

**The Next Generation, That's Why We Continue to Do
What We Do:
Experiences with Land Loss Among
African American Farmers in North Carolina**

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Authors:

Peter Balvanz
Robin Crowder
Molly DeMarco, PhD
Alice Ammerman, DrPH

Student Researchers:

Peter Balvanz
Morgan Barlow, MPH
Lillianne Lewis, MPH
Donna Parker, MPH
Kari Samuel

Community Researchers:

Dorathy Barker
Thomas Bullock
Jeff Hawkins
William Owens
Yarbrough Williams

Brief Background on Land Loss Among African American Farmers

African American farmers have historically been important contributors to agriculture in the United States. After the Civil War, the number of African American farm operators boomed and by 1920, nearly 926,000 individuals operated farms.¹ At this time, the ratio of African American to White farmers was approximately one to six. However, the number of African American farmers in the U.S. dropped precipitously over the last century, and at a much faster rate than farmers in other demographic groups. As of the 2007 Census of Agriculture there were only 41,024 African American farmer operators, equivalent to 1 in 80 U.S. farmers.² Between 1982 and 1997 alone, the number of African American-operated farms in 15 Southern states declined by 45 percent. Among these states, North Carolina experienced the greatest loss at 66 percent.³

Clearly, while some African American farmers have found success, the overall number is dwindling. A number of factors have contributed to this decline, including the demise of the sharecropping system, mechanization, cumbersome tax laws, death of landowners in the absence of a will and mortgage foreclosures. Discrimination has also played a large role in African American land loss. For example, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) denied African American farmers access to adequate credit and, when they did extend loans, made them too small and too late in the farming season to be useful.⁴

Farmers from North Carolina filed grievances against the racially discriminatory practices of the USDA in 1994. A groundbreaking lawsuit, led by plaintiff Timothy Pigford, reached the U.S. Supreme Court and resulted in a multi-billion dollar settlement—the largest civil rights settlement in U.S. history.⁵ Despite the victory, the procedures for determining restitution were burdensome, thwarting many African American farmers' claims. As a result of these past practices, many African American farmers distrust the USDA, often referring to it as “the last plantation.”⁶

Purpose of Study

This study seeks to shed light on the experiences of African American farmers in rural North Carolina by giving farmers the opportunity to express their current concerns and describe the personal and collective strength they draw from farming. Through extensive dialogue, we developed steps to build on these strengths and address identified concerns.

Project Methodology

To learn more about the current condition of African American farmers in North Carolina, a group of five graduate student researchers from UNC set out to recruit study participants. We identified Photovoice, a community-based participatory research (CBPR) method, as being an appropriate research methodology for our purpose. CBPR was ideal for this setting because it minimizes the distinctions between researchers/academics and participants/subjects and emphasizes collaborative work toward mutually beneficial goals.

Photovoice asks participants to collectively develop topics that will be explored through photography and discussion. For this project, the topics were a starting point to explore individual and collective experiences of African American farmers confronting the issue of land loss. Each week, for three weeks, participants created a different topic relating to issues of land loss and took representative photographs over the course of that week. At follow up meetings participants selected the photographs they believed best represented the topic to serve as a trigger for a deeper discussion.

Through the three Photovoice sessions the farmers developed the following topics to guide the photography and discussion:

- Why we continue to farm despite the odds
- Communities of justice and injustice
- Politics and economics

At each session, the student researchers used facilitation techniques based on the empowerment education-based SHOWED method. Through this method, a student facilitator led the group and posed observational questions, employing these guidelines:

- What do you **S**ee in the photo?
- What is **H**appening in the photo?
- How does this relate to **O**ur lives?
- **W**hy does this issue exist?
- How can we become **E**mpowered with our new social understanding?
- What can we **D**o to address these issues?

After the conclusion of the final session researchers transcribed and re-read the collective sessions to identify prominent themes. These findings were then presented to project participants to ensure accuracy.

Recruitment

Recruitment of participants for this project proved difficult. Initially, we used contacts with African American farmers in communities and at farmers markets near Chapel Hill, but we failed to form a large enough group. As we talked to more people it became increasingly apparent that racial and socioeconomic differences between students and farmers, the discrimination endured by African American farmers, the prohibitively long distance between individual farms, and the small numbers of African American farmers in the Chapel Hill area worked against recruitment of a group in that area.

After several weeks, our team had a breakthrough when one member talked to a farmer who is a local champion of African American farm loss issues. This person recommended that we contact African American farmers who were involved in a non-governmental organization (NGO) that assists minority and limited-resource small family farmers in eastern North Carolina. Following this suggestion, a student attended the eleventh National Black Land Loss Summit in Tillery,

North Carolina, and met two individuals associated with the organization. After introductions, the two organizational representatives expressed an interest in the project.

We held an initial informational meeting to discuss our goals and methodology. Five farmers agreed that this was an important issue to discuss and agreed to participate in subsequent sessions.

Participants

The five individuals who agreed to participate in this study have significant educational and professional experience. All five attended college. Two had careers as high school teachers in the area, one worked for city government in New Jersey, and another was a computer programmer for large corporations. Currently, two participants work at the above-mentioned NGO, two are primarily hog farmers and one is a vegetable farmer. All but one farmer supplement their farm income with other forms of employment. One of the participants visited Africa and Europe on invitation from agricultural groups, and currently has an open invitation from another such group in South America. All of the participants were exposed to farming as children, left their homes to seek alternative opportunities, and ultimately returned to farm-related employment.

Findings

I. Black Farmers' Experience with Historic Discrimination

Racially discriminatory lending practices on the part of the USDA, often thought of as a problem of the past, remained a fresh topic of discussion for participants and permeated every session. Comments on this topic were candid and blunt. Many of the participants reported actively fighting this type of discrimination for decades, in North Carolina and Washington, D.C. All the farmers were accustomed to discussing land loss issues and the discrimination they and others have endured. One participant, who has been farming in North Carolina since 1958, summed it up this way:

What Black farmers have encountered over the years is basic hard racism—Black lawsuit [Pigford vs. Glickman] out of Washington D.C. because of misjustice. People weren't treated right.

All participants agreed that disparities in lending during the previous decades strongly deterred African American farmers from applying for loans from the USDA. Instead, farmers sought out local creditors or made do until they depleted their savings. One participant who has farmed the same tract of land for over 50 years recalled:

In fact they [black farmers] wouldn't deal with loan officers because they know it wouldn't come out in their favor. Instead, it's better just to do what you can, because once you start dealing with the loan officers, they're gonna make it difficult for you... And they'll use everything they can to prevent you from getting the loan, and then they'll get you in a situation where you've gone so far and then they start now giving you problems with taking your property.

The denial of credit stifled reinvestment and is a likely cause of the relatively small size of African American-owned farms. The disparity in acreage is striking: the average size of African American-operated farms in the U.S. is currently 104 acres, compared to 418 acres for all farmers.⁷ Small farms are at an economic disadvantage: they receive smaller subsidies; often have less access to major markets because of smaller yields; and have limited buying power due to smaller revenue streams. One participant in this study offered this example:

Well, one thing was that fuel got so high [expensive], and you had to keep your farm fuel—you know... If you're a small farmer and you can't afford but a hundred gallons at a time, ah, in the past, maybe you'd buy a hundred gallons, used it up, paid and buy another hundred gallons. But then all of a sudden even for small farmers you'd have [to purchase] a minimum of two hundred gallons.

Beyond stunting economic growth, discriminatory lending had the effect of making some of the participants feel as if they were incompetent farmers. In addition to receiving smaller loans, African American farmers reported waiting in lending offices entire days while White farmers came and went. The psychological effect of this was often significant, as exemplified by the fact that one of the farmers in this study who, despite having received invitations to visit three continents on farm tours because of his expertise, believed that disparities in lending were a reflection of his abilities. He explains it this way:

It takes you to these [emotionally bitter] places, places you don't even want to go, when they treat you like this... And, ah, you know, it's these types of things that we've experienced all our lives. I thought that I was the bad part: well, you know, I'm just no good. But when the lawsuit [Pigford v. Glickman] came to be, and I saw these hundreds and hundreds of people come in, I said well I'm not gonna be by myself, and we all can't be bad farmers. So then it was the establishment that put us where we are.

Throughout the discussion, participants agreed that enduring this discrimination led many African American farmers to despair about their opportunities within agriculture, as illustrated by this quote:

And if I tell you 'no' long enough, you're going to believe 'no.' And that's what has happened to a lot of the older folk in the neighborhood, you know, they've been told no, no, no, so much that they just accept a negative attitude.

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Several farmers commented that discrimination continues today, mentioning racial disparities in the receipt of grants, variations in land use requirements, lack of representation and support in North Carolina, and token representation in federal agencies. One farmer, who is extremely active in community outreach and regularly attends USDA and Farm Service Agency (FSA) meetings, commented:

We... don't have the people that are in places in NC that would help the majority of the small black communities to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. Some people may disagree..., but I know people who are really trying. And it seems like every time they try, there's somebody out there to put their foot on their head, to pop up this way, they gonna push 'em down in another place. And, it's NC politics.

To show disparities in land use policy enforcement, one farmer took a photo of his White neighbor's fenced-in land, which includes a stream (Photo 1). When another participant



Photo 1: Stream running through cow pasture on a White-owned farm

referred to environmental regulations restricting farm animals from wading into interconnecting bodies of water, the photographer reported that his own experience was at variance with what was required of his White neighbor:

It's a branch [stream], right down through the middle of it. Now my thing, how come he

[White farmer] can allow his cows to run in the branch, and they made me fence mine out. So my animals, my hogs, couldn't get in it.

Distrust of government agencies was reflected in feelings about the Tobacco Transition Payment Program in 2005 (commonly called the tobacco buy-out). This program was viewed by some participants as a means to eliminate small, African American farms. Participants recalled that, even before the start of the program, the quantity of tobacco that they were contracted to sell and the amount they were paid became progressively lower compared to that of White farmers. One participant viewed the tobacco buyout this way:

The tobacco buyout to me, was, one of those strategies that would eliminate the one acre, the two acre, the five acre smaller Black farmers, and to get his acreage so that they [larger farms] could become bigger. And so they came up and made a rule that we gonna have a tobacco buyout. [Government agencies and large

farmers] have stolen for so many years—grandma, this lady's poundage [tobacco quota], that poundage... But to get them [eliminate small farms] complete.

Participants also mentioned current difficulties in obtaining governmental support. They explained that because of the low incomes generated from small farms, owners have to maintain additional employment off the farm. This means that they are extraordinarily busy and consequently have to miss important meetings, such as those held by the USDA and the FSA. This, in turn, results in a lack of representation by African American farmers at meetings. As a result, African American farmers' concerns are not heard, as noted in this quote by an outreach advocate in the group:

They'll [government agents] say 'oh they're not here.' Well, what you talking, why they not here, because they cannot make every place that they need to be... If you don't have enough gas to carry you to work every day, how can you afford to leave from [town], go to work, come back, or go to work and leave from work, go to Raleigh to attend meetings, so?

Enduring discrimination through the decades appears to have damaged pride in the profession. As a result, many African American farmers withdraw from participating in educational and financial meetings, if not from farming altogether. When speaking on the state of the African American farmer generally, one of the retired teachers explained:

Black farmers are very shy. We are in bad shape and we don't want anyone to know it—not anyone.

Alternatively, another participant, who received a degree in history from Rutgers, offered that only through addressing the structural racism that leads to discrimination can sustainable change become possible:

The nation needs to know that we haven't eradicated racism. It's been going on, and it needs to be eliminated.

II. Perceived Success and Benefits of Farming

Despite years of barriers, study participants remain involved in farming. They were excited to convey success stories about what they and other African American farmers have attained through their ingenuity, persistence and organization. For the farmers, Photo 2 of the biodiesel machine represented the innovation of Black farmers, a trait often borne out of the necessity to get by despite financial obstacles.

Several participants mentioned that in previous decades, White farmers were given loans to update equipment while they were advised to continue patching up old equipment. As a result, African American farmers had to innovate. One participant, a long-time friend of the farmer who built the biodiesel machine in the photo, commented proudly:



Photo 2: Biodiesel machine on an African American-owned farm

He can take nothing and make something out of it. [He] took it, and he's talking about right now incorporating it with some bigger tanks to make more fuel. And he wants to get to the point where he can commercially sell it, you know. Right now he doesn't make that much, he just does enough for his farm and enough for demonstrations.

As shown by the biodiesel machine, the participants strive to remain current with emerging agricultural

innovations and the changing demands of the market, whether this means becoming certified as organic, adopting sustainable practices or preparing free range lots for livestock. One participant noted the success of another African American farmer in raising turkeys (Photo 3), along with other animals and crops. The creativity with which the farmer approached raising and marketing these turkeys demonstrates the entrepreneurial spirit that garnered a state award for farming excellence.

The participant who took Photo 3 is a seasoned activist for African American farmers who has traveled throughout the country advocating for equal rights. He had this to say about his picture:

And this one I picked from when we went on a farm tour, and I picked that as justice—you know, showing where we were able to do some things with some help from some grants and some other justice. To me, that's instrumental changes.



Photo 3: Turkeys raised on a African American-owned farm

Participants stated that the positive opportunities provided by farming outweighed the totality of the difficulties faced. By farming, they could be more self-reliant, a heightened concern in light of the country's current economic malaise. Participants also felt that, by farming, one could maintain health through physical activity and by eating the healthy food they produce. A participant who raises livestock and vegetables said:

We can feed ourselves, and no matter how bad the economy gets, regardless of what anybody else does. All farmers know how to provide enough food to feed their family. That's a necessity.



Photo 4: Spring greens growing on an African American-owned farm

The farmers shared the common excitement of growing things, whether livestock, produce (shown in Photo 4), or the future of African American farmers in their community. All participants spoke positively about how farming fostered creativity, allowed them to work in the fresh air, and that each day offered different challenges and opportunities. Such sentiments inspired one farmer to expand his reach by investing in a town market where he invites other farmers to sell their produce or crafts alongside the meat from his hog farm. He commented:

All farmers enjoy seeing things develop and grow. I mean that's really what we get excited about.

III. Farming and Hopes for the Next Generation

Every farmer participating in this study underlined the importance of involving African American youth in farming. Engaging the next generation in farming was a prominent part of “Why we continue to farm despite the odds.” Many participants said they farmed primarily to pass on their land and vocation to their children or grandchildren. A couple of farmers discussed how they missed the opportunity to instill a love of farming in their own children. As a result, they see the need to mentor their grandchildren and other youth so as not to miss another generation. A participant who was successful in creating a desire to farm in his four-year-old grandson (Photo 5) explained the strong focus he has in farming:

I'm doing it basically for my grandchildren because I want them to continue being able to live the goodness. And I'm teaching him [his grandson].

Another participant who successfully involved both her grandchildren and other African American youth in farm work elaborated:



Photo 5: Grandchild helping on the farm

If he has the choice he is out there on that farm with his grandfather. [He] doesn't have to worry about anyone messing with him, not contained, as long as he is outside. Living in the city he couldn't go outside and play peacefully. Farm life is better for him. If we can hold them to the land maybe one day they can make a profit. The next generation, that's why we continue to do what we do.

All participants identified the loss of family land and the need to provide youth with healthy lifestyle options as a reason to continue farming. Getting youth involved in farming was viewed as a way to build a strong work ethic, promote physical and mental development and as a protection from dangerous pursuits like the use and sale of drugs. Worry that the next generation is turning to criminal activities to make money prompted one participant to start a youth gardening program. This participant commented on Photo 5, saying:

I see a little boy on a truck. That's what I want to see—more people off the streets and on the farm doing something constructive. That's what I hope to see—more kids off the street, and it's hard.

One of the reasons that preserving the legacy of farming family land is so important to these farmers is that overall, they are an older population. The average age of an African American farmer is 60.3 years old, and 37 percent are 65 years or older.⁸ A majority of this study's participants have retired from other jobs, but choose to devote much of their time to farming. A participant in his sixties, who is still heavily involved in vegetable production with his brother, noted:

As I said, the young people are out there, and they got the great minds... I'm an old man, and they got the minds.

This participant recalled that a couple of decades ago it was commonplace for African American youth to seek work on the farm in order to earn money to buy school materials and new clothes. The trend of African American youth involvement on the farm has been decreasing, however, especially in the present economy. As he explained:

Well my brother he was here for two generations; he was hiring young youth, but within the last [20 years] things were slowing. He hired a lot of youth. If we were to have a thriving produce business we could have brought some of the younger kids into this kind of operation. So for 20 years in this community we have had very little impact on a generation of youth. And previously we had a lot of impact.

Additionally, participants felt the combined effect of watching farming parents struggle financially and the lure of fast money from selling drugs deters children from becoming involved in the profession, as described in the following quotes:

I think young people my age and a little younger saw their parents work a lifetime, and then got to check-up at the end of the year, 'you're almost paid up this time John.' Gotta work a whole year for that farmer, and when that White man paid at the end of the year, you almost made out. Means you got to work another year, you know, go buy shoes for your children, you have to go to that man to borrow money, because he [the Black farmer] don't got any of his own.

Well like I said, they [children] see there's not any success in his father's farm, so why would he want to go down and be a farmer, and do the same thing his dad did and be a slave the whole time?

And I can understand why I see children now—or boys on the corner selling drugs. Because they see the guy driving down the street, and that looks nice, all that gold around his neck, and got a roll full of money. He doesn't understand the consequences, but for work on that farm, ten dollars—no five dollars—an hour, you can't but make 50 dollars. Five days a week that's 250 dollars, and that boy can stand on the street corner, and in an hour have a wad big enough to choke a horse. And that's what they want, they want some of the finer things, and you aren't gonna get it from a farm.

One of the participants warned that discrimination, which likely discouraged African American children from farming, will have further negative ramifications for the nation as a whole:

Yeah, I think the nation, when the nation fails, I would hope that they would have enough foresight to realize the importance of the African American farmer before they fail miserable. Because they [the U.S.] are inevitably on a road of failure, because as I said, they have excluded—maybe not openly, but by not opening the doors of opportunity to young people—they have cut off some of the most talented and great minds that could really shape agriculture and deal with the challenges there.

Although the participants reflected that youth in the community are uninclined to work on the family farm, they mentioned that African American farmers held onto their land regardless, in the hopes of maintaining their heritage. One participant, the farmer who previously worked in New Jersey, observed:

When you deal with people holding on to their land... They pay taxes on this land and a lot of them will not sell it because they say they want to keep it in the family. And that's where I think this is going to. People are keeping land in the family because they have so many memories of it. But as to people getting out and growing stuff, it's a new day.

Conclusion and Action Steps

Historic discrimination contributed to the rapid decline in the number of African American farmers in the U.S. Those who still farm continue to endure the accumulated negative repercussions of years without adequate loans and support, and while overt discrimination may have abated, some farmers report continuing problems. Nevertheless, the farmers who participated in this study are still dedicated, noting that outdoor physical labor, the production of nutritious food, the pure enjoyment of cultivation and the ability to innovate all enhance their quality of life. They have deep-seated hopes to pass on the farm—and what they view as the “good life”—to the next generation. To these farmers the land represents heritage; thus involvement by the next generation is imperative for its survival.

The participants in this study have taken numerous steps to maintain their own land and that of other minority farmers through personal and organized efforts. Farmers note that the public, however, is generally unaware of the history and issues surrounding the land loss of African American farmers. One participant who became even more politically active since retiring from teaching commented on the dual importance of educating the public on land loss while striving for greater representation in governmental agencies:

We have to continue to bring about awareness about the injustice that goes on. We have talked to people all the way to Washington, D.C. Even having NO minority loan officers! Come on. People that are in authority that can do something about these injustices. But nobody applies, no one is qualified. The agencies treat them [Black employees] so bad and they won't go back. We have to make the people in authority aware of these kinds of things.

At the community level, several participants regularly engage in outreach and educational efforts. Churches were recognized by participants as a good venue to begin these discussions; however, a couple of participants lamented the little time available for this discussion during services, and noted the importance of expanding their reach. One farmer already mobilized a group that meets regularly to discuss contemporary issues within the community, and he invites professionals from across the state to speak on specific topics. He commented on the need for more education:

I am back to education. People have become complacent. They are used to nothing, want nothing. Let the White man feed you. You can't live on Social Security. Instead of watching As the World Turns, watch them flowers grow. Give them an opportunity.

At some point, most of the participants have mobilized groups of children or adults to promote farming. All recognized that the progress they made as farmers was bolstered by organization and teamwork. They spoke of the need for collective initiatives to get other community members involved. Greater organization is thus viewed as another action step, as illustrated in this comment:

One person being able to achieve is nothing. We have to organize and put our resources together. The loan thing [restitutions] isn't about fixing things. I think opportunities—we have to grab opportunities... We need organization, leadership.

Participants also believed that greater use of the internet in the community would facilitate mass communication and provide access to web-based resources. At present, internet connectivity in farming communities is poor, particularly for African American farmers. Nationwide only 34 percent of African American-operated farms have internet access compared to 57 percent for all farms.⁹ With affordable internet access, farmers could remain up to date on the latest farm regulations and funding opportunities, reach a greater number of people with less effort, and develop new markets. One farmer remarked on the lack of internet service in the region:

But in my area, where I live, about a mile from me, another member, she has broadband. But when I try to get [it] they tell me we don't have a substation in your area, so we can't offer you broadband. So I have to pay like \$69 a month for wireless, you know, and I really want to follow me wherever I go. So, they put a lot of money in the stimulus package for new technology in areas, but, ah, and that's politics. We don't know because we're cut off. And they say, oh you all don't have cable? Yeah, the one we pulled across the yard.

Study Phase 2

A final action step developed by the participants is to purposefully engage the younger generation in farming and farming-related activities. During these conversations, one member suggested talking to the next generation to gather their insights. Farmers and students alike were interested in hearing the perceptions and professional goals of children, grandchildren or other younger relatives of farmers. Acting on this advice, we have developed a second phase of the study to engage the next generation in farm families using the same Photovoice methodology.

Lessons Learned

The entirety of this project required patience and a deep commitment to mutual learning. As researchers, we were initially stymied by the process of recruiting farmers to participate in this study. With little personal experience in the African American farming community, we had no credentials to lend legitimacy to our project. Securing a foothold in the community through a trusted African American intermediary proved integral to gaining legitimacy.

Various time constraints hampered the flow of this project, and required constant flexibility among participants and researchers. As graduate students, finding time to meet with farmers competed against coursework demands and our various schedules. Participants were occupied with farming commitments, other work schedules, and family responsibilities which prevented all of them from attending every meeting. Juggling schedules proved especially difficult as the

spring planting season ensued. We were, however, able to agree on a weekly evening meeting time, meaning researchers usually did not arrive home until nearly midnight.

Following the SHOWED method directly also proved difficult. Rather than following the step-by-step procedure, conversations moved back and forth across these categories. Participants often combined observation and interpretations in response to what they saw in photos. Though researchers would periodically bring the conversation back to the prescribed question, on some occasions we thought it best not to adhere to the linear questioning in favor of allowing rich conversations to take place.

The iterative research process facilitated by scheduling multiple meeting times allowed participants and researchers to gradually become more familiar with each other. As our collective level of comfort grew, discussions acquired a more conversational, narrative flow. The ease of these later conversations allowed researchers to probe deeper into personal experiences and explore new approaches. These dialogues demonstrated the detailed knowledge the participants have regarding laws, policies and other keys to professional advancement. The extent of their knowledge reflects the necessity of a historically marginalized community to understand the nuances of law in order to advocate for themselves.

CBPR aims to facilitate a co-learning process wherein everyone involved in the study benefits. As such, it is important to examine what participants and researchers alike took away from the project. Upon completion, one participant commented that he gained specific insights into the tribulations of people he had known for years. Other participants mentioned that talking through these experiences had a therapeutic effect; during the final session one participant commented that he had enjoyed our meetings to the extent that he wanted to continue to meet to talk about anything, farming related or not. All farmers expressed the feeling that their story needs to be heard.

While we learned much about the lives of these farmers, the process provided us with insights into our own lives. As outsiders, we felt privileged to be hearing these personal accounts firsthand. The stories of discrimination made the White privilege many of us experience feel blatantly apparent. We realize that many aspects of our lives that we take for granted, such as receiving student loans or adequate representation, have only come to African American farmers—if they come at all—because they have fought their whole lives for them.

Endnotes

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¹ Wood, Spencer D. & Jess Gilbert. "Returning African American Farmers to the Land: Recent Trends and a Policy Rationale." *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 27:4 (2000): 43-64.

² U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2007 Census of Agriculture: Black Farmers. Available at http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/2007/Online_Highlights/Fact_Sheets/black.pdf (accessed May 10, 2009).

³ Wood & Gilbert, footnote 1.

⁴ For more information on the USDA's history of discriminatory practices and *Pigford*, see Hoffman, Jessica. "The Last Plantation." *Colorlines*, Jan./Feb. 2009. Available at <http://www.colorlines.com/article.php?ID=471> (accessed April 3, 2009).

⁵ For more about the original *Pigford* suit, see Stein, Jeff. "\$400 Million and a Mule." *Salon*, March 8, 1999. Available at <http://www.salon.com/news/1999/03/08news.html> (accessed March 10, 2010). For follow-up on *Pigford*, see "Pay Up," *New York Times*, Feb. 7, 2010. Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/08/opinion/08mon3.html> (accessed March 10, 2010).

⁶ Hoffman. "The Last Plantation."

⁷ U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2007 Census of Agriculture: Black Farmers.

⁸ U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2007 Census of Agriculture: Black Farmers.

⁹ U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2007 Census of Agriculture: Black Farmers.