.S.-focused literature dominates the bibliography, and there is a strong leaning toward those researchers who have been involved with the Rural Sociological Society in the U.S. This literature was particularly abundant in the late 1980s and early 1990s, during and in the aftermath of the U.S. farm crisis. It was at this point that the situation of rural areas in the U.S. seemed particularly dire, with depopulation at a high after a short period of turnaround in the 1970s. Farm closures abounded, indicating the end of the small family-farm era, and there were few economic opportunities to replace farming in agricultural-based rural communities. This period of obvious need helped to focus more attention on the interactions of land use and poverty in rural areas of the U.S., and the affects of economic restructuring on rural community life. Literature from this period in many ways defines the direction in which U.S. rural studies have gone in the 1990s.

However, a focus on this type of work does not preempt the inclusion of other literatures. The
U.S. scholarship is quite diverse, representing the diversity of rural communities in the United States. These range from the family-farm-dependent communities of the Midwest to the forest-dependent communities of the Pacific Northwest, to the agribusiness-dominated areas of Florida, California, and the Southwest, whose labor forces are mainly immigrants from Latin America. Likewise the international literature included in this bibliography reflects to some degree the different interests of rural dwellers in other countries, including economic development, agrarian reform, rural restructuring, gendered production and family relations, and forest and natural resource management. Major focuses of some of the works from the developing world included here are changing resource use, particularly as the result of the impositions of colonial governments, as well as evaluations of economic development initiatives in the ongoing search for strategies to decrease rural poverty and increase equity. Works from Europe included in this bibliography focus more on the restructuring of rural areas under advanced capitalism, which is key to the debates over European agrarian and rural policy.

In order to aid in organizing the large number of sources and resources listed below, I will first outline ten major thematic areas in which the works will be broken down. As will be seen, some thematic areas will contain many more citations than others. This is due to my own biases as well as to the amount of accessible recent literature that focuses on these themes. Furthermore, there are many works that could easily be placed in several of these categories. For simplicity’s sake, I have attempted for the most part to assign each work to a single category. However, there are several works that are listed in more than one category due to the inevitable overlap of these somewhat arbitrary thematic distinctions.

Defining Poverty

This section includes works that address the key question of what is poverty and how is it defined. It includes both purely theoretical approaches to defining poverty and works that apply different concepts and definitions of poverty to specific empirical situations. Most works compare and contrast various definitions of poverty and their implications for policy and demography. Works in this section illustrate the importance of how poverty is defined both for conceptualizing the problem and for determining the scope of the poverty in different places. The ways in which poverty is defined affect how many people are considered poor, as well as what sorts of initiatives are envisioned as being most effective for attacking poverty. Different approaches to conceptualizing poverty include focuses on income, basic needs, caloric intake, assets, access to land, and the concept of entitlements. The relations between inequality and poverty are explored, as are variations within poor populations—such as the concept of ultra-poor versus poor. While the different works within this section may not agree on a single working definition of poverty, they are essential for understanding the different ways in which other applied and theoretical works throughout the bibliography use the term and its underlying concepts.

Works that deal with the definition and conceptualization of poverty include:


*Changing Landscapes, Contested Spaces*

This theme particularly characterizes the American literature, which tends to focus on changes in population, land use, and labor market organization, and the decline of agriculture and its numerous effects. This was a particular focus of rural studies literature in the 1980s, when economic restructuring in the U.S. and agricultural decline led to major changes in community structure. However, it is a theme that continues to be relevant today, as we can now see the results of that restructuring and the ways in which rural people and populations are coping with the changes. Communities are changed by becoming dependent on new forms of employment, such as service sector jobs, when agriculture, manufacturing, and other extractive industries decline. Agriculture itself is changing, and what remains of it tends to be on a larger, more corporate scale. In some rural areas, land that was once open access to residents has become more restricted as the composition of the communities changes, with conflict and resentment as the result.

Communities are also changed through demographic restructuring, both out-migration by those seeking better opportunities, and in-migration forced by the pressures of continued suburban growth. In-migrants are seldom accepted by the core communities, whether they are low-income families forced out of other areas by suburbanization or wealthy retirees looking for a quiet place to own land. Changing demographics mean new demands on community services, which may be dilapidated or underfunded. It also may make long-time residents feel threatened and unsafe, depending on the types of changes and the amount of tension they create.

The international literature in this theme takes up these issues in different settings. European works focus on the restructuring of rural areas under growing population pressures and creeping
suburban sprawl. These changes are affecting the makeup of rural communities as well as the very concept of rurality. African and Asian literature is influenced by different types of restructuring, as colonial and postcolonial governments try to force new environmental and conservation uses on already-occupied lands. Thus this literature tends to highlight conflicts caused by changes in landscape use and political power over natural resources. Many of these changes are traced back to colonial governments that imposed foreign ideas of land and resource management onto local users, often with little regard for traditional uses of the land. Tensions flare between governments that attempt to enforce conservation and minimal disturbance of natural resources such as forest lands, and indigenous and local communities who rely on the same resources for their livelihoods and subsistence.

United States


International


Introduction/Overview and Policy

This thematic group includes works that give either an introduction to the subject of rural poverty or an overview of the state of rural areas with respect to poverty, community and land use. These works tend to be broader and more basic in focus than works categorized elsewhere. It includes anthologies meant as introductions to rural studies as well as more descriptive works that present demographic data on rural issues. It also includes works that give this sort of overview specifically to make policy prescriptions based on available data, including policies based on economic and labor-market findings. Several of the works in the international area of this section come out of South Asia, particularly India.
United States


International


Explaining Rural Poverty

This thematic group is one that focuses on attempts to explain poverty and why it persists in rural areas. It includes works that apply theoretical arguments to specific situations and findings. Domestic works in this section include some that are focused on structural forces rather than attributes of the poor individuals themselves, as well as others that focus on more individual-level characteristics, such as human capital. This section also includes more development-focused works that look at larger macro-political economy issues and strategies for alleviating poverty. Much of the international work in the bibliography falls under this category, as much of the literature from developing countries is focused on these types of political-economic explanations for poverty and analysis of the successes and failures of particular poverty-reducing strategies. International works tend to identify and explore global economic issues and first-world political domination as major factors influencing the economic situations of the poor. Domestic and international works in this section are similar in that they both tend to contain pointed policy suggestions that address either the identified causes of poverty or the problems with current alleviation programs. However, it should be kept in mind that international development is a whole discipline in and of itself, with an enormous literature that could fill several bibliographies on its own. Thus, only a small selection of the available literature on international development is offered here, and it is somewhat biased toward South Asia due to my own greater familiarity with this area and literature.

United States


International


*Rural Minorities*

This section includes works that focus on issues specific to rural minority groups. In the U.S. these groups are primarily African Americans in the South, Latinos in the West, and Native Americans. In the rural South, African Americans face racial discrimination that restricts their access to employment opportunities, as well as education and other forms of social and human capital. The situation is quite different and distinct for rural Latinos in the West, who are generally recent immigrants who have come specifically to work as laborers on large-scale farms. Thus their lots are tied very tightly to the agricultural labor market, as well as immigration laws. Their poverty is not due to unemployment, but to extremely low wages paid for the very difficult work they do, as well as to various forms of exploitation in housing, immigration, and even transportation. Their communities tend to be quite distinct from non-Latino communities in the rural West, and several works look specifically at the structures of these communities. For Native Americans, tribes must learn how to be self-sufficient and implement development of their natural and human resources, and avoid the different types of environmental discrimination that have plagued many tribes. Current legislation favors certain types of economic development ventures, which tribes must be ready to take advantage of in order to reverse long legacies of poverty.

International literature included here focuses primarily on indigenous groups in Africa, whose marginality is directly tied to land use issue. In the case of these groups, their separateness and remoteness has been used to construct an identity for minority groups, which could be molded and rebuilt according to the needs of the state in exploiting or removing people. State conservation and land use decisions have removed many indigenous groups from their lands, denying them access to traditional forms of subsistence and thus creating impoverishment. Works included here deal with
these issues, as well as cultural and environmental discrimination against indigenous groups in Africa.

United States

Bailey, Conner; Sinclair, Peter; Bliss, John; and Perez, Karni. 1996. “Segmented labor markets in Alabama’s pulp and paper industry.” *Rural Sociology* v61, n3 (Fall 1996): 475-496.


International


Community, Class Relations and Social Capital

This section includes works that focus on issues related to the role of community in rural areas. Several important works included here (Agrawal, Brosius) help to conceptualize and define what is meant by community. These works both problematize existing concepts and suggest improvements in the ways in which we define and use community as a concept. Another group of works on social capital and class relations focuses on the ways in which social and community forces circumscribe options and contribute to persistent poverty. Other works focus more on the need to preserve communities in rural areas. There is much discussion of whether rural communities will continue to be viable in the future, with emphasis on examples of community successes. Several works, such as those by Cynthia Duncan, also show the ways in which poverty and affluence influence the strength and stability of community relations. Poverty is linked to greater social stratification within rural communities. Walter Goldschmidt’s landmark study of the effects of agribusiness on rural community life is also included here, as are several works which question its findings and implications. This category also includes works that discuss community-focused development strategies and provide criticism and suggestions.

United States


International


*Gender and Rural Poverty*

This category contains works with a wide variety of regional and theoretical focuses, all of which have in common that they focus on gender roles in rural areas and women's strategies for coping with poverty situations. Domestic works in this section explore women’s leadership roles, women’s roles in rural economic development, and women’s roles in supporting their families, including the contribution of women’s off-farm work to farm-family economic survival. International works tend to focus more on how women and men relate to their natural environments, and the implications of these relationships for poverty and development. Women’s roles in agriculture and food and fodder collection are highlighted and analyzed. Both international and domestic works have in common that they stress the importance of looking at women’s experiences separately from those of men because of their own distinct issues and important effects.

**United States**


**International**


**Labor Markets**

This section includes works that focus on labor-markets and their roles in contributing to or alleviating rural poverty. Many of the works on this section are specifically focused on issues related to farm labor in the West, but there are also a number of works that look at the role of labor markets in other regions, such as the Pacific Northwest, Midwest and Appalachia in the U.S. There are few international works categorized here because in general studies of labor markets in the third world also look at larger political economic and development issues, and are thus categorized under “Explanations for Poverty.”

**United States**


**International**


**Environmental Threats**

This is another theme where the literature in the U.S. is very different from the literature from the developing world. In the U.S. this area contains mostly discussions on the threats of toxic waste disposal in rural areas, which was particularly relevant in the late 1980s when it was taken more seriously as a possible form of economic development. Several works deal with the social and psychological affects of environmental disasters on the communities and populations in which the disasters occurred. The international literature tends to focus more on environmental degradation due to overuse or misuse of natural resources such as forest and agricultural lands.

**United States**


**International**


Gadgil, Madhav and Guha, Ramachandra. 1995. *Ecology and equity: the use and abuse of nature in*


**Property Rights and Land Tenure**

Works in this section focus on the role of property rights and land tenure in rural areas, including changes in land tenure over time and land concentration in agriculture. Several works highlight the role that uneven land ownership and insecure land tenure plays in contributing to inequality and poverty. This section also includes works on housing shortages, housing insecurity and homelessness in rural areas.

**United States**


**International**


In the past many researchers and policymakers have viewed the rural economy of the Third World as being synonymous with agriculture. According to this view, rural households receive the bulk of their income from the production of food and cash crops. In the past few years this view has started to change. There is now a growing recognition that the rural nonfarm sector, which includes such diverse activities as government, commerce, manufacturing, and services, also plays a vital role in the economies of many Third World households. [p. 17]

In Pakistan, as in other developing countries, remittances can have a profound effect on rural income distribution. In these countries, rural incomes tend to be lower than incomes earned in the urban sector. It is this disparity between rural and urban incomes that causes villagers to seek work elsewhere, either in cities or abroad. [p. 34]

Agricultural income makes the largest contribution to overall inequality. Depending on the year, agricultural income accounts for between 35 and 45 percent of overall income inequality. This is largely because agricultural income is strongly correlated with land ownership, which is distributed quite unevenly both in the area of this report and in rural Pakistan as a whole. [p. 68]

SUMMARY

This report seeks to add to literature on income inequality in the Third World by breaking down the sources of income inequality in rural Pakistan and analyzing these separately. The report is based on a three-year panel survey of 727 households in three provinces of rural Pakistan. Data was gathered through household interviews. The analysis breaks income down into five sources: nonfarm, agricultural, transfer, livestock and rental. The households are all rural, yet nonfarm income is the most important income source, particularly for the poor, who on average receive almost 50 percent of their income from nonfarm sources. With regard to inequality, it is found that nonfarm and livestock incomes tend to decrease inequality, while agricultural, transfer and rental incomes tend to increase overall inequality. The report looks at the share of overall inequality contributed by each income source, and finds that agricultural income contributes the largest amount, while livestock income contributes the smallest share of total inequality. The difference between these income sources is ascribed to their correlations with landownership, which is distributed unevenly in Pakistan. While agricultural income is strongly correlated with land, livestock income has only a weak correlation with land. These results suggest that the immediate effects of agricultural growth in Pakistan go mainly to landowning households, which are richer to begin with. Further analyses break the down the sources of income to provide a more detailed view of their effects on inequality. It finds that certain types of nonfarm income, such as government employment that requires education, contribute to inequality, even though overall nonfarm income has a favorable effect on income distribution. Similarly, it is found that different types of farm income effect income distribution differently, with cash crops contributing more to inequality than food crops do. Livestock income also varies in effect depending on the sex and type of the animals kept. Although the report does explore in detail the effects of the different income sources, it does not make policy prescriptions based on its findings.
In India the availability of natural resources to a large section of the rural population, and especially to the poor, has been eroded severely over the past two decades by two parallel, and interrelated, processes: first, their growing degradation both in quantity and quality, and second, their increasing statization (appropriation by the State) and privatization (appropriation by a minority of individuals), with an associated decline in what was earlier communal. [p. 1]

Several forms of environmental degradation are associated with the green revolution technology adopted to increase crop output. While dramatically successful in the latter objective in the short-run, it has had high environmental costs: falling water tables due to the overuse of tubewells, waterlogged and saline soils from many large irrigation schemes, declining soil fertility with excessive chemical fertilizer use, water pollution with pesticides, and so on. This is likely to affect the long-term sustainability of the output increases achieved so far. [p. 7]

The processes of environmental degradation and appropriation of natural resources by the State, and by a minority of individuals, have specific class-gender implications: it is women and female children of poor rural households who are affected most adversely. [p. 37]

SUMMARY

This paper analyzes the interrelationships between gender, poverty and environmental change in rural India, focusing particularly on variations across regions and shifts over the past two decades. It begins by identifying the major factors leading to environmental degradation, then traces why and how this degradation and the appropriation of natural resources by the state and a minority of individuals have tended to have particularly adverse effects on the female members of rural poor households. Regional variations and temporal shifts in the intensity of these effects are traced both descriptively and through the specification of an index for measuring gender-environment-poverty vulnerability. Government and community-initiated responses to environmental degradation and natural resource appropriation are also examined, and the necessity of gender-directed policies highlighted. Adverse class-gender effects include an increase among poor rural households in women's and female children's time and energy spent in fuel, fodder, and water collection; a decrease in women's incomes from non-timber forest products and agriculture; an adverse effect on the health and nutrition of household members in general, and female members in particular; an erosion of social support networks built by women to combat economic crisis; and a marginalization and decline in women's traditional knowledge of plants and species. Policy suggestions include a focus on programs to give poor women greater control over economic resources in general, and common property resources in particular, and securing women's active participation in forest protection and wasteland development schemes.
The poor conservation outcomes that followed decades of intrusive resource management strategies and planned development have forced policy makers and scholars to reconsider the role of community in resource use and conservation. In a break from previous work on development which considered communities to hinder progressive social change, current writing champions the role of community in bringing about decentralization, meaningful participation, cultural autonomy, and conservation. [p. 630]

Community, we argue, must be examined in the context of conservation by focusing on the multiple interests and actors within communities, on how these actors influence decision-making, and on the internal and external institutions that shape the decision-making process. A focus on institutions rather than “community” is likely to be more fruitful for those interested in community-based natural resource management. [p. 630]

Our advocacy is for a changed emphasis for those of us who believe in locally-oriented management of resources and a move away from states and markets. Greater autonomy to local groups means that external actors would have to relinquish control over the rules and the outcomes of community-based conservation. [p. 640]

SUMMARY

This article begins by arguing that the poor conservation outcomes that resulted from decades of intrusive resource management strategies and planned development have forced policy makers and scholars to reconsider the role of community in resource use and conservation. Rather than considering communities to be a hindrance as earlier works did, current writings highlight the positive aspects of community, such as its role in bringing about decentralization, meaningful participation, and conservation. However, since community is rarely defined or explicitly conceptualized, the purpose of the article is to look at the ways community is used in conservation and management literature. It explores the conceptual origins of the community, and the ways the term has been used in writings on resource use. It then analyzes community as a small spatial unit, as a homogeneous social structure, and as a set of shared norms, pointing out the weaknesses in these conceptual approaches. Finally, it suggests a more political approach to community: it must be examined in the context of development and conservation by focusing on the multiple interests and actors within communities, on how these actors influence decision making, and on the internal and external institutions that shape the decision-making process. It concludes that a focus on institutions rather than “community” is likely to be more useful for those with community-based natural resource management interests.


Since 1940, a series of technological developments has greatly increased the labor capacity of farmers, allowing them to operate larger acreages. This resulted in a rapid increase in the size of the average farm, as well as in a corresponding decline in the number of farms. [p. 51]
While the agriculturally dependent Great Plains counties examined in this study have experienced decades of population declines, and their numbers are now few, they appear to have adjusted to these population losses extremely well. On several of the quality of life indicators explored in this study, those counties that remain dependent on agricultural employment appear to be much better off than counties that have successfully attracted other sources of employment. [p. 60]

In counties where sustenance is based on jobs in the service sector, there were higher proportions of the residents living in poverty, lower rates of employment, and fewer married couple households than for the other two categories of counties. [pp. 62-63]

SUMMARY

Due to the industrialization of agriculture, both the numbers of farms and the number of people employed in agriculture has declined significantly since 1940. Formerly agriculture-dominated communities have had to either attract alternate forms of employment or face population decline. This article examines the consequences of industrial transformation of farm communities, focusing on socioeconomic conditions and family structure. Analysis was conducted of 281 Great Plains counties that were agriculturally dependent in 1940. Counties are used as a proxy for communities because of data availability issues. It is found that, while communities remaining agriculturally dependent had extensive population declines, they also had higher rates of employment, lower poverty rates, higher proportions of married couple households, and income levels equal to counties now economically dependent on nonfarm industries. Counties dependent on service industries are found to do the worst overall on the socioeconomic and family structure indicators, including higher proportions of residents living in poverty, lower rates of employment and fewer married couple households. The article stops short of making policy prescriptions however, suggesting only that a middle ground must be found between complete dependence on nonfarm employment and extreme depopulation of rural areas.


Bremer has been undergoing some changes similar to those in small rural communities throughout the U.S. The population is aging while individual farm operations are increasing in size. Yet there is a difference in Bremer that may be a determining factor in Bremer’s ability to maintain traditions. Though some authors write of the increased poverty in rural areas, Bremer, up to this point in time, has been able to maintain its fairly high standard of living. [p. 22]

The information age directly attacks the essence of the mass society—cheap production of goods and services through mass production. It is bringing about a mega-shift in jobs, structures, and just as inevitably, individual behaviors and attitudes. [p. 39]

Bremer, through its community club, its annual fair and stock show, its efforts to maintain a doctor and golf course, has brought together and blended the resources of village and countryside. The development implication for other communities is a simple one: a way to strengthen, even double, a community’s resource base in order to solve local problems is to find mechanisms for linking together the village and countryside resources that government structures have typically set apart. [p. 219]
SUMMARY

This ethnographic case study of a small town in rural Washington presents a personalized introduction to rural America for those unfamiliar with such places. The focus of the book is illustrating through a portrait of the town that community can exist in rural towns in the Information Age, in order to show that community is not dead. The case study town of Bremer is in fact very consciously dedicated to preserving its own sense of community and uniqueness. Examples of this self-consciousness include rejection of government grants in favor of community solutions, a community club that takes on government-type responsibilities, a town fair, and the presence of community calendars in local households that list residents’ birthdays and anniversaries. The book begins with background on the town and a chapter that introduces the theoretical framework. The authors present their own model of community organization and change, which posits three eras of social and economic organization, including community control, mass society, and the information era. The rest of this book uses this framework to look at agriculture, business, the Community Club, gender roles, health care, education, religion, class and social life, and even the town fair. Much of the information is conveyed through long quotations from locals, providing a personal perspective to color the analysis. It is an interesting analysis of the values, norms and behaviors that make up a small community. The general theme of the book is clearly pointed toward proving not only that community continues to be viable in the information age, but that rural success will be achieved more easily through local community involvement in governing and development. The final chapter is useful for its “how to” insights, including how to and how not to mobilize for results. This book does not focus on poverty in rural areas, claiming instead that it is Bremer’s lack of poverty that has allowed the community to remain strong. Thus the book gives an insight into what it takes to be a rural success, rather than focusing on what causes failures.


Change had undermined the leadership of traditional chiefs, had physically removed from the area many men whose roles had to be taken by women or left unfilled, had increased the roles, if not the power, of women, had greatly enhanced the position of the aged and had introduced a new power base altogether—that of the trader or shopkeeper. [p. 29]

Decisions relating to agriculture in the area cannot be taken in isolation. The success or failure of agricultural projects there and, more importantly, the effects they may have upon the community will in a very large measure be determined by the area’s subservient relationship to the core economy. [p. 49]

Until local communities have at their disposal a democratically based mechanism through which they can bring pressure to bear on the central government, it is unlikely that changes will be introduced which place homeland agriculture or industry on an equal or competitive footing with the core economy, or which will ensure equality of access to any new development to all members of rural communities. Inequalities in rural incomes and lifestyles may only be exacerbated by projects which are introduced without consideration of the implication for the entire community. [p. 137]
SUMMARY

This working paper compares the findings from a 1985 survey of rural households in the Nkandla district of KwaZulu with the findings of a 1982 survey of the same households. The households were resurveyed in order to establish what strategies they adopted in reaction to the changing social and economic circumstances in which they found themselves. At the time of the surveys, the area had experienced prolonged drought as well as economic recession.

The paper begins with a demographic description of the population of the area that focuses mostly on household structures, and particularly on changes and migration that were restructuring the social life of the region. The next chapter focuses on economic activities, looking mostly at aspects of agriculture and land tenure. Little change is found in agricultural practice and production during the time period. Underproduction that is linked to poverty is found to be caused by labor shortages and the absence of capital, expertise, markets, and the means to plough. Problems related to livestock raising and employment are also discussed in detail. Next the paper looks briefly at quality of life issues, including education, health, water, transportation and communication, fuel, and savings. It then looks at income distribution and sources of income, which are found to be severely limited in this rural area. Chief income sources are found to be remittance and pensions. The following chapter compares income levels over the three year period for fifteen households, finding rising incomes in half of the households, and falling incomes in the other half. Causes of these income changes are explored. The concluding chapter confirms that incomes, living conditions and lifestyles in the region are heavily influenced by external sources in the core economy. It further recognizes that agricultural growth will not support the majority of rural dwellers, and may lead to increased urban flight. Educational improvement is identified as a major source of need. It is further suggested that development policy be introduced by communities to respond to their own needs rather than as plans for larger development goals such as increasing agricultural output.

Bailey, Conner; Sinclair, Peter; Bliss, John; and Perez, Karni. 1996. “Segmented labor markets in Alabama’s pulp and paper industry.” Rural Sociology v61, n3 (Fall 1996): 475-496.

Alabama’s pulp and paper industry is characterized by segmented labor markets that have limited white collar and blue collar employment opportunities available both to African-American residents of the state and to women of all racial groups. [p. 475]

Analysis of segmented labor markets provides a useful conceptual framework to examine the distribution of benefits from Alabama’s pulp and paper industry. This question of distribu- tional effects is of particular concern since the forest product industry, and especially the pulp and paper sector, is concentrated in the west-central part of the state where problems of rural poverty are most serious. [p. 476]

Here the legacy of racism and its continuing effect on limiting access to the educational opportunities necessary for such employment are primary factors. Similarly, cultural definitions of appropriate female roles in the workplace continue to affect who does what in rural Alabama. Labor markets reflect the society of which they are a part: just as societies are products of their histories and cultural traditions, so too are labor markets. [p. 494]
This article looks at access to employment opportunities in Alabama's forest products industry, which dominates the state's rural economy. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews conducted between 1993 and 1995 with managers in pulp, paper and chip mills throughout the state, as well as union representatives and company officials. Analysis of this and other secondary data finds evidence of segmented labor markets in which structural and cultural factors determine access to particular jobs, with better jobs going primarily to whites and men from outside the rural areas. The origins of these segmented markets are traced to deep roots of racial discrimination. Currently changes within the industry such as the increased use of sub-contracting are helping to exacerbate the problems of low wages and restricted labor markets for minorities and women. Both the legacy of racism and human capital deficiencies are considered major factors in limiting blacks' and women's access to higher paying white collar jobs.


Clearly abilities vary from worker to worker even on relatively unskilled agricultural jobs, and within the small closed world of a traditional village the employer usually has a fairly good idea of the ability characteristics of the different members of his work force. Yet, with a few exceptions, the wage rate for casual labor (of a given sex, and for a given farm operation) is remarkably uniform within the village, and workers recognized by the employer as belonging to different ability types do not get paid at significantly different wage rates. [p. 71]

Agricultural growth and productivity improvements in general tend to help raise incomes all around, but certain types of growth processes generate negative forces for the poor, particularly in an institutional setting of highly unequal distribution of assets and access to resources. [p. 199]

One of the most striking features of the child mortality data in rural India is the male-female differential... In 1970 the death rate of female children (in the 0-4 age group) was a much as 47 percent higher than that of males in Punjab, 37 percent higher in Uttar Pradesh, 36 percent higher in Haryana, 23 percent higher in Rajasthan, and 10 percent higher in Gujarat. By contrast, most states in east and south India have a female-to-male child death ratio that is below the average for rural India. [p. 207]
participation, farm-level determinants of the use of hired labor, and labor-tying arrangements. The second section looks at land lease contracts and rural land tenure issues, focusing on tenancy and sharecropping. The last section is a collection of essays on different aspects of production relations in agriculture and the complexities of relationships between growth and poverty, and poverty and mortality. It is in this second section where the book strays somewhat from its more economic roots, and looks into such sociological issues as the causes of gender differences in child mortality figures. However, it is still basically an in-depth look at the development economics issues in India, and economic issues are the focus.


The natural resource-based sectors—farming, forestry and mining—are uniquely rural and are not going to disappear. Innovations in production and marketing of these goods will continue to contribute to income in rural America. Still, few analysts see these as growth industries that are comparable in their ability to generate high incomes per capita to those locating in metro places. [p. 24]

Despite the growth of service employment in rural areas, extractive and manufacturing industries will continue to be relatively more important in rural than in urban areas. Agriculture, resource, and manufacturing dependent nonmetropolitan counties will continue to exist. At the same time, we know that these traditional industries will not provide the number of jobs in the future that are needed to employ either the existing or a growing labor force, nor to maintain viable rural communities. [p. 122]

Tourism is a growth industry and it can be a vital element in rural economic development programs. However, geographic growth of the sector will be uneven because of unequal resource endowments, and specific industries (such as skiing) may be in decline because of changing demographics and tastes. [p. 160]

SUMMARY

This volume attempts to provide an overview of how the present economic environment works out at the ground level of the rural economy and community. It also looks at policy initiatives, particularly employment strategies, that will be effective in the coming years. Most of the essays critically examine previous explanations of rural economic change and/or development strategies, highlighting the weaknesses and limitations of current knowledge and thereby challenging common generalizations and highlighting new research directions. The book's chapters focus specifically on employment and income generation strategies for small towns in response to the new global economic climate. In this attempt, the first four chapters present evidence of the widening economic development differential between metro and nonmetro counties and review the probable causes for rural decline and the potential for recovery. These chapters document the widening gap between nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas, review historic and recent changes in metro-nonmetro manufacturing employment patterns, assess the utilization of nonmetropolitan labor resources, and discuss the influences of the expanding division of labor and flexible production systems on the nature and location of economic development. Chapters five through eleven provide critical reviews of popular job creation strategies for nonmetropolitan areas, analyzing the development of small and
medium sized enterprises, the expansion of export related service sector employment, the development of tourism and recreation-related industries, the attraction of retirees and retirement activities, the expansion of high-technology manufacturing in rural areas, the employment potential of nontraditional agriculture and value-added enhancement in agriculture, and job creation through foreign direct investment in manufacturing. The final four chapters address the efficacy of state and local programs for income and employment generation, ending with a discussion of policy directions.


The farm crisis of the 1980s was a prolonged and violent thunderstorm, smashing dreams, frightening even the most economically secure farm families, and revealing in bright flashes some powerful changes in American rural life. Experts predicted that the crisis years would force out of business primarily small- and medium-sized family farms, leaving a structure of agriculture dominated by larger farms, dependent on hired wage laborers. In fact, the crisis hurt the largest farms as much or more than the others and forced a widespread reevaluation of the trend toward larger scale, ambitious expansion, and farm indebtedness. [p. 1]

The conflicting visions of farm success presented by the cautious and ambitious management style…reflect the larger cultural divergence between an agrarian and an industrial way of life. Concerns with long-term planning, money management, and commitment to a multigenerational agricultural business clash with the emphasis on short-term gains, expansion, and risk-taking entrepreneurship that are highly valued in a capitalist system. [p. 211]

The farmers who have survived the crisis exhibit a somewhat chastened attitude that might be considered a postmodern sense of limits. Their emerging doubts about unbridled individualism, consumerism, and unsustainable growth echo a disquiet found in many sectors of American life. Within the family, changes in work, marriage, and personal goals bring uncertainties about what is really best for family members. [p. 253]

SUMMARY

This ethnographic case study of the 1980s farm crisis in Dodge County, Georgia, attempts to take full measure of the decade's damage and look at the long term viability of family farms. Data on Dodge County farms and families was gathered through formal questions and open-ended interviews, as well as informal visits to families and participant observation at farm meetings, livestock and crop sales, auctions, and church services. The book has three main sections, focusing respectively on the history of the area, the nature of farm life in the 1980s, and the farm crisis. In the second section, two paths to success among full time farms are identified: large and medium scale. Their survival rates in the crisis years are contrasted with those of part time and retirement farms. Two management styles, cautious and ambitious, are also identified and explored. Women's roles on the farm and industrial and agrarian marital models are also explored as other ways to characterize different farm relationships. Many of the findings discussed in the third section are surprising. Farm size appears to be irrelevant to farm failures. However, the farmers' management style is found to be much more important. Ambitious managers who bought more machinery, utilized more hired labor, and were thus able to have higher consumption as well as higher debt, were more likely to fail than were cautious managers who focused on avoiding debt, utilizing their own labor and reducing
consumption. The conflict between agrarian value systems and capitalist, industrialist values is found to be a major source of tension for modern farmers, and is felt particularly strongly by women, who are more in touch with their children's material needs and desires. The book ends in questioning how these tensions will affect the future of farming in the late-industrial economy.


When contrasted with other regions of the country, poverty levels were higher and median family incomes lower in the South both in 1970 and 1980. In fact, poverty levels in the rural South were still about 6 percent higher than in any other region of the country in 1980. [p. 3]

In addition to incentives which may be required to encourage young blacks to commit themselves to production agriculture, an equal challenge is that of encouraging young people to commit themselves to their rural communities. It is unrealistic to expect a complete reversal of the trends related to the economic well-being of black farmers or to reductions in the black farm population, but with aggressive and carefully planned strategies, perhaps conditions can be improved. [p. 118]

The search for alternatives to bolster incomes of farmers and rural residents has been an ongoing process for many decades. Studies conducted in the 1930s were addressing many of the same issues of low income, rural poverty, farm financial stress and the search for income-producing alternatives for rural people that are receiving so much attention today. [p. 344]

**SUMMARY**

This collection of essays focuses on rural poverty and economic conditions in the South. The South was chosen as the focus because of its high proportions of rural residents, rural African-Americans, U.S. farms, and African-American farm operators. In addition, according to the editor, the South does the most poorly on nearly all measures of well-being. The South is characterized as having persistent low incomes, high rural poverty, low educational attainment, and slow economic improvement for African Americans. Thus the focus of the volume is on strategies for addressing the needs of the rural South and improving its quality of life. Its main purpose is fourfold: 1) to articulate the dimensions of the agricultural/rural community crisis in the South; 2) to examine socioeconomic issues that are of critical importance to the well-being of agriculture and rural communities in the region; 3) to assess the impacts of past agriculture/rural development policies on the South and to delineate the directions that such policies might take in the future; 4) to identify opportunities for vitalizing the rural South. Chapters explore the South's poor educational performance, the region's fragile farm and nonfarm economies, the persistence of poverty, and the absence of strong local leadership. The first set of chapters gives historical background and lays out areas in which the Southern crisis has manifested. Crisis is examined from economic as well as community and personal points of view. The next group of chapters looks at a broader series of socioeconomic forces that influence the vitality of rural and agricultural communities in the South. Essays in this section look at the status of African-American farm operators, the role of women in the childhood socialization process and its impacts on further generations of farmers, the relationship between farm structure and community well-being, the need for economic diversification, labor market effects on farm households, employment experiences of rural African-Americans, and the effects of the farm crisis on
rural communities. The volume’s third section focuses on agriculture and rural development policies, looking at national farm policy initiatives, future development strategies, and Southern rural economic development strategies. The book’s last section explores opportunities for revitalizing the rural South. Discussed in this section are industrial recruitment strategies, educational reform, entrepreneurship, strategies for saving Southern agriculture, and community development. The final chapter sums up the main themes of the book, and identifies limited educational opportunity as a major problem in the rural South. Final recommendations include making education a major part of rural development activities.


A lack of jobs which adequately utilize the available human capital is a serious problem in rural America today. Nonmetro job growth is considerably slower than growth in metro areas, especially among the higher paying professional and managerial job categories. Nonmetro areas are losing relatively lower skill, routine production jobs as manufacturing firms restructure and/or relocate to off-shore production sites. [p. 40]

What is needed now to harness and focus the energy of the information and rural policy movements is the recognition that communications technology and rural development are means for the realization of human goals, not ends in themselves. If these means of achieving goals are applied the way means usually are applied in today’s world, the beneficiaries are not likely to be rural communities; rather, both the communications revolution and some forms of rural development could contribute dramatically to the final demise of the rural community as a viable social form. [p. 80]

Rural areas need ways to mobilize new and innovative institutional arrangements to attack human capital issues on a number of fronts simultaneously. Efforts must begin with communities and families and address factors such as poverty, inadequate employment opportunities, public services and facilities, and various structural barriers to the full realization of human potential in rural areas. [p. 379]

**SUMMARY**

This collection of essays focuses on examining the human capital needs and resources of rural America in light of the economic and social changes taking place in the late 1980s and 1990s. Its theoretical base is split between human capital models and structural models, with different essays taking opposing points of view as to what rural America truly lacks. The first chapter provides an introduction to these theoretical perspectives, exploring several sides of the human capital issue, as well as structural issues such as job competition and dual labor markets. The rest of the conceptual section of the book provides an overview of human resource conditions in rural America, finding that a mismatch exists between available human resources and available jobs. The next section of chapters focus on key economic, social and technological changes that are likely to shape the future viability of rural areas. The first economic chapter focuses on structural shifts and their likely economic impacts on rural areas. The social chapter focuses on strengthening community as the solution to a host of social problems. The technological chapter examines the possible negative consequences of modern technology on rural communities, while offering a framework for using technology to
create sustainable community systems. The next section of articles looks at the conditions of human capital resources across rural America, focusing on deficits. Chapters in this section link poverty with human capital deficiencies, and the human capital resources of rural minorities are examined in detail in chapters that focus on rural Native Americans, blacks, Hispanics and women. The problem of worker displacement is also linked to human capital issues. Finally, the last chapter in this section looks at the problem of outmigration from rural areas, the so-called “brain-drain” effect. The last section of the book focuses on policy issues, primarily the investments necessary to strengthen rural America’s human capital resources. Chapters in this section explore the links between human capital and rural development, health care, family structures and labor market incentives. A final chapter sums up the main thrust of the book, and reiterates policy suggestions. It is a strength of this conclusion, as well as the book itself, that it devotes discussion time to the structural factors that limit the full usage of human capital. Thus the editors point out that although human capital investment is necessary for future economic development in rural areas, in many areas human capital investment alone will be insufficient to address economic needs without the addition of investment into jobs that match the human capital resources of the areas.


“Intensify or die”—is the crude but real development challenge for much of Andean Latin America. Economic stagnation, population growth, land subdivision, cultural modernization, emigration and continued resource degradation in large parts of the Andes, along with related resource degradation, and land and resource conflicts in their eastern slopes and Amazonian lowlands, point to the urgent need for a sustainable intensification of rural livelihood opportunities in both areas. [p. 1161]

As research, extension and other rural support activities are being reorganized throughout Latin America, with public sector agencies progressively withdrawing from direct implementation and service delivery, so the space for civil society and private sector organizations is widening. [p. 1162]

Those federations that are developing into rural social enterprises perhaps have the most to contribute to agricultural intensification (and more than many NGO or government programs). By opening new markets, by transforming and marketing produce, these cases point to a means through which economic incentives for the sustainable intensification of natural resource management can be created, through which payoffs to new technology can be enhanced, and through which rural livelihoods can be enhanced more sustainably. [p. 1174]

SUMMARY

This paper analyzes experiences from Bolivia and Ecuador of how campesino and indigenous federations engage in agricultural development and natural resource management activities. It argues that necessary intensification will depend to some degree on rural poor campesinos having more secure and expanded rights over resources and improved access to existing and new markets. This will occur through relationships that allow the wealth deriving from natural resource based and agricultural activities to be captured and reinvested in rural areas, creating new income and employ-
ment activities. It is argued that modernized forms of indigenous organizations will play several crucial roles in the intensification process, including the negotiating of new market relationships, managing the development of on and off-farm technologies, and negotiating new relationships with other institutions. The argument is based on field research done in Ecuador and Bolivia with a number of different organizations. The paper identifies three different trajectories through which campesino federations have arrived at work with technology, and three different natural-resource related roles played by the federation. The paper also suggests that experience shows that these organizations could play an integral role in interinstitutional approaches to agricultural development and rural intensification.


A village is supposed to have ancient origins, or so the popular idea of the perfect English village suggests. That misty image also portrays a village of half-timbered thatched cottages, of a grand manor house, and of a pub, church, school, and cricket pitch nestled around a lush green and village pond. Aside from pictures in children's books and the little hand-painted porcelain models of villages sold to tourists, few of these perfect villages exist. And Childerely is not one of them. [p. 11-12]

So many have rushed off north, south, east, and west from the miserable heat and dust that cities like London have added another frontier of urban influence: the exurbs. Living further out and further apart than in the suburbs, residents of these areas find a visually rural life still within the economic and cultural glow of city lights. Here computer engineers and factory workers live in the midst of active forestland and farmland. Settlements have clearer edges than they do closer in. Still, development pressures seem ready to burst the fabric of the countryside. The city seems close and distant at the same time. [p. 21]

For all its difference, a natural conscience is thus something Childerleyans find very relevant to their lives. In it they find a powerful source of motivation and identity—the natural other—a source they consider to be free of the social interests that undermine the moral security class formerly held in English society. [p. 239]

**SUMMARY**

This book provides an ethnographic portrait of the residents of Childerley, an “exurban” English village. Childerley is approximately two hours outside of London, and has 475 residents who have rejected urban living in favor of the benefits of the village. The book is concerned with the ways in which the residents of Childerley relate to their natural environment, and the use of nature as a source of identity and moral understanding for people of the village. One of the book’s main points is to demonstrate the importance of two kinds of moral thinking in the villagers’ lives. The first type of moral thinking is based on ideas the villagers consider to be socially derived, and the second is based on truths they consider to be above and free from the polluting interests of social life. The book relies heavily on the villagers to explain for themselves why they choose to live in Childerley, and what makes it a coherent entity. Thus, to start with, the book explores the meanings of class and community through the eyes of its residents. It finds that although Childerley is still considered “slightly feudal,” and class remains central, is not as important as it used to be in small villages. The
importance of class, and its declining acceptance by the residents, is an important theme throughout the book. Other themes that are explored include the residents’ construction of rural/urban differences, the countryside’s connection to and the villagers’ conception of nature, and the distinct identity of the village. The natural conscious that villagers possess is explored as a basis for grounding the self, constructing the “natural me”—the country person’s identity. Along with class and self-perception, the book also analyzes community behavior from a gender standpoint. Overall, the idea that pervades the book is the interconnectedness of people and ideas within the changing rural environment.


Community Development has been described as a process of change from the traditional way of living of rural communities to progressive ways of living; as a method by which people can be assisted to develop themselves on their own capacity and resources; as a programme for accomplishing certain activities in fields concerning the welfare of the rural people; and as a movement for progress with a certain ideological context. [p. 113]

The core of the anti-poverty programmes lies in the endowment of income-generating assets on those who have little or none of these. Hence, redistributive land reforms and security of tenure to the informal tenants have to be directly integrated with the anti-poverty package of programmes. [p. 270]

Public distribution of essential commodities like foodgrains and cloth to the vulnerable sections, especially in rural areas where productivity and wages are low, should serve as an essential complement to the programmes for employment and income generation. Otherwise, the rise in the cash income of the poor can easily be neutralised by the rise in the prices of essential commodities. [p. 272]

**SUMMARY**

This book is dedicated to the study of poverty and poverty alleviation programs in India. It begins with a discussion of the concept of poverty and the ways to measure it, including monetary and caloric measures. Using different measures, it is concluded that acute rural poverty in India is linked to unemployment in the rural sector. Thus the book explores different strategies to increase employment and reduce poverty. The first of these strategies is Integrated Rural Development Strategy, an approach that has been popular with planners and policy-makers in India and focuses on development of rural small-scale industries. The strategy is explained and explored through several case studies. Next the book looks at block level planning for rural economic growth, which adopts the development block as the planning unit and integrates the block plans with the district and state level plans. Merits of this type of planning are discussed, as are several case studies. Following chapters focus on the merits and problems of particular vehicles for development, such as agricultural enterprise, community development projects, Panchahati Raj, and cooperatives. Next there is a discussion of the role of rural banks in fighting rural poverty, the role of village and small-scale industries, and the role of financial institutions. Subsequently, a long chapter looks at the successes and failures of the fight against poverty in different states throughout India. The book ends with specific suggestions for improving the poverty alleviation measures that have been discussed throughout the book.

Land degradation should by definition be a social problem. Purely environmental processes such as leaching and erosion occur with or without human interference, but for these processes to be described as “degradation” implies social criteria which relate land to its actual or possible uses. [p. 1]

Human-induced degradation occurs when land is poorly managed, or where natural forces are so powerful that there is no means of management that can check its progress. Some degradation is caused when land that should never have been interfered with is brought into use, but most land now subject to accelerated degradation is capable of more effective management than it receives. [p. 3]

Degradation is thus often encapsulated in a web of surplus-extracting relationships, in feudal systems, in colonial/capitalist economic relationships, and almost wherever there is marked inequality. Neither centrally planned nor “market” economies are free from such relationships. [p. 241]

**SUMMARY**

This book looks at the social underpinnings of theories of land degradation in order to contribute to a better understanding of it. It looks at land degradation within a wide historical and geographical framework in its attempt to develop a methodology that can accommodate detailed local study as well as a basis for theory construction and generalization. The book begins by looking at theoretical and methodological issues. The first chapter is concerned with defining terms and introducing the methodological problems to be faced. Following chapters discuss problems of explanation, physical problems of definition and measurement, questions of the structure of land management, supply and demand for land, costs and benefits of land management, and social relations of land managers. Issues are illustrated through the use of specific case studies, and are examined from multiple standpoints. An historical perspective pervades these chapters, which the authors argue cannot be understood without it. This historical perspective is highlighted in Chapters seven and eight, which review literature on the Mediterranean, western Europe, and Pacific Islands, with a focus on climatic change. In the remaining chapters of the book the historical perspective once again takes a background role, and a number of contemporary land management and degradation problems are discussed. Examples are taken from Southeast Asia, Fiji, India, China, the U.S. and Australia. Problems are examined in the context of management, mindsets, socio-economic relations, and politics. A final chapter wraps up the book by summarizing conclusions from the case-studies and examining policies. It ends by appealing to scientists to take note of both the seriousness and complexity of land degradation.


Removal of poverty has been the central concern of Planning in India. However, during the first three five year plans, (1951-66) the main emphasis of planning was to achieve higher growth in Gross National Product. The thinking then was that the benefits of higher growth
will automatically “trickle down” to the masses and alleviate their poverty. [p. 48]

Most assessments of the impact of the Green Revolution in India recognised that as well as increasing over all productivity, it has also increased socio-economic stratification, this has resulted in worsening of income distribution between the rich farmers and the poor farmers. [p. 70]

Governments need to recognise that smaller organisational units, such as villages or pastoral associations, are better equipped to manage their own resources than are large authorities and may be more effective bases for rural development and rational resource management than institutions imposed from outside. To succeed, the organisations have to be voluntary and managed by group members. What is most needed is popular participation at the village level. [p. 111]

SUMMARY

This book is loosely focused on the participation of the poor in rural development programs, while looking closely at the programs themselves and their conceptual frameworks. The book attempts to highlight the participation of rural poor in developmental strategies to improve livelihoods. Its author held senior office positions in rural development programs in different areas of the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh for nearly ten years. The book begins with a basic theoretical framework for conceptualizing participation, highlighting various theories of participation. It then looks more closely at participation as envisioned by the Indian government, outlining the government’s approach. This approach is then examined through a case study done in a district of Andhra Pradesh where the author worked. The chapter concludes that the poor responded positively to the participatory nature of the scheme, and results were generally favorable. The next chapter looks in similar detail at another Indian development program, highlighting strengths and weaknesses in reaching its target populations. The book then shifts gears slightly to look at technological change in agriculture, particularly with reference to the Green Revolution in India and Africa. It then compares decentralization experiments in India and Kenya, and ends with a chapter on common property resources and the tragedy of the commons. The book is sorely lacking a concluding chapter to integrate the somewhat unconnected chapters and highlight the main points. However, despite its lack of integration, it does contain some interesting insights from the field.


The urban bias of many leadership studies is in part responsible for both the paucity of attention on the role of women and leadership in rural areas and the generalization of the findings in urban studies to rural areas. Such a dearth of information is confusing, especially since rural areas are often thought to be the bedrock of gender inequalities. [p. 2]

Respondents … cited traditional attitudes towards women as the most common reason that women were under-represented in positions of leadership: it is more difficult for women to be leaders because this is a more traditional area. Women have done things with the PTO, recreational areas, more family type of things than other types of leadership. [p. 15]

Communities differing in urban presence, local economic conditions, and community organi-
zation had different proportions of women leaders. More women leaders were identified in the areas with urban presence that did not infringe on rural areas while few women leaders were found in the most rural (no urban presence) and least rural (urban pressure) sites. [p. 17]

SUMMARY

This article looks at female leadership in rural areas in order to address the lack of attention given to this topic in leadership and gender studies. The study examines rates of female leadership, perceptions of female and male leaders, and attitudes towards women as local leaders in several rural regions. Data was collected through interviews in four regions of rural Pennsylvania that differed in levels of urban presence and pressure. The results include both a quantitative analysis of the data, as well as qualitative analysis of interviews. Findings revealed that men dominated rural leadership positions and were recognized as leaders more often than women, but that gender ratios of leaders, as well as the types of women leaders who emerged, varied by site. Conclusions include the need for community research to focus more attention on women.


The rural problem is that growth industries replacing agriculture are concentrated in cities, not rural towns. In the absence of effective rural initiative, there seems to be a universal truth that development tends toward the urban and that resource-rich areas become poor. [p. 165]

With a feeling of growing dependency, many rural communities face a harsh reality. Their increasing ties to urban America seem to promise opportunity, but rural communities compete poorly and changes are coming very fast. [p. 168]

Rural development requires innovative responses to match the changing character of rural communities. Development efforts must not look at the community in isolation, but must be strategic about forging linkages between communities to respond to external problems that they share. [p. 172]

SUMMARY

This article focuses on the new position of rural American communities within the global economy, focusing in particular on the ways in which rural areas are affected by and dependent upon forces from outside. It identifies and discusses three changes in the character of communities that make the transition to the new rural reality difficult: decreasing rural dependence on central places, the regional linkage of specialized places, and the external origin of local problems and resources. Examples of the linking of towns in regional networks include the locations of large discount stores between rural communities to service multiple places at once. Most difficult for rural communities to comprehend is that local problems and resources are becoming external to the tight-knit communities. These changes create new development challenges that the article suggests should be met with a two-pillar paradigm. Firstly, development must be focused at the local level, with the local community taking the lead in mobilizing outside resources for community benefit. Secondly, the approach must be multifaceted in purpose and scope. The article then proposes a new community leadership model for development, including multijurisdictional leadership, strategic planning, resource mobili-
zation, sharing, economies of scale, specialization, and leveraging. It concludes that policies for rural development need to provide more mechanisms for this type of multifunctional and multijurisdictional response.


For their part, the rural majority have seldom been in a position to determine development policy, even its rural components; instead, they have been the subjects of policy and, too often, its victims. Especially during those periods when export agriculture has expanded rapidly, peasants have been thrown into unequal competition against more powerful interests for control of fertile land. [p. 2]

The fundamental constraint that has continually plagued development-oriented Central American elites has been the inadequate size of domestic markets; there has been too little domestic demand to stimulate production and therefore economic growth. Accordingly, a primary orientation of such groups has been to discover and develop exports for foreign markets. What elites have conveniently and consistently downplayed is the relationship between internal demand and social stratification. [p. 189]

The number of landless and land-poor peasants in the region increases constantly, as do the ranks of the rural unemployed and underemployed. Unfortunately, as the need for land redistribution has grown, so too has its difficulty. The “easiest” lands to expropriate and/or distribute, accessible public property and unused lands on large estates, dwindle all the time. [p. 197]

**SUMMARY**

This study is concerned with two interrelated issues. The first of these is the political crisis that has engulfed Latin America since the late 1970s. The second is the persistence of poverty and hunger, specifically in Central America. The book is broken up into two parts, the first of which discusses the major transformations that created contemporary agrarian society in Latin America and evaluates their impact on the rural population. In this section, the author traces the roots of the present crisis back to the original land ownership system introduced by the Spanish conquerors, which set up uneven patterns of ownership and coercion as the method for dealing with dissent. The second section examines country by country the political response of peasants, political movements, and governments to postwar agrarian change. This section attempts to compare across and within countries the adequacy of governmental responses to the challenges presented by the upheaval of recent decades in rural society. The book is focused on the practice of Latin American governments to coerce their populations to give up their lands and livelihoods in favor of elite agro-export businesses. Loss of land dooms these rural populations to poverty. The book explores the role of U.S. companies and interventionist policies in exacerbating these scenarios. In addition to exploring the political-economic processes that create and sustain rural poverty, the book also looks at rural responses to land loss, including wage labor and migration. It concludes that, “until agrarian society is transformed along more equitable lines, the number of people whose land, employment, and income are insufficient will continue to grow.” (p. 201)
In recent years, the separation between advocacy for nature and advocacy for people has been criticized in attempts to demonstrate the relationship between environmental degradation and issues of social justice, rural poverty, and indigenous rights. A loosely woven transnational movement has emerged, based particularly on advocacy by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working with local groups and communities, on the one hand, and national and transnational organizations, on the other, to build and extend new versions of environmental and social advocacy which link social justice and environmental management agendas. [p. 158]

Community-based natural resource management programs are based on the premises that local populations have a greater interest in the sustainable use of resources than does the state or distant corporate managers; that local communities are more cognizant of the intricacies of local ecological processes and practices; and that they are more able to effectively manage those resources through local or “traditional” forms of access. [p. 158]

In insisting on the link between environmental degradation and social inequity, and by providing a concrete scheme for action in the form of the community-based natural resource management model, NGOs and their allies have sought to bring about a fundamental rethinking of the issue of how the goals of conservation and effective resource management can be linked to the search for social justice for historically marginalized people. [p. 158]

SUMMARY

The purpose of this short essay is to provide an outline for discussion of challenges and dilemmas inherent in community-based natural resource management. It takes as its starting point the recent emergence of a loosely woven transnational movement that includes non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local groups and communities, national and transnational organizations trying to build new visions of environmental and social advocacy that link social justice with environmental management agendas. A particularly successful development has been the promotion of community-based natural resource management programs and policies. However, in order for this paradigm to be used in diverse situations, a number of themes and questions must first be addressed. The paper outlines these concerns. Among those addressed are how organizations become aware of the need for community involvement in conservation or resource management, and how their concerns are translated into concrete, funded projects. Another set of questions focuses on how specific community-based natural resource models have come to be widely known and used. Other concerns include addressing political biases in mapping procedures; legal strategies for community-based natural resource management; the role of international development organizations in promoting or thwarting community development strategies; and local struggles and movements for democracy, social justice, and minority and cultural rights. The article also brings up questions of institutional appropriations of community-based natural resource management; the use of terms and concepts; images of communities being produced and disseminated by NGOs; collective rights versus individual rights; sovereignty and citizenship; and community diversity and statutory uniformity.

Although many long-time residents were privately concerned about the mismanagement of public forests and the potential loss of the area’s rural character, many came to distrust environmentalists as a group. The sentiments driving public land and private land environmental issues are perceived as similar, both being identified with the desire of economically secure newcomers to protect their own parochial interests. [p. 16]

“People are starting to realize that they have to pull together to make a difference. That they have to make a difference even. I think the way the government is trying to control our woods—there’s ways of protecting the animals that need to live there and at the same time still get a living from them. You know, the government was not supposed to own land. And yet they own so much of Oregon that’s just inaccessible to us to use as a livelihood.” [p. 57]

“When all the retirement people come from the big cities, they bring high prices into the real estate. Everything just all of a sudden just mushrooms. It gets so far out of perspective that the normal people that were raised and lived there for years can’t even afford to buy a little old two-bedroom house.” [p. 187]

**SUMMARY**

The interconnectedness of community, land use and economic sustainability are illustrated beautifully in this book that lets the residents of the Rogue Valley in rural Oregon speak for themselves. After an initial chapter that gives background on the area and the changes in the population and timber industry, Brown launches into presenting the results of her interviews. The rest of the book consists mostly of direct transcriptions from open-ended interviews with 25 long-term residents of the area, talking about their pasts, the changes they perceive currently, and their visions of the future. After a short chapter analyzing the language and meaning of these narratives, one last chapter is devoted to interviews with environmental activists, giving voice to a distinctly different point of view. Many of the interviewees focus on several similar points, including the loss of local jobs and the loss of open lands for noncommercial hunting, fishing, and wood gathering that contributed to subsistence in the past. Another theme echoed again and again throughout the interviews is resentment toward the newcomers into the area, particularly wealthy retirees from California who are blamed for rising housing values and deteriorating school systems. Although the area is considered by outsiders to be sparsely populated, its long-time residents complained repeatedly about its overpopulation, about the influx of newcomers who are changing the nature of the communities. One commonly referenced indication of the difference in attitudes and values is the posting of “No Trespassing” signs on land that was once open access. The book gives an intimate, if somewhat unorganized and repetitive, look into the real concerns of rural dwellers in Oregon, giving a voice to people commonly written off as stereotyped “rednecks.”


While each nation recognizes the need for public assistance to rural areas, the conditions motivating and justifying this public intervention differ widely, as do the mechanisms employed
and the political auspices through which plans and policies are carried out. [p. 14]

In effect agrarian rural America has been suffering from success. The reduction of manpower needs in farming is a triumph of technology—mechanical, chemical, genetic—which saw the index of agricultural output per hour of farm work rise by about 1,300 pct. from 1940 to 1989. From this arose the necessity for millions of people to leave farming—and, in so many cases, to leave rural areas as well—despite a large simultaneous growth in the demand for farm products. [p. 108]

SUMMARY

This volume contains papers from a 1991 Madison, Wisconsin symposium to honor the rural demographer Glenn Fuguitt. It gives an overview of the rural demography and rural sociology disciplines as well as the major substantive areas of study. Essays cover population redistribution; migration and spatial inequality; urbanization; demography of agriculture; applied demography and rural sociology; and reflections on rural demography. Each essay is followed by several short reactions and critiques of it. Common themes include population decline in rural areas due to migration and economic redistribution, as well as the decline of farm populations. The book gives a good overview of the state of rural demography, but does not offer a large amount of either in-depth analysis or policy suggestion.


The differences between Latin American countries in both the extent of poverty and the degree of inequality suggest that there are some degrees of freedom open to policy-makers pursuing greater equity. As the countries of the region enter the 21st century, subject to political systems that now give more voice to the most disadvantaged groups, the need to understand the forces that shape poverty and income distribution has never been greater. [p. 7]

Despite the fact that the new paradigm is still relatively young, it is abundantly apparent that the benefits claimed for the NEM are very difficult to achieve. The textbook certainties associated with the Washington Consensus have proven to be no more than possibilities, while the costs identified as unavoidable in the short-term have been all too apparent. [p. 295]

The scale of poverty and the degree of income inequality continue to be the scourge of Latin America. The NEM does not provide a simple answer to either problem. Major improvements, particularly in income distribution, are likely to take many years to achieve and can only be secured through the adoption of policies that operate over the long-run. [p. 312]

SUMMARY

This book consists of a series of critiques and explorations of the social consequences of the New Economic Model (NEM) of development. Most of the essays echo the same opinion that economic liberalization will worsen inequality and delay poverty reduction in Latin America. Com-
mon themes throughout the book include unemployment and falling real wages. Although NEM is still relatively young, the chapters analyze in depth the ways in which its reforms have affected income distribution and poverty. The book consists of two main sections, a discussion of the main components of the reform packages and their effects, and a set of case studies from Chile, Mexico, Honduras, and Brazil. Although most of the essays are pessimistic about the effects of NEM, there is some variety of viewpoints, including the chapter on Brazil that finds that inflation is the single most damaging factor for the poor. It concludes that NEM should actually help the poor and the income distribution because it holds inflation in check. However, despite this essay, the overwhelming finding from the book is that the negative consequences of NEM are likely to far outweigh the positive consequences. Conclusions are that NEM has done little to help poverty and has increased inequality in income distribution. However, despite the problems identified, the authors do not feel that earlier programs were any more successful than NEM, and suggest that it needs mostly to be refined in order to focus more on equity considerations.


Agrarian growth in Latin America presents a particularly important opportunity to study the microeconomics of growth and inequality. Not only does the agrarian sector house a disproportionate share of Latin American poverty, it is also central to overall economic development (at least at the early stages of development when it is the primary sector from which individuals are pushed or pulled into other sectors). [p. 1133]

Although often motivated by macroeconomic considerations, agro-export promotion can have far-reaching welfare impacts on the rural poor. Often these impacts are described in unconditional terms as immutable side effects of agro-export growth by both proponents and opponents of these strategies. [p. 1134]

The heterogeneous experience of contemporary Latin American agro-export booms poses a challenge to understand why in some instances rapid sectoral growth directly enhances the wealth and earnings of small farmers and rural workers, whereas in other instances it destabilizes their land access and employment in a way which threatens the political and social stability of the rural economy. [p. 1138]

SUMMARY

Focusing on the rural sector in Latin America, this paper explores the microeconomic linkages between distribution and growth that drive the possible reproduction of rural poverty over time, and identifies the content of and prospects for the sorts of public policy and collective action that might modify the nature of growth and distribution in the postliberalization agrarian market economy. The result is a neostructuralist perspective that argues that existing laissez faire agrarian economies do not present a level playing field, and that low wealth farms face disadvantages that deepen sectoral inequality. The paper tries to identify the sorts of public policy and collective action that could modify the nature of growth and distribution. Its later sections report and interpret the results of microeconomic studies designed to identify systemic patterns of differentiated behavior along the wealth continuum in the context of contemporary Latin American export growth booms. Finally,
paper argues that that liberalization alone, or ‘out of sequence’ with financial market policy, may not be sufficient to link growth with poverty reduction.


In the 1990s, export strategies continue to dominate discussion on agricultural development in the region. Especially for smaller developing countries in Latin America, agricultural and natural-resource exports appear likely to lead efforts to stimulate export growth. Extraordinary rapid agro-export growth has already been achieved in many countries. [p. 33]

The full impact of export growth on the rural poor thus depends critically on the interacting effects of differential adoption, induced structural change, and labor absorption. The interaction can be positive, with structural shifts in land to small-scale producers who thus benefit directly and also generate more employment per hectare. The interaction can also be negative. [p. 38]

Policymakers should address the longstanding challenge of finding solutions to the problems of rural poverty rather than merely asking the poor to wait for the market to present them with better opportunities sometime in the indefinite future. [p. 60]

SUMMARY

This article examines the microeconomics of recent agro-export booms in three Latin American countries that have yielded a wide range of sectoral outcomes due to distinct socioeconomic contexts and varying crop types. It argues that the distributional outcomes of agro-export booms vary, and don’t necessarily include or exclude the rural poor. Since agro-export boom variations are affected by policy measures, it is possible to shape booms to include more of the rural poor. Of primary concern is to identify the microeconomic factors that determine the extent of participation by the rural poor in the booming sector by examining their likelihood of adopting export crops and the boom’s impact on their access to land employment opportunities. The first two sections of the article summarize the conceptual model that underlies its empirical analysis. The next four sections examine export booms in Chile, Guatemala and Paraguay by using data on farms collected from a coordinated set of surveys of rural households in each country. The final section concludes that efforts to make agro-export growth benefit the rural poor require more than market liberalization and an outward-looking policy orientation. It ends by drawing out lessons from the case studies regarding policies that can make agro-export strategies more beneficial to the rural poor.


Despite the fact that South Africa ranks as an upper-middle income country with a per-capita GDP of some $3,000, the majority of South Africans live in poverty. The legacy of apartheid
has of course much to do with the poverty and the sharp dualism that characterize contempo-
rary South Africa. [p. 1]

As in many countries, the poor in South Africa are disproportionately found in rural areas. As
McKinley and Alarcon (1995) suggest in their study of Mexico, anti-poverty policy must find
a way to boost the level and, or the stability of income for the rural poor. [p. 1]

In a world in which markets were perfect, a policy that transferred assets such as land to the
poor would indeed improve their position as they would simply be able to use factor markets to
access any complementary resources that they might need. In a country where policies have
systematically distorted almost every economic market and social institution, however, it is not
possible to be sanguine about the functioning of factor markets. [p. 16]

SUMMARY

This paper uses data from a national living standards survey undertaken in 1993 to disaggregate
and explore the economics of livelihood generation and class in rural South Africa in order to con-
tribute to the debate on poverty and poverty alleviation in South Africa. In accordance with sugges-
tions from a recent participatory poverty assessment, it analyzes the class structure of poverty. After
an introduction that explores the range of claiming systems and livelihood tactics available in rural
South Africa, the paper takes a quantitative look at poverty, livelihood and class, introducing the
concept of livelihood mapping. Much of the paper is devoted to exploring this graphical means of
representing the relationships between endowments, incomes and constraints. This method yields
the finding that poverty is a matter of not only lack of assets, but also of constraints that limit the
effectiveness with which those assets are used. Thus, it suggests that policies that focus on lifting
these constraints will be especially beneficial. An example of this type of policy is the promotion of
local micro-lending institutions that would help release these financial restraints. It is a strength of
this article that it is very clear about the specific types of policies that would address the problems it
identifies, and gives detailed examples of how these policies might be implemented.

Academy of Political and Social Science v529 (September 1993): 12-21.

Enormous variation exists in the natural and human resources as well as in the social problems
of rural America. This can be documented by a geographic comparison of any social or eco-
nomic attribute deemed to be of importance—educational attainment, per capita income, oc-
cupation, or ethnic background, for example. Diverse conditions create diverse opportunities;
they also place a premium on flexible and adaptable public policies and entrepreneurs. [p. 13]

The historical role of agriculture and, to a lesser extent, forestry and other extractive industries
in shaping the institutions and norms of rural areas is not universally appreciated. Unless it is
appreciated, one cannot understand many rural institutions as they function today. [p. 14]

Rural development is not just rural economic development; rural studies are not just rural
economic studies. Nevertheless, rural economic viability is of enormous importance to the
social health of rural places. Many individual and community problems become much easier to
solve if a good job can be had. [p. 16]
SUMMARY

This short article describes the immense diversity of rural America in order to assess the direction that rural economic development should take in the future. After an introduction to the variations existing within rural America and a recent economic history of rural America, the article discusses rural economic policies for the future. Of major importance to the author is the decline of farming and extractive industries, which affects not only the distribution of space in rural areas, but also how rural affairs should be handled in the future. It is suggested that in the future rural affairs should no longer be handled by the Department of Agriculture, and that federal programs targeting rural areas should not focus solely on farms. In general, the article proposes that programs should be more forward-looking and not try to recreate an outdated ideal of rural America. The article's final section discusses rural entrepreneurship and the different types of economic development that will work in different rural situations. Its final suggestion is that rural economic development attempt to be highly adaptable, as no one can predict what will be most successful in the future.


Although we know better, habitually we tend to think of rural places as being inhabited mainly by farm people. This tendency leads to easy but inaccurate conclusions that farm policy constitutes rural policy and that agricultural conditions measure the health of rural America. [p. 4]

On the supply side, rural workers on average have less education and training than their urban counterparts. Based on human capital theory, one would therefore expect lower wages in rural labor markets. Rural workers are also often more attached to their community of residence than urban workers and are therefore less geographically mobile. Knowing that employees have a strong attachment to the community or that other employment is not available nearby, an employer may offer a lower rate of pay than would otherwise be the case. [p. 208]

In some places high poverty rates result from decline in extractive industries. Dependence on resource extraction, a situation that may not be recognized as a problem in good times, becomes a liability for communities if the core industry suffers a national or regional downturn and reduces or closes its local operations. [p. 249]

Poverty afflicts not only people (the individuals, households, and population sub-groups that compose the official poverty count), but also places (the regions, counties, and communities) where poverty is created and where poor people reside. [p. 266]

SUMMARY

This book is a collection of essays that provide an overview of the geography, sociology and economy of rural areas in the United States. Created by members of the Kellogg Foundation’s National Rural Studies Committee, the book is intended for use in college level curriculum as well as for a wider audience with rural interests. It is divided into eight main sections, beginning with two introductory chapters that provide background for framing the later discussions, including an essay on images of rural areas in American literature and culture. The third section of the book focuses on the changes that are being witnessed in rural America, particularly the invasion of urban sprawl and the decline of farming. That “rural” and “farm” are no longer synonymous is a major theme of this
section, and the book as a whole. Chapter four by John Fraser Hart not only lays out this distinction, but also graciously explains the much-misused definitions of rural/urban and nonmetropolitan/metropolitan. The fourth section on money, jobs and space looks at rural economies, land management and industries. Chapter nine by Mark Drabenstott and Tim R. Smith, which analyzes the strategies of rural economic “winners”, is particularly useful for those with policy interests. Sections five and six on poverty and regional and ethnic diversity are the main areas in which the book deals with poverty and its causes. Essays in section five give background information on the causes and determinants of poverty, while those in section six look more closely at the specific situations of various ethnic groups and geographic regions, including chapters on rural Latinos, American Indian development, the rural South and the rural Midwest. Section seven on group decision making, which looks at rural institutions and organizations, rounds out the volume, which is briefly concluded in section eight. Overall the book presents an extremely comprehensive introduction to the main issues facing rural America, and is therefore essential reading for those who are new to the field.


The most fundamental pre-condition for expanding rural employment is growth of agriculture, on an enduring basis; a growing agriculture creates substantial multiplier effects which ultimately increase farm incomes through expanding networks of productive on- and off-farm employment. [p. 19]

As part of long-term strategy of employment for the rural households, non-farm avenues are a must; it is both illogical and inadvisable to keep too much reliance on agriculture alone. Luckily, in recent years, a growing realization on the need to diversify the rural economic base has been seen in India too. [p. 185]

The traditional approach of giving private productive assets and purchasing power to the rural poor needs to be significantly complemented by an approach to strengthen the common property resource base of rural areas to provide effective safety nets to the poor...Social forestry projects managed in a way as to help the poor are a means of doing so. [p. 435]

**SUMMARY**

This volume consists of papers presented at the Indian Society of Labour Economics’ 1995 national seminar on *Agricultural Growth, Employment and Rural Poverty: Emerging Issues in the Context of Structural Adjustment Programme*. The collection attempts to illustrate the positive and negative aspects of ongoing structural adjustment programs from the point of view of rural India. Five sections cover the major themes of the book: economic liberalization and Indian agriculture; agricultural growth, employment and rural poverty; changing non-farm scenarios; regional development experience; and policy concerns for the poor. The twenty papers included in the volume cover issues related to growth, employment and rural poverty, including rural India under structural adjustment; land reforms; agro-climatic regional planning; people’s participation in local development; common property issues; social forestry and livestock development; social security for the rural poor; workforce diversification; and the structure and pace of non-farm employment expansion. A section on regional development experiences looks at agricultural growth, employment expansion and poverty alleviation through case studies of five Indian states. Most authors find agricultural
expansion, along with job diversification into non-farm sectors to be vital for improving the lot of India's rural populations. Growth in agriculture is found to be not only necessary for expanding rural employment in the farm sector, but also for expanding other employment options and networks. However, despite the focus on agriculture, the volume does cover—albeit briefly—many other issues of importance to rural communities, from tragedies of the commons to participatory development to social security.


Poverty reduction will require agricultural development in most African countries—and not only because of the preponderance of the poor who are rural and dependent for the most part on agriculture. Analysis done by the World Bank shows that a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for reducing poverty generally is rapid economic growth. [p. 1]

Each African government should develop a comprehensive agricultural and rural development strategy that can be supported by the government, the private sector, NGOs, donors, and, most important, the country's own farming and agricultural community. The quality of the strategy, and of its execution, will demonstrate commitment, or lack of it, by the nation and its partners. [p. 26]

Generally, the intensification of agriculture is good for the environment in Africa because it permits farmers to increase their incomes and farms to support more people without opening up new farmland in environmentally sensitive areas such as forests, wildlands, and pasturals. Soil and water conservation can be practiced on-farm, as can afforestation. But this is not enough. [p. 38]

SUMMARY

This pamphlet-book by the World Bank traces the history of donor assistance to agriculture and rural development in Sub-Saharan Africa. It gives an interesting insight into how the World Bank views development, as it is clearly pushing development and intensification in the agricultural sector without the critical eye found in more theoretical and academic works on the subject. The paper begins by summarizing the current thrust of government and donor agricultural strategies and identifying recent and emerging problems. It considers a key problem to be a lack of continued donor support for agriculture in countries where government commitment is weak and agricultural strategy deficient. Other difficulties identified include inadequate participation by the rural population in program design and implementation, poor private sector response, and weak capacity of African institutions to manage programs. Suggested solutions to these problems include even deeper agricultural policy reform and greater donor selectivity in choosing local government partners. However, some of the policy suggestions do have a wider outlook, including a call for a broader vision of rural development that includes health, education, infrastructure, finance and political reform. The paper is also strengthened by a section in which the authors address criticisms of the World Bank strategies by African government leaders and NGOs. However, this section tends more toward defensive answers to the criticisms than serious self-reflection on the part of the World Bank. Despite its obvious biases and deficiencies, it is still a useful short paper for understanding the point of view and development concerns of the World Bank and similar development-focused agencies.

On most reservations, sustained economic development, while much discussed, has yet to make a significant dent in a long history of poverty and powerlessness. [p. 3]

As causes of poverty, American Indians would agree on the expropriation of lands and the governing of reservations by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as the dominant causes. Neither of these positions can be tied directly to American Indian value orientations. They reflect a knowledge of the history of relations between Indians and the dominant society. [p. 316]

**SUMMARY**

This book brings together a number of scholars on Native American development to discuss tribal institutions and strategies for alleviating poverty and increasing development on Indian reservations. The book’s aim is policy-related, an attempt to make information on complex development strategies relevant to Indian tribes more available to them. It includes theoretical chapters such as the introduction by Cornell and Kalt, which analyzes the development strategies available to Native American tribes and makes suggestions about which ones will be most successful. Other chapters analyze existing institutions, either on a pan-Indian level or for specific tribes. While many of the book’s chapters relate specifically to land use and natural resource-based industries, it also includes chapters on the economics of bingo and the impact of welfare reform. In general the research method throughout the book is comparative analysis of development successes and failures at different reservations.


The cultural bias which simply assumes that marriage is everywhere monogamous, that the family is nuclear and that descent and inheritance is patrilineal, also assumes that “women’s work” consists entirely of caring for the house, husband, and children. Only rarely is trouble taken to ascertain whether this is the case and the implications for development policy and planning if it is not. [p. xxii]

For the poor, even if education is free, it is not without cost to the maintenance of a household. The Harijans and the other poor have less of a chance of completing any given educational cycle than their richer counterparts. In the majority of cases they cannot afford to forego the income that their school-age children contribute towards household expenditure. [p. 135]

If there is to be improvement in the mass welfare of the rural areas, it does call for serious rethinking of the present strategy of development planning. The presumption that the growth leading to industrialisation will in itself, one day or the other, lead to the development of all villages is quite false. [p. 174]

**SUMMARY**

This collection of essays was put together to mark the retirement of social anthropologist T. Scarlett Epstein, whose work as a Research Professor in African and Asian Studies at the University of
Sussex focused largely on development economics and women's studies in South India, as well as Africa and Europe. The essayists in the collection were chosen because they were associated with her work in some capacity over the years. Consistent with her work, the essays focus mainly on development and women's issues in South Asia. After an introduction by the editor, the book begins with three essays on micro-studies that deal with the lives of South Asian women who live in purdah, a form of seclusion from the extra-domestic world. These essays explore a hidden women-operated financial network in Northern India, concepts behind women's traditionally ascribed roles and status in Pakistan, and the consequences for women's traditional roles and the status of male outmigration from a Punjabi village in Pakistan. The book then shifts in substantive focus, and the next essay is a case study of women working in a German department store, followed by a feminist Marxist look at the nuclear family in the U.S. and a demographic look at pastoral tribal populations in Kenya. The book then shifts back to South Asia, for two essays on education and rural development in India. The first of these looks at the effects of poverty and inequality on educational attainment, while the second evaluates the National Adult education Programme of India, with particular interest in its impact on rural women in the North-West state of Gujurat. The next essay focuses on informal lending arrangements and their connection with the changing relations of production in a West Bengali village. The last three essays, whose focus again becomes more international, round out the volume with discussions of theoretical issues in rural development. The uniting theme for this diverse set of essays is the belief that development policy should take anthropological research into consideration, and that there should be a strong inter-relationship between socio-economic problems, theory and policy. The essays all have in common that they make this connection between the social and cultural lives of people and the policy implications thereof.


Women's relation to land, as conceptualized in different societies, is a critical factor in their ability to produce food for themselves and their families. At the same time, women increasingly have a need to generate income for commodities and services they cannot provide. [p. 1]

The impact of colonialism and integration into the world economy, together with increasing populations, have all served to weaken women's access to land, labour and capital at the same time that they have increased women's responsibilities for agricultural production. Both equity and efficiency have suffered as a result. [p. 250]

In virtually every country of Africa women need an expansion of their legal rights of access to and control over land which recognizes their dual status as legal adults and citizens. [p. 258]

**SUMMARY**

This book is a collection of essays examining women's relation to land and agriculture in Africa. The essays focus on African societies in which women play a central role in agricultural production. The collection attempts to document historical changes in land tenure practices and policies that have been and are shaping women's household production in Africa. Case studies look at women's different access to land and agricultural responsibilities in West Africa, Eastern Africa and Southern Africa, highlighting both systems in which women have greater access and those in which culture
and inheritance have come together to restrict women's access to land. The final chapter of the book describes policy issues related to women's agriculture and land use in light of the previous case studies' findings, and makes suggestions for ways in which women's roles in agriculture can be enhanced and improved by development innovations that take into account African women's roles as primary producers of food and household labor.


Little is known of the status of rural labour and the performance of labour markets in Latin America. Yet landlessness is extremely high there; the peasantry is dependent on wage earnings for its survival, and its share of the agricultural economically active population (EAP) has not declined; surplus labour in agriculture remains high, and poverty is concentrated in rural areas in spite of the gradual shift of marginality towards the urban areas. [p. 701]

It will be seen that, although the percentage of rural households below the poverty line declines sharply as GDP per capita and agricultural GDP per capita increase, the main focus of poverty, as measured by the ratio of shares of rural to urban households below the poverty line, is increasingly in the rural sector. [p. 721]

With lack of employment creation in the modern agricultural sector, insufficient access to land, and limited urban and rural non-agricultural employment opportunities, the peasantry persists not as a superior form of agricultural production, but principally as a refuge sector for surplus population. [p. 724]

**SUMMARY**

Using various data sources for Latin America, the Caribbean, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, this article attempts to provide a broad characterization of the recent transformations of labor markets and labor relations in Latin American agriculture since the 1950s, and to discuss the causes of some of the changes observed. It is divided into four parts: changes in rural and agricultural populations and the patterns of rural-urban migration; the structure of employment and the importance of wage employment in agriculture; the evolution of agricultural wages and surplus labor; and household incomes and the incidence of poverty. What emerges from the descriptions is a picture of a rapidly declining share of agriculture in the total labor force, a weak capacity for generating non-agricultural employment in rural areas, and extremely rapid rural-urban migration dominated by pull factors. Rural poverty is found to be extensive in Latin America, with an increasing share of total absolute poverty concentrated in agriculture. Among its many policy prescriptions are: a focus on promoting redistributive land reforms; eliminating technological and factor price biases that favor mechanization in agriculture over employment creation; and creating special anti-poverty programs directed toward rural areas.


Important progress has been made in the provision of basic needs amenities to the rural areas during the decades of rapid economic growth. The 1960s and 1970s saw significant declines in
infant mortality and improvements in life expectancy and adult literacy. It is notable, however, that the absolute number of rural poor has failed to decline. Income inequality has also either worsened or stayed at the same high level as in the 1960s. [p. 1209]

Several important structural transformations of the rural labor market have occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, and have generally not favored peasant households. Permanent workers have been increasingly displaced by temporary workers, worsening the problems of seasonal unemployment; thus, the rural and urban labor markets have become more integrated. [p. 1210]

Rural households with little access to land must compensate for the scarcity of productive resources by including a multiplicity of activities in their survival strategies. On subfamily farms of less than 1-2 irrigated hectares or five nonirrigated hectares, a majority of total household income derives from nonagricultural activities. [p. 1219]

**SUMMARY**

This article attempts to define a rural development strategy for Latin America that is consistent with agriculture’s role as the most dynamic sector of the economy. It begins by focusing on two important building blocks for defining this strategy, the first of which is a characterization of the macroeconomic context where balance-of-payments deficits and inflationary crises have required the implementation of drastic stabilization policies and structural adjustment programs. The second building block is the analysis of the long-run structural determinants of rural poverty and the short-run impacts which adjustments to the crisis have on the rural poor. The first two sections of the article provide quantitative information on these areas and create a poverty map for analysis. The article then outlines a strategy for agricultural and rural development that is consistent with these concerns, based on the role which agriculture can play in generating foreign exchange, in reducing inflationary pressures, and in creating effective demand for other economic sectors. The development strategy is tailored to the different types of rural poor and to their specific sources of income. In the final section, it is shown how selective components of rural development programs must aim at enhancing productivity growth in small farms, at assisting households on marginal farms to engage in a portfolio of productive activities, at giving the landless and marginal farmers greater access to productive assets, at generating more employment opportunities in agriculture and rationalizing rural labor markets, and at creating off-farm employment in activities linked to agriculture located in the rural areas.


The overall poverty rate is higher in rural than in urban areas, as it has been throughout the past twenty years, and the rural poor have fared relatively poorly since 1980 as the economic performance of rural areas has lagged behind that of the rest of the nation. [p. 3]

In rural areas four out of ten workers earned below the poverty line, and among those living on farms more than three out of four received poverty-level earnings. [p. 21]

When most Americans think about poverty programs, they envision programs for people in the inner city. There is often little appreciation of the extent of poverty in rural areas or the impact some antipoverty policies can have there. In fact, certain policies could help the rural poor even more than the urban poor. [p. 249]
This book consists of essays compiled and edited by the Ford Foundation’s Rural Economic Policy Program director Cynthia Duncan. It is an extremely comprehensive set of articles on rural poverty in the United States, and is essential as background on the nature of poverty in rural America. The book is divided into three sections, the first of which provides an economic overview of rural poverty. All of the essays in this section focus on rural poverty as primarily a structural, nonfarm circumstance, heavily concentrated in the South, varying across race and gender groups, characterized by low earnings and the working poor, with a persistent, slow or never changing quality from decade to decade. The second section continues within this structural framework, presenting case studies from the geographic and ethnic areas in which rural poverty concentrates. These include Appalachia, migrant farm workers, American Indians, and the Northeast and Midwest. This section, written mostly by sociologists, includes several poignant ethnographies. The last section focuses on policy prescriptions for addressing rural poverty, and includes a thorough look at harmful stereotypes of the rural poor, as well as an essay on empowerment. Overall it is a very accessible, and extremely useful introduction to the major issues facing America’s rural poor.


Respondents said the poor are treated with suspicion and lack of respect. Little is expected of poor children whose “Daddy never did any good.” They are in school with nonpoor children, but they do not share a habitus or frame of reference with them. They see the nonpoor get favored treatment, and they internalize what is possible for them given their family background.

Opportunities to overcome obstacles and change their lives depend greatly on the tool kits they develop and the habitus they experience in their communities. The forces that have shaped the social context in these communities are complex and multi-faceted—distinct economic histories, cultural traditions, and contemporary economic conditions all must play a role. [p. 459]

This article looks at social isolation in rural communities, building on the urban finding that isolation in poor inner-city neighborhoods perpetuates poverty. The article compares research done in a chronically-poor coal-dependent community in Appalachia with research from a resource-rich community in Northern New England. Four poor and nonpoor counties are first described using county-level socioeconomic indicators, then in-depth interviews are used to see how residents perceive the social context in two case-study communities within those counties. It is found that in the New England community, with its more diverse work opportunities and stable middle class to invest in public goods, the poor are not segregated. In contrast in the Appalachian community, limited job options and opportunities result in more rigidly divided social classes. Interviews with poor women in both communities are used to illustrate these differences, as well as the differing aspirations of women in the communities. The authors conclude that the social capital and social context of a community heavily influence how supportive and inclusive its relations and institutions are.

In rural areas we can see the process through which people and places become trapped in poverty. We can see how employers’ expectations for members of certain families can directly affect the opportunities made available to them, and how constrained opportunities diminish young people’s aspirations. [p. 105]

Historical patterns of class relations established the conditions that maintain poverty today. The long-term poor in chronically depressed rural areas cannot find jobs that pay a living wage. What they have learned in their families, schools, and social networks about who they are and how to behave—the identity, habits, and skills that make up their “cultural tool kits”—does not prepare them for participation in the mainstream economy and society. [p. 116]

In poor rural places, a political economy that relies on low wages and extreme control over labor generates a two-class system of haves and have-nots. Patron-client relationships undermine trust in both social institutions and personal social relationships. [p. 119]

SUMMARY

This article looks at social context in rural areas to explain the persistence of poverty within communities and families. It argues that the scale, familiarity among social actors, and bounded nature of rural communities offer unique advantages for understanding the persistence of poverty. After an introduction to this argument, the article looks at studies of persistent poverty in urban areas as background to studying poverty from the social and cultural dimension. Next a number of case studies in different rural areas of the U.S. are reviewed to show how low wages and control over labor markets create rigid stratification systems that determine social relations and opportunities. The article concludes by reiterating the argument that studies of urban poor “neighborhood effects” and social embeddedness can be extended and improved upon by looking at persistent rural poverty.


Poverty has been—and is—present in all the villages in every country through the centuries making one ask: Can there be ever be villages without poverty? India’s recent experience, moreover, suggests an even more fundamental dilemma: Should the economic values of modernity be allowed to prevail upon the social traditions of “Rurality”? [p. 1]

In the beginning it was assumed that growth will take care of the problem of social justice and the fruits of growth will percolate to the people below. When it did not happen the basic reasons were overlooked. In a society where the ownership of land and other assets is highly skewed and the poor are also bereft of literacy and skills, the fruits of growth will usually be cornered by the upper classes. [p. 51]

In most poverty studies, emphasis seems to be placed on economic factors as a major contributing factor for the causation of poverty. However, the non-economic factors in terms of the social and psychological deprivations experienced by people are not generally taken into account as it is likely that these factors may provide the base for the manifestation of the poverty in economic terms. [p. 78]
SUMMARY

This book contains a collection of papers from a 1987 seminar organized by the Gandhian Institute of Studies in Varanasi, India, focusing on the rural poor and anti-poverty programs. The papers generally fall into the following themes: theoretical perspectives, evaluation of anti-poverty programs, economic dimensions, non-economic factors, effectiveness of administration and people’s participation, and voluntary action. The theoretical papers are interesting because of their Gandhian perspective, including a confirmation of Gandhi’s faith in ‘rurality’ being able to sustain itself, and a Gandhian critique of rural development programs. Interestingly, the Gandhian critique is not far afield from common non-Gandhian critiques, in that it calls for decentralized micro-level planning at the village level. The Gandhian perspective is seen in other theme areas as well. One paper that evaluates anti-poverty programs contains a discussion of the need to change people’s attitudes and to reorient the traditional caste structure in order to uplift the lower castes and contribute to the betterment of the whole rural society. This paper sees development and anti-poverty programs as a means not just for ending economic exploitation, but also social oppression. The section on economic issues contains essays whose Gandhian focus is less obvious, although still present. The first of these lays out the dimensions of rural poverty among agricultural laborers and the second critiques the whole framework of poverty alleviation programs. Perhaps one of the most interesting essays in the book is one under the ‘non-economic factors’ theme, which discusses social and psychological deprivations experienced by poor people. It argues that these non-economic factors may provide the base for the manifestation of poverty in economic terms, due to the effects that values, attitudes and perceptions can have on economic development. The essays suggests that education, motivation development and leadership training may help to alleviate the non-economic dimensions of poverty. The last chapters in the book critique anti-poverty programs from other perspectives, including that of people’s participation. It is unfortunate that the book ends without a concluding chapter to draw together the implications of the many different perspectives and focuses, all of which bring a refreshing viewpoint to discussions of development.


We learn that women’s earned income and their ability to stretch this and other resources is vital to the survival of many households. We find that men’s and women’s economic contributions tend to be differentially valued by others and self, a circumstance that generally works to a woman’s disadvantage. We see that just as men and women differ in their participation in labor markets, in their wage rates, and in their prospects when marriages dissolve through death or separation, men and women also frequently differ with respect to allocational priorities. [pp.1-2]

Women subsidize economic progress in at least four ways: through their underemployment, their unemployment, their willingness to go in and out of the labor market, and their low wages. Women carry the gross share of part-time employment worldwide. In addition to the generally accepted observation that much of their productive work is uncompensated by wages, their hourly earnings in sectors like manufacturing compare unfavorably to men’s. [p. 5]

The policy message of this volume may distill down to the proposition that individuals rather than households should be the recipients of economic outlays, whether those take the form of transfers or wage-earning opportunities, with women being more appropriate recipients when certain ends are desired. [p. 18]
SUMMARY

This volume brings together perspectives from economics, sociology, anthropology and demography in order to understand gendered household arrangements and the potential role that income plays in confirming or altering them. The focus is on women's status and context within the household in different third world cultures. In order to analyze women's positions within the household, articles define the broad cultural, socioeconomic and production structures within which women function; the prevailing intrahousehold framework of asset and income distribution; the intimates with whom a woman must deal in pursuit of priorities that she holds for herself or her dependents; and the outcome of the intrahousehold allocation process. The papers in the volume are grouped by world region and family system. Women are found to be the most dependent in South Asia, particularly Bangladesh, where their income earning potentials are limited, male dominance is strong, and they do not even have inheritance rights. Women in Taiwan, Indonesia and India appear to fare slightly better, with greater chances for income generation, more control over their lives and greater familial support. It is found that in India poor rural women tend to contribute more of their income to their families’ needs than do men, who withhold some portion for personal use despite familial need. Thus in this case women's income is vital to household survival. A paper on Egypt discusses women's coping strategies for making ends meet with little interest from men, illustrating the separateness of men's and women's worlds. The theme of separateness is continued throughout the section on Africa, which examines women's access to work, inheritance, and property in several different contexts. These papers are followed by three papers on Latin American societies that describes the ways in which women's earning activities and women's own views of their income rights reflect rapidly changing, but still conflict-ridden, gender relationships. Here we see greater rights and more equal relationships emerging, but not without struggle. Emigration plays a role in restructuring these relations through increased access to work, income and property. The volume concludes with a theoretical summation that traces the persistence of unitary household constructs and notions of cooperation within the family through conventional economic theories that are diametrically opposed. It takes on mainstream economic reasoning, arguing that “it is entirely inconsistent to argue that individuals who are wholly selfish in the market (where there are no interdependent utilities) are wholly selfless within the family where they pursue the interests of the collectivity” (p. 252). The book ends by calling for the development of a more realistic theory of cooperation and conflict within the family.


Residents I interviewed at Love Canal in 1979 regarded their disaster as stemming from corporate greed and government corruption. The human-caused origin of the toxic disaster invited attributions of responsibility that greatly colored perceptions of the event. [p. 7]

Exposure to toxic materials not only changes what people do, it also profoundly affects how they think about themselves, their families, and their world. In short, it represents a fundamental challenge to prior life assumptions. [p. 43]

We seek increasingly distant disposal sites so that we can continue to degrade materials freely to a state of spent utility. Currently, we seem to have targeted Third World countries as our next
generation of dumping grounds, selling hazardous products in their markets, exporting banned pesticides for poor farmers to use, literally taking waste materials overseas for disposal, and relocating hazardous industries to locations where there is little environmental or worker regulation. [p. 191]

SUMMARY

This book is very similar in scope and focus to Kai Erikson’s more recent book, A New Species of Trouble. Like Erikson, Edelstein became involved with communities suffering from toxic exposure through his work as an expert witness in lawsuits filed on their behalves. His take on community disaster is that of an “environmental psychologist,” observing the social and psychological impacts of residential toxic exposure incidents. The book is based on four main themes that focus on the complex social and psychological impacts of toxic exposure for individuals and communities, including stress responses, stigmatization and paranoia. Much of the book revolves around a detailed case study of the town of Legler, New Jersey, whose water supply was contaminated by a municipal landfill. Information is based on interviews with 25 families involved in the lawsuit, as well as research done in other communities. After introducing the case study, other chapters look at family impacts, institutional disempowerment, re-empowerment through the formation of grassroots organizations, and reactions to potentially threatening and stigmatized facilities. The book’s last chapter draws conclusions about the social implications of toxic exposure and the role of social science in addressing it. This final chapter also discusses the problems with future siting of toxic waste disposal and the need to reevaluate the way we use resources and dispose of wastes. Overall, the book successfully illustrates the community reactions to community problems, and shows that victims’ perceptions of disaster are an important and real part of its impact on them.


Among the major issues in development policy, malnutrition, poverty and inequality in the distribution of wealth and opportunities are well known to interested observers. However, it is on the inter-relationship between them and the role of the state in quickly alleviating poverty and inequality not by the market mechanism, but through land reform that different schools of thought and ideologies conflict. [p. 1]

Land ownership is more commonly secured by institutional means than by open market mechanism; the lower the concentration of land distribution, the lower the incidence of absolute poverty in rural areas and vice versa; and dynamic growth of agricultural output is not conditional upon the degree of land concentration. Hence, the predominance of private large estates and multinationals’ plantations in agriculture is not necessarily associated with higher rates of per capita and total agricultural GDP growth. [p. 177]

If rapid reduction of poverty is the overwhelming objective of LDCs’ policy makers, state intervention is imperative to reform the skewed pattern of land-ownership in favour of the propertyless. Reliance on the politically volatile sources of food subsidies, food aid, and remittances earned from the international labour market is precarious. Once remittances and food aid stop, and subsidies are removed, the rural poor are the first to suffer. [p. 293]
SUMMARY

This book takes the position that poverty is due to deeply entrenched institutional structures, and thus public intervention rather than the market mechanism is necessary to create the institutional reforms necessary for eradicating poverty. It advocates land reforms to break the institutional monopoly that concentrates land in the hands of the wealthy and restricts the poor’s access to land and opportunities. The author addresses the current political swing away from land reforms and other state interventions, laying blame for this swing on flawed analytical approaches, and ideological shifts underlying international assistance. Material in the book is drawn in part from the author’s experiences as a rural poverty expert for the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. Other material comes from case studies of less developed countries (LDCs) all over the world. Following an introduction, the book is divided into three parts. The first of these, “Puzzles and Dilemmas,” deals with the link between agriculture and poverty in LDCs; the importance of institutional determinants of poverty and their neglect by policymakers; the decreasing demand for agricultural labor, and thus the decreasing supply of jobs for the rural poor; reversals in development policies that used to favor the rural poor; and the overuse of limited and flawed analytical approaches for policy prescription. This section also presents a description of rural poverty in LDCs, focusing on the connections between landlessness and poverty. The second section looks at analytical issues such as private property; the linkage between rural institutions and rural poverty; the relationship between farm size and production efficiency; and the consequences of land redistribution. This section is focused on land reforms to create greater opportunities for the rural poor. The last section focuses on the poverty reduction process and factors that block it. It looks at the extent to which land reforms have helped to reduce poverty in a dozen countries. It also analyzes factors that contribute to mixed results of land reforms in LDCs, blaming societal issues for failures. The study gives a good description of rural poverty and the factors that exacerbate and sustain it, while simultaneously challenging some of the current views on land reforms.


The clinical effects of the mercury spill, then, were inconclusive, but the economic effects were as blunt as a hammer blow. For all practical purposes, the people of Grassy Narrows lost their river system when the fish in it were declared unsafe for human consumption. The lost a major source of protein, of course, but they also lost their two most important sources of income. [p. 37]

Sometimes the tissues of community can be damaged in much the same way as the tissues of mind and body, as I shall suggest shortly, but even when that does not happen, traumatic wounds inflicted on individuals can combine to create a mood, an ethos—a group culture, almost—that is different from (and more than) the sum of the private wounds that make it up. Trauma, that is, has a social dimension. [p. 231]

Human beings are surrounded by layers of trust, radiating out in concentric circles like the ripples in a pond. The experience of trauma, at its worst, can mean not only a loss of confidence in the self but a loss of confidence in the scaffolding of family and community, in the structures of human government, in the larger logics by which humankind lives, and in the ways of nature itself. [p. 242]
SUMMARY

This book explores the social and psychological impacts of traumatic events on American communities. Erikson became acquainted with many of the communities in the book through twenty years of research on communities that suffered from natural and non-natural disasters. This research was embarked upon often in conjunction with lawsuits filed by the communities against those responsible for the disasters. The book explores the devastating social effects of such diverse catastrophes as the mercury poisoning of an Ontario tribe’s waters, Haitian farmworkers in Florida being robbed of their savings, and petroleum seepage forming underground pools in Colorado, as well as the more high-profile disasters of Three Mile Island and Hiroshima. Erikson looks not only at the effects of the disasters themselves, but the histories of the communities and how those histories contribute to their reactions and their current states of social cohesion and well being. His conclusion is that all the disaster situations produce a set of common reactions including fear, distrust, and social decay, which he considers to be parts of a community level trauma experience. It is a thoughtful book that questions not just past actions but the possible consequences of future actions as well. For rural communities it is a warning sign to consider possibilities far beyond the economic justifications for accepting toxic dumps into their environments.


Contemporary development strategies focus attention on macroeconomic results without contributing very much to the understanding [of] the microinstitutional foundations on which they depend. Too often development theory has operated, de facto, on the premise that the only institutions that mattered were those directly facilitating market transactions. [p. 1033]

Interest in social capital was provoked primarily by analysis of advanced industrial countries rather than poor developing ones. The acute consciousness of the globally affluent that, not only were incomes stagnating, but their lives were somehow “poorer” in ways that could not be solved through increased consumption, begged for a response. Social capital was a good candidate for the lacking input. Once the issue had been raised, it was hard to contest its relevance to poor countries. [p. 1033]

SUMMARY

This article serves as the introduction to a special section in World Development that explores the relationship between state and civil society in order to assess the degree to which there is ‘synergy’ between the two in the development arena. The introductory article outlines the history of the challenges to narrow development theories from the social capital and public institution approaches. It then introduces the five articles that make up this special section, and the ways in which they chronicle the impact of state-society synergy, or its absence, on several different kinds of outcomes. The first of these articles, by Wai Fung Lam, argues that developmental success depends on the interaction of highly bureaucratized government agencies and self-organized local communities, based on the case of irrigation development in Taiwan. The second article, by Patrick Heller, focuses on the industrial sector in Kerala, India, in order to explore the positive cycle of interaction between a highly mobilized industrial workforce and a deeply engaged government. The third article, by
Elinor Ostrom, presents cases of “coproduction” between citizens and government in Brazil and Nigeria in order to illustrate that effective delivery of services often relies on such joint activity. The fourth article, by Jonathon Fox, looks at the rise of autonomous peasant organizations in authoritarian rural Mexico in order to look at the ways in which conflict between government and citizens produces social capital. The last article, by Michael Burawoy, illustrates through the case of Russia what happens when institutional foundations for state-society synergy are lacking. The introductory article by Evans also highlights main points from his concluding article, that follows the five mentioned above.


Such factors as increased competition from foreign companies in industries that have traditionally been located in rural areas, the dramatic decline of energy prices, the farm crisis, deregulation of the credit markets (resulting in higher interest rates), deregulation in transportation (resulting in disproportionately higher transportation costs for relatively isolated areas), and the transition to a service-based economy have led to the deterioration of conditions in much of rural America. The convergence of these events has resulted in growing levels of social and economic distress in rural America. [p. 491]

Poverty…can be viewed as a condition of the local social structure. This more aggregate level implies that income is only one of the salient parameters of a complex latent concept of poverty. Viewing poverty from such a framework shifts the focus away from the characteristics of individuals to a more structural, community level, which according to some offers not only a refreshing viewpoint but one with decided sociological referents. [p. 492]

While there will always be a need for programs geared toward alleviating the poverty of individuals, the community (within the framework of rural development) is perhaps the more relevant level for public policy intervention. [p. 504]

SUMMARY

This article attempts to move discussions of poverty and poverty alleviation from the individual to the community level. It begins with a theoretical discussion that lays out a structural framework for understanding poverty as a number of interrelated components. Once this latent concept of poverty has been explained, the relationship between the concept and observable variables is tested empirically using data from the Office of Data Analysis and Management. Findings indicate that the data do conform to the theoretical model. The authors thus suggest that policy should focus on the community level as the most appropriate level for targeting long-range solutions.


Many rural spaces, the settings of rural life, are now endangered by a variety of societal forces. Some rural places, the social matrices of rural life, are now in serious stress or decline, and some will disappear. But many rural places will manage to adapt and survive into the twenty-first century, although transformed and redefined. They will endure as communities because their people are working hard to preserve what they value in rural life and at the same time adjust to
an increasingly urbanized society. [p. 2]

Although land development may pump outside resources into a community, bringing on a construction and real estate boom, it also ties rural economies even closer to the fortunes of urban economies. The advantages may accrue mostly in times of urban prosperity, thus leaving the rural area especially vulnerable to urban economic downturns. [p. 63]

In retrospect, the situation in the open-country pockets of poverty in the 1970s seems less depressing than some of the present rural poverty situations. Where there were stable jobs, family-based support networks, enduring marriages, and home ownership then, now in many rural places there appear to be inadequate jobs, fragile man–woman relationships, smaller and weaker social networks, and a mobility and insecurity of housing tenure that keep many people on the edge of poverty—and some of them on the edge of homelessness. [p. 149]

SUMMARY

This book by anthropologist Janet Fitchen gives rural poverty in upstate New York a human face. The result of years of ethnographic fieldwork, it looks closely at the changes happening in late 1980s rural America, in order to provide context for understanding the situation. The focus is on the local-level, looking at specific changes in real places. Fitchen’s writing is beautiful and haunting, elucidating not only the changes themselves, but the reactions and adaptations of the local people. The major changes discussed include the decline of farming and the loss of farmlands; the decline of manufacturing jobs; underemployment and the working poor; and the tightening of the rental-housing market. In order to combat these problems rural communities must decide between unpleasant options, such as housing prisons and toxic waste disposal sites. In addition to these issues, other chapters directly examine worsening rural poverty and its effects on interpersonal and community relationships, the changing needs and roles of community services and governments, and finally the identity and survival of rural communities. Overall, the book provides an intensely personal account of rural New York communities’ struggles with poverty and the changing nature of land use and employment options in the late twentieth century.


The 1990s will be a decade of decision for U.S. leaders regarding rural America: Either we will have two Americas, geographically and economically distinct, with the rural one considerably disadvantaged compared to the urban one, or efforts will be made to promote equity and opportunities for rural people in rural areas. [p. 1]

Public policy on the federal level, including monetary and fiscal policy, had direct consequences for rural areas, putting them at a disadvantage to urban areas. The equation of “rural” with “farm” allowed expensive agricultural programs to mask inattention to rural people and their heterogeneous economic base. No policy addresses their common problems and a dispersed population makes service delivery difficult and economies of scale in production problematic. [p. 3]

Severe poverty, human capital underutilization, environmental degradation, and deterioration of both the physical and social infrastructure cannot be overcome in rural America without government assistance in terms of policies, programs, and funds. The private sector will never provide leadership to overcome these “people” and ecological problems. [pp. 335-336]
SUMMARY

This book is a collection of essays by some of the foremost experts on rural America, focusing particularly on policy-relevant research. Its chapters look at crucial issues such as employment, demographics, environment, technology, and globalization in order to provide an understanding of major problems and present concrete proposals for revitalizing rural America. It is a volume designed to address the choices American people can collectively make at the national, state and local levels in order to improve their situations. The chapters are grouped into three substantive areas: jobs and the economy, people and services, and the environment. Authors in the first section address problems of capital and economic organization that particularly impact rural people. This includes chapters on banking and financing, small businesses, and agricultural labor and policy. The next group of essays focus on the services needed by rural people and special rural populations, such as the aged, the poor, and minorities. In addition to laying out the shortcomings in services, options for meetings these needs in terms of education, health care, employment, transportation, and other services are discussed in light of the unique problems of low-density populations and histories of neglect. This group of chapters includes some discussion of international issues as well as domestic. The third set of chapters discusses the environment, focusing on land and water in both national and international contexts. Major policies that affect the availability and quality of natural resources are discussed, as are policy processes at the local, state and national levels. A final conclusion chapter sums up the main themes of the book, which include the unique attributes and problems of rural areas, the interrelatedness of rural, urban and world policies, and the need for legislation and policies that adequately address the current situation and needs of rural America. A useful table sums up the major policy recommendations made throughout the book, presenting a unified set of issues as well as a simple summation of the major problems to be addressed.


If you develop problems that violate sacred symbols, however, community solidarity becomes a threat to you. If the medication you need is for a sexually transmitted disease of for a mental illness, the moral judgements invoked by these illnesses make it dangerous to approach the local pharmacist. Those who lost their farms during the farm crisis speak of feeling they had been labeled failures by their neighbors. Those with limited reading skills fear participating in a literacy program because they would be labeled stupid. In short, sacred symbols and high solidarity can be as threatening to those with a problem as they are supportive to those in need. [p. 75]

Rural families are deeply affected by the opportunity structure present in their community. If parents expect or want their children to stay in the local community, then they are very much aware of the job opportunities and class structures within the community. The legacies they pass on to their children often perpetuate existing class structures and certainly reflect parents’ experience in the workplace. [p. 93]

Unfortunately, because rural poverty tends to be much less visible, it is less frequently addressed than urban poverty. An unsettling conclusion of contemporary social science research is that during the twentieth century, poverty levels in rural areas have been and continue to remain higher than those in the inner cities. Nevertheless, the political will to improve the social infrastructure of persistently poor rural communities is weaker than it is in urban areas. [p. 235]
SUMMARY

This comprehensive introduction to rural America was written as a companion text to a college-level telecourse and television series that detailed the experiences of fifteen rural American communities. It is quite basic in its assumptions, clearly meant for people with little prior experience in the field. However, despite the simplicity of its language and the thoroughness of its explanation (including a section at the end of each chapter that defines key terms used in the chapter), it presents a very broad selection of issues and frameworks central to rural sociological research. The focus of the book is the community, which is the lens through which larger sociological and economic issues are examined. The book begins with a section that offers an overview of rural communities, focusing on diversity in economies, culture, and family influences. Chapter three on Community and Culture is particularly interesting in its discussion of community solidarity and its positive and negative implications for small-town life. The book’s clear language presents and introduces sociological concepts in ways that are understandable to someone with no prior experience, and then uses the community case-studies to effectively illustrate how these concepts are applied to rural studies. The book’s second section focuses more specifically on rural economies, including access to capital, impacts of globalization and changing consumption patterns. The third section looks at the political and social organizations created to maintain a community and link it to the broader society. Chapters in this section describe dilemmas faced by state and local governments, economic, social and physical structures necessary to support community development, and social infrastructures created to meet the needs of community members. The book’s last section uses the community change framework to explore strategies for solving local problems. It looks at power structures in rural communities, techniques for organizing, and models for effective community change. Although the volume may be too basic for those already very familiar with rural studies, it presents an excellent introduction to rural community issues for those new to either rural America or rural sociology.


The major economic restructuring that has taken place in the last decades has made it clear that physical infrastructure is not enough. There has been increasing concern, particularly in the private sector, that the individual leadership skills needed to build community are also in short supply in rural areas, as out-migration has resulted in an exodus of educated young people. [p. 49]

How can we build communities able to deal creatively with systems, externalities, and ambiguity? It is not enough to call for more money or more physical infrastructure. At this time of financial crisis, such solutions will not happen—even if they would work. As more responsibility is placed on localities to solve their challenges of maintenance and development, we need to examine what type of social infrastructure is most propitious for economic development at the community level. [p. 51]

Communities that have entrepreneurial social infrastructure can begin to deal with the complex, messy, unreliable-indicator problems of development and change. They focus not on immediate short-term solutions by on the process of empowering people for the long term. [p. 57]
SUMMARY

This article looks at entrepreneurial social infrastructure as a necessary ingredient for linking physical resources and leadership for community development. Because of declines in government subsidies, rural communities now must take more responsibility for providing their own economic development, and social infrastructure is as important to development as are resources and leadership, according to the authors. After introducing the concept of social infrastructure, the article explores its three main components: symbolic diversity, resource mobilization, and quality of linkages. Symbolic diversity represents a collective or community-level orientation toward inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness, and is characterized by an acceptance of controversy, depersonalization of politics, focus on process, and broad definition and permeable boundaries. Resource mobilization is necessary due to the lack of government funds available for development, and is characterized by relative equality in distribution of resources, willingness to invest collectively, and willingness to invest private capital locally. Linkages are represented by formal and informal networks, and are necessary to facilitate the flow of resources and information both within and without the community. Successful networks are characterized by diversity, horizontal linkages, and vertical linkages. The article concludes that social infrastructure is necessary for rural communities to organize to become entrepreneurial communities that will be able to secure positive economic and social futures.


The protest against any one timber-harvesting plan may take the form of individual protest or of loosely structured collective action. The physical clustering of protested timber-harvesting plans in time and space suggests that at least some protests were the result of collective campaigns. Nevertheless, the very nature of timber-harvesting plans encourages individual action. [p. 360]

Affluence and urbanization had the greatest bivariate and multivariate effects on rates of protest in both sets of counties. Protest was higher in the more affluent and more urbanized counties. The effect of urbanization was particularly strong when all 34 counties were considered together. [p. 362]

Urbanization, particularly in the form of “cities in the forest,” creates dissatisfaction and concern by increasing people’s proximity to rural production processes that they may dislike on aesthetic or environmental grounds or that may pose a threat to the economic value or physical integrity of their own property. [p. 364]

SUMMARY

This article looks at causes of rural-based natural resource protest in order to predict the incidence of such protest against timber harvesting. In the analysis, protest is measured by letters written against the approval of timber-harvesting plans. Affluence was measured by average county per capita income, and urbanization was measured by the size of the biggest city in each county. Consistent with resource mobilization theory, it is found that urbanization and affluence are the best predictors of rates of protest. The presence of an environmental organization is found to be another determining factor in most rural counties. Reverse migration is not found to be linearly related to protest. The
author concludes that natural resource micro protest can be predicted where increased proximity to natural resource use raises property, aesthetic, or environmental concerns and where there are organizational forms and resources to give voice to that concern.


First, the tenure of land and trees affects the surrounding ecosystem. Second, access to land and forest resources under different tenure schemes affects the standard of living of people who depend on those resources. Third, rules of tenure affect the preservation, protection, and planting of trees. Finally, the prevailing system of tenure determines the beneficiaries and victims of forest policies and forestry projects, and sets the framework for conflict over benefits. [p. 3]

There is likely to be greater effort to bring communities into an increased role in forestry and agroforestry as the dynamics of deforestation and reforestation are better understood. Their integration will require a clear recognition of the diversity and complexity of the rules, processes, and interests involved in community use and management of resources and the effects that government penetration has on the local balance of power and interest. [p. 113]

It is clear that many community forestry experiments to date have suffered from both a poor theoretical appreciation of common property management issues and a grossly inadequate understanding of the particular institutional arrangements and potentials in the communities concerned. [p. 186]

SUMMARY

This book consists of a collection of articles that focus on the manner in which tree tenure and related property rights have been defined and distributed in both developed and developing countries around the world. The collection attempts to give readers access to case studies on tree tenure, to develop a conceptual framework for these studies, and to draw out their lessons for developing countries. The book's nine sections explore issues of tree tenure, tree and tenure interactions, communities and trees, deforestation, afforestation, gender divisions of tenure, state control of forests, and struggles for rights. Each chapter consists of several case studies, with an introduction by the editors that places the cases in a framework with reference to other relevant works. Although the editors caution that the case studies are very place-specific and should not be taken as representative of larger areas or an exhaustive list of the types of tenure, the volume does provide a thorough introduction into issues central to tree tenure throughout the world.


In many parts of Africa, security of duration of tenure is a matter of particular concern for women. While security of tenure is often treated as a household characteristic...even in households with secure tenure, women's property rights are often insecure and, in particular, the duration of their rights is subject to extreme uncertainty. [p. 296]
Our data show that, as predicted, women are less likely than men to plant trees in spaces controlled by the household where the duration of their tenure is insecure, but they are equally likely to plant trees in community woodlots where the duration of their tenure is more secure, or they are the family emissaries to community projects. [p. 309]

Our findings suggest that differences in security of duration of tenure are likely to make a difference in other long-term investments in agriculture. We would not, however, expect them to affect short-term investments such as commercial fertilizers for application on annual crops. [p. 309]

SUMMARY

This article analyzes tree planting practices by women and men in two Zimbabwe villages, where there are three types of planting sites: homestead land, individual woodlots and community woodlots. It shows that women are less likely than men to plant trees on homestead land where the security of their tenure duration is uncertain due to the likelihood of change in marital status. However, women and men are equally likely to plant trees in community woodlots where the duration of their tenure is secure as long as they remain residents of the village. Data was collected in the two villages through a geographically stratified random sample survey of 27 percent of the households in each village. Data were analyzed using logic models and truncated negative binomial models. Findings support the original assertion that women's property rights affect their tree planting practices, and thus should be of importance to researchers and policymakers alike.


Rural and small town America has undergone fundamental economic and social change in recent years. Fewer and fewer residents depend on farming. Absolute numbers began declining drastically in the 1940s, so that today both the number and the proportion are at an extremely low level. Deconcentration around large cities has extended urban and metropolitan influences outward, penetrating deeply into what formerly were rural areas. [p. 1]

Average income levels are different for urban and rural people, as are the family composition and work patterns that influence the adequacy of income. Moreover, although urban poverty is usually concentrated in neighborhoods of cities or in individual communities within a metropolitan complex, high rural poverty rates are often endemic enough to characterize entire blocks of counties, extending over some thousands of square miles. [p. 337]

Lower rural and small town income and higher poverty is partly attributable to the lower human capital possessed by rural workers, but some of the difference is due to the occupational composition and wage levels of rural economies. For example, our analysis showed that rural workers receive a much lower payoff from each year of higher education than their urban counterparts. And we also showed that rural and small town workers receive lower wages than urban workers with jobs in the same industrial categories. [p. 431]

SUMMARY

This large volume is part of the Russell Sage Foundation's census monograph series. It is an in-
depth look by rural demographers at the rural findings of the 1980 Census. Its intended audience includes nonprofessionals, public officials, planners and others working in public and private agencies, and professional social scientists. The book is extremely comprehensive in scope, with an intention to provide an overview and indicate areas for further analytical work. Its numerous chapters cover many sociodemographic topics, including changing population distribution, the growth and decline of small towns in the context of population dispersal, shifts in age-sex composition of rural and nonmetropolitan populations, changes in household growth and structure, fertility, labor force and employment trends, industrial structure and change, income, poverty and farming. The major emphasis of much of the analysis is on the twin themes of persistence and change in rural areas; comparisons of rural findings across time and with urban areas are used to illustrate these themes. Another recurring theme of the book is the diversity of rural areas, which can often be obscured through aggregating across regions, different sized places, industries or sociodemographic categories. Overall, it gives a very thorough background and introduction to rural America. Its research illustrates that rural areas continue to be distinct from their urban counterparts, and justifies the suggestion that policy focus particular attention on rural areas.


The process of the intensification of resource use in independent India thus became the charge of a bureaucratic apparatus inherited from the British. This was an apparatus fashioned primarily to better organize the drain of resources from the Indian countryside. The British were interested in acquiring these resources as cheaply as possible. They had no interest in the sustainable use of these resources, viewing with little concern destruction of extensive tracts of forests in the vicinity of railway lines or waterlogging of croplands in new irrigation projects. [p. 15]

Forty years of planned development has created an India in which islands of prosperity peep out of a sea of poverty. The omnivores inhabiting these islands are securely on firm ground. The bulk of India’s ecosystem people are submerged in the sea of poverty. The ecological refugees are hangers on at the edges of the islands of prosperity, somewhat like mud-skipper fishes hopping around on the muddy beaches fringing mangrove islands. From time to time the tide swallows them; they manage to clamber back on to the mud, but can never make it to dry land. [p. 34]

The only way, then, is to try to make the most of India’s natural resources, to conserve them, to use them ever more effectively. Obviously Indians must come to adopt the Japanese philosophy of patiently getting more and more out of the natural resource base, year in and year out, without of course emulating Japan’s appetite for natural resources from outside its borders. This will go hand in hand with a broader-based development, doing away with the current pattern of enclaves of industry and intensive agriculture prospering parasitically by guzzling on the resources of hinterlands that in turn become progressively impoverished. [p. 182]

SUMMARY

This book presents a modern history of India with regard to its human population and natural resources. It begins with an introduction to its distinct theoretical framework for understanding the ecological complexities of India. The population is broken down into three broad categories: omnivores, ecosystem people and ecological refugees. Omnivores are a minority group that constitutes “the real beneficiaries of economic development” in India. They are big landowners with access to
irrigation, modern entrepreneurs in pockets of industrialization, urban professionals and government employees. They have access to capital and the ability to purchase valuable commodities and natural resources at low prices. Ecosystem people make up the majority of India's population. They are the people who make just enough to subsist, the poor and near-poor. These people are reliant on the natural environment to meet their basic material needs—to grow their food, heat their food and build their houses. Ecological refugees are the poor displaced from their environments by dams, mines, and destruction of forest and water resources. These are the people who “live on the margins of islands of prosperity,” working as laborers, domestic servants and beggars. These people have neither access to natural resources nor money with which to purchase necessary goods. These three categories are used to explain ecological history of India, and in particular the trends toward the needs of the select few superceding the needs of the bulk of the population. The second part of the book turns from analysis to policy prescription, arguing for a new environment-friendly paradigm for development that better serves the interests of the bulk of India's population. Development ideas are based on a synthesis of Gandhism, Marxism and liberal capitalism. They advocate a strategy that includes the strong local communities central to Gandhian thought, within a decentralized democratic political system. It is argued that sustainable use of India's environment is in the interests of the majority of the population, and thus a policy that is favorable to both ought to attract broad-based support.


Many observers of the African scene have been impressed by the relatively high inequality of over-all income distribution in most African countries. One of the contributing factors is the sharp inequality between the rural and urban areas. [p. 9]

The fundamental fact remains that [in Botswana], on account of the highly inegalitarian ownership of capital in the rural areas, the poorer households have not received much benefit from the agricultural recovery that has occurred since independence due to the very limited access to cattle of such households. The distribution of formal employment opportunities appears, if anything, to have exacerbated this bias against the poorest groups. [p. 152]

Our conclusion is that there can be no presumption that rapid growth at the national level will automatically benefit the rural poor. In the Nigerian case which we have been considering it appears that even the massive income derived from the oil boom, which could have transformed rural living standards, has substantially been diverted to other beneficiaries. [p. 215]

SUMMARY

This volume presents nine case studies on poverty, employment and agrarian systems from different African nations. Its basic objective is to contribute to the general knowledge and understanding of the process and results of rural development in African countries since independence. The case studies attempt to provide both quantitative and qualitative profiles of rural poverty and income distribution and to evaluate the impact of state policies with respect to land tenure, public expenditures and resource extraction from the rural areas. Case studies cover the countries of Kenya, Malawi, Ivory Coast, Botswana, Zambia, Nigeria, Ghana, Mozambique, and Somalia. The tenth chapter gives an overview of agrarian change, differentiation and rural poverty in Africa. Although
the case studies all cover the same basic substantive issues, each also has a slightly different focus that reflects the differences between the histories and present states of each country. Thus in Kenya with its large farms, the focus is on social justice and development policy, looking at inequalities and the effects of government policies. The case study on Malawi, which has experienced high growth rates, focuses on growth and distribution. For the Ivory Coast the focus is on export-led development, which has been the driving force behind the country’s growth. The chapter on Botswana looks at income distribution and poverty, while the chapter on Zambia looks at why rural development activities have not impacted the rural poor. For Nigeria the focus is on the development of the oil industry and its failure to benefit rural communities despite high growth led by its exports. In Ghana the problem is not with growth but stagnation and continuing inequality. For Mozambique, which has only recently begun to focus on development, the case study looks at the country’s experience with development and its impact on distribution and livelihoods in rural areas. Finally, an overview of incomes and poverty in rural Somalia paints a portrait of an economy that is healthier than previously believed, despite focusing more on subsistence than growth. In all, the case studies give a comprehensive introduction to rural poverty and land use in Africa, clearly explaining the nine countries’ development histories and current situations.


Since capital-output ratio is lower in the rural sector, more and more investment ought to have been made in this sector with a view to augmenting productivity. But in praxis, this does not really happen. Instead of concentrating more and more investment in the rural sector which is more productive, a larger share of investment goes to the relatively less productive urban sector. This allocative bias becomes detrimental both on grounds of economic efficiency as well as equity. [p. 5]

In analysing the determinants of poverty, three most crucial factors such as income, consumption and price have been taken into account by many researchers. However, there are many more factors which can be regarded as the determinants of rural poverty. One such important factor is the sectoral terms of trade. The other factors are savings, investment and unemployment. [p. 22]

[In India] economic growth has not been fast enough to achieve the desired reduction in poverty over the years as a whole. Rural poverty appears to be lesser because of the constant migration of the poor people to urban areas in search of jobs. Our poverty line is not a stable line: the poor people who go up temporarily by crossing over the floods and droughts which have become part and parcel of Indian life…The intensity of poverty seems to be deeper and far more onerous in the rural sector than in the urban sector. [p. 140]

**SUMMARY**

This book reexamines the Lipton thesis in the context of the Indian economy. According to Lipton, poverty in the rural sector is aggravated by the transfer of resources from rural to urban areas by taxation, unfavorable terms of trade for agriculture, and skill and cash drain from rural areas. Thus urban-based development strategies result in worsening rural poverty. In order to look at the validity of this argument, the book begins with a look into the Indian development strategy, pinpointing determinants of rural poverty and analyzing the difference in rural and urban incomes. It
then analyzes the urban bias of investment in India in Chapter Two. The next chapter looks at rural savings in India, and finds no evidence that urban areas have higher saving per unit of investment, as is sometimes argued. The next two chapters, on price distortion and agricultural taxation, find that unfavorable terms of trade and high taxes have contributed to persistent rural poverty and have been major vehicles for transferring rural resources to urban areas. Chapter Six then looks at another familiar way to transfer rural resources: the brain drain problem. Data analyzed in this chapter comes from ten villages in West Bengal, and is used to calculate the determinants of rural skill migration and the monetary loss involved in such skill drain. The last chapter concludes the book by highlighting its main points and suggesting policy implications. Overall, the study finds confirmation of the Lipton thesis of urban bias in the context of Indian development. In response, it calls for an immediate stop to unfavorable terms of trade, skill drain, and savings leakage. Instead, it suggests a development tax to redistribute urban resources to rural areas, more development investment into the rural sector, rural utilization of rural savings, no additional taxation of the rural sector, and improved rural education and wage and employment restructuring to prevent brain drain.


The sociological consequences of agricultural organization are not difficult to understand. When farms are of a generally uniform size, there can be little concentration of powers, and social interaction operates on the premise of equality. Where large-scale and corporate agriculture develops, it follows not only that there are great differences in the level of control among the managerial groups, but that a cadre of economically dependent laborers will emerge. [p. xlviii]

This large sessile labor population, like the growing influence of outside business and governmental interests and the technological developments as the radio, moving pictures, and automobile, has been a contributing factor in the shift away from community homogeneity toward a more urban rural environment. [p. 53]

The fundamental similarity between Arvin and Dinuba is that there are upper and lower classes with little or no common interest or social intercourse; the one made up of independently employed persons and the other made up of wage laborers. The fundamental differences are, first, that in Arvin the upper group is extremely small while the lower group is quite large, whereas in Dinuba the upper group comprises about a third of the population. Second, in Arvin there is a sharp break between the upper group and the remainder, while in Dinuba there are even gradations from one to the other. [p. 380]

**SUMMARY**

Although the first edition was written in the 1940s, this set of case studies on farm-dependent towns in California's Central Valley continues to influence the ways in which agriculture and agribusiness are understood and evaluated in America. *As You Sow* was the first study to look seriously at the social impacts of large-scale agriculture and its dependent labor force. Goldschmidt begins with a case study of the town of Wasco, which in 1940 was considered “a center for industrialized farming” (p. 22). This detailed look into life in Wasco is followed by case studies of Arvin and Dinuba, which lie 40 miles southeast of Wasco and 80 miles north of it, respectively. Arvin is characterized by industrialized production similar to that found in Wasco and is surrounded by corporate-
run agricultural enterprises, while Dinuba is surrounded by small family farms. The two towns are compared in terms of social organization and well being in order to assess the effects of the scale of agricultural operations on the towns in which they are located. The comparative study finds evidence of urban social patterns and a breakdown of community in the town of Arvin, while Dinuba is a comparatively healthy social community. Social class differences are found to be worse in Arvin, while community cohesion is seriously lacking. The problems found in Arvin are argued to be generalizable to rural communities throughout the U.S., with the implication that corporate agriculture is a major threat to traditional American rural life and community. The results of this very influential study were considered extremely damaging to large-scale agribusiness, and have helped to keep the Jeffersonian agrarian dream alive for researchers and policymakers, if not for farmers themselves. This second edition of the book addresses the numerous attacks on the study made by those with corporate agricultural interests. Although countless attempts to replicate the findings from the original studies have met with mixed and generally insignificant results, the Goldschmidt findings are still considered relevant and are regularly referenced today. The book is essential background for understanding American rural policy and discourse in the late twentieth-century.


The wave on which both the South African Defence Force and The Gods Must Be Crazy rode to acclaim both in South Africa and in the United States was clearly part of a larger current in contemporary scholarly discourse. This is the idea that Bushmen have always lived in the splendidly bracing isolation of the Kalahari Desert, where, in uncontaminated purity, they live in a state of “primitive affluence” as one of the last living representatives of how our paleolithic forebears lived. Indeed, the Bushmen, more than any other human grouping in the annals of academic endeavor, have been made a scientific commodity. [pp. 2-3]

I suggest that the popular image of Bushman, which derives its authority largely from (a selective reading of) the scientific discourse, was used by various parties to reflect their own purposes, including the justification of ethnocide or genocide of those people commonly labeled “Bushmen.” Far from being “beautiful people living in primeval paradise,” they are in reality the most victimized and brutalized people in the bloody history that is southern Africa. [p. 10]

The typology of “wild,” “semitame or wild” and “tame” Bushmen became well established by the early 1920s in the settler discourse on understanding Bushman behavior. The basis of this typology was both spatial and economic. “Wild” Bushmen were those who were not permanently incorporated into the settler economy and generally lived beyond the Police Zone. Then there were the “semitame or wild” Bushmen, who came from beyond the Police Zone to work on settler farms on a temporary or seasonal basis. Finally there were the “tame” Bushmen, who were permanently “habituat” to employment on settler farms. This typology formed the grid on which Bushman behavior was explained. [p. 90]

SUMMARY

This book looks at the way popular conceptions and images of the South African “Bushman” have influenced colonial policy and history. It is a book about the role of the Bushmen in the history of Namibia, analyzed with regard to socio-political and socio-economic forces. In this endeavor, it focuses on European stereotypes of Bushmen, how these have changed, and how they were the result
of, the cause of, and the justification for repressive and murderous policies toward the Bushmen. The book’s first section begins by describing precolonial conditions for Bushmen, drawing on accounts of European travelers to the region. It focuses on precolonial subsistence and trading activities and the incorporation of Bushmen into the world system. This section ends, in Chapter Five, with the precolonial scientific conception of the Bushmen, including classifications. The book’s second section focuses on the onset of the colonial state and settler capitalism, and their negative effects on the Bushmen. As Bushmen resisted settler encroachment, state policies became more repressive, fueled by conceptions of Bushmen as “treacherous” and dangerous. The creation of game reserves in Bushman territory resulted in a lack of available game for Bushmen to hunt and the displacement of many people. Bushmen left the reserve areas and relocated to white settler farms, becoming laborers. As clashes with the Bushmen continued, settler opinion of them continued to plummet, resulting in repressive policies to “tame” and resocialize the Bushmen, as well as genocidal practices. After World War II a Bushman reserve was created for a variety of ideological, international, academic and economic reasons which are the subject of the third section. The fourth section once again takes up the discussion of the relationship between image and societal role, using the concept of rural underclass as a framework to examine the nature of social relationships that led to the particular style of incorporation of foragers into the colonial order. It asserts that the idea of Bushmen was created and transformed into an underdeveloped segment of Namibian society, whose social ills are attributable not to its isolation, but to its ties with the wider society. The book’s final section concludes by highlighting points from the Bushman example that are useful for developing an anthropological understanding of genocide. The book successfully drives home the message that both actions and ideas have consequences, and those propagating ideas must take responsibility for those consequences.


Decentralized economic development policies allow local states to finance homework as rural development, thus supporting the creation and mobility of deskilled, non-unionized jobs largely carried out by women. Economic development, then, is a tool of the private industrial sector and the public sector that achieves, in the case of homework, the maintenance of inequalities based primarily on sex and secondly on class. [p. 11]

The values and priorities of homeworkers and their articulation and acceptance of particular sex roles support informal work relations as a desired opportunity. A household’s need to increase the cash flow must be balanced with the needs of children to be nurtured and the requirements of both adults and children to care physically and emotionally for one another. [p. 103]

Low pay and the lack of health insurance reveal the components of dependency in homework as employment. The pay is not intended to be a living wage but is considered a complement or supplement to other sources of income in the household. The lack of health coverage is certainly motivated by the employer’s desire for cost containment but again suggests the assumption that homeworkers will have access to health care through another employed adult. [p. 157]

SUMMARY

This book looks at industrial homework as an economic development strategy and its effects on women workers and their families. The research is ethnographic, consisting of interviews with 80
homeworkers in two rural Midwestern towns who supplement their family incomes as home-based contractors of small auto parts. The book uses three approaches to explore how industrial homework has become an integral facet of economic development. The first approach focuses on the local development process, including local and state officials and governments as well as private community development corporations. The second approach is to examine workers’ experiences with industrial homework, including its consequences for their home and family lives as well as their perceptions of how homework fits into the greater local economy. The third approach is to determine the extent to which industrial homework has succeeded at achieving the community’s development goals through analysis of the policy process and the data on worker’s perspectives. One of the book’s main themes is that the case-study company and the economic developers have built strategies that take advantage of traditional unequal gender roles and norms, particularly that of women staying home to care for the family and earning supplemental household income. The interviews show that the advantages of homework in terms of being closer to the family are outweighed by the disadvantages of low wages, long hours, disruption of home chores, unstable contracts, and lack of benefits.

The book’s first chapter discusses the theoretical framework (modernization and uneven development theories), defines the concepts related to informal labor, explores the history of homework, and outlines state development policy and labor laws relating to homework. The second chapter focuses on the community development aspect, particularly how the communities went about attracting the company. The need for these informal jobs and the company’s interest in the communities are linked to the farm crisis and the resulting economic hardships experienced in the communities. Residents’ debt problems and income shortages made them and local officials eager to attract economic development, while their desperation and willingness to work cheaply made the communities attractive to the company. The third and fourth chapters of the book contain the bulk of the ethnographic information in the form of excerpts from the interviews through which the workers share their experiences in their own words. This section focuses on the advantages and disadvantages of homework and their reasons for taking on this work. The fifth chapter explores the development side of homework, particularly the ways in which the local communities subsidize the company’s entry into the town in exchange for the hoped-for development and jobs. Other costs to the local community include the problems inherent in informal work, including the lack of security or benefits. The book’s final chapter sums up by comparing international and national homework experiences. Final implications include the need to redefine more broadly the meaning of development to include education, psychological, sexual and community relational factors and the need to question the linear modernization theory of development.


Hispanics had the highest poverty ratio in any given year between 1981 and 1987. A substantial increase of Hispanics in poverty has increased to the greatest extent in California. [p. 8]

The increase in percentage of Hispanics in poverty in rural areas has been especially striking. In 1981 the percentage of Hispanics in rural areas living in poverty, 20.3 percent, was actually less than the percentage of urban Hispanics in poverty, 22.2 percent. However, the poverty rate for
Hispanics in rural areas increased to 32.4 percent by 1985, while the poverty rate in urban areas increased to 25.4 percent during the same years. [p. 14]

SUMMARY

This paper reports on demographic trends in rural poverty in the U.S. and California. Major findings from the Current Population Survey include: poverty in general increased during the 1980s; Hispanics had the highest poverty ratios between 1981 and 1987; female-headed families had higher poverty rates than two-parent families; and a growth in the number of discouraged workers. California findings from the U.S. Census include: 90 percent of California’s poor live in urban areas; poverty rates are slightly higher in rural areas; rural poverty in California is concentrated among Native Americans and Hispanics; the elderly and female-headed families have a higher incidence of poverty in rural than urban areas; there is more use of social services and transfer payments such as Food Stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children in urban than in rural areas. Based on this information, the paper’s policy recommendations include: the continued need for research on poverty in rural areas; the need to determine the impact of state-administered programs to help maximize resources; the need to develop updated longitudinal profiles on the range, number and types of services and client characteristics served by community based organizations; and the need to determine the causes of the increase in poverty and inequality in California. The paper also includes an addendum of excerpts from a panel discussion with the authors.


For a large country like India with enormous regional disparities in development, and differences in the institutional framework often deriving from cultural diversities, any single strategy for the whole country may not prove to be appropriate. For the less developed regions in the country, the strategy to maximize growth through regional development may need to dominate while a more direct attack on poverty may be required in some of the developed regions. [p. 86]

Ownership and distribution of landholdings, social status of persons, growth of agricultural output, changes in the relative prices of foodgrains, and the direct public interventions through the implementation of poverty alleviation programmes together seem to provide a reasonably good explanation of the variations in rural poverty. [p. 121]

The breakdown of the traditional institutions of management of common property resources after independence and the failure of new institutions to fill in the vacuum has contributed substantially to ecological degradation of common lands. However, the degradation caused to private lands is much less, pointing to the role of property rights and tenurial arrangements in the conservation of natural resources. [p. 172]

SUMMARY

This book looks at the interrelationships between agricultural growth, rural poverty, environmental degradation, and development policy, focusing on recent experiences in India. It is broken up into five main sections that highlight issues in agricultural growth, rural poverty, environmental degradation, participatory rural development, and economic reforms and agriculture. The section on
agricultural growth and technology finds that growth is spreading to regions that were slower to benefit from the first decade of the green revolution, and that income disparities are declining to some degree. However, during the same period there has been a decline in agricultural investments, particularly irrigation. Drought-proofing of agriculture has made little headway, although increased stocks of foodgrains in prosperous regions have helped to smooth out weather-related variations in food supply for urban consumers. The rural poor however, particularly in dry and remote areas, continue to suffer from fluctuations in food supply, employment and income. Environmental degradation is further exacerbating drought trends. It is suggested that biotechnological advances may be able to help improve the food situation in unfavorable environments. The next section on rural poverty alleviation finds that despite increases in food availability, the purchasing power of the poor in remote rural areas has not been raised. Poverty programs have remained centralized, and thus have not been effective at reaching the most underdeveloped areas. Suggestions for improvements in poverty alleviation include strengthening the land base of the rural poor and women through land reforms and land loans; developing the infrastructure of remote areas in order to raise labor demand and wages; improving standards of living, human capital, and health care of the rural poor; and improving awareness of family planning issues. The environmental degradation section focuses on deforestation as the major threat to agricultural development in India. Population pressures contribute seriously to this problem, as does rural poverty, resulting in scarcities of drinking water, fuel-wood and fodder. In order to reduce environmental pressures, land-augmenting technological changes should be combined with environmentally-sound irrigation practices. In order to truly be effective, though, environmental conservation strategies must be integrated with agricultural development and poverty alleviation. The section on decentralizing rural development stresses the need to integrate centralized planning goals with local level planning, awareness raising, and support for local leadership. The last section on economic reforms and agriculture suggests that restrictions on the lease market for agricultural land would help improve land use. Positive effects of subsidies are found to be outweighed by their negative effects.


The average size of farms in the thirty-one states east of the Great Plains more than doubled between 1949 and 1987, after having hovered around 100 acres from 1900 until 1940. [p. 66]

Farmers who handle hundreds of thousands of dollars each year have had to become skillful financial managers on top of all their other chores and headaches, and the successful contemporary family farm has had to become a family farm business. Escalating costs and shrinking per-unit profits have forced most farmers to keep increasing their volume of business, and they have expanded either by buying land outright or by renting it from neighbors who have stopped farming it but are not yet ready to sell it. [p. 67]

Part-ownership has been the principal strategy for farm enlargement in the eight states of the Midwest since World War II. The close correlation between the average acreages owned by full-owner and part-owner farmers justifies the conclusion that part-owners have expanded their farms by renting land rather than by buying it, and the purchase of land has played a relatively minor role in farm enlargement. [p. 78]
This article looks at the changes in farm structure since World War II, focusing on the enlargement of farms and new ownership strategies. It finds that part-ownership is used as a strategy for farm enlargement in the East and Midwest. Changes in farming have led to renting and part-ownership as a long-term strategy rather than a temporary step on the way to full ownership. The practice of renting is linked to high land values, making it more sensible for farmers to use their money for operating expenses than using it to pay for interest on land. County level data is used to test whether average acreages owned by full owners predict the average acreages owned by part-owners in the same county, and whether average acreages rented are multiples of the average acreage owned by full-owner farmers in the same county. It is found that while the first proposition has some predictive value, the second has very little. Furthermore, they find that the acreages rented by part-owner farmers in the Midwest have no discernible relationship to the acreages they own. The article ends by listing a number of findings relevant to part-ownership, but concludes that the process of land rental by farmers is extremely complex and needs further study.


The African continent has the fastest population growth rate in the world. At the same time, the population-to-resource ratio is such that many areas are becoming overexploited. The situation has given rise to the problems of famine, degradation, and economic crisis in some African countries and regions. These difficulties are especially acute among indigenous peoples in Africa, many of whom face problems of hunger and landlessness. [p. 129]

Relatively little is known about the contemporary statuses of indigenous African populations. Some of them are hunter-gatherers whose lifestyles have changed substantially over the centuries. Others are pastoral nomads or small-scale farmers who reside in rural areas. In some cases, they have entered the national economy as marginally successful food producers and specialized workers. In other cases, they are relatively poor and have had to become dependent for their survival on the largesse of other groups or the states in which they live. [pp. 130-131]

The indigenous peoples of Africa have had to deal with numerous problems, some of them a product of colonization and exploitation and others a result of demographic and socioeconomic changes. In order to counteract the negative trends, indigenous groups have embarked on a whole series of self-help and development efforts, using political mobilization as a strategy, organizing grassroots groups, and forming local institutions to facilitate achievement of their goals. [p. 148]
affected by drought, encroachment, restrictive wildlife laws, and military struggles. For many populations, the result of these and other problems has been declining living standards and poverty. The purpose of the article is to examine issues relating to human rights, the environment and development among indigenous peoples in Africa. It uses a case study approach that examines the situations of indigenous groups in southern and eastern Africa in order to illustrate the long term environmental, economic, demographic and political impacts of European discovery in Africa. Most of the article is devoted to these case studies and outlining problems faced by the populations. It ends with a short discussion of grassroots conservation and development activities in Africa that have enabled local groups to improve their standards of living. It concludes that there is evidence of the beginnings of grassroots movements in Africa in order to fight for the political, social and economic rights of marginalized groups. It is through these efforts that indigenous peoples in Africa will be able to build a better future for themselves.


One of the strategies pursued by African states in trying to conserve resources was to enact legislation that made it illegal for people to exploit wildlife without government permission. In a number of African states, such as Malawi, rural peasants were not allowed access to wildlife unless they paid for licenses, many of which were expensive. Efforts were made to disarm rural Africans in order to control what the state defined as poaching. Government officials sometimes resorted to violence in order to promote conservation, as was the case in the past in Kenya, which had a shoot-to-kill policy towards people engaged in hunting. [p. 170]

Indigenous peoples have called for greater respect for their social, economic, and cultural rights at international forums and in numerous meetings held at the local level. They have also stressed the importance of maintaining viable ecosystems, something that is necessary for the survival of future generation of people as well as other species. Having a healthy environment is something that many indigenous people consider to be a primary human right. [p. 171]

As this study demonstrates, conservation programs do not necessarily enhance the well-being of the people being affected, and they may even have extremely adverse consequences on local populations. Since the 1930s, a significant amount of land in both Botswana and Zimbabwe has been devoted to conservation purposes. Botswana has a larger percentage of its land dedicated to wildlife management and national parks than any other country in Africa, and Zimbabwe is not far behind. People who have had to leave these areas tended to congregate in already overcrowded communal lands, many of which have witnessed problems of environmental degradation, resource competition, and conflict. [p. 189]

SUMMARY

This article looks at the ways in which colonial policies of habitat and species conservation in Botswana and Zimbabwe have resulted in the impoverishment of indigenous populations. In order to conserve natural resources, the governments of these countries have enacted policies that included resettlement schemes, removals of people from national parks and game reserves, and the restriction of hunting by local people. These policies have had the effect of dispossessing indigenous groups and restricting their access to resources necessary for their subsistence. The article examines these impacts
through analyzing data on the Tyua Bushmen in the Nata river region of northern Botswana and western Zimbabwe. It looks at changes over time in conservation and development policies and their effects on this former foraging population. It finds that the kinds of conservation and development programs employed resulted in greater resource depletion, increased poverty and social stratification. Thus the author concludes that colonial and post-colonial state conservation and development policies on the Tyua had the effect of increasing state control over natural resources at the expense of the local communities. The resulting alienation of people for wildlife contributed to the overall ecosystem decline. Thus it is concluded that conservation programs do not always enhance the well-being of local people, and may in fact be quite injurious for affected populations.


Over the past decade a dramatic upsurge has taken place in activities designed to conserve biodiversity, especially wildlife, in Africa. The problem has been that conservation efforts have sometimes had negative effects on local people, including violations of basic human rights. As a result, many Africans have called for a new approach to wildlife preservation, management, and development, one that does not cause them harm but that instead leads to improvements in their standards of living. [p. 81]

Some people in Africa feel threatened by what they perceive to be coercive conservation. Local people were subjected to the imposition of restrictive wildlife laws and periodic search-and-seizure operations from the time of the establishment of colonial institutions in Africa. This was particularly true of foragers or small-scale farmers who hunted and gathered wild plants and animals to supplement their subsistence and incomes. [p. 83]

The degree to which conservation and development projects are beneficial is dependent in part on the extent to which local people can take part in project activities. Many of the NGO-sponsored projects that were initiated in Africa have not been as proactive as they might have been in terms of incorporating local people, including women, children, the elderly, and indigenous minorities, into decision-making. It is for this reason that some African communities have sought to plan and implement their own projects and come up with their own sets of rules by which conservation and development will be conducted. [p. 90]

SUMMARY

This article is concerned with the social problems created by environmental resource conservation in Africa, which has negatively affected many local and indigenous peoples. Past conservation efforts have resulted in dispossession of land and resources or the prevention of subsistence activities, both creating and exacerbating problems of poverty and resource stress among local communities. Draconian wildlife conservation efforts resulted in the jailing and even killing of people caught poaching. Conservation policies have disproportionately affected poor residents of remote areas. These policies ignore the fact that the wildlife decline in Africa is mostly attributable to military activity and civil conflicts. After outlining these problems, the bulk of the article focuses on community-based natural resource management projects that are currently being advocated by local communities and nongovernmental organizations. It critiques several of these projects, pointing out negative impacts. It also gives examples of local and indigenous responses to problematic preservation and
management efforts. Examples include grassroots advocacy organizations formed to protest the ways that Bushmen are being treated, as well as collaborations with larger NGOs to bring attention to problems. The article concludes that conservation and development projects must include local people in order to be beneficial, and that cooperation between local populations and conservation organizations is vital to successful, equitable and just conservation.


Land-use choices and economic strategies are likely to affect income levels and poverty rates. These choices should be made with as clear an understanding as possible of the potential consequences for poverty and low incomes and their alleviation. [p. 404]

Workers in rural America are more likely to be poor than their urban counterparts with the same amount of education. The RSS Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty (1993) concluded that “the fundamental problem resides in the low wages and inadequate employment opportunities found in rural America.” [p. 405]

It is clear from these findings that increasing lumber and wood-products employment is not likely to have a significant long-run impact either on other employment or on AFDC caseloads in the Sierra Nevada Forest Counties. That is, we have no evidence that the loss of timber-related employment “caused” increases in AFDC caseloads at the county level, nor that its availability would cause the decline of AFDC caseloads at the county level. [p. 417]

**SUMMARY**

This article looks at the causes of poverty in the Sierra Nevada Forest Counties in Northern California. Since annual data on poverty levels were not available, the study uses Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) caseloads as a proxy for poverty rates. The authors acknowledge the possible differences between AFDC rates and general poverty rates, but suggest that if anything AFDC caseloads undercount poor families. The main point of the article is to test the common belief that the loss of timber related jobs in the Sierra Nevada region is responsible for the counties’ sustained higher than average poverty rates. After giving background on rural poverty in the U.S. and the West it presents the findings, beginning with descriptive statistics from the Census of Population and other sources. The rest of the article is dedicated to the results of quantitative analysis, which relies heavily on Granger Causality models that explore statistical causality. The concept of “Granger-causation” is used to test whether past values of one variable predict current values of a second variable better than the past values of the second variable alone. Using this technique, it finds that lumber and wood-products employment affects AFDC caseload in only two of fifteen counties. Similarly the growth of lumber and wood-products employment affects the growth of AFDC caseloads in only four counties. However, employment in other sectors is found to have a larger affect on AFDC caseload. Thus the article concludes that increasing lumber and wood-products employment is not likely to have a significant poverty-alleviating effect, and that the economic hopes of the Sierra Nevada Forest Counties do not necessarily lie in the extractive industries.
Poverty and increasing landlessness creates pressure on the traditional joint family structure. Unprecedented numbers of families are now becoming nuclear which is triggered by poverty, landlessness and population growth. Rural women are joining the company of the absolute poor and destitute faster than rural men. For women living in extreme poverty, constraints that have restricted mobility outside their homestead are increasingly irrelevant in the quest for economic survival. [p. 90]

For the female half of the population, vulnerability is, perhaps, an even more central dimension of the poverty experience. As an aspect of poverty in Bangladesh, vulnerability translates into three critical indicators, namely, personal insecurity, crisis proneness and coping capacities. The insecurity indicator relates to the level and potential for violence and intimidation within social and institutional life and the constraints which such an environment imposes on livelihood initiatives of the poor women. [p. 110]

In a predominantly agrarian economy, poverty is, by and large, a result of low and declining productivity in agriculture. Evidence indicates low productivity in Bangladesh is a manifestation of poor management of available agricultural resources. As soon as the productivity of a solvent family declines, it starts descending into poverty. Natural disasters, adverse climatic conditions, health hazards, social obligations, children’s education, etc. further deteriorate its economic position. [p. 149]

SUMMARY

This rather uneven collection of papers from the Bangladesh National Workshop on Challenges of Rural Poverty by the Year 2010 explores different aspects of rural poverty and development in Bangladesh. Major themes covered by the papers include socio-cultural aspects of rural poverty, population and employment, gender issues in rural poverty, and resource management. Papers in the first two sections (which includes a paper that has not been translated out of Bengali) seem to ask more questions than provide answers, but provide a general overview of the rural situation in Bangladesh. The papers on rural women and gender issues are much more interesting and thought-provoking however, looking at women’s work inside and outside of the home, and coping strategies. The first of these three papers uses case studies to illustrate the situation of poor women, and contains an interesting set of policy issues relevant to alleviating women’s poverty. The second paper looks more at gender disparities in poverty rates and coping mechanisms, and also contains a useful list of possible strategies for future intervention. The third paper in this section looks specifically at programs that target rural women, evaluating their effectiveness. The last section on resource management consists of an article on rural poverty and productivity in agriculture, focusing on low productivity as a contributing factor to poverty, and a second, more general article on resource management, including agricultural resources as well as forests. A final chapter sums up the major recommendations from the workshop, focusing on understanding rural poverty, its causes, and possible approaches for alleviation.

In 1976 West Virginia’s male [labor force participation] rate was 7.2 percentage points below the national rate, and its female rate was 13.9 percentage points below its counterpart. Fifteen years later the gaps were almost unchanged. [p. 539]

The set of choices made by Appalachians do not stand out as exceptional in the national landscape sketched by the county equations. The lower rates of Appalachian labor force participation can be understood in terms of standard determinants of labor force participation. [p. 574]

The results here suggest that at most there is a very small Appalachian labor force gap. There is no statistical evidence that Appalachia, or even central Appalachia, is a unique region of “weaker attachment … to formal labor markets.” [p. 574]

**SUMMARY**

This article is a response to an earlier article in the same journal, in which it was asserted that Appalachia’s low labor force participation rates could only be attributed to cultural preferences for non-market activities. In rebuttal, this article looks at the literature on determinants of labor force participation and then examines Appalachian participation more closely in order to determine whether there is really a missing Appalachian labor force, and whether there is evidence of unique Appalachian behavior with respect to labor force participation. After the literature SUMMARY section, the paper is focused mostly on laying out and explaining the empirical research done at the county level and comparing the present study with the earlier study. It finds that the Appalachian effect is very small, less than one percent for both males and females, and is not a cultural phenomenon. It also shows that there is no pervasive or unique Appalachian labor force effect. It thus concludes that Appalachian behavior is about average given the economic, demographic, occupational and geographic situation faced by Appalachians. It does, however, concede that the regression analysis used in the study is not sufficient to determine whether or not an Appalachian culture exists.


Current differences between white and nonwhite aggregate income levels as well as white and nonwhite poverty rates reflect the persistent disadvantages of color. Across time, the relative socioeconomic status of racial and ethnic minorities is both effect and cause of extant minority relations. [p. 509]

Blacks, Mexicans and Native Americans constitute the most prominent nonmetro minorities in terms of sheer numbers and/or policy interest. All have a distinct rural history in North America and share a common legacy of profound subjugation and economic destitution. [p. 512]

On balance, our results reinforce the claim that nonmetro minorities continue to suffer the double jeopardy of color and rural residence. Regarding policy recommendations, we empha-
size the cyclical variations in the socioeconomic status of minority groups, which require countercyclical measures for their resolution. [p. 528]

SUMMARY

This article looks at the economic status of rural black, Mexican and Native American families from 1959 to 1986 to determine trends. After providing background on the historical rural settlements and deprivation of minority groups in the U.S., the authors discuss the methods and findings of the research. U.S. Census and Current Population Survey data are used for the analysis, which looks at whether there is evidence of economic improvement of nonmetro minorities to match the macrosocial trends during the time period. It is found that the economic situations of rural minorities did improve in relative terms from 1959 to 1979, but that family incomes deteriorated during the following seven years. Migration of minorities from rural to urban areas is also associated with economic improvement during the time period. Furthermore, it is found that employment has a larger ameliorative effect on minority family poverty than does public assistance. The authors conclude that policies need to address not job training so much as job creation. Minorities also need measures to help protect their jobs, since it is found that they are more likely to lose their jobs during times of economic downswing.


Years of outmigration from villages, especially of younger people, and an appearance of decline or stagnation among the shops on main street have long given rise to predictions of village decline. Since as early as the 1890s, literature on the village or small town has reflected a common expectation that small towns were doomed to fail as the automobile and better roads and communications freed rural residents from their dependency on local merchants. [p. 2]

Incomes are lower and the incidence of poverty higher in villages than in their urban counterparts. Unemployment is higher and education levels are lower, and there is a greater proportion of high school dropouts among males in villages than in urban communities. [p. 82]

Decades of centralization have shifted population and business activities away from villages toward larger centers, suggesting that the village has become and obsolete settlement form in the modern urban-oriented society. [p. 197]

SUMMARY

This book looks specifically at the “village” in America, places with populations of less than 2,500 people. It is an attempt to understand the changes related to villages’ roles as centers of economic and residential activity, to examine the role of the village today and how it has changed over the period since 1950. The book examines the village as a part of the larger settlement system, looking at its role as both a residential community and a center of trade and other economic activities in light of structural changes throughout the system. The study is based on a sample of five percent of villages in the coterminous U.S., of 572 different incorporated places. Data comes from the U.S censuses for 1950 through 1980 and Dun and Bradstreet reference books for 1950 through 1970, as well as from local public sources. The study also included a telephone interview survey with mayors in 100 villages.
After an introductory chapter that presents literature on the village and explains the research design and methodology, the book begins with an analysis of recent and (then) current population patterns. It looks particularly at population change in villages and associated factors in order to explain differential patterns of population growth and decline. The next chapter presents a detailed account of social characteristics in villages and compares them to urban areas and other rural populations on demographic variables. Villages are differentiated by recent population growth trends to compare characteristics of villages in turnaround growth and decline counties. The next three chapters focus on economic activities, including a discussion of different economic activities in villages and how they have changed since 1950, an analysis of changes in the retail and service sectors, and an analysis of the relationship between village population and retail/service business that develops models of change in business, incorporating urban accessibility and basic economic activities. Next, the book looks at current village government and community group activities to improve local infrastructure and promote industrial growth and business development. These activities are analyzed in light of measures of their possible consequences. The book’s last substantive chapter looks at issues of community attitudes toward growth and relations between newcomers and old-timers, interestingly finding no evidence of possible community problems or heightened newcomer-old-timer differences. Finally, the last chapter summarizes the book’s main findings on villages, including population growth, centralization of economic trends, and perceptions of growth as good.


California’s demography and its cultural and linguistic landscape are becoming progressively more Latino, a trend most noticeable in metropolitan areas. Less recognized, but as profound, is a corresponding transformation of many rural towns and the creation of ethnic enclaves in them—the proximate cause of which is increased migration between Latin America and California. [p. 1]

Enclavement is a result of macro-economic and transnational structural processes that intersect with class and “race.” The enclave so formed is the crucible in which ethnicity is nurtured. This ethnicity thus becomes yet another marker for self-identification and for objectification of the self by the other. As such, ethnicity doubly determines enclavement. [p. 19]

Illegal Mexico-to-U.S. migration structurally links the economy of rural Mexico with the California agricultural economy. The availability of low-cost Mexican migrant labor makes possible the preservation and expansion of labor-intensive specialty crop production in California. In this way, it helps shape both the technology and the cropping patterns that characterize the California agricultural economy. This immigrant manpower lifeline extends from California farm labor markets into peasant households in even the most remote corners of rural Mexico. [p. 43]

SUMMARY

This working paper consists of two different papers: one anthropological analysis of the Latinization of rural agricultural towns in California’s Central Valley, and another that looks at the links between the California agricultural economy and rural parts of Mexico where the bulk of
California’s farm workers originate. The first paper looks at community and its meaning in the context of California agricultural communities. It focuses in particular in the creation of farm worker enclaves in rural California, as well as the migrant networks responsible for their creation and perpetuation. The subject perspective is used to characterize Latino communities as groups that experience problems resulting from structural and historical processes, in addition to their own positions within the dominant society and its institutions. This perspective is contrasted with an object perspective, as well as assimilationist theory and cultural nationalist perspective. With these theoretical considerations in mind, the paper explores the conditions that are currently creating the enclave situation in California, including the internationalization of capital, socioeconomic conditions in Mexico, and conditions in California labor markets. It then goes on to explore and analyze the nature of the enclave communities from a variety of demographic and other perspectives. It ends by discussing a number of policy and research implications, concluding that the transnational community model is the most useful for future research.

The second paper provides an overview of the role that illegal Mexico-to-U.S. migration plays in the California farm economy and the Mexican village economy. The first part of the paper provides a SUMMARY of research on the subject, including the distribution of undocumented farmworkers by season and farm job. The second part explores the role of income remittances from illegal migrants in the Mexican village economy, with regard to income inequality, and economic structures. It concludes that remittances are vital to the Mexican village economy, and thus labor migration is unlikely to be stopped. The working paper ends with the transcript from a panel discussion about the papers that includes UC professors of anthropology and agricultural economics, as well as a Mexican professor and two labor representatives.


One devastating widespread famine can destroy the productive capacity of the rural people for many years. This is not because of adverse natural forces, but because of the total disruption of agricultural production due to mass deaths, mass emigration, lack of oxen for ploughing, lack of seeds, and a general physical weakness of the survivors. [p. 11]

In Africa, as in most developing countries, the incidence of rural poverty is high partly because of the fact that the population lives predominantly in rural areas, and partly because of the peculiar characteristics of the rural environment. Of the 90 developing countries used in the analysis of global incidence of poverty, the rural population forms the majority in 66. [p. 29]

The proposition that since the poor in rural areas are small farmers, rural poverty could be alleviated by raising the productivity of small farms needs to be reviewed in the context of historical experiences, dominant ideologies as well as socio-economic conditions obtained in our countries. In the rural areas, and in the context of productivity increase, the problems of the marginalized, the resource poor, the landless and the sharecroppers need to be considered in the frame of institutional adjustments relating to ownership of and access to resources particularly in the form of land, services, finance and the like. [p. 226]

SUMMARY

This book is a collection of papers presented at the First Ossrea Congress held in June 1983 in
Alemaya, Ethiopia. The papers are all related to rural development, institution building or popular participation in the African context, most focusing on either Tanzania or Kenya. The book is divided into three sections, the first of which focuses on rural poverty in Africa, from both a broad pan-African perspective as well as more specific case studies. Articles in this section include a discussion of famine-related mortality and the cycle of poverty that it induces, a detailed look at the anatomy of rural poverty and the approach for dealing with it in Africa, a review of the problems and conditions for rural women, and examinations of rural development pitfalls and the impact of population growth on food production. The second set of articles looks at problems of institution building in the African context, focusing on the issue of ‘center-locality’ relations, the development of appropriate forms of rural development institutions, and the question of grass roots participation. The problem of overcentralization is addressed in various forms throughout this section, which includes discussions of the problem as well as of policies for decentralization and the problems they have encountered. This section relies mostly on case studies to illustrate the issues involved in various forms of institutional development. The book’s last section consists of concluding remarks that summarize the main points of the book and bring the articles together. Among these final suggestions is the acknowledgement that poverty must be faced through an integrated approach that takes multiple problems into consideration, and that development and institution building must include and stimulate local participation in order to be effective.


Three decades of planned economic development have failed to improve the living conditions of India’s poor. This persistence of poverty is clearly manifest in the continuance of low per capita income. It is nevertheless clear by now that higher growth rates, and therefore higher per capita income, are not sufficient to improve the lot of the poor. New wealth has not “trickled down.” The solutions to the problem of India’s poverty will thus not emerge from higher rates of economic growth alone. [p. 1]

India has now undergone three decades of politically guided development. Shorn of many complexities, the record is clear. Democracy has survived. Industry and agriculture have both grown at moderate rates. Redistributive efforts have, however, not been very successful. As much as 40 percent of the population continues to live in conditions of absolute poverty. [p. 51]

This study suggests that barring the ascension of well-organized left-of-center regimes in other Indian states, the prospects of alleviating rural poverty by deliberate state intervention will remain slight. As long as the regional political alternatives in India are offered by parties such as the Congress (I), Janata, or its former constituents (mainly the Lok Dal and the Jan Sangh) under new party labels, the reformist thrust will remain limited. Only the CPM or similar parties capable of generating a disciplined left-of-center regime will have the capacity to push through policies benefiting the lower rural classes. [p. 230]

SUMMARY

This book explores the question of why rural India remains impoverished despite forty years of development efforts. It is particularly concerned with the impacts of authority structures and political regimes on development patterns. The study is a comparison of three different party govern-
ments: the Community Party of India—Marxist (CPM) in West Bengal from 1977 to 1984, the Congress government in Karnataka from 1974 to 1980, and the Janata government in Uttar Pradesh from 1977 to 1980. Data was collected mainly through structured and unstructured interviews with both members of both the relevant state and civil societies, from politicians to social workers to “common citizens”. In addition, a formal survey was carried out in West Bengal in 1983 in order to assess the impact of government programs there. The book is organized with an introductory chapter that explains the state-oriented theoretical framework of the study. The second chapter examines the interaction of the Congress regime and India’s social classes in the process of reformist development. It articulates the argument that failure to effectively address poverty in India is the result of a powerful alliance between national political elite and commercially oriented propertied groups. The following three chapters analyze the role of the three case-study state governments in poverty reform. The difference between these regimes in terms of social base, ideology and organization is illustrated. The CPM is found to have been the most successful at instituting and carrying out agrarian reform. Based on these analyses and earlier arguments, it is argued that variations in regional distributive outcomes are a function of the regime controlling power, and that regime type closely reflects the nature of the ruling party. It is concluded that in India regimes that are characterized by coherent leadership, ideological commitment to exclude the propertied interests from participation in government, predictability, and an organizational arrangement that is simultaneously centralized and decentralized are the most likely to be able to implement redistributive development schemes.


These observations suggest that rapid community changes which increase social diversity or otherwise contribute to social uncertainty may cause people to perceive community conditions as unpredictable, insecure, and unsafe. [p. 197]

Generally, fear of crime was highest when a community had experienced recent or ongoing rapid growth, as evidenced by the higher fear levels in Evanston and Vernal in 1982, and in Delta in 1984. Communities in which population declined immediately after population growth exhibited a parallel decline in fear of crime. In contrast, there was little change in settings characterized by relative demographic and socio-cultural stability. [p. 208]

SUMMARY

This article looks at changes in levels of fear of crime in rural communities with rapidly changing populations. Although rural areas generally have lower levels of fear than urban areas, higher fear levels have been associated with rapid population growth and economic changes, whether or not there have been changes in actual crime rates. The article, after discussing the results of previous studies, analyzes the results of surveys done during three different years in four rural communities in the Intermountain West. Multiple regression analysis is used to link population changes and criminal victimization experiences with fear of crime. The results indicate that measures of contextual change, individual social integration, and criminal victimization influence fear of crime more than do individual compositional variables.

Although some people respond positively to waste facility proposals on the basis of anticipated economic opportunities, a far more common response is to focus on the potential threats of such projects to public health, safety, and well-being. Indeed, widespread public concern about risks associated with waste disposal and the emergence of growing political opposition over specific siting proposals have brought nuclear waste management to a virtual standstill. [p. 437]

Concerns about the instability of traditional resource-based industries and about limited employment opportunities in general are pervasive in many rural areas, including those studied here. Such concerns can contribute to high levels of support for virtually any project perceived to have economic development potential, even if that project may otherwise be considered undesirable in terms of effects on local health and safety or environmental quality. [p. 443]

Is it really fair to continue to subject disadvantaged areas and economically desperate populations to higher risks from hazardous activities because their condition causes them to be more willing to assume such risks? [pp. 449-450]

SUMMARY

The climate towards waste facility siting has grown more and more negative, and it has become difficult to find suitable locations due to public opposition on grounds of possible health and safety risks. This article summarizes the findings of a study that looks at local attitudes toward perceived risks, trust in responsible agencies, anticipated economic effects, and environmental concerns in rural areas of Nevada and Nebraska where nuclear waste disposal facilities have been proposed. Survey data are analyzed through bivariate and multivariate regression models to determine the effects of attitudes on local responses to proposed sitings. It is found that economic problems in rural areas make their residents more open to the possibilities of waste siting due to perceived economic and employment advantages. However, distrust of agencies and concerns about health and safety risks indicate that even in rural areas waste siting proposals may encounter serious opposition.


Most historians and government officials have ignored the presence of certain populations at risk in areas of nuclear weapons development and testing—populations whose subsistence economies depend heavily on land resources, including its flora, fauna, and water. This neglect is not accidental. When not deliberately part of official secrecy, it reveals an all-too-familiar pattern of disregard for the people that inhabit these desert areas, masking an exploitation of their land that goes back to the beginning of the so-called westward expansion. [p. 5]

Having emerged piece by piece over the last fifty years, the nuclear landscape constitutes as much a social and political geography as it does an environmental region. Because it is a rather recent phenomenon and has taken time to emerge in a recognizable form, because it exists in desert lands, and because it is the child of secret operations hidden behind the veil of national security, the nuclear landscape is to a large extent and invisible landscape. [p. 9]
The pursuit of nuclear power in both its militaristic and economic forms has had and will continue to have tragic consequences for life in the American desert and beyond. A fundamental redefinition of our relationship between the human and nonhuman is needed to find solutions to the problems that the radical separation between them has helped create. Otherwise, in the American West, we will continue to project those tragic consequences into the future and lay waste a desert whose secret source of life—water—is our common bond and heritage. [p. 290]

SUMMARY

This book focuses on the social and environmental impact of nuclear fuel and testing on the desert regions of the American West. It examines the competing interests and claims of the various actors in the region, including Native Americans, antinuclear activists, Euroamerican scientists, and government officials, with a focus on Native American elders and Euroamerican government-sponsored scientists. Their different views of the region—as sacred homelands versus valueless wastelands—provide the backdrop to the analysis. The first part of the book attempts to make clear the close proximity of Native Americans and military and nuclear regions and to show how a consistent pattern of internal nuclear colonialism has emerged as a type of environmental racism. This section introduces the political, economic and institutional forces responsible for the creation of the nuclear landscape and highlights the mechanisms for excluding Native Americans from voicing their perspectives and concerns on land-use issues. Methodology for this section includes historical narratives and ethnographic interviews with both Native Americans and scientists. Socioecological analysis compares the accounts in order to illustrate the political and cultural factors that influence the contrasting and conflicting attitudes, practices and representations of the natural world. The book’s second part further examines this cultural divide through looking at the relationship between human and nonhuman nature perceived by the two groups. It argues that “traditional Native culture can be characterized in part as possessing an intersubjective relationship with nature, whereas Euroamerican scientific culture tends to separate the human (subject and the nonhuman ‘other’ (nature/object)” (p. xvi). Historical-cultural analysis traces the ways in which the different worldviews emerged through subsistence practices (Native Americans) and scientific detachment (scientists). It further shows the ways in which Euroamerican views and practices came to dominate and marginalize those of Native Americans. It thus also elucidates the interconnections between politics, culture and science. Although she tries to claim that she does not favor either perspective, it is clear that Kuletz does intend that the book advocate Native American rights with regard to environmental issues.


The rural poor are more likely to live in substandard housing than their urban counterparts. Despite decades of progress, a significant portion of poor households in nonmetropolitan areas still occupy housing that is dilapidated or lacks basic necessities, such as indoor plumbing. Many continue to have inadequate water supplies or sewage disposal systems. [p. vii]

Nonmetro households in the South are much more likely than nonmetro households in other regions to live in substandard housing. In 1985, the incidence of substandard housing was more than three times greater in the nonmetro South than in the nonmetro areas of any other region. As a result, more than three-fourths of all nonmetro households in the nation that lived
in substandard conditions resided in the South. [p. xx]

For most low income households in nonmetro areas, housing has become an increasingly unaffordable commodity. With nearly three of every four nonmetro poor households paying at least 30 percent of their incomes for housing—and with substantial numbers paying 50 percent and even 70 percent—little money is left for other necessities. [p. 57]

SUMMARY

This report looks at housing availability and quality in nonmetropolitan areas of the U.S. using Census Bureau surveys. An extremely thorough executive SUMMARY begins the report by summing up most of its major findings, which are explored in greater detail in the body of the report. The report’s first section looks at housing costs for poor rural homeowners and renters, finding that significant portions of poor households’ incomes are spent on housing costs, both among renters and owners. This section also looks at housing costs for minorities versus whites, as well as housing shortages and worsening affordability. The second section compares poor housing in nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas, finding more poor homeowners among nonmetropolitan populations. It also finds that housing costs are generally lower in nonmetropolitan areas, but that this lower cost is offset by lower average incomes in nonmetropolitan areas. The third section looks at housing quality in nonmetropolitan areas, and finds that nonmetropolitan households are more likely to live in substandard and severely substandard housing. The next section looks at housing assistance for the poor, which is targeted more toward homeowners than renters in rural areas, and is limited in its accessibility. The fifth section looks at demographic characteristics of poor households, broken down by income, race, age, marital status, employment, and geographic region. The sixth and seventh sections look specifically at housing affordability and conditions for black and elderly households. Finally, a conclusion sums up the main findings of the report and suggests that federal policies be changed in order to better address the current housing crisis for the rural poor.


Before attributing particular practices to poverty, it is essential to consider how other issues—such as tenure arrangements, knowledge and demography—influence the activity in question. We are otherwise left with a persistent contradiction between the view that poverty directly causes natural resource degradation, and the considerable evidence of materially poor people who manage resources in sophisticated, sustainable ways. [p. 21]

People are embedded in nexuses of specific opportunities and obligations associated with kinship, friendship and patron-client relations, and their experiences depend on their ability to manage and draw on these effectively. [p. 206]

People-oriented conservation should not be a search for an unattainable consensus, nor is it about the precise ways in which forest resources are managed. It is about control over the process of discussing and deciding forest futures, and about enhancing local women's and men's capacities to do so on their own terms. [p. 227]

SUMMARY

This book contributes to literature on gender, rainforests, conservation, environmental change
and resource use, focusing mostly on the Mende of the Gola area in eastern Sierra Leone. The author attempts to take account of how men and women value and use forest resources and their changing control and access to them. Particularly useful is the book’s focus on local perspectives. The book’s first section looks at forest conservation, gender and the environment at a general level, while its second section examines gendered resource use in the case study area. The final concluding chapter addresses questions raised in the book’s opening in light of the case study. Interesting points raised include the negative effects of conservation efforts on local communities and the ways in which gender differences affect how natural resources are managed and used.


The relationship between dietary caloric adequacy, labor use, and asset ownership has two facets. First, assets permit the household that controls them (i) to add to the results of, or (ii) to multiply the conversion efficiency of, it caloric intake, via labor, into income and hence into edible calories and other commodities. Second, a household accumulates (or controls) assets to the extent that it obtains, and uses for that purpose, a surplus of commodities—obtained by converting “raw” labor, and perhaps by multiplying or adding to the efficiency of such conversion by using assets—over dietary needs. [p. 1]

Are rural people significantly less likely to be poor if they have access to farmland? The question cannot arise within any region where rights in land are allocated in more or less egalitarian fashion. Also, landlessness is unlikely to be associated with poverty if land is not scarce. If land is both scarce and allocated according to economic or political power, then rural poverty is likely to be associated with landholding below a certain threshold (which falls as land quality rises). [p. 5]

The evidence on labor suggests not only that the ultra-poor do even worse than had been feared in respect of wages and participation and unemployment (fluctuations as well as levels in each case), but also that they do worst when assetless; lack of any fall-back weakens their bargaining position and compels them to incur massive search costs. Land redistributions do achieve something—and may not need to achieve their full target, may indeed succeed despite much evasion, if the chief aim is to provide a reserve position for the ultra-poor. [p. 39]

SUMMARY

This World Bank report investigates the question of whether private access to land is the best insurance against rural poverty. It begins by looking at inequality, and the contrasts between rich and poor people with respect to caloric intake, labor use and asset ownership. The paper then raises the questions of to what extent do, or could, the Third World’s poor and ultra-poor own or control the land asset, and to what extent do the returns on this asset protect the poor from poverty and differ from the returns gained by the non-poor on the land asset. It then looks in more detail at the issues of poverty and access to land. Different types of tenure are explored, as are different land uses and availabilities of land. It finds that scarcity of land and unequal distribution may be related to rural poverty. Small land holdings contribute more to poverty reduction when the land is good, and ‘bad’ land assets reduce the risk of poverty only when large amounts of land are held. Points are illustrated with examples from India and Southeast Asia. The final section of the report looks specifically at Indian large-sample data to test the relationship between lack of land assets and poverty, and com-
pares findings to studies done elsewhere in India and Asia, as well as in Latin America and Africa. Although some results are inconclusive, it does state firmly that landlessness and tenancy are not generally increasing; land distribution and the terms of tenancy are not in general worsening; redistribution has not been a complete failure; and land access inequality is not an overly important correlate of poverty.


Bank and other data suggest a poverty incidence so large as to induce near-despair. For example, the “absolute poor”—defined as those with income-per-person too low to afford 2250 calories per person per day and thus at some risk of poverty-induced undernutrition—were estimated (on Kravis-adjusted income data) for Asia, excluding China, Japan, and the Middle East, at 393 million in 1980. That is 40 percent of the population. [p. 4]

However, a line can be drawn between the ultra-poor and the rest. In several ways, the ultra-poor—the poorest 10-20 percent of people in India, Bangladesh or the Sahel—are different from the further 25-35 percent who fall below the 2250-calorie line. [p. 4]

To know whether a development policy or project is good at helping the poor, we need to know how many poor people it benefits, by how much, and how poor they were “before” and “after.” For these purposes, the effect on “relative poverty”—say, on the proportion of persons receiving below 30 percent of a country’s average GNP per head—tells us nothing. Inequality and poverty are different; a project might increase that proportion, yet reduce the numbers in absolute need. [p. 8]

SUMMARY

This paper brings together information from four working papers on the characteristics of the poor and the ultra-poor, which look specifically at nutrition; the control of and returns to labor, land and human capital; and demography. The paper concerns findings based on studies of 30 villages in rainfed areas of western India and northern Nigeria, along with references to studies in many other developing areas. It begins with a discussion of how to measure poverty, focusing on measuring “poverty” versus characteristics of the poor. It finds that the latter approach reveals sharp discontinuities between the poor and the ultra-poor, particularly with regard to nutrition and labor. The following section further problematizes the difficulties inherent in measuring poverty, suggesting a modified scalar poverty indicator for dealing with the relationship between hunger, undernutrition, and poverty. Subsequent chapters look at the relationships between work and poverty and assets and poverty for the poor and ultra-poor, as well as exploring the demographics of poverty. The paper ends with a number of policy implications based on these discussions.


By common usage, “poverty” exists when one or more persons fall short of a level of economic welfare deemed to constitute a reasonable minimum, either in some absolute sense or by the standards of a specific society. The literature on poverty in developing countries has often taken
a fairly narrow definition of “economic welfare” to refer to a person’s consumption of goods and services. “Reasonable minimum” is then defined by pre-determined “basic consumption needs,” especially nutrition. Both these steps are controversial. [p. 1]

The structure, efficiency and growth of production affect—and are affected by—the distribution of consumption between poor and non-poor, and among the poor. Poverty analysis has three tasks: i) to define and describe “poverty,” ii) to understand its causes, and iii) to inform policy. Each task overlaps with other branches of economics, but the second takes one far into the economics of (inter alia) human resources, labor markets, trade, and growth. [p. 1]

Typically, the highest incidence and severity of poverty are found in rural areas, especially if ill-watered. For many of the rural poor, their only immediate route out of poverty is by migration to towns, to face a higher expected income, though often a more uncertain one. This may or may not reduce aggregate poverty. We can be more confident that growth in agricultural output—fuelled by investment in human and physical infrastructure—is pro-poor, though not because the poor own much land. [p. 73]

SUMMARY

This working paper focuses on alleviating poverty through reducing biases against the rural sector and the urban informal sector, both through fostering growth and providing safety nets for those who do not benefit from such growth. It begins by examining the concept of poverty, first through a historical analysis of the history of economic thought on poverty, with specific thought to current economic analysis and policy. It then examines how consumption poverty is defined and measured, outlining several different tactics for measuring poverty. The report then switches from theory to application, and gives a description of poverty in the modern developing world, on the global, village and household levels. Poverty is explored with respect to demographics (family size, age and gender), nutritional and labor-force characteristics. The next two sections look at the ways in which economy and policy impinge on the poor. The first of these sections explores how a typical developing economy works from the point of view of the poor. It looks at the development issue of the effect of growth on poverty and inequality, and adjustment and the poor. The following section then takes up several issues that arise in governmental attempts to reduce both transient and chronic poverty through direct intervention, including land, credit and public services interventions. Finally, a conclusion suggests ideas for future research, with specific reference to the need to better understand how public actions can succeed in fighting poverty. It ends by identifying two important roles for public action: fostering the conditions of pro-poor growth through providing access to necessary physical and human assets, and helping those who cannot participate fully in the benefits of such growth, or who do so with continued exposure to unacceptable risks.


Residents of American timber dependent communities face an increasingly uncertain and stressful existence in spite of decades in which trained forest scientists serving as government officials deliberately controlled timber harvests in state and national forests. This uncertainty stems from corporate efforts to rationalize production methods, ensure a steady supply of wood resources, and diversify capital investments to maximize the attractiveness of the companies to stockholders. [p. 35]
It is clear from the general community literature that communities can and do act; further, it also appears that they tend to act in various consistent manners. Whether the actions are defensive in tone or ameliorative in nature, many of today’s American communities play vital roles in setting local policies and agendas, and as a result influencing the outcome of various action episodes. [p. 226]

The restructuring of the national economy towards professional and services enterprises which occurred during the 1980s has posed serious problems for rural communities whose economies are dependent upon extractive and production industries. Whether rural communities have been able to move beyond reactive or passive policy modes depends on limitations imposed by structural factors shaping their regional economies and on their ability to mobilize scarce local resources through community action. [p. 228]

SUMMARY

This collection of essays by applied researchers in rural studies attempts to provide a review of the authors’ expert areas and offer policy prescriptions for rural America in the 1990s. Generally, this prescription calls for a renewal of action, development and leadership on the part of local citizens and civic leaders. The book argues that a partnership between state and local governments and rural communities is necessary to ensure the economic future of rural America. For a plethora of different areas—from small town demographics to religion and community to assumptions about farm communities—contributors describe the existing situations, identify policy implications, and make prescriptions for research and action. Theoretically, most of the essays take a community interaction approach, and the emphasis on community is what connects the essays to each other. Interesting chapters include a critique of assumptions linking the financial fortune of the farm sector to the economic and social well-being of rural community, which in particular challenges the Goldschmidt hypothesis that farm concentration leads to deteriorating community well-being. Another chapter on timber-dependent communities looks at possible futures for these areas in light of changes in the structure of the timber industry and forest management. An article by Krannich and Greider on rapid growth effects on rural community relations questions the dominant literature on this subject by suggesting that such growth can actually contribute to the revival of communal association. Separate essays on religion and crime in communities contribute interesting perspectives to the many facets of community in rural areas. The book’s conclusion, written by the editors, calls for “a renaissance of the community literature that sheds assumptions about communities based upon times past, acknowledges the obvious importance of local societies and their community fields to its members, critically analyzes the barriers to democratic participation and seeks innovative ways for helping people deal with the needs and take advantage of the opportunities offered by community action.” This comprehensive volume is perhaps meant as a jump-start to that renaissance.


For a number of reasons, some rural areas once thought of as quintessential backwaters of economic activity have come to be seen as investment frontiers. We will suggest, for example, that from the point of view of production, rural space is often attractive to capital, being less encumbered by earlier Fordist labour processes and rounds of investment; offers many new and more pleasant places in which to work and live than represented by the modern city and subur-
and has become much more accessible as a result of improvements in telecommunications and transportation systems. [p. 2]

Even if farming represents only a residual element in the rural economy, it often retains a disproportionate social and ideological significance in the moulding of social and economic change through the politically entrenched positions held by farmers and landowners. Their power as a political fraction may be locally variable and in the long term subject to historical decline, but through their involvement in village, county and national politics it can extend far beyond their local control over land. [p. 8]

In spite… of the increasing global tendencies evident in economic organization, environmental concern, information flow, and political structures, nation states are confronted by growing local and regional disparities that demand, in turn, that centralized systems of regulation give way to local and regional systems. It is therefore hardly surprising that no coherence can be identified in the post-productivist phase of rural development. Local unevenness is its quintessential and necessary feature. [p. 191]

SUMMARY

This book focuses on the changing positions of rural areas and ‘rurality,’ examined through a case study of the late 20th century U.K. The main issues of the book are summarized through three broad questions: 1) How are international processes of economic and social restructuring being expressed and mediated within one nation state? 2) How is the state ‘regulating’ rural change and to what extent does the late 20th century represent a break with the past? 3) How can conceptual advances in mainstream social theory be applied to rural areas, and, conversely, how can locally based social action be effectively incorporated into our understanding of uneven development? (p. 4). A main theme that runs through the book is that rural places are becoming more and more differentiated from one another as different restructuring processes take place. The book focuses on how to conceptualize these new rural formations that are being created, as well as how to best choose methods for their analysis. Thus the book’s first and last chapters address key concepts for understanding rural change. The rest of the book discusses and analyzes these changes through the case study of rural Britain, with attention paid to agricultural development, property rights and land tenure, planning and land development, and power. As a whole, the book is an in-depth examination of the political, economic and social processes that are shaping and changing rural areas at the end of the 20th century.


The farm labor market is considered unsatisfactory by many employers, many workers, and by policymakers. Farmers worry that an insufficient number of able and qualified workers will be available when and where they are needed; seasonal farmworkers worry that they will not be able to earn enough to tide them over until next year’s harvest; and policymakers are concerned about farmworker poverty, illegal immigration, and getting crops harvested cheaply to keep food prices low. [p. 1]

Farmers treat the aggregate supply of labor as they do water: instead of individual strategies to use labor or water more efficiently, they work collectively to maximize the amount of labor or water available so that there is an “adequate” supply for each farmer. [p. 19]
Since farmworker was always considered a way-station occupation, farmworkers were initially excluded from the labor laws enacted over the past 50 years to regulate wages and working conditions in nonfarm labor markets. California farmers have helped to foster the way-station nature of farmwork, at least for Americans, and thus never developed mechanisms to attract and retain career American farmworkers. Instead, farm employers have divided their workforces into a core or more permanent workforce and a larger pool of casual or temporary workers. [p. 24]

SUMMARY

This paper provides a snapshot of California’s farm labor market in the mid-1980s. It first reviews the distinguishing features of California agriculture, then examines patterns of farmworker employment, summarizes farmworker data, explains the operation of the farm labor market, and discusses the changes that immigration reform in the 1990s was expected to bring about. The central thesis is that a decentralized farm labor market in which intermediaries such as labor contractors match vulnerable immigrant workers with seasonal jobs will never be satisfactory for either farm operators or farmworkers. With the current system in place, it is hypothesized that long run consequences will depend greatly on the government’s handling of immigration and the Mexican borders. With more restricted access, it is predicted that California agriculture will become more mechanized, while less restriction will lead to an isolated labor market that relies solely on recent immigrant labor. The working paper also includes a second paper by Susan Gabbard on “Farmworker Job Mobility and Immigration Reform in Salinas”, as well as excerpts from a discussion with Phillip Martin on the dynamics of the farm labor market.


For the average person who works and lives in rural America, empty farmsteads and community deterioration have been facts of life for most of their lifetimes. It would be difficult for them to envision economic growth and expansion for their rural town or community. [p. 84]

Why have changing farm practices had such a negative effect on rural towns? The reason is that most changes in farming practices have increased the flow of income out of rural communities without a commensurate flow of income into the rural community. [pp. 85-86]

To set in motion what appears to be a rather simple investment process turns out to be anything but simple in rural communities. Isolated by space, lacking adequate markets, burdened by high infrastructure costs, the process is complex, involving unique restraints at nearly every step. [p. 87]

SUMMARY

This article examines the role of agricultural change in rural decline, and recommends possible policies for expanding economic activity in rural communities. It begins with a history of the changes in rural America during the last century, including massive outmigration, farm mechanization, and the increase in farm productivity that depressed prices and contributed to rural decline. It then discusses barriers to economic development in rural areas, including a reluctance to restructure economic activity on farms, and a lack of support for strong measures to gain a share of the new jobs and new economic activity that are generated by the national economy. Later sections discuss pos-
sible paths to rural growth and expansion and the barriers to new investments and businesses. The article ends by proposing that legislation be created to allow rural communities or groups to join together to establish businesses without restraints. A last recommendation is that technical assistance be provided to rural communities through rural educational systems, including land-grant universities and community colleges. According to the author, these institutions must change their role and focus in order to keep up with the changes that have occurred in the rural population.


There is growing recognition and evidence that a significant portion of those individuals living in poverty are poor, not because they lack the motivation to work, but because they cannot find work, and if they are working, because they cannot earn enough money to climb above the poverty threshold. Contrary to popular opinion, all workers do not earn enough income to lift themselves and their families out of poverty. [p. 796]

An examination of the Bureau of the Census and Current Population Survey data indicated that employed working poor heads of families in the South tend to have characteristics similar to those of the welfare poor. Moreover, poverty among the working poor is more pervasive in nonmetro areas. [p. 801]

Results indicate that the race variable was most influential in determining the odds of being in poverty among workers in the nonmetro area, whereas the earners variable was the most important among workers in the metro area. Additionally, the magnitudes of both variables were greater in nonmetro areas. [p. 801]

SUMMARY

This article analyzes the differences in the sectoral distribution of poverty by contrasting factors affecting work and poverty in metro and nonmetro areas of the South. It begins with a review of literature on working poverty, followed by a descriptive analysis of the working poor in the South by poverty status and metro/nonmetro status. Then it gives the results of regression analysis that looks at the nature and magnitudes of selected factors in distinguishing the working poor living in metro areas from those living in nonmetro areas. Data for the analysis comes from the 1988 Current Population Survey, which determines labor force activities, income and other demographic information from a monthly sample of U.S. households. Results show that the number of earners in a family is the most important variable in accounting for poverty among employed persons in the South. Race is the next most important variable, followed by family type and industrial sector. A number of interactions are tested as well, finding that certain variables are more important in helping blacks escape poverty than whites. However, results were slightly different for the nonmetro South, where race replaced earners as the most important variable. Policy suggestions considered to be consistent with these findings include increasing the minimum wage and increasing the earned income tax credit and adjusting the child care tax credit.

A study of agrarian structure and relating it to growth pattern and poverty helps not only to explain why and how the pattern has emerged but also to indicate the most likely pattern in future. Identification of some specific growth patterns may help in understanding the structural causes of stagnation and growth in contrast to the purely environment and resource based factors. [p. 14]

Though the indicators of nutritional inadequacy and income insufficiency are closely related, the relationship is far from perfect. The indicators of concentration of income and resources as well as quality of life tell a story different from what the positional indicators reveal. Hence, different indicators have to be used to represent poverty in the regions of India. [pp. 55-56]

As is clear from this study, the regional pattern of rural agrarian relations and poverty is highly heterogeneous. Hence, the policies for poverty alleviation should also be regionally differentiated. However, identifying the poor and giving them economic support can hardly be an effective solution. [p. 176]

SUMMARY

This book focuses mostly on measuring the extent of rural poverty in India and creating profiles of poverty for different regions of the country. It takes a structural approach to poverty, with the addition of other approaches and measures to look at poverty from other angles. The research is quantitative, and thus defining the measures of poverty differently has major impacts on the outcomes. The first part of the book is dedicated to these endeavors, conceptualizing poverty and choosing its measures, and the results of different poverty measures, including head-count ratio, poverty gap, Sen’s Index, per capita expenditure, resource deprivation, inequality in distribution of expenditure, calorie intake and assets, and quality of life. These multiple indicators are then used to create poverty profiles for each region of India, which are analyzed. Only Chapter six, on regional variations in agrarian relations, really touches on the connection between land use and rural poverty in India, which it does by breaking down agrarian relations into five categories that are then related to rural poverty for each of the Indian regions. The main policy implications of the book include the need for multiple indexes of poverty in order to identify different types of problems and solutions, and the necessity of understanding rural economic structures and agrarian relations no matter which measure is used.


In sparsely populated areas, any rise in population is a positive sign for development, because it increases the exploitation of natural resources…But this generalization does not hold good for the study area, where the population pressure is already very high (603 persons/km2) and only .17 ha of land is available per person. Increasing population leads to fragmentation of plots holding which adversely affects agricultural output. Thus, increasing population of Deoria district does not any way help the removal of poverty, but adds to difficulties in this regard. [p. 64]

Lack of job opportunities in the area has resulted in out migration of particularly young, healthy and more adventurous persons, who often leave behind children, women, old, unhealthy and
the less enterprising ones. This selected out migration has also intensified the poverty cycle in the area. [p. 108]

Rural poverty is rooted deeply in the present structure of our rural society. The mutual relationship between or among the individuals is regulated and controlled by institutions as well as social interactions and behaviour are all based on certain social values. Acceptance and continuity of the social system has been also responsible for increasing poverty in rural areas, more so among the depressed class. [p. 209]

SUMMARY

This book presents an in-depth look at poverty and its causes in a single region, the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh in Northern India, where more than 71% of the population lived in poverty in 1988. According to the author, poverty in Deoria is “more an expression of immobilization of human, agricultural and industrial resources than anything else” (p. 9). The book attempts to deal with social, economic and cultural dimensions of poverty. It begins by defining the concepts and measures that will be used, including a discussion on poverty and the poverty cycle. The second chapter then looks at Deoria’s geography and resource base, including water sources, soil types and climate and their impacts on poverty. The next chapter looks at cultural issues and the impact of population growth on resource use, focusing in particular on the problems related to population growth and land distribution, as well as other demographic variables and their roles in contributing to underdevelopment and poverty. Although this section questions some basic assumptions of development, it also makes such judgements as “the people of this area [are] relatively lethargic and prone to be satisfied with a low standard of living rather than exert pressure for economic betterment” (p. 108). The next chapter analyses poverty by looking at aspects of inequality including caste, labor, land, agriculture, literacy, infrastructure, geography and income. Next the book looks at causes of poverty, beginning with climactic issues, then looking at social, economic and political issues. The book looks briefly at demographic characteristics again before launching into a chapter on comprehensive planning policies for poverty removal. A final chapter concludes by summing up the main arguments and reiterates the policy suggestion that poverty eradication programs be managed by “people’s development councils” consisting of the poor themselves, the small farmers, artisans and landless laborers.


While writers, newscasters, filmmakers and songwriters have discovered a rather fascinating California of the imagination, ordinary, and often very poor, working people have assembled the material constituents of the state out of which the erratic imagination can do its work. They have made its infrastructure of roads, bridges, and canals, its unsurpassed industrialized farms, its bungalows, skyscrapers, mountain retreats, and seaside resorts, and they have made the homes, squatter settlements, hobo jungles, and camps in which workers live. [p. 1]

From Wheatland on through to the development of federal migrant labor camps, the lie of the land in agricultural California—the small and the massive farms, and the labor camps and squatter settlements that served them—was formed and reformed through the continual give-and-take of struggle over the social and spatial relations of agricultural labor reproduction. [p. 199]
Not only do migratory workers in agricultural California have to continually fight just to survive—to find shelter and food and money enough to maintain themselves and their families—they also have to continually fight their own aestheticization, the dissolution, in the landscape. [p. 200]

SUMMARY

This book examines the ways in which place, people and agriculture have combined to shape the California landscape. It provides a narrative labor history that explains why the California landscape looks like it does, while also providing an analysis of landscape that explains why labor relations in agricultural California have taken the shape they have. In this endeavor the book draws on art-historical approaches to landscape, cultural and historical geographical approaches to explaining the morphology of landscape, and labor history approach to telling the history of a place through the perspective of the working people. It combines these approaches within a neo-Marxist framework in order to examine how the historical forces of class and economy have shaped the California landscape, from agricultural fields to water projects to labor camps. The book begins with images taken from John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*, as an example of the relationships between the produced form and the representation of the California landscape, with emphasis on the role of labor in establishing this relationship. In the course of this discussion, a “labor theory of landscape” is articulated. Following chapters combine historical analysis with continued elaboration of this theory. Chapter Two begins with a narrative and analysis of the Wheatland labor riot, which was the impetus for the creation of the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (CCIH). The CCIH was created to assure that migrant labor camps were safe and sanitary and that violent outbursts did not recur. It sought to transform the agricultural landscape in order to ensure that revolt would be both impossible and unnecessary. Chapters Two and Three further examine the ways in which the pauperization of migrant laborers led to their subversion, and the impact this subversive mobility had on the landscape. Chapter Four explores the intersection of ideologies of race, inferiority, and landscape as they structured labor relations during the 1920s, and Chapter Five examines the restructuring of the agriculture industry that made the logic of brutalization of workers more understandable. Chapter Six looks at the ways in which radicalized workers reacted against the landscape that repressed them in the 1920s, fighting for better wages and living conditions through the destruction of the landscape. Chapters Seven and Eight show the state’s role in reasserting control of the spaces of agricultural labor production, again developing better labor camps and labor spaces more conducive to worker contentment. Thus it is shown how the shape of the landscape is changed through the ongoing struggle of capital to find a way to reproduce labor power, and the ongoing struggle of workers resisting their objectification and marginalization.


The phenomenon of “differentiation” in the rural world has been partially responsible for undermining the previously dominant rural sociological paradigms associated with structural-functionalism, modernization theory and orthodox Marxism. These have given way to a much more diverse set of approaches, reflecting perhaps the (increased?) diversity of rural life. The old certainties, based upon a clear distinction between the urban and the rural, no longer hold, and thus the status of rural sociology itself is now uncertain. [pp. vii-viii]
The discrete social demands on land, the political rules that surround its transfer between uses, and the tendency for capital to become “fixed in land, have produced a series of segmented land development markets orientated towards different sectors of production and consumption. The key rural land-development processes are constituted within the following markets: agriculture, forestry, industry, mining, housing and leisure. The relationships between these sectors are constantly changing. [p. ix]

Fighting to maintain the rural environment, and struggling against development, is a more acceptable endeavour than seeking to exclude the less well off. That the latter is an outcome of the former is, we are asked to believe, an “unfortunate” consequence which simply cannot be helped. We have tried, in this book, to place this “unfortunate consequence” in the wider context of middle-class formation in southern England. It should be clear that such an outcome is not unintended or accidental, but follows relentlessly from the reconstitution of rural space by an increasingly dominant class. [pp. 232-233]

SUMMARY

This book is a companion to the Marsden et al. book Constructing the Countryside, and takes up some of the concepts introduced there. It is partly interested in refocusing rural sociology as a discipline through the examination of how the rural is made and reconstituted within a particular locality in the U.K. To aid in conceptualization, several ideal typical forms of rural development in England are introduced: preserved countryside characterized by anti-development and preservationist attitudes; contested countryside that lies outside of commuter regions and is of no special environmental interest, where farm and development interests are opposed by in-migrants; paternalistic countryside dominated by large farms and established landowners; and clientelist countryside where farms are dependent upon state support and aid, and politics are dominated by employment concerns and the welfare of the community. The book focuses mostly on the first type in order to show how one English locality is constituted and reconstituted by struggles around development issues. It begins by exploring the role of the middle class in countryside change and its recognition by rural sociology, focusing on how planning systems are used to maintain or change rural space. The second chapter gives the regional context of the locality and the current tensions between urban growth and rural preservation. The third chapter explores housing and land development issues, particularly the attempt to restrict new housing to towns and growth centers, making rural housing a sought-after commodity. This chapter includes a case study of barn conversion, which is the most common form of “new” housing in rural areas. Issues of development are further explored in Chapter Four, which looks at three contrasting rural settlements in the study area. Subsequent chapters look at the growing influence of the middle class in countryside land use. Chapter Five examines the agricultural crisis and its local manifestations. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present case studies of farmers who are exploiting their land for nonagricultural purposes including golf courses, quarries and landfills, and the reactions of the local communities. Chapter Nine looks at new uses for surplus buildings. Middle class reactions are consistent throughout these different examples, focusing on class values including the preservation of rural ideals. The book ends with a concluding chapter that focuses more on analysis of these class issues and the ways in which the middle class manipulates rural ideologies and structures in order to create a countryside consistent with its own values, including the exclusion of other classes.

While small town America as a romantic concept is arguably but a subset of the Old West paradigm, the reality is that these places do contain communities whose struggle within a climate of economic change may often be for nothing more than mere survival. [p. 2]

Addressing the development problems of rural America requires this political consciousness to come through strongly at national, state and local levels. The review in this book of progress made over the past decade would suggest that rural issues have largely been riding a public policy elevator, moving up and down between Administrations, Congress and agencies and picking up along the way an assemblage of ideas, initiatives, policies and actions. [p. 155]

Rural development in the United States has drifted for decades across a policy landscape dominated by agricultural interests and now the extent to which it may continue to drift on the rhetoric of a community-led ticket must remain a concern. But where there is resourced initiative the evidence time and time again is that rural communities can and do act. [p. 163]

**SUMMARY**

This book examines rural community change and development through collaborative community efforts. Its aim is to contribute to policy debate on multi-level involvement in the rural development process through examination of the interplay between federal, state and local participants. One of the book's constant focuses is how the relationship between community and governance works itself through in terms of rural development policy and practice. In this attempt, the bulk of the book consists of a number of critical case studies of rural development programs. The book begins with background information on rural America, focusing on community, community development, capacity building and collaboration. It then looks at rural development and institutional capacity, taking an institutional perspective on policy formulation and implementation. This chapter includes more general theoretical discussions as well as a number of case-study examples of rural development policies. From then on, the book focuses mostly on analyzing these sorts of examples in even greater detail. The next two chapters are devoted to analysis of WK Kellogg Foundation's Rural America Program and the Colorado Rural Revitalization Project, and a third chapter looks directly at six communities that participated in the Colorado project. The book's conclusion reiterates the conceptual framework, including another discussion of the meaning and implementation of institutional collaboration, and sums up the main arguments from the case study findings. The focus is on local involvement, linkages and collaboration as the most important ingredients for the revitalization of rural America.


The social and psychological ingredients of what social scientists define as crisis exist in contemporary Indian society, e.g., perceptions of generalized social and cultural anomie, an acute sense of disorientation, both among the intelligentsia and the public, unintended structural shifts and imbalances in society rendering older paradigms of national development open to doubts or even total rejection by some and the breakdown in the national consensus on the
social and cultural design of society. [p. 33]

The thinking of the Indian state about rural development has been influenced more by the declarations, if not dictates, of the international development bodies like UN, World Bank and IMF than by its own ground realities. For the same reason, our programmes of rural development have failed to strike a chord with the people. It is time that we learn to stand on our own, devise our programmes in terms of the felt needs of our people or better still enable them to plan for their development. [p. 72]

The health of women is one of the most neglected areas of life. This is because it is considered unimportant by the policy and decision makers in society and in the household as well. This is especially true for the vast majority of poor labouring women who are unorganized, unprotected, self-employed as well as those who work for a wage or even without it. [p. 195]

SUMMARY

This book is a collection of papers presented at a 1990 National Seminar on Rural Development at Jai Narian Vyas University in Jodhpur, India. The basic objective of the conference and the selected papers is to evaluate whether development efforts in India have achieved their planned goals. The extent of achievements is to be assessed, while the reasons for failure are to be explored. Development in India is analyzed with reference to the two dominant views of development at the time of India’s independence: the Gandhian view that focused on self-reliance of villages and the technological viewpoint that focused on utilizing science and technology for planned social development through economic growth. Essays deal with different dimensions of rural development. The first two essays look at the ‘crisis’ in rural India, including poverty, exploitation and inequality, which must be met with development emphases on equality and distributive justice. Other chapters look at theoretical issues, caste and class movements, the green revolution’s effects on rural development and inequality, and rural demographics. Two later chapters look specifically at issues affecting rural women, the first being the nutrition and health status of rural women, the second being marginalization of women caused by the development process and technological advances in agriculture and reproduction. Final chapters look at rural health service more generally, cultural diffusion and reproduction, and the socio-cultural dimensions of drug addiction. Like other collections of seminar papers, this book also suffers from lack of coherence between chapters that could have been addressed in a concluding chapter. However, even lacking such synthesis, it provides a good overview of development issues in India.


Arusha National Park both contributes to and suffers from this history of land struggles. Since its designation in 1960, hostilities between park authorities and local communities have peaked and ebbed but patterns have remained consistent. From the perspective of park officials and wildlife conservationists, the conflict is defined by livestock trespass, illegal hunting, wood theft, and the consequent ecological costs such as species extirpation. For local Meru communities the conflict revolves around reduced access to ancestral lands, restrictions on customary resource uses, and the predation of wildlife on cultivated lands. [p. 2]

The question of what Africa should look like implies an aesthetic judgement. In the context of
national parks, the simple answer is that Africa should look “natural.” This is no answer at all as it leads us immediately to the problematic question of what a natural Africa looks like. [p. 15]

Villagers time and again expressed to me the superiority of local knowledge of natural history, ecology, and local practices over that of the park managers brought from the outside. Several people stressed that the park has to start working with the villagers because it is not the warden or the rangers that know the park, but the Meru, whose land it is. [p. 204]

SUMMARY

This book focuses on the Arusha national park in northern Tanzania and the Meru peasants who live on its boundaries. Arusha is representative of a common tension throughout Tanzania and sub-Saharan Africa, between conservationists and the local indigenous communities who depend on access and use of the protected lands for their livelihoods and subsistence. This conflict is typical of the clash between those who view nature conservation as inconsistent with subsistence uses and those who have traditionally occupied and used such lands. The book’s research is based on dissertation fieldwork in Tanzania in 1988 and 1989-90, augmented by archival research. The author aimed to contextualize the actions and speech of Meru peasants living near the park, examining common violations of park and wildlife laws. The book’s first chapter lays out a theoretical framework that combines literature on landscape and social construction of nature with theories of peasant resistance. It argues that national parks represent a particular cultural and historical nature aesthetic. It suggests a geographically and historically specified concept of landed moral economy as a key analytical tool for understanding the character of local responses to the loss of customary property rights to the state in the name of nature preservation. The second chapter gives a history of pre-European settlement and land use, and illustrates how European colonialism challenged existing symbolic and material uses of the area. It also shows how struggles over land use have dominated politics on Mount Meru. The chapter ends with a detailed examination of the settlement histories, land tenure systems, and household production strategies of three representative villages. The next chapter examines the historical process whereby the state extended control over access to and benefits from forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. It identifies policy trends and patterns of community resistance, examining the effects of state policies from the villagers’ perspectives. The fourth chapter then looks more closely at conservation movements and the history of national parks in Africa through examination of the foreign impetus for their creation. Chapter Five describes the current tensions between the national park administration and the surrounding communities, identifying ‘patterns of predation’ from the perspectives of both park administrators and local villagers. These patterns include both trespasses by villagers onto park land as well as predation of park wildlife on village crops and livestock. It identifies the range of responses to these conflicts both from the park administration and the local communities. Finally, the book concludes by examining the ways in which Meru peasants contest the state-sanctioned meanings and material uses of the national park. It shows how many of the violations of local park laws can be seen as efforts to defend or reclaim customary land and resource rights, and argues that park policies violate the standards of the local ‘moral economy’. In sum, it finds that, “Ultimately, the portrayal of the national park as pristine nature symbolically and materially appropriates the landscape of Mount Meru for the consumptive pleasures of foreign tourists while denying its human history” (p. 13).
Homelessness is generally considered an urban problem, concentrated in large cities. However, there is growing evidence that rural and small town homelessness has also risen. The few studies that have attempted to measure rural homelessness and to characterize the rural homeless reveal that the rural homeless rate, although much lower than in urban areas, is not negligible and that the rural homeless population is younger and contains substantially more females and families than does the urban homeless population. [p. 462]

In addition to the emotional and psychological effects of residential inadequacy, mobility, and insecurity, children suffer academically and socially from the multiple moves and time out of school often associated with homelessness and often from lack of a suitable place and environment to do homework. In some cases, they are also stigmatized for their poverty or homelessness, further damaging their academic, social, and emotional well-being. [p. 475]

These case studies suggest that, if only the literally homeless or shelter users are considered, the scope of the residential crisis and the severity of its impact on children will be seriously underestimated, and ameliorative policies and efforts are likely to be inadequate and inchoate. [p. 476]

SUMMARY

This article presents the results of twenty case studies of homeless students and their families in New Hampshire, revealing that homelessness is a rural as well as an urban problem. Data was gathered through interviews with school personnel, social service personnel, homeless children and their families in five selected school districts in New Hampshire. It is found that homelessness for two-parent families generally came about because of reverses in their economic situations, while for single-parent families disruption of the family precipitated homelessness. The article also explores the setbacks and problems faced by homeless children in schools, due to excessive mobility, inability to study properly and stigmatization. It is found that the problems associated with homelessness are present not only during the period of literal homelessness, but also during the longer residential crisis period during which shelter may be found, but may be insecure, inadequate and short-term. Policy suggestions include greater assistance to homeless people, the need to include rural areas in responses to homelessness, the need to pay attention to the specific needs of homeless school-age children, and the need to expand the concept of homelessness to include the full residential crisis period.
the effects of migration of the poor. [p. 407]

To a large extent, spatial concentrations of poverty persist not because of unwillingness of the poor to migrate out of high-poverty areas but rather because of their propensity to migrate into such areas. The poor are very mobile—substantially more so than the nonpoor. [p. 410]

SUMMARY

This article describes the results of research that used Current Population Survey data to estimate the effects of migration of both poor and nonpoor populations on the spatial distribution of poverty. The study included poor and nonpoor counties, rural high-poverty areas, and central-city high poverty areas. The authors are interested in explaining the persistence of poverty in particular areas. Of specific interest is whether migration reduces, maintains, or exacerbates poverty concentration. It is found that migration patterns during the study period actually reinforced pre-existing poverty concentrations. Although there were high levels of poor outmigration from high-poverty areas, they tended to migrate into areas that had equally high poverty levels, thus producing an equilibrium effect. Policy suggestions related to the findings include directing attention to the national level to find the causes of high localized rural poverty, and paying particular attention to the lack of economic opportunity for low-skilled workers throughout the economy and the lack of low cost housing in low-poverty areas as probable causes of spatial concentrations of poverty.


Degradating, unhealthy, outright dangerous, and often costly shelter is not only the curse of the undocumented worker. If it were, one could conveniently argue that legalization under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) would resolve these housing problems. Regrettably, bad and expensive housing is common for farmworkers whether they migrate or live year-round in an agricultural community. [p. 1]

Inadequate incomes and scarce housing resources are common features of rural communities throughout the nation, but the seasonal (up to half a year) swell of population makes many of California’s rural communities distinctive. It produces a need for both home-base and in-stream (migrant) housing, whose scarcity would be of concern to more lucratively paid workers, but is an immense problem for low-paid workers. [p. 2]

For various reasons, and regardless of the quality of such housing, California is rapidly losing its stock of housing for agricultural workers. Three-quarters of the state-licensed camps existing at the beginning of the decade are no longer licensed. [p. 18]

SUMMARY

This working paper presents an overview on the factors that lead to substandard housing for California’s farmworkers, including low incomes, inadequate supply of housing, limited English abilities, fear of deportation and changing government policies. The paper reviews the available sources of information on housing conditions and needs, including state and national sources. It then critiques these sources and discusses types of information that are not provided, but should be, by available data. Regulation and enforcement of farmworker housing is then discussed in detail,
with suggestions as to changes and improvements that need to be made. A final section discusses the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), and its implications for farmworker housing. An addendum to the paper includes excerpts from a panel discussion with the author and two discussants about the paper.


Sustainable production as defined by a forestry enterprise is not necessarily sustainable from the point of view of forest villagers. The current crises in tropical forests derive from inappropriate institutions, particularly those governing systems of resource access and control. [p. 4]

Forest degradation and rural poverty are neither isolated nor self-perpetuating conditions. They are, rather, symptoms of resource scarcity, outcomes of agrarian change, and indicators of complex social conflict. Tensions causing degradation and poverty arise from conflict over territory, redefinition of rights and constraints on resource access, surplus appropriation from forest extraction, and the distribution of the surplus extracted. [p. 19]

Although restricted forest access and increasing village resource concentration have caused degraded forests, this does not mean that open forest access would result in a high-grade forest. Some joint management strategy is needed, but it must be responsive to the needs of the village poor. [p. 235]

**SUMMARY**

This well-researched and detail-rich book uses historical research as well as case studies to look at the relations between Javanese communities and the Indonesian state with reference to the management of local forests. In analyzing resource management, Peluso makes the argument that criminalization of customary forest use and coercive control over forest lands actually results in more degradation of the forests. The state’s efforts to protect forest lands by restricting access backfire in the face of the local population’s customary rights and subsistence needs. Here we see clearly the interaction of poverty, community and land use, as poor villagers are united by their reliance on certain types of land use, leading to organized (and unorganized) resistance. Criminalization of their customary use rights is identified as the main cause of peasant resistance to state forest control. The resulting tensions create an atmosphere of resistance and conflict that takes numerous forms, from noncompliance with laws to purposeful destruction of state property.

The book begins with historical background, illustrating the colonial attempts to take control of access to forests in order to manage them “scientifically.” It is during this period that traditional local uses of forest land and timber become criminalized. Later chapters show how these policies result in changes in forest management, as well as examining forest-based conflict during more recent periods. Case studies look in depth at contemporary resistance to external control over forest lands. Finally, a conclusion makes policy recommendations that focus on integrating local concerns into state policies.
Poverty may be a state through which households and individuals pass during certain life cycle events. Thus we might find a more or less steady degree of poverty among poor households in NRDAs [natural resource dependent areas], but at different points in time, specific individuals or whole households move in and out of poverty. Poverty may also persist for some individuals or households. Thus the poverty rate may rise and fall, but certain households or individuals remain poor regardless of the fluctuations, that is, our tidal pool. And finally, poverty may recur persistently for an entire community or may strike a community with such intensity that it is physically, economically, or socially devastated. [p. 25]

Resource degradation may lead to poverty in all three types of NRDAs, making the cost of commercial extraction unprofitable or the area less attractive to tourists or permanent residents and/or undercutting the resource’s subsistence potential. [p. 27]

Poverty in natural resource-dependent areas arises from a combination of powerlessness and vulnerability to exploitation, manipulation, and further impoverishment, stifling local political action and economic development efforts. [p. 34]

SUMMARY

This article examines the explanations for the persistence of poverty in natural resource dependent areas (NRDAs). It discusses the common structures of NRDAs that contribute to poverty, including resource degradation, increasingly restrictive public land use policies, concentrated land ownership, and high rates of occupational injury. It also discusses the different ways in which people and areas experience poverty. Advanced capitalism theory is used to explain some of the processes associated with rural poverty in NRDAs, however its structural explanations are found to be insufficient to explain the creation and persistence of poverty in resource-rich areas. A second theory, that of internal colonialism, is used to explain the social relations within which advanced capitalism acts in NRDAs. Finally, the authors argue that poverty analysts working in NRDAs need to differentiate specific forms and causes of poverty in specific localities because the theoretical treatments focus largely on macrostructures and processes, while the extent of poverty in NRDAs ultimately depends on the nature of people's social relations.


Two general trends in farm women’s work, observed over the past few decades, have made gender-specific patterns of labor allocation a central issue in evaluating farm management strategies. First, the percentage of unpaid family workers who are female has increased steadily over time. Second, more farm families are benefiting from women’s off-farm income. [pp. 594-595]

While gender differences are undoubtedly important, we find that the gender-specific effects vary widely across regional settings. Our findings highlight the socioeconomic dimensions of off-farm employment. [p. 607]
If public policy aims…to preserve existing farm operations and thus maintain rural social and economic vitality, offering greater employment opportunities to farm women appears not to undermine and may actually support farm operations. [p. 607]

SUMMARY

This article starts with the observation that a farm household survival strategy in the 1980s was to use off-farm employment as a necessary income supplement. However, it identifies as a weakness in previous literature on this subject its failure to evaluate off-farm employment’s effects within different socioeconomic and cultural settings. The article looks at two case studies in localities with different farming systems: the family-farm dependent Cornbelt and the wage-labor dependent Mississippi Delta. The study tests the hypothesis that gender-specific relationships between increased off-farm employment and changes in farm operations vary by regional farming system. Surveys were mailed to farm families in agriculture-dependent counties in the two areas, covering topics related to farm and household changes made during the 1980s financial crisis. Analysis of the resulting data shows different patterns in the two regions and supports the hypothesis. In the Cornbelt women’s off-farm employment relates to a variety of changes in the farm enterprise and improves its capital position. However, as expected due to the historical separation of Delta women from agricultural fieldwork, in this region there was no evidence of a pattern of change similar to that found in the Cornbelt. The article concludes with the policy suggestion that rural economic development that creates off-farm jobs for women that pay well and offer benefits may seriously help the situation of farm families, while off-farm jobs for men tend to undermine farm preservation.


Throughout India, the destruction of natural forests for timber, cropland, fuelwood, pasture, urbanization, and commercial industry has had a profound impact on the lives of millions of rural communities. The deterioration of the nation’s expansive forests has exposed critical watersheds, accelerated topsoil erosion and sedimentation of rivers and reservoirs, exacerbated flooding, and overtaxed the land’s natural resilience and capacity to regenerate and sustain its productive functions. [p. 1]

Through collective action, small village groups have begun rallying to protect and reclaim degraded forest lands, banning grazing and logging, and controlling fires. Thousands of villages have organized themselves to reassert their authority over forest tracts in an attempt to reverse degradation and restore productivity. [p. 2]

As democratization grows across the rural countryside, politicians are being forced to be more accountable to their increasingly vocal rural constituencies. Based on their field experiences, professional foresters, too, have sensed the futility of attempting to police vast tracts of forest while in direct conflict with the communities that inhabit, surround, and depend upon them. [p. 325]

SUMMARY

According to this book, after decades of degradation and overexploitation, forest management in India is being revived due to heightened community involvement. It examines the resurgence of
community forest management in India and its social, political, institutional, economic and technical consequences. It looks at efforts made by both private and public sectors to remedy forest degradation. The book begins with an introduction that lays out the history of forest management in India, as well as predictions for its future. It is then organized into the three main parts, the first of which focuses on the resurgence of community resource management. This section begins with an essay on the evolution of rural environmental movements, which points out the geographical overlap between forest regions, areas with severe poverty, and tribal concentrations. This overlap underscores the importance of poverty alleviation and social equity focuses in forest management. Other chapters in this section examine historical relations between the state, forest lands, and rural communities; review the position of India’s first Inspector General of Forests; examine the history of conflict between Bhil and other tribal communities in the Dangs of south-eastern Gujurat; and chronicle the saga of tribal struggle in an ancient tribal forest region of south-western Bengal. The second main section on people transforming forest management systems further explores the role that people and institutions can play in forging new joint management partnerships between communities and forest departments. In includes chapters that analyze how India’s rural communities and their local institutions can work effectively; examine the challenges facing Indian forest departments that are trying to build skills and capacities to work more closely with rural communities in planning and ecosystem management; and explore strategies to create awareness, skills, and gender sensitization through working groups, training programs, and attitudinal changes. The final section, on approaches to sustainable forest management, reviews fundamental shifts in the way forest management objectives and operations are viewed. The first of the two chapters in this section reviews multiple perspectives that can be used to place values on the forest and explores the ways in which current management objectives will need to change in order to meet future needs. The second chapter examines the implications of shifting management objectives for India’s natural forests from timber production towards a more holistic approach of managing the forest ecosystem. The book ends with a concluding chapter that documents the rates of forest regeneration that are possible, and explores the socio-economic implications of forest regeneration, which can disproportionately benefit the poor, tribals, and landless women. Overall, the book presents a very informative narrative of both past and present developments in Indian forest management and their implication for the lives of rural people who depend on forests.


By analogy with notions of physical capital and human capital—tools and training that enhance individual productivity—"social capital" refers to features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital. [p. 4]

Social capital is coming to be seen as a vital ingredient in economic development around the world. Scores of studies of rural development have shown that a vigorous network of indigenous grassroots associations can be as essential to growth as physical investment, appropriate technology, or (that nostrum of neoclassical economists) "getting prices right." [p. 6]

Wise policy can encourage social capital formation, and social capital itself enhances the effectiveness of government action. From agricultural extension services in the last century to tax
exemptions for community organizations in this one, American government has often promoted investments in social capital, and it must renew that effort now. A new administration that is, at long last, more willing to use public power and the public purse for public purpose should not overlook the importance of social connectedness as a vital backdrop for effective policy. [p. 9]

SUMMARY

This article presents an introduction to the concept of social capital, which it suggests is key to solving many problems in modern communities, from poor public schools to the plight of third world farmers. The concept of social capital is introduced as being related to human and physical capital, but referring specifically to social organization, networks, norms and trust. The importance of social capital is illustrated through the case of regional governments in Italy in the 1970s, which were found to succeed or fail based on the strength of the tradition of civic engagement in the region. Civic engagement includes here voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies and literary circles, Lions Clubs, and soccer clubs. According to Putnam, the greater the number of community organizations, the more likely the community leaders will be honest and dedicated to equality, and the more likely the social and political networks will be organized horizontally versus hierarchically. Communities with high civic engagement will value solidarity, civic participation, and integrity, and will better foster democracy. The article explores the historical roots of social capital, and the ways in which it tends to reinforce itself. It then discusses the importance of social capital in economic development, and the role social capital or lack thereof plays with respect to various social problems. It suggests that policy should foster the growth of social capital in order to improve many social problems and make government action more effective.


It is theoretically possible for a growth process to have sufficiently adverse effects on inequality that poverty increases, and some have argued that this is also the reality of India’s rural development. Another view—often termed “trickle down”—denies this, but still allows that distribution may worsen even though on balance the poor gain somewhat. [p. 1]

India appears to be the only developing country for which consistent poverty measures can be tracked over a long time. We find that measures of absolute rural poverty responded elastically to changes in mean consumption over the period 1958-90. This response vanishes when one focuses on measures of relative poverty; the impact of growth on poverty was roughly distribution-neutral in the long run. [p. 19]

The process through which India’s rural poor participate in the gains from agricultural growth does take time, though about half of the long-run impact occurs within three years. [p. 20]

SUMMARY

This World Bank working paper uses longitudinal consumption surveys from India to examine how much the rural poor in India have benefited from agricultural growth, and the roles of the labor market and distributional biases. The paper gives the results of research that used 20 household surveys from rural India for the years 1958-90 to measure the effects of agricultural growth on rural
poverty and the rural labor market in order to find out how long it takes for these effects to be felt. Data is analyzed through econometric models, finding that measures of absolute rural poverty responded elastically to changes in mean consumption, but that agricultural growth had no impact on the share of total consumption going to the poor. Long run gains to the rural poor are attributed to growth in farm yields that also led to higher wages. However, gains from agricultural growth appear to take several years to be felt.


One indication of the design flaws of extant welfare programs is that, by conventional measures, poverty rates are higher in rural than in urban regions of the United States. Yet, the rural poor are much less likely to receive assistance. One reason is that the rural poor are more often employed and are more likely to have assets that make them benefit ineligible. [p. xiv]

Clearly, much of the rural poverty in America results from causes different from those that cause urban poverty, and it can be ameliorated only by programs designed to deal with the particular problems and needs of rural citizens and economic systems. [p. xix]

The impacts of the current farm crisis could result in declines in financial, service, and human resource bases in rural areas that are sufficient in magnitude to not only make such areas poorer and less desirable areas in which to live but also create conditions that are nearly irreversible. In fact, because the present crisis is likely to impact areas that are already relatively disadvantaged, the crisis may result in many rural areas in the nation becoming areas in which the potential for new forms of development is severely limited. [p. 89]

SUMMARY

This volume seeks to address whether rural and urban poverty stem from different causes, and if so, whether special programs are needed to address rural poverty. According to the authors of the various essays, the answer to both questions is yes. Although poverty has many similar causes in rural and urban areas, rural poverty is more likely to be caused by inadequate employment compensation, rising unemployment, depression in the agricultural sector, and welfare eligibility rules that exclude significant proportions of the deserving poor. Demographically, the rural poor are found to be more likely to be employed, members of married-couple families, older, of majority race, and with greater assets but negative incomes. The book's chapters explore the reasons why welfare programs are unresponsive to the causal and demographic differences between rural and urban poverty, and suggest alternative reforms to mitigate rural poverty. Most of the essays focus on the impacts of structural forces on poverty, including welfare utilization, labor force participation, the farm crisis, farm programs, and the negative income tax. Two chapters also address economic development policies, one with reference to income transfers, the other looking specifically at development in Midwestern states. Although the policies being discussed are somewhat out of date, as are analyses of farm-crisis era issues, it is an interesting look at the direct implications of urban biases and poor rural understanding in policies.
We are concerned...that the persistently poor will become increasingly different from others, not because they share different values, but because they are exposed to different risks. Poor rural children are at considerable risk of developing conditions that will limit their ability to work as adults, either directly as in the case of handicapping conditions or indirectly as in the case of undereducation. [p. 8]

Some individuals are not expected to participate in labor markets—the disabled, children, the elderly. Some women and minorities are excluded by employer discrimination. Many are excluded, at least temporarily, because there are insufficient places of employment in the labor markets. [p. 9]

There is a general failure among contemporary theories of poverty to address the position of communities within the social, political and economic organization of society. The community perspective recognizes the deep commitments which rural workers and their families have for the social relations that are intrinsic to their local community. [p. 14]

SUMMARY

This book looks in depth at theories used to explain persistent rural poverty. It begins with three theories that have been used for decades: culture of poverty, human capital and economic organization theories. The report is a critical assessment of these explanations, undertaken for the purpose of finding the shortcomings in the theories. In addition to evaluating these classical theories, it goes on to recommend changes needed in the theories in order to provide a better understanding of the forces producing and perpetuating poverty. Other theoretical directions explored by the report in its search for better explanations include social embeddedness theory, feminist critiques, linking biography with history, community theory, institutional theory, rational underinvestment, dependency theory, moral exclusion theory, global economic restructuring theory, and nation-state theories.

The book begins with a chapter that gives demographic background on trends and characteristics of rural poverty. It then launches into its theoretical discussion in the next chapter, which gives an overview and critique of human capital theory and looks at the connection between human capital and poverty. It finds that explanations that emphasize behavioral causes of rural poverty such as low education and inadequate job skills are incomplete, and suggests that a lack of jobs that pay a living wage contributes significantly to poverty in rural America. The next chapter looks at work structures and rural poverty in order to identify what it is about the work structures in rural areas that generate such low wages. It uses several different theoretical perspectives, stressing that the paradigm of embeddedness of work activities within other social relations is particularly useful for understanding work structures. Other chapters look at theories of poverty in relation to the spatial location of economic activities with regard to uneven development, theories related to natural-resource dependency and persistent rural poverty, and persistent rural poverty among racial and ethnic minorities, women, families and children, and the elderly. These chapters explore a number of different perspectives that are used to explain the causes of persistent poverty in greater depth than the traditional theories that they are meant to replace.
Women have lived and worked in rural areas as farmers, farmers’ wives, slaves, landowners, agricultural workers, mothers, and healers. In many parts of the world, rural women work harder, suffer greater material deprivation, and have less access to income-earning and employment opportunities than urban or rural men, or urban women. Although sometimes oppressed and exploited, rural women also create and shape rural life. [p. 3]

Rural women’s connections to the natural world can inform feminist theory. Their knowledge and experiences offer a materialist base for eco-feminism and suggest practical strategies for solving ecological crises. [p. 6]

Rural women in most regions of the world can no longer rely completely on subsistence activities and male wages to support their families. In fact, changes in the global and local economies push rural women into wage-work, informal market activities, and other income-generating activities to provide for their families’ welfare. Faced with patriarchal authority, increased workloads, confined sexuality, heightened poverty, and a subordinate position in the countryside, many women resist by leaving rural areas. [p. 178]

SUMMARY

This book is a feminist take on global rural women’s issues, which attempts to address the inadequacies of the conceptions of gender in rural social theories, and the typical urban bias in feminist theories. Feminist theory is “used to explore the commonalities and differences in rural women’s experiences while infusing feminist and rural social theories with rural women’s understanding and strategies for coping surviving, shaping, and changing their daily lives.” The book draws information from historical research as well as other contemporary studies of rural women, writings by rural women, and in-depth interviews conducted by the author. The variety of sources gives the book geographical breadth, as well as a variety of points of view. Using these examples from around the world, Sachs analyzes women’s connections to nature and the land, their work with plants and animals, their roles on family farms, and the local outcomes of global restructuring. Her analysis of rural women’s issues includes race, class, age, nationality, ethnicity, and even sexual orientation. The plethora of points of view result in a complex set of arguments. However, they also make it difficult for her to explore any single topic in great detail, particularly because she often is not citing her own research, but simply referencing others’ works.


Class tensions always have existed in rural communities but were muted when people shared an agricultural identity, ethnicity, and life-long residence. Although Midwestern villages today may have changed little physically from a time when life was focused on farming, distinctive nonagrarian social structures have emerged. Residents of post-agricultural communities are unrelated or only tenuously connected, economically or socially, to the families that operate the surrounding farms. [p. 636]
Changes in the villages’ appearance, which were linked to differing perceptions of how a home is used or whose definition of community should prevail, came to symbolize the conflict. Old cars, home and yard maintenance, and garbage emerged as stand-in objects for all differences and served as a mechanism to drive a wedge between the feuding groups. [p. 647]

The death of a sense of community may be hastened, rather than reversed, by repopulation through immigration. Professionals and policy-makers need to be aware that post-agricultural communities are emerging in different forms and that the transformed communities differ from when the small-town Midwest was more uniformly farming-dependent. [p. 652]

SUMMARY

Due to the decline of farming and economic restructuring, post-agricultural rural communities are emerging in the Midwest, characterized by a large proportion of newcomers who have no links to the old-timers who operate the surrounding farms. This article presents the results of a 9-month field study done in 1989-1990 in a central Illinois community. The study consisted of surveys, semi-structured interviews, participant observation and in-depth interviews. The article lays out the history of the community, cultural and economic factors that led to its decline and the growth of surplus housing, and the in-migration that changed its social makeup. Due to the nature of the available housing, newcomers are primarily working-poor families whose presence in the village lead to its being termed “downscale.” The conflict between the “old guard” and these newcomers, which is shaped by social class and cultural issues, is played out as struggles over differing notions of respectability, particularly with reference to the appearance and use of public and private property. Open conflicts occur over the old guard’s enforcement of property ordinances and newcomers’ acts of vandalism in retaliation. The result is a divided, distrustful community and an actively contested territory.


The last 200 years or so have seen an important new phase in the development of world poverty. Poverty did not simply expand to envelop more and more people; its character changed dramatically along with the social relations that engendered it, and it became increasingly concentrated in certain societies. The transition to “modern” poverty, far from an historical accident, can only be understood as a result of the development of capitalism on a world scale.”

Rural poverty has been the reverse side of successful accumulation in the Burma, Bengal and Kaveri deltas during the 200 years that we have surveyed. These were not, by any means, years of social inertia…The spread of “modern” mass poverty was predicated upon the evolution of quite distinct systems of surplus extraction—and evolution that was determined by local factors as well as by global processes. [p. 271]

Peripheralisation and spreading mass poverty in these three deltas did not result from “natural” scarcity or “backwardness” exacerbated by population growth. Nor can they be explained in general terms by invoking a faceless imperialism or the after-effects of colonial capitalism. Instead, this study has drawn attention to the specific local structures of accumulation, each based on an evolving system of surplus extraction, in the transition to “modern” poverty. [p. 297]
SUMMARY

This book presents results of a comparative historical study of three areas situated in important river deltas in Asia: Lower Burma, Bengal, and the Kaveri delta in South India. These areas are chosen for the particular way in which capitalism has manifested itself into agrarian economies. The book looks at poverty as a structural problem brought on through unequal development relationships. It identifies such causal factors as capacity to expand production and productivity, flexible systems of surplus extraction, inability to resist claims of accumulators, and the inability of primary producers to collect accumulated surplus. The study focuses on property relations and the systems of surplus extraction that are connected with them in order to understand rural poverty. Its historical focus brings to light the forces that create modern poverty, in order to better understand it. The book’s five chapters begin with an introduction, then analyze the relations of surplus in the three societies prior to colonization. The next three chapters take the analysis through the late nineteenth century, the mid-twentieth century, and the 1980s. A final chapter summarizes and draws conclusions, focusing on uneven development and peripheralization as contributing to the spread of mass poverty.


Not everything about poverty is quite so simple. Even the identification of the poor and the diagnosis of poverty may be far from obvious when we move away from extreme and raw poverty. Different approaches can be used (e.g. biological inadequacy, relative deprivation), and there are technical issues to be resolved within each approach. Furthermore, to construct an overall picture of poverty, it is necessary to go well beyond identifying the poor. [p. vii]

Food supply statements say things about a commodity (or a group of commodities) considered on its own. Starvation statements are about the relationship of persons to the commodity (or the commodity group). Leaving out cases in which a person may deliberately starve, starvation statements translate readily into statements of ownership of food by persons. In order to understand starvation, it is, therefore, necessary to go into the structure of ownership. Ownership relations are one kind of entitlement relations. [p. 1]

The entitlement approach requires the use of categories based on certain types of discrimination. A small peasant and a landless labourer may both be poor, but their fortunes are not tied together. In understanding the proneness to starvation of either we have to view them not as members of the huge army of “the poor,” but as members of particular classes, belonging to particular occupational groups, having different ownership endowments, and being governed by rather different entitlement relations. Classifying the population into the rich and the poor may serve some purpose in some context, but it is far too undiscriminating to be helpful in analysing starvation, famines, or even poverty. [p. 156]

SUMMARY

This important work is concerned with questions of how poverty is caused. Its main focus is on the causation of starvation in general, and of famines in particular. Its approach to these questions is to analyze entitlements systems. This entitlement approach is introduced in the first chapter, even before concepts of poverty are examined in detail. The problem of starvation is interpreted as the
result of unequal entitlements to food and work, rather than the result of actual physical food shortages. Chapters Two and Three deal with the problems of conceptualization and measurement of poverty. Chapter Two lays out several different ways of conceptualizing poverty, including the biological approach, the inequality approach, relative deprivation, and subjectivity approach (i.e. that poverty is a ‘value judgement’). It argues that the measurement of poverty can be split into two separate operations: the identification of the poor and the aggregation of their poverty characteristics into an over-all measure. Chapter Three takes this discussion further, exploring definitions of poverty in terms of basic needs and characteristics. It then takes up the question of aggregation and measurement. After the discussion of poverty itself, Chapter Four looks more specifically at the problem of starvation and famine. Chapter Five analyzes the entitlement approach to starvation and famines, and the concept of starvation as a result of entitlement failure. This chapter is followed by case studies of famines from Bengal, Ethiopia, the Sahel region of Africa, and Bangladesh. Finally, the last chapter concludes through a discussion of the entitlement approach that takes on general issues of deprivation in relation to entitlement systems. It points out the strengths of the entitlement approach, and reasserts the theory that “it is the totality of entitlement relations that governs whether a person will have the ability to acquire enough food to avoid starvation, and food supply is only one influence among many affecting his entitlement relations” (p. 155). The book ends with four technical appendices that look at the methodology of the entitlement approach in greater detail.


Life in Cucurpe is predicated on struggle, not pastoral harmony: struggle to raise crops when the rains won’t come or when the floods wash away the topsoil; struggle to keep cattle from turning into emaciated ghosts; struggle to prevent neighbors from diverting your irrigation water or fencing your pasture or stealing your land. [p. xv]

The ecology of any human community is political in the sense that it is shaped and constrained by other human groups. The exploitation, distribution, and control of natural resources is always mediated by differential relationships of power within and among societies. At the same time, however, the resources being exploited impose certain constraints as well—constraints that modify the political force fields emanating from outside the community in question. [p. xvii]

In a place like Cucurpe, then, it is necessary to understand all the factors acting upon peasant households—not just local ecological and demographic adjustments, not just external political and economic influences, but the intersecting force fields of both. [p. 196]

SUMMARY

This ethnographic work looks at the town of Cucurpe in northern Sonora, Mexico. Theoretically, it is an attempt to combine a political economy approach, which focuses on a society’s place in the world system, with a cultural ecology approach, which examines adaptations to local environmental and demographic factors. What results is basically an ethnography of resource control, a look at the relations between humans and their natural surroundings. With the household as the unit of analysis, the book first examines the ecological and economic constraints that scarce necessary resources put on households in Cucurpe. It then investigates why many households have formed
corporate communities to insure their access to resources they cannot control on their own. In this process, class differences are identified and explored. After giving a history of Cucurpe, the book looks at land use and water control, livestock raising and other subsistence activities, and their contributions to community and inequality in Cucurpe. It finds that households exert control over resources they can use with their own labor, such as agricultural land. Resources that cannot be used in this way, such as grazing land, are held corporately. It next looks at class and competition in Cucurpe, breaking the town up into four competing class groups. It is found that the interplay between privately held agricultural land and communal grazing land is a major source of inequality, due to “free riding” by those with large herds that degrade the resource, as well as to poor decisions due to inexperience. The book shows peasants to be both exploited and responsible for their exploitation, constrained by resources as well as by their own societal structures.


Since the countries of South Asia—Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan—gained independence, the reduction of mass poverty has been a fundamental goal of their social and economic policies. Yet in spite of nearly four decades of effort, the number of people living below the poverty line (however arbitrarily defined) has continued to increase, especially in rural areas. [p. 1]

It has been wrong to insist that little has been or can be done to reduce poverty without structural reforms—that since the “best” was not done no “second-best” alternatives will suffice. One of the main themes of this book is that, notwithstanding the pessimism expressed in various quarters, significant progress has actually been made in reducing the proportion of those living in poverty in South Asia. The changes have been slow and in many cases the trends have been hardly discernible; but they do exist, and they are in the right direction. [p. 2]

In rural South Asia, as in other developing areas, disparities in landholdings produce disparities in incomes, and control of land usually coincides with control of local institutions. Access to other rural factors of production is largely determined by the size of landholdings. Variables such as the quality of land, the nature of tenurial arrangements, and the intensity with which land and technology are used in different areas or by different groups may offset (or strengthen) the effects of the size of holdings. Nonetheless, the size distribution of landholdings remains the single most important determinant of agrarian relationships. [p. 47]

**SUMMARY**

The main argument of this book is that economic growth in South Asia (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) has in fact had an ameliorative effect on poverty, despite also increasing inequality. The book is focused around two main questions. The first questions whether the changes from antipoverty programs and the Green Revolution have really failed to help the rural poor, and whether growth has been at the expense of the poor, or whether both rich and poor alike are better off. Secondly, the book looks at what South Asia would look like without these changes, asserting that it would certainly be worse off. These questions are examined in order to look at the underlying question of whether South Asia has started on a great ascent. The book looks at both farm and nonfarm issues through a series of chapters that describe the incidence and trends of rural poverty, agrarian structure and rural employment, strategies for increasing agricultural output, the impact of the
Green Revolution on the rural poor, nonagricultural employment for the rural poor, rural industrialization and antipoverty programs, and land reforms. It argues for both agriculture-based development as well as policies favorable to nonfarm industries and employment, particularly in areas with labor surpluses. Land reform is considered necessary, but not sufficient to reduce poverty. The book argues for a more complex theoretical paradigm to replace earlier simplistic concepts of rural poverty and its amelioration.


Rural poverty and population decline are endemic to much of rural America. In trying to deal with these problems, economic development strategies focus on adding value to raw agricultural materials by attracting food-processing plants. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) predicts that meat, poultry, and fish processing will play crucial roles in the economies of many rural communities in the coming years. [p. 2]

The composition of the labor force varies across industries and regions—native African-American women in catfish processing, newcomer Latinos and Southeast Asians in meatpacking, Latino and Haitian immigrants in some poultry plants in the Southeast. These employment patterns reflect targeted recruitment as well as recent changes in the character and enforcement of immigration laws. [p. 3]

Rural communities that host food-processing facilities are frequently marginal. They often suffer from decades of environmental deterioration—physically, economically, demographically, and socially. Processing plants, while promising economic development, bring their own environmental costs. [p. 6]

SUMMARY

This volume examines the meat, poultry and fish processing industries’ reliance upon minority workers and its impact on rural communities in which the industries locate. The essays were originally presented at a 1992 conference on “New Factory Workers in Old Farming Communities: Costs and Consequences of Relocating Meat Industries,” held in Maryland. The book provides a rare overview of the many issues related to rural food processing in the U.S. The introductory chapter discusses many aspects of the impacts of food processing, beginning with the focus on processing as a form of rural development to replace or augment farming and other extractive industries and the implications of the food industries’ reliance on cheap, hired labor. The extra laborers must often be brought in from outside the community, leading to school overcrowding, housing shortages, unemployment, crime and other social problems from the get-go. That the laborers tend to be recent immigrants can add to linguistic and cultural problems in the communities. Laborers in food processing rarely earn living wages, and must find alternate sources of income or other coping strategies to survive economically. Plants often pollute the regions in which they locate, and companies generally remain uninvolved and uninterested in community repercussions.

Theoretically, the book begins from a segmented labor-market standpoint, which is then expanded upon. The first essay presents an overview of structural and locational changes in food processing and an assessment of major problems facing the meat and poultry industries. The follow-
ing essay looks at the growth associated with new processing plants, including stresses on housing stocks, school systems and volunteer agencies, as well as growing poverty and occupational injury. The next few chapters look at labor recruitment and networks, labor intermediaries and subcontractors, and immigration and labor issues. The book then considers public policy implications for health and industry practices. A final chapter concludes the volume by comparing and contrasting points raised throughout the essays and considering them within the current labor market structures.


The Third World exists in rural America, especially among families and communities of racial and ethnic minorities. In any nation poverty is unacceptable; but in a nation as rich as America, it is inexcusable—even immoral. [p. 177]

There is no more important task facing rural sociologists than discovering the roots of poverty among rural minorities. No group in American society suffers the burdens of poverty more severely. No group in society has suffered the depth of poverty for so long. [p. 184]

SUMMARY

In this short essay, Summers exhorts fellow rural sociologists to discover why a poverty class persists and why rural minorities are disproportionately represented in it. He believes that this can only be done by identifying the barriers that prevent rural minorities from achieving economic success. He suggests that the reasons for persistent rural poverty are structural in nature, but that misconceptions about the nature of structural problems hinder the alleviation of poverty. He identifies seven misconceptions as barriers to understanding persistent rural poverty. These include: 1) the belief that poverty can be reduced by merely improving the marketable skills of minorities; 2) the belief that persistent unemployment and poverty can be reduced by making American industries more competitive in world product markets; 3) the belief that the creation of a peripheral labor force affects urban minorities but not rural minorities; 4) the belief that the informal labor market is largely a Third World phenomenon; 5) the belief that labor market participation will eliminate poverty; 6) the belief that the problems of rural minorities are due to failures of rural social institutions and inferior human resources; and 7) the belief that merely the good will and social conscience of the powerful will overcome poverty. Each belief is shown to be weak and problematic for fully explaining the causes of persistent poverty. However, Summers stops short of proposing alternative explanations, and ends simply by repeating his entreaty to find the real causes of persistent rural poverty.


The transformation to a dependency upon commercial agricultural trade introduced in some cases new and in all cases greater class divisions than had characterized the noncommercial period. An ancillary phenomenon of importance to the future relationship between the farming hinterland and the rural trade center was a steady subordination of farm and community
relations to expanding nonfarm employment. This latter phenomenon represents the gradual decoupling of the well-being of rural communities from the fortunes of the farming hinterland. [p. 2]

These reports suggest that the conventional wisdom on farm and community change, emblematic of the Goldschmidt study and most similar studies, can be overstated and even misleading where non-industrial farming hinterlands are concerned. Instead, the reports demonstrate that the way in which farm structure is likely to be associated with community well-being depends upon a complex assortment of factors. [p. 11]

It may be necessary to enact legislation that will have the effect of reducing the size of the nations' largest farms. Alternatively, we will have to create costly new social and environmental programs to repair the damage to human life and the environment which is endemic to the unrestrained industrialization of agriculture. [p. 15]

SUMMARY

This book contains a selection of papers generated by the Office of Technology Assessment’s (OTA) rural communities work group. The focus of the work group was to look at the ways in which technological and structural change in agriculture affects rural communities that have direct and indirect linkages to farms and farmers. The papers start with the Goldschmidt study's findings of negative social effects associated with large-scale agriculture in California's Central Valley, and most attempt to discover whether or not these findings apply to the country as a whole. Because the structure of agriculture and the characteristics of rural communities vary greatly across the U.S., and thus impacts of technological change may vary by region, OTA commissioned papers analyzing five regions of the U.S.: the Northeast, the South, the Midwest, the Great Plains and the West, and the counties with the most industrialized agriculture in California, Arizona, Texas and Florida (CATF).

The book contains papers commissioned for each of the five regions, one chapter for each region. The papers differ to the degree that their findings support Goldschmidt. While the paper from the CATF strongly supports the Goldschmidt study findings, papers from the Great Plains and South have mixed results, and the papers from the Northeast and Midwest provide no support for Goldschmidt. Together then, the book suggests that unicausal explanations for rural community well being are oversimplistic and misleading. The reports demonstrate instead that the association between farm structure and community well being depends upon a more complex set of factors, including the relative dependency of the local economy on farming, the array of farm structures and agricultural commodities produced within the immediate hinterland, the mix of nonfarm enterprises, and the relative position of the community within its regional hierarchy of places, as well as national and international fiscal policy and market conditions.


Tragically, the chances today seem slim that the rural poor will be positively affected by public policy anytime soon. With slow recovery and declining foreign assistance at the beginning of the 1990s, the available means for public programs have diminished. The political will to ameliorate poverty is also weak. Meanwhile, rural poverty is particularly stubborn in Latin America, accounting for three-fifths of the so-called “hungry poor” of the region. [p. 1]
Much of the rural poverty in Latin America originates from inequitable distribution of farmland, which leaves peasants either landless or land-poor. Meanwhile, large landholders throughout Latin America allow substantial portions of their farms to lie idle for much of the year or grow pasture for livestock, one of the most land-extensive agricultural endeavors. Agrarian reforms were expected to help to remedy this inequity with salubrious production results realized by matching, for purposes of employment, landless or land-poor rural people and underutilized land. [p. 159]

Notwithstanding these problems, in countries that have implemented substantial reforms distribution is marginally better (or for a time it was) than it would have been with no reform. The poorest resource-and-income distributions exist in Brazil and Paraguay, two countries with the smallest agrarian reform. [p. 161]

SUMMARY

This book is intended as an introduction to agrarian reform issues for both students and policymakers, and is focused particularly around the issues involved in granting access to agricultural land to the rural poor in Latin America. Agrarian reform is analyzed in a wide development context that includes changing land tenure, impacts on growth, poverty and income distribution, and political participation. The book is broken up into several chapters that analyze the case studies of different Latin American countries’ agrarian reform experiences during the latter half of the twentieth century. The case studies are thorough, giving historical and social background to the reforms as well as the implementation and outcomes of the reforms themselves. A key problem identified by Thiesenhusen is rural poverty, which he links to an unequal distribution of resources that should be, but is not, adequately addressed by most reform initiatives. He concludes that “reforms in the region have not done very well in ameliorating rural poverty, improving equity, or creating employment,” however he does express optimism that land reform may still have some role to play in future.


New research on the dynamics of poverty coincided with the realization that the national economy had undergone permanent, structural change. The global reach of the economy signaled a shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries in advanced industrial nations, and a consequent restructuring of economic opportunities. [p. 68]

Rural poverty has always been linked to the limited opportunity structure in rural communities. These limits are both a legacy of past social and economic development policies and practices of current restructuring. There is too little work, and the lack of diversity in the economy extends to social and political institutions, creating a highly stratified and unequal social structure. [p. 81]

If the trend toward greater polarization of the national economy continues, there is a real danger that even those rural communities that had stable and diverse social and economic structures will fast decline. [p. 81]

SUMMARY

This article presents an overview of research on rural poverty, tracing its relationship to histori-
cal roots in social, political and economic inequality and to current economic restructuring. It sees the persistence and severity of rural poverty as linked to limited opportunity structures that are the outcome of past social and economic development policies as well as current economic transformations. The results of these limited opportunity structures are the lack of stable employment, opportunities for mobility, investment in the community, and diversity in the economy and other social institutions. The article discusses the past neglect of rural poverty in sociology, and then provides an overview of recent studies that have been done in areas related to rural poverty. Topics covered include community studies, migration and rural-urban linkages, spatial analyses of economic opportunity, economic restructuring, and labor market analyses. It concludes that there is a serious connection between rural poverty and opportunity structure in rural communities, which must be addressed through more community studies and longitudinal research that explores the dynamics of poverty, labor markets and political structures in rural America.


The challenge to eliminate poverty belongs not to developing countries alone, but to the world community as a whole. Partnerships among governments, the private sector and civil society, with the active support of the international development community, are needed to address the structural causes of poverty and inequality in the world. [p. iv]

People-centered sustainable development is to be achieved through the adoption of an integrated and multi-sectoral agenda aimed at the eradication of poverty, the promotion of productive and remunerative employment for all, and the achievement of social integration. Policies focussed on people-centered sustainable development must address issues of economic inequity and gender discrimination. [p. vii]

Poverty is not simply a matter of incomes that are too low to meet basic subsistence needs. It is, above all, a symptom of imbedded structural imbalances, which manifest themselves in all realms of human existence. As such, poverty is highly correlated with social exclusion, marginalisation, vulnerability, powerlessness, isolation, and other economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of deprivation. [p. 6]

SUMMARY

This United Nations policy paper followed up the World Summit for Social Development that was held in Copenhagen in March of 1995. The summit focused on people-centered sustainable development and poverty eradication rather than alleviation. This report is meant to contribute further to the dialogue on development alternatives and priorities. Its purpose is to assist United Nations Development Programme country offices and their partners in the implementation of poverty eradication programs through identifying key policy areas and priority actions and initiating a process of policy dialogue and advocacy.

The first part of the paper reviews basic tenets of the development paradigm sketched out and endorsed at the Copenhagen Summit. It is focused around the concept of human-centered development, which recognizes the needs of individuals and the problems with using economic growth as an
indicator of social, political, and environmental sustainability. It asserts that poverty and human suffering are avoidable, and affect the larger society as well as the afflicted individuals. Poverty is treated as a complex political problem, with economic, political, and also gendered aspects, which can be treated through broad policy agendas that focus on empowerment. The paper’s second part presents key components of an integrated and inter-sectoral strategy for poverty eradication. Policy priorities include empowerment, broad-based and equitable growth, household food security, access to infrastructure and social services, job creation and sustainable livelihoods, access to credit, expanding social protections, promoting gender equity, and natural resource preservation. The paper’s third section outlines some of the priority actions and means for implementation, paying special attention to critical steps that may be required for the successful development of national anti-poverty strategies. It pays special attention to implementation of programs at the national level, calling on nations to adopt specific poverty eradication objectives, actions and monitoring systems. The paper ends by suggesting some areas in which external support from the international donor community may be required to achieve the goals embraced by the Copenhagen Summit.


While social services in the areas of education, health, housing and social security have improved in the course of the last 20-30 years, in many cases, these services, as well as development opportunities for women and the countryside, have remained limited. Productive assets, resources and income remain in need of more equitable distribution. [p. 2]

Tackling the root causes of poverty by preventive action, rather than by intervention after conflicts have broken out into open war, can be much more effective and save many lives. Preventive action in the Arab world has not been sufficient to alleviate poverty. On the contrary, poverty in the region has increased, both in absolute and relative numbers since 1985. [p. 113]

It is a fact that the Arab region is endowed with enormous reserves of non-renewable resources. These should be exploited efficiently and sparingly, keeping collateral environmental damage to a minimum. This generation must not bequeath to the next a poorer, more barren, and less hospitable world. Nothing less than a fundamental reorientation of production, distribution, and consumption activities is called for. [p. 185]

SUMMARY

This report summarizes the topics discussed at the Expert Meeting on Poverty Eradication and Sustainable Livelihoods held in Damascus in February of 1996. The meeting was organized by the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Department for Development Support and Management Services in order to foster region-wide dialogue on ways to eradicate poverty and begin working towards the preparation of a comprehensive Poverty Eradication Strategy in the Arab Region. The meeting was broken down into six working groups organized around the Operational Definition and Profile of Poverty, Macro-Economic Policies, Social Policies, Human Resources Policies, Institutions, and Rural Development. The report begins by giving background on the meeting, including main points discussed by the working groups. The meeting’s opening and closing speeches are also included. The report then gives an outline of the elements of a strategy for
the eradication and prevention of poverty in the Arab States, based on the discussions and points raised in the meeting. The rest of the report, and the majority of its bulk, is made up of thirteen issue papers. These papers explore the conceptualization of poverty, issues from the relevant literature, the behavior of poverty in Arab countries, social policies regarding poverty in the region, demographics of poverty, macro-economic policies vis-à-vis the Arab poor, ways of measuring poverty, social safety nets, poverty alleviation and sustainable livelihoods, and a socio-political approach to poverty. Although the papers vary in length, they are for the most part quite comprehensive, and together the collection gives a very complex picture of the issues surrounding poverty and its alleviation in the Arab world. The papers flow well into each other to create an essential understanding of the Arab situation, although the report unfortunately is without an introduction or a conclusion to synthesize the issue papers and highlight their main points.


Only a very few of these smaller San Joaquin Valley communities have a significant number of resident farmers. Most of those who work on each community’s farms are hired workers. In fact, in every Fresno County city and town, including the city of Fresno, the Census reports that the number of farmer households is smaller than the number of hired farm workers. [pp. 5-6]

Farmers are only a very small portion of the community’s population. Seasonal employment of hired laborers to work in agriculture is the norm, and is associated with high rates of poverty and a continuing need for public assistance despite the fact that nearly everyone is working. [p. 11]

It is clear that reduced irrigation supplies during the six-year drought adversely impacted Mendota area employment, personal income, small farmers, vegetable packing businesses, local business viability and tax revenues. The impact was especially severe for agricultural field and packing warehouse employees in the fresh produce business. [p. 29]

SUMMARY

This report examines the impacts of a six-year drought in California and the ensuing water cutbacks on the agriculture-dependent town of Mendota in the San Joaquin Valley. Mendota is considered to be typical of isolated farming communities in the Valley. After an introduction to the history and demography of the community, the report looks at the impacts of water supply reductions on Mendota area cropping. Scarcity of water and higher costs led many farmers to pump lower-quality groundwater that was not suitable for all crops. The report finds that while tree fruit and nut crop acreage did not change during the period, vegetable crop plantings were seriously reduced in favor of higher-value fresh market crops. The drought period was also characterized by a high turnover of small farm operators. Most striking of the findings, however, was a large reduction in labor demand occasioned by the cutbacks in crop production. The decrease in jobs is linked with a decrease in local business activity, land values and tax bases. The report concludes that the water cutbacks had serious negative impacts on many aspects of life in the town, and contributed to increasing poverty.

Just one-half of California farms are operated by farmers. The other half are run by people whose principal occupation is something other than farming, and these non-farmers report that they work on their places on a limited basis only, creating a dependence on hired labor. [p. 12]

New immigration from Mexico and Central America has been the most important contributor to this inflated labor supply. Today more than 92 percent of California crop workers report that they were born outside of the U.S., most in Mexico or Latin America. [p. 18]

The available data demonstrates that real wages and earnings in California agriculture declined by a significant amount (15 percent) during the 1980s. Some farm operators who paid good wages in the 1970s are now paying much lower amounts (measured in real terms). Many employers have eliminated employer-paid benefits such as health insurance, and a large number no longer provide housing. [p. 23]

**SUMMARY**

This report explores major trends and changes in California agriculture, focusing in particular on crop production, farm structure and the labor market. Increasing crop production has led to an increase in labor demand and increased supply of workers. The vast surplus of workers, especially recent immigrants, and the decline in power of farm worker organizations and political interests have resulted in the erosion of farm worker wages, working conditions and living conditions over the past decade. The report details the characteristics of the labor force, the prevailing wages and working conditions, the use of labor contractors in agriculture, and other related issues such as job safety, health and housing. It concludes that there is compelling evidence that farm worker wages, working conditions and living conditions were seriously eroded during the 1980s and early 1990s, in large part due to the exploitation of surplus labor force made up mostly of recent immigrants.


In view of a rapidly increasing rural population, diminishing employment opportunities in agriculture, increasing rural-urban migration and slow pace of urbanisation and industrial growth, rural industries (RIs) and cottage industries (CIs) have emerged as a potential source of income and employment enhancement for the rural poor in many developing countries of Asia and Africa as well as in the newly industrialised countries of Asia. [p. xi]

The main reasons for survival of CI and RI in the case study areas are that they use locally available and/or cheap raw material and have a ready local market for their products. In case of any increase in cost of production due to factors like increase in price of raw materials or transport cost, they can usually increase the price of the product, transferring the cost-hike to the consumers. [p. 39]

In seasonal occupation, women are the first to get laid off again due to employers (most of
whom are men) preferring male workers. The scope of off-farm occupation for men is wider than that for women. While women look for occupations in rural industry and agricultural sub-sectors, men explore employment opportunities in other non-farm, mostly service activities which are usually seasonal in nature. [p. 67]

SUMMARY

This paper reviews rural industry policies in the context of nine case studies done in India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam, and Kenya. The paper aims to give a comparative picture of the policies and situations in the nine countries, as well as to make policy prescriptions. The paper rests on the basic premise that the agricultural sector is waning in Africa and Asia, that the urban sector cannot absorb all the rural workers who may be affected, and thus that rural industrialization is needed in order to combat rural poverty. The case studies are descriptive as well as focusing on analyzing rural industries, and were done in order to look at production arrangements, marketing, credit, and other constraints faced by rural industries. The paper also attempts to gauge the impact of rural enterprises on the income and employment of the rural poor, and highlight the common features and problems pertaining to rural industries in the case study areas. The main finding is that rural industries contributed significantly toward household income in rural areas, but that the full potential in this regard is not being realized. Income disparities were found to be significant between entrepreneurs and workers, and workers’ earnings were much lower than those in larger scale industries were. State support for rural industries was generally found to be insignificant. Policy suggestions in the paper’s conclusion point out ways in which these types of common flaws can be improved.


California’s central coast strawberry industry evolved in a period of dramatic macrolevel change. Since World War II, the structure of U.S. agriculture has been transformed, and wide swings in the national and global economies have reconfigured farm labor processes. Yet the impact of macroeconomic change and the reshaping of agricultural systems have not been uniform, and swings in the world economy cannot account for labor process change in this industry. [p. 19]

Industry characteristics have shielded California strawberry producers from the recent world economic downturn, making control over labor the central determinant of profitability. [p. 44]

No one who looks beneath the relatively calm surface of class relations in the central coast California strawberry industry would argue that the resurgence of sharecropping was a reversion to a less “advanced” form of production. Nor would those involved in the local system express surprise at the extent of wage workers’ opposition, despite their lack of skill and unionization. This is because participants do not share the economic determinism and assumptions of unilinear development that dominate much scholarship on work. [p. 278]

SUMMARY

This book is the culmination of nearly twenty years of historical research, interviews and ethnographic fieldwork on California’s strawberry industry. It provides a portrait of change in the social relations of the industry, and uses that portrait to critique Marxist and economic theories of
capitalist development and labor relations. Wells begins by laying out the basic social theories that she examines and challenges in relation to the strawberry industry. The work is firmly located within the Marxist literature, but challenges its assumptions. In particular, traditional theories regarding sharecropping and labor resistance are found to be inadequate with respect to the industry. The return to the supposedly defunct practice of sharecropping in the strawberry industry and the unexpected amount of labor resistance make up the main theoretical concerns of the book. Much of the body of the book illustrates the theoretical issues in the context of the daily lives of farm workers and owners. It manages to simultaneously give a political, historical and social overview of the industry. Particularly interesting are her findings regarding the relations between growers and workers, which vary according to regional farm size and cultural norms. Her findings regarding labor resistance challenge traditional theories such as Marxism, which suggest that workers’ resistance is tied to either owning or controlling a portion of the means of production, unionization, or skill. Thus one would expect a much lower amount of resistance among strawberry workers, who tend to own no inputs, be non-unionized, and unskilled. However, Wells find that among strawberry workers resistance is tied to location, contact with organized resistance in other farm sectors, and the nature of owner-worker relations. Equally unusual is the return of sharecropping, which is considered to be “inefficient and likely to disappear in advanced capitalism.” Wells links its resurgence in the strawberry industry with labor problems associated with the end of the Bracero (guest-worker) program and the growing popularity of the United Farm Workers Union in the 1960s and 1970s. According to Wells, sharecropping allowed growers to enhance their stability and labor control in an increasingly restrictive political environment, while simultaneously changing the structure of class relations at work. Thus Wells finds that local outcomes are embedded in local structures and relations. Overall, the book provides an interesting and original look at the bases of labor resistance and the causes of labor process change.


An analysis of women’s labour as farm wives brings to the fore those dimensions of the farm labour process previously neglected by the narrow focus on agricultural production, and those mechanisms of labour expropriation within the family household previously ignored as a result of the preoccupation with the family/wage labour dichotomy. [p. 6]

The principal axis of the gender division of labour on the family farm is that between domestic household labour and agricultural labour. Domestic household labour is almost exclusively “women’s work” and, in the context of the conjugal household system which predominates, it is the primary area of responsibility and labour activity of the “farm wife.” It consists of a number of tasks which service the family household, reproducing its labour capacity and social relations of production on a daily and generational basis. [p. 66]

The family labour process has been shown to be organised around a gender division of labour structured by the patriarchal institution of the conjugal household and a gender division of property rights structured by patrilineal kinship practices. Through these relations control over capital, the technological means of production, and income from valorised labour processes is concentrated in the hands of men. The family labour process can thus be defined more accurately as a patriarchal labour process. [p. 141]
SUMMARY

This theoretical work gives a feminist critique and reconstruction of the Marxist concept of petty commodity production (PCP) based on analysis of family farming in contemporary Britain. According to the author, “PCP represents a distinctive form of production because it contradicts the tendency towards the separation of capital and labour” (p. 1). The book looks at the ways in which PCP must be reconceptualized in order to make sense of women’s lives as family workers. In this effort, it explores the ideologies and practices of the family labor process as they structure the unity of the family farm and women’s experiences within it. The book is divided into two parts, the first of which explores the theoretical concepts and arguments related to the analysis of family farming as a form of PCP. Debates about family farming are examined to show how they leave out family and gender relations. The limitations of Marxist theory for analyzing gender relations are laid out, and a revised political economy approach is developed as a theoretical framework for analyzing family farming in Britain. The second part of the book focuses on empirical analysis. It examines the dimensions of the gender division of labor on the farm, identifying patriarchy as the main cause of these divisions. The level of commoditization of the farm is also found to have an important impact on women’s positions and experiences. Women’s own experiences as farm wives are described and their ideologies for understanding these experiences are highlighted. Conflicts with these ideologies are discussed. The empirical section is concluded by a chapter that broadens the focus to look at the ways in which gender acts as a fundamental structuring process in the wider domestic political economy of six case-study farms. Finally, the book ends with a chapter that draws conclusions from the analysis, examining its implications for understanding the nature and transformation of family farming and considering the wider significance of the research for theorizing gender and class, patriarchal and capitalist relations and the future meaning of practice of political economic analysis.


If local ecology and local society no longer denote a holistic unit, community interaction is another matter. People who live together tend to interact with one another whether or not they participate in extra-local structures as well. Moreover, their interactions can form a community field even if the community is not an ecological or social system. [p. 35]

The direct effects of rural location on community interaction and social well-being should be studied in the locality, the area of local life where people meet their daily needs together. Far from being merely the geographic setting of social life, the locality is the spatial manifestation of a fundamental organization of interdependencies among people. [p. 58]

Along with a complete local society, community requires an integrated network of interactions. Perhaps in times past social cohesion in a complete network of community relations compensated for the physical isolation of the remote rural settlement. Recent evidence neither confirms nor denies this as a historical observation, but recent findings give a very different picture of contemporary life in small, relatively isolated settlements. [p. 114]

SUMMARY

This book takes an interactional approach to community and social well being in rural communities. It pulls together suggestions and findings from research on the community in rural America
and outlines challenges for the future in rural sociology and rural policy. The central theme of the book is that community is a process of local social interaction. Its main thesis is that the community has not disappeared and has not ceased to be an important factor in individual and social well-being, despite the complexity of local social life. The book has a strong theoretical slant, and begins with a chapter that outlines the interactional theory approach to community. The next chapter then examines the properties associated with rural location that affect community, drawing insight from theory and research in the sociological literature. This chapter addresses major conceptual issues about community and rural life, using the interactional perspective and concepts. Next the interactional concept of social well being is introduced. This chapter relates well being to community interaction, and explores the effects of rural location on community interactions that are considered to influence well being. The next chapter then analyzes community development as a strategy to enhance social well being and reviews the components of community development as a process, commenting on actions that would aid the process in rural areas. Finally, the book ends with a chapter that summarizes its main arguments, in addition to examining policy efforts to promote well-being in rural areas and suggesting ways that rural sociological research can support these efforts. It ends by reiterating its argument that rural well being depends on purposive actions to encourage and cultivate rural community development.


Poverty is a profoundly political issue. Thousands of South African babies are dying of malnutrition and associated diseases; two million children are growing up stunted for lack of sufficient calories in one of the few countries in the world that exports food; tens of thousands of men are spending their entire working years as lonely “labour units” in single-sex hostels whilst their wives and children live generally in great poverty in the overcrowded reserves. This structural violence assaults the majority of people living in South Africa as harshly as any physical confrontation. [p. 4]

We shall find that it is not always easy to make a clear distinction between the facts or symptoms of poverty and its origins. Not only are there several different dimensions of material and non-material poverty, but there is also a complex interaction between cause and effect, which makes it difficult to describe a state of poverty without considering those factors, themselves aspects of poverty, that cause further misery. [p. 14]

Vulnerability is not simply a matter of identifying which groups in a society are likely to be poor. At a deeper level it is recognition of the fact that poverty is “not merely a problem of special groups or of other people but an atmosphere in which large numbers of people live their lives and which threatens at any time to assume a more concrete presence.” [p. 185]

**SUMMARY**

This book is based on hundreds of conference and post-conference papers from the Carnegie Inquiry conference held at the University of Cape Town in April 1984. Drawing material from these papers, the book attempts to provide an analysis of the nature and causes of poverty in South Africa and to draw together ideas for policies to address the problems. The book is broken down into two sections, the first of which consists of an examination of the pattern of poverty in South Africa. It
begins with a chapter on defining poverty, which cautions against relying solely on statistics while also acknowledging their importance. It then discusses several different statistical measures of poverty, their advantages and disadvantages. Finally it illustrates the uses of different measures through a number of charts and tables that give a diverse views of the nature of poverty in South Africa. The following chapters in this first section look at South African poverty with regard to natural resources, sources of income, unemployment, hunger and sickness, housing and environment, literacy and learning, powerlessness, and vulnerability. The second section of the book seeks to deepen understanding of why the pattern of poverty explicated in the first section should be shaped the way it is. It looks at the history of South Africa, particularly with regard to conquest and colonization. It also examines the effects of apartheid on poverty, as well as general macro-economic forces. The last section of the book presents a framework for thinking about the problems discussed throughout the book, and presents a set of suggestions for consideration by those concerned with South Africa’s future.


Agrarian reform programs in the 1960s and then the Green Revolution were to have accelerated the modernization process so that hunger would be substantially eliminated throughout the world. Instead, the number of the malnourished in the Third World continues to grow. The cause of this tragedy is much more than the inexorable increase in population growth. At least equally important are patterns of land and food distribution and the underlying determinants of these patterns, namely, the interrelated factors of political power and economic structures. [p. 1]

If agrarian reform means progressive changes intended to create a more egalitarian rural society, then these recent dynamics have produced agrarian reform in reverse. Small-holders have been squeezed out of land markets and sometimes coerced off of their land. When combined with population growth, a rapidly increasing rural proletariat has been created, often unemployed or underemployed. [p. 2]

United States foreign agricultural policy since World War II has had a largely negative impact on agricultural development and food consumption in the less-developed countries (LDCs). Although this result has not necessarily been a conscious, premeditated objective of that policy, it is a perhaps unavoidable by-product of an American foreign policy based on the premise of U.S. strategic, economic, and political dominance. [p. 305]

**SUMMARY**

This volume looks at the political-economic causes of hunger and poverty in less developed countries, with the underlying theme that agrarian reform has had the opposite effect of what was intended. It begins with a section that presents case studies of induced change in agricultural poverty from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. The chapter on Honduras shows the mixed effects of modern commercial agriculture there, which has benefited commercial farmers but hurt subsistence farmers and rural populations. The political context of these changes is also explored. Similar problems are illustrated for Brazil, where export agriculture has expanded but land in food crops has not, leading to hunger, land inequity, and rural unemployment. Subsequent chapters compare findings on these political and economic issues in Peru, Ecuador, the Philippines, Turkey,
and Kenya. This section demonstrates that domestic and international factors are interrelated causes of hunger and poverty in Third World countries. The second section is on international factors and agriculture, focusing on dependency in international trade and monetary relations, the IMF conditionality in Latin America, the Cereals Imports Facility of the IMF, the Rome Food Agencies, and U.S. foreign agricultural policy toward the Third World. These factors are examined for their effects on agricultural development and food security in the Third World. The book provides a good critique of development programs and international government manipulations that have either sustained or exacerbated the hunger and poverty problems that they are supposed to help eradicate.
NON-ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Works Published in 1982 and Earlier)


Fujimoto, Isao and Zone, Martin. 1976. *Sources of inequities in rural America: implications for rural community development and research*. Davis: Dept. of Applied Behavioral Sciences, University of California.


INTERNET RESOURCES

Action with Communities in Rural England

http://www.acreciro.demon.co.uk/

Action with Communities in Rural England is the national association of Rural Community Councils whose shared purpose is to improve the quality of life of local communities, and particularly of disadvantaged people in rural England. Its aim is to facilitate the development of thriving, diverse and sustainable communities throughout rural England. This site gives information about the organization, its projects, events, network, publications and policy work.

The Calendon Institute of Social Policy

http://www.caledoninst.org/

Web site of a Canadian nonprofit think tank that focuses on poverty and social policy. It provides information on the institute, its projects, available publications, and updates on issues under study.

The California Institute for Rural Studies

http://www.cirsinc.org/

Web site of California-based nonprofit think tank dedicated to improving lives, conditions and economies of rural areas. The site gives links to projects, data bases, and membership information. An index of the institute’s quarterly newsletter Rural California Report is online, with sample copies and articles available for download. There is also a long list of reports and publications that can be purchased.

The Canadian Hunger Foundation—Partners in Rural Development

http://www.partners.ca/

Web site of Canadian nonprofit organization dedicated to reducing rural poverty and improving the quality of life of the rural poor. Includes information about the organization and its projects, as well as publications and other resources. Also has an excellent page of links to non-governmental organizations throughout the world working on a number of topics related to rural poverty, community and land use.
Centre for Rural Social Research  
http://www.csu.edu.au/research/crsr/  

Web site of a research center housed at Charles Sturt University in Australia, which contains resources on rural social issues, rural change, rural community development, and related issues. Links give information about the center and its activities, news, conferences, publications and issues. It also links to the scholarly Rural Society Journal, published three times a year by the center. Articles from back issues are available online, as are guidelines for contributors and subscription information.

European Society for Rural Sociology  
http://cc.joensuu.fi/~alma/esrs/  

This site is not particularly informative, but does link to the ESRS newsletter, ERS-News and the ESRS scholarly journal, Sociologia Ruralis. It also gives updates on European rural sociology conferences, publications, and ESRS membership information.

Indiana Prevention Resource Center  
http://www.drugs.indiana.edu/issues/ruraldrug.html  

This page, housed at Indiana University, gives a list of links to papers and sites related to drug use problems and rural communities in Indiana and the U.S.

Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin-Madison 
http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/  

This home site for the UW-Madison poverty think tank contains issue updates, research and publications, as well as answers to a number of frequently asked questions about poverty. It also has a section of links to other poverty-related Internet resources. The IRP is a national, university-based center for research into the causes and consequences of poverty and social inequality in the U.S.

Inter-American Development Bank Sustainable Development Department  
http://www.iadb.org/sds/index.cfm  

This bilingual Spanish/English site contains information about the multilateral development institution and its programs. It also has a large number of links to different subject areas that give information about projects, data, publications, and other Internet sources. Areas include social development, poverty and inequality, indigenous peoples and community development, women in development, and environment and natural resources.
International Rural Sociology Association

http://www.ag.auburn.edu/irsa/

This page gives information about IRSA conferences worldwide, as well as links to IRSA council members. It also links to information about IRSA, including its history, constitution and bylaws. Links to member societies, international institutions, publications and research tools are also useful.

North Central Regional Center for Rural Development

http://www.ag.iastate.edu/centers/rdev/

This center is based at the Iowa State University, and coordinates rural development research and education in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin. Its mission is to initiate and facilitate rural development research and education programs to improve the social and economic well-being of rural people in the region. It also provides leadership in rural development regionally and nationally by identifying, developing and supporting programs on the vanguard of emerging issues. This site has links to the center’s activities, as well as its newsletter, publications and other rural development resources.

The Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development

http://www.cas.nercrd.psu.edu/

This center is housed at Pennsylvania State University, and focuses on problems specific to the Northeast region of the U.S. It serves as a regional and national network to catalyze, initiate, facilitate, and evaluate research and educational programs that have the potential to improve the social and economic well-being of individuals in small towns and rural places. The site has links to publications and projects, as well as information about the center.

Northwestern University/University of Chicago Joint Center for Poverty Research

http://www.jcpr.org/

This center is a national and interdisciplinary community of researchers whose work advances the understanding of what it means to be poor and live in America. The site provides information on the center, access to its newsletter, answers to frequently asked questions about poverty, papers, publications, and conference updates. The home page highlights the most frequently downloaded papers.
The Rural Development Centre

http://www.une.edu.au/~trdc/

Web site of nonprofit organization that does applied socioeconomic research with a rural focus. It is housed on the campus of the University of New England in New South Wales, Australia. Web site includes links to mission statement, research program, reports, and PDF downloads. It also has an extensive list of links to other university-based rural centers throughout the world.

Rural Information Center

http://www.nal.usda.gov/ric/

This center in Beltsville, Maryland provides information and referral services to local, state, and federal government officials; community organizations; health professionals and organizations; rural electric and telephone cooperatives; libraries; businesses; and, rural citizens working to maintain the vitality of America’s rural areas. This page provides links to the referral service of the RIC, as well as its National Agriculture Library. The link to the RIC provides links to publications, conferences, frequently asked questions, and other Internet resources. A search engine is available for more detailed searching of the site.

Rural Policy Research Institute

http://www.rupri.org/

This institute, housed at Iowa State University, the University of Missouri and the University of Nebraska, conducts policy-relevant research and facilitates public dialogue to assist policymakers in understanding the rural impacts of public policies and programs. This site provides information about the institute and its programs, along with publications and policy resources. Scrolling text provides updates on conferences and recent publications.

Rural and Small Town Program

http://www.mta.ca/rstp/mission.html

Web site of Canadian independent university-based research center dedicated to exploring and resolving social, environmental, and economic issues facing small communities in Canada. It includes links to the mission statement, research and service, publication and self-help tools, rural community themes, and other organizations.
Rural Sociological Society

http://RuralSociology.org/

This U.S. membership organization was founded in 1937 in order to promote the development of rural sociology through teaching, research and extension. The site includes links to interest areas of agriculture and food, community, natural resources, and rural social issues. It also gives information about the purpose, programs and people of the RSS, as well as its publications.

United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service


This link is to the rural development briefing room, which contains most of the links that are related to rural issues. However, the homepage is quite useful as well. The briefing room highlights relevant reports. It also includes updates on many issues and subject areas, with links to emerging issues as well as the seven subjects that make up “Rural America at a Glance.” Other link areas include publications, data and briefing on issues.

United States Department of Agriculture Rural Development

http://www.rurdev.usda.gov/

This site gives information about USDA rural development programs in several subject areas. Links from the home page also have links to other congressional and substantive issues, such as women in development. It also has a large number of links to other Internet resources.

United Nations Development Programme

http://www.undp.org/

This United Nations program helps countries in their efforts to achieve sustainable human development by assisting them to build their capacity to design and carry out development programs in poverty eradication, employment creation and sustainable livelihoods, the empowerment of women and the protection and regeneration of the environment, giving first priority to poverty eradication. This page features information about the program, news, publications and documents, statistics, and a link to different program focus areas. Focus areas include poverty, environment, gender and governance. The site also features its own search engine.
United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

http://www.unrisd.org/

Multi-lingual (English, Spanish, French) site for agency devoted to increasing understanding of how development policies and processes of economic, social and environmental change affect different social groups. The site gives information about the UNRISD, its research program, global conferences and publications. Also has a link to policy briefs and “viewpoints” on different subjects, written by academics throughout the world.

The W.K. Kellogg Collection of Rural Community Development Resources

http://www.unl.edu/kellogg/

This collection is housed at The Heartland Center for Leadership Development in Lincoln, Nebraska, and was created in cooperation with the University Libraries and College of Architecture at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. The site contains guidebooks, manuals, workshop materials, reports, books, and videos related to community development. The collection is organized into seven categories, to aid in locating the materials most appropriate for specific concerns. Materials are listed in an annotated format, and are available either free or for a small fee. Web site also has a search function for browsing annotations and titles.

The World Bank Group

http://www.worldbank.org/

The World Bank Group is a consortium of organizations united in the fight against world poverty. The site is focused on eradicating poverty in developing countries. It includes updates on projects and operations, as well as links to data, development topics and publications. The publications link makes available working papers on a number of topics, including environmentally sustainable development, poverty and social services, and international economics.
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JENNIFER SHERMAN is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley. She has worked extensively on issues related to rural poverty, community, and land use in the United States and India, particularly focusing on minority groups in the United States. Her current interests concern community development strategies among Native American tribes and their implications for community-specific rural economic development.
Founded in late 1996, the BERKELEY WORKSHOP ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS emerged from a long-standing commitment to environmental studies on the Berkeley campus and from the presence of a core group of faculty whose research and scholarly interests linked environment, culture, and political economy. The workshop draws together over fifty faculty and doctoral students from San Francisco Bay Area institutions (the University of California campuses at Berkeley, Santa Cruz, and Davis, and Stanford University) who share a common concern with problems that stand at the intersection of the environmental and social sciences, the humanities and law. The Berkeley Workshop on Environmental Politics has three broad functions:

✦ to assist graduate training and scholarly research by deepening the theoretical and methodological toolkit appropriate to understanding environmental concerns in an increasingly globalized world;

✦ to bring together constituencies of local and international scholars, activists, and policy makers for transnational conversations on environmental issues; and,

✦ to bring community activists and policymakers to Berkeley as Residential Fellows, thus providing synergistic possibilities for developing new learning and research communities.

The Berkeley Workshop on Environmental Politics is funded by the Ford Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES was established in 1955 to promote interdisciplinary research in international, comparative, and policy studies on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. The current emphasis is on the following intellectual themes: peace and security after the Cold War; environment, demography, and sustainable development; development and comparative modernities across regions; and globalization and the transformation of the global economy. The Institute has several major research programs, and provides support to Berkeley faculty and fellowships to Berkeley graduate students. Ongoing research colloquia bring together faculty, advanced graduate students, and visiting scholars for discussions. The Institute hosts distinguished visiting fellows who participate in Institute programs while in residence at Berkeley. Its public outreach programs include lectures, forums, conferences, interviews, and the Connecting Students to the World program. The Institute publishes Policy Papers in International Affairs, Insights in International Affairs, Currents, and the Globetrotter website <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu>.