Book Reviews


Reviewed by Lindsay A. Smith
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In his new book Agroecology in Action: Extending Alternative Agriculture through Social Networks, Keith Douglas Warner shows how farmers, scientists, agricultural organizations and public agencies use the principles of agroecology to create new models of social learning. Agroecology is a science-based framework specifically geared towards farming practices. It applies the principles of ecological sciences coupled to regional knowledge of biological diversity to develop farming strategies and practices. Warner investigates the rise and application of pesticides to study the emergence of this framework.

He begins the book with an historical account of both the proliferation of pesticide use in the US and the resulting backlash by environmentalists spurred by the work of Rachel Carson. Warner also explains the rise of agricultural sciences supported by the Land Grant University system (LGU) and political institutions. The agroecology framework presented is an amalgamation of the farming system model created by Miguel Altieri (2002) and Bruno Latour’s circulatory system of science (1987). Latour’s model is emphasized throughout the book because it focuses on the flow of scientific knowledge through society.

Each chapter elaborates on a different element of the agroecology framework. Warner draws on three main case studies (pear, almond, and wine grape commodities) as well as numerous other examples to demonstrate how local networks or partnerships of farmers employ agroecological methods to overcome social barriers. The processes of social learning and sharing are the cornerstones of this approach. Traditionally a transfer of technology” in agriculture is a top-down process, with experts generating knowledge and passing these truths onto “uniformly receptive growers” (p.173). In contradistinction, the critical leadership roles held by those who develop and conduct research in agroecology are assumed by the growers in partnership with the scientists. Instead of letting the dominant scientific paradigm and institutions dictate what is researched and/or considered important for farming, farmers took control and conducted on-farm experiments to generate their own science-based knowledge. Unlike typical LGU
generated knowledge, agroecology reflects a different approach, one which is farmer-to-farmer and from farmer-to-scientist.

Demonstrating the power of the reciprocal sharing of knowledge is the primary intent of the book. Warner achieves this by using his case studies to illustrate different approaches to creating and sharing knowledge. These empirical examples support the idea that agroecological methods are practiced and work despite resistance from dominant scientific institutions; however, the number of examples becomes overwhelming and confusing. The play-by-play detail of network formation and technique implementation makes the reading tedious. This level of detail dilutes the discussion of agroecology and makes the book unnecessarily difficult to understand.

In its conclusion, a place where the author could have connected all of the elements of agroecology, Warner focused instead on the need for public support and political pressure aimed at the LGU system. In its beginning, the book elaborated on the role LGUs played in supporting large scale agriculture and establishing the use of pesticides as the predominant method of farming. With the exception of the University of California, which is not surprising since the case studies take place in California, he does not mention the LGU system again until the end. This makes his concentration on LGUs in his conclusions puzzling since this is a book on agroecology. After detailing how groups of farmers, scientists, and other stakeholders have worked together to create their own knowledge and develop new methods of farming, Warner directs his appeal for change to the public and experts. He claims the LGU and federal crop subsidy systems need to embrace its methods, and the public must demand this change to make agroecology work. This contradicts his examples by reverting the focus from farmer-driven initiatives and partnerships back to institutions.

For general purposes, this book would lend itself well to any person interested in the practical implementation of alternative agriculture methods. I recommend this book to those interested in the history of the use of pesticides as well as an overview of agroecology in action. Growers and those working with them could learn much from it. Extension agents at LGUs or other proponents of agriculture may find this book useful in exploring new forms of agriculture and/or in their dealings with farmers. However, those interested in the more theoretical side of agroecology and how it developed as a science may not find this book particularly useful. The background theory and conceptual model section is straightforward but marginal. Therefore this book would not be terribly useful as a required reading for either undergraduate or graduate students, although parts could be used as supplemental readings.
References


Reviewed by Ann Finan
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Country Boys: Masculinity and Rural Life is an engaging overview of masculinity in rural places, and the rural character of masculinity in general. Edited by Hugh Campbell, Michael Mayerfield Bell and Margaret Finney, the book complicates our understanding of gender in rural places, and challenges both academics and practitioners to scrutinize the relationship between gender identity, structural change, and community. Though necessarily brief, each of the thirteen independent chapters provides an intriguing view of the ways masculinity plays out in rural places. Geography is a unifying theme throughout, and readers are left with an appreciation for the fact that identity and ideology are inherently tied to a physical and concrete place.

While there has been work published about the negative effects of patriarchal gender relations on community development and well-being in the developing world, this book provides a compendium of cases examining gender and rural life in the industrial West. The volume includes research regarding masculinities in Australia, Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, and the United States. This broad geographic coverage allows the editors (and readers) to draw connections among these various contexts, illustrating the depth of the impact of changing economic and community structures in rural areas.

Upon reading the book, one is forced into several conclusions. First, as the authors and editors thoroughly demonstrate, rural masculinities are dynamic and diverse, in constant interaction with their context—social structure, ideology, and each other—which is the epitome of social construction. Second, rural masculinities exert a great deal of force in shaping communities and life chances for rural people, both
men and women, and therefore deserve the attention of those interested in community development and empowerment. Finally, as the editors point out, aspects of rurality are very strongly woven in with notions of what it means to be a man, whether in a rural or urban setting.

The book is divided into three sections: Practices, Representations, and Changes. “Part I: Practices,” comprising seven chapters, is by far the largest of the three sections. “Part II: Representations” comprises five chapters, and “Part III: Changes,” two. The introductory chapter is useful, explaining the meaning of rural, gender, and masculinity, and framing the subsequent chapters in terms of the rural masculine and the masculine rural, a binary that helps to demonstrate the importance and relevance of these studies. The editors also establish relevancy as they point out that “country boys rule the world,” a reference to the rugged outdoors image cultivated by world leaders. A recent example would be the celebrated fishing trip that US President Bush and Russian President Putin took off the coast of Maine in June 2007. This integration of rural images into powerful political images is just one of many ways the book illustrates the importance of understanding rural masculinity.

On the other hand, beyond the introductory chapter and brief section introductions, there is not a strong cohesion among the chapters. This may be an intrinsic characteristic of a book comprised of chapters written by so many different authors—living in geographically distant places, and writing from a variety of disciplinary homes—but it does make one yearn for a more continuous stream of argument. The two concluding chapters, one written by Raewyn Connel and the other by Linda Lobao provide insightful, albeit brief, insights, but additional analysis of the very rich collection of studies presented would have been welcome.

The seven chapters in “Part 1: Practices” clearly demonstrate that there is a link between rural masculinity(ies) and community vitality in how men demonstrate their masculinity. Many of the chapters document changing masculinities in response to crisis, or at least disarticulation between men’s experience and what they are given to expect. Most of these chapters highlight the connection between what many of the authors term hegemonic masculinity and communities in crisis, especially those written by Bird, Campbell, and Ní Laoire and Fielding. Other authors, such as Peter et al. and Barlett, demonstrate that other, more progressive masculinities may be more common in communities that are more socially and economically vibrant.

The second section of the book, “Part 2: Representations” explores portrayals of rural men, and the effects of those portrayals. The authors in this collection present conflicting visions of the masculine rural,
images which result in very different experiences and identities for the men and places they seek to portray. Rural masculinity is, of course, not a product created solely by rural men. In fact, as is demonstrated in some of the research presented in the book—especially those by David Bell and Robin Law examining portrayals of rural sexuality and beer advertising, respectively—messages about rural men are often imposed from afar.

*Country Boys* will fill several academic niches beyond its obvious objective stated in the subtitle. The structure and style of the book are straightforward enough that portions could be used in upper-level undergraduate courses examining gender. The book as a whole would provide a very accessible introduction to the concept and importance of gender for early graduate students, and the various chapters will add depth in classes focused on rural development, sustainability, globalization, war and conflict, health, sexuality, and research methods.

The strongest message I took from this book was that rural masculinities are in a state of rapid transformation, and that these changes have very significant implications for rural communities. Most of this book was devoted to documenting particular rural masculinities. It would seem that one of the next steps for this emerging area of inquiry would be to investigate changing masculinity, and, as Lobao suggests in her concluding chapter, compare masculinities and their contexts across time and space.

Rachel Woodward concludes her discussion of the effects of the dominant military masculinity on regions in which British military training camps are located, with this quote, “...[C]ultural change is slow, generational. Furthermore, many soldiers benefit (and recognize that they benefit) from this model of military masculinity, and the status and privileges that its exclusionary practices confer. Cultural change may not be impossible, but it certainly takes time.” Most of the rural masculinities described throughout the book share the ideology of male dominance. Further, there is compelling evidence that these masculinities are self-reinforcing, through discouraging women’s powerful public roles and in some cases encouraging women’s out-migration as well as that of men espousing other kinds of masculinities. Determining how and why this occurs is a critical area for further research in rural studies. All in all, *Country Boys* makes its case for rural masculinity being an important area of inquiry, and it leaves its readers with a long list of desired future research, both marks of a successful academic book. Furthermore, it does this while maintaining an engaging voice and introducing a wide array of authors and research on the topic of rural masculinity.
Reviewed by Michael L. Dougherty
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Coffee is the biggest fair trade commodity in global terms by a wide margin, and over the last few years it has grown from a novelty to a near ubiquity in many parts of the world. With this growth, the fair trade movement has arrived at a crossroads, and the publication of *Brewing Justice* by Dan Jaffee is well-timed to coincide with this watershed moment in the evolution of the movement. The author responds to many of the key debates in the movement; the mainstreaming of fair trade, power dynamics between certifiers and producers, and, most substantively, the concrete community economic benefits of fair trade for producers.

The first chapter lays out the history of the fair trade movement and the overarching dilemmas that inform Jaffee’s interest in this topic. Fair trade, according to the author, is both a critique of the free market and a function of the free market. How can this paradox be resolved? Jaffee then provides a thorough discussion of the history and meaning of markets, turning to Karl Polanyi and Fred Block to formulate a theoretical framework that allows him to conceptualize fair trade as moving along a continuum of increasing or decreasing marketness. This useful theoretical frame is largely abandoned during the substantive chapters of the book, although it is revisited briefly in the conclusion.

Chapter two offers a brief history of the coffee industry and the context for the emergence of Jaffee’s two case studies. At this point, the author provides a pithy account of the history and cultural significance of coffee cultivation for Mexican peasants. He discusses the demise of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) and the dissolution of the Mexican Coffee Institute. These two blows to coffee producers devastated local economies that had become dependent on the artificially high prices of the ICA era.

The third chapter narrows the historical focus from the national level to the two villages where Jaffee conducted his fieldwork. He recounts conversations with two local middlemen who buy coffee from independent producers to sell regionally to export firms. These *coyotes* are the face of the conventional coffee chain in the story, peasants who exploit other peasants for diminutive returns. Jaffee then turns to the Michiza cooperative, a grassroots organization that sells fair trade, organic coffee for the European market. The reader begins to understand the
methodological set up these cases provide for the researcher: two populations with virtually all key variables held constant, one which produces for the conventional market, the other for the fair trade market.

Jaffee addresses his central research question in chapter four, detailing the results of a survey of 51 producers between his two towns; half who produce for the conventional market and the other half who produce for Michiza. Jaffee’s key finding is that fair trade producers are only marginally better off than conventional producers in times of low world prices and are, in fact, ambiguously worse off in times of high world prices. This is because of the greater cost structures associated with production for the Michiza cooperative. The problem here, however, is that Jaffee fails to disaggregate the costs associated with organic and shade production from the costs associated with fair trade production, nor does he disaggregate the fair trade premium from the organic and shade grown premiums in reporting producer income. The additional labor and input costs that Michiza producers experience are a function of the organic certification not of the fair trade certification, thus it is problematic to frame this study (as Jaffee does) as a comparison between conventional and fair trade production when, in fact, it is a comparison between conventional and fair trade/organic/shade-grown production. Readers wanting a clear sense of the benefits of fair trade per se will leave disappointed or misled.

Another, less significant problem in chapter four comes from Jaffee’s comparison of “housing conditions and amenities” between the two sets of producers. He associates integration into fair trade markets with improved housing stock, but remittance income is also much higher overall for families that produce for fair trade markets, and remittance income is often “culturally earmarked” for investment in physical capital. Therefore, it is problematic that Jaffee implies causation between fair trade production and improved housing stock without addressing the fungibility between remittance and production income.

Chapters five and six deal, respectively, with the environmental benefits of organic production and the implications of fair trade for emigration and food security. Jaffee attempts to tie chapter five’s discussion of organics back to the fair trade issue in the last few pages of the chapter, but he does not adequately clarify the relationship. These two chapters are well-reasoned pieces and worth reading, although they do not fit thematically into the book’s larger framework. Chapter six, notably, finds that fair trade has the potential to limit food security given that as market prices for cash crops sink, small farmers increase their investment in subsistence plots. With fair trade, market prices are kept artificially high, thus encouraging further investment in mono-
cultures of inedible cash crops over nutritionally and culturally appropriate subsistence plots. Regarding migration, Jaffee’s research suggests that members of fair trade producer families are more likely to migrate, but that heads of households are less likely to do so. This keeps with the economic research on selectivity which holds that migrants are rarely the worst off in an economy since there are substantial costs associated with migration.

For the remaining three chapters Jaffee’s normative voice supersedes his scientific voice. In chapter seven Jaffee returns to the macro debate around the mainstreaming of the fair trade movement, coming down definitively against the “cooption and dilution” of fair trade by corporate “devil[s] motivated primarily by greed…” (p. 253). Chapter eight recapitulates findings from chapter four and takes up other issues like the fairness of the minimum price and the costs of fair trade certification. Chapter nine puts forth a set of nine policy recommendations for the fair trade movement.

Jaffee concludes his far-ranging book with a call to “force” markets “to subordinate profit to any socially valuable functions they might also serve” (p. 263). His vision runs counter to economic doctrine, and his strong normative stance sets him apart from conventional sociology, but Jaffee’s enthusiasm for his research site and its inhabitants imbues the book with a welcome sense of solidarity and sensitivity. Additionally, Jaffee’s readable prose distinguishes this book from much social science. The author peppers his chapters with narrative vignettes that make the reader feel as though he were bumping along dirt switchbacks in the back of a Toyota pick up on the way to a Michiza meeting.

Despite the ambitious scope of the book, Jaffee leaves two key issues unexplored. He does not deal with the stratification and class conflict that emerge with the segmentation of the local labor market into fair trade and conventional producers. Additionally, his discussion of the fissures in the fair trade movement might have been enhanced by drawing from the voluminous social movements literature on resource mobilization and political process. Ultimately, however, it is his failure to disaggregate revenues and costs of fair trade, organic and shade production that renders his findings most problematic. These shortcomings aside, this is a timely, thorough, well-written book that challenges the conventional wisdom about fair trade.
The editors of this volume focus on the distinct problems of rural older adults in finding and accessing appropriate health services as they age. The book includes a discussion of how definitions of rural vary and how this impacts where and how services are implemented. Most chapters illustrate how rural people and communities fare under existing federal policy and programming. The book provides a compelling introduction to rural places, aging, health service and delivery, and public policy. What distinguishes this edited volume is a concerted effort to focus on programs and services that have been successful in increasing access and improving service delivery.

The book is organized into four parts. Part I consists of four chapters. In the first chapter the editors define rural, best practices, and myths about rural aging. In Chapter 2, Krout and Bull discuss service needs and barriers to obtaining rural services. There is considerable overlap when describing the barriers and problems facing rural residents in the first two chapters but these set the stage for the topics discussed in subsequent chapters.

In Chapter 3, Bradley and Longino discuss demographic and resettlement patterns and their impact. They describe who moves, where they move (on a rural to urban continuum) and why, illustrating some important differences among older residents. For example, those who retire and move to more rural locales tend to be younger, married, and have more education and higher incomes than long-time rural residents who are aging in place. The two populations have different service needs, complicating the task of service providers. In Chapter 4, Goins, Mitchell, and Wu discuss how health and service needs vary among rural racial and ethnic minorities, specifically African Americans, American Indians/Alaskan Natives, and Hispanics. The authors also identify how services need to be adjusted to better meet the specific needs of each group. An important conclusion of the authors is that more research needs to be done on problems and solutions specific to rural racial and ethnic populations.

Though the discussion of the barriers to service provision is at times redundant, Part I gives the uninitiated reader a sense of the heterogeneity of rural populations and places. These readers will likely be surprised at the myriad of issues influencing rural health care and service provision.

Part II focuses on health and nutrition, rural hospitals and long-term care, and changes to Medicare and its impacts on rural seniors. Though good health and good nutrition are the result of individual decisions,
Sharkey and Bolin (Chapter 5) illustrate how personal choices are constrained by the rural environment. They also illustrate how models of chronic disease management tend not to work because of problems specific to rural places. In Chapter 6, Coburn, Loux, and Bolda examine the role of rural hospitals. This chapter reveals that rural hospitals face competing demands to provide long-term care and other services to rural residents while facing severe economic constraints including difficulties attracting health care providers. Mueller and McBride (Chapter 7) use principles developed by the Rural Policy Research Institute (RUPRI) Health Panel as their guide in analyzing changes to the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement and Modernization Act (MMA). These principles are valuable in analyzing changes in other health policies or programs as well.

What is particularly effective in Part II is the focus on the interconnections between individual behavior and the rural environment and institutional and governmental responses to these problems. What stands out in Chapters 6 and 7 is the authors’ contention that rural places offer unique opportunities for new and creative programming. Though Part II illustrates many barriers to health care services and that many rural seniors are vastly underserved by existing programs: it also shows that alternative programming is possible.

Part III examines caregiving, housing, and transportation issues. This section is informative and provides a good overview of complex issues. The specific linkage of health to housing issues and federal housing policy discussed in Chapter 9 is long overdue. The need for appropriate transportation services as older adults age, discussed by Kerschner (Chapter 10), is also important. The chapters in Part III illustrate that rural residents have particular service needs that are shaped by rural contexts that are overlooked by most policymakers.

Part IV focuses on technology and on the need to change existing systems to provide better service delivery to rural seniors. In Chapter 11, Redford and Spaulding describe many applications of new technologies to health care delivery. Brown and Blancato (Chapter 12) examine the existing federal policy environment and the differential impact these policies have on rural places. Brown and Blancato also recommend changes to the current methods of service delivery to older rural residents. The final chapter by the editors is a summary of the key points in preceding chapters.

All chapters, with the exception of Chapter 4 and the final summary chapter, contain a comprehensive literature review of a specific rural health topic. This volume provides an excellent introduction to rural aging and service delivery. Though many of the issues raised are not
new, they are timely, given rising concerns about the aging US population and the renewed interest by the Administration on Aging in identifying and improving programming for the elderly. These issues are especially relevant because the devolution of federal entitlement programs has consequences for the elderly and for health and service delivery in rural places. By illustrating the effect of existing policies for rural places and people, this book brings to light a long neglected topic.

The book is appropriate for upper level undergraduate classes in rural social organizations, gerontology, social work, or community. It is a good basic resource for information on rural, aging, and health and service delivery. While there is little new information for academics who specialize in these topics, lay people and rural service providers will gain a better understanding of the federal policy environment and will find the examples of successful programming helpful.
Hablar del campesinado en Latinoamérica es hablar de lucha de clases, de acumulación desigual de tierra, capital y poder. En México, a pesar de una revolución agrarista, la distribución es desigual, siendo éste el resultado latente del poder concentrado en pocas manos, listas para manipular el sistema de leyes y así favorecer sus intereses, a expensas de una amplia mayoría de la población. Una mayoría para quienes no queda más salida que vender su fuerza de trabajo en el mercado laboral, a fin de alimentar a sus familias.

Mucho se ha escrito en torno al campesinado latinoamericano y en torno a los movimientos campesinos en diferentes partes del continente. Las aproximaciones a este tema van desde perspectivas clásicas funcionalistas que veían en el campesinado un obstáculo al proceso de modernización, pasando por interpretaciones más moderadas de la economía política, hasta la perspectiva crítica, estructuralista, de la escuela Marxista. Interpretación ésta que ha dejado una profunda huella en las universidades latinoamericanas y que ve en el proceso de descampesinización la prueba última del sistema capitalista, al convertir al antiguo campesino en asalariado agrícola.
El libro de Posada da cuenta bastante detallada del proceso de descampesinización en el Noroeste de México, así como de la formación de fuertes movimientos sociales de los trabajadores agrícolas y su relación con el estado mexicano, que por lo general ha velado por los intereses de los grandes terratenientes y la producción agraria capitalista.

La migración doméstica en México afecta directamente la situación del obrero agrícola, pues en temporadas de cosechas, el arribo de trabajadores temporales aumenta la fuerza laboral y disminuye el precio de la misma, favoreciendo únicamente a los dueños de los medios de producción agrícola. Dado que el costo de la fuerza de trabajo se reduce, debido al aumento del ejército de reserva laboral, el obrero debe entrar en un sistema de autoexpLOTación, para poder satisfacer las necesidades básicas de sí mismo y su familia. Ello incluye el vender la fuerza de trabajo de sus hijos, muchos de ellos menores de edad, para poder lograr un ingreso que les permita cubrir sus necesidades básicas.

En el caso del Noroeste Mexicano, como bien lo expone Posada Segura, el débil crecimiento del mercado y el déficit de producción de alimentos y materias primas se presentan debido a que la población rural excedió sus capacidades y no encontró empleo ni en el campo ni en la ciudad. Ello condujo inevitablemente a la importación de productos que podrían, perfectamente, ser confeccionados o cultivados en suelo mexicano. En este punto, cabe anotar, que el texto entra en demasiados detalles, que carecen de importancia para el lector del texto y que distraen su lectura.

El marco teórico desde el cual Posada aborda el tema de los movimientos de trabajadores agrícolas, hace una exposición profunda y bastante completa de la perspectiva Marxista y Neo-Marxista del campesinado, como actor social del sistema de lucha de clases y su relación con la tierra como medio de producción. El caso particular de Sinaloa, expuesto por el autor, se reproduce de forma casi simétrica en otras regiones de Latinoamérica, en las que la lucha y las demandas de reforma agraria, tienen como respuesta una descampesinización programada por el estado, con el fin fortalecer la producción agraria capitalista, tendencia esta claramente conservadora que busca restar importancia a las demandas hechas por los trabajadores agrícolas. Sin embargo, el marco teórico es tan detallado y extenso, que podría ser, en sí mismo, en un libro sobre la perspectiva neo-marxista del campesinado y los movimientos sociales de los asalariados agrícolas.

Las conclusiones a las que llega el autor en el texto se convierten en un documento valioso, para comprender el sistema de producción capitalista agrícola en el Noroeste Mexicano, y la situación de los
asalariados agrícolas dentro de dicho sistema. Sin embargo, a pesar de ser un excelente trabajo de investigación, el libro redunda en detalles que resultan irrelevantes para el lector, haciendo impenetrable el texto y casi imposible una lectura cabal del mismo. Resulta obvio que el texto fue escrito como una extensa disertación doctoral y publicado como tal, sin que su formato fuese modificado en forma de libro, lo que lo presenta como un trabajo monográfico excesivamente largo y en algunos apartes monótono y repetitivo.

De ser editado el texto en formato de libro, con un esquema más lineal y sucinto del tema que expone, podría ser traducido a otros idiomas, lo que haría accesible su contenido en otros países y más manejable para las aulas universitarias, en donde tendría un valor inmenso en el estudio y entendimiento de la cuestión agraria, no sólo en México, sino en Latinoamérica. Es, en definitiva, un texto que contiene los elementos necesarios para convertirse en referencia obligada de clases de sociología rural y de futuras investigaciones sobre el tema agrario. Para finalizar, el libro de Posada es un texto que de hacerse accesible en su lectura saldría de los anaqueles a los que, de lo contrario, estaría condenado.