

REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Stephanie Ross and Larry Savage,
*eds., Rethinking the Politics of Labour
in Canada* (Halifax and Winnipeg:
Fernwood Publishing 2012)

“WORKERS IN CANADA and around the world are under concerted attack,” editors Stephanie Ross and Larry Savage explain in the opening lines of this volume. (7) For more than 30 years Canadian private sector unions have been in retreat before the forces of globalization, economic reorganization, and increasingly vehement employer opposition to collective bargaining; public sector unions have been forced into a defensive posture; and “capital has managed to set the broad framework for what constitutes acceptable politics and policy in Canada.” (12) Over time social democratic policy prescriptions have been completely outflanked by the market-dominated politics of neoliberalism.

These developments have so weakened Canadian unions in both the workplace and politics that the editors draw little comfort from the sudden, unanticipated rise of labour’s ally, the New Democratic Party (NDP), to official opposition status in the House of Commons following the 2 May 2011 election. Given the record of the NDP in the provinces where it has held power, Ross and Savage think it is “unlikely that an NDP victory will deliver the redistributive policies sought” by the labour movement. (12) It is not simply that NDP leaders lack vision. Rather, they argue, decades of defensiveness have driven a wedge between party activists and

social movement activists and ruptured the connection between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary strategies that made previous labour gains possible.

The political difficulties that face Canadian labour will not be overcome easily. The structure of this book itself indicates how just how complex labour’s problems are. Part I of the volume includes essays by Ross, and by Donald Swartz and Rosemary Warskett, which smartly historicize labour’s contemporary crisis. Swartz and Warskett argue that labour built a “narrow solidarity” in the postwar years that left it “totally unprepared” for the advent of the neoliberal era. The revival of labour’s strength will require nothing less than “the construction of a qualitatively different culture of solidarity,” they argue. (31) Analyzing the persistence of business unionism in Canada, Ross reminds us how difficult many unions continue to find the task of building an inclusive culture of solidarity that is as effective in the political arena as it is in the workplace.

Part II of the volume analyzes labour’s recent political struggles (and failures). Bryan Evans provides a clear if sobering overview of the NDP’s ideological retreat before the rising tide of neoliberalism. Importantly, he moves beyond the national level to look closely at the NDP’s record in the provinces, showing that the party has demonstrated “diminishing interest” in the sort of redistributive policies labour hopes to legislate. (59) Peter Graefe contributes a fine essay on developments in Québec. Although some elements of

the francophone left have grown stronger in recent years, he explains, overall that province has also seen a steady erosion of support for militant political challenges to the economic status quo. Larry Savage adds an essay examining the politics of strategic voting, a tactic recently championed by the Canadian Auto Workers union, which supported Liberal candidates in key races in order to keep Conservatives from power. Labour has gained little from such efforts, Savage argues, since “both parties are quite strongly committed to neoliberalism.” (85) In an overview of the history of voting system reform, Dennis Pilon describes how the NDP slowly came to embrace the cause of proportional representation as a strategy to combat marginalization in the 1990s only to see reform efforts stall in province after province over the last twenty years as unions and NDP strategists failed to reach a consensus in favour of reform. Now that the NDP has risen to the status of official opposition and national political power seems closer at hand than ever before, there is less reason to expect that the party will continue push for voting system revisions.

Having illustrated some of the reasons why traditional electoral politics has delivered such a string of disappointments for labour, Part III of the volume inventories efforts at coalition-building and extra-parliamentary action that could conceivably rejuvenate Canadian labour’s political power in the 21st century. While these essays give readers some reasons for hope, they also illustrate how complex and difficult it will be to build a post-neoliberal majority around a politics of economic justice and democratic renewal.

Amanda Coles and Charlotte A.B. Yates recount the strides women have made within the labour movement over the past generation and detail the special stake that women have in reversing neoliberal politics, but they also acknowledge

that efforts to advance a gendered equity politics remain “internally fraught” within the unions. (114) Suzanne E. Mills and Tyler McCreary show that labour and Aboriginal peoples have increasingly found reasons to make common cause, yet find that tensions over such issues as the unionization of Aboriginal-owned casinos continue to jeopardize any durable alliance. Dennis Soron describes both a rising environmental consciousness among union members and leaders and a set of intractable conflicts over Canadian priorities that continue to frustrate the formation of a “blue-green” bloc. Simon Black analyzes nascent efforts at community unionism that have yet to bear much fruit; Kendra Coulter examines intriguing but largely unsuccessful efforts to organize low-wage workers by groups like ACORN Canada; and Aziz Choudry and Mark Thomas look at the promising work of the Immigrant Workers Centre in Toronto, an innovative model that may one day become a vital adjunct to traditional unions.

It is unclear whether these myriad efforts can coalesce a new labour politics in Canada, but a concluding essay by Charles W. Smith helps readers grasp how urgent the need for such a politics is. Smith reminds readers how much courts have channelled and limited union power in Canada over the last half-century. He says recent decisions such as *Plourde v. Walmart Canada Corp.* (2009), in which the Supreme Court of Canada negated a legal effort to use the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to block the anti-union activities of the world’s largest employer, “act as warnings for all unions seeking to advance or alter Canada’s system of labour relations.” (196)

The essays in this volume span an admirably broad spectrum, but one important subject – the politics of public sector unionism – receives inadequate treatment (Ross and Savage have instead

edited a separate volume on that subject). To be sure, the editors acknowledge that “one of the most pressing questions facing the Canadian labour movement” today is whether the fight against government cuts and public sector job losses will unify working-class people “or divide them, setting those who have been able to negotiate strong collective agreements for themselves against those who have not.” (9) But unfortunately no essay in this volume seeks to answer that important question upon which labour’s political future could well turn.

Unless it finds a way to transform the insecurities and discontents spawned by neoliberalism into a movement that can fuse electoral action with direct action to advance a coherent and achievable alternative, labour is likely to remain mired in the deteriorating situation in which it now finds itself, regardless of what happens to the NDP. While this volume provides no easy solutions to labour’s problem, it does at least help readers appreciate the problem’s complexity. For that we should be grateful to Professors Ross and Savage and their colleagues.

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Alvin Finkel, et al., *Working People in Alberta: A History* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2012)

THE SPATE OF FAWNING eulogies to the late premier Ralph Klein, the ongoing dominance of Conservative governments, and a potential veer towards even more right-populism in the Wildrose Party, suggest the publication of *Working People in Alberta* might serve as a necessary corrective to mass media amnesia that portrays this province as a neoliberal nirvana. The true story is, as we suspected, more complicated as generations of working-class Albertans long struggled

for a measure of fairness and justice for themselves and their families. More often than not these efforts to secure a living wage or an equitable workplace met with set backs or outright defeat. Yet people, individually and collectively, persisted and it was this sheer determination that yielded positive results. In response to the question of whether unions are still needed in a 21st-century milieu of right-to-work initiatives, this survey offers a practical rejoinder.

Working People in Alberta is a thoroughly engaging social history and should stand as a model for any similar provincial surveys. Timed to commemorate the 2012 centenary of the Alberta Federation of Labour the book is issued in large format with copious illustrations – it is an all-round, top-notch production by Athabasca University Press in conjunction with the Alberta Labour History Institute. Eschewing the traditional union history approach for a broadly defined social history of all working people, the book is attentive to race and gender, as well as class. Notably, the first two chapters: “Millennia of Native Work” and “The Fur Trade and Early European Settlement” examine carefully the region that would become the province of Alberta before European contact and through the period of initial colonization. This account of Aboriginal culture is as much a national story as it is one of Alberta, and its insights should be applied to any Canadian survey course. The remaining eight chapters mostly trace a chronological line leading to the contemporary era. Synopses of Alberta’s intersections of class with gender and race are addressed in separate chapters near the book’s conclusion. Given that *Working People in Alberta* is a collaborative effort it is not surprising that there are stylistic variations and content overlap between sections, but the overall result is reasonably integrated.

In his introduction Alvin Finkel sets out to dispel the impression that Alberta is a "rich, placid province where the streets are paved with gold," (3) and that this affluence has yielded a one-class, one-party conservative ideology that undermines the salience of social class. To this end, the book succeeds admirably along the lines of other celebrated alternative histories such as Howard Zinn's, *A People's History of the United States*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1980) or the *American Social History Project, Who Built America?* (New York: Pantheon, 1989). While much of Alberta's historical record is well documented by various scholars, this contemporary synthesis should make this history even more accessible. The book incorporates some of the two hundred interviews collected by the Alberta Labour History Institute and these first-hand accounts add considerably to the texture of the story.

So what might constitute a labour and working-class history of Alberta? This ranges from early examples of Aboriginal participation in the fur trade as it coalesced under the aegis of the Hudson's Bay Company, the plight of railway navvies constructing the three transcontinental roads that traversed Alberta, coal miners, teachers, agricultural labourers and harvest excursionists. Pragmatic and exclusionist craft unions sought to represent segments of the emergent skilled workforce, while the Industrial Workers of the World championed the undesirable "bindle stiffs." Notable strikes include a 1903 conflict between craft and industrial unionists as the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees sought to organize the entire Canadian Pacific Railway. This audacious gambit was crushed in no small part by the lack of solidarity on the part of the most skilled workers and the running trades. Although such rivalries and lapses in class consciousness remains a consistent theme in *Working People in*

Alberta, there were moments when working women and men transcended such obstacles.

The role of the state features prominently. Mackenzie King's dubious actions as "impartial umpire" during the Lethbridge coal strike of 1906 set the pattern for both federal and provincial interference in labour relations. While the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike is well commemorated by historians, less so are the month-long general strikes launched in Edmonton and Calgary in solidarity with Manitoba workers. Similarly, the July 1935 Regina (police) Riot that marked the brutal end of the On-to-Ottawa Trek is familiar to many, but this volume tells the important stories of the Communist-inspired hunger marches in Edmonton and Calgary in 1932. The Depression era may have ensconced the series of authoritarian Social Credit governments that would rule Alberta for 36 years, but it also spawned a progressive alternative when the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation held its initial gathering in Calgary.

The decades from the 1940s to the 1990s are covered commendably. The authors explore the transformations of quiescent civil service associations into effective public sector unions, as reflected in the "illegal" 1980 strike by the Alberta Union of Provincial Employees. The emergent militancy of the nursing profession from the 1960s onward is well described, as is the Dandelion movement in the building trades which countered union-busting tactics. The actions of ruthless employers such as Gainers and Lakeside Foods serve as a stark reminder of the extremes to which corporations will go to undermine collective action by determined food industry workers.

The partners in this anti-union project were the Socreds and the not-so-progressive Conservative party. From these politicians, legislation such as the Health

Care Continuation Act and the Labour Statutes Amendment Act spewed forth, intended to stymie labour's momentum. To some extent it accomplished just that, but it also spurred union activism and the fight continued. Nonetheless, forecasting neoliberal trends has not been a union forte. Too often labour was slow in realizing potential threats and even a cursory examination of this history suggests the importance of continued alertness. Of course, that is much easier said than done but the alternative – rearguard action to protect collective bargaining – is most always dire.

Reading *Working People in Alberta* one asks why did Albertans endure this uneven fight? Among the many defeats and some notable victories what is to be learned that is relevant to the contemporary era? Perhaps it is that militancy and coordinated action can, in certain instances, succeed against even the most exploitative employer or repressive elected official. Complacency and defeatism are both self-fulfilling. The challenges remain formidable, but if and when organized labour declines to put it on the line than overall irrelevancy must surely follow. Working people need to organize and make their stand. For this, history can be of considerable solace and, thanks to Alvin Finkel and his colleagues, we can learn from the efforts of past working-class Albertans and better appreciate what still remains to be done for all Canadians.

PETER S. MCINNIS

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Jan Noel, *Along a River. The First French-Canadian Women* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press 2013)

JAN NOEL NOUS LIVRE, avec *Along a River. The First French-Canadian Women* une synthèse attendue depuis

longtemps sur l'histoire des femmes de la Nouvelle-France. Forte de nombreuses années de recherche et de réflexion sur les femmes à l'époque coloniale et donnant suite à d'autres publications sur le sujet, Noel possédait l'expertise pour mener à bien une telle entreprise. D'entrée de jeu, elle présente son travail comme « a study in human ecology ». Elle propose de montrer comment les conditions environnementales et l'écosystème de la vallée du Saint-Laurent et des Grands Lacs ont offert des opportunités aux Canadiennes (et non seulement à leurs maris). Faisant écho aux thèses frontéristes, Noel veut rendre aux femmes leur part de cet univers de possibilités. Elle revient ainsi en quelque sorte à la charge en donnant ce qui pourrait être une ultime réplique à l'historienne Micheline Dumont avec laquelle elle avait eu de sérieux échanges dans la revue *Atlantis* au début des années 1980 à propos d'un texte qu'elle y avait publié et intitulé « New France : Les femmes favorisées? ». Il faut admettre que malgré des nuances et un propos solidement appuyé par les sources et les travaux historiques les plus récents (tant en français qu'en anglais), Noel persiste et signe; elle présente un argumentaire plutôt à contre-courant des plus récentes interprétations qui sont venues nuancer la vision d'une Nouvelle-France idyllique pour les femmes et réitérer la force du patriarcat dans cette colonie comme ailleurs. On pense aux travaux de Josette Brun sur les femmes de Québec et de Louisbourg, par exemple ou à ceux de Colleen Gray sur les supérieures de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal. Pour Noel, les femmes issues du peuplement français en Amérique sont dans une situation exceptionnelle en comparaison de leurs contemporaines de France, de Grande-Bretagne ou des Treize colonies. Elles auraient été favorisées par le maintien, durant une longue

période, de conditions et de normes sociétales préindustrielles, lesquelles se transformeront en un durcissement des rôles genrés plus tardivement au Canada français que dans les autres régions, soit à compter de 1830–1840. Non seulement pourfend-elle l'idée d'une société patriarcale constante du régime français au 20^e siècle, mais elle remet aussi en cause le concept de « *deputy husband* » que l'on doit à l'historienne américaine Laurel Ulrich et considéré applicable en Nouvelle-France. Le maître mot pour Noel paraît bien être la diversité des réalités de femmes. C'est d'ailleurs l'une des forces de son livre; nombreux exemples à l'appui, elle montre que les Canadiennes ont été actives dans tous les domaines et bien au-delà du noyau familial de production.

Après une introduction théorique, le livre se découpe en quatre parties d'inégale longueur. La partie 1 (composée du seul chapitre premier) vise à peindre un tableau général et sur la longue durée (1600–1800) des historiographies nécessaires pour saisir l'évolution des sociétés de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique, le tout visant à asseoir son interprétation relative à la singularité du cas canadien en insistant sur la marginalisation progressive des femmes tant en France, en Angleterre que dans les colonies anglo-américaines. Les parties 2 et 3, composées chacune de trois chapitres, constituent le cœur de l'ouvrage. La partie 2, intitulée *Along a River*, consacre le chapitre 2 aux migrantes du 17^e siècle et particulièrement à deux catégories : les dévotes et les filles du roi. En insistant sur cette Nouvelle-France toute féminine dans sa fondation (des « Mères fondatrices spirituelles de la nation » – un cas exceptionnel insiste l'auteur (p. 75) et les mères « biologiques » d'un peuple), Noel ne donne pas dans la nuance ni dans l'originalité. Au chapitre 3, l'auteure est davantage dans son élément lorsqu'elle

aborde la traite des fourrures. Dans ce chapitre et au suivant, consacré aux femmes « *entrepreneures* » dans les autres ressources (forêt, pêche, agriculture), l'auteure reprend et étaye un propos qu'elle a livré précédemment dans un article paru en 2009 dans la *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* (vol. 63, n°2-3). La troisième partie du volume nous conduit à considérer ce que l'auteur nomme « *codes transatlantiques* », toujours en vue de comparer, favorablement, la société de la Nouvelle-France à celle des autres pôles. Au chapitre 5, Noel propose de comparer les systèmes juridiques qui encadrent les droits des femmes. Au terme d'un tour d'horizon de la situation ailleurs, elle montre que les Canadiennes sont « *favorisées* » (145). Toutefois, elle précise en début de chapitre qu'il n'est nullement question de parler d'égalité entre les sexes, mais bien de mesurer la variation des privilèges des hommes et de l'incapacité des femmes. C'est, à mon avis, une formule très juste qu'il faudrait retenir. Au chapitre 6, c'est à la noblesse qu'elle s'intéresse, en prenant comme point de repère trois cas individuels, et pas les moindres, ayant joué un rôle très actif dans la sphère publique : Louise de Ramezay, Agathe de Saint-Père et Mme Vaudreuil. Bien consciente que ce sont là des cas d'exceptions, Noel n'en fait pas moins le point focal de son chapitre qui concerne, théoriquement, les femmes de la noblesse en général. Puis au septième, elle aborde de front le cas des religieuses en portant un regard plus particulier sur l'Hôpital général de Québec. Ici encore, l'auteure souligne que le couvent, malgré les restrictions qu'il implique, représente une possibilité que les Anglaises ou les « *Américaines* » ne possèdent pas. Certes, c'est exact, mais Noel pourrait davantage tenir compte des travaux de Colleen Gray qui a récemment souligné le caractère paradoxal du pouvoir des religieuses, lequel pouvait représenter une « *pesante*

charge » pour les supérieures. Enfin, la quatrième partie, intitulée *River of Memory* est composée d'un seul chapitre et tient lieu de conclusion. Entraînant le lecteur jusqu'à la date limite de 1830, le chapitre 8 vise à montrer la permanence des traits de la colonie française bien au-delà du changement de régime. Si elle exagère le repli rural des habitants canadiens après la Conquête, reprenant la thèse de M. Séguin, Noel dresse dans l'ensemble un portrait juste, quoique très synthétique, de cette longue période (déclin des droits de propriété et des droits politiques par exemple).

L'une des grandes forces de Jan Noel est sa connaissance aiguë des contextes théoriques et historiographies d'Amérique du nord et d'Europe. Ce bagage lui permet toujours de situer les femmes de Nouvelle-France en comparaison avec leurs contemporaines dans une perspective transnationale. Toutefois, cette comparaison sert trop exclusivement la thèse de l'auteur sur le caractère exceptionnel des femmes de Nouvelle-France. À trop vouloir convaincre des possibilités offertes aux femmes par l'environnement colonial, l'écriture verse parfois dans une énumération d'exemples qui, pour être pertinents, alourdissent la lecture. Surtout, les cas d'exceptions tendent à faire oublier la « normalité » qui prévaut le plus souvent. C'est le cas en particulier pour les communautés religieuses : Noel sous-estime le poids des hiérarchies de genre et plus encore celui du cloître. Lorsqu'il est question des religieuses qui se rendent en personne inspecter leurs terres seigneuriales (125 et 189), elle évoque une situation très certainement inhabituelle et minimise le réel obstacle que le cloître représente pour les communautés féminines en matière d'administration seigneuriale. D'ailleurs, Noel surestime le poids de ces dernières parmi les seigneurs de la colonie; elles

sont nettement moins bien loties à cet égard que les communautés masculines.

L'ouvrage propose une chronologie intéressante en franchissant le cadre temporel du régime français pour poursuivre jusqu'en 1830. Malheureusement, seul le chapitre 8 nous plonge au-delà de 1760 et il s'agit davantage d'une forme d'épilogue que d'une véritable analyse. Pour revisiter la période 1760–1830, zone « grise » dans l'histoire des femmes au Québec, il faudra d'autres contributions. Certes, elle a raison d'évoquer la persistance des traditions françaises bien après 1760, notamment en ce qui concerne les relations entre époux et le rôle des femmes. Néanmoins, cela ne peut suffire à justifier l'extension de la temporalité du livre. On pourra aussi reprocher à l'auteure l'usage du terme *French-Canadian* (dans le titre et le texte) en lieu et place de celui de « Canadiennes » tout court, la première forme n'étant pas vraiment appropriée pour l'avant 1830, alors que l'ethnonyme « Canadien » ne sert encore à désigner que les francophones. Sans doute s'agit-il d'un choix éditorial pour le lectorat anglophone, mais cela paraîtra anachronique aux spécialistes. En conclusion, nul doute que le livre de Noel ne convaincra pas tout le monde et viendra sans doute raviver des débats que l'on croyait éteints. Après tout, à insister sur la normalité de cette société coloniale française en Amérique, n'a-t-on pas finalement minimisé à l'excès ses singularités?

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Andrew C. Holman and Robert B. Kristofferson, eds., *More of a Man: Diaries of a Scottish Craftsman in Mid-Nineteenth Century North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)

FOR HISTORIANS of labour working in 19th-century Canada, it is often extremely difficult to secure an accurate portrayal of their subjects, given the appalling lack of documentary evidence available describing the lives of workers during this period. Unearthing the undiluted voice of the skilled craftsworker is so rare that historians are generally forced to rely on the judgments of others, desperately reading “against the grain” to illustrate their lives, loves, and work experiences. It is therefore no exaggeration to state that the editors of *More Than a Man: Diaries of a Scottish Craftsman in Mid-Nineteenth Century North America*, Andrew Holman and Robert Kristofferson, have discovered a virtual treasure trove of primary material to analyze in the diaries of Andrew McIlwraith, a young journeyman craftsworker who emigrated to North America.

McIlwraith’s diaries are a fascinating glimpse into the myriad of identities to be encountered within the world of the skilled craftsworker in the 19th century. First and foremost, they illustrate the varied work experiences of a young journeyman in North America. From his experience “tramping” in the United States to his quest for respectability through occupational flexibility and networking – McIlwraith began his career as an apprentice draughtsman and patternmaker and end up a foundry owner and accountant – the diaries illuminate both the challenges and rewards of work during a period of economic upheaval. Similarly, the cultural underpinnings of artisanal “self-improvement,” instilled in McIlwraith as a youngster in Scotland, are evident throughout these pages. Whether his

desire for self-improvement mirrored his quest for social and economic mobility – as McIlwraith’s membership in various Mechanics’ Institutes, his enthusiastic reading of Samuel Smiles, and enrolling in classes of the Coopers’ Institute would attest – or for the simple joys of mental culture embodied in visiting museums, botanical and zoological gardens, or in an ordinary game of chess, such activities would “construct a well-rounded man capable of meeting the responsibilities of modern masculine citizenship and liberal individualism.” (31)

Moreover, those interested in transatlantic migration, ethnic identities, the history of the family, and gender formation will also find valuable social history in the pages of *More of a Man*. Migration was a prominent factor in Andrew McIlwraith’s life; in the span of nearly five years, McIlwraith lived in five different towns and cities, from Dundas, Sarnia, Hamilton, and Galt in Canada West to the bustling metropolis of New York City. In each locale, McIlwraith not only brought his tool chest, hopes, and aspirations, but also his identity as a “Scotsman” with him. He particularly made use of the kinship and economic networks afforded him by his ethnicity, in his quest for “a respectable manhood” and independence. It is the pursuit of this manly respectability that provides the core theme (and the title) of *More of a Man*; in the precarious and insecure space between adolescence and manhood, between apprenticeship and independence, the diaries of Andrew McIlwraith present a liminal portrait of a young journeyman becoming a “man.” By 1862, when McIlwraith married Mary Goldie, effectively transitioning himself from an immigrant journeyman newcomer to a respectable townsman and bookkeeper, the Horatio Alger tale is essentially complete.

Holman and Kristofferson are to be commended for their meticulous editing

of Andrew McIlwraith's diaries. They are clearly transcribed with the widest possible audience in mind, as they painstakingly corrected numerous grammatical errors and clarified McIlwraith's meaning in many of the diary passages. More significantly, the diaries are layered with insightful annotations, as the editors provide poignant historical, regional, cultural, and social context for almost each diary entry. Holman and Kristofferson also provide additional material regarding McIlwraith's life, such as Mechanics' Institute library loans, family trees, memoranda, account books, and a particularly helpful *dramatis personae* that allows the audience to keep abreast of the various cast of characters appearing in the pages of the diaries.

However, the editors truly do the reader a greater service in their convincing introduction, by situating the various identities and the "social self" of Andrew McIlwraith within the historical context of his multifaceted experiences. Locating these identities within a rich theoretical and historiographical matrix, Holman and Kristofferson adroitly illustrate the various social, cultural, and economic forces that were shaping McIlwraith's world. Beginning with a seminal discussion on the historical purpose of diary writing in general, the editors rightly conclude that McIlwraith's diary should be viewed as a "running score card, a record that the right steps were being taken and a source of daily comfort that, during an extended period of uncertainty, a better future was slowly being willed into existence." (36) The introduction then navigates through McIlwraith's various identities and situates them in the larger transatlantic world, from the self-improving craftsworker and the culture of the workplace, to the importance of social and geographical mobility and the centrality of manly respectability in the mid-19th century. Holman and

Kristofferson then go above and beyond the call of duty by fashioning an effective epilogue, examining the life of Andrew McIlwraith after the last page of his diary ends. The story ends with McIlwraith even more solidly entrenched in the Victorian middle class, a respectable family man, foundry owner and accountant, and a "solid citizen." Evidently the themes dominating the entries in his earlier diaries found expression in the life McIlwraith would lead for the last thirty years of his existence.

While the story of Andrew McIlwraith ends on a relatively happy note in *More of a Man*, as he accomplished all that he set out to do by way of manly respectability, a singularly jarring question remains – just how typical were McIlwraith's experiences as a journeyman craftsworker in North America? Did his upbringing in a middling-class home in Scotland, the benefits of his kinship and economic networks, and his familial ties to the prosperous Goldie family, simply afford him greater advantages than those of his contemporaries? In fact, the diaries are replete with examples of McIlwraith's employers "turning out" fellow employees for various and sundry reasons. While illustrative to the point regarding socio-economic disruption in this period, these dismissals do not easily justify the conclusion that Holman and Kristofferson are interested in promoting, that journeymen craftsworkers were generally optimistic about industrial capitalism and held some measure of control over their work process.

Similarly, the editors do not delve too deeply into the darker side of McIlwraith's many identities – namely, the latent racism that rears its ugly head from time to time within the diaries. While Holman and Kristofferson do recognize that McIlwraith strongly held both a British and Scottish identity, they are strangely silent on how the imperial nature of these

identities could encourage McIlwraith to label outsiders to British culture as the “other.” And McIlwraith’s diaries are certainly replete with these challenges; his disdain for the Irish in general, including a reference to the “Paddys” (211) who tormented him during one of his many boarding house stays, as well as his only exposure to African-American culture in New York City being Negro minstrel shows and the search for a “nigger church” (251) to ring in the new year.

Despite these minor objections, *More of a Man* is a gold mine of information on the life of a journeyman craftsworker in North America. Framing the diaries with a thoughtful introduction and effective epilogue is merely the icing on the cake for historians and readers alike in their quest to understand the mid-19th century world that produced an Andrew McIlwraith.

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Judith Friedland, *Restoring the Spirit: The Beginnings of Occupational Therapy in Canada, 1890-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2011)

LABOUR HISTORIANS may be forgiven for overlooking *Restoring the Spirit: The Beginnings of Occupational Therapy in Canada, 1890-1930* when it was first released. A sympathetic portrayal of an emerging therapeutic discipline as told by one of its practitioners and classified under medical history seems an unlikely place to encounter revealing lessons about Canadian working-class history. Yet, Judith Friedland has written a fascinating and original story of working women with aspirations of a professional identity supporting the efforts of predominantly working-age men with physical and mental health issues to gain access to the labour market. “Ward

aides” (ancestors of “occupational therapists”) pioneered the development of the sheltered workshop system that came to define the working experiences of people with disabilities in Canada for most of the 20th century. Friedland relates a highly gendered history of occupational therapy, with male physicians controlling the direction of the profession as a whole while women were generally restricted to frontline service. She suggests these gender dynamics were partly responsible for the loss of an institutional memory carried down through the generations of predominantly female occupational therapists. Indeed, the cover illustration is a poignant reflection of this thesis, presenting a cropped photograph of uniformed Soldier’s Civil Re-establishment ward aides and Ontario vocational officer Professor H.E.T. Haultain on graduation day at the University of Toronto. The original photograph (119) shows Haultain at the centre of the group whereas the cropped version finds him hanging onto the edge of the book’s binding in order to provide a closer portrait of the female graduates.

Restoring the Spirit examines the emergence and development of occupational therapy in Canada, documenting its close connections to other social and political movements that provided new form to the treatment of physical impairment and mental illness. Friedland situates occupational therapy at the cutting edge of social and medical responses to disability in the early 20th century as it provided innovative therapeutic treatments while offering new forms of paid work for women. Directed engagement in various “occupations” as a form of treatment arose from interlocking philosophies in mental hygiene, arts and crafts, and the settlement house movements. The narrative is organized to establish contextual foundation in these movements before moving into the development of

occupational therapy during World War I as well as its long aftermath. The book is well organized to accomplish Friedland's incrementalist narrative of a progressively developing discipline. Many women stepped out into the public sphere by taking advantage of new opportunities in the workforce during this period, filling the ranks of workers in new fields such as occupational therapy. Untrained at first, but later educated in universities to address increased demand for services in addition to a desire for respect, ward aides focused on treating the "whole patient" while building a profession and new identity for working women. As a result, Friedland provides an enthusiastic journey into new historiographical terrain, hoping to introduce contemporary occupational therapists to their discipline's roots in holistic therapeutic treatment that predated the medical model.

Although not a trained historian, Friedland conducted a rigorous search for archival sources in order to build a confident narrative regarding the pivotal role of women during this early period. She explicitly calls on professional historians to view this publication as a starting point in which to "apply a particular theoretical lens to the analysis and interpretation of the material in the future." (xvii) Utilizing extensive personal and professional networks in the field in addition to sources available in public archives, Friedland assembled an impressive record of primary source material, including a number of fascinating historical photographs and individual scenarios, despite her stated difficulty tracking down useful records in conventional archival repositories. (xviii) Illustrations throughout the book depict the tools and occupations contemporary to the time period as well as key individuals in her narrative. More direct engagement with these images, such as subjecting them to a material culture analysis, would have significantly added

to her discussion of the concepts of occupational therapy as well as the gender dynamics that leap out of many photographs. Given her rather heavy-handed application of a gender analysis, a rigorous analysis of most of her photographs seems like missed opportunity to support some of her conclusions, such as her bold assertion that "male (and medical) backing of the profession led to a more rapid development than would have occurred if occupational therapy had been led solely by women." (190)

Restoring the Spirit could have engaged more fully with the gender and labour historiography. There are scant references to other labour histories that discuss the changing work experiences of women in Canada during this period, such as Ruth Frager and Carmela Patrias' *Discounted Labour* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), Joy Parr's *The Gender of Breadwinners* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) and Joan Sangster's *Earning Respect* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). These and similar works could have provided context and explanation for the domination of occupational therapy by men and the declining enrolment in university-based ward aide programs following the war. At times it appears that the struggles of female ward aides existed apart from other battlegrounds in the women's movement. While early ward aides were certainly pioneers in their own right, they were also party to the changing discourse of womanhood on other cultural, political, and economic fronts. While Friedland may be faulted for failing to see how her study would contribute to labour history, it may be that the exploratory nature of the book and nature of the expected audience did not compel her to refine her analysis along these lines.

Friedland has produced a worthy contribution to our understanding of the role of occupational therapy in early

20th-century Canada. It will no doubt engage occupational therapy students and working professionals interested in learning more about their discipline. The book is all the more important given that too many healthcare disciplines and institutions lack an understanding or sense of appreciation of how history shapes their present work. Motivated by the discomfort in not being able to relate the history of occupational therapy to her own students, and perhaps aware of the potential dangers of a healthcare system without a sense of its own history, Friedland explicitly set out to “close this gap.” (xv) In this regard, her book is a success. Her alternative goal in “expanding the medical model,” (211–212) while admirable, was less convincing. The heavy domination of the field by physicians and the medical model throughout most of the twentieth century overshadowed the contributions of “proto-social-model”-oriented occupational therapists. Indeed, Friedland laments that “few therapists were able—or chose—to raise their voices to challenge the reductionist approach.” (212) Disability historians looking for answers as to why occupational therapists continued to staff and defend the sheltered workshop system against attacks by disability rights activists in the 1970s and 1980s might find some measure of resolution in the notion that these professionals worked under the boot of tenacious medical authorities for so long they lost their original sense of purpose. Others may be more sceptical. In any case, Friedland offers us a well-researched study accompanied by a welcome invitation to examine new historical questions.

DUSTIN GALER

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Mark Osborne Humphries, *The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)

THE SPANISH INFLUENZA was the last of the great plagues, killing more than 50,000 people in Canada and felling perhaps five percent of the global population. The pandemic, which crossed the globe in three waves between January of 1918 and December of 1920, was distinguished not just by its virulence, but also by its unusually high mortality among young, otherwise healthy adults, a generation already depleted in the Canada by World War I. Despite its devastating global reach, the flu largely faded from popular consciousness and, until the 1990s, it garnered little attention from historians. This historical amnesia, Mark Humphries argues, stems in part from the intrinsically problematic nature of epidemics, which tend to defy and disrupt other historical forces and leave little room for human agency. The solution, he argues, is to treat disease as an historical actor in its own right, and he contends that the flu ought to be understood as an historical change agent that helped to transform the Canadian state.

Humphries situates *The Last Plague* within a third wave of recent scholarship on the flu. He identifies in the first those waves, inspired by the AIDS epidemic, the attempt to document the disease’s demographic impact and to assess responses in medical and epidemiological terms. The second wave localized the pandemic’s impact through community-level case studies. These studies brought clarity to the ways in which social relations were disrupted or consolidated and communities fractured or united by the flu. But Humphries is critical of what he identifies to be the self-limiting nature of this body of work, arguing that in their attention to the local and particular,

authors failed adequately to place the pandemic within a national or global narrative. This assessment is, perhaps, unduly harsh, but the author's claims to innovation are legitimate, and his book is at once a masterful synthesis of existing scholarship and one that breaks new ground as a national history of the flu.

Humphries' predominant concern is to address the questions of how the state and individual Canadians understood epidemic disease and how the Spanish flu altered Canadians' relationship to, and expectations of, their government. Framing the pandemic as a national crisis, he argues that the flu, because it invalidated prevailing ideologies of public health governance, required a re-figuring of the role of the federal government in securing the health of citizens. More particularly, he argues that the nature of the epidemic, which could not be contained by traditional quarantine measures, compelled planners to understand disease not as a foreign threat that could be addressed by externally-oriented responses aimed at regulating immigrant bodies, but rather as an endemic threat that could only be met with positive measures to improve the health of the social body. The most concrete of these responses was the creation, in 1919, of a national Department of Health. This act affirmed a new covenant between Canada and its people at precisely the time when wartime idealism, progressivism, and the social gospel, as well as widespread popular support for an expanded central government, were at their zenith.

The book's temporal scope is much broader than its title would suggest. The author compiles a history of Canada's responses to epidemic disease that spans a century, beginning with the cholera epidemics of 1930s and concluding with an assessment of the first two decades of the federal health department. He argues that over the long 19th century,

the lesson that Canadian authorities had consistently taken from a succession of epidemics was that Canadians were an intrinsically healthy population living in a salubrious land. Disease was something that came from abroad, and the best hope of containing it was through negative measures like quarantine and immigrant inspection; positive public health measures were simply unwarranted. This anachronistic approach was entrenched in the British North America Act, which designated quarantine as a federal responsibility and charged the provinces with addressing endemic problems through the operation of asylums and poorhouses. This division stunted the development of uniform public health measures and, when the flu struck in 1918, Canada was caught unprepared. Whereas in Great Britain and the United States advances in sanitary science, bacteriology, and medicine had spurred the creation of robust public health bodies, the apparent success of Canada's quarantine measures, especially during the 1890 influenza outbreak, foreclosed such developments, and Canada remained a backwater.

The primitive state of Canada's public health apparatus left the government helpless in the face of the Spanish flu, and local measures to contain the epidemic were largely negated by the incompetence and impotence of the federal authorities. Extant regulations did not name influenza as a reportable disease and public health authorities asserted no jurisdiction over troop movements. Consequently, Canadian and American soldiers, predominantly white and Anglo-Saxon, crossed borders made more permeable by the exigencies of war and they were largely invisible to a system that was, by 1918, grounded more in rituals designed to discipline immigrant bodies than measures to identify and contain disease.

The manifest failure of government to address the crisis of the flu strongly

influenced debates about postwar reconstruction as Canadians considered whether the government ought to relinquish the unprecedented powers it had gained in wartime, or whether it ought to turn these powers to the public good. While popular opinion favoured the latter, the Union government, formed to militarize Canadian society but elected on the basis of a fragile coalition with social reformers, opted to appease progressive voters rather than to seize the moment. The newly created Department of Health was far from being the far-reaching public health apparatus that many demanded. Nonetheless, Humphries chooses to count the department's successes, not its failures, and to emphasize change over continuity. He argues that the department oversaw a fundamental shift in public health policy from disease management to disease prevention, that new approaches to border screening re-framed immigrants as potential citizens instead of potential threats, and that the development of innovative cost-shared programs marked the arrival of a new model whereby the federal government could work within the framework of the BNA Act to influence areas of provincial jurisdiction.

Well researched and argumentatively coherent, this is one of those rare books that will please readers of disparate interests. While Humphries is principally concerned with governance and public policy, readers interested in social or medical history will also find much for them in this book. One of the author's signal accomplishments is to integrate into his narrative clear and accessible explanations of the biology and pathology of the flu and a detailed account of contemporary understandings of the origins and spread of the epidemic. To his great credit, he does so without anachronism. He also breaks ground by bringing new sources to bear on old questions. By

mining military records, he is able to offer a new and convincing assessment of how jurisdictional disputes between military and civilian authorities, combined with a singular focus on immigrants as the only plausible source of contagion, opened the doors to the rapid diffusion of the disease across Canada. And while his gaze remains substantially political, he does not neglect the social and the personal. Especially when concerned with reporting the flu's morbidity and mortality, he lends poignancy to his account by including carefully selected passages that give a sense of the psychic impact of this terrifying disease, and he reminds the reader that while the flu afflicted all social classes, its effects were not evenly distributed.

CHRIS DOOLEY

University of Winnipeg

Theodore Michael Christou, *Progressive Education: Revisioning and Reframing Ontario's Public Schools, 1919-1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2012)

IN THE HISTORY of public schooling, perhaps no concept has been more controversial or more misunderstood than "Progressive Education." It has represented to its detractors everything wrong with the modern education system and to its supporters nothing less than a panacea for solving the problems of education and society as a whole. Furthermore, many historians who have sought to undertake the quixotic task of preparing an objective assessment of the movement have been frustrated by an inability to define exactly what was meant by the term in the first place. Progressive educational thought has taken on many forms, some of them seemingly contradictory. Thus, Theodore Michael Christou's *Progressive Education: Revisioning and Reframing*

Ontario's Public Schools 1919-1942 is an ambitious and welcome entry into the field of education history in Canada. Christou examines progressive educational thinking in interwar Ontario with an eye to answering broader questions about how progressive education itself was understood within the context of a society that was being rapidly transformed by the processes of modernity, world war, and economic depression.

Christou argues that these decades saw the complete transformation of the Ontario public education system. This transformation was guided by progressive thinking that took hold in the minds of educational authorities. By examining progressive rhetoric as expressed in two educational journals, *The Canadian School Journal* and *The School*, Christou defines "progressive education" as consisting of three distinct domains or themes: active learning, individualized instruction, and the linking of schools with society. Within chapters discussing each of these themes, Christou explores three recurring interpretations of what these progressive principles meant. Progressives were divided into those who saw progressivism through the lens of "child study and development," those who were interested in promoting "social efficiency and industrial order," and those whose primary concern was "social meliorism and cooperation." (7) In exploring these three "orientations" (7) of progressive education, Christou argues that progressive education must be understood both in terms of common pedagogical beliefs and in terms of the differing ways in which these beliefs were interpreted in widely different ways by those with different educational agendas. While the explicit connection of these agendas to specific ideological positions and/or political factions could be more clearly drawn, Christou succeeds in illustrating the connection between educational

change and the broader social and political context of the time.

The greatest strength of this study lies in its ability to differentiate between the motives of different groups of so-called progressives. While they all shared an antipathy to what Christou terms the "humanist" vision of the school, in which students passively received lessons in areas of classical study and sought to memorize and recite a series of facts that were unconnected to daily life in order to master intellectual "discipline," they could not agree on what the new purpose of schooling should be. (103) Some, versed in the newly developing field of child psychology, insisted upon education that would foster individualism and self-directed personality development. Others regarded the process of education as designed to construct citizens well fitted to success within the existing social and industrial order. Children were to be given scientific tests that would evaluate their innate academic aptitude and in preparation for whatever future vocational path their potential suggested. Finally, there were those who argued in favour of schooling as a way of achieving social reform and social justice. These individuals promoted the idea of school being focused primarily upon preparing students for participation within democratic institutions. They were outspoken critics of laissez-faire capitalism and argued that a better society based around cooperation rather than competition could only emerge if children were educated in a progressive fashion. Among Progressives, then, there was no consensus regarded what progressive education was actually intended to accomplish. Indeed, the vast differences between the latter two factions calls into the question the very idea of whether they should be considered part of the same educational movement at all. Ranking children according to "natural" ability and preparing

them for entry into specific occupations would seem to be in direct opposition to the goal of encouraging all children to collectively challenge the social order itself. American historian David Labaree, in "Progressivism, Schools and Schools of Education: An American Romance" [*Paedagogica Historica*, 41, nos. 1&2, (2005): 275–288], offers one possible answer to the question of whether these two schools of thought should be considered part of the same broader movement in arguing that the Progressive Education movement split into two factions, "administrative progressives" and "pedagogical progressives," over this very issue of whether schools were intended to stimulate social change or facilitate social adjustment.

By his own admission, Christou's study is focused primarily on the intellectual history of pedagogical thinking rather than the social history of classroom practice. However, an understanding of the day-to-day task of interpreting the curriculum and turning its principles into workable lessons would be helpful in determining the broader impact of progressive education upon the children that educationists hoped to reach and transform with their reforms. At 145 pages without endnotes, there is certainly room to explore the issue of how what is presented as largely a theoretical debate between a small number of educational reformers translated into changes in classroom practice. More attention could also be paid to the subject of social class. Progressivism was a middle class movement directed at a school population that was mostly working class. In advocating that education be less academic and more related to vocational preparation, progressive reformers were involving themselves in the contentious area of class relations and conflict between labour and capital. Similarly, while the study illuminates complexities within progressive

educational thought, it is less successful at situating public education itself within the social and political context of the time period. This is mostly due to the limited amount of space devoted to this context, much of it relatively superficial. Although Christou sets out to define progressivism within a strictly educational context, declaring, "the term relates to matters of pedagogy and rhetoric, not political or ideological trends of progressivism writ large in provincial or national contexts," (6) surely these contexts greatly inform how the term was understood within education. Just as John Dewey and the American progressives were part of a larger Progressive movement of the late 19th Century, so too can Canadian progressive education be placed within the context of prior religious and secular movements for social reform and the birth of social science.

Notwithstanding these limitations in scope, Christou's work is an essential study of progressive educational thought and a useful addition to the field of Canadian education history. It will be of significant help to Canada's future teachers who enter into a profession where debates over progressive education continue to rage, especially within the context of neoliberal calls for "back to the basics" reforms. Christou's discussion in chapter one of his own encounter with being pejoratively labelled a "progressive" teacher highlights the importance of his study for those seeking to understand the roots of our current education system and the debates within it.

GEORGE BURI
University of Manitoba

Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself: The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-44* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2012)

BY CONDUCTING an exhaustive reading of the records of Ontario's Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) from the 1920s through the 1940s, Malleck dives deep into the landscape of public drinking culture in the province and provides the reader with a fascinating slice of cultural history that engages politics, commerce, class, ethnicity, and gender. Throughout the book, Malleck provides concrete examples of drinking establishments (hotels) and community members from towns and cities across Ontario, and paints a clear picture of this facet of everyday life in the province in these years. Owing to Malleck's rich detail and invigorating writing style, we can envision the interiors of these establishments and the goings-on of their proprietors and clientele.

At its core, *Try to Control Yourself* explores the mechanisms the province employed to control individuals' behaviours; thus, the main scholarly fields to which Malleck's book contributes are the histories of bureaucratic regulation and controlling alcohol consumption. The main question he seeks to address is: after the repeal of Prohibition, how did the government extend its regulatory reach and shape citizens' notions of what constituted proper drinking behaviour in public? Focusing on public drinking through the lens of the LCBO – the provincial regulatory agency that regulated who drank, and where, when, and what – Malleck greatly contributes to our understanding of alcohol, the state, and society.

The book challenges some prior assumptions about the oppressiveness of Ontario's liquor control regime. Other studies have argued that the LCBO was governed by dry ideologues and was

needlessly restrictive, that it consistently penalized working-class drinkers and ethnic minorities, and that it was dominated by political wheeling and dealing. Instead, Malleck demonstrates, the Board's relationship with the public was more fluid than has often been assumed. The regulators often accommodated to local conditions and diverse personal circumstances of the liquor establishments, they did not uniformly discriminate against particular social groups, and they often were impervious to political patronage and favours.

Prohibition was repealed in Ontario in 1927 and, beginning in 1934, the main public establishments in which alcohol consumption was permitted were hotels (that is, taverns with rooms to rent), whose proprietors had to apply to the province for a license (called a beer and wine authority) to serve alcohol. Malleck's book concentrates on the LCBO's regulation of hotels in the years 1934-1944 and closely studies the reports written by the Board's inspectors who visited the hotels. A litany of restrictions were placed on hotels that wished to serve alcohol: where patrons could sit, which employees could serve them, the architecture of the beverage room, where and how women could mingle with men, whether music could be played, whether dancing could be incorporated, where and how much food could be served, and a ban on gambling. The main concern of the government was to ensure respectability of the drinkers. As alcohol was reintroduced as a legal beverage, the authorities sought to maintain tight controls on propriety in accordance with public concerns. The anti-drink sentiments that had led to the enactment of Prohibition were still quite strong among certain segments of the population. And yet, government officials did not want to be too restrictive, for fear that they would instigate illegal liquor commerce – bootlegging and blind pigs. Thus, the

province's objective was to maintain a balance: closely regulating the conditions of public drinking to maintain moderation, order, and respectability while allowing enough opportunities for social alcohol consumption so that drinkers would not be driven to underground outlets which were seen as a threat both to lawfulness and to tax revenue collection. While the LCBO did not open the floodgates and permit liberal drinking, neither did it represent a continuation of the prohibitionist mindset. Malleck argues that the LCBO's regulatory regime reversed the earlier trajectory of drying out the province; instead, it stood between the Drys and the Wets by seeking the expansion of outlets for public drinking, but under carefully controlled conditions.

Building on theories about regulation and governance by scholars such as Mitchell Dean and Michel Foucault, Malleck has developed a theoretical underpinning for his study that he calls "biopower," which denotes the state's "pervasive management of the internal life of the individual." (8) Unlike prohibition or other forms of social control, biopower involves both restriction and empowerment of physical behaviours, and in the case of Ontario's liquor control in the 1930s, it was used to inculcate individual drinkers' self-control. Viewing social history through the eyes of the state's officials is a tricky proposition. Malleck is always mindful that his evidence reflects the limited and biased perspectives of paternalistic white, male, middle-class regulators, and that their records are limited by the bureaucratic processes and language they employed in their investigations of the hotels. LCBO officials were, he argues, "interested in normalizing a specific type of drinking within a narrowly focused notion of respectability." (15) Nevertheless, he finds considerable negotiation occurring between the regulatory body and the local communities.

While Malleck wants to communicate the extensive authority and processes of the complex bureaucracy in constructing the self-moderating "citizen drinker," he also wants to convey the limits of bureaucratic power.

Ontario's liquor control regime did take into account the social class of the hotel's clientele, but not always in a discriminatory manner. While the inspectors sometimes denied a liquor authority because of a hotel's "low class" associations, in other cases working-class hotels were more likely to receive a liquor authority because the LCBO wished to channel workers' drinking into an establishment supervised by the government in order to preclude bootlegging. One of the regulators' main criteria was "need," by which they surveyed whether a community had an adequate number of hotel beverage rooms and if there was a factory whose workers would likely want to congregate in a beverage room. Similarly, they surveyed whether a hotel was well-positioned to serve the demands American tourists, such as in Windsor and Niagara Falls. The Board also made sure that different ethnic minority groups had access to social spaces for drinking. In essence, Malleck finds that the inspectors were governed as much by pragmatism as by morality in their decisions. While the Board did "assert a notion of bourgeois respectability, it was not absolute in enforcing such a class-centred ideal," and it often accommodated working-class hotels, as long as the regulators determined the proprietor was doing his or her best to make the place respectable. (85)

Resisting the Drys' pressure to ban women, the LCBO permitted women in hotel beverage rooms. Although the inspectors used a bourgeois distinction between respectable and disrespectable women, they recognized that by the 1930s even respectable women wanted to drink and decided that, with proper

chaperoning, they should be allowed to consume alcohol in public spaces. Many women were hotel proprietors and employees, and the LCBO encouraged their role in the management of the hotels, viewing them as maternal forces who would instill moderation and respectability. Here, Malleck finds that the community's views about the propriety of women engaging in public drinking had less to do with a social class divide than cultural ideas about drinking and gender that were detaching from social class identities as Ontario entered the 1930s.

Malleck's enlightening study of public alcohol regulation shows that the practices of the LCBO in the 1930s, which constructed the citizen-drinker under the watchful eye of the government, made possible the more open regulatory system established by Ontario later in the 1940s.

PAMELA E. PENNOCK

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Eric Strikwerda, *The Wages of Relief: Cities and the Unemployed in Prairie Canada, 1929–39* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2013)

THIS BOOK EXAMINES the development and implementation of relief policy in Canada during the Great Depression from the perspective of the nation's cities (rather than the provinces or the federal government). It was the cities, after all, which assumed the primary responsibility for providing relief to the growing numbers of unemployed in their midst in the early Depression years.

Eric Strikwerda examines the experiences of Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton, and justifies his choice on the grounds that regional peculiarities made the Depression experience on the prairies different from elsewhere in Canada. Western cities were more dependent upon agriculture, and had smaller and

less robust industrial bases (certainly compared to many of their counterparts in central Canada). The Depression also lasted longer on the prairies. While it began to abate in central Canada in 1933, recovery only began in the West after 1937.

The concept of "local responsibility" (the centuries-old convention that held local authorities accountable for providing relief to the poor) imposed an onerous burden on prairie cities after 1929. But Strikwerda argues that it also gave municipal officials considerable latitude, enabling them to pursue relief policies designed to lessen what they believed were the Depression's most dangerous effects, as well as to cope with the economic crisis more broadly. At the same time, though, this latitude was constrained by these cities' relationships with the provincial and federal governments, local businesses and community organizations, and the unemployed themselves. These both helped and hindered municipal relief administrators' efforts to carry out their responsibilities to the unemployed while at the same time safeguarding their middle-class conceptions of social order and how and to whom relief ought to be provided.

In 1929 there was a six-month residence requirement in each of these prairie cities; Winnipeg and Edmonton would soon increase theirs to a year. For those who did meet the residence requirement, married men (with or without children) stood a far better chance of obtaining relief than single men. In the eyes of relief administrators, "the unemployed married man represented stability, maturity and responsibility." The unemployed single man, in contrast, "represented shiftlessness, youthfulness and potential danger; he was restless – riding the rods, living in makeshift jungles, or begging on back doorsteps." (58)

It was also highly desirable that men on relief be put to work. This "kept men busy,

reinforced the work ethic and limited the probability of welfare dependence.” (100) However, work relief was more expensive than simply providing food, clothing, and shelter. At the outset of the Depression, these cities were hard-pressed to cover the cost of cash wages and equipment, and so the work projects that were undertaken were typically modest ones: laying sewer and water lines and grading roads.

More ambitious (and expensive) projects became possible when Prime Minister R.B. Bennett launched a nationwide job creation scheme in 1930. It was financed by all three levels of government, but was administered entirely by the cities. The projects that were undertaken over the next two years not only provided the unemployed with meaningful work, “they provided cities with lasting and useful infrastructure at a fraction of what they would have cost without federal and provincial financial involvement.” (94) Local manufacturing firms and construction companies also benefited. The projects that were undertaken in each of these cities reflected local priorities. In Edmonton most involved laying sewer lines and gravelling or paving roads; in Saskatoon the biggest projects were a traffic bridge and a railway underpass; in Winnipeg two traffic bridges and a civic auditorium were built.

Then, in 1933, the federal government began to assume a larger role in the development, oversight, and administration of relief policy. First it assumed responsibility for single unemployed men; then it refused to continue to fund public works projects that would give real jobs to those who were on relief. The second decision was to have profound consequences for these prairie cities and indeed for all cities in Canada, Strikwerda argues. Under this federal work relief scheme cities had obtained “first-rate infrastructure at cut-rate costs.” (178) Although it had not solved the unemployment crisis (or even

alleviated it to any serious degree) it had placed the cities at the centre of urban unemployment relief policy making when it came to project selection, the purchasing of materials, and deciding who would get the jobs. Once the last of these projects were completed in the spring of 1933, the cities would be “reduced to mere custodians of their own relief systems.” (178)

In time, the mayors of these prairie cities, and many of their counterparts across the nation, came to believe that the federal government ought to assume the entire cost of relief since it had access to greater tax revenues than they did. This sentiment found expression in two conferences in 1935. The first, in Calgary in January, drew mayors and other civic representatives from the four western provinces. The second, the Dominion Conference of Mayors, was national in scope and took place in Montréal two months later. The mayors of Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton joined with their counterparts in urging the federal government to assume full financial responsibility for relief, but R.B. Bennett was not prepared to do so. Neither was his successor, William Lyon Mackenzie King, when the cities presented him with the same request in 1936 and 1937.

For the most part, *The Wages of Relief* is a top-down history; it approaches the subject from the perspective of the mayors, aldermen (as they were called in those days) and senior civic bureaucrats in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton. It is not difficult to understand why Strikwerda chose to do so. The newspapers and the extensive collections of municipal records in city and provincial archives provide a wealth of information about how relief policy was developed, implemented, and altered over the course of the 1930s. Most of those who sat on these city councils were businessmen, and it is their views on these matters that receive most of Strikwerda’s attention.

But in two of these cities businessmen did not have complete control over municipal government in the 1930s. In Edmonton Dan Knott, running under the Canadian Labour Party (CLP) banner, was elected mayor in 1931, 1932, and 1933. As many as six CLP aldermen sat on city council there between 1932 and 1935. And in 1934 the Independent Labour Party (ILP) won Winnipeg's highest elected office. The outcome of the aldermanic contests was a tie: six ILP candidates, two Communists, an independent favourable to Labour, and nine with ties to Winnipeg's business community were victorious. John Queen's vote as mayor gave Labour a majority. Queen lost his bid for re-election in 1936, however, and the ILP lost control of city council.

To what extent did the social democrats and communists who won seats on city council champion the interests of those who were on relief, and how successful were they in bringing about reforms? And what about the relief recipients themselves? In Edmonton, the Unemployed Married Men's Association won a small victory in a 1934 strike. Were there other strikes and other successes, one wonders? Strikwerda ought to have told us more about the organizations that appeared in these cities after 1929 to give voice to the grievances of those who were on relief and the impact their protests had at City Hall.

J. WILLIAM BRENNAN
University of Regina

Geoff Meggs and Rod Mickleburgh, *The Art of the Impossible: Dave Barrett and the NDP in Power, 1972-1975* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing 2012)

"ARE WE HERE FOR a good time or a long time?" Dave Barrett famously asked his cabinet colleagues in 1972 just after being sworn in as British Columbia's first NDP

premier. As Barrett recalls, "We were impatient to do something decent and honest and human. It was going to be a good time for the ordinary people of British Columbia." (58)

Barrett's government set a blistering pace of progressive change. That, and the government's self-proclaimed socialist beliefs, resulted in a ferociously hostile reception from the corporate sector, the media, and a coalition of centre-right political forces behind Bill Bennett's revived Social Credit Party, which brought down Barrett in 1975.

The Art of the Impossible (the phrase is Vaclav Havel's defence of principled politics) suggests that much of Barrett's agenda can be characterized as modernizing BC's public administration after twenty years of neglect under Premier W.A.C. Bennett, Bill Bennett's father. Barrett advanced social services, education, human rights, public enterprise, and environmental protection: hardly the stuff of ideologically driven socialism.

Many of the issues that roiled west-coast waters from 1972 to 1975 are still central to BC politics today (as are the considerable accomplishments of this government). These issues include shipping Canadian oil by tanker along BC's coast, sustainably developing and capturing proper resource rents from natural gas, preserving farmland through the NDP's Agricultural Land Reserve, and updating liquor laws.

Even concerns about US security forces' covert monitoring and interference have a current sensibility. Barrett and some colleagues felt that, with the BC government's acquisition of resource companies, the high degree of US ownership, and American anger over the NDP's moves to raise the price of natural-gas exports from rock bottom, the CIA and State Department "were not above direct interference to hasten [the NDP's] downfall." (284)

Meggs' and Mickleburgh's coverage of labour is especially engaging. They describe the late-1960s internecine leadership struggle in the BC NDP between Barrett and his labour-backed predecessor, Tom Berger, and Berger's subsequent defeat in the 1969 election. Once acclaimed leader in 1970, Barrett tried to end union-local bloc affiliations fearing that those ties hurt the NDP's popularity with voters. Barrett often declared, "this is not a labour party. This is a party representing the common interests of the common man." (37)

Labour relations under W.A.C. Bennett were conflict-ridden and his policy harshly one-sided, aimed at diminishing union power. In 1972, Barrett chose Bill King, a tough-minded locomotive engineer from the southern interior (and a heroic figure for the authors), as labour minister. King, like Barrett, believed in steering an independent course to create a reformed labour code, rather than handing the process to the Fed – the BC Federation of Labour. The result was what the authors call "undoubtedly one of the Barrett government's finest achievements: a dynamic, sweeping new labour code" that "set the standard nationally and internationally for a generation" (153–54), but also generated bitterness among some Fed leaders.

Bill 11 moved the balance considerably towards labour and into the middle ground of fairness, but also aimed at curtailing bitter strife. Dispute jurisdiction was wisely removed from the courts and placed in an innovative new Labour Relations Board (LRB). The code made it easier to certify union representation, professional strikebreakers were banned, vital public-sector employees now had the right to strike, and craft unions for workers with similar interests could be ordered into joint bargaining councils. However, new rules limited union picketing at locations beyond an employer's strikebound place of business.

While King and Barrett believed in unionism and free collective bargaining, the authors write that an "even-handed approach" was not what the Fed expected and wanted from the government. The Fed was peeved at picketing limits and the fact that none of their recommended personnel were placed on the proposed Board, eventually under the chairmanship of legal scholar Paul Weiler. On the other hand, some prominent labour leaders such as Jack Munro of the Woodworkers (IWA) and Stan Little, national head of CUPE, praised the NDP's measures. The right to opt unilaterally for binding arbitration was very helpful to the Hospital Employees' Union's organizing efforts.

The LRB succeeded in positively reshaping BC's labour climate. Nowadays, "when the impact of labour is sadly reduced, this beacon from the Barrett years still shines." (170) The NDP also modernized the Workers' Compensation Board by instituting independent case review boards, broadening definitions of industrial disease, stepping up enforcement of safety orders, and similar measures. The BC Government Employees' Union was given its first master agreement with the most generous wage hikes ever for BC public servants.

The final breach between the Fed and the NDP occurred in the summer and autumn of 1975. Skyrocketing inflation, layoffs, and crippling strikes beset Canada's economy, as labour struggled to keep pace with living costs. Wage demands and corporate intransigence led to a showdown between the powerful Employers' Council of BC and forest-company councils on one hand, and the IWA and two pulp and paper unions on the other. The unions feuded amongst each other, another example of the many divisions in labour ranks over Barrett's policies. With a slump in lumber and pulp prices, forest employers offered no wage increase other

than a cost-of-living adjustment. Frantic government efforts to stifle strikes failed.

With the BC forest industry shut down for three months, and other crippling strikes underway, the NDP introduced a bill to order 50,000 private-sector union workers back to their jobs for a 90-day cooling-off period, during which Barrett hoped that both sides would “grow up” and “get on with it.” (298) Despite near-universal support from voters, including striking rank-and-file workers, fuming Fed leaders demanded the government retract the bill. Barrett, they hoped, would be replaced by “a true NDP government” (300) faithful to the traditions of J.S. Woodsworth, Tommy Douglas and Angus MacInnis. In turn, Douglas and member of Parliament Grace MacInnis, Woodsworth’s daughter and MacInnis’s widow, both endorsed Bill 146 which, along with federal wage and price controls, reshaped BC’s 1970s labour landscape.

In the following snap election, some union forces backed off from support for the NDP. While Barrett’s share of the vote held steady, the coalescing of former Liberal and Conservative voters behind Social Credit doomed the NDP. King later avowed that economic threats to BC necessitated action, and that the crisis may have been rigged by corporations to harm the NDP’s chances.

Both authors, who portray intractable union militants as partly to blame for the deadlock, are well-grounded in labour issues. Meggs is a Vancouver city councillor, former communications director for an NDP government, and a union journalist who specialized in the fisheries. Mickleburgh is a long-time BC-based *Globe and Mail* writer who covered labour issues. They’ve used extensive interviews with politicians, including Barrett and his family, unpublished academic studies from the University of Victoria’s BC Project, and a previously unused diary kept by a key Barrett aide.

Academics would prefer some precision in each chapter’s documentation of sources, more consideration of Barrett’s ideas, and deeper analysis of election results. Still, the book is an engaging, balanced consideration of an administration that broke new ground and continues to exert some influence nearly 40 years after the “good time” came to an abrupt end. What Barrett called “a People’s Century” on his election night lasted just 39 months, but the authors suggest that despite his government’s many fumbles, its accomplishments were remarkable and largely unappreciated.

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Dimitry Anastakis, *Autonomous State: The Struggle for a Canadian Car Industry from OPEC to Free Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)

DIMITRY ANASTAKIS’ new book, *Autonomous State: The Struggle for a Canadian Car Industry from OPEC to Free Trade*, examines the Canadian state’s battle for a “fair share” of North American automotive investment between 1973 and 1989. Anastakis argues that despite the absence of truly domestic original equipment manufacturers, Canada was able to “carve out and grow a ‘fair share’ of the North American car industry for Canada.” (5) *Autonomous State* argues that the Canadian state’s creative and aggressive policies during this period succeeded in building a “vibrant” and “multinational” Canadian auto sector that, despite significant challenges, persists today. (7)

According to Anastakis, the ability of Canadian policymakers to challenge both the Big 3 and Washington and successfully achieve a “fair share” hinged upon two main factors: First, he argues

that the while the distance between Windsor and Detroit is small, the border between Canada and the US remains politically significant. The Big 3, though a long familiar presence in Canada, are still seen by Canadian policymakers, workers, and consumers as foreign firms. In the decades following World War II this foreignness gave the Canadians leverage to make and achieve demands by threatening to limit access to Canada's small, but significant, domestic market. The second key factor for Canada's success was the Canadian state's continental vision toward growing the industry. Eschewing traditional import substitution, policymakers instead pursued a third way in growing Canada's auto industry by "employ[ing] an ingenious form of managed trade through the auto pact that included mildly protectionist production safeguards but dispensed with tariff." (10)

The 1965 Auto Pact, which Anastakis covered in detail in his first book *Auto Pact: Creating a Borderless North American Auto Industry, 1960-1971* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), created a "new continental regime" of automotive production in North America that led to an explosion of new investment in Canada. Despite impressive growth, the Canadian state was faced with fresh challenges resulting from increased regulation, technological change, and geopolitical shifts. Continentalism didn't guarantee that the Big 3 would meaningfully incorporate Canada into their restructuring strategies that, according to *Autonomous State*, were triggered by the 1973 Yom Kippur War and ensuing oil embargo. For Anastakis the period between 1973 and 1989 was characterized by a "titanic battle" over North American automotive investment that took place on "three fronts." (7)

The first front was the ongoing competition between provinces of Canada (like Ontario and Quebec), and between

Canada and the US government and its individual states, for investment. As firms reorganized and streamlined their production amid increased competition and the fading of the post-war investment boom the need to line up new production became paramount for Canadian policy makers. Ontario, already a hub of auto investment, was seen by Quebec to be unfairly favoured by Ottawa, and US states feared losing out to lower wages in Canada as the industry restructured. Anastakis uses the battle over Ottawa and Queens Park's decision to subsidize the Windsor Ford engine plant to demonstrate this tension.

The 1979–81 bailout and restructuring of Chrysler was another source of tension between Canada and the US. For Anastakis the Chrysler episode shows the ingenuity and steadfastness of Canadian policymakers in their approach to the auto industry. Instead of accepting job losses, Canadian policymakers linked loan guarantees for Chrysler to promises of sustained employment and increased investment in Canada. Though Canadian policymakers couldn't have foreseen the incredibly profitable boom in minivans and light trucks, their willingness to challenge the US on the nature of the bailout and their understanding of Canada's centrality to Chrysler's production footprint enabled them to leverage major gains in the firm's crisis. The Chrysler episode was also significant for Anastakis in its importance for Canadian autoworkers. The decision by the Canadian workers to diverge from the concessionary path of the United Auto Workers set them on a trajectory that would ultimately lead to the formation of an independent union for Canadian autoworkers.

The battle over the investment plans of offshore producers is the third area of concern for Anastakis. As the Big 3 lost market share in the 1970s and turned to the US state for protection from Japanese

imports, Canadian policymakers found themselves in a difficult situation. Like the US, the Canadian market had seen a significant increase in exports, first from Europe and then increasingly in the second half of the 1970s from Japan. The Canadian state worried that if the US successfully negotiated voluntary export restraints, Japan would simply channel its exports to Canada, overwhelming its small domestic market. Using “audacious,” aggressive, and legally questionable tactics the Canadian state managed to negotiate similar voluntary restraints and, more importantly, promises by Japanese automakers to invest in Canada. (338)

According to Anastakis, the ongoing battle between Canada, the Big 3, and the US led to an “impasse” by the end of the 1980s. Canada had been able to maintain wages and employment, garner coveted investment from both the Big 3 and the transplants, and increase its exports disproportionately relative to its small domestic market. But its tactics left a bad taste in the US government’s mouth and drew increasing criticism from the Big 3 who claimed the Canadians were aiding and abetting the (Japanese) enemy. “At the end of this nearly two-decade-long battle, the Canadian state willingly surrendered most of the creative policies it had utilized in the auto field, in exchange for what it saw as an even greater opportunity: comprehensive free trade with the United States.” (7)

Autonomous State has much to recommend it. Anastakis’s narrative draws upon a rich base of archival data and provides a detailed account of a story that it usually glossed over in analyses of the North American auto industry. Specifically, it illuminates the central role of the Canadian state in actuating the Auto Pact and demanding a fair share of investment. In this way it examines the possibilities and limitations of industrial

policymaking vis-à-vis multinational corporations and powerful states like the US.

However, there are three main, inter-related weaknesses of the book. First, the narrative is bookended between 1973 and 1989. The practical need for this time frame is understandable, but Anastakis also assigns the dates, and the political/diplomatic events they correspond to, undue significance that blurs the ongoing restructuring of the Canadian auto industry. Second, though the book is certainly an interesting window into the “entangled history” of the US and Canadian auto industries, its failure to consider Mexico is problematic. Although Canada and the US have a longer shared automotive history, one cannot understand the evolution of the Auto Pact and Canada’s role as an export platform without examining the evolution of the Mexican auto industry and its strategic role for both automakers and policymakers. Finally, Anastakis’s analysis of the evolution from fair-share to free-trade leaves the question of why free-trade came to be the only perceivable option for Canadian policymakers largely unanswered. This blind spot is a result, on the one hand, from a focus on decision-making that is largely unmoored from the broader ideological shift toward neoliberalism occurring in both Canada and the US during the 1980s, and on the other hand, from downplaying how restructuring in the industry significantly weakened Canadian policymakers’ and autoworkers’ leverage in demanding a fair share.

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Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet,
Speaking Up: A History of Language
and Politics in Canada and Québec.
 Translated by Patricia Dumas (Toronto:
 Between the Lines 2012)

IN THIS TRANSLATION of *Langue et politique au Canada et au Québec: Une synthèse historique* (Montreal: Éditions du Boréal, 2010), Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet offer the reader an authoritative discussion of language politics in Canada since the mid-16th century. The authors argue that language has always been contentious in Canada because it is bound up in symbolic politics of identity (*vouloir-vivre collectif*), unequal socio-economic relations between different groups (*devoir-vivre collectif*), and questions of governance and management of social divisions (*comment-vivre collectif*). By measuring the interaction between language and politics, changes in Canadian political culture surrounding language can be identified.

The book's analysis is divided into six chronological periods and rests mainly on a synthesis of existing literature, but also on the careful use of archival documents. Chapter 1 (1539–1848) discusses how language evolved from a colonial and religious question to a national-political issue at the turn of the 19th century. Following the 1837–38 rebellions, the ethnic concept of political communities took hold in English and French-Canadian circles, and the recognition of French as a language became synonymous with the destiny of the French-Canadian nation. Chapter 2 (1848–1927) analyses the first major political conflicts over language in Canada which arose from a political culture dominated by Canada's anglophone bourgeoisie. Attempts to assimilate French-speakers via unilingual schooling were met with vigorous resistance which gave life to the French-Canadian nation and further solidified the link between

language and nation. As Chapter 3 (1927–1963) shows, French-Canadian militancy was so strong that the anglo-Canadian model of one language and one nation was abandoned in favour of more peaceful relations between English and French-Canadian elites.

Language never disappeared as a political issue, however, and in Chapter 4 (1963–1969) Martel and Pâquet argue that the Laurendeau-Dunton and Gendron commissions were of major importance in undermining social polarization over language. The commissions also heralded in a new era of state intervention in language planning which is discussed in Chapter 5 (1969–1982). Both the Canadian and Québec governments opted for major legislative measures in language planning in order to foster respective visions of national unity and political harmony. As the authors show, Canada and Québec had fundamentally different philosophies and approaches in their legislation, and the differences in social context between Canada and Québec led to major variations in the trajectory of language controversies. Chapter 6 (1982–) explains how the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* began a new era of rule of law and court intervention in language politics. Here Martel and Pâquet give a thorough discussion of major language rights cases and their outcomes in both Québec and throughout the various Canadian provinces. They argue that recourse to law as a new way of managing language conflicts has led to a decline in mass mobilization around language. Rule of law has also undermined Québec nationalism because it affirms equality of cultures and languages over equality of nations. Martel and Pâquet conclude by reminding readers that language in Canada remains contentious and political, and can still be subversive insofar as languages other than English can be evoked in order

to resist global capitalistic hegemony and foster nationalism.

Speaking Up is grounded in an exhaustive synthesis of existing literature which spans a number of disciplines and research fields on language politics in Canada. Martel and Pâquet have skilfully brought together a wide array of works on colonial and world history, intellectual history, social history, sociology, law, and political science. Chapter 6, for example, draws from scholarship on the *Charter*, Meech Lake Accord, language legislation, linguistic vitality, demography, and institutional completeness, in addition to citing major legal decisions such as *Mercure* and *Mahé*. Martel and Pâquet also make use of a number of key archival documents – bills, laws, paintings, photographs, and editorial cartoons, among others – in order to illustrate and complement the book's narrative. Each chapter begins by showing the impact of international political developments on Canada, whether it be the shift towards national language management following the French Revolution, or the use of decolonization literature in the 1960s by Québécois nationalists.

While Martel and Pâquet draw heavily from examples in Ontario, Québec, and New Brunswick in their analysis, they are quick to point out the importance of language and politics in other regions such as western Canada, showing how provincial and regional language dynamics informed national politics. Their examination of the Manitoba Schools Question, for example, is painstakingly detailed. The authors have also included perspectives of First Nations and ethnic minorities such as Ukrainians who played important roles in determining the trajectory of language policy decisions. As a result, *Speaking Up* has a broad national scope, complimented by detailed analysis, which makes it well-balanced and useful to both students and experts of the

field. It should be of particular interest to scholars of Québec and francophone minorities in Canada or those interested in nationalism in Canada. Labour scholars will also be interested in the various details, interspersed throughout the book, on how socioeconomic disparities between French and English speakers have influenced language politics over time.

Translating this book from French will allow for a wider audience to appreciate its importance, but the translation is at times awkward and cumbersome, and the text reads with a French voice. There are some minor factual errors in the discussion of the ongoing *Caron* case (2004–) in Alberta; the authors claim that it has been referred to the Supreme Court of Canada while in fact it remains before the Alberta Court of Appeal (the question of expenses was decided upon by the Supreme Court in 2011, but the substantive question of language remains before the Albertan courts). At times, the breadth of the book leads the authors to skip over important details in major legal cases. When mentioning the *Mahé* affair, for example, Martel and Pâquet miss the importance of Catholicism and religion in fuelling Franco-Albertan opposition to secular, public francophone schools. It should be noted, however, that none of these small weaknesses take away from the overall strength of the book.

Overall this is an excellent synthesis of the history of language and politics in Canada and Québec. Martel and Pâquet have successfully shown how language has played a fundamental role in shaping Canadian history. Those who read *Speaking Up* will gain a greater understanding of the overall dynamic of language politics today and the evolution of francophone political ambitions in Canada and Québec.

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Gérard Bouchard, *L'interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois* (Montréal : Boréal 2012)

L'INTERCULTURALISME, n'ayant jamais été institué par une politique officielle de l'État québécois, reste l'objet d'un débat intellectuel fécond au Québec. Sa définition dépend dans une certaine mesure des orientations étatiques québécoises contenues dans diverses politiques ou documents officiels traitant par exemple de la langue française, de l'éducation et de la diversité québécoise, mais est également alimentée par le milieu universitaire. Gérard Bouchard nous présente ici l'aboutissement de sa réflexion sur le sujet sous la forme d'un essai.

Le choix de cette forme n'est pas dénué de sens. Bouchard s'inscrit dans un espace public qui n'a pas été tendre envers son rôle en tant que coprésident de la commission Bouchard-Taylor ou encore envers ses positions favorables à la remise en question des tendances exclusivistes susceptibles de se manifester au sein de la culture québécoise. Bien qu'un souci pédagogique sous-tende cet essai de 245 pages, la motivation principale qui guide chacun des cinq chapitres demeure celle de répondre aux critiques ayant été adressées au chercheur de la part de certains de ses collègues et d'une partie de la population québécoise. D'ailleurs, le quatrième chapitre, intitulé « Critique et défense de l'interculturalisme » est le plus volumineux (87 pages).

Le premier chapitre est consacré aux fondements du modèle de prise en compte de la diversité, pavant la voie au deuxième chapitre qui propose une définition de l'interculturalisme. Le troisième entre au cœur des débats québécois sur la légitimité de l'interculturalisme en insistant sur ce qui le distingue du multiculturalisme, modèle estimé par plusieurs comme étant inadapté à la réalité québécoise. Le

cinquième chapitre propose une réflexion sur un modèle de laïcité qui s'inspirerait des paramètres qui président au modèle théorique présenté dans les deux premiers chapitres. Le lecteur retrouvera ainsi non seulement dans cet essai les éléments (philosophiques et de politiques publiques) définissant l'interculturalisme québécois, mais également la pensée de Gérard Bouchard sur ce modèle d'intégration de la diversité – l'auteur insiste, il s'agit bien de sa contribution personnelle.

Au cœur de cette réflexion se trouve le souci de réconcilier l'objectif d'une cohésion de la communauté politique québécoise et celui du respect de la diversité. En ce sens, l'essai de Bouchard offre une position qui se veut médiatrice et se situant au centre des débats entre une certaine pensée conservatrice, qui tend à privilégier l'assimilation ; et une pensée républicaine, qui formule dans des termes universalisant des formules d'intégration se présentant comme étant culturellement neutres. C'est, par ailleurs, cette opposition qui semble faire œuvre commune à travers la présentation d'une charte « des valeurs », convertie en charte « de la laïcité », récemment, à Québec. On devine l'opposition de Bouchard à cette politique publique en raison de ses effets présumés sur le respect et l'intégration de la diversité culturelle et religieuse.

On ne pourra pas accuser Gérard Bouchard de se défilier face à l'adversité. Il reprend ainsi patiemment chacun des éléments les plus controversés de sa pensée afin d'en préciser les tenants et aboutissants. Parmi les concepts utilisés par l'auteur dans l'élaboration de sa réflexion sur l'interculturalisme, celui de dualité a sans doute été l'un des plus critiqués par le milieu académique. On a, entre autres, reproché au sociologue de réifier des catégories populaires (majorité, minorités) en soulignant la difficulté de leur opérationnalisation.

Or, nous rappelle l'auteur, le choix du paradigme de la dualité vise avant tout à affronter les exigences d'un modèle étatique devant présider à des rapports sociaux qui demeurent vécus comme tel au sein de la société.

On a également ciblé la propension de Gérard Bouchard à donner un statut épistémologique trop important au concept de culture. Il y a pourtant une réflexion intéressante ici en ce qu'elle remet en question la neutralité de l'État et de ses politiques. L'entreprise intellectuelle menée par Bouchard insiste sur la reconnaissance des marqueurs historiques et culturels attachés aux régimes politiques, ce que l'on ne peut négliger lorsqu'il s'agit de comprendre les dynamiques propres à la diversité sociale. Il se positionne ainsi de façon critique par rapport à la posture cherchant à traiter la diversité exclusivement à travers un prisme « politique », neutre ou républicain.

Ces précisions sont certainement les bienvenues puisqu'elles répondent effectivement à plusieurs critiques qui ne sont pas des plus généreuses envers la pensée de l'auteur. Cependant, certaines questions demeurent d'actualité. Il reste par exemple difficile de cerner la majorité dont il est question au cours de l'ouvrage, ce que l'auteur reconnaît, et de fixer le « paradigme » dominant au sein de la société québécoise. Ce paradigme de la dualité doit être pris en compte selon Bouchard afin d'inscrire l'interculturalisme au sein de l'autoreprésentation québécoise. Or, peut-être y aurait-il lieu de chercher à questionner l'utilisation de ce paradigme et poursuivre la dimension pédagogique de l'œuvre, surtout si le paradigme en question n'est pas fondé. Doit-on, aussi, souscrire à l'idée d'une domination du paradigme de la dualité au Québec? Les indices empiriques de cette domination ne semblent pas encore

établis. Quant à la majorité fondatrice, qui fait inévitablement référence à une conception historique particulière, il n'est pas clair qu'elle soit aussi facilement repérable.

La réalisation de l'« impératif sociologique » (75) consistant à assurer la cohésion ou l'unité sociale sera également, sans aucun doute, l'objet de critique. Par « impératif sociologique », l'auteur fait référence à la nécessité de préserver les fondements d'un vivre ensemble historique. Les conceptions de la communauté politique ne vont pourtant pas sans susciter de polémiques entre fédéralistes, souverainistes et communautés autochtones, pour ne soulever que les plus évidentes. Le concept de majorité fondatrice, en ce sens, fait appel à une mémoire collective éclatée et hétérogène. On doit néanmoins reconnaître à l'auteur une certaine transparence à ce sujet, lui qui s'engage à défendre la possibilité d'une société québécoise à part entière et dont l'existence serait assurée par la réconciliation – le développement d'un récit intégrant la diversité – plutôt qu'un rappel à l'ordre – l'insistance sur un récit dont la trame n'appartiendrait qu'à une majorité culturelle.

Enfin, il aurait été intéressant que la dimension économique de l'intégration soit davantage développée, comme l'affirme d'ailleurs l'auteur en plusieurs occasions. Le paradoxe consistant à « intégrer » la diversité au sein d'un système économique producteur et mobilisateur de différences demeure ici en suspens. Les facteurs qui se situent en amont de la gestion de la diversité auraient également pu être évoqués. La relative sérénité qui entoure les débats sur la diversité, relevée par Bouchard en conclusion, peut-elle être mise en parallèle avec la restriction de l'immigration à une certaine élite économique? Ces questions mériteraient d'être intégrées aux réflexions portant

sur l'intégration en contexte québécois. À la défense de l'auteur, ceci dit, notons que la problématisation du système économique est une denrée rare dans le champ des réflexions sur la diversité et des modèles d'intégration au Québec.

Quoiqu'il en soit, *L'interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois* demeure un ouvrage de référence incontournable pour celui qui cherche à connaître la genèse, les développements et les points de fuite de l'interculturalisme québécois. La dimension pédagogique de cet essai fait certainement œuvre utile, à condition que le lecteur reste attentif aux tensions conceptuelles qui marquent l'entreprise de réflexion du coprésident de la Commission Bouchard-Taylor.

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Darcy Ingram, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec: 1840-1914*

(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)

LES PREMIÈRES MESURES visant à protéger les ressources cynégétiques et halieutiques au Québec sont mises en place dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle sous l'égide du mouvement conservacionniste. Ce mouvement vise la protection de la nature par une exploitation rationnelle des ressources naturelles. En Amérique du Nord, comme au Québec, les autorités gouvernementales adoptent des réglementations encadrant les activités de chasse et de pêche pour que celles-ci correspondent au code de bonne conduite du chasseur et pêcheur sportif parallèlement à la création de parcs et de réserves pour assurer des aires de reproduction au gibier et au poisson.

Certes, l'essor du mouvement conservacionniste au Québec est indissociable de son pendant nord-américain avec lequel il partage de

nombreuses caractéristiques. Or, le mode de conservation qui a pris forme au Québec est fort différent de ce que l'on retrouve partout en Amérique du Nord. Le Québec est la seule juridiction en Amérique du Nord à avoir alloué les droits de chasse et de pêche exclusifs au plus offrant parmi les associations de chasseurs et de pêcheurs sur d'immenses portions des terres publiques. Ces associations, qu'on appelle généralement les clubs de chasse et de pêche, ont pris en charge les responsabilités d'assurer la survie à long terme des ressources fauniques par le gardiennage du territoire. Les historiens ont déploré les injustices découlant de ce « système » aux apparences de régime féodal qui a permis aux élites sportives nord-américaines d'exercer un monopole territorial et culturel sur les ressources de l'arrière-pays, et ce, au nom de la conservation du gibier et du poisson.

Les années 1880 sont marquantes dans le développement du système de location des droits de chasse et de pêche qui a perduré pendant un siècle au Québec. En 1882, un jugement de la Cour suprême du Canada confirme que les droits de pêche sur les eaux intérieures du domaine public reviennent aux provinces. Confirmé dans ses prétentions, le gouvernement provincial adopte une série de lois et règlements qui vont entraîner l'affermage de tout le territoire facilement accessible notamment l'*Acte pour faciliter la formation en cette province de clubs pour la protection du poisson et du gibier* de 1885. Or, les clubs pour la protection du gibier et du poisson sont actifs dans la province depuis le milieu du XIX^e siècle, mais leurs motivations et leur impact sur le développement de la conservation du gibier et du poisson au Québec était encore mal documenté.

C'est ici que s'inscrit la contribution de Darcy Ingram. Dans son ouvrage, Ingram remonte aux sources du mouvement de protection du gibier et du poisson dans la

province en mettant de l'avant les acteurs du mouvement, leurs motivations et leurs influences. Pour Ingram, l'engagement des grands propriétaires terriens britanniques pour l'amélioration du territoire a constitué le modèle à suivre pour les défenseurs de la protection des ressources fauniques au Québec après 1840. Ce faisant, plutôt que de situer l'origine du mouvement de conservation dans l'univers nord-américain, Ingram le situe plutôt dans l'évolution d'un courant européen et plus spécifiquement britannique : « Quebec's approach to wildlife conservation was as much the product of centuries of European custom and culture as it was of contemporary socio-economic trends » (8).

Le mouvement de conservation qui s'ensuit reflète les « sensibilités patriciennes » de ses promoteurs. Leurs initiatives s'articulent autour de la notion d'« improvement » qui est profondément ancrée dans l'histoire et la culture européenne. Au XIX^e siècle, cette volonté d'amélioration ne concerne plus uniquement le développement économique, mais devient un phénomène social comprenant la volonté d'amélioration personnelle autant qu'un sens de la responsabilité pour le progrès et le bien-être de la société en général. Les classes marchandes émergentes au milieu du XIX^e siècle, tant en Angleterre qu'au Québec, sont imprégnées des sensibilités patriciennes.

En revanche, en Amérique du Nord, les patriciens se montrent très utilitaristes selon Ingram. Ils s'impliquent pour développer les régions dont le potentiel agricole est faible. Le commerce des fourrures, l'exploitation forestière et l'exploitation minière sont des moyens par lesquels ces espaces contribuent au développement économique. Les premiers défenseurs du gibier et du poisson croient que des ressources fauniques bien aménagées peuvent jouer

le même rôle. Ainsi, les partisans de la protection du gibier et du poisson veulent non seulement conserver les ressources fauniques mais souhaitent aussi les *améliorer*.

Selon Ingram, plusieurs caractéristiques de la province au XIX^e siècle en font un lieu unique et propice à l'expression des sensibilités patriciennes. Avec ses noyaux urbains, industriels et financiers de Montréal et de Québec, la province occupe une position de plus importante au sein de l'Amérique du Nord britannique au milieu du XIX^e siècle. On y retrouve donc des élites économiques à la fois urbaines et rurales qui partagent le même univers culturel que leurs contreparties métropolitaines. Selon Ingram, ils sont suffisamment nombreux pour parler de la présence d'une culture patricienne au Québec. Ensuite, les rapports de pouvoir féodaux demeurent profondément ancrés dans la société québécoise qui se voit imposée, aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, « a British colonial framework fitted onto a former French seigneurial order » (10). Puis, on retrouve au Québec une population française et catholique ainsi des nations amérindiennes qui occupent l'espace rural et forestier. Ces populations ne possèdent pas de levier pour défendre leur utilisation de la faune. Occupant une situation privilégiée au sein des élites coloniales, les patriciens peuvent imposer leur autorité sur ces populations sans trop de difficultés. Enfin, les gouvernements colonial, fédéral puis provincial choisissent de louer les droits d'exploitation des ressources du domaine public plutôt que de vendre les terres. Il est alors possible pour les patriciens de jouer au grand propriétaire terrien en louant les droits de chasse et de pêche sur d'immenses portions des terres publiques. Ce contexte unique permet aux patriciens d'imprimer une empreinte profonde dans le développement de la conservation de la faune au Québec.

La première partie de l'ouvrage couvre les années 1840 à 1880. C'est l'époque où l'influence patricienne est la plus forte. Ingram explore comment l'État, de concert avec des associations sportives, a mis en place un cadre légal permettant à ces dernières de s'engager dans la défense du gibier et du poisson. Durant cette période, à l'exemple des grands propriétaires terriens d'Europe, une génération d'homme a senti le devoir d'intervenir au meilleur de leur connaissances pour trouver des solutions aux problèmes de la faune. Ils ne se sont pas satisfaits de protéger les ressources fauniques, mais ils ont voulu en améliorer l'état pour l'exploitation commerciale, sportive et même pour la pêche et la chasse de subsistance.

Les baux de pêche, les saisons de pêche, la restriction de certains engins de pêche ainsi que le gardiennage des rivières favorisent l'établissement d'un ordre social, cher aux patriciens, par opposition au désordre ayant cours au milieu du XIX^e siècle. Cependant, les communautés locales ont contesté ce nouvel ordre social en pêchant dans les territoires soumis au système des baux. Pour maintenir le contrôle ou l'apparence de contrôle, les patriciens se montrent paternalistes, mais magnanimes envers les braconniers pauvres.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage porte sur l'expansion et la consolidation du système de conservation de la faune de 1880 à 1914. Avec les années 1880, le gouvernement provincial facilite les démarches pour la location du territoire de chasse et de pêche. L'abondance du gibier, mais surtout la possibilité de devenir maître d'un immense territoire de chasse et de pêche attirent des sportifs des classes dominantes de tout l'est de l'Amérique du Nord. À la première génération de patriciens succède donc une nouvelle plus diversifiée et qui, de concert avec les élites politiques francophones,

retient uniquement l'utilisation sportive du gibier et du poisson dans une perspective de développement d'une économie tertiaire basée sur le sport. En utilisant les mêmes attitudes et stratégies que leurs prédécesseurs, les nouveaux patriciens parviennent, malgré une forte résistance populaire, à marginaliser la chasse de subsistance et la chasse commerciale.

Ainsi, comme le montre Ingram, au milieu du XIX^e siècle, la province est un lieu propice pour des hommes souhaitant aménager, au sein du Nouveau Monde, leur identité héritée du Vieux Monde. *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec* est un excellent ouvrage qui intéressera tous ceux qui veulent comprendre l'originalité des stratégies de conservation ayant eu cours dans la province de Québec.

GASTON CÔTÉ

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Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *An Environmental History of Canada*

(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2012)

IT IS PAST TIME for this survey of Canadian environmental history. Laurel Sefton MacDowell's *An Environmental History of Canada* enters the market with few competitors; Graeme Wynn's *Canada and Arctic North America: An Environmental History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007) and Neil S. Forkey's *Canadians and the Natural Environment to the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012) are the exceptions, but both of those texts fulfill distinct purposes and do not function as a full-fledged classroom text. So, MacDowell has, more or less, invented the structure of a national environmental history for a comprehensive, synthetic, and classroom-ready text. In this difficult

task, MacDowell has made a valiant effort and achieved success.

If an argument undergirds the book, it is the basic thesis of environmental history: nature influences historical change and is necessary to grasp the fullness of the past. Further, MacDowell effectively claims that Canadian environmental history is characterized by economic growth, not sustainable development; hubris, not humility; quick fixes, not systemic solutions for environmental problems. (5) Meanwhile, Native peoples and working people have tended to bear the brunt of deleterious ecological changes caused in the pursuit of Canadian development. Such a perspective permeates the book and the nation's history whether describing fishing cod, trading furs, farming wheat, logging trees, mining ore, or producing energy. MacDowell also demonstrates a central paradox through most of Canada's history and especially profound in the last century. Namely, national and provincial governments have been deeply implicated in supporting and facilitating economic developments, many with negative ecological effects. The methods were multiple, from infrastructure construction (e.g., Trans-Canada Highway) to sponsored research (e.g., Experimental Farms Service) to game management (e.g., Northwest Game Act) and much more. On the other hand, those same government bodies, especially after the environmental movement in the 1970s, were responsible for regulating pollution and managing resources. Canadians could expect, with few exceptions, such regulatory regimes to be underfunded, weak in enforcement, and unwilling to thwart the economically powerful. In other words, even when provincial legislatures and Parliament implemented new laws, business as usual largely prevailed.

The best of examples of this sort of failure may be the collapse of the iconic cod and salmon fisheries in the Atlantic

and Pacific respectively. Canadians, operating within global economies, harvested unimaginable tonnes of these fish for centuries. Government commissions appeared at the end of the 19th century to study and develop policy to promote and protect the fishery. Despite policy innovations – changing offshore fishery boundaries, developing aquaculture, or expanding regulatory authority of the Department of Oceans and Fisheries – both fisheries collapsed utterly, putting tens of thousands of Canadians out of work, rearranging aquatic ecologies, and sacrificing the fishing cultures of Aboriginals and Newfoundlanders among others. This tragic story, that MacDowell tells well, can stand in for several similar resource histories related in this book: exploitation was followed by recognition of problems only to be managed with inadequate understanding and weak will to alter the exploitative pattern leaving an environmental disaster and often an economic and social mess, as well.

An Environmental History of Canada is not all gloom and doom. MacDowell locates early critics of the exploitative penchant of industry and government. For instance, she describes Catharine Parr Trail who, in the mid-19th century, worried aloud about disappearing native flora and fauna. MacDowell also chronicles some progress in ameliorating environmental harm and promoting ecological sustainability. For example, she furnishes a useful history of organic agriculture and community food-security movements. Unfortunately, successes come less frequently in these pages than failures.

Writing a national environmental history is fraught with organizational challenges. The Canadian scale – geographical and temporal – is unwieldy. Besides the problems with scale, nature ignores international borders, and so national environmental histories always

rub against the limitations of the nation-state. More so than conventional historical topics, environmental history does not track well onto familiar chronological schemes following politically significant dates.

To counter such limitations, MacDowell chose an understandable organizational structure. There are four parts: Aboriginal Peoples and Settlers; Industrialism, Reform, and Infrastructure; Harnessing Nature, Harming Nature; and The Environmental Era. The first section is a fairly traditional chronology up to the late 19th century, chronicling Aboriginal uses of the land and how those regimes became compromised when Europeans explored, settled, and transformed the environment for commercial purposes. The next sections unfold somewhat chronologically; however, more discrete themes orient the chapters around issues such as cities, energy, or the North. Thus, the chapters necessarily overlap. The result of this organization is mixed. On the one hand, it seems ill-advised to cram the post-World War II histories of water, automobiles, agriculture, fisheries, parks, and more into a single chapter, and so MacDowell wisely separates out chapters for each of those topics and more. However, connective tissues are sacrificed in such a scheme. So, in one chapter, readers gain focus on how automobiles and consumerism interact to promote suburbanization and the combined ecological effects. But then they later turn to a chapter on energy development but are not treated to the ways these interconnected trends reveal crosscurrents in policy development and environmental impacts. All organizational schemes have tradeoffs; by moving toward topical chapters as the book progresses, MacDowell sacrifices connections for focus. It works, but some readers may wish for more integration.

Besides the scale and organization challenges, MacDowell faced capturing

a particularly burgeoning field. Although Canadian environmental history lagged behind that of the United States, it has recently become one of the most vibrant areas in both environmental and Canadian history. Today's Canadian environmental historians are theoretically sophisticated, methodologically innovative, and prolific. Keeping up with the outstanding work that continues to be published with great frequency is no mean feat, and MacDowell has done this admirably. Yet, while the text does keep up with the new topics appearing frequently in new monographs, it does not necessarily reflect the theoretical depth of this insightful work. This seems both a boon and a bane. By eschewing some of the rigorous theory, MacDowell has written a book that will be accessible to undergraduates; however, as a result, the book seems somewhat less vibrant than the field as a whole. Given the liveliness of Canadian environmental history, too, it seems likely that MacDowell will need to revise the text frequently to keep up with new developments.

In the end, the book is quite useful and mostly satisfying. The writing is exceptionally lucid and the coverage is broad. Also, the chapters contain useful illustrations and sidebars that function both visually and pedagogically. Instructors will find much value in the text. Today, there is so much more to know and learn in Canadian environmental history. But now the field can move toward more synthesis and integration across time and space. This text effectively furthers that intellectual enterprise. There is no doubt that thousands of Canadian undergraduates will receive their introductions and overviews of Canadian environmental history from this book. And they could do far worse.

ADAM M. SOWARDS
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Claire Campbell and Robert Summerby-Murray, eds., *Land and Sea: Environmental History in Atlantic Canada* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press 2013)

LAND AND SEA: Environmental History in Atlantic Canada is a multidisciplinary collection of essays on the knowledge and use of nature, conservation and environmental management, and sustainability and resilience. It includes work by established and new scholars and the foci of its articles reflects what contributor John Luedee, following Arthur McEvoy, refers to as the “‘ecological character’ of the human experience.” (282) Economy, ecology, and culture are interdependent “dynamic historical forces” and are experienced thus in the life of individuals, as well as at larger levels. Most of the contributors to *Land and Sea* live and work in the region; their work reflects their relationships to the “immense multi-generational investment that survives in the places around us.” (5) *Land and Sea* reflects trends in environmental history and Atlantic Canadian history, including a growing interest in understanding the tensions between diverse and changing perspectives held by people in the same place across time and in a shift away from declensionist portrayals that highlight human degradation of nature and regional dependency. Analyses of policy implications in the concluding paragraphs of many of the articles demonstrate this shift in approach. Maps, photographs, and illustrations ground the articles in place, and provide visual stimulation that animates the text.

The book is divided into three sections. The first, entitled “Understanding the Natural World,” consists of four essays focused on identifying and making use of diverse aspects of nature, and economic, political, and cultural struggles for power over resource development.

They include Heather Macleod’s, “Responding to the Land: Experiencing Nature in Nova Scotia, 1607–1900,” Allan Dwyer’s “Liminality and Change in an Atlantic Borderland: Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland in the 18th century,” “Colonizing Nature: Titus Smith Jr. and the Making of Nova Scotia, 1800–1850,” by Richard H. Field, and Ed Macdonald’s, “A Landscape ... with Figures: Tourism and Environment on Prince Edward Island.”

The second section, “Experiments in Conservation and Environmental Management” focuses on tensions between ecological and economic motivations for the conservation of species and landscapes, the challenges conservation measures can pose to working peoples’ ways of life, and changing regional attitudes towards science and ecological relationships. The articles include John Luedee’s “‘Bare Rocks instead of Fish’: Local Fishers Respond to Resource depletion in the Bay Bulls Inshore Fishery, 1855–1863,” Josh MacFadyen’s “Drawing Lines in the Ice: Regulating Mussel Mud Digging in the Southern Gulf of St. Lawrence,” Bill Parenteau’s “‘Making Room for Economy, Efficiency and Conservation’: Progressive Forest Conservation in New Brunswick 1900–1918,” and Mark McLaughlin’s “Green Shoots: Aerial Insecticide Spraying and the Growth of Environmental Consciousness in New Brunswick, 1952–1973.”

“Historical Sustainability: Community Response and Resilience,” the third section of the book, is written by a multi-disciplinary panel of contributors. “Sustainability” is broadly conceptualized and refers to the perpetuation of human and ecological communities through economic, collaborative, and environmental measures and processes. “Community” encompasses colonial, regional, local, geographical,

political, ecological, and corporate definitions. The contributions include Alan MacEachern's "Popular by Our Misery: The International Response to the 1825 Miramichi Fire," David Duke and Allan Macdonald's "Bad Blows and Big Storms: Severe Weather and Community Response in the Annapolis Valley," Jacqueline Holmes and Justin Hollander's "Regenerating Devastated Landscapes in Moncton, New Brunswick, and Sydney, Nova Scotia," and "Using Tree Ring Analysis: The Environmental History of Eastern White Cedar in Nova Scotia," by tree ring scientists Lara Campbell and Colin Laroque.

Historical geographer, Graeme Wynn's "Reflections on the Environmental History of Atlantic Canada," situates the work of the other contributors within a brief regional history highlighting changing dynamics between humans and their environments over time. He provides "perspective on the challenge of shaping sustainable futures," as well as on the attitudes of settlers and their descendants who took up this challenge using the resources and knowledge available to them in their own lifetimes. (236) Thus, Wynn argues there was "a strong and widespread commitment across the region to something akin to what we might now term social and ecological sustainability." (246) He also highlights corporate social and environmental irresponsibility in the industrial era, and notes concerted citizen resistance to it.

Land and Sea is a pioneering text on Atlantic Canada's environmental history. It reflects the current state of the field, both in its inclusions and in its exclusions. European men feature as the leading actors and the source of most of the quotations in many of the articles. A more representative cross-section of perspectives would strengthen our understandings of the diverse relationships between people and nature in the region's past. Nor

does the collection address the effects of European colonization on the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, and Passamaquoddy people of the region, including the demographic and cultural catastrophes wrought by Eurasian epidemic diseases, wars, ongoing conflict, and the Indian Act. An analysis grounded in the "ecological character" of the human experience and human history requires consideration of the interstices of different cultures and their different ways of relating to the environment, and of being part of it.

Nonetheless, *Land and Sea* is an impressive foray into diverse environmental themes of the region's history. It is a useful resource for a broad audience that includes students, professors, high school teachers, and Canadians who are interested in environmental issues. Claire Campbell and Robert Summerby-Murray have cast it as well as a contribution to "big" or global history via a "transregional environmental history" that is relevant to researchers of other island and coastal zones, of places transitioning from heavy industry, and of "places with histories as resource hinterlands." (7) Near to home, the editors hoped that the essays would highlight common aspects of the histories of the four Atlantic provinces and their "implications for our immediate neighbours in New England and the North Atlantic," and provide a means for sharing "our lessons from the past so as to better understand and respond to the pressing environmental questions of the future." (7-8) These commitments place their work within the tradition of the Maritime Shipping Project and Coasts Under Stress, two previous ambitious and long-term projects spearheaded by scholars in the region, and significant for their scope of geographic and topical inquiry. Given the editors' assertion that "Atlantic Canada is a canary in the post-industrial coal mine," (5) it is odd that there was no reference to the latter

project, which focused on socio-ecological health in the midst of economic restructuring in coastal Canada. *Coasts Under Stress: Restructuring and Social-Ecological Health* dovetails with the editors' aims for *Land and Sea*, as both texts focus on dynamics of human-environmental change, community resilience, and the direct policy implications of contemporary scholarship. The concept of social-ecological health, like that of the ecological character of human history and experience, recognizes people's interdependence with the places they live, love, and work. *Land and Sea* continues the conversation about the relationship between changes in resource extraction regimes and the dynamics of regional communities. By combining discussions of industrialization, a prominent theme within regional historiography, with post-industrialism and environmental history, *Land and Sea* lays fertile ground for the consideration of the relationships between industry and sustainability in the past, present, and future.

THERESA DEVOR

University of New Brunswick

Caroline Desbiens, *Power from the North: Territory, Identity, and the Culture of Hydroelectricity in Quebec* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)

QUÉBEC IS GEOGRAPHICALLY massive. The distance from Ivujivik, the northernmost settlement in the province, to Montréal is roughly the same as Montréal to Miami. The difference between the two is, of course, that the vast territory north of the Canadian Shield is sparsely populated. This, of course, leads many to ask what can be "done" with this "empty" land that just happens to be incredibly resource rich? That these natural resources were already being used, and that there may be debate over their utility, comprise

the root questions posed by Caroline Desbiens in *Power from the North*.

Her book is an in-depth analysis of the relationship between Québec national identity and provincial geography. More specifically, she seeks to explain how a form of resource nationalism became imbricated with the push to build a modern Québec on the back of hydroelectric power development. The story is complicated by the dynamic of colonial development and cultural claims over territory and land simultaneously made by First Nations, Québécois, and Anglo-Canadian groups. Desbiens creatively integrates a diverse set of secondary sources to, as she states, "analyze the work of culture in laying out paths of economic development in Northern Quebec." (10)

In this sense, the book is an addition to the large collection of discursive and constructionist accounts of contemporary colonial/postcolonial relationships. More so, however, it is a fascinating cultural history of how natural resource development was (and continues to be) culturally promoted in Québec. At its heart, the process is fairly simple: resource acquisition is an expensive process, particularly when this resource is located far from centres of population. This process must be publically supported in democratic societies; thus, the entire project can be legitimated with the imbrication of popular rhetoric and symbols – often tied to common markers of national identity. This resource nationalism, argues Desbiens, is more than simply an economic process but one deeply rooted in historical narratives, epistemological perspectives, and contemporary conditions. These qualitative aspects are the component parts of the larger story centered on hydroelectric development in Québec.

To this end, the author has constructed a textual analysis divided into nine topical chapters organized into three thematically related parts. The themes, drawn

directly from the methodology, are meant to lead the reader through the process of culturally constructing a colonial development project. The author is very clear – beginning in the introduction – that this story is problematic in that the narrative text is singularly constructed through the lens, and for the purposes, of Francophone interests. The focus of this textual construction – the conquest of the Québec north – involves the elimination of Indigenous interests and the very redefinition of geography and natural resource utility, which makes the project distinctly colonial. Desbiens references the requisite scholars (Said, Bhabha, Shiva), but shifts away from traditional postcolonial critical analysis in favor of a “symmetrical anthropology” drawn from the work of Bruno Latour. The intent is to provide an analysis sensitive to dual or competing discursive definitions of a particular phenomenon – in this case, the geography, resources, and territory in the James Bay region. While the intent is admirable, the execution of this challenging methodological approach leaves something to be desired. This is a point to which we will return.

Following the introductory chapter, Part One begins with a descriptive chapter on the role of hydroelectricity in the larger project of Québec national development following the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. Using speeches, advertisements, and even automotive design, Desbiens efficiently demonstrates that hydroelectric development was long-framed as a reflection of a modernizing (and Francophone) Québec. Chapter 2 begins to chronicle First Nations’ responses to James Bay development. Using mostly correspondence, speeches, and secondary scholarly assessments, a fascinating picture is painted highlighting the diversity of respective tribal responses and an evolving provincial approach to expansive natural resource exploitation.

One interesting aside here is an opportunity to understand the importance of environmental regulation and protective legislation to contemporary Indigenous opposition strategies in the face of such exogenous natural resource development. The lack of such protectionist legislation in 1970s Québec is noted by the author as a significant factor limiting strategic options with regards to First Nations’ resistance to development.

Part Two is comprised of two chapters designed to embed the project of northward expansion in historical context. Chapter 3 provides a significant overview of Québec history as a colony and conquered society. It also provides ample illustration of the role of the Catholic Church in promoting a specific rural, agrarian national identity as well as early efforts to expand into the north along agrarian nationalist lines. Chapter 4 is an extended comparative review of several notable pieces of Québec literature – including the ubiquitous *Maria Chapdelaine* – as a means of understanding the cultural products of this historical embedding of Québec identity. There is little new here for those familiar with Québec history and literature, but much for the novice as the historical and literary surveys are well done.

Part Three, “Rewriting the Land,” focuses on the development project itself. Desbiens examines how occupational groups were defined by, and came to collectively define, the Québécois narrative of James Bay. Focusing on groups such as engineers, road builders, temporary (i.e., from southern Québec) labourers, and clerical workers, Desbiens shows how the process of development functions as a means of creating the familiar out of the foreign and imposing a cultural (textual) narrative that conforms to definitions amenable to both the uses of the land and the role of those transforming the accepted utility of the territory itself. The

Indigenous voice is muted throughout Part Three – the “rewriting” process is clearly Francophone, developmental, and expansionist. The author concludes by emphasizing that the role of the Québec North continues to evolve with sustained mining and hydroelectric development, but also with increased First Nations participation.

Overall, this is an interesting and descriptive examination of how national identity is culturally constructed and utilized for political economic ends. Empirically, it is also an entertaining journey through the narrative history of Québec resource development. The primary problem, however, is that the proposed analytical framework of “symmetrical anthropology” is only intermittently apparent. In fact, while there are clear efforts to integrate Cree, Innu, Inuit, and other First Nations perspectives into this textual analysis – the book is dominated by the Québécois narrative. In the conclusion, it is argued that displacement (in all senses of the word) has occurred through a “cultural *rewriting* of the region” (216); however, one is left wanting more of the original (read: Indigenous) narrative of the region. Desbiens is completely correct in that Indigenous epistemologies are significant casualties in the retextualization that occurs through processes of colonial development – but the goal of “symmetry” is limited in the story presented here. Despite this critique, Caroline Desbiens has constructed a novel and valuable textual analysis of Québec’s culturally reinforced resource expansionism in the late 20th century.

CORY BLAD
Manhattan College

Jessica Squires, *Building Sanctuary: The Movement to Support Vietnam War Resisters in Canada, 1965-73* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)

THIS YEAR MARKS the fiftieth anniversary of the passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Lyndon Johnson’s blank cheque to wage war in Southeast Asia. To commemorate America’s long involvement in Vietnam, the Obama administration has allocated \$65 million to the Department of Defense to oversee commemorative initiatives that will honour, in the words of the President, those who “(fought) heroically to protect the ideals we hold dear as Americans.” It promises to be, some assert, “a panoply of Orwellian forgetfulness and faux-patriotism.” (*Peace History News*, Fall 2013: 9–10). It is in this context that we must welcome Jessica Squires’ timely and illuminating *Building Sanctuary*.

Squires’ work represents an important contribution to what is still a small body of scholarly literature on the anti-draft movement in Canada. David Sterling Surrey’s 1982 *Choice of Conscience* (New York: Praeger, 1982) represented a start. In 2001 the subject witnessed something of an explosion with the publication of Frank Kusch’s *All American Boys* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), John Hagan’s *Northern Passage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), and the completion of David Churchill’s PhD thesis “When Home Became Away.” Squires contributes to this work in two significant ways. First, while Hagan and Churchill have focused on the Americans entering Canada, *Building Sanctuary* addresses the subject of the Canadians who supported them. Secondly, Squires presents the story in a national context. Again, while the work of Hagan and Churchill is for the most part focused on Toronto, Squires’ work includes individuals and organizations from across Canada.

Squires wisely distinguishes anti-draft activism from the antiwar movement. This is not a book about Canadian opposition to America's war in Vietnam, but rather the Canadians who supported those Americans who came to Canada rather than remain complicit in an immoral war. She challenges what she calls the myth that Canada acted as "a refuge from militarism." In reality the Canadian state worked hard to keep many of these prospective immigrants out of the country. Squires argues that in spite of government resistance, many of these Americans became landed immigrants as a direct result of political action undertaken by Canadians.

Anti-draft organizations emerged nearly simultaneously in early 1966 in Montreal, Vancouver, and Toronto. Initially these groups endeavoured to meet the immediate needs of Americans – shelter, employment, and acquiring landed immigrant status. Increasingly this involved political advocacy. At its peak the anti-draft movement included groups in every province. (22) Significantly, and an aspect of the book that warrants more discussion, is the absence of francophones. (27) Appreciably, Squires demonstrates the vital role of women in the movement, such as Joan Wilcox in Ottawa. Meg Brown, Melody Killian, and Betty Tillotson in Vancouver, and Nancy Pocock in Toronto.

Despite its national character, the movement exhibited transnational qualities. This is evidenced by regular contact between Canadian and American groups, and the wide distribution of Canadian-produced anti-draft literature in the United States, most notably the *Manual for Draft-Age Americans*. Also, considerable funding for these groups came from the United States.

Initially Canadian immigration policy did not formally take Americans' military status into account. In 1967, however,

Canada adopted the points system. Under this regime prospective immigrants were awarded points based on education, language proficiency, possession of a job offer, and other criteria. Applicants needed to score fifty points or better to be awarded landed immigrant status. The following year the Department of Immigration directed its agents could withhold discretionary points based on military status. (113–114) While dodgers tended to be well educated and middle class, deserters overwhelmingly came from the ranks of the working class, had little education, and were far more stigmatized in the public eye. These differences, combined with political action by anti-draft groups, soon led to a change in policy in which, officially at least, only deserters warranted the extra attention. Anti-draft organizations launched a concerted campaign to open the border to deserters, drawing upon the support of churches, unions, women's groups, antiwar groups, and others. (140–141) In May 1969 the campaign succeeded. (129)

The anti-draft movement again demonstrated its political effectiveness in July 1973. The newly-established Canadian Coalition of War Resisters (CCWR) actively promoted the Department of Immigration's Adjustment of Status Program, implemented to address the backlog created when the department stopped processing applications for landed status at the border and from within Canada. The program allowed those who had entered Canada since 1972 to apply for landed status, but only until October. Anti-draft groups counselled over 2,000 people affected. (221) Squires concludes that Canada became a refuge from militarism in spite of government practice, "almost entirely because of the efforts of its activists." (321)

The author has employed an impressive array of sources, using archival

collections from across Canada, including the papers of notable anti-draft activists. She makes extensive use of the fonds of Renée Kasinsky, author of the 1976 *Refugees from Militarism: Draft-Age Americans in Canada* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1976), one of the earliest accounts of the anti-draft movement. She also uses oral history interviews. Unfortunately information extracted from these interviews often appears in substantial block quotes, in one extreme case over a page in length. In a text of 231 pages, the appearance of 113 such quotes becomes awkward.

Building Sanctuary contains one significant error of fact. Squires cites John Hagan's number of American Vietnam War-related immigrants to Canada as between 40,000 and 50,000. (2) Hagan arrived at this number by subtracting pre-1965 US immigration figures from the years 1965 through 1974. By this estimation 25,865 men and 26,804 women immigrated to Canada due to the conflict in Vietnam. (Hagan, 241) The author, however, misinterprets Hagan's total as representative of men only, stating only that "women also came," thereby inflating Hagan's numbers.

In terms of interpretation, Squires might have devoted more space to explaining and defending her definition of the word "war resister," a term possessing contested meaning. Again, Squires follows Hagan in defining it to mean "any American immigrant who came to Canada to avoid complicity in, or out of opposition to, their government's action in Vietnam." (x) But does relocating in and of itself constitute an act of resistance? The word connotes an aspect of pushing back, not escaping. To many Americans a resister was someone who stayed in the United States and actively worked to undermine the Selective Service System, often risking, and occasionally going to jail.

[See Michael Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 7.] Language makes a difference. Reviewing the plethora of published biographical material and available oral histories of these immigrants, it is apparent that the vast majority of these men self-identified as either draft dodgers or deserters. Related to this is a recurring theme concerning what motivated both men and women to relocate in Canada. Vietnam was among several. One is overwhelmingly struck by the number of people who simply wanted to cease being American. Frank Kusch, in *All American Boys*, cites one such individual: "Leaving the country, vowing never to return, as far as I'm concerned, was not an act of protest in trying to reform the country. We were saying sayonara." (Kusch, 91) The term resister, in the way Squires employs it, is convenient in that it is broad enough to include the thousands of women who also gave up on being Americans. Although used in Canada since the earliest days of the movement, the term did not begin to gain parlance in this context until the 1970 Pan-Canadian Conference of US War Resisters in Montreal. But the question must be asked how representative of the 50,000 war-related immigrants was the 1970 conference? In short, the term, although more inclusive, is revisionist. Squires states that *Building Sanctuary* "accounts for the transnational nature of the story" of the anti-draft movement. (5) But in changing the language of the movement as it crossed the border, its transnational character is diminished.

Despite such criticism, *Building Sanctuary* is ultimately about Canadian activists who supported these acutely moral immigrants. In this respect it is an extremely important book. Squires effectively smashes the myth that Canada

welcomed war objectors with open arms. It was a struggle in which grass-roots activism changed immigration policy.

CHRISTOPHER POWELL
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Elizabeth Comack, *Racialized Policing: Aboriginal People's Encounters with the Police* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2012)

IN HER MOST RECENT BOOK, *Racialized Policing: Aboriginal People's Encounters with the Police*, Elizabeth Comack provides an examination of the various ways in which Indigenous people are treated, and mistreated, within Canada's justice system. She focuses on cases of injustice, including first-hand accounts of Indigenous Peoples' everyday experiences with the Winnipeg and Saskatoon police forces. A common theme is that Indigenous men are often racially profiled by police officers as criminal suspects. The police regularly stop them because Indigenous men "fit the description" and are suspected of being in the drug trade or in a gang. Indigenous women, on the other hand, are often perceived as sex workers. (162)

Comack extends her analysis of racial profiling further by examining what she refers to as "racialized policing." According to Comack, the concept of racialized policing broadens the focus of study to encompass the role of the police in the wider society, specifically as reproducers of order. (28) She notes that, while police have the job of keeping order in society, in doing so, they are assisting in the governance of race and racialization. Therefore, she asserts that policing becomes a racial project. (28)

Comack's book also contributes to the discussion of systemic racism and the "denial of race," and cases of police violence are examined in-depth. In

particular, the author draws our attention to the "Starlight tours." This was a practice by which Saskatoon police took Aboriginal men to the outskirts of town in the winter and left them there to freeze and die. (218) She points to the case of Matthew Dumas, in which the judge found no evidence to support the claim that Dumas's death was a result of racism. (13) However, Comack tells a different story – one which says that "the death of Dumas had everything to do with racism." (13) Here we see the contrast between the discourse of the denial of racism and the everyday experiences of Indigenous people with police and within the justice system. There is a disconnect between Indigenous people's experiences and the ways in which their cases are played out in the justice system.

The cases of Dumas, John Joseph Harper, Helen Betty Osbourne, Neil Stonechild, Rodney Nastius, Lawrence Wegner, Darrel Knight, and countless others demonstrate that race, racism, and the criminalization of Indigenous peoples are dominant themes in the lives of Indigenous people in a colonially-imposed justice system.

Comack argues that her work is not an attack on the police, but rather is a call to see a broader systemic issue in the treatment of Aboriginal people by the justice system. Her work compels us to look at the issue of policing from a broader viewpoint, going beyond individual police actions to see a wider and deeper structural problem – one that is institutionalized and deeply entrenched, and continues to marginalize Indigenous people.

Comack's work helps us to understand and make sense of the challenges faced by Indigenous peoples when trying to navigate the justice system within Canada, from dealing with the police to dealing with the courts. She provides a historical context to show that today's relationship is deeply connected to the history of

European colonization. That colonization is based, in turn, on the premise that Indigenous peoples are inferior, so resulting in a continuation of the denial of their very dignity as a people.

Comack's book offers insights into the broader issue of institutionalized racism as it manifests itself in the Canadian context. She challenges us to go beyond seeing policing as merely the good guy / bad guy dichotomy and to examine systemic racism and discrimination in police forces as being rooted in colonialism, patriarchy, and hierarchy. Comack shows us that policing is far more complex than the familiar notion that "the police catch bad guys." Indeed, her work illustrates the need to look at European colonialism as not only a historical issue, but also a very contemporary issue. She provides an examination which explores the ways in which Indigenous people are often negatively portrayed in the dominant media and within school contexts. She points to the correlation between the educational system, where Comack reinforces the fact that Indigenous people's worldviews are often distorted and omitted, and the very justice system which she writes about. The reader is able to link residential schools, which were designed intentionally to assimilate Indigenous peoples into European cultures, and the justice system as a broader part of Canada's colonial project as it relates to Indigenous people. Comack aids in understanding these connections by providing the historical context of Indigenous-white settler relations and by demonstrating the ways in which those relations have shaped and framed what is now known as the Canadian state. (88)

An important part of Comack's work is her analysis of the North West Mounted Police, which became part of today's Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). She notes that the RCMP is depicted within the Canadian fabric as a national

symbol, and that criticizing the RCMP is itself considered to be unpatriotic. (66) She reminds us that the North West Mounted Police played an instrumental role in carrying out the colonial project and the government's attempt to legislate Indigenous people out of existence. (131)

Comack notes that, not surprisingly, mistrust and animosity shape the encounters between Aboriginal people and the police. Under these conditions, the loss of a young Aboriginal man's life is certainly tragic, but not "unexpected." (218)

Ultimately, this work is about the Canadian government's continuing marginalization of Indigenous people and the structural challenges in the way of Indigenous people achieving justice through Canada's courts. Racialized policing and systemic racism in Canada's courts continues to be pervasive. For example, on 3 August 2013, two brothers, 30-year old Lance Cutarm and 41-year old Larron Cutarm, were shot by an RCMP officer at a traffic stop at Pigeon Lake, Alberta. Lance was killed while Larron was injured. Muriel Stanley Venne, chair of the Aboriginal Commission on Human Rights and Justice, stated that the shootings may be a reminder that discrimination against Aboriginal people is very much alive, while other Indigenous leaders asserted that the police shooting of the two men may be racially motivated. Less than two weeks after those shootings, in mid-August 2013, an RCMP officer shot and killed a 52-year old man (identified only as a member of the Charland family) on the Cold Lake First Nations in Alberta.

Comack's book is accessible and easy to read, and is situated in the larger context of the history of systemic violence against Aboriginal people. It is a call for everyone to examine Canada's unjust and inequitable justice system. The Indigenous people's narratives which are included

in Comack's book show that injustices against Indigenous people are everyday occurrences. Thus, Comack's work implicates not only the police as the cause of these injustices, but also the overall justice system. Comack calls on all of us to think deeply about our own role in a country where Indigenous people are often denied basic human rights and their inherent rights as Indigenous peoples.

ERICA NEEGANAGWEDGIN
Athabasca University

Tom Malleson and David Wachsmuth, eds., *Whose Streets? The Toronto G20 and the Challenges of Summit Protest* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2011)

WHOSE STREETS? The Toronto G20 and the Challenges of Summit Protest is a collection of 22 short essays that brings together the voices of activists and students, organizers and scholars, poets and bystanders. Each contributor was, in one way or another, directly involved in the G20 protests that rocked Toronto in the summer of 2010. Accessibly written, the contributions tell two stories: the first, police repression and rampant rights violations preceding and during the G20 summit; the second, solidarity, conviction, and resilience in an ongoing struggle for social justice in a global age of austerity. The collection succeeds admirably in meeting its first two goals: sharing activist organizing lessons and providing an historical archive of an extraordinary event through first hand, documentary accounts. While there is some unevenness with respect to the third goal – deepening analysis of the G20 and social justice movements opposing what it represents – the collection provides a framework through which to pursue more in-depth analyses of the intersecting social, political, and economic issues raised by the contributors.

A critical and solidaristic tone is set in the Forward from a speech Naomi Klein delivered during a legal defense fundraiser for G20 arrestees. Pitched to a general reader, the editors' Preface and Introduction provide useful, if cursory, political-economic context to understand the Toronto summit protests.

The collection is organized into three sections: "Before the G20: Organizing a Protest Convergence," "During the G20: Documenting Resistance and Repression," and "After the G20: Critical Reflections, Moving Forward." The first consists of insider accounts from diverse social justice oriented movements including the Toronto Community Mobilization Network, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, No One Is Illegal, Indigenous sovereignty, organized labour, the Toronto Alternative Media Center, and a post-summit crisis support network of nurses, psychotherapists, shelter workers, and medics. As noted by Tom Malleson, large-scale demonstrations are the culmination of significant on-the-ground organizing, an extensive process that forms a "largely invisible infrastructure" of focus and support. (18) The experiences of many key organizers as they anticipated state responses are interesting in their similarities as much as their differences. The diverse contributors emphasize that the fight against inequality and oppression is not restricted to large-scale occasions when world leaders fly to town. G20 participation should be seen, rather, as a concentrated moment in an ongoing struggle where local and global connections are made especially vivid. Differences are given space. I note in particular the conflicting views of the role played by labour during the protests offered by Archana Rampure and Jeff Shantz; their disagreement reopens important, unresolved issues concerning the implications of labour's formal leadership structure, when push comes to

shove. Success stories are told, including the vital role played by radical media, and the peer-to-peer crisis support that rose up to address the physical and subjective traumas that so many people experienced during these tumultuous days of summer.

Part Two consists primarily of accounts of police violence as experienced by diversely positioned participants. The rampant and systematic rights violations executed on the part of police and security are first outlined in a chapter written by the Movement Defence Committee. Repetition makes the subsequent personal accounts of violence, detention, and imprisonment compelling and believable. A disturbing theme is the seemingly deliberate creation of disorientation by police and guards in detention centers, combined with blatant indignities and rights violations (from illegitimate strip searches, cold temperatures, tight cuffs, and inadequate water supplies, to bright lights, refusals to allow phone calls or offer medical attention, taunting and humiliation, to threats of sexual assault). On the other hand, the personal accounts describe undiminished solidarity, resilience, and a refusal to be silenced in the face of a repressive state apparatus. Two of the contributors made national headlines. The first, Sarah Pruyne, describes the arrest and detention of her father, an above the knee amputee accused of resisting arrest after having his prosthetic leg “ripped off” by authorities. Her contribution highlights the typically under-explored ableism that is often present during street protests. Elroy Yau, a transit employee who was violently arrested while walking to work, describes the continuing aftermath of a 30-hour detention ordeal; his account reminds the reader of the many arrestees who simply happened to be in the downtown core during the summit protests.

The more analytical chapters are in Part Three, with contributions by scholars and

activists who often straddle both worlds. The lead chapter explores links between liberal capitalism and global trends in urban securitization. Connecting the Toronto summit with other recent cases of state violence in Canada, Neil Smith and Deborah Cowen make the case for a systematic, rather than episodic, analysis of G20 state violence. The chapters by Tammy Kovich and Clarice Kuhling tackle the contentious issue of the window-breaking tactics identified as “black bloc” from different vantage points. Whereas Kovich is largely sympathetic and challenges the category of “activist violence,” Kuhling considers how “smashing shit up” could emerge as seductive in the first place. (166) Her argument, that it is symptomatic of the low level of resistance on the left at present, reopens questions about organized labour. More generally, she emphasizes the importance of building a non-sectarian mass movement that could effectively “disrupt the extraction of surplus value.” (171) In as much as this is a shared goal, serious consideration of the strategies and tactics that best contribute to its realization is needed.

In a subsequent chapter, Lesley Wood and Glenn Stalker report on their survey of hundreds of participants to answer the questions: who actually attended the G20 protests in Toronto and how much sustained integration between diverse local activist communities actually occurred? Their report is followed by Clare O’Connor’s critical examination of the deployment of “community” by G20 activists. Drawing on her role as an organizer for a G20 teach-in, she questions the seductive and potentially division-masking use of the term “community” within political activism generally.

The collection ends optimistically with David McNally’s consideration of the prospects of post G20 mass resistance. The corollary to an age of austerity and repressive securitization may be a “new

period of mass protest.” (210) McNally suggests that now is an auspicious time for the radical left to “relearn some old lessons about mass politics” as new categories of from the “exploited majority” may be poised to enter resistance movements. (211) A new language may be needed to galvanize a movement, with worker organizations collaborating to coordinate collective resistance.

Whose Streets? could be read as an insider’s articulation of experiences, differences, and analyses to be circulated and discussed by essentially the same people who contributed to it. The text generates dialogue amongst activists and progressives, occasionally challenging left sectarianism. It shares insights and strategies, and offers a deepening analysis in an ongoing struggle for social justice in a global-capitalist era of austerity. Finally, the book can be seen as a refusal to silence dissent in the aftermath of frightening rights violations. These are all laudable achievements but I think the importance of *Whose Streets?* goes beyond a readership of the already converted. It is an insider’s history and analysis – a passionate, multi-layered portrait that shows honest differences within a diverse, radical social justice movement as well as impressive solidarity and common ground. It describes a national event of great importance (the largest mass arrest in Canadian history, in the context of a security operation priced at over a billion dollars) and an international moment in which fundamental currents of the times are being questioned and challenged. The book is a window into a movement of movements as well as an introduction into the global configurations and currents to which it is a response. It warrants a broad and diverse readership, within and beyond the academy.

TARA MILBRANDT
University of Alberta

Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas, eds., *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)

CONTESTING BODIES and Nation in Canadian History is an expansive collection that attempts, in the editors’ words, to “position the contested body as another category of analysis towards understanding both Canadian history and the nation.” (3) Assembled between the covers are not only some of the leading Canadian historians in the area, but also some of the most novel explorations of bodies, nation, and Canadian history recently published. Collectively, these articles push scholars toward materializing histories of nation and nationalism in ways that contribute both to Canadian history and to theories of the body and embodiment.

Contesting Bodies is divided into three parts, which explore, respectively, the making of bodily and embodied knowledge, bodily representation, and the regulation and containment of variously othered bodies. Within each part is an array of articles that take on the topic within a variety of historical periods and often through differing scholarly perspectives – some authors “stick to the history,” while others illustrate their historical accounts by utilizing, for example, Foucaultian theories of discursive production or Butler’s theory of performativity. Despite their differing approaches and historical periods, running through each of the chapters is a recognition of the body not as a natural object but as a dynamic, contested text, the meaning of which shifts according to the time and place in which it materializes.

In Part I, authors explore how bodily knowledge is produced not only by discourses of race (Barrington Walker, Gillian Poulter) and masculinity (Amy Shaw), but also, as illustrated by Kathryn

Harvey, by the practice of history, itself. Harvey's chapter recounts the ways in which the body, both her own and that of the David Ross McCord, the subject of her archival analysis, asserted itself into the research project through somatic sensations. One of the stand-outs of the collection, Harvey's piece poses critical methodological questions about how to *do* an embodied history that does not, ultimately, (pretend to) leave the body outside the archive's door.

In Part II, authors turn to exploring representations of the body, looking in particular at fashion (Myra Rutherford, George Colpitts), art (Pandora Syperek), advertisements (Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Greg Marquis), dance (Allana Lindgren), and beauty pageants (Mary-Ann Shantz, Tarah Brookfield). Shantz's contribution, focusing on nudist pageants in the postwar era, is of particular interest here. Highlighting the book's larger theme of the body as contested, Shantz demonstrates how the body can signify both the "normal" and the "abnormal" Canadian, as nudist pageants at once produced white, middle-class respectability via discourses of nudists as "family oriented" and "natural," and, at the same time, iterated the nude body and, by extension nudists, as resistant in that nudism transcended codes of decency and morality prevalent in Canada at the time.

The book closes with a focus on bodily regulation in Part III, historicizing the containment of a range of othered bodies including "obese" children (Wendy Mitchinson), working women (Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich), women generally (Kristina Llewellyn, Bonnie Reilly Schmidt) and the working class/communist (Anne Frances Toews). Smith and Wakewich's piece on the regulation of working women's bodies during World War II is an important juggernaut to this section, and indeed to the book as a whole, bringing together a number

of complex themes woven throughout the book to explore the ways in which women's war work physically constructed women's bodies. Drawing on archival sources as well as qualitative interviews with women war workers, the authors demonstrate how national needs caused some women to take on types of physical labour which conditioned their bodies to be fit and muscular: a type of embodiment that was highly contested even as it was patriotic, as it spilled beyond the boundaries of femininity. This new physicality elicited some panic, the authors show, particularly in the popular press, in which humourists worried that women's new-found physicality signaled the abandonment of their "natural" roles in the home.

Thus, generally speaking, *Contesting Bodies* endeavors to demonstrate the ways in which discourses of nation come together to re-imagine and actively materialize bodies and, conversely, the ways in which processes of embodied materialization help reproduce normative understandings of nation. Largely, the book is successful in its endeavors. Authors such as Smith and Wakewich and Harvey are successful at "fleshing out" the connection between nation and the body in its physical, material sense. At times, however, the body – the flesh of it, the physicality of it – is lost in this collection. At various points, the book reads as if the authors have inserted the words "body" or "corporeality" into the text for the sake of cohesion among the chapters, though the corporeality of the body does not in fact surface. Chapters in Part II, "(Re) fashioning the Body," are particularly confounding in this respect, though with exceptions such as Rutherford's discussion of hygienic practices conducted by public health agents on the bodies of Northern Indigenous peoples aboard the ship the *C.D. Howe*. While certainly questions about bodily representation

through fashion, advertisements, and other media have always been asked and answered, at least partially, in embodiment theory, explorations of representation have been the most useful to the extent that they can be linked to particular corporeal performances that literally come to embody subjects. Here is where the tension of this collection lies. On the one hand, the corporeality of the body is explored, while on the other it is forgotten. Pushing authors to always think through how the processes they describe actually materialized the raced, sexed, and classed body through discourses of nation would have made for a more even collection.

On the whole, however, the corporeal falls out of focus rarely in the book, and my gripes with this collection are minimal. *Contesting Bodies* is an exciting collection that explores the complex questions that flow from placing the body at the centre of analysis. Due to its breadth in terms of historical periods, as well as its theoretical framework, the collection is probably most useful for courses focusing on race, gender, and/or body history. *Contesting Bodies* will also be of interest to scholars of the body, who will find in its pages further evidence that there is nothing uncontested or ahistorical – indeed, nothing “natural” – about bodies.

DEBORAH MCPHAIL
University of Manitoba

Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, and Marlene Epp, eds., *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2012)

THE CULTURAL POLITICS of food has recently become an international focus of both popular discussion and historical research, and this collection puts

Canada at the centre of this trend. The volume began with a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council-funded workshop at Conrad Grebel University College, University of Waterloo, in 2008. (In the interest of full disclosure, I gave a keynote address at that conference.) The editors have organized the essays according to eight themes: cross-cultural exchange, regional identities, ethnic and racial communities, gender and family, commodities and markets, food politics, national identities, and nutritional health. I can think of no comparable work in any national historiography comprising such a broad range of cutting-edge research in the field of food studies.

Two topics that recur throughout the volume and may be of particular interest to readers of this journal are labour and hegemony. The early chapters on European settlement and regional cuisines examine histories of farming and food production, and particularly efforts to impose European standards of civilization on native landscapes. Alison Norman, Julia Roberts, and Megan J. Davies show how English notions of genteel dining, including native game and imported wine, depended on gendered and racialized labour. By contrast, Maura Hanrahan examines the intensive demands of the Newfoundland fisheries and the “boil-up” that became an expression of a working-class regional identity. Contributors also emphasize the importance of recognizing the value of labour. For example, Marlene Epp shows how Mennonite community cookbooks served as public testimonials of the domestic labour of women, who were excluded from other forms of church and community participation such as sermons. Sonia Cancian offers a feminist analysis of generational expectations for domestic labour within immigrant families. Younger Italian-Canadian women sought accomplishment outside the home but nevertheless internalized traditional

gender roles of feeding their families. As Molly Pulvar Ungar shows, Canadian hotel chefs likewise sought public recognition for the haute cuisine they served to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth during the Royal Tour of 1939. Overall, the contributors to this volume provide nuanced accounts of the cultural politics of domestic and restaurant kitchens, but there is relatively little discussion of the industrial labour that has increasingly come to define food production over the 20th century.

A second basic theme appearing repeatedly in this volume is the contested nature of Anglo culinary hegemony, for the editors are careful to disclaim any notion of a Canadian national cuisine. Cultural struggles began already with the European settlers' simultaneous dependence on Indigenous cooks and foods and their attempts to transform those people and foods. Canadian food identities have continued to change over time with immigrant arrivals and political transitions. Caroline Durand, for example, uses rural home economics textbooks to examine mid-20th-century tensions within Catholic-French-Canadian nationalism. Andrea Eidinger likewise reveals how a popular Jewish cookbook, *A Treasure for My Daughter* (1950), sought to normalize a particular version of middle-class Jewish-Israeli-Canadian identity. Stacey Zembrzycki and S. Holyck Hunchuk separately discuss food memories in Ukrainian-Canadian consciousness. Michel Desjardins and Ellen Desjardins chart the changing patterns of food and religiosity within Canadian Christian communities. Catherine Carstairs reconstructs the culinary education of Canada's counterculture movement. Finally, Valerie Korinek examines struggles over culinary and sexual hegemony when country singer, k.d. lang, born in the Alberta cattle country, came out of the closet, first as a vegetarian and then as a lesbian.

In addition to the personal politics of culinary identity, the contributors also examine more institutional struggles over Canadian food habits. Ian Mosby and Krista Walters contribute to the emerging field of critical nutrition studies by showing how scientific efforts to impose dietary norms – Canada's Food Rules promulgated in the 1940s and an Aboriginal nutrition survey of the 1960s and 1970s, respectively – sought to control working-class and minority populations. Universities also appear as important locations of hegemonic struggle. Catherine Gidney describes white student protests within University of Toronto dining halls of the first half of the 20th century, while Julie Mehta recounts her experiences using South Asian food to discuss cultural difference in present-day classrooms at the same institution. These two essays, in particular, will interest students who read this volume as a textbook in the growing ranks of Canadian university food history classes. Franca Iacovetta uncovers an early moment in Canadian multiculturalism, when middle-class Anglo women of the International Institute of Toronto sought to promote ethnic food as a non-threatening way of incorporating mid-century immigrants and refugees into the nation. By contrast, Julie Guard shows how radical women built a successful consumer protest movement during the Great Depression around that most iconic Anglo food, milk.

In a volume so deeply concerned with questions of labour and hegemony, the minor role given to corporate control of the Canadian food system is noteworthy. Nathalie Cooke analyses media debates over margarine to explain just how food processing corporations disappeared from both public and scholarly discourse, as the powerful dairy lobby sought to portray an idyllic rural landscape. And whereas scholars elsewhere in the Global North have revealed the connections

between private firms, affluent consumer demands, and environmental degradation in former colonies, James Murton explains how the British Empire Marketing Board facilitated Canadian commodity exports. Although the chapter ends with World War II, it is particularly valuable in showing Commonwealth initiatives to be successful alternatives to privatized quality standards that are coming to dominate the global food system. An exception to this corporate invisibility is Cheryl Krasnick Warsh's photo-essay on advertisements for children's food in the early 20th century; she concludes that while promotional messages varied, a persistent theme was maternal guilt. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, mothers seemed to be disappearing, as advertisers targeted children directly as consumers.

The editors have done a splendid job of putting the chapters into conversation with one another, although the lack of an index makes it hard for readers to pursue these connections further. As an interdisciplinary field, food studies is often dominated by social sciences, anthropology in particular, and it is refreshing to see such historically grounded work. While the subtitle modestly points "towards a Canadian food history," this volume more properly celebrates the field's coming of age.

JEFFREY M. PILCHER
University of Minnesota

Linda M. Morra and Jessica Schagerl, eds., *Basements and Attics, Closets and Cyberspace: Exploration in Canadian Women's Archives* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2012)

IN *BASEMENTS AND ATTICS, Closets and Cyberspace: Explorations in Canadian Women's Archives* questions about the ethics of doing research in women's

archives are explored from numerous different perspectives. As they question what it means to conduct ethical research, contributors also consider how archives form and re-form over time: essays address questions about what makes up an archive, what it means to do archival research and what it means to archive and to be archived.

In their introduction, Linda M. Morra and Jessica Schagerl explain the book's separation into three sections: reorientations, restrictions and responsibilities. In the first section, "Reorientations," questions about what constitutes an archive are considered in essays that expand traditional definitions of "archive." Cecily Devereux argues convincingly for the ability of eBay to act as an archive of cultural history in her essay on the presentation and consumption of "Indian maidens" on the online shopping website. Devereux suggests that the "records" on eBay help fill gaps in the institutional record; other essays in this section likewise call attention to such gaps. Karis Shearer and Jessica Schagerl present the blog of poet Sina Queyras as a "shifting and unpredictable" (60) archive, but one which provides researchers with unique opportunities to investigate the tensions between print and digital culture that currently affect writers' lives and works. T.L. Cowan's contribution to this section is particularly provocative in its challenge to the traditional archive; writing about how to "preserve" feminist cabaret, Cowan speculates about the archival nature of the anecdote as the primary source in what she calls "repertoire knowledges." (71) As archive, the anecdote emphasizes *how* we remember rather than *what* we remember. Other essays in this section consider how archives are made and/or found in fiction and film, foregrounding the need to read "against the grain," to develop alternative strategies of reading women's archives.

In the second section, "Restrictions," writers focus on the limits and exclusions of archives. Susan Butlin discusses how national archival institutions have failed to recognize the significance of popular commercial artwork in the archives of artist Florence Carlyle; focusing on "high art," these institutions have formed collections that are not representative of Carlyle's life or artistic output, and Butlin describes her search through more local, "small and obscure archival deposits" (144), where less culturally constrictive acquisition practices have led to the formation of often overlooked but very useful collections. Butlin also discusses her own resistance to accepting Carlyle's commercial work as a central aspect of her archive and her life, explaining that as she worked through the "unexpected" (148) in Carlyle's archives, she was confronted by her subjectivity as researcher and by the realization that she had to let go of expectations and let the material lead her. Essays by Andrea Beverley and by Ruth Panofsky and Michael Moir address issues of privacy in archives. Panofsky and Moir discuss restrictions placed on the Adele Wiseman fonds at York University from the perspectives of the researcher and the archivist, while Beverley considers the archival subject's desire for privacy and the researcher's responsibility in the face of that desire. Catherine Hobbs' article in this section is the only contribution in the book by a professional archivist and offers a nuanced analysis of the ethical responsibilities of archivists who work with personal collections. Hobbs asks, "What does it mean to 'do right' by someone's archives?" (181) This is a deceptively simple question; her essay introduces new ideas about how the everyday work of appraisal, arrangement and description has ethical implications and should be required reading in archival studies courses. In the final essay in this section, Karina Vernon

explains how the absence of archives of racial minorities in national institutions is often portrayed as a sign of exclusion or "disenfranchisement" but argues that in some cases these exclusions are chosen; Vernon suggests that by keeping their own archives, black Prairie settlers have deployed specific "tactics of invisibility" that need to be read as "potential signs of empowered self-exemption" (203) and that, like so many of the types of archives discussed in this book, test the boundaries of the traditional archive, which has been conceptualized from within national institutions.

The final section, "Responsibilities," highlights the relationships between the archive, the archived, and their various interpreters – researchers, family members, editors and biographers. Here, many of the articles emphasize the deeply personal, intimate nature of some women's archives. Kathleen Venema and Julia Creet each discuss their mother's archives. Venema's mother has Alzheimer's disease and Venema recounts how she used an archive of letters mother and daughter had written to each other as a starting point for conversations which she recorded, forming a new archive out of the old; the old archive is used "as a means of shoring up self, identity, and relationship" (282), but Venema learns that "there is no capital A-Archive, no capital-M Memory." "Whatever the archive will do," Venema writes, movingly, "it will not heal my mother's memory, and it will not bring her back to me." (289) Creet's essay about the disposition of her mother's archives calls attention to the "violence inherent in the process of archiving itself." (303) Creet describes her encounters with different archival institutions as she sought a home for her mother's fonds and though she eventually determines to keep the material in her possession, her experience causes her to reflect on how the process of disposition affects how an archive is interpreted.

"How and where we lock up a life indefinitely," Creet asserts, "will define how that life is read in the future and the past." (316) Other essays in this section discuss the responsibilities of researchers to seek out underused archives, to ask themselves questions about how and why they determine what materials are significant, and to recognize the way in which the story an archive tells is always a function of the act of interpretation. As the title of Morra and Schagerl's introduction reminds us, "No archive is neutral," and the essays in this final section remind us that no researcher or archiver is neutral, either.

One of the many strengths of this volume is the inclusion of the perspectives of those who have been archived. Each section contains at least one article by a creative writer; Daphne Marlatt, Penn Kemp, Sally Clark and Susan McMaster each reflect on how their personal archives have accumulated and what it has felt like to have their archives collected. This is a perspective that is often missing from 'archive stories,' which have tended, so far, to focus on the experiences of the researcher. As well, I find the inclusion of an archivist's perspective valuable, and Hobb's essay, in conjunction with Creet's, serves as a reminder of the impact of the actual work of archival appraisal and processing on a body of records. The book includes twenty chapters (not all of which I could refer to directly here, unfortunately) in addition to an introduction and an afterword. As a result, a wide range of research methodologies, types of archives and ethical questions are addressed; however, the number of essays also requires that each remains relatively brief and in some cases I wished the writer had been allowed more space to expand her arguments.

In her thoughtful afterword, Janice Fiamengo regrets the lack of training she received in archival research as a graduate student in English. Morra and

Schagerl's collection of essays could easily act as the beginnings of such an education. Though it does not offer a how-to, it does present the reader with numerous thoughtful and engaging points of view on the nature and value of the archive, on the challenges of archival research and its risks and benefits, and on the ethical imperatives associated with all different types of archive work. The book provides an excellent starting point for an investigation of Hobbs' fundamental question: "What does it mean to "do right" by someone's archives?"

JENNIFER DOUGLAS

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Christl Verduyn and Jane Koustas, eds., *Canadian Studies: Past, Present, Praxis* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2012)

CANADIAN STUDIES: Past, Present, Praxis follows the development of Canadian Studies from the 1970s to the present. Written in three distinct sections, this study begins with an exploration of the evolution of Canadian Studies as a discipline. The first portion of the study encompasses significant works that both maintain and question the need for Canadian Studies as a discipline of academic research. T.H.B. Symons' seminal work *To Know Ourselves* is reconsidered by several historians, including Symons himself. In a discuss of both the state of Canadian Studies in the late 1990s as well as the evolution of the practice of interdisciplinarity which has become the foundation of the discipline, David Cameron concludes that various interdisciplinary Canadian Studies programs in Canadian Universities have created a diaspora of programs that are flourishing in international contexts. Finally, Jill Vickers specifically discusses the development of the evolution of an

interdisciplinary approach to Canadian Studies at Carleton University since it began in the late 1960s. This evolutionary review is followed by a selection of essays from the Millennium issue of the *Journal of Canadian Studies* which establishes the challenges facing Canadian Studies. In his opening paper, Robert M. Campbell indicates that the burden of funding cuts has led to the “neglect, devaluation or limiting of ‘domestic’ studies and activities – that is, of Canadian-centred Canadian Studies.” (92) Symons revisits his report of the Commission on Canadian Studies after several decades in his paper “The State of Canadian Studies at the Year 2000,” to re-evaluate the state of Canadian Studies as it passed into the new millennium. Although reservedly hopeful for the continuation of interest in Canadian Studies research and programs, Symons is clearly dissatisfied with the fact that the maturation and development of the field has decelerated and has become somewhat static. He points out that “the current state of Canadian Studies in Canadian universities is far from satisfactory and far from secure... At best, Canadian Studies as an organized field of study is in a holding mode, and if it is only in a holding mode in this period of fast and great change, then it is in decline.” (114) John H. Wadland maintains that Canadian Studies, along with many of the humanities and social science disciplines, must be aware of having their significance constantly questioned.

In the second part of the collection, Verduyn and Koustas have selected a group of essays that acknowledge the legacy and significance of Canadian Studies research and scholarship. To begin, Ian Angus discusses the emergence of Canadian Studies in the late 1960s and calls for a “new rationale” for the discipline that could adapt the old “heroic” rationale that has become the foundation for many Canadian Studies programs across Canada and internationally. (174)

Raymond Blake concurs with Angus. He finds, however, that Canadian Studies has “made great strides” in education but needs to become more occupied in gaining support from others outside of academia and facilitate a common discourse that will allow Canadian Studies to achieve the promise that was initiated in the “heroic age.” (187) Andrew Nurse argues that a return to a historical materialist perspective would defend the often politically silent Canadian Studies programs that have often suffered from funding cuts. Mihaela Vieru emphasizes that, for Canadian Studies to remain interdisciplinary, it must refrain from conforming to “disciplinary rationales and structures” and foster interest through engaging with public demand. (223) In “Indigenous Studies in the Canadian Studies Context,” Donna Patrick, Timothy Di Leo Brown, and Mallory Whiteduck discuss the importance of incorporating Indigenous perspectives in Canadian Studies programs. Colin Coates and Geoffrey Ewen also point out that Canadian Studies as a discipline should address the fact that there has been a definite bias in favour of studies concerning English Canada rather than French-Canadian interests.

In the third part of the collection, Verduyn and Koustas have chosen a selection of papers that speculate on the future of Canadian Studies both at home and internationally. Cornelius Remie and Guy Leclair in “International Canadian Studies: The Community Beyond” make valuable recommendations for the revitalization and internationalization of the field. They state that although Canadian Studies has developed separately in an international context, programs in Canada and in international settings both share similar challenges. Remie and Leclair propose a compendium of strategies that will allow domestic and international communities to work

together including a network of study topics and research and an exchange of students and faculty between various institutions. Maeve Conrick created a report on the state of Canadian Studies in Ireland as a case study of an effective international research community. However, funding cuts in universities and programs in Canada created a need to amalgamate Irish Canadian Studies programs with other disciplines such as French or History. Conrick finds that this has not affected the legitimacy of the success of many Irish scholars who have continued to generate “ground-breaking primary research.” (275) Munroe Eagles and Jane Koustas comment on the turn in funding that has served to weaken many Canadian Studies programs including joint program with American universities. Despite funding difficulties, they argue that it is important to sustain relationships as they present a unique combination of insights regarding Canadian and American similarities and differences. Mark Paul Richard furthers the American/Canadian connection and feels that the study of transnational migration has the potential to create a bridge which will allow for important discourse that will aid in drawing students to the discipline of Canadian Studies. In the last, and perhaps most significant papers of this collection, Jeffrey Ruhl and L. Pauline Rankin discuss the success of the Trent-Carleton Joint PhD program in Canadian Studies. While acknowledging the real fear of funding cuts in many Canadian Studies programs, they celebrate the staying power of the Trent-Carleton program. They attribute this to the use of interdisciplinary themes which have served to strengthen the program and, also, to the students who continue to reach graduation, reinforcing Canadian Studies as a legitimate field and creating space for comparable projects in other institutions.

To conclude, Verduyn and Koustas have created a collection of works that speak to the continuing challenges facing Canadian Studies programs across Canada and in international settings. This work serves as a warning to all “Canadianists” both inside and outside of Canada, it is a call to arms, opening a new discourse of survival within indifferent institutions that often use Canadian studies programs as fodder during times of funding stress. These issues must be addressed outside of the realm of academia in both political and public domains to attempt to make Canadian Studies curriculum cardinal in more institutions both domestically and internationally.

AMBER D.V.A. JOHNSON
Carleton University

John Peters, ed., *Boom, Bust and Crisis: Labour, Corporate Power and Politics in Canada* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood 2012)

BOOM, BUST AND CRISIS is the second installment in Fernwood’s “Labour in Canada” series, which explores the effects of the political and economic terrain on Canadian workers and their responses. The goal of the series is to enhance debate on these political and economic shifts, while highlighting new strategies by working people to regain influence.

An introduction by volume editor John Peters opens the anthology, exploring boom, bust, and crisis in 21st-century Canada. Setting the contemporary stage, Peters details how “for Canadians, what should have been an era of prosperity, the twenty-first century, was one of worsening jobs, declining incomes and more insecurity about their future.” (8) Focusing specifically on three of the nation’s key industrial export sectors – auto, steel and resources – the authors also explore deregulation and its effects on, along with

the responses of, Canadian workers and the labour movement; they illustrate that few have reaped the benefits of a resource boom, while many have been left by the wayside. As the contributors illustrate, government has done little to reduce this growing inequality or to protect good jobs.

The book is divided into three parts: the first sets the foundation of political and economic change in Canada over the past decade. John Peters, Sean Cadigan, Diana Gibson, and Regan Boychuk highlight how a privileged few have been the main beneficiaries of an economy firmly planted within the natural resource sector, with an emphasis on Alberta and Newfoundland. A concurrent long-term decline in manufacturing, with a focus on auto and steel, is situated in global and political forces by John Peters and Stephen Arnold respectively. A "resource curse" is characterized by this growing dependence on a resource-based economy; a rising dollar, trade imbalances, and the expansion of the finance, real estate, and service industries have fed into a low-wage economy. All authors clearly position these trends in political choice.

Part Two explores such political choice more fully, illustrating how contemporary government policy has largely benefitted a privileged few in Canadian society. David Fairey, Tom Sandborn, and John Peters reveal "the biggest roll-back of worker rights in Canadian history" (108) when the Campbell government in BC set the course of massive labour deregulation in British Columbia. Peter Graefe explores similar political choices in Québec, where "Quebec and Canadian capital rallied to American models of neoliberal restructuring." (127) Both locate their discussion in a larger trend of deteriorating rights and benefits for the majority of Canadians.

The third section investigates new challenges in workers' organizing, health, and safety amidst this context of labour

deregulation. Yale D. Belanger offers an insightful piece on the challenges of organizing in First Nations casinos. A thoughtful analysis of the threats precarious employment presents to occupational health and safety in Ontario is provided by Wayne Lewchuk, Marlea Clark, and Alice de Wolff, a potent reminder that broader political and economic factors are also deeply personal, and can be a matter of life or death. As the authors illustrate, the health of workers is more at risk today than any point since the 1980s, due in part to the increase in workplace fatalities.

Students of politics, the economy, and labour will benefit from reading this. Given the diverse range of topics, this collection is surprisingly cohesive and well organized, providing the analytical tools to question contemporary neoliberal orthodoxy. The book features an abundance of statistics, charts, and graphs; however, the addition of more interactive material could make this a more engaging resource in the union or university classroom. For example, a list of questions or links to electronic resources at the end of each article would be a welcome addition helping students digest what is, at times, very dense material.

As well, the voices of workers could have played a more prominent role in this text. Some voices from the picket line are featured in Stephen R. Arnold's "Steel City Meltdown" an article that concentrates on "the history and current state of the Canadian steel industry through the stories of the Hamilton-based giants Stelco and Dofasco, now U.S. Steel Canada and Arcelor Mittal Dofasco." (84) Otherwise, the only article to engage substantively with worker interviews is the final piece on occupational health and safety.

This collection also would have benefitted from some historical context. Analysis is largely limited to the

contemporary period, with historical content seldom reaching back beyond the 1970s. As such, the ways that the “New Economy” can be seen as large steps backward to an earlier economic model is largely unaddressed. For example, many parallels could be drawn between a “natural resources boom that has redefined the economy” (30) and earlier days when natural resource extraction by colonial powers left many Canadian residents as “hewers of wood and drawers of water.” The history of colonialism is of course deeply tied to raw resource extraction and export, and a weak or non-existent manufacturing sector.

Overall, this is an excellent volume that not only offers critical engagement with the contemporary economic and political structure in Canada and beyond, but also provides many practical alternatives and suggestions for the current labour movement in strengthening its position and worker rights in Canada. As the authors compellingly show in their contributions, without an empowered labour movement, living standards for the majority of Canadians are bound to deteriorate.

CHRISTINE McLAUGHLIN
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Stephanie Ross and Larry Savage, eds., *Public Sector Unions in the Age of Austerity* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2013)

UNIONS GENERALLY and public sector labour relations in particular are largely understudied. This collection brings together well-established and emerging labour experts exploring public sector unions in their diverse forms. The first article by Bryan Evans discusses the dual role of the state as an employer and sovereign legislator. Situating his article in historical perspective, Evans discusses what differentiates public sector unions

from their private sector counterparts, traces the historical origins of public sector associations-cum-unions and pulls together key legislative developments across the provinces and federally. Next Leo Panitch and Donald Swartz update their well-known thesis of “permanent exceptionalism” – the idea that the “temporary” removal of labour rights in the 1970s has ever since been a permanent ideological and legislative fact. Despite the “Labour Trilogy” rulings and recent Supreme Court challenges, Panitch and Swartz show how the Charter continues to grant federal and provincial governments, via the courts, free reign over the usage of injunctions and back-to-work legislation with greater laxity and less parliamentary debate. While the courts have protected the “consultative” process, this does not extend to dispute resolution mechanisms, collective agreements, or to the right to strike. As they show, the Supreme Court has effectively consolidated the assault against trade unions’ rights and freedoms into the new millennium.

Larry Savage and Charles Smith follow this up with a valuable overview of the relationship between public sector unions and electoral politics. While diverse in form and function across the provinces and federally, they show how electoral coalitions have shifted over time and place and explore the challenges this poses in a renewed era of state and capitalist militancy. The following articles by Stephanie Ross and David Camfield explore distinct understandings of “social unionism.” Both authors provide compelling theoretical and empirical data to support their arguments for union renewal, with Camfield also raising the idea of going beyond social unionism. While both Ross’ and Camfield’s visions of social unionism offer important suggestions for rebuilding trade union strength, such as the need for alliance-building and proactive framing,

some of the limitations of this mode of union praxis are not fully explored.

To what extent has social unionism, even in the most militant and committed of unions, been able to stop, let alone reverse, decades of concerted attacks and defeats? Does militancy in the form of work-to-rule campaigns, sit-ins, and strikes, for example, apply equally to private and public sector forms of social unionism considering their different locations in the broader economy and society? What is the relationship between social unionism and social democracy or explicitly anti-capitalist frameworks? Also, in regards to Camfield's article, particularly his emphasis on "reform from below" or bottom-up politics, absent a broad program of trade union political education might such an emphasis also potentially reproduce the worst excesses of right-wing populism or business unionism? While top-down versus bottom-up conceptualizations may be useful analytical tools to identify the anti-democratic or non-participatory characteristics of trade union practices, there are no special virtues in the expressions themselves. The example of the Chicago Teachers' Union Caucus of Rank and File Educators used in Camfield's text, while inspiring, might also reveal some important strategic and tactical considerations in light of the significant concessions and outright elimination of schools and unionized workers in the aftermath of the 2012 strike. While both authors' introductions to social unionism are perhaps not the place to address these concerns, such questions might provide some useful food for thought in subsequent writings.

In what follows, Donna Baines provides a useful portrait of the nonprofit social services sector, with an emphasis on its predominantly female and racialized workforce, showing how an ethos of care shapes the identity of workers, and

the kinds of resistance mobilized in this sector. Similarly, Linda Briskin provides an important empirical examination of nursing work and healthcare restructuring. Both authors show how women form a majority of public sector trade union organizing, illustrating diverse challenges and forms of resistance, and speak to the politicization of care work. The subsequent article by Andy Hanson is an important contribution to this volume. Hanson explores, on the one hand, how public education has reproduced worker-citizens disciplined to the rigours of the Taylorist workplace and rituals of British citizenship. On the other, he notes the contradictory and gendered forms of reproductive labour that education work reproduces in its relationships with teachers, the state, the wider labour movement, and the broader public. In drawing attention to linkages between the state and capital, Hanson provides a useful catalogue of education legislation across the provinces and the unique forms of workplace and trade union resistance.

In the "Paradox of Professionalism," Larry Savage and Michelle Webber provide an important contribution to the often underexplored area of professionals in the public service. Unlike public service workers proper or the broader public sector more generally, "professional" unions encounter their own unique set of challenges, political histories, and workplace-based circumstances. In discussing the shifting landscape of professional unions, Savage and Webber raise a number of issues related to deteriorating working conditions, encroachments on professional autonomy, and how recent austerity measures may open-up radicalizing opportunities in light of continued demands for concessions. The final article by Rosemary Warskett explores how federal public sector unions have responded to demands for concessions,

new authoritarian restrictions on workplace organizing and job actions, and how contrasting structures and strategic choices by Canada's two largest federal public sector unions (the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and the Public Service Alliance of Canada) have resulted in contrasting levels of resistance, success, and politicization. Warskett overviews key legislative developments in the federal public sector, concluding with an analysis of austerity under the Harper Conservatives and the moment of truth that federal unions now encounter.

Notwithstanding ten well-written, accessible, and critical articles, two gaps are nonetheless notable. First, although there have been concerted attacks against municipal workers for some three decades, civic workers are increasingly at the forefront of public sector resistance against concessions. With some 185,000 civic workers organized with the Canadian Union of Public Employees alone, issues related to service cuts, contracting-out, public-private-partnerships, demands for concessions, and general restructuring at the municipal scale are increasingly important as flashpoints of public sector confrontation. An article examining these issues would have added an exclamation point on this important collection of articles.

Second, while all of the contributors point to the need for public sector unions to organize differently, democratize themselves, make connections with the broader community and other unions, and enhance militancy, there is no article that deals explicitly with the structural constraints and democratic shortcomings of organizing unions within the context of capitalist social relations. This is something, of course, that a good many of the authors collected here recognize in various ways. However, considering the emboldened radicalism from capitalist class and state actors, the absence of

an explicitly anti-capitalist article that explores how labour might challenge private capital accumulation as the engine of economic growth, raise a set of demands for non-commodified labour and services, or combine electoralism with a campaign to educate workers in an anti-capitalist perspective is noteworthy. Such an article could have gone a long way in showing why labour must not only lead left within the context of capitalism but seek to transcend, as Marx and Engels put it, social relations of servitude.

Considering the cumulative demands for concessions from federal, provincial, and municipal governments from across the political spectrum, how might a radicalized anti-capitalist project that explicitly recognizes the limitations of resistance from within liberal democratic structures be able to challenge the concerted attacks against labour? Are there limitations to militancy in the absence of a progressive political project, as was evident in the vitriol directed against striking civic workers in Toronto and transportation workers in Ottawa, for example?

Notwithstanding these two shortcomings, *Public Sector Unions in the Age of Austerity* is one of the most significant contributions to debates about union renewal in quite some time. The editors and authors have produced a very valuable collection that will likely be discussed widely in classrooms and union meetings, and by researchers, students, and laypersons alike. More contributions like this are necessary if unionized, non-unionized, as well as un(der)employed and unpaid workers are to challenge austerity, neoliberalism and, perhaps, even capitalism.

CARLO FANELLI
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A.E. Safarian, *Foreign Ownership of Canadian Industry, Third Edition*
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press
2011)

THIS IS THE THIRD EDITION of Safarian's classic analysis of foreign ownership of Canadian industry, a detailed study of firm performance based on interviews and questionnaires, which were completed in 1959. The study involved 280 companies, 227 of which were controlled in the United States. The remaining 53 were controlled in overseas countries.

The first edition was published in 1966 when Safarian was at the University of Saskatchewan. Seven years later a second edition appeared with a comprehensive 25 page preface. This third edition emerged nearly a half century after the first edition as a result of the demand for this out-of-print classic.

The first edition of the book began: "For over a decade there has been persistent criticism of the role of foreign investment in Canada" (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966, v). In examining the validity of this criticism Safarian took a highly quantitative approach, primarily because there was a lack of data on the topic. Focus was limited to the commodity-producing sector. Safarian's statistics showed that petroleum and natural gas and mining and smelting were the two sectors where non-resident ownership was highest, even higher than in manufacturing. In each sector there were massive amounts of capital invested, particularly in petroleum and natural gas.

In 1973, the second edition was published, by which time Safarian was at the University of Toronto. In the preface, Safarian again noted criticism of foreign investment – and particularly American corporate investment – in Canadian industry. This edition presented the author with the opportunity to write a comprehensive and thoughtful preface covering

some "of the broader issues as they have been shaped in more recent years, particularly in terms of the effects of the growth of American-owned corporations in Canada." (xx)

At that time, not only was 80% of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Canada from the United States, but nearly 30% of all US investment abroad was in Canada. In the early 1970s, a large and vocal community, including both the CBC and the *Toronto Star*, Canada's largest circulation newspaper, offered frequent criticisms of the amount of FDI in Canada, implying that FDI was harmful to Canada in ways that domestic investment was not.

The second edition's preface examined the economic cost/benefits of FDI, the effect it has on balance of payments, as well as dealing with some political and social issues, often overlooked by other economists. Safarian pointed out that there were strong attitudes against FDI within Canada in spite "of careful empirical studies which largely refute" (xxv) these concerns. He also argued that a protectionist environment "inhibits entrepreneurial skills leading to an inefficient structure of industry." (xxx) Entering the slippery slope for economists of political and social issues, Safarian goes to "the heart of the Canadian dilemma – the ties through investment, trade, communications, military alliances, population transfer ... to the powerful and restless giant to the south." (xxxix) He concluded the preface by writing that "some of the evidence [against FDI] consists of foothills capable of being ascended by governments, and all too many of the alleged shortcomings amount to nothing more than molehills." (xliv)

The body of the book begins with an explanation of the need for a study based on firm information using "careful statistical analysis." (25) He notes that major legislative changes, including the 1957 provisions which resulted in the

mutualization of the Canadian life insurance industry, had been based on a lack of such information. This is followed by a detailed chapter describing the rigorous statistical background to the study. Then there are chapters on such diverse topics as firm management, exports and imports, knowledge transfer, comparative costs of production, pattern of ownership and finance, and finally nationality of ownership and firm performance, but not of employment patterns. In addition, there are a multitude of tables, 73 in all. The appendix includes the questionnaires and letters that were sent to the non-resident owned and resident-owned companies.

Canada is a very different place today than it was when this book first appeared. Trading arrangements are very different; internationally we have the World Trade Organization (WTO) rather than the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). More importantly, Canada has signed a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States, followed by a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). As Safarian makes clear, the protectionist trade arrangements in place for the first nine decades of the 20th century were a major reason for FDI. But with the arrival of freer trade, and with growing affluence, Canada moved from being a major importer of capital to a net exporter of capital in the latter part of the 1990s. Furthermore, the structure of corporate Canada is dramatically different than at the time of the writing of the earlier editions.

When Safarian researched his book, Big Oil and Big Auto as well as mining were dominated by foreign-owned or controlled companies. What a difference half a century makes. Big Oil has changed completely, with the arrival of a number of large widely held Canadian companies, none of whom are headquartered in Toronto but rather in Calgary. The

biggest company in the automotive sector is a Canadian-owned parts manufacturer, Magna, which has nearly five times the revenue of erstwhile giant General Motors of Canada, which is now smaller than not only Ford and Chrysler, but also Honda. The biggest mining companies are Canadian owned.

Given all this change, what is there about this book that makes it relevant when the subject matter is so different today than when it was written? What is consistent between the two periods, although perhaps not to the same degree today, is a xenophobic concern about foreign investment. This can be traced back to the 1950s and the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, chaired by Walter Gordon, a strong Canadian nationalist and future minister of finance in the Liberal government. The Report expressed concerns about foreign ownership of the economy, especially in the resource sector. When Gordon became finance minister, he commissioned Mel Watkins, a left-wing professor of economics and political science at the University of Toronto, to further investigate foreign ownership of the Canadian economy. The resulting Watkins Report led to the establishment of the Canada Development Corporation during the Trudeau era.

While those years seem long past, we have recently seen the reaction to Australian-based BHP Billiton's attempt to purchase Saskatoon-based Potash Corporation of Canada, the Chinese National Overseas Oil Corporation (CNOOC) purchase of Nexen, and the reaction in 2013 to the possible entry of Verizon, an American telecom company, into the Canadian market. Whatever the reason it can be seen that in spite of dramatic changes in corporate Canada, in FDI, and in trade agreements the issue of foreign ownership of Canadian industry is still subject to spirited emotional debate. Safarian's book is a useful antidote

by providing a combination of detailed information and reasoned logic to rebut the arguments against FDI.

JOE MARTIN

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John B. Jentz and Richard Schneirov,
Chicago in the Age of Capital: Class, Politics, and Democracy during the Civil War and Reconstruction (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2013)

JOHN JENTZ AND Richard Schneirov have produced an indispensable work for anyone interested in the history of Chicago, the development of the US working class in the 19th century, or the history of the Civil War and Reconstruction in the North. *Chicago in the Age of Capital* is a nuanced, extremely well researched work that traces three interrelated aspects of class relations during the Civil War and Reconstruction: the changing nature of work as Chicago became a manufacturing centre with an increasing number of wage workers in large workplaces, the developing political ideas and organizations of workers and employers as their interests increasingly divided, and the eventual emergence of the modern municipal politics of accommodation. Jentz and Schneirov do a first-rate job of weaving these three elements of the story together into a cohesive and detailed whole to show how the emergence of a capitalist social order, and of an increasingly organized working class, created a new type of American city during this period.

The authors place their story firmly within the context of the city's rapid post-bellum economic transformation. They explain how and why a new social order, characterized increasingly by manufacturing as well as a permanent class of largely immigrant wage workers, replaced the older, more artisanal and commercial antebellum Chicago. Jentz and Schneirov

address the development of Chicago's upper class as the city's boosters were eclipsed by meat packers, railroad executives, lumberyard owners, and various manufacturers. They also trace the concomitant growth of a new working class, composed increasingly of immigrants from Germany and Ireland. They consistently link these economic developments to the ideologies and organizations of the various strata of Chicago's population.

The failure of the old ideology of free labour in the face of the "bourgeois revolution" (53) that took place during the Civil War and Reconstruction forms an important current throughout the book. Chicago's upper class, German- and British-born artisans, and early labour leaders all brought an antebellum conception of free labour to the city, in which a man might work for wages for a period, but in which his ultimate goal was the ownership of a small piece of productive property, either a farm or a small shop. This version of free labour, articulated most famously by Lincoln, lay at the core of antebellum conceptions of citizenship and republicanism. The early Chicago labour movement, led by men like Andrew Cameron, drew on this concept and insisted on free labourers' right to be treated as fully participating citizens. However, as the Chicago economy evolved in the 1860s and 1870s, this life course became increasingly impossible for large numbers of wage workers. Rather than working for wages for a short time before becoming independent property owners, a large share of Chicagoans remained wage workers throughout their lives, including many skilled men. Jentz and Schneirov trace this development in a number of industries. In the 1850s and early 1860s, baking, for instance, was dominated by small shops owned by master artisans spread throughout the city, employing a few journeyman and apprentices. By the early 1870s, enormous

new mechanized bakeries increasingly dominated the industry, employing wage workers who would never be able to become independent bakery owners. In response to these economic changes, workers and employers articulated new ideologies that revolved much more explicitly around class.

Jentz and Schneirov trace the evolution of this new class consciousness through a series of clashes and crises that produced an ever changing group of organizations among both the elite and the working class. Soon after the Civil War, in 1867, Chicago artisans united to launch a strike for the eight-hour day. This movement challenged the Republican Party coalition that had won the Civil War, and also mobilized unskilled labourers who did not neatly fit the antebellum definition of free labourers. The strike ultimately broke apart on the shoals of these divisions. Then in the 1870s, Chicago's native-born elite tried to increase its control over the city by restricting wooden building and enforcing strict temperance regulations. Immigrant leaders like the German businessman Anton Helsing led a populist opposition to these attempts that incorporated many working-class elements. In reaction, Chicago's elite united in new organizations, the Citizens' Association and Commercial Club, which tried to ensure order in the city by strengthening the executive and abandoning reforms like temperance. Meanwhile, the labour movement produced moderate unions of skilled workers, reformist socialist organizations, and some radical precursors to the anarchists of the 1880s, as workers increasingly broke with the old free labour ideology and class tension increased during the Depression of the 1870s. These tensions finally exploded in the massive strikes and riots of 1877. For Jentz and Schneirov, 1877 ultimately forced the elite to strive to find some measure of class collaboration through the "regime

change" (220) undertaken by Mayor Carter Harrison, who accommodated the unions and won the support of many labour leaders. Through all this, Jentz and Schneirov describe an astounding slew of characters, moving in and out of labour, socialist, and populist organizations, forming unions and political parties, and struggling to formulate new ideas to meet the deeply changed circumstances of post-bellum Chicago.

This book does have its weaknesses. Jentz and Schneirov introduce the idea of Gramscian hegemony in the introduction and conclusion (though it barely appears in the intervening chapters), asserting that by the mayoralty of Carter Harrison in the 1880s, the city's capitalist class had achieved a "tenuous hegemony" (244) throughout the city. Given that, as Jentz and Schneirov acknowledge, this "hegemony" broke down dramatically in the eight-hour day strikes of 1886, then again during the Pullman strike of 1894, the usefulness of hegemony as an organizing principle is questionable at best; clearly, large groups of Chicago's workers continued to question the new capitalist order after the period explored by the book, and did not consent to it in any meaningful way. It's not clear what this hegemonic discourse adds to their otherwise insightful analysis.

The authors also insist that, despite the repeated use of violence by the state at the behest of the elite, a new municipal political regime eventually emerged that accommodated the new working class and represented an expansion of democracy as workers founded new social movements and pushed government to take account of their demands. Here again, the framework of "democracy" seems strange. Certainly, as the authors show, the force and threat of the working class scared businessmen and politicians, and forced them to retreat from their most unpopular policies like temperance. But

Jentz and Schneirov essentially ignore the massive growth of an armed municipal apparatus of police and national guards, aimed mostly against the new working class, which certainly constituted a limit to democracy. Ultimately, this return to Barrington Moore's old question about democracy seems to shoehorn the extremely diverse and nuanced story that Jentz and Schneirov have told into an ill-fitting interpretive box.

Despite these analytical weaknesses, however, *Chicago in the Age of Capital* is an unmatched scholarly investigation of the emergence of the political economy of the Gilded Age by two masters of Chicago's labour history.

SAM MITRANI

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F. Darrell Munsell, *From Redstone to Ludlow: John Cleveland Osgood's Struggle Against the United Mine Workers of America* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado 2009)

A CENTURY AGO, southern Colorado's coal mines were dangerous places. Given the few – and rarely enforced – official regulations, employers acted with impunity. We are now approaching the centennial of a fourteen-month long strike that involved up to 20,000 coal miners protesting these conditions. The most notorious event of this strike occurred on 20 April 1914 at Ludlow, a town controlled by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Since morning, armed strikers had been exchanging gunfire with the Colorado National Guard. In the late afternoon after most guardsmen were recalled from the field, a detachment of “independent militiamen,” as a high-ranking CF&I executive called them, attacked the strikers' encampment. (234) In the subsequent inferno, eleven children and two adults hiding in a trench under a tent perished. The

camp's leader was executed soon after his capture. Red Cross doctors and journalists were denied entry for two days. The hastily-recruited militiamen were later acquitted of wrongdoing in courts martial and there were legal proceedings against captured strikers, union officers, and two Denver newspapers. (Today, working conditions in the area's mines owned by a UK-based multinational are, of course, less than ideal; a recent strike at the old CF&I Pueblo site lasted several years).

F. Darrell Munsell examines how the events at Ludlow came to pass. He does this by telling the story of John Cleveland Osgood, the leading figure in Colorado's coal-extraction industry between the 1880s and the early 1920s. Besides having a pervasive influence over Colorado politics, Osgood played a central role in the struggle against the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). *From Redstone to Ludlow* is divided into four sections: Osgood's background, labour relations policies, and business dealings (chapters 1–3), Colorado company towns and camps (chapter 5 and 6), colliers' strikes (chapters 4 and 7–14), and official investigations and reforms in the wake of the Ludlow Massacre (chapters 15 and 16).

Osgood founded CF&I in 1892 and, after he surrendered its control to the Rockefeller interests, established the Victor-American Fuel Company in 1909. In his company towns and camps, Osgood used various degrees of coercion, and hired strikebreakers. In his flagship town of Redstone, Osgood oversaw a program of “industrial betterment” that complemented company-owned stores, for-rent accommodations, company scrip, and “ethnic diversification.” (7) Osgood was the first western coal operator to develop welfare capitalism and a company-town system. But, as Munsell argues, although CF&I became a leader in industrial sociology, this form of welfare capitalism would

only feed miners' desires for "industrial democracy." (104) Osgood's "open-shop philosophy" provoked the 1903–1904 and 1913–1914 strikes. (149) In both strikes, Osgood and fellow coal operators made use of use martial law, counterinsurgency tactics, journalists embedded with militia units, aggressive public relations, and their close relations with Colorado's sitting governors. Munsell observes that since Osgood was instrumental in shaping Colorado's harsh anti-union climate, he shares a large part of the blame for the Ludlow Massacre with his commercial rival John D. Rockefeller Jr.

Osgood's experiment with welfare capitalism would prove to be short-lived. Victor-American's saloon functioned as a tool of social control, although the coal operators subsequently sought to spruce up their image in the wake of the Ludlow Massacre by backing a temperance candidate for governor. In fact, Rockefeller is associated with one of the most memorable instances of welfare capitalism in the Progressive Era. Drafted in 1914 by W.L. Mackenzie King, the Industrial Representation Plan balanced union recognition with the open-shop by assigning unions a secondary position in labour-management relations. The Canadian reformer and future prime minister considered Osgood to be the main obstruction to this becoming a reality in Colorado. Munsell's analysis is influenced by earlier work on welfare capitalism, such as Joseph A. McCartin's, *Labor's Great War: The Struggle for Industrial Democracy and the Origins of Modern Labor Relations, 1912–1921*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997)

Famed for his opposition to the eight-hour day, Osgood led the coal operators in the 1913–1914 strike. He resolutely opposed negotiation with the UMWA, favoured the open use of force, and was ambiguous about federal intervention. However, Munsell shows that after Ludlow,

coal operators backed modest state labour laws to contain the UMWA. Munsell also observes that President Woodrow Wilson waited for Governor Elias Ammons to request federal intervention, for fear of arousing states' rights objections.

Although armed groups of strikers attacked coal mines in the Trinidad fields after the Ludlow Massacre, CFI&I and Victor-American soon reasserted hegemony over the region. But a deep rift had grown between Osgood and Rockefeller over how to handle the UMWA; Rockefeller wanted to reach a *modus vivendi* with the union in order to contain it. But as Munsell points out, Osgood did eventually recognize the UMWA. A union organizer that had been acquitted of murder charges was even hired as a Victor-American recruitment officer.

Munsell's book is not a traditional biography but a broad-ranging exploration of labour struggles in early 20th-century Colorado. The author primarily focuses on leaders. Beside Rockefeller, Mackenzie King, and President Wilson, a wide cast of figures was connected to Osgood in one way or another: Ivy Lee, Billy Sunday, George Gould (son of Jay Gould), Mary Harris Jones, and George Creel, among others. Munsell makes good use state legislature and congressional investigative commission reports and court martial proceedings. The detailed account of the Ludlow Massacre is based on scholarly studies plus corporate and military records. He cites letters sent to a Denver-based UMWA official by an unnamed informant about relations between the leadership of the coal operators and the commander of the infamous Troop A, and about their talks with President Wilson. In addition to scholars of labour and policy history, this book will be of interest to regional, business, and military historians.

Half of the book is devoted to the 1913–1914 strike. Munsell complements

recent work on the Ludlow Massacre including Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008) and Scott Martelle, *Blood Passion: The Ludlow Massacre and Class Warfare in the American West*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007). Although well written, the book has two textual errors: Montenegrin immigrants are referred to as "Montenegros" and the Industrial Workers of the World is referred to as the "International Workers of the World" (312, 320). One weakness is that Osgood's governance of Victor-American is not treated, aside from material on working conditions in its camps.

Using the example of this realistic reactionary, Munsell shows that coercion and suasion have been closely linked in the promotion of the "right-to-work principle." (26) Historians, teachers, and informed citizens will value *From Redstone to Ludlow* for calling attention to an important chapter of US labour history that is fast receding into obscurity.

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Cybele Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2012)

IN AN AMBITIOUS and meticulously researched work, Cybele Fox takes on the sizeable historiography of the development of the American welfare state and argues that scholars of relief have relied too heavily on a Black-white framework that cannot be meaningfully applied to European and Mexican immigrants. Fox argues that African Americans, Mexicans, and Europeans inhabited "three worlds" with distinct patterns of race relations, labour relations, and political engagement.

The differing positions of each group in America's racial hierarchy led social workers and politicians to view African Americans and Mexicans as much more likely to become dependent on relief than were European immigrants. Fox painstakingly traces national, regional, and local patterns in relief distribution and highlights the disparities between the highly developed relief systems in the Northeast and Midwest and the much more rudimentary systems in the South. White immigrants in northern cities had access to a much wider range of programs and services than Black or Mexican labourers in the South and Southwest. Part of this was due to the differences between urban and rural labour patterns: Southern landlords and growers reliant on tenant or migrant labourers opposed state aid to their workforce, wanting to ensure the dependence of their workforce even in the off season. Yet Fox demonstrates that even in cities in the South, less was spent on relief and private, rather than public, funds were used in the years prior to the Depression. (61)

Popular notions about the relative merits of Europeans, African Americans and Mexicans shaped the access of each group to relief. Social workers and government officials, believing stereotypes about white Europeans as hardworking and assimilable, used data selectively to "prove" that immigrants were not likely to become dependent on relief. (121) Some even lobbied against harsh immigration and deportation laws that they felt unfairly targeted European immigrants. Yet at the same moment that these officials were protecting Europeans from public disapproval, others reinforced notions of Mexicans as shifty and culturally alien. In Southern California, deportation seemed the most appropriate way to deal with the Mexican "dependency problem" discussed by officials and in the popular press. Even when studies seemed to suggest that Mexican and Black men and women were not more

likely than whites to become dependent on relief, racist attitudes trumped data. For example, Fox shows how white officials contorted themselves to explain why “thrifless, lazy, unreliable, sexually amoral and intellectually inferior.” (119) African Americans were the group actually least likely to receive relief. Racist social workers argued that the Blacks had naturally lower standards of living, thus masking the extent of their “true pauperism.” (120)

Fox argues that political context made a crucial difference in determining access to aid. The systematic disenfranchisement of African Americans in the South had profound effects on Black eligibility for relief. White southerners controlled the ballot boxes and the relief rolls, lowering levels of Black participation and levels of social spending. In contrast, European immigrants became participants in the political machines of northern cities. While still subject to some discrimination, they had access to programs and services on a much greater scale. Fox argues, “at a time when white Americans in the South were working to achieve the wholesale exclusion of Blacks from American political and civic life, many of their counterparts in the North were virtually pushing and dragging European immigrants to jump into the American melting pot.” (39) After the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the federal government took some steps to nationalize relief policies, but important regional variations persisted. African Americans and Mexicans did gain greater access to relief during the New Deal, but officials continued to view them as less worthy of assistance than native-born whites or European immigrants. (213)

Three Worlds of Relief is, by design, a national synthesis which traces wide-ranging contours in the distribution of relief. Fox does pay some extra attention to Los Angeles and Chicago as

key centers of concentrated Mexican and European immigration, but juggles census data, government reports, immigration statistics and reports by local officials from across the country. She is also able to explore the transformation of the piecemeal combination of public and private relief of the Progressive Era to the more federally-directed (but often still locally controlled) welfare of the New Deal. Fox’s wide scope understandably leads to some generalizations and exclusions. Future scholars will be able to complicate this model of three worlds by examining local variations – where Fox contrasts the Northeast, Midwest, South, and Southwest, one can easily imagine comparative works which look at rural and urban patterns within each one of these regions, for example. The differing experiences of individuals from specific European nations could similarly be teased out, and contrasted with others like Asian immigrants. In painting with such broad strokes, Fox necessarily lumps together a host of actors under the umbrella of “relief officials,” including private charity workers, social workers, religious leaders, administrators, and politicians. There is likewise room for further study of the motivations and activities of these various groups. In general, Fox presents a world where officials and social workers were largely successful in imposing their vision, and pays less attention to the role of those receiving relief in shaping the development of the welfare state. One wonders if her wide lens causes Fox to overlook how individuals negotiated this system, at times pushing back against the wisdom of relief officials.

Yet the great strength of this book is its ability to bridge the scholarship on the history of immigration and the history of the welfare state. Fox’s comparative approach is useful in deflating some long-held stereotypes about immigrants and relief. Again and again, she shows

that despite the longstanding public view of white ethnics as “bootstrappers” (292) who made it on their own without assistance from the government, European immigrants were much more likely than Blacks or Mexicans to have access to relief, and received higher rates of funding. She demonstrates that immigration policy was often profoundly shaped by relief officials, as was the case in the Southwest where social workers became convinced that the Mexican population were undeserving of assistance, and became part of a campaign to deport poor Mexicans rather than allow them to become a burden of the state. Fox’s work is intended to inject new perspective into current debates about relief, citizenship, and state aid. It succeeds in reframing our understanding of the origins of the welfare state, and deserves to be widely read by scholars of immigration history, political history, and social history.

SARAH ELVINS

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Andor Skotnes, *A New Deal for All? Race and Class Struggles in Depression-Era Baltimore* (Durham: Duke University Press 2013)

THE COVER PHOTO of Andor Skotnes’s *A New Deal for All* pictures eleven Baltimore participants in the December 1931 Communist-organized Hunger March on Washington, DC. The group is racially mixed – five African Americans and six whites. Generally, the whites are in front, the Blacks in back. While most of the whites clench their right fists in the red salute, the African Americans are less engaged; a woman coyly peeks from behind one of the whites, two men are turned away from the camera in conversation, another is eating. The author never discusses this image of impassive, disconnected African Americans

upstaged by motivated white radicals. But the image seems to contradict the author’s thesis that “a powerful mass-based Black freedom movement” emerged in Baltimore during the Depression alongside a dynamic industrial workers’ movement in which the two “interconnected and overdetermined each other.” (4) *A New Deal* tells the story of two movements – one multi-class and African American, the other working-class and interracial – that converged then drifted apart. It is the alternating telling of these two stories that provides both the book’s strength and its weakness.

Skotnes begins by addressing the question “Why Baltimore?” He argues that as “a ‘border’ city and a ‘border’ state,” Baltimore and Maryland constituted an “in-betweenness” (that) catalyzed a rich variety of struggles around *both* race and class.”(5) This middle ground status is illustrated by cultural, demographic, and economic factors. Firmly anchored within the industrial northeast, Baltimore remained “a profoundly Jim Crow town.” (13) Opposition to segregation emanated from many African American organizations, including union locals, women’s groups, the local chapters of the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the influential *Afro-American* newspaper. Skotnes challenges the historic assertion of E. Franklin Frazier that a “black bourgeoisie” led resistance to segregation. Rather, he argues, a “social bloc” spanning class interests asserted the political goals of African Americans. (40) In addition, many working-class whites, usually members of immigrant-dominated industrial unions, actively opposed white supremacy. It was out of this constituency that Baltimore’s earliest Communists and socialists emerged.

Establishing this context, the author then examines early responses to the

Depression in Baltimore, including the activities of a reinvigourated Communist Party (CP) and the appearance of the City-Wide Young People's Forum. He credits the CP with being the most consistently and aggressively anti-racist organization of the era, quoting prominent contemporary non-Communist African American leaders in making this point, most notably Carl Murphy, publisher of the *Afro-American*, (63) and Charles Houston, dean of Law at Howard University. (198–199) Under the slogan “Black and White, Unite and Fight,” the CP organized workers at the neighbourhood level into unemployed councils and at the worksite into industrial unions. All Communists had a duty to participate in all struggles against racism. (48)

In contrast to the CP, the Forum was “homegrown, unique, and completely African American.” (70) Rooted in Baltimore's Black middle class, it raised the political consciousness of young Blacks by hosting public speaker meetings. Prominent speakers included Mary McLeod Bethune, James Weldon Johnson, and W.E.B. DuBois. An early recruit to the Forum was a young Thurgood Marshall. In late 1932, the Forum moved from a purely educational orientation to an activist one following an engagement by Bernard Ades of the International Labor Defence (ILD), a Communist legal organization. At the time the ILD was campaigning to free Euel Lee, a Maryland African American charged with the murder of a white couple and their two teenage daughters. Following Ades' address, the Forum joined the campaign and remained politically active afterwards.

Skotnes then explores how, throughout the early and mid-1930s, the labour and civil rights movements increasingly cooperated. The lynching of George Armwood, an African American from Maryland's eastern shore, catalyzed this trend. Police had arrested Armwood for

assaulting a white woman, but a white mob, ultimately numbering about 5,000, took him from his cell, tortured, mutilated, beat and hanged him. After they dragged his corpse through town, they hanged it again and then burned it. (122) There was little unique in Armwood's murder. What distinguished it was the response it generated among many Baltimoreans of both races. Occurring as it did at the height of the campaign to save Euel Lee, an already mobilized alliance of white workers and African Americans mounted a wave of demonstrations. Such sustained political action did not bring the murderers to justice, but did ensure that Armwood would be the last African American lynched in Maryland.

Subsequent campaigns included a “Buy Where You Can Work” boycott, an NAACP lawsuit against the University of Maryland (considered “the first steps” toward the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education*), and a protest against the docking of the German ship *Emden*. While the first two fell under the almost exclusive leadership of the African American community, the anti-Nazi rally best represented a convergence of the two movements. Unfortunately, it is mentioned almost only in passing. This is representative of a much larger criticism of the book – the scant attention given to the anti-fascist popular front of the late 1930s. While Skotnes indicates that Baltimore radicals “actively supported armed resistance to fascist aggression in Ethiopia and Spain,” (265) he does not say how. Further, he limits the discussion to little more than a paragraph. It is worth noting that according to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, of the ninety African Americans who fought in Spain, none were listed as Baltimore residents. Given Spain's priority status with the CP, and the fact that the Party was at its zenith of popularity at the time, this shows a limited influence that

the Communist Party exerted over local African Americans. Black Baltimore's absence from Spain presents an image of passive disengagement similar to the book's cover photo.

Instead, Skotnes focuses his discussion of this period on the emergence of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the revitalization of the NAACP in Baltimore. Antiracism played a pivotal role in the CIO's organizing strategy. As elsewhere, the CP played a vital role in this endeavour. Simultaneously, the NAACP took a page from the Communist Party, initiating demonstrations in support of its court challenges. The strategy worked, transforming the Baltimore NAACP into a mass movement. In the mid-1930s the chapter claimed a membership of about 100. By the end of the war, that number stood at 20,000. But Skotnes offers no explanation for this exponential growth, failing to connect the mass influx of African American workers, accompanied by militant unions, into a wartime industrial economy as part of a larger process that linked increased economic power with increased political expression. In this respect a direct link existed between CIO organizing and NAACP membership. But Skotnes is concerned more with formal, organizational relationships.

Skotnes is at his best when the freedom and labour movements are intersecting and working in tandem. Unfortunately, the book often reads as two very separate but equal stories, alternating on a chapter-by-chapter basis. This lack of integration suggests a limited connectedness between the two movements. Another concern is the author's use of the term "Black freedom movement" as a blanket reference to all African American political activism prior to the *Brown* decision. In his introduction, Skotnes cautions the reader regarding "the widely held myth that ... the Civil Rights Movement, appeared suddenly, autonomously, and

almost spontaneously" in the wake of *Brown*. (4) Yet by reserving the label "civil rights movement" for the period 1955-1966, Skotnes, in his own way, perpetuates that myth. Somehow the work of the NAACP, the Urban League, the Civil Rights Congress, and countless other groups prior to 1954 represent something other than civil rights activism. In addition, the author's inference that the labour movement withdrew from civil rights activism in the post-war period is inaccurate, ignoring both the CIO's southern organizing drive Operation Dixie from 1946 to 1953, and the tremendous contributions of the United Auto Workers to the 1963 March on Washington. Also, given the book's title, it is curious that other than a passing reference to the Wagner Act, Skotnes does not discuss Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal and its impact (or lack of) on African Americans. Finally, it is never clear as to when Skotnes uses Baltimore as the example to prove the rule and when the exception.

There is, however, much to like about *A New Deal for All*. Skotnes tells the stories of Baltimore's civil rights and workers' movements in concise, accessible language. Similarly, his notes are brief, taking up only thirty of the book's 375 pages. The text is complemented with forty photographs culled from a variety of libraries, archives, and newspapers. Sources include twenty archival collections including those of the NAACP, the FBI, and Forum founder Juanita Jackson Miller. He has also made excellent use of oral history interviews. As well, worth mentioning is his extensive use of the *Afro-American*. What is missing is a map, or maps. For readers unfamiliar with the geography of Baltimore, Maryland, and the mid-Atlantic region, and given the importance of geography for Skotnes' argument, the ability to visualize the area is important. Despite this, and other criticisms, *A New Deal for All* provides

an important contribution to the study of race and labour during the Depression.

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Marc Doussard, *Degraded Work: The Struggle at the Bottom of the Labor Market* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2013)

IN *DEGRADED WORK: The Struggle at the Bottom of the Labor Market*, Marc Doussard persuasively argues that scholars and activists concerned about income inequality and low-wage work should extend their focus beyond the issue of wages to examine the broad-based degradation of work. Not only have the wages of many Americans stagnated (or declined), their day-to-day working conditions have deteriorated with increased job insecurity and instability, work intensification, scheduling unpredictability, wage theft and other illegal employer actions, harsh and unsafe worksites, and coercive and retaliatory management practices. Doussard develops the concept of “degraded work” to analyse such changes and, through 136 interviews with employers, workers, and activists in Chicago’s food retail and construction industries, seeks to identify the pressure points through which workers can resist the degradation of work. Rather than targeting large footloose industries, Doussard argues, workers and activists should challenge degraded work in small, place-bound, local-serving businesses, which are not only the main culprits of degrading work, but are also more vulnerable to pressure from community-based organizations and local politicians.

Each chapter of *Degraded Work* is a whirlwind of information, exploring numerous topics such as the food retail and construction industries (at both national and local levels), the city of Chicago, local-serving businesses vs. manufacturing

industries, Fordism and deindustrialisation, degraded work vs. low-wage work, temp work and day labour, immigration and undocumented immigrants, unions and labour history, legal and regulatory histories, worker centres and activist organizations, and more. Though all of these themes are integral to the story, the digressions within chapters and overlap across chapters can leave the reader more dizzied than galvanized. Nonetheless, Doussard builds a hard-hitting case for the importance of the analytical concept degraded work and its social impact on workers.

In Chapter 1, Doussard asserts that scholarly understanding of inequality is hampered by the often implicit acceptance that the decline of manufacturing (“good” jobs) and the rise of the service sector (“bad” jobs) increased income inequality in the US. Yet, Doussard maintains, there is nothing intrinsically “good” or “bad” about such jobs; good jobs are created through strong collective bargaining agreements, social welfare programs, and economic prosperity (235) – a point which is not new but which certainly bears repeating (again and again). Furthermore, this deindustrialisation-qua-inequality narrative does not take into account major changes in job quality which, Doussard argues in Chapter 2, have been more important than wage polarization in driving inequality. (26) Although Doussard does not provide data to support this claim, his underlying point is well-taken: “moving these changes in *nonwaged* aspects of employment from the margins to the center of debates over employment inequality is essential” (emphasis in original, 26; see also 230). Chapter 2 heeds this call by moving the degradation of work front and centre, detailing its characteristics and prevalence in small-scale, de-concentrated, local-serving, labour-intensive industries. Although it remains uncertain whether such businesses are, in fact, the primary

perpetrators of degraded work – especially given recent high-profile accounts of extremely poor working conditions in large-scale, non-local-serving businesses such as Amazon’s warehouses – Doussard’s attention to the realities of degraded work is a welcome addition to the literature, and should spur a host of new studies that will eventually draft a roadmap of degraded work, identifying both its strongholds and breadth.

Chapters 3 through 7 examine the food retail and residential construction industries in Chicago, which serve as the platform for Doussard’s substantive analysis of the degradation of work. For instance, at *supermercados* – the common name for most mid-sized, independent grocery stores in Chicago – workers earn subminimum “tipped” wages (but without tips), work overtime but are not paid overtime rates, and face employer retribution (including fines and punitive scheduling) for taking bathroom and lunch breaks, vacations, and sick time. In the residential construction industry which, in Chicago, is largely populated by immigrant workers – many of whom are undocumented day labourers – such problems are exacerbated by the workers’ vulnerability and the jobs’ contingency. Indeed, Doussard writes, “unfavorable and illegal workplace conditions are so widespread among residential subcontractors that workers single out only the most egregious problems for action; a generally high level of degraded work practices is broadly tolerated,” (187) including frequent workplace injuries and delayed (or non-) payment of wages.

More than simply documenting this degradation of work, however, Doussard seeks to uncover why employers degrade labour, why workers stay in such jobs, and what activists can do to combat the degradation of work. Perhaps not surprisingly, however, adequately answering all of these questions is too ambitious for

one book. *Degraded Work* makes important advances in doing so, yet its answers are not entirely clear or satisfactory. For instance, in the case of *supermercados*, Doussard confusingly asserts that “degraded work is *not* an essential part of the cost-cutting measures fundamental to competition in this market segment” (emphasis added, 129) but, later on the same page, that supermarkets “pursue degraded work because they *must* competition-wise” (emphasis added, 129) and, elsewhere, that “small profit margins and cost-based competition ... *force* employers to degrade work” (emphasis added, 68). Yet, even more importantly, this type of economic cost-benefit analysis – which pits profits against labour costs, and employers’ survival against workers’ job quality – rests on the very neoclassical economic paradigm the book sets out to critique. Indeed, the contention that degraded work (i.e., punitive and illegal employer practices, injurious worksites, and very low wages) may be *necessary* to businesses’ success obscures the broader structural forces that rendered this strategy culturally acceptable and legally viable.

Ultimately, while Doussard’s effort to investigate the specificities of local labour markets and place-bound industries is both laudable and important – as is his embrace of the “messiness” (227) that such research entails – this approach may leave some readers wondering if there is not a broader lesson to be learned from a phenomenon that is, in fact, so broad. Either way, *Degraded Work* will certainly provoke thought and debate. It is an important and much-needed intervention in the literature on inequality and low-wage work. The degradation of work is a profoundly important phenomenon, and future research must heed Doussard’s call bring it to the centre of analysis.

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Nilda Flores-González, Anna Romina Guevarra, Maura Toro-Morn and Grace Chang, eds., *Immigrant Women Workers in the Neoliberal Age* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2013)

THIS BOOK BRINGS together a collection of interdisciplinary scholarship focused on low-wage immigrant women workers in the contemporary United States. Its contributors investigate the varied experiences of immigrant women working as domestic workers, health care workers, street vendors, or sales or production workers within ethnic enclaves. The book's stated aim is to explore how the forces of neoliberal globalization have impacted the lives of immigrant women and the ways in which these women are responding to such forces. The fourteen empirical chapters that make up this volume draw upon an array of qualitative methods – including ethnographic fieldwork, in-depth interviews, and oral histories – to highlight the subjective experiences of immigrant women and to promote their far-too-often excluded voices.

The volume is divided into four parts. The first part, "Critique of the Neoliberal State," includes a couple of the volume's most compelling chapters. M. Victoria Quiroz-Becerra focuses on the grass-roots organizing of street vendors in New York City, many of whom experience routine harassment from both police officers and Department of Health inspectors. In their efforts to remove the city's caps on licenses and permits, vendors and their advocates have adopted a frame resonant with policy makers and politicians, promoting neoliberal notions of self-sufficiency and limited state intervention. While this framing has enabled vendors to achieve some of their objectives, it has nevertheless caused considerable tension within the coalition of activists. Quiroz-Becerra's chapter raises

the critical question of how the struggle for justice for immigrant street vendors might contest, as opposed to reproduce, the neoliberal logics of the state. Grace Chang also focuses on discourse and policy, critically analyzing the construction of "sex trafficking" in the US. Chang argues that the framing of trafficking as an issue of violence against women – and not as a more general labour issue – obscures both the real roots of the problem and its heterogeneous lived reality. The federal anti-trafficking regime's mono-maniacal focus on sex trafficking means that most victims of trafficking, who work in sectors like domestic labour, agricultural labour and restaurants, remain unrecognized and unprotected. Chang provocatively argues that this creates a false dichotomy between trafficked and non-trafficked victims, "good" and "bad" immigrants, and enables the government to both criminalize sex workers and rationalize forms of state-sponsored human trafficking.

The second and third parts of the volume are comprised of case studies of female immigrants working in the informal economy and ethnic enclaves. The chapter by Shobha Hamal Gurung and Bandana Purkayastha is particularly notable for its illumination of interethnic and class relations in immigrant communities. The authors find that Nepali women in Boston and New York are often hired as domestics by wealthier Indian immigrant families. Pallavi Banerjee's chapter also focuses on South Asian women, documenting their experiences working in ethnic markets. While these women benefit from the close proximity between work and home, the lack of a clear division between the public and private spheres renders them vulnerable to extreme overwork and reduced wages. Margaret Chin's chapter analyzes recent transformations in New York City's Chinese ethnic enclave, specifically the

collapse of the garment industry. Chin argues that Chinatown no longer operates as a primary location from which immigrants find work and documents the struggles Chinese immigrant women face in obtaining employment outside the enclave.

The chapters by Lorena Muñoz and by Emir Estrada and Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo focus on Latina street vendors in Los Angeles. Muñoz argues that street vending is a “viable alternative” to employment in the service sector, because it facilitates the performance of “street child care,” enabling women to both earn money and take care of their children at one and the same time. Estrada and Hondagneu-Sotelo focus on adolescent female street vendors and the gendered ideologies that undergird and sustain their disproportionate engagement in this income-generating activity. They argue that this atypical “third shift” is one that girls experience as empowering and beneficial. The chapters by Lucy Fisher and by Miliann Kang and Maria de la Luz Ibarra focus on immigrant women in the health care sector. Fisher and Kang focus on the boundary-making processes through which immigrant women working as certified nursing assistants (CNAs) in nursing homes attempt to bring dignity to this low-wage, low-status “dirty work.” One of their central findings is that CNAs incorporate home cultures into their work spaces as a way to create a more meaningful and rewarding work environment.

The fourth and final part of the book focuses on grassroots organizing. It begins with an inspiring and insightful account of the San Francisco Bay Area-based Asian Immigrant Workers Association (AIWA), a workers’ centre focused on improving the living and working conditions of Asian immigrant women employed as low-wage workers. Written by Jennifer Chun, George Lipsitz, and Young

Shin, this chapter tells the history of the AIWA, highlighting its commitment to organizational reflexivity and its innovative approach to leadership development that privileges empowering women to become agents of social change. Michelle Téllez focuses on the *transfronteriza* identity and solidarity promoted by La Colectiva Feminista Binacional amongst maquiladora workers along the US-Mexico border. Anna Romina Guevarra and Lolita Andrada Lledo focus on the Los Angeles-based Pilipino Workers Center and, specifically, its COURAGE campaign, which aims raise wages and improve working conditions for Filipina home health care workers. The PWC hopes to establish a Homecare Workers Cooperative to replace the for-profit agencies that dominate this industry, facilitate collective training and mutual support, and reframe caregiving from unskilled and low-status work to skilled, dignified, invaluable labour. In the final substantive chapter, Nilda Flores-González and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz profile an immigrant worker and mother in Chicago named Flor Crisóstomo. They document Crisóstomo’s politicization through the immigrant rights movement, her defiance of deportation orders, and her embrace of transnational motherhood as the means through which she not only provides for her children financially, but educates them politically.

This is an important volume that highlights the ways in which immigrant women in the US are both adapting to, and fighting to improve, their workplaces. Still, its overall contributions are somewhat difficult to discern. The analytical insights and theoretical critiques present in some chapters are nowhere to be found in other chapters, generating an assortment of contradictions when the volume is read as a whole. Moreover, the book focuses on Latina and Asian women, obscuring the experiences of

migrant women from Eastern Europe, the Caribbean and Africa, who also find themselves relegated to low-wage work. The volume might have been strengthened by including a more diverse set of voices or, more pointedly, by including studies that engage in comparative analysis.

In their introductory essay, the editors state that the book not only offers a collection of new empirical research, but that it serves “as a model for building collaborations among immigrants, community groups and scholar-activists based on a new ethic of trust, justice and community-building.” (12) Because such collaborations are so critically important and relatively rare, a final chapter that discussed the workings of, and tensions within, such innovative collaborations would have been a very welcome and worthwhile addition.

GRETCHEN PURSER
Syracuse University

Seth M. Holmes, *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2013)

FRESH FRUIT, BROKEN BODIES is an extraordinarily moving ethnographic piece which portrays the experiences of precarity and human suffering of a group of undocumented indigenous migrant workers from Oaxaca, Mexico who live and work as fruit pickers in farms of Washington and California. It also documents with heart-rending lucidity the ways in which the radical precarity to which the Triqui farmworkers are exposed contributes to the deterioration of their physical and mental health, quite often in such a serious way that some of them end up living with incapacitating pains in their knees, back, hips, hands, and shoulders, as well as with migraines, gastritis, depression,

and other health problems which are related to stress and excessive workload.

The book, however, does not limit itself to describe the hardship and suffering that the indigenous Mexican migrant workers experience while living and working in American farms and labour camps. It goes beyond that and analyzes the ways in which the migrant workers' experiences are shaped, in the last instance, by an assemblage of economic, political, and ideological forces – all of them intimately linked to the despotic forms of capital accumulation in contemporary global capitalism – that make possible the existence of a food production system that provides healthy, fresh food to a small fraction of the world population at the expense of the exploitation of an extensive mass of laborers who provide to that system their subordinated, flexible, and cheap labour force.

The assemblage of structural forces shaping migrant labourers' suffering has been historically instituted, the author shows in detail, by different types of violence that occur on both sides of the border and beyond. The first one is a political violence generated by struggles over land in Mexico which displaced the Triquis and forced them to live in geographic areas with no easy access to water for crops, limiting their possibilities for basic material subsistence. The second type of violence, the violence of neoliberal capitalism, transformed the Triquis into dispossessed, landless nomads who, as part of a desperate struggle for survival, had to leave their families and their homes and go to across the border and through the desert in search of new homes and jobs in the US. Finally, the third type of violence that shapes migrant workers' suffering consist in a set of racial prejudices and labour hierarchies in the United States which, organized around lines of citizenship and ethnicity, positions the Triqui migrants at the very bottom, and assigns

them the most precarious, risky, and physically-demanding jobs.

One of the greatest contributions of this book consists in providing an important methodological lesson that invites emulation. From the beginning to the end, it is clear that the insights and arguments offered by physician and anthropologist Seth M. Holmes are built on the basis of a profound knowledge of the lives and experiences of the migrant workers, as well as of the social forces that have shaped them. This understanding of the migrants' experiences was born out of a radical ethnographic practice which consisted not only of "hanging out deeply" (32) with the "informants" or "participants" – as would be carried out by a conventional anthropological practice – but also of going with his Triqui companions to live in the same overcrowded, dirty, and uninsulated slum apartments and cabins, working with them bent over picking strawberries in a context of labour subordination and precarious labor conditions, as well as experiencing with his Triqui friends the inclement conditions of being persecuted, apprehended, jailed, and mistreated by the US border patrol while crossing the border "illegally" via the Arizona desert. This act of using bodily experiences as source of knowledge production seems to be at the basis of the author's outstanding understanding of the suffering of the migrants. That would not have been possible to reach if the researcher had limited himself to observation from the outside.

Another outstanding contribution of this book is that the author does not limit himself to the study subaltern subjects, a prevailing practice in the study of the migrant labour system. He focuses, as well, on the practices and discourses of the elites that justify the subordination, exclusion, exploitation, and mistreatment of the indigenous Mexican migrants. In his fieldwork Holmes spent

much time with his feet literally on the ground, bending over to pick strawberries, as well as hanging around with the workers who are positioned lower to the ground by a racist and hierarchized labour system. Still, he found time to "look up" and to study the figures of authority in the system. He interviewed *patrones* and farm executives who employ the migrant workers, US Border Patrol agents, as well as health professionals in US and in Mexico who work closely with the migrant workers. In doing so, Holmes discovered a dense set of racial prejudices, arbitrary institutional procedures, and oppressive medical practices that contribute both to the functioning of the system that punish the bodies and minds of the migrant workers, as well as to the naturalization and reproduction of such conditions of domination.

The author's explanation, at the beginning of Chapter 3, of the causes of the bad housing, bad working conditions, low salaries, and the like at the Tanaka Brothers Farm is potentially problematic however. He argues that "the corporatization of US agriculture and the growth of international free markets squeeze growers such that they cannot easily imagine increasing the pay of the picker or improving the labor camps without bankrupting the farm." (52) This leads him to conclude that "many of the most powerful inputs into the suffering of farmworkers are structural, not willed by individual agents." (52) Holmes' source here is the statement of the Tanaka brothers regarding the effect of the corporatization of US agriculture; there is no evidence beyond the claims of the *patrones*, throwing this conclusion into some doubt.

Overall, this book represents a brilliant example of militant or public anthropology. Its powerful descriptions of the harsh everyday lives of the migrant workers, with a style at the same time elegant and detailed, has an astonishing capacity to

produce awareness of, and empathy with, the pain and suffering experienced by the poorest of the poor. For this reason, and also for its remarkable theoretical and methodological sophistication, this book is a tremendous gift to the students, academics, and community organizers who use education and scientific knowledge as tools for achieving collective and individual emancipation.

ELOY RIVAS

Carleton University

Kathleen C. Schwartzman, *The Chicken Trail: Following Workers, Migrants, and Corporations across the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2013)

THE CHICKEN TRAIL, by Kathleen Schwartzman, is an ambitious effort to explain the labour market transition in the US poultry industry by examining the movement of workers, chickens and migrants between the southeastern United States and Mexico. Conceptually, she uses the “metaphorical commodity chain” (xv) to link global and bi-national economic pressures that ultimately impact the flows of labour, commodity, and capital. Set against the process of globalization, the author weaves through the contentious immigration debates and dispels the commonly-held myths about the causes of dependency for immigrant labour in industries occupied previously by American-born workers. Specifically, Schwartzman seeks to answer the following research question: what accounts for the ethnic labour succession from predominantly African American females to Hispanics in the poultry industry? Based on extensive quantitative and qualitative research, she concludes that the ethnic succession is “an industry solution to labor-management conflict.” (30)

In an effort to provide a balanced view on immigration’s impact on domestic

employment, Schwartzman identifies the key issues from the opposite ends of the political debate and uses her research data to refute some of the taken-for-granted claims. The first issue is whether or not ethnic succession is a result of American workers shunning undesirable occupations. Clearly, the poultry industry has developed a poor reputation for workers because it requires working in dirty, dangerous and difficult conditions, with nominal benefits and minimal upward mobility. The supporters of this argument assume that mobility across the primary and secondary sectors of the economy may be less fluid, thus leading to labour shortages in the least desirable industries. Secondly, there may be non-economic factors, such as labour recruitment strategies and the ready availability of immigrant labour, which structurally discourage employment of American workers. Once set in motion, the tipping scale in employment opportunities shifts abruptly toward immigrant workers unless there are enforceable regulations providing incentives for employers to hire domestic workers first. Lastly, the increased demand for chicken consumption domestically and internationally accompanied an integration of technology and machinery to debone and process chickens in automated, high-speed lines. The introduction of Taylorism in the plants not only accelerated the pace of work, but also instituted work rules that mimic Detroit’s auto plants. The distressed and discontented workers, however, may lack the capacity to improve their collective work conditions when the industry has suffered from a rapid decline in national union membership. A potential key to solving the problem of work undesirability in the poultry industry may rest on the direction that labour organizing takes in the future.

Schwartzman has no illusions about the difficulties inherent in the poultry

work, thus the labour shortage or vacancy argument is still feasible. But, what concerns the author is the fact that, prior to the 1990s, Hispanics were nowhere to be found in industries that hired American-born labour force, especially in states like Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina. The author's important argument is that African Americans never genuinely declined these jobs. In fact, the work conditions had improved with labour unions securing higher wages and better benefits. Schwartzman makes a cogent argument that the ethnic labour succession is attributed to the industry's effort to address a dual crisis that became evident during the early-1990s. The first crisis deals with labour-management responses to rising labour mobilization and militancy. Schwartzman posits that between 1990 and 1994 the industry witnessed the peak of labour militancy, despite the downward national trend in labour union activities. In response, employers utilized various methods in order to manage a disciplined workforce, including firing discontented workers, preventing labour union formation, and employing undocumented workers. The second was the profit crisis due to fluctuations in business cycle, including overproduction and increased costs. It was precisely during this period, around 1995, the author claims that the expansion of chicken industry led to simultaneous increases in the supply of chicken and capital costs. The employment of undocumented workers presumably solved both of these issues.

The initial hiring of immigrants, the author claims, was done intentionally. The large companies utilized active recruitment strategies and incentives to procure immigrant labour. She argues, for instance, that employers were required to provide free housing and transportation to H-2A "nonimmigrant alien workers" in agriculture. Labour

recruitment companies, such as USAMEX Ltd., facilitated cross-border recruitment, transportation, and placement of workers from Mexican states of Nuevo Leon and San Luis Potosi. Likewise, Schwartzman claims that companies utilized similar tactics and labour recruitment companies for employment in the nonagricultural sectors. Citing the indictment of a multinational corporation, Tyson Foods, the author charges that the company had been accused of illicit recruitment and employment practices such as providing counterfeit documentation and harboring undocumented immigrants. Moreover, she cites examples of independent recruiters working on behalf of Midwestern meat and poultry processors in managing undocumented workers from residence to work. The initial recruitment of such workers, the author contends, was critical during the transition because the presence of a critical mass of immigrant workers in a particular industry, coupled with active recruitment networks, eventually lead to chain migration of co-ethnics. In the end, management won the battle against the workers by successfully derailing labour organizing efforts and lowering the cost of production.

Based on the foregoing discussion, the author concludes that immigrants, under specific circumstances, deleteriously impacted low-skilled domestic workers. The poultry industry, she argues, succumbed to a mix of unfortunate historical processes that displaced perfectly willing and able American workers. The key to unlocking the "new" American dilemma can be found in understanding the dynamics of labour-management conflict.

In sum, *The Chicken Trail* provides sufficient evidence to support the overriding proposition. However, the conclusion the author draws is not without some difficulties. Although the author claims to maintain neutrality and foster civility

in immigration debates, her conclusion is highly politicized. For instance, she repeatedly comments that “immigration ... eviscerated labor organization and employment opportunities for African Americans.” (157) There are several issues with such statements. First, this is a general statement about the impact of immigration with no effort to distinguish between unauthorized and legal immigration. The distinction is critical in assessing the overall labour demand in a particular industry, since authorized workers, whether immigrant or not, would be at a comparative disadvantage when competing against a politically vulnerable population, such as undocumented or falsely documented workers. A part of the problem lies in the fact that it is difficult to ascertain, with a reasonable certainty, what portion of the displaced positions has been filled by unauthorized immigrants. Second, the author implicitly places the blame on immigrants for undermining American labour and displacing a vulnerable American population, thus perhaps unintentionally fueling anti-immigrant sentiments. Such a view contradicts the author’s own findings that the employers circumvented the legal process in both utilizing unethical labour recruiters and knowingly employing unauthorized immigrants. This conclusion is especially surprising given that the author’s work is framed within the world systems analysis. The unauthorized immigrant workers, too, are victims of uneven development arising from global pressures of trade and capital mobility. Finally, the author chooses to focus on the displacement of African American women due to immigration, without asking why they were relegated to such positions in the first place.

JOON K. KIM

Colorado State University

Henry A. Giroux, *America’s Education Deficit and the War on Youth* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2013)

VINTAGE HENRY GIROUX. Giroux provides perhaps his best case yet for the urgency of a critical pedagogy to challenge the hubris of American marketplace ideology, an ideology which threatens the very fabric of our world and hopes for a better future. Although he focuses on the United States, his words reverberate throughout a world having thrust on it the American images and languages of “freedom” as defined by neoliberalism. Giroux issues a challenge to all “thinkers,” but particularly to teachers and academics, to accept their public responsibilities of teaching the knowledge and skills, advocating for and providing the conditions, displaying the attitudes and moral imagination and indignation which make democracy even thinkable, perhaps even possible and more likely. In short, he calls on all of us to take a stand for humanity and humankind.

Hannah Arendt once remarked that, even in dark times, one could expect that a few good people would care enough to speak up on behalf of everybody, particularly those deemed redundant, disposable, or superfluous to the functioning of society. Invoking the term “dark times,” she spoke of a time when, even though atrocities were occurring in full public view, those atrocities eluded the moral consciousness of most people. It is into just such a time Giroux is inserting his voice of political insight, intellectual reason, and ethical outrage on behalf of the ideal of democracy and the young who are about to inherit the folly of our neglectful ways. He does so by shining a light on the threat of market mentality to democracy and its underpinnings in public education.

Giroux begins his rant against our current state of affairs by explaining how

we, the many and the public, have been coerced or seduced into substituting capitalism with its penchant for individualism, authoritarianism, consumerism and privatism for democracy and its inclusive spaces, public institutions, mutuality, and reciprocity. He then explains how corporate fundamentalism in four distinguishable but co-joined forms – market, religion, education, and military – conspire to undermine our democratic inclinations and institutions with their anti-intellectual, anti-educational interests. In short, the war on the human person and the common good, waged by the corporation-as-person, has resulted in a war on public schools and teachers, and indeed on the very ideals of education which have inspired and encouraged our public discourses in the past. Using a vast and stunning array of resources, he respectively enumerates and mourns the consequences and prospects for our society of demonizing not only our fellow public labourers but also the systems and institutions where they work.

This book is the story of humankind in the early 21st century, wracked as it is by realities of social exclusions of every imaginable type fueled by an American hubris which displaces republican democracy with “casino capitalism.” (10) Giroux clearly indicates his view that we are all implicated, by our silence and acquiescence, in the pending democratic suicide in which we are engaged. In my view, this is one of the strengths of this book. Clearly we must share the blame for this state of affairs – particularly true for public intellectuals and teachers, who still have a voice and the spaces in which to practice it – if we, in our collective silence, allow democracy to slip our grasp with barely a whimper, let alone a robust protest. Giroux has given us a way to think about our world in crisis, given us a language for expressing our worst fears and, at the same time, has provided some

hope for the retrieval of a kinder, gentler more responsible time.

Giroux finds hope in the episodic, sometimes occasional, outbursts of freedom and action in civil society, his example being the Occupy movement which began in the United States but quickly spread throughout the Western world. This book, and certainly a follow-up book, would certainly benefit from the collation of such “moments” of freedom and might certainly include movements like Idle No More in Canada, the Quebec (students’) Spring (named after Arab Spring) and the like. Civil movements like these provides examples of what can be accomplished in terms of public awareness, public education, and public critique of the political authorities who have sold out to corporate elites who not only don’t let anyone out of their current exclusions, but also don’t let anyone into their “gated” minds and worlds. Giroux’s other faint hope is that our young might be in a position to claim their rightful inheritance to the vestiges of democracy which still survive ... and herein lies another strength of this book.

Revealed for all of us to see is the litany of current intolerances and injustices our youth are up against, often from the very government and human security interests who are to protect their rights to become and act as citizens who not only are governed but also participate in governing their world. From “tough on crime” to “zero tolerance” to attacks on their middle-class and working parents, especially if they are in the service of the public good, Giroux exposes the malevolence of a system that is quick to lay blame and punish children, and slow to accept fault for abandoning the young and the poor to their own diminishing devices and resources. Chapters 6, which outlines fundamentalist’s attack on public schools and reason; and 10, which outlines the role of critical pedagogy are, in my view,

a must read for every serious educational academic and teacher wishing to fulfill the obligations of their profession to the young people in their charge. Giroux rightsfully, and somewhat righteously, calls on those of us in these positions to stand up for a different (common sense) revolution which is truly common in the two aspects of being both logical and inclusive of all.

Overall, this book is a very good and important, if not an easy, read. Readers will find themselves sometimes wondering how they missed all of what Giroux has to tell them. If they read sensitively they might be variably overwhelmed and shamed, but nevertheless educated further and challenged to think more critically about the world they inhabit. They will, with Giroux, become outraged by the lies, deceptions, and general injustices visited on our young and those on whose backs the United States of today was built. And, if they follow his lead, they will learn the ways and the languages which allow them to imagine and give them entry into a broader public discourse and dialogue about how to build a better world – and take up the fight for democracy and public education for the sake of our children and our grandchildren. And, if they do, they might at least enjoy the peace of mind that comes from not giving up on human freedom without a good fight!

JOHN R. WIENS

University of Manitoba

Timothy D. Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2012)

TIMOTHY TAYLOR'S latest undertaking is the product of over a decade of archival and ethnographic research. For those among us who have followed the progress

of Taylor's research since 2000 through a series of remarkable shorter articles, *The Sounds of Capitalism* has been eagerly anticipated. It was well worth the wait.

The book covers an enormous swath of history, examining the evolving uses of music in national advertising in the context of parallel developments in mass media, capitalism, and consumption culture in the United States. Chapter 1 begins in the early 1920s, a period Taylor chose because it marked the rapid spread of radio technology in American homes, giving programmers – including advertisers – simultaneous, direct access to millions of listeners. The chapter follows the experiments of national broadcasters and advertisers as they worked to develop new sound-based strategies and adapt old techniques from print to the new medium.

As Taylor notes in Chapter 2, the proliferation of radio ownership through the 1930s coincided with the Great Depression. Consequently, just as their clients were faced with an increasingly challenging market, advertisers worked assiduously to learn more about the specific character of their audiences, and how different listeners responded to different kinds of programming. Through the Great Depression, advertisers became less concerned about intruding upon the privacy and intimacy of the domestic sphere, switching from “soft-sell” tactics like sponsored musical programming intended to generate goodwill, to “hard-sell” methods that pitched products explicitly and aggressively.

Chapters 3 and 5 follow the rise and fall of the jingle as the dominant form of advertising music. A quintessential “hard-sell” strategy, jingles emerged in the 1930s as a direct consequence of the escalation of aggressive advertising that Taylor outlines in the previous chapter. The vogue for jingles spanned sixty years until they fell out of favour during the

1990s – a trend that Taylor attributes to the increasing professionalization, rationalization, and homogenization of jingle composition and production.

In the intervening Chapter 4, Taylor considers advertisers' increased interest in the 1950s in Freudian psychology, a phenomenon that led to new forms of advertising that sought appeal to consumers on a visceral and emotional, rather than on a rational, level. Advertisers worked to deploy music's myriad affective qualities, Taylor suggests, using techniques that took advantage of the arrival of television as a newly pervasive mass medium that permitted the juxtaposition of sound and image.

Chapter 6 explores the "discovery" of the youth market in the 1960s. Taylor discusses a number of advertising campaigns – focusing particularly on Pepsi and Coca-Cola – that were addressed specifically to youth and to "those who think young," to quote the Pepsi tagline of that era. This fetishization of youth culture, Taylor suggests, would become a predominant logic that has structured advertising discourses and practices ever since.

In Chapter 7, Taylor describes the increasingly sophisticated marketing research methods of the 1970s and 1980s – from UPC codes to the Nielsen ratings system – that led to new concepts of demographics and psychographics. With exponentially more detail available to them, Taylor proposes that advertisers became increasingly conscious of the value of music as a means to target particular demographics – or market segments – with greater accuracy and effectiveness. As advertisers' methods continued to improve, and as the 1980s Ronald Reagan administration enacted new discursive and legislative methods to increase consumer spending, consumption ideology was insinuated into virtually every aspect of life in the United States. Taylor

focuses on the expanding use of ostensibly underground musical genres – from Nick Drake's folk songs to the electronic music of Moby and Ben Neill – in order to demonstrate how mainstream, mass advertising has come to a point where advertisers can credibly articulate commodities to countercultural music. With this in mind, he concludes that no aspect of American culture is insulated from the influence of advertising and the ideologies of consumption that it helps to perpetuate.

Taylor's ninth and final chapter offers a post-Bourdieusian analysis of advertising as a field of cultural production, and of advertisers as a social group. He updates Bourdieu's notion of the "new petite bourgeoisie" to posit advertisers as an emergent class of dominant tastemakers who have essentially achieved – in a phrase that Taylor borrows from Thomas Frank's *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) – a "conquest of culture."

It is difficult to formulate a critical response to *The Sounds of Capitalism* because Taylor's argumentation is largely unassailable. That being said, he necessarily leaves a number of gaps in the story for future scholars to address. In particular, Taylor does not address the issue of musical genre, and the reciprocal relationship between genres and subcultures, in very much detail. Apart from roughly aligning classical music with elitism, rock and roll with rebellion, and a collection of interrelated techno subgenres with a loosely affiliated concatenation of underground subcultures, Taylor mostly glosses the complexity and nuance with which specific genres and subgenres occupy specific cultural and discursive positions. Such microanalyses would be virtually impossible given Taylor's already vast scope; nevertheless, the issue of genre

raises intriguing and pressing questions. Taylor does make it clear that different genres have been used in advertising for different purposes at different points in time and his book challenges other scholars to consider those questions in more depth.

It is also worth noting that Taylor's conclusions are perhaps conditioned by a Bourdieusian sense of separateness between himself as researcher and advertisers as research subjects. From the very opening sentence of the book, Taylor rhetorically distances advertisers from music and musicians: "Music has power. Musicians know it, listeners know it. And so do advertisers." (1) Though he does insist that we are all invariably implicated in capitalism and consumption, and that advertisers are by no means singularly to blame for perpetuating the system, there is a consistent antipathy for the culture and politics that underlie the advertising industry. Of course, this antipathy is a ubiquitous feature of critiques of advertising, capitalism, and consumption, and indeed, it is a feeling that many of the readers of this review (not to mention its author) likely share. On the other hand, a politically and theoretically oppositional response to Taylor's work – perhaps from a musically knowledgeable business ethicist or someone with more of a direct stake in the advertising industry – might complicate the story, generating a dialogue that could fruitfully destabilize the apparent inevitability of some of Taylor's conclusions.

The Sounds of Capitalism is a monumental achievement, both in its historical and anthropological detail, and in its theoretical rigour. With this accessible and vibrantly engaging book, Taylor has come to stand among the most trenchant and urgent contemporary critics of capitalism and the culture of consumption. Within the somewhat narrower of niche of musicology and ethnomusicology,

Taylor's work could, and should, establish the groundwork for an entirely new field of study. Although Taylor is an ethnomusicologist and *The Sounds of Capitalism* does focus primarily on music, it is a book that dramatically cuts across disciplines and eschews specialist argot. It will surely be a crucial addition to the library of anyone with an interest in the entanglement of capitalism, consumption, and culture.

MARK LAVER

University of Guelph

Rob Rosenthal and Richard Flacks,
*Playing For Change: Music and Musicians
in the Service of Social Movements*
(Boulder: Paradigm Publishers 2012)

ROB ROSENTHAL and Richard Flacks' *Playing For Change: Music and Musicians in the Service of Social Movements* is a fascinating study that examines how music can serve social movements in significant ways. Unlike materialists who are interested in understanding social movements as frameworks for altering material realities and producing culture, Rosenthal and Flacks are concerned with how music affects movements and the social context of its creation and reception. These scholars contend that popular music, while neither inherently regressive nor inherently liberatory, retains the possibility to achieve either of those ends under particular conditions. In order to demonstrate how this nexus has developed, Rosenthal and Flacks provide readers with a range of music-movement examples that include, but are not limited to, popular music's engagement with black liberation, labour, feminism, student and anti-war movements.

Rosenthal and Flacks argue that music has been, and continues to be, a formidable weapon for social movements, even while it can be at times, unpredictable and inaccurate. The music-movement

nexus, defined by a range of complicated uses, functions, and effects, is one where music has helped create, sustain, and alter social reality as well as reflect it, sometimes in a single act. Therefore, it is particularly valuable to understand this nexus as a dialectical one. In *Playing For Change*, Rosenthal and Flacks aim to catalogue and assess the many uses of music claimed or suggested by analysts, performers, and movement members, in order to contend that it is possible to determine how music's functions and effects vary depending on social and historical contexts.

Rosenthal and Flacks' greatest contribution is their insistence upon the theoretical triad "transmission-reception-context." They argue that scholars must first examine "transmission," which entails how an artist expresses their message lyrically, musically, aesthetically, and through various other modes of performance and identity. Second, it is necessary to explore "reception," which explores how audience members receive and understand the genre, artist and content disseminated. Finally, scholars must account for context, as well as factors and processes that frame the interaction between artist and audience. These factors can include who controls music, the conditions under which the music is played, and what social and political events inform the performance and messages conveyed. In tracing these three factors, Rosenthal and Flacks convincingly contend that scholars would be wise to analyze the music-movement nexus using this theoretical triad given that they otherwise risk conceiving of culture too narrowly and categorizing its effects and processes into neat boxes in order to serve scholarly theories.

Divided into three parts, Rosenthal and Flacks' study is a welcomed intervention within the current historiography of popular music studies given its

intention to complicate theoretical approaches and understandings of how music can be liberatory. With the help of interviews of artists and political activists, social movement literature, and college student surveys, Rosenthal and Flacks have demonstrated that the extent to which music shapes the direction of culture and social movements is the result of an extremely complex process. In Part I, an introduction to the music-movement link, Rosenthal and Flacks detail the schools of thought that have informed scholarly engagement with the music-movement nexus. They highlight the work of Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, the "Interactionists," Social Movement Studies, and the Birmingham School, in order to highlight how their own work contributes to and engages with the historiography of popular culture. Part II, an exploration of the meaning of music, is a detailed discussion of the images, sounds, and lyrical messages artists deliver through the culture industry, the setting and audience base that serves as a starting point for interpretation and reception, and the importance of context (time and space) in music's meaning making. Finally, Part III is a nuanced undertaking that aims to explore how musicking functions within, and in service of, social movements. Rosenthal and Flacks detail how musicians create art intended to serve activists, as well as to recruit, educate, and convert potential members and nonmembers in order to mobilize concrete support and disarm opponents. Rosenthal and Flacks contend that while musicking has the capacity to act in service of a movement, it is also necessary to explore the ways in which musicking might detrimentally harm the sustainability and credibility of a movement.

Playing For Change is also unique in that it works against a body of scholarship that has been exclusively consumed with

establishing the music-movement nexus by pursuing an understanding of the artist's intent. Rosenthal and Flacks remind readers that too often scholarly analysis of music as politics narrowly draws attention to lyrics to establish this link. In writing against this tradition, Rosenthal and Flacks demonstrate that lyrics are only one element in conveying meaning and establishing a music-movement link. Moreover, they illustrate that while it is important to understand art as politics from the artist's perspective, it tells academics very little about the material's impact on those listening. As such, their greatest scholarly contribution is their desire to understand the role of audience reception given that, as they contend, it importantly frames the music's ability to act as politics. In focusing on audience and reception, Rosenthal and Flacks valuably establish that whether intended or not, the political nature of a musical experience very often arises in one or more dimensions, whether it be the events and environment that has determined artist-audience relation or has been collaboratively created by participants where there is not an artist-audience distinction.

While Rosenthal and Flacks are clever to point to a complex music-movement nexus process, their study could have additionally benefitted from an acknowledgement and exploration of the ways in which this dynamic link is often framed, and in some cases, conditioned by industry, media and even state discourse. Throughout music history, the prevalence of popular culture paternalism among a vast body of gatekeeping elites has powerfully determined, ostracized, narrowly confined, and coercively exploited various music-movement possibilities in an effort to uphold and preserve the social, political, economic, and cultural interests of those in power. To have included a detailed discussion of the ways in which these cultural paternalists aid to

or detract from the development of any music-movement link would have further nuanced and strengthened their overall contention.

Nonetheless, *Playing For Change* is a thorough and focused study that will no doubt help shift the music-movement nexus conversation and offer a far more nuanced analysis of the ways in which this link has matured and shifted across time and space. Rosenthal and Flacks usefully demonstrate that the conscious and unconscious functions of musicking for social movements, whether realized in that historical moment or not, can help popular culture scholars better understand how cultural artefacts can be a resource for sustaining commitment to social justice and collective activity. In contesting the notion that music is a fixed piece of culture, or that it is simply a tool that serves a pre-established ideology, Rosenthal and Flacks establish that music's meaning, one that is constantly created, recreated, and negotiated, must be envisioned in the broadest range of possibilities to avoid stultifying its multi-dimensional functions.

FRANCESCA D'AMICO
York University

Michael Andrew Žmolek, *Rethinking the Industrial Revolution: Five Centuries of Transition to Industrial Capitalism in England* (Leiden: Brill 2013)

I DON'T KNOW how many times this book fell out my hands and tumbled from the couch to the floor. Physically holding up this text by Michael Andrew Žmolek which weighs in at perhaps six kilos and nearly 900 pages is no easy task for those who still enjoy reading hard copy. Indeed wading through this enormous tome from time to time I found myself wondering why on earth someone would write such a gigantic work let alone why

Brill's *Historical Materialism Series* decided to publish. It certainly isn't going to be a money maker. Moreover its essential thesis is relatively easily stated. But after several weeks of persevering, I have to say the effort of reading through this tome has been worthwhile. An attempt to apply the Brenner thesis to the development of capitalist industry the work is in fact an impressively erudite and up-to-date Marxist review of English economic and political history from the 14th to the 19th century.

A PhD thesis prepared under the supervision of George Comninel at York University who is an unbending proponent of political Marxism, it dutifully reiterates many of the principle themes of this school: the exclusively English origins of capitalism, the importance of late medieval changes in social property relations to the initiation of agrarian capitalism, the significance of relative exploitation spurred by competition in improving productivity, and the overall downgrading of the role of the rural and urban bourgeoisie as against the landlord class as agent of economic and political change. It is the 14th century class struggles and not, as Marx had it, Tudor enclosures which were decisive to capitalist development. The 16th century enclosures are an after-effect of the changes in the relations of production brought about by the class struggles of the 14th century as is the 17th century English Revolution. The materialist dialectics of Marx – "bullshit" (according the analytical Marxists with whom Brenner associated) – are replaced by the syllogistic and deductive logic of capitalist social relations in markets presumed rational. It then follows in determinist fashion that the enclosure and improvement of agriculture based on capitalist agriculture increased the size of the wage-labour force and cut the cost of food to sustain such labour. Increases in the supply of food at

affordable prices in turn spurred population growth generally and especially the growth of the proletariat. While these changes increased market dependence and widened the internal market, they eventually forced the introduction of machinery as a creative response to rising food prices in the late 18th century. The introduction of machinery, in turn, brought on the Industrial Revolution and accelerated the trend from the formal to the real subsumption of labour enforcing discipline on the producers while spurring gains in productivity. As the author rightly stresses, manufacturers turned to machinery in an effort to effect savings faced with competitive pressures based on rising costs especially for food. The Brennerite insistence on the importance of competition in driving innovation is certainly vindicated. But to what degree Brenner himself might have rather anachronistically applied this competitive model of the genesis of the Industrial Revolution to the nascent capitalist agriculture of the 16th century is another question.

The above is the barest outline of the author's argument. But it is unfolded across an immense narrative which includes an introduction and fourteen chapters and ends in a conclusion which summarizes the whole story from 14th to the 19th century. The first chapter is devoted to the pre-history of industry and successive chapters then deal with the inception of the agrarian capitalism, the consequences of the agrarian revolution, the role of capital and technology in the making of industrial capitalism, the social origins of the factory and factories and machinery. But in sharp distinction to political Marxism, there is an enormous weight put on the role of the state in clearing the way for the development of both agrarian and industrial capitalism. The exact significance of this stress on politics in inflecting the Brennerite

model is not indicated but its net effect is to soften the economic determinist logic of that approach. In deference to Brenner, the author pays lip service to the latter's view which minimizes the revolutionary importance of the English Revolution but, in fact, he offers an analysis which confirms the decisive importance of the political and legal transformation wrought by the revolution in opening the way to the consolidation of the capitalist system. Hundreds of further pages in the latter part of the work are also devoted to politics including chapters on custom and law, late 18th century politics, the state's role in the Industrial Revolution, the popular revolts of the first part of the 19th century including the Chartist movement and the political reform of 1832, the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Ten Hours Bill. In all these matters the author's analysis is based on an impressive and up-to-date bibliography.

While I find myself in agreement with much of Žmolek's line of argument there are several points with which I disagree. True he gives more weight to the petty producers than does Brenner. But in my view he does not give sufficient importance to late medieval peasant differentiation as stressed by Rodney Hilton and Terence Byres. In this respect there is too much emphasis on market compulsion and not enough on market opportunity. Wallerstein's and Marx's stress on the importance of the appearance of the world market in the 16th century is curtly dismissed in accord with Brennerite hostility to the significance of trade and any dialectical view of change. The development of capitalist relations in agriculture was undoubtedly decisive as Brenner has insisted. But we recall that it was in areas close to town markets and manufacturing that the impulse to enclose and improve land was most salient. In the case of England the production and export of wool cloth overseas from the reign of

Henry VIII onward proved a boon to merchants and capitalist enclosers alike. But Žmolek ignores this, stressing the development of the internal market instead. The role of colonialism, slavery and the development of overseas markets in accumulation overall are not given sufficient due. Relative exploitation and increases in productivity became more important with time but their significance is exaggerated relative to primitive accumulation and absolute exploitation in the 16th and 17th centuries. In passing, the author acknowledges that despite the prevalence of capitalism as late as the end of the 17th century that the observance of customary rights and tenures had yet to be eliminated in manufacturing and agriculture but the implications of this for the Brenner approach are not explored. Meanwhile the extensive development of early modern manufacturing on the Continent as signalled by J.U. Nef and the proto-industrial historical literature is dismissed as non-capitalist because presumably not sufficiently driven by market competition. Not to mention that in the fully feudal Île-de-France in the 17th and 18th centuries economic rents in a capitalist sense prevailed. Presumably capitalist relations cannot exist within a feudal shell as that would be dialectical nonsense. In my view Žmolek's successfully applies the Brennerite approach to the development of capitalist industry. On the other hand, too often that approach becomes a procrustean bed into which the author is forced to fit his account.

HENRY HELLER

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Cynthia L. Negrey, *Work Time: Conflict, Control, and Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press 2012)

AS AN ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE, time exerts a very real influence on our lives.

The way time is experienced, particularly work time, has changed radically over the course of history. The causes and consequences of this change is the focus of Cynthia Negrey's *Work Time: Conflict, Control, and Change*. Over the course of the book, Negrey effectively highlights the socially constructed nature of work time, demonstrating the ways economic and cultural factors combine with public policy and organizational cultures to create the current work time realities. Throughout the book, Negrey is attentive to the way gender operates to shape the experience of work time differently for men and women, providing an additional layer of analysis to her solid overview of the work time literature.

In Chapter 1, Negrey constructs a rich historical narrative about the changing contours of work time, beginning with hunter-gather societies, demonstrating how work time was largely shaped by the seasons, forces of nature, and a gendered division of labour. Similar seasonal and agrarian rhythms shaped work time into the medieval period, as much of Europe remained engaged in agriculture. As more workers began selling their labour for wages, the measurement of time took on new significance. More exact measures of time were aided in no small part by the invention of the mechanical clock, which Negrey positions as equal in significance to the printing press. Moving through the Industrial Revolution, Negrey draws attention to the way the clock shifts the work of many away from a task orientation to a time orientation. The manufacturing and service work that dominated the 20th and 21st centuries kept labour oriented towards time, but task-oriented work has regained significance as knowledge work becomes an increasingly important part of the global economy.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the factors that lead to the establishment of the 40-hour work week. As Negrey

demonstrates, this particular configuration of the standard workweek – eight hours a day, five days a week, Monday through Friday – was the product of many hard fought battles. Workers desired meaningful time outside of work for pursuits of their choosing, such as political activities, leisure, and education. Worker agitation around work hour limits was also fueled by concerns around health and safety, particularly for women and children workers. The impact of the Great Depression on work hour limits is also explored, with attention paid to the legal measures taken to ease the strain of high unemployment. These measures laid the foundation for the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which remains highly influential in the regulation of work time to this day. These first two chapters do much to set the stage for the remainder of the book, providing the necessary historical depth to fully understand current trends and realities around work time today.

How work time is experienced in the US today varies widely across social groups. While average work hours have remained just under 40 hours per week over the last several decades, Negrey dives deeper into the data on work hours more fully in Chapter 3. In doing so, she captures the wide range of ways Americans now work, including overtime, part time, temporary work, and contract work, and the expansion of the possible hours of the day workers are being asked to work. What the data reveal is the very real problem of overwork and underwork: many American workers now work more hours than they would like, while many others struggle with insufficient work time. The challenges of overwork and underwork play out in multiple ways for American families, to which Negrey turns to in Chapter 4.

The challenges of work/family and work/life fit are the subject of Chapter 4. One of the most dramatic social changes

of the latter half of the 20th century was the influx of women into the paid labour force. This influx profoundly changed labour force dynamics, but it also changed negotiations around time that occurred in the home. While a breadwinner-homemaker organization of paid and unpaid labour dominated in the past, dual-earner couples are now the majority in the US. Negrey effectively illustrates how the absence of public policy to support working families forces American families to create their own private solutions. These private solutions dramatically impact work time in ways that limit job prospects for many, contributing to the stratification of American society.

In Chapter 5, Negrey shifts focus and examines work time outside of the US, asking how the work time of the US measures up to other developed and developing countries. Comparisons between the US and countries in the European Union reveal that while standards of living and levels of productivity tend to be similar, a substantial gap in the number of hours worked exists. The gap in work time is largely the product of social policy that regulates work in radically different ways than in the US, offering European workers more paid time off, greater opportunities for good part time jobs, and family leave. Work time in the developing world varies along with economic growth, with work time decreasing as countries develop.

Covering global trends in work time in a single chapter is perhaps too ambitious a project. While she presents important data and points to significant differences, the analysis in this chapter appears superficial, unable to capture all but the most macro level differences at the state level. Her coverage of Canada's family leave policies provides a case in point: she accurately describes the federal policy, but does not touch on the radically different policy found in the province of

Québec. Much more aligned with family policies in the EU, both in coverage and wage replacement, Québec's family policy shapes work time quite differently than Canadian federal policy. Within country differences such as this further complicate global comparative analysis.

In the final chapter, Negrey presents some thoughtful ideas on the issue of work time in the future, including the benefits and drawbacks of flexibility and a discussion of environmental sustainability. She also includes a textbox outlining suggestions for changing the nature of work time to address some of the challenges workers currently face.

To her stated aim of producing a useful text for the study of work time, I believe she has produced an accessible and well-organized text that provides a solid overview of the scholarship on work time. Students and researchers new to the field will find the first two chapters rich in historical background on the changing meaning and organization of work time from hunter-gather societies, moving through the 20th century legal battles that culminated in the 40-hour work week. Beyond that, Negrey has produced a thorough overview of the role time plays in structuring work, drawing attention to the ways work time functions as a key social stratifier, both domestically and globally.

ERIN M. REHEL

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Thomas Fetzer, *Paradoxes of Internationalization: British and German Trade Unions at Ford and General Motors, 1967-2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2012)

THIS IS A FASCINATING study of the transition in British and German unions as they responded to the increased competition for investment in the European

automobile industry. Starting in the late 1960s, Ford and then General Motors moved from a corporate organization with limited interaction between their British and German divisions to a European-wide organization. While there was always competition for investment and market share between the divisions, this competition was dramatically increased as both companies rationalized production on a European basis. The shift to a single European market in the late 1980s provided even greater flexibility in investment decisions and further heightened the competition for investment. The parallels to changes in Canada and the United States following the adoption of the Auto Pact in 1967 and NAFTA in 1994 make this volume of particular interest to Canadian readers.

Fetzer organizes his analysis around three key questions. First, how did this shift to European-wide operations influence national allegiances of British and German unions? Here he finds that, rather than weakening nationalism, unions became more nationalistic as British unions and German unions worked with the companies to maximize employment in their jurisdiction.

Secondly, how did this transition affect the domestic practices of unions in Germany and Britain? Prior to the shift to pan-European operations, British and German unions operated in distinctly different institutional structures and adopted different strategies to represent their members. Fetzer argues that in some areas, the two unions converged as each increased their monitoring of corporate strategies related to capital allocation. However, there were also forces of diversity at work, driven mainly by the different experiences of British and German workers as the companies rationalized European production. In particular, German unions were able to take a different approach to bargaining as they

were mainly winners in this contest for investment, while British unions were forced to adopt strategies reflecting their weaker competitive position and continuing loss of employment. At first, British unions continued to promote strategies such as restrictions on imports and other strategies intended to protect more of the domestic market for vehicles for British producers. The continuing failure to attract investment to Britain led eventually to many of the British trade union groups accepting more of a partnership approach to management and pushed them in the direction of German industrial relations.

Finally, Fetzer asks if the new structures led to greater co-operation between German and British unions. In the competition for investment, Fetzer finds both moments of co-operation and moments of increased conflict. He argues that, in the first instance, the increased competition actually led to limited co-operation as British unions looked for corporate information from that their German counterparts had access to as a result of their unique industrial relations arrangement with German companies. German unions looked to co-operate with British unions to limit periods of unemployment in Germany that might be caused by strikes in British plants supplying German assemblers. It is important not to over-state the degree of co-operation. Each was pursuing strategies that they viewed as serving the interests of their members rather than the interests of a European working class. Solidarity during conflicts was mostly limited to letters of support. It is argued that the failure to develop more robust forms of co-operation reflects the sense that the competition for investment at first did not lead to a sense of shared risk or common threat to European workers.

At the same time, differences in the industrial relations structures in the two countries became a point of friction.

To British workers facing demands for concessions and job loss, the more accommodating German industrial relations structure was viewed as a lack of militancy. German unions experiencing the strike activity in Britain as periods of lay-offs due to shortages, looked on in puzzlement at the multi-union British organization.

Of interest here was the role of IG Metal in thwarting greater co-operation between British and German trade unionists representing auto workers. It is argued that IG Metal feared that the centralized bargaining structure in German, that gave IG Metal a dominant role in German auto bargaining, might come under threat if German unionists saw the more decentralized British union structure to be in the interest of German auto workers. They were concerned that co-operation between British and German trade unionists in the auto sector might fuel the movement in Germany for a separate auto union outside of the orbit of IG Metal.

It was only when non-European locations began competing for the investment in the late 1980s, investment that until then had gone to either British or German locations, that co-operation increased. This was further encouraged by the efforts by Ford and General Motors to impose European-wide cuts in wages and to speed up production. This gave unions in both countries a reason to co-operate in an effort to prevent a European-wide race to the bottom. While co-operation clearly increased in the post-1990 era, co-operation still remained limited and often strained.

In reviewing this excellent piece of trade union history, it is easy to draw parallels to tendencies in North America in the decades following the Auto Pact. These tendencies also support Fetzer's argument that it is critical to have a historically grounded analysis to appreciate

current positions of unions. In Europe, the period prior to the shift to European-wide production organization had created two distinctive patterns of industrial relations in Britain and Germany, one highly decentralized and shaped by conflict between employers and employees and the other much more centralized and organized within a partnership model of industrial relations. As Fetzer shows, this resulted in different responses to the competition for investment and supported nationalist positions in each country. In North America, the historical record was one of a North American auto union dominated by the larger American wing of the union. As the competition for investment increased, the two national wings went their separate ways, both in terms of demands at the bargaining table, but also the relationship with their employers and their willingness to accept new systems of production. Fetzer's work in Europe provides a useful way of re-interpreting both the tensions between the American and Canadian wings of the union in this period, but also the potential for new forms of co-operation. The shift to greater international co-operation in Europe noted by Fetzer in the face of external threats and competition from non-European locations has not materialized in the United States and Canada despite the ongoing competition from non-North American producers. Again, one suspects this is a product of our unique union and labour history in North America.

WAYNE LEWCHUK
McMaster University

A. Ricardo López and Barbara Weinstein, eds., *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History* (Durham: Duke University Press 2012)

THE MAKING OF the Middle Class is an impressive 393-page compendium of essays that grew out of conference sessions of the American Historical Association and the Conference on Latin American History in 2004, and from a specialized conference on the global middle class hosted by the University of Maryland in 2006. The collection has three important aims, the first of which is to provide historical context for recent discussions in the popular media that assign “the middle class” a central role in the recent phenomenon of “globalization.” The second is more grand: to query the ways that the middle class has been both the motor and product of modernization. The third aim is as ambitious as the second: to examine the middle class as a “transnational” phenomenon, but to call into question the prevailing assumption in the historiography that middle-class formation was a 19th-century North Atlantic (specifically British and American) invention that was only later imported and adapted to other parts of the world. As the book’s introduction explains, this discussion seeks to disrupt that tired teleological narrative of “first here, then there.”(7) To do so requires that we re-centre our focus, and begin to consider middle-class formation from the so-called margins, in a comparative, transnational framework.

As most historians who have examined it would admit, the middle class is an impossibly messy historical subject, and the structure of this volume reflects that fact. The volume features sixteen essays, which the editors have divided into four sections. In Part I, “The Making of the Middle Class and the Practices of Modernity,” readers encounter essays on

class formation and the meaning of modernity in colonial Lucknow and Southern Rhodesia and in post-World-War-II Canada, along with ponderings about class identities in British and American historical narratives. Part II purports to examine “Labor Professionalization, Class Formation and State Rule,” doing so in an eclectic selection of essays that discuss middle-class constituents as varied as Mexican agronomists in the 1920s, social service workers in Colombia in the 1950s and 60s, social reformers in colonial Bombay, and folk dancers in 20th-century America. The third section of the book examines political manifestations and is titled “Middle-Class Politics in Revolution” (though the term revolution does not quite fit as a descriptor). These essays study *Aprismo* in mid-20th-century Peru, urban politics in post-Revolutionary Mexico City, and the obstacle of Muslim/non-Muslim sectarianism in the making of middle-class identity in early 20th-century Aleppo. In Part IV, the editors gather essays on “Middle-Class Politics and the Making of the Public Sphere.” Here, essays on 19th-century German women’s voluntary work and the place of Catholicism in the bourgeois French children’s literature are joined by pieces on the literary images of social climbers in turn-of-the-20th-century Chile and Peru and on the place of whiteness in changing articulations of “middle class” in mid-20th-century Argentina. As this necessarily cursory description of the book’s contents indicates, *The Making of the Middle Class* has an impressively large geographical scope. It will undoubtedly push scholars of social class to look beyond their borders and make their own comparisons to the processes of middle-class formation in other regions and nations. To each section, the editors have appended brief commentaries that attempt to tie together the disparate essays, pose questions, and point to

future directions for analysis. Finally, the book is bracketed with an Introduction and an Afterword that are each useful and challenging.

This is a commendably ambitious book. It captures in one volume much of the latest thinking about one of the most problematic subjects in social history. Like all essay collections, it is uneven in quality and varied in provenance. It places together empirical studies rooted in archival research and more casual, theoretical and historiographical think-pieces. A brief look at the papers' endnotes shows, too, that some of these works are previously published chapters, some digested versions of sections from already published monographs, and some brand-new stuff. Moreover, the essays defy neat analytical categorization; the sections seem at times arbitrary and imposed (almost all of the papers address aspects of the middle-class public sphere, for example, and could have been placed in Part IV). Not all of the essays address the main goals that López and Weinstein set out for the volume in its introduction and one is left to wonder whether the editors, in making their final selections, sacrificed some analytical focus to geographical breadth.

The editors are justified in their enthusiasm for this timely discussion, and their call for a re-visioning of middle-class formation that queries its relationship to modernity, allows for local difference, and locates it in a transnational context is refreshing and promising. Still, taken together, the individual essays in this volume reflect the very real methodological differences that still divide serious scholars of the middle class. The answer to the question, "What is the middle class?" is not something on which these experts can yet wholly agree, particularly in the aftermath of the linguistic turn and cultural studies calling into question the belief that middle class had real, material,

objectively measurable roots. For Latin Americanist David S. Parker, "the middle class, like other social categories, is best considered as an abstraction ... constructed by language." (334-5) For Simon Gunn, an historian of the British middle class, "attempting to understand the middle class in purely discursive terms is insufficient ... because it leaves intact and unquestioned certain enduring sources of socioeconomic insecurity." (70) Of course, this need not be an either/or choice. I am with Part IV commentator Robyn Muncy when she argues that we need to know more about the material conditions of our middle classes if we wish to compare them or understand the middle class writ large as a transnational phenomenon. Interrogating the occupation and wealth structures of the middle class (wherever they developed) "does not in any way undermine our commitment to constructivist understandings of class." (383)

It is in the paucity of discussion about middle-class *work* where this volume stumbles most notably. Even in Part II, where professionalization is listed among the section's topics, we learn very little about the quotidian contexts of middle-class labour that gave structure to and informed middle-class identities. Readers of *Labour/Le Travail* may also be disappointed in the discussion of Canada's middle class in these pages. In the only essay dedicated to the Canadian context, the editors included some of Franca Iacovetta's fine published work on middle-class campaigns for citizenship among new immigrants in early Cold War Toronto. The essay provides an important angle on how class and nation were constructed in this era, but it is not really a thoroughgoing "excavation" (88) of the Canadian middle class, either objectively or discursively, nor does it refer to the Canadian historiography that has done that spadework.

The Making of the Middle Class is a success in that it continues and energizes an ongoing discussion among scholars of social class about the makeup, functions, and representations of that thing called the middle class over a wide swath of geographical space and over several historical eras. It gathers in one place discussions that had gone on in separate intellectual silos and challenges historians to consider other contexts and eras when they draw conclusions about a middle class. However, one cannot help but disagree with Mrinalini Sinha, who writes (in an otherwise useful summative Afterword) that “this is a remarkably cohesive volume.” (387) It isn’t, and nor is the grander project that López and Weinstein have set out to explore. That is, not yet; but hopefully that product will come out of exercises such as this one. The book’s many contributions are individually brilliant local studies and the act of gathering them and tying them together with post-section commentaries provides a fruitful *direction* for a truly comparative and transnational narrative. It remains now for López, Weinstein, Sinha or some of the others among this volume’s contributors to connect those dots and show us what the product of contemplating transnational middle-class formation can be.

ANDREW C. HOLMAN
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Salimah Valiani, *Rethinking Unequal Exchange: The Global Integration of Nursing Labour Markets* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2012)

FEMALE INTERNATIONAL migration constitutes almost 50 per cent of all migrants, notwithstanding that a large proportion of female migration remains invisible due to undocumented flows of workers in the sex trade and other female-dominated

occupations. Most contemporary analyses are based on a conception of “push and pull.” According to this approach, the basis of international labour migration flow depends on a “demand pull” in receiving countries of migrants due to domestic labour shortages and a “supply push” due to unemployment, low wages, etc. in sending countries. Valiani criticizes these approaches because they are not able to explain why most contemporary workers are migrating on a temporary, legally limited time basis. According to the author, policies in the countries of destination restrict the entry of labour through temporary contracts which meet specific demands for labour, but keep social and economic costs for the receiving country to a minimum.

Using a mix of socialist feminist, traditional Marxist, and world system/world historical theoretical approaches, Valiani postulates that temporary migration must be analyzed as part of the restructuring process of a capitalist world economy and as an indicator of the emergence of a global integration of labour markets. She focuses on the increasing rates of temporary migrations of nursing labour to countries of the global North and tries to explain them from a historical perspective what accounts for the increased use of this kind of labour.

Valiani uses this structural approach to demonstrate how a minority of countries that she sees as forming the core of the world system are historically produced and reproduced, and how the global majority remain peripheral. The capitalist world economy developed, according to Valiani’s theoretical assumptions, out of the territorial conquests by European states. This global economy is characterized by systemic cycles of accumulation, with the present defined as the fourth (US) cycle. Since the 1970s this cycle has seen discontinuous changes because economic development

has reached its limits and thus has been subject to a radical restructuring and reorganization. Therefore, the increasing temporary labour migration in this cycle can be described, among its other aspects, as a re-intensified exploitation of female caring labour. Reconstructing the historical processes in three countries – the US, Canada, and the Philippines – her analysis tries to empirically trace the different impulses for the global integration of the nursing labour markets. She chose the US and Canada because they were the first countries of the global North to import temporary migrant nurses in large numbers, and the Philippines was the first country to provide a steady supply of these nurses. The processes in these three countries were, according to Valiani, of extreme importance because they set in motion the global integration of nursing labour markets.

The US, the world's largest importer of internationally-trained nursing labour, began to import large numbers of temporary migrant nurses in the early 1990s in order to cut costs in their health care system, although Valiani contends that, in reality, it was the producers of medical technology and pharmaceuticals who contributed significantly to increasing costs faced by US hospitals. These producers perceived the introduction of employer-based health insurance coverage and state health care programs as new opportunities for capitalist accumulation. Unable to contradict the monopoly of producers of medical technology, the US state facilitated the increasing use of female temporary migrant workers as part of its cost-cutting strategy, a model later followed by other countries of the global North. Nursing work was thus re-organized and trade union and workers' rights were replaced by flexible labour policies.

The Canadian example differs from the American because Canada is

simultaneously one of the suppliers of nurses for the US labour market and a receiving countries for temporary migrant nursing labour. According to the author, a persistent undervaluing of female caring labour underlies the structural conditions of the movement of temporary migrant nursing labour in and out of Canada. Ongoing public funding constraint was one manifestation of this undervaluation and subsequent work intensification led many registered nurses in the 1980s and 1990s to migrate voluntarily to the US. The Canadian health care system reacted by importing yet more undervalued labour in the form of temporary migrant nurses.

The Philippines was one of the first post-colonial states to take a proactive role in economic development. Starting in the 1970s, the Philippine state organized and invested in exporting nursing and other labour and the money sent home by temporary migrant workers became crucial to its economy. The development of an export-oriented nursing labour force in the Philippines is one of the most advanced examples of this kind of intervention in restructuring a capitalist economy and is deemed a model for other countries of the global South.

This study suggests that the export of labour is an absolute loss for sending countries and that they are in a position of absolute unequal exchange. For example, countries that supply labour are not able to compete with the world price of nursing labour and therefore the unequal distribution of nursing labour internationally is further deepened. Absolute unequal exchange occurs on three levels: first, the loss of nurses intensifies the undervaluing of health care labour in exporting countries; second, the temporary nature of migration leads to reduced terms of employment for the migrant nursing labour force, while creating a hierarchy of employment within

the historically stratified, capitalist world economy; third, this situation leads to an undervaluing of skills and experiences of internationally trained registered nurses. Valiani explicitly mentions the example of Canada where temporary nurses assume the full slate of registered nurses' responsibilities while earning less money and receiving fewer benefits than those Canadian trained until they are able to pass the Canadian licensing exam.

While Valiani has conducted significant research into the history of temporary nursing labour migration and what she refers to as absolute and deepened unequal exchange, her analysis could be further developed. Using a traditional Marxist theoretical framework makes it difficult to grasp the profound nature of current changes in capitalist modes of production. These changes go beyond a mere restructuring and reorganization of global economy and markets and are characterized by a complete transformation and remodeling of use values in the form of labour and in the forces of production – the dematerialized form of labour in which we act in order to produce goods and construct our world. It is our capacity for knowledge that nowadays allows us to access production and, through it, inter-human relations and the reproduction of social being. This is what Marx described in *Grundrisse* as “immaterial labour,” which includes the ensemble of intellectual, communicative, relational, and affective activities expressed by subjects and which leads to a new kind of production. A particularly important aspect of immaterial labour is the production of affective labour, which concerns the production of inter-human contacts and interactions; it is the social cement and an integral part of current understandings of production. Affective labour can best be described as that which feminists often call “care work,” that is, it is work with the body but

it produces affects that are “immaterial.” This transformation, which began to take place in the US in the 1970s, should be at the centre of any analysis of temporary migrant nursing labour. In her analysis, Valiani argues the Philippine state decided to develop an export-oriented labour force instead of pursuing a strategy of industrialization. But at this stage of capitalism, industrialization is no longer key to economic uplift and competitive ability. Countries that occupy a middle position in the global hierarchy can only strengthen their capacity to compete through the production of knowledge or by exporting a highly skilled labour force.

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Peter J. Stoett, *Global Ecopolitics: Crisis, Governance, and Justice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2012)

THE SIXTH EXTINCTION. The Great Pacific Garbage Patch. Peak oil. Peak soil. The Arctic ozone hole. Catastrophic climate change. Widespread deforestation. This is the lexicon of our current environmental moment. Each of these concerns, among many others, is described in Peter J. Stoett's *Global Ecopolitics: Crisis, Governance, and Justice*, a book which demonstrates both the dramatic failure and sometimes inspirational successes of global environmental governance. I finished reading *Global Ecopolitics* on a long car ride from my home in Toronto to my cottage in the Gatineau Hills of Western Quebec. It is a horrible drive along the highway corridors that characterize much of southeastern Ontario, one that demonstrates some of the worst excesses of our fossil fuel-dependant culture and consumer lifestyle. But it is also a drive that ends in one of Canada's most stunning landscapes. As I read, it was hard not to see the connections to Stoett's text. In

this book, Stoett threads a narrative that is at once both depressing and optimistic. It charts the challenges in global environmental governance while at the same time suggesting pathways for change that are neither romantic nor unrealistic. In the end, the book offers a valuable primer about the nature of ecopolitics and how we might act for change.

The main argument of *Global Ecopolitics* is that when dealing with the global environmental challenges we presently face, there is need for multi-layered adaptive governance based on “information, flexibility, responsiveness, and legitimacy,” (22) and predicated on environmental and social justice. To make this argument, Stoett examines a broad cross-section of issues in global environmental politics, with substantive chapters on biodiversity and wildlife, deforestation and desertification, climate change, damage to marine environments, hazardous waste, war and the environment, and invasive species. Each issue chapter is loosely framed by Stoett’s four-fold indicators of success in global ecopolitics: “institutional and legal development; ecological improvement, cognitive impact, and democratic legitimacy and environmental justice.” (40)

One of the real strengths of this book is its focus on the last indicator. Stoett insists on using environmental justice as a frame to evaluate global ecopolitics. It allows him to reframe some of the same subjects that are found in every textbook in global environmental politics in a new light, offering a different register of analysis not only in terms of how these problems are made but what tools are needed for their amelioration. So while the book is largely synthetic, this emphasis on questions of power, resource use, and justice lends something distinctively new to the debates and set it apart from competing texts in the field.

In my view, while each issue chapter presents an accomplished survey of the field, the best are found toward the latter half of the book: Chapter 8 on ecocide, or the environmental impacts of militarism, and Chapter 9 on the need for a convention around invasive alien species. The strength in these chapters is that they diverge from what is commonly found in such survey books, opening up different conversations around what can and should be included in the purview of global environmental politics. This is particularly the case with the short chapter on militarism and ecocide, which he frames within the context of environmental justice. Stoett convincingly elaborates on the ways in which the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine might be recast to consider the prevention environmental harm as part of a state’s obligation to its citizens. As such, this chapter offers something new to the terrain of global environmental governance. Similarly, Chapter 9 is strong because it concerns itself with an issue which, for a long time, was on the margins of global environmental policy: invasive alien species. Thought to be covered by myriad treaties like the Convention on Biological Diversity or the World Trade Organization’s Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures, Stoett demonstrates that the problem of bioinvasion is bigger than any of these efforts in international governance. In doing so, he builds an effective case around the necessity for a new convention and clearly outlines what needs to be part of this convention to make it a positive force for change.

In the preface Stoett admits that the intention of the book was to serve as a shorter text to introduce readers to broad questions in global environmental governance, something with which he struggled. In a sense, then, the book falls prey to the same fate as all surveys: it sacrifices

depth for breadth. However, for the majority of the book, this remains a necessary evil. As an advanced introductory text, it does an exemplary job of covering a broad array of topics in a complex and thoughtful manner. However, the limitations of this approach came through in Chapter 10 on governance gaps. Stoett outlines four areas of emerging concern in global environmental politics, allocating approximately a page and a half for each: nanotechnology, global tourism, food security and the possibility of a global energy strategy. Given the importance of each of these issues, they could quite easily have merited their own chapters. Alternatively, if the desire was for a shorter text, Stoett might have lengthened the chapters on biodiversity and invasive species or climate change to include some of these issues that surely fall within their purview. Either way, in the book's current iteration, these pressing issues do not get their full measure of attention.

Similarly, I was stuck by the afterward in the book, entitled "What you can do." Here Stoett offers readers a page of suggestions to ameliorate environmental harm. While I understand the impetus for including such a section, in the end it felt a little tacked on. Much like the credits of Al Gore's film *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006), these suggestions seemed too thin after such a wide-ranging exposition on the environmental problems the world confronts today. Moreover, given that Stoett provides examples of how actors (from individuals to corporations) have and continue to intervene for positive change in the realm of global environmental governance, the last page seems an unnecessary and limited addition.

But these are very gentle critiques. On the whole, it is refreshing to find such a well-crafted book, and one so suited to advanced undergraduate teaching.

Global Ecopolitics seems particularly well placed for courses dealing with environmental governance in political science, international relations, human geography and environmental studies. In fact, I was so convinced of the utility of Stoett's book for teaching that I have adopted it for my own fourth year course in global environmental policy. Its comprehensiveness and emphasis on environmental justice make it an excellent addition to the course. But what really drove my selection is Stoett's emphasis on hope. My students often say that I am depressing. And indeed so much of what is taught in environmental politics can feel like a rehearsal of global apocalypse while we discuss shuffling deck chairs on the Titanic. Stoett offers us a way out of the paralyzing anxiety that these global and seemingly intractable problems can produce. I hope my students agree.

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Jeffrey S. Juris and Alex Khasnabish,
*eds., Insurgent Encounters:
Transnational Activism, Ethnography
and the Political* (Durham: Duke
University Press 2013)

RESEARCH ON SOCIAL movements underwent a florescence in the early 1990s brought on by the challenges of understanding a wide range of social movements that seemed to be coalescing around identity politics and cultural rights. These "new social movements," in contrast to those that were rooted in class-based demands, grew out of not only discontent with the deepening of neoliberal economic reforms in many parts of the world, but also exploited the spaces opened up by states that were retracting social services and placing greater responsibility on the individual for her

or his own wellbeing. The sociocultural dimensions of neoliberal reform placed the politics of identity central to collective struggle, as witnessed through the strengthening of indigenous movements, women's movements, LGBT movements, and the landless peasant movements, among others, and the centrality of identity politics and cultural rights invited anthropologists to join those who attempted to examine and interpret those movements.

This new collection of essays edited by Jeffrey Juris and Alex Khasnabish is a refreshing and welcome contribution to the study of social movements. They depart from central themes of social movement research of the 1990s and early 2000s that have tended to place the state or institutions of global finance and governance at the core of social movement analysis; these approaches have depicted activists as reacting to, and working within, dominant structures of power to seek "change from within." As Juris and Khasnabish argue in their introduction to the volume, the tendency of social movement research to frame analysis around dominant political and economic institutions has the unintended consequence of obscuring movements that are working outside of the dominant structures of power with the intention not of pursuing change from within, but of replacing that system altogether. A second consequence of making invisible these radically alternative viewpoints is the illusion that these structures of power are more hegemonic than they may actually be.

Instead, the authors in this collection present an argument for the need to pay close attention to these alternative visions, not simply as a means of cataloguing the diversity of collective mobilization, but in order to take seriously social movements as knowledge producers capable of revealing diverse possible worlds outside of the ones defined by dominant

institutions. As such, the authors take as their subjects activists and movements that are consciously organizing to create alternative visions outside of the constraints of dominant ideologies and institutions. Several of the chapters focus on transnational activist networks and gatherings: Jeff Juris explores the 2007 US Social Forum, Manisha Desai takes the Feminist Dialogues and the World Social Forums (wsfs) in Porto Alegre, Nairobi, and Bélem as her focus of analysis, and Giuseppe Caruso and Janet Conway each apply an ethnographic lens to their examination of the wsfs. Indigenous activists working beyond the boundaries of their states through global organizing are treated in Sylvia Escárcega's contribution to the volume, while contributions by M.K. Sterpka and Tish Stringer draw attention to the application of technology for activist purposes.

This diversity of themes is coherently framed by the organization of the book into four subsections – Emerging Subjectivities, Discrepant Paradigms, Transformational Knowledges, and Subversive Technologies – each oriented around theoretical and substantive contributions that the authors aim to bring to the study of social movements. The first section, "Emerging Subjectivities," argues that analyses of social movements must take into account the production of new subjectivities in the transnational spaces of activism. Moving beyond the simple production of multiple subjectivities, however, which was one element of the new social movements research of past decades; here the contributors focus on the ways in which these identities are mobilized in pursuit of new forms of political autonomy outside the constraints imposed by nation-states or multinational institutions. Thus, in his contribution, Alex Khasnabish explores the political resonance of Zapatismo in transnational activist networks. Working with a variety

of activist groups in the United States and Canada, he examines how Zapatismo travels and is appropriated and used by diverse groups of activists in productive and innovative ways.

The chapters in the section "Discrepant Paradigms" interrogate the epistemological consequences of the paradigmatic approaches researchers bring to the study and interpretation of social movements. Exploring alternative paradigms may open new horizons to our capacity to comprehend the transformative potential of radical social movements. David Hess, for example, challenges the notion that the effect of localist movements is limited to the local by exploring the possible transnational ripple effect of the local currency movement, while Vinci Daro's examination of the "edge effects" produced at the sites of engagement between anti-globalization activists and local hosts of global summits illustrates how, for example, the excessive security response to the FTAA summit in Quebec City in 2000 generated local sympathy for protesters, leading to the summit providing a stage for the articulation of local and regional political movements with global ones.

The section on "Transformational Knowledges" coalesces around the suggestion that social movements, and perhaps particularly radical social movements, are knowledge producers with implications for de-privileging researcher-centred knowledge production. When taken seriously, this compels us to contemplate engaged ethnography, the ethical responsibility of researchers, and a commitment to equal exchange with activists. Both methodological and ethical implications are at the fore of discussions of engaged anthropology embarked upon in the chapters by Paul Routledge and by Maribel Casa-Cortés, Michal Osterweil, and Dana E. Powell, while Giuseppe Caruso explores the possible

contributions of ethnographic inquiry to transformative politics, and Janet Conway examines the challenges of an ethnographic approach to studying the wsfes and offers insight into the place of ethnography in research on a topic that is so decidedly diverse and multiscalar.

In the final section of the book, authors explore the role of new technologies as tools for organizing subversive movements and producing and disseminating knowledge in support of those movements. Internet technologies and social media have clearly opened new possibilities for organizing (as well as new spaces for monitoring the actions of others by dominant forces), and some of the potentially transformative movements tied to technological innovations have to do with the pursuit of information freedoms, as developed in the contribution by M.K. Sterpka, the free software movement examined in the contribution by Juris, Caruso, Couture and Mosca, and Tish Stringer's examination of the Indymedia movement, in which she also explores the push and pull tensions of being both an activist insider and an academic outsider to the movement.

The volume is consciously activist in tone, as the authors attempt (often successfully) to illustrate the compatibility of activism and academics, while also examining the boundaries, possible tensions, and the tricky ethical questions that lie in the shadows when adopting these dual roles. The authors are also, to varying degrees, committed to an ethnographic approach to the study of radical social movements, and several contributions provide valuable methodological insights into the challenges and possibilities of an ethnographic approach to the study of transnational and often quite nebulous movements. This also reveals a tension that runs through many of the papers, and a challenge to the study of transnational movements

in general, in the elusiveness of the local and the propensity of researchers to fail to interrogate the connections (or lack thereof) between social movement leaders, members, and activists, and those

they purport to represent. That concern aside, this is a theoretically sophisticated and engaging collection of essays, and a welcome contribution to our understanding of radical social movements.

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