Children of migrant workers received little preventive health care. For example, pediatricians recommend yearly checkups for young children. But only half of the migrant children under 12 got them, and only a third of the migrant children age 12-15 (fig. 4). A similar situation exists for dental care. About one out of three children under 16 had seen a dentist in the past year, and again the older children went less than the younger children.

Immunizations, however, appear to be up to date in this population. About 90 percent of children age 3-16 were immunized for diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, polio, measles, and rubella. Most immunizations are received in school health programs directed toward migrant children. Our research indicated that older children were more likely to be immunized than younger children, mainly because of exposure to immunization programs in schools.

Conclusions

Although the number of migrant agricultural workers has steadily declined over the past 20 years, due to the development of mechanized harvesters and use of herbicides and pesticides that have replaced hand cultivating and weeding, they are still needed for some work. Immigrants have replaced hand cultivating and weeding, and use of herbicides and pesticides that have replaced hand cultivating and weeding, they are still needed for some work.

In-kind benefits for the poor increased dramatically between the mid-1960's and early 1980's (fig. 1). The official measurement of poverty considers only money income and not "in-kind" benefits (such as food stamps, public housing, and medical care). What if they did? Would they find that poverty has been eliminated and is no longer a problem? Recent evidence suggests some people would continue to need assistance and poverty would still be a problem.

For Additional Reading...


Virginia K. Getz is an economist in the Income Studies Section, Agriculture and Rural Economics Division.
Figure 1
In-kind antipoverty benefits up ninefold in 18 years

Cash benefits include aid to families with dependent children, general assistance, supplemental security income, and pensions provided low-income veterans. In-kind programs include food stamps, free and reduced price school lunch programs, public housing, and medicaid.


The higher nonmetro poverty rate after including in-kind benefits is partially explained by metro-nonmetro differences in program participation rates. The metro poor are more likely to participate in in-kind programs, particularly public housing and medicaid.

Medicare was the only program with a substantially higher participation rate in nonmetro than metro areas. This reflects the somewhat higher proportion of elderly in nonmetro areas: 13 percent of the nonmetro population are poor vs. 1 percent of the metro population.

Adding a value for in-kind benefits raised slightly the proportion of poor among whites and married-couple families, but reduced the elderly's share of the poor. The proportion of poor in the South stayed about the same (fig. 3).

Under the official poverty definition, metro poor are more likely than nonmetro poor to be black or to live in families headed by a woman. Nonmetro poor tend to live in the South, are more likely to be white, elderly, and live in married-couple families. The composition of the nonmetro poor, after valuing

Figure 2
Nonmetro poverty greater than metro (with and without in-kind benefits)

Percent of population

Without benefits

With benefits

U.S. Metro Nonmetro

Without benefits 15.2 13.8 16.3
With benefits 10.2 9.1 12.8


Valuation Techniques and Data

Poverty status is determined by comparing a family's income to "poverty thresholds" that vary with family size and composition. For example, a family of four with two children was poor in 1983 if its income was below $10,098. (People living alone, such as elderly widows, are classified as one-person families.) The poverty thresholds are based on nutritional requirements from the USDA's economy food plan and family expenditure data.

Only cash income is currently used in officially determining a family's poverty status; in-kind benefits received as goods and services are excluded. If in-kind benefits are to be counted as income, they must be valued. Ways to value in-kind benefits include:

- Market value. The purchase price of the good or service. For example, the market value of food stamps is the dollar value of food coupons.
- Recipient or cash equivalent value (RV-CE). The participant's valuation of the benefits; usually less than the market value. The RV-CE is the cash amount a recipient would be willing to accept in exchange for the in-kind transfer.
- Poverty budget share value. Assumes that the value of in-kind benefits cannot be more than the money spent on a given good by an individual at or near the poverty threshold. In other words, the value is the amount of money released for additional consumption. This method assigns the lowest value to in-kind benefits.

Changing the official poverty measure to include in-kind benefits would be a major task involving conceptual and technical issues. So far the Census Bureau views poverty estimates that include in-kind benefits as "experimental." due to technical problems. One problem is valuing medical aid to the elderly, which is discussed in this article.

Also, people above the poverty level receive in-kind benefits. For example, people of any income level can participate in the medicare and regular school lunch programs. Workers frequently are covered by group health insurance and pension plans. In-kind benefits received by the poor should be viewed within the context of in-kind benefits received by all U.S. households. This suggests that the definition of poverty would be changed if in-kind benefits were used officially to determine poverty status.
in-kind benefits probably would not change substantially. Only the proportion of elderly poor would drop sharply.

The value of medical in-kind benefits is one of the major reasons for the drop in poverty among the elderly. The poverty rate for persons 65 or older after valuing only food and housing benefits declined from 14.1 percent to 12.3 percent. But when the value of medical benefits was included as well, the elderly poverty rate dropped to only 3.3 percent. Valuing medicare and medicaid in-kind benefits probably would not change substantially. Only the proportion of the major reasons for the drop in poverty among the elderly. 

Some population groups have high rates of poverty even after valuing in-kind benefits. After adding the value of in-kind benefits, the poverty rate among blacks fell from 35.7 percent to 21.2 percent, and the poverty rate for people in female-headed families fell from 40.2 to 24.7 percent. But, these adjusted rates are still high, even when compared to the national poverty rate of 15.2 percent before valuing in-kind benefits.

Concluding Comments

The current method of measuring poverty does not consider the growth of in-kind programs that benefit the poor. When those programs are taken into account, the Nation’s progress against poverty is greater than indicated by the current official statistics.

Yet, even after valuing in-kind benefits, nonmetro areas continue to be poorer than metro areas, and some groups still have high poverty rates. Also, the virtual elimination of poverty among the elderly is misleading. An elderly person could receive adequate aid to meet medical needs and still be unable to meet other needs.

Many people still depend on transfer payments, whether cash or in-kind for their existence. Poverty is still a problem.

For Additional Reading...


Compiled by Thomas McDonald

New Guidebooks on Community Assistance and Funding

Two new books help small towns and communities identify community funding assistance programs and show how to apply for such assistance with the best chance of success.

The first is the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Rural Resources Guide. It helps local governments and community leaders identify and locate approximately 440 sources of assistance, both technical and financial, public and private, for rural development.

The guide devotes about one page to each source, showing the type of funding offered, who sponsors it, special conditions that apply (like matching requirements or members only), and whom to contact. It also includes an index of keywords and organizations, and a listing of regional and State contacts. The guide lists only those sources that provide their services over at least a three-State area.

The sources are grouped according to their specialty: community facilities, services (like education, aid to elderly, housing, and recreation), general community improvement, and natural resources.


The second guidebook, Keys to Successful Funding: A Small Town Guide to Community Development Block Grants and Other Federal Programs, was designed to help officials and local leaders with small budgets and small staffs develop competitive applications for Federal programs.

The book focuses on five keys that make for a well-documented, well-planned, and affordable grant proposal. Those keys are planning, eligibility, affordability, funding, and management. Includes worksheets, State agency contacts, additional readings.

Keys to Successful Funding costs $5 per copy from NATaT, 1522 K St., N.W., Suite 730, Washington, D.C. 20050; telephone (202) 737-5200. Published by the National Association of Towns and Townships, with funding from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Appropriate Technology Can Work for You

Many small towns can probably save money in energy expenses. And the National Center for Appropriate Technology is one place to look for ideas.

Since 1976, NCAT, an independent, nonprofit organization, has been researching and promoting conservation and energy self-sufficiency to help stretch your energy dollars.

NCAT has a catalogue of titles, free for the asking, which lists several inexpensive publications covering such topics as energy conservation, superinsulation, and solar energy. Here are some highlights that seem especially suited to RDP's readers. They are excerpted from AT at Work, an NCAT publication that describes several projects funded by the U.S. Department of Energy.

- Gearheart, Oregon (population 900), was watching its firefighting equipment rust and rot away because it could not afford to heat the fire station. When the fire station converted its front doors to a passive solar heat collector, the system worked so well, says Bruce Maltman, city administrator and fire chief, that the station hasn't had to use its backup oil furnace. Other fire stations in the area now want to do the same.

- Mendon, Ohio (population 700), figured it could not afford a town library with a library's standard utility bills. So instead, Mendon built a library with a passive solar heating system that provides about two-thirds of the library's heat.

- Lufkin, Texas (population 23,000), designed a waste disposal system using what they call vermicomposting; earthworms convert the town's wastes to topsoil. Operating costs are comparable with other disposal methods. The town hopes eventually to receive permission from the State Health Department to sell the worm-created topsoil as well as surplus worms (the worm population doubles every 2-3 months) as bait or as fish or animal feed.

For a catalogue of titles, write to National Center for Appropriate Technology, P.O. Box 3838, Butte, Montana 59702. Telephone (406) 494-4572.

More Rural Physicians

The number of rural physicians rose by 18 percent during the 1970's to stand at 79 per 100,000 population in 1979. That compares with 177 per 100,000 population in urban areas.

The number of hospital-based rural physicians grew nearly three times as fast as the number of office-based rural physicians (43 percent vs 15 percent).

Rural areas have more general practitioners per 100,000 population than urban areas (24 vs 19) but far fewer specialists (45 vs 105).

Those are some of the findings in a new ERS publication by Mary Ahearn and Michelle Fryar.

Women and Work

Nonmetro women are no longer less likely than metro women to work outside the home. Both have a stronger tendency to work throughout their lives now than they did only a decade ago. The traditional pattern of women’s labor force participation had been that most women worked until they married, or at least until the birth of the first child. In 1951, men outnumbered women in the labor force by a ratio of 2 to 1. By 1984, there were 4 women for every 5 men in the labor force.

There is virtually no regional variation in the higher propensity of women to work in the 1980’s whether they live in metro or nonmetro areas. Movement of women into the labor force in recent years is pervasive, cutting across regional, racial, and metro-nonmetro divisions. Several factors contribute to this trend. People now marry at later ages, delay starting a family, and have fewer children. Even for married women with the husband present, the presence of children is less likely to keep them at home than in the past.

Several factors contributed to this rise in women’s labor force participation. Both men and women are postponing marriage until a later age, and when women do marry they are less likely than before to stop working. More married couples are remaining childless, and those who have children are having them later and are opting for smaller families. Although many women still drop out of the labor force to have children, they are likely now to return to work before their children start school. With smaller families, women who remain home until their children begin school can return to work sooner than could, for example, baby boom mothers with 3 or 4 children. Rising divorce rates have also pushed many women with young children into the labor force. One fifth of women ever married were divorced, separated, or widowed in 1982, up from one-tenth in 1970. This contributes to the final factor—an increasing number of families are headed by women, and these women are the sole source of income for the family.

Fewer than 15 years ago, over half of the women aged 25-34 were not in the labor force because they were “keeping house.” In 1971, the highest percentage (58 percent) of women working in any age group was among those aged 20-24 (fig. 1). For women in the age groups 25-29 and 30-34, prime childbearing and child-raising years, the percent working dropped sharply to 46 percent and 45.2 percent, respectively. Women in older age groups, after children are likely to have started school, were more likely to be working than the 25- to 34-year-old women, although the percent working among these older women was never as high as it was for the women in their early 20’s.

The 1984 pattern, with a high proportion of all women working, makes a sharp contrast to the female work force pattern of 1971. In 1984, 70 percent of women were working between ages 20 and 44 (fig. 1). Women of preretirement age (45-54) were less likely to work than the younger women, probably because these women lived most of their working-age lives at a time when women were encouraged to devote themselves to home and family, and the change in women’s lifestyles came rather late in their own lives to train for a paying job.

There is currently little difference between metro and nonmetro areas with respect to the propensity of women to work, although that has not always been the case. In 1973, nonmetro women up to age 24 were more likely than metro women to be keeping house instead of working (fig. 2). Between the ages of 25 and 44, however, a somewhat higher

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percentage of nonmetro women were working than metro women. The lower percentage for young nonmetro women probably reflects their tendency to start their families earlier than metro women; the nonmetro women did return to work in their middle years.

The importance of the childbearing years in reducing labor force participation has diminished for women in both metro and nonmetro areas. By 1984, all major differences between metro and nonmetro female labor force participation had disappeared (fig. 2). Although nonmetro women continued to have somewhat more children than did metro women in the 1980's, nonmetro women in all age groups were only slightly less likely than metro women to be working.

The presence of both a husband and children in her household reduces the likelihood that a woman will work outside the home, although the importance of these factors has lessened in the past decade (fig. 3). In both 1970 and 1982, women with school-age children were less likely to work than those without children (at home), and more likely to work than those with preschoolers at home. While women with and without children were more likely to work in 1982 than in 1970, the presence of children, particularly preschoolers, still had a dampening effect on working women.

There were some racial differences among working women in 1984 (fig. 4). In particular, white women enter the labor force at an earlier age. Between the ages of 16 and 24, black women were much less likely than white women to be working. A major reason for the racial difference in age of entry into the labor force is in all likelihood the young age at which black women tend to start their families. The 1982 birth rate for black women between ages 16 and 24 was higher than for whites. Then between ages 25-34, the white birth rate exceeds that for blacks, and white women become less likely than blacks to be working at these and older ages.

In contrast, the older a black woman was, the more likely she was to work, up to a peak of 75 percent at 35-39 years. Black women also tended to remain in the labor force at older ages than whites, perhaps because a high proportion of female-headed households are black and these women tend to be the sole supporters of their families. The tendency of white women to work increases after age 34, when their children are likely to be older, whether or not a financial need is involved.

Women, metro and nonmetro, black and white, have entered the labor force in ever-increasing numbers. The demographic factors of later marriage and childbearing, smaller family size, and the increase in the number of divorced women, have combined with changing social expectations to make women a vital part of today's labor force.
RURAL PUBLIC SERVICES: INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS.


The 22 original articles in this book cover nearly every facet of rural public service issues in 17 countries with different political systems and levels of development.

The book begins with an overview by Richard Lonsdale, a geographer from the University of Nebraska, and Gyorgy Enyedi, from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Their purpose is "to gain a better understanding of: (1) the nature of rural public service problems, (2) the goals sought in providing such services, especially as they relate to political ideology and national policy, (3) specific programs or strategies for the provision of essential public services, as implemented by various governments, (4) the general effectiveness of government programs and where the more serious problems remain, and (5) the short-run future prospects for service provision."

The book has five parts: Overview, Capitalist nations (articles on the United States, Canada, Britain, Germany, Finland, Israel, Japan, and Australia), Socialist nations (Lithuania, Hungary, China, and Cuba), Third World nations (Mexico, Honduras, India, Indonesia, and Nigeria), and conclusion in which Lonsdale provides an excellent summary on rural public services. He pulls together the work of the 17 contributors, and provides six generalizations on rural public services worldwide:

1. "Many rural public service problems are universal, while others are more characteristic to certain societies." The most universal of rural public service problems are to provide safe water, health care, and education. Some problems have unique solutions, however, especially in socialist nations characterized by widespread state ownership, centrally planned economies, and very specific investment priorities (like Cuba and China).

2. "The specific social goals sought by governments differ more in their interpretation and ideological rationalization than in substance." Most of the countries studied have "welfare and justice" themes in supporting increased access, improved service, greater equity, and a better quality of life. However, each society sees these goals in the context of its own history, culture, economic circumstances, and political ideology.

3. "Improved public services are seen as an essential link in promoting economic development in rural areas." All the articles support this concept. Areas with low levels of education, health care, transportation, and safe water supplies are characterized by limited labor skills, peer accessibility and an infrastructure inadequate to support economic development. Third World and many socialist nations have low levels of service investment or have supported agricultural production alone, and thus have experienced little economic growth or development.

4. "Efficiency versus equity is a common dilemma in planning rural service provision." In developed nations, the trend has been to provide both efficiency and equity of services. Socialist and Third World nations provide some services at the village level, with more comprehensive services in the larger cities. The dilemma for these countries is where to invest the resources: in the rural areas specifically or in national growth generally? And which will benefit the rural areas more?

5. "The effectiveness of government efforts to improve rural public services is widely questioned." In advanced capitalist countries, the cost effectiveness of government efforts is questioned. In Third World nations, the concern is that government expenditures are too small to be effective in altering or improving the problems. In socialist nations, the concerns are deficiencies in agency structure, the need for more resources, and more cooperation from the people.

6. "There is a trend toward greater local responsibility in services provision." There is a movement toward more involvement by local governments, local groups and organizations, and individual citizens. This appears to be caused by an attempt to reduce central government expenditures, the notion of self-reliance, a belief that local governments better understand needs, and a belief that costs should be lower.

This is an important book for those who seek to understand the problems of providing public services in rural areas and the international approach to public service access.

LAND REFORM, AMERICAN STYLE.


This is a rich volume—too rich, really, for a short review. For those of us who have felt that the land reform issue has been held under wraps too long in this country, this book comes as a breath of fresh air.

The scope is wide, the approaches bold. Twenty-two authors contribute a large variety of experience and viewpoints. The problems run the gamut from an overview of the agricultural land reform

—Reviewed by Folke Dovring, university of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Compiled by Richard J. Reeder

RDP

44

October 1985/Rural Development Perspectives
problem (Charles Geisler) to those of urban communities. Special aspects on agriculture include the social cost of large-scale agriculture (Dan McCannel and Jerry White), the farm size question (Frederick Buttel), farm size and energy (David Holland), and Catholic doctrine on property distribution (John Hart).

Natural resources are treated under the headings of Appalachian coal mining (David Liden), the “Sagebrush rebellion” (Frank Popper), and land-use planning in New Jersey (Kevin Rielley, Wendy Larsen, and Clifford Weaver). Three articles on land reform and minorities expose what superior economic power did to Indian reservations (Roxanne Ortiz), to black farmers (Harold McDougall), and to Mexican-Americans ever since 1848 (Guillermo Lux). Community studies are presented on the land trust model (John Davis), land concentration in Appalachia (John Gaventa and Bill Horton), and Prince Edward Island in Canada (Mark Lapping and Dale Forster). Urban problems of insecure tenure are highlighted on condominium conversions (Daniel Lauber), “the right to stay put” (Chester Hartman) and “private neighborhoods” (Robert Nelson).

Some of the writers tend to overstate negative features of the past. Solutions for the future must of course be debated on their own merits rather than considered as redressing grievances of people long deceased. For instance, Geisler’s overview of past land reform problems in the farm sector reads as if everything had conspired to destroy the family farm. Louise Peffer’s 1958 article, which is not cited, could have helped balance the picture by the paradoxes she notes.

Two writers flawed their contributions by their use of the “gross sales” figures in the Census of Agriculture. Buttel’s use of such data leads to a stark exaggeration of the role of very large farms. His verdict, that the family farm is already all but dead, is premature and comes from this erroneous use of statistics. Equally misleading is David Holland’s use of gross sales to show higher energy efficiency on very large farms. The Census data refer to on-farm use of energy goods (fuel and chemicals) and these should not be combined with gross sales of farm products but with value added. Preferably, gross sales should have been combined with comprehensive energy analysis to include all the energy used (directly and indirectly) on other farms to produce feed crops, livestock, and other farm-produced goods, which are used as inputs on the rather specialized units that show up with very large gross sales. Such analysis would likely cast doubt on the purported higher energy efficiency of large farms.

Such remarks point to the large amount of analysis often necessary to follow up on the suggestions made in this book. Its initiative should not be lost, the leads ought to be given serious applied tests to probe their possible use for policies to improve society, both rural and urban.

APPALACHIA: A REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY.

This book is “... about land, people and development in Appalachia. ...” The objective of the authors, all geographers at the University of Kentucky, is to provide a first-ever single volume comprehensive human geography of that region.

Two themes are targeted: the physical, economic, and cultural diversity of the region; and development efforts and activities in the region since the 1930’s, including an appraisal of the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC).

The first theme begins by delineating Appalachia, a perennial problem in that, while everyone knows it exists, few have ever been able to agree on where it starts and ends. Earlier delineations are reviewed that were constructed by geographers, sociologists, planners, and politicians. The latter were influential in setting the boundaries of the official region of ARC, which is slightly less extensive than the region covered by the authors.

Reviewed by Theodore E. Fuller, University Park, Pa., who was associated with a mid-1960’s cooperative effort between the Economic Research Service and the Appalachian Regional Commission to describe economic conditions and prospects for the Appalachian region.

The book also describes Appalachia’s physical geography, the human and cultural development patterns, population changes, and the natural resource base. Each topic is covered in considerable, often intriguing, detail. For example, the discussion of the physical geography of the region is prefaced by a geologist’s observation that Appalachia’s deceptively simple geology “has aroused controversies as acrimonious as any of those in our science.” Interesting summaries of Indian and ethnic settlement patterns are provided. A map of leading religious denominations by county can be compared a few pages later with recent moonshine-still seizures and a map of counties prohibiting the sale of distilled spirits. The authors assess the region’s coal industry, and its inability (so far) to spin off more local investments, its environmental drawbacks, and its future. Agriculture and forestry are also covered.

Its discussion of the second theme—development activities—is the more exciting part of the book. The historical track record of recreation, manufacturing, transportation, and government development programs are all described, along with an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of each in the past and the likely future development of the region. The appraisals are realistic and unbiased. The pros and cons of both TVA and the ARC are covered along with the problem of absentee ownership in the coal industry. In describing manufacturing in 1958-77, the authors emphasize the above-average growth of the southern Appalachian States. Unfortunately, this trend may be reversing now—at least in northern Appalachia. The authors also cite criticisms that ARC programs have concentrated too little funding on health and human resources. The book itself, though, provides little assessment of the region’s health facilities or secondary schools and colleges.

In summary, the book contains a wealth of information on the region, including references. Anyone desiring a good look at Appalachia should read it. It reads well, too.
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