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## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Faith Johnston, *A Great Restlessness: The Life and Politics of Dorise Nielsen***  
(Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2006)

SHE WAS BORN Doris Webber in London, England in 1902 and died, with a long-left husband's surname and an affected "e" added to her christened name, in Beijing, China in 1980. In between, she lived 31 years in Canada (1926–57), filling the roles of rural teacher, farmer, political activist, Member of Parliament, party worker.

What motivates someone like Dorise Nielsen? Certainly her experience as unhappy wife to an unsuccessful dirt farmer in a place (northern Saskatchewan) and time (Depression) guaranteed to leave only the moribund unpoliticized was a defining factor, but I think only in terms of the direction she took, not in terms of the general manner in which she lived her life. Johnston locates Nielsen's *modus operandi* in a "great restlessness" and provides information that indicates her family found her challenging even before she left England. Her largely uninformed plan to emigrate to remote Saskatchewan evoked distress from her mother, derision from her brother, and stubborn determination from Dorise, once she became aware of their resistance. For someone who spent her life working for that most intellectually identified of international movements – Marxism expressed in the political arena in variously named versions of communism – Dorise always in the end stayed true to her feelings. Hers was a life commit-

ted to romantic adventure and when the communist movement in Canada could no longer provide enough excitement to keep up her adrenaline levels, she re-emigrated, upping the ante not only by going yet again to an arena that guaranteed an uncertain future but somewhere where she did not even speak the language.

Indeed, in the 23 years Dorise Nielsen spent in China, she never really mastered the language. She supported herself modeling the speaking of English to party workers being educated for international contact and correcting fractured idioms in documents and communications translated for official purposes. But it is also clear that a major role Dorise played in Beijing was that of a leading member of a showcase of resident and subsidized foreigners, westerners prized for their dedication to the cause and used as public symbols of international support for Mao's regime. The conclusion that she relished this role as a figurehead committed to communist ideals is supported by the fact that she never seriously considered leaving, rolled without great personal angst with the punches of the Cultural Revolution, and handily wrote off long friendships with people who could not keep the faith, at least not without doubts and the asking of awkward questions. At the end, she was given a memorial service at the cemetery for revolutionary heroes. In this, she managed a continuity of acceptance not commonplace to others in her expatriate community.

I may have made her sound like an adventuress, which of course she was, but she could have chosen to live a life com-

mitted to a less admirable ideal than that of everyone contributing what they can to their society and taking back only what they need. Beyond that, Johnston contends that Dorise likely incorporated little from Marxism into her own intellectual makeup, despite committed, decades-long study and note-taking. For this reason, it is unlikely that she struggled much with the wavering nature of the party line. She probably did not have deep intellectual needs for clarity and logic. What she did seem to understand instinctually however was the importance of discipline as an anchor for a, well, restless personality. Her dogged dedication to living out the textbook life of a "communist" is her most apparent demonstration of awareness of herself as someone who, if left to drift, would do so.

There were four children in all this, one of whom died in the meaningless tragedy too many prairie pioneers were doomed to act out. The other three had erratic childhoods and were pursued in adulthood by the demons that unhappy childhoods breed. Paternal alcoholism and maternal restlessness reproduced themselves in various guises at various times in Dorise and Peter Nielsen's descendants. Still, it is difficult to imagine a trouble-free life for children born into a grinding poverty that their parents had not prepared for, that their parents had no control over, and that precious few other people seemed concerned enough about to do anything.

Describing the desperate circumstances of parts of the prairies during the Depression is one of the many things Faith Johnston does well in this biography. People were forced into taking actions that were both distressing and necessary. Children were boarded out with strangers, wives stayed with husbands who had lovers, fathers left and were virtually never heard from again. In all this, Dorise Nielsen had a wonder-

ful piece of luck that allowed her to support her children and also to allow her to use her god-given gifts in a way that was meaningful to her. A talented and attractive speaker, Dorise Nielsen became a political propagandist and for one term during World War II, was Canada's first Communist and third female to serve as a member of the House of Commons.

It was the instability of Saskatchewan political weather in the late thirties that provided the opportunity for Nielsen's election to the House of Commons in March 1940 as a so-called "unity candidate," meaning hers was a candidacy that had been negotiated among various factions of the fractured prairie left out of which CCF predominance would eventually rise. She was more than able to do justice to the job. Her stamina in the face of endless car trips over bad roads, her ability to take enjoyment in delivering constant slight variances of the same message in community after community, her cheerfulness in times of little food and poor accommodation, the fact that she cleaned up well on a non-existent budget for clothes and hygiene, her acceptance without sentimentality that her need to make a living for them must inevitably mean hard times for her children, all these were of great worth to the Communist Party of Canada, with which she was first secretly and later openly affiliated. Blessed with an acolyte's ability to follow the party line (which in this period included dancing to the changes of Stalin's relationship with Hitler), Nielsen seemed to be able to turn on a dime and to take just as much enjoyment in driving a point home one day that she had cheerfully and wittily refuted the day before. That her speeches were a delight is not in question. Even the Mounties who were spying on her said so in their reports. The CPC had a good show woman and it used her in every way that it could.

"Use" was of course the operative

word. As soon as Fred Rose entered the House by way of a by-election in Québec, Dorise found herself juniorized. Failing to find re-election in 1945, Dorise had to accept being centred in Toronto as part of working for the party, despite her years of effective service in the west. Faced with a wide variety of issues it wanted to talk about, the party relegated Dorise to women's issues. All this, despite the fact that she was the big draw for public lectures. She pulled in the crowd but it was the boys who got to go for glory.

By 1955, by which time her youngest child was 21, Dorise left Canada looking for a more authentic revolutionary experience. After a period in England, she and the man who had been for some time her significant other, stumbled towards Beijing, where she found her last career. Johnston comments on the loneliness that marked Nielsen's last years there but isolation was always a continuing theme in her life. She was at odds as a child with her family, frustrated in post-ww1 England with its dearth of men, an English urban immigrant who felt keenly the brutality of prairie life, estranged in turn from a husband and two lovers, estranged repeatedly from her children, estranged from her fellow communist expats. Estranged.

This was not a happy life but it was a purposeful one. Dorise Nielsen chose her track and remained committed to it. It was also madly interesting. Names of Canada's left abound in the book: Buck, Rose, Kashtan, Lewis. And of course a host of others they dealt with. Johnston's research has been painstaking and she has presented the political story without making it all sound like some sort of sporting tournament, a frequent fault of historians who ask us to confuse drudging through detail with watching the game.

Faith Johnston has made a valuable contribution to various streams in Cana-

dian historiography. This book informs us on aspects of women, the left, the west, and on Canada's place in international communism. And, not least, it introduces us to a fascinating character, one whose restless life is worth the telling, in and of itself.

JANICE DICKIN

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**Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade***  
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2006)

MOST SOCIETIES HAVE created a series of convenient stereotypes that represent in shorthand form crucial aspects of their shared history and sense of identity: John Bull and Jolly Jack Tar do the job for England, while Uncle Sam and possibly G.I. Joe or Huck Finn serve similar functions for Americans. In Canada, we seemingly rely on Mounties most in this regard, but voyageurs too are regularly invoked as symbols of a larger Canadianness.

Carolyn Podruchny begins this book by exploring the voyageur's "highly visible profile in popular culture and history." Since at least the late 18th and early 19th centuries, a succession of artists, including fiction and non-fiction writers, have portrayed the voyageur in a number of enduring archetypes. Podruchny notes a few, such as the voyageur as a willing workhorse, as a merry, reckless wastrel, and as a living embodiment of frontier freedom and lack of constraint. In fact, many voyageurs chose to portray themselves in similar ways when given the chance. For example, in the 1850s Alexander Ross quotes an old voyageur as claiming, "There is no life so happy as a voyageur's life; none so independent; no place where a man enjoys so much variety as in Indian country." This voyageur

also boasted that he had spent everything he had earned on “the enjoyment of pleasure,” that he had had 12 wives, 50 horses and six running dogs over his career, and given the chance he would “glory” in doing it all over again. (10)

Despite this attention in popular culture and history, voyageurs have actually received very little serious scholarly attention. In 1931, Grace Lee Nute published a study of voyageurs and their role in the fur trade, but since then academic historians have really limited their attention to a few very specific issues such as voyageur recruitment, the logistics of fur trade transportation, and more recently fur trade labour relations and marriage and family patterns. In the latter cases, voyageurs occasionally enter the story but they are rarely central to it. This book then represents a long overdue reappraisal of the lives of a very significant group of working men who collectively made the Montreal-based fur trade possible during the period from the early 18th to the early 19th centuries and especially between 1763 and 1821.

Podruchny's goal is not simply to provide a scholarly assessment of the relationship between voyageur myth and reality, but to try to squeeze the meaning out of the various bits and pieces of historical evidence that have survived about voyageurs and their world. The central problem is that there is precious little direct evidence from voyageurs themselves about their lives. There are almost no letters, diaries, memoirs, or other forms of direct voyageur archival records and few archaeological or other material culture objects with which to recreate the voyageur world. Instead voyageurs are largely seen through the eyes of other observers such as their employers.

As a result, Podruchny suggests that entry into their world can really only be undertaken through a process of “reading beyond the words,” “reading against the

grain” of existing archival materials, and “unpacking the meaning” of voyageur rituals and behaviours. (8–9) Using these methods, Podruchny offers a collective biography of an otherwise largely voiceless group, but it is one that relies more on Carlos Ginzberg than Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakhtin than Mikhail Bakunin. Her approach suggests to Podruchny that voyageurs' lives were shaped by three major influences: their Canadian peasant roots, their close and almost continuous contact with Aboriginal peoples, and their workplace experiences. Together Podruchny argues these influences ensured that voyageurs lived in a near constant state of transition, or liminality, that encouraged them to exhibit “fluidity, inventiveness, and an openness to different cultural practices.” (15)

Podruchny uses the idea of transitions and voyages to structure the book, which begins with a chapter on “leaving home” – in essence voyageur origins and recruitment. She then explores voyageur rites of passage and rituals, particularly those that marked the transitions as voyageurs traveled deeper into the interior and more fully into a fur trade way of life, voyageurs' work and work relations, the social life and activities of voyageurs, post life, and voyageurs' relations with Aboriginal women. The book finishes with a final substantive chapter on the journey's end – leaving the trade to return home or take up a new life in the North West as what fur trade companies called “freemen.” The latter, former fur trade employees who stayed on to work as independent trappers, trappers, and sometimes traders, have recently attracted considerable attention from historians who see these “freemen,” who were often former voyageurs, as crucial to the formation of a distinct Métis identity in the North West.

The result is a rich and complex study with some interesting methodological

implications for future fur trade scholars. It subtly rebukes generations of fur trade historians for their rather literal, and unenterprising, readings of archival materials, and suggests that there are ways to use available documentation to reach deeper understanding of the lives of ordinary people who have not left many archival records of their own creation. In fact, despite a wide and very thorough survey of available archival and published primary documentation, Podruchny only found one letter written by a voyageur to his Canadian wife in 1830 in archival collections. Even this letter was probably penned by a clerk or missionary on behalf of its purported author, Jean Mongle.

Probably the best feature of this book, however, is its willingness to explore new aspects of the voyageur's world beyond the staple topics of different canoe types, trade routes, numbers of packs carried on portages, and the vast quantities of pemmican, corn, and pork fat voyageurs consumed on their journeys. The range of topics Podruchny covers in this book is impressive, but the problem on occasion is that not all are equally susceptible to her reading beyond the words and against the grain. For example, the short discussion of whether or not voyageurs could have engaged in homosexuality (196–98) seems forced. The documentary evidence is all but non-existent, and the only conclusion Podruchny can reach is that they might have – or maybe not. It seems hardly worth raising the topic. Sharp-eyed readers may also note the odd, very minor, error such as her claim (76) that Le Rocher de Miette, or Roche Miette, near Jasper means “small rocks.” No one has actually identified the Miette of this considerable landmark, although the Lesser Slave Lake post journals mention a freeman named Miyette, but the name is almost certainly commemorative rather than descriptive.

These are the kind of minor issues

reviewers often focus upon. The point really is that while this book is not perfect and it will not appeal equally to all readers, it is a very good and very welcome addition to scholarship on the fur trade. It is also an excellent object lesson to researchers that some old subjects are worth revisiting, and that fur trade records can be used profitably by scholars with an interest in labour, social, sports, cultural and other types of history besides the analysis of trade and trade relations.

MICHAEL PAYNE

City of Edmonton Archives

**Martin Petitclerc, « *Nous protégeons l'infortune* », *les origines populaires de l'économie sociale au Québec* (Montréal: VLB Éditeur 2007)**

CET OUVRAGE de Martin Petitclerc, inspiré de sa thèse de doctorat, constitue le premier effort sérieux pour mettre en lumière l'importance de la mutualité ouvrière canadienne-française dans la deuxième moitié du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. En abordant le sujet en tant que phénomène social et non comme une simple activité économique, il nous offre une réflexion audacieuse des débuts de ces organisations au Québec. L'auteur soutient que les sociétés de secours mutuels ont « représenté une forme originale de résistance populaire dans le contexte de la transition à une société de marché. » (17)

L'analyse se base principalement sur le cas de l'Union Saint-Joseph de Montréal auquel s'ajoutent quelques exemples d'associations québécoises. Son argumentation se divise en huit chapitres, à la fois thématiques et chronologiques.

Le premier et le deuxième chapitres nous présentent l'ascension de la mutualité ouvrière. Elle prit forme à la suite d'initiatives de la classe populaire pour former leurs propres organisations de prévoyance. La faillite de plusieurs banques d'épargne et l'immoralité du commerce

de la vie relié à l'assurance avaient incité les travailleurs à s'organiser pour contrer l'adversité. De plus, les pionniers de la mutualité étaient encouragés par une législation favorable aux mouvements associatifs à partir des années 1850. Ainsi, plus d'une centaine de ces associations furent fondées durant la deuxième moitié du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Les chapitres trois, quatre et cinq insistent sur le caractère ouvrier des sociétés de secours mutuels ainsi que leur résistance aux tentatives de contrôle des élites sociales et du clergé. Ces derniers promouvaient l'individualisme et le libéralisme auxquels les travailleurs refusaient de se soumettre. C'est que la mutualité ouvrière représentait une façon de lutter contre les valeurs individualistes reliées au développement de l'économie de marché. Son fonctionnement reposait sur l'entraide entre les membres, donnant lieu à la pratique de la mutualité pure, c'est-à-dire à des cotisations égalitaires. Ces associations dépassaient la sphère économique et se fondaient sur une sociabilité, stimulée par de nombreuses activités obligatoires. Les membres formaient ce que Petitclerc qualifie de « famille fictive. » Cette forme de solidarité permit aussi « d'autodiscipliner » la classe ouvrière, favorisant une « éthique collectiviste » et ouvrant la voie au syndicalisme.

Les chapitres six, sept et huit expliquent le déclin des sociétés de secours mutuels pratiquant la mutualité pure au profit d'une mutualité axée sur la gestion scientifique du risque. Les « techniques modernes » administratives, beaucoup plus proches de l'assurance et de la société libérale, allaient à l'encontre des valeurs d'entraide et de sociabilité, entraînant une forte résistance au sein de ses associations face aux réformes de la mutualité. Toutefois, la précarité financière de la plupart des petites organisations locales les rendaient dépendantes des cycles économiques, causant par la même

occasion beaucoup d'instabilité et même la faillite de plusieurs d'entre elles. Cette situation incita une nouvelle génération de mutualistes, issue de la bourgeoisie, à prendre en main les sociétés de secours mutuels vers les années 1880, changeant le statut de cette forme de prévoyance en la transformant en marchandise. Il en résulta la montée des sociétés fraternelles, formant ainsi une rupture importante avec l'aspect social qu'avait connu la mutualité jusqu'à ce jour.

Par ce livre, Petitclerc fait deux pierres d'un coup, s'affichant comme pionnier dans le domaine des sociétés de secours mutuels et traitant de la résistance de la classe populaire envers la transition à une société de marché. L'originalité de cette approche lui permet de parer au manque de sources concernant les sociétés de secours mutuels au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est d'ailleurs la concentration de son argumentation sur le cas de l'Union Saint-Joseph de Montréal qui représente le point faible de la recherche, mais Petitclerc en est conscient. (137) De ce fait, l'analyse s'applique difficilement aux plus petits centres industriels avec un contexte socioéconomique différent, où certaines sociétés de secours mutuels se sont développées en étroite relation avec le clergé et les élites locales. Ainsi, afin de comprendre les objectifs de l'association, une classification des sociétés de secours mutuels selon l'idéologie unificatrice de ses membres serait nécessaire, à savoir si la sociabilité reposait sur un idéal ouvrier, paroissial ou même national. La considération de ces facteurs dans l'argumentation n'aurait pas changé la teneur de son analyse, mais aurait apporté plusieurs nuances importantes, du moins en ce qui a trait au développement de la mutualité.

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**Eric Tucker, ed. *Working Disasters: The Politics of Recognition and Response***  
(Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing  
2006)

PEOPLE ARE SHOCKED to hear about a death on the street or in a public place, and even more shocked when they hear that the death resulted from an assault. When hundreds die in such circumstances, we call it a 'disaster,' and expect the authorities to act with justice and urgency.

When is the death of a worker in the workplace noticed? Or, more to the point, when does the death of numbers of workers attract enough attention to elicit shock, outrage, and demand for change in working conditions or regulation to protect these people?

It mostly does not happen, even in cases where hundreds of workers are injured or die, and in *Working Disasters: The Politics of Recognition and Response*, Eric Tucker and his contributing authors analyze a number of high-profile 'working disasters' to see why this is so. The book is well researched, analytically rigorous and, above all, political. It lays bare the outlines of the social process of disaster recognition and the political-economic process of response through absorbing examination of disasters connected to the variety of occupations and working conditions in which these disasters occurred.

The central thesis is that the recognition and quality of response to an incident involving death or injury depends on prevailing 'social constructions' which dictate what qualifies as a 'disaster.' When it comes to the workplace, these constructions reflect a social context in which the death and incapacitation of workers has been by and large accepted, that is, normalized and legitimized. Those who demand appropriate recognition and response to such a disaster find

themselves fighting against well rooted assumptions that support a system of labour in which workers are denied a stake in the product, process, or sociality of the activity to which they devote the best part of their lives; or put another way, just as we accept the systemic subordination and powerlessness of workers as normal, so do we accept as uneventful the tragedy of workplace injury and death.

It was only recently, after all, that those who control the world of work were even expected to be concerned about the health and safety of their workers, and even now, this official concern is still in a precarious state. The social constructions governing recognition and response are fundamentally political, Tucker points out, because divergent social interests, motives, and knowledge generate competing descriptions of reality. Since capital is more powerful and better organized than labour, it is much better able to have its versions of reality accepted as dominant.

This is the basis of a political economy of recognition and response, to which the book adds a penetrating analysis of industrial relations and institutions of state that could be used to question even the most 'noble' of disasters, e.g. those that end tragically for such voluntary risk takers as police, firemen, soldiers and astronauts. Are these 'heroes' really 'voluntary risk takers?' Tucker asks, or are they workers who put too much faith in the care and competence of their managers? Even 'natural disasters' such as hurricanes raise questions about the vulnerability of the community because of contingent social or political conditions.

A study of long-haul truck transport in Australia by Michael Quinlan, Claire Mayhew, and Richard Johnstone demonstrates, amongst other things, how recognition can be impeded where fatalities are incremental and widespread. In this case, regulatory responses were based on Highway Traffic rules, rather than



occupational health and safety, and were totally inadequate to address problems created by a subcontracting system that caused excessive hours, speeding, and use of drug stimulants. A 'blame the victim' theme adopted by safety authorities and media focused on driver behaviour, and employed an increasingly influential neo-liberal focus on individual agency, responsibility, and risk management, rather than notions of collective welfare and state intervention.

In another study, Andrew Hopkins contrasts the lack of recognition and appropriate response in road transport to an epidemic of Repetitive Strain Injuries (RSI) in Australia in which he illustrates the importance of dominant vocabulary. Recognition in this case was signaled by the term 'injury' rather than 'occupational neurosis' or even 'regional pain syndrome,' a term initially advocated by some medical authorities. The cause of the epidemic was not just in new technology, as is so often argued, but rather in a labour process shaped by speed-up and staff cutbacks. In this case, recognition led to response, as the Labour government drafted regulations on speed and regular breaks. Employees were reclassified as administrative assistants, assigned broader duties, and provided ergonomically-designed furniture. In the United States, however, where the prominent explanation of the epidemic was based on the concept of 'neurosis,' corresponding explanations tended to take responsibility away from the workplace, with the result that workers' compensation was denied to many injured workers.

The role of Workers' Compensation Boards (WCB) in shaping recognition and response is well-illustrated in the struggle of fluorspar miners in St. Lawrence, Newfoundland to gain recognition for the lung diseases from which they were dying in the mid-20th century. Richard Rennie describes how political action

by the community and union came up against a persistent pattern of minimalization, as the government of the day was more concerned about economic consequences that would follow from recognition. Not only did excessively high dust levels persist throughout, but many disabled miners died awaiting compensation. The extent to which injury statistics are dependent on acceptance of claims by a WCB reflects a 'political economy of knowledge' which determines whether a problem will even surface in the public domain.

Even where work-relatedness is admitted, as was the case of silicosis amongst Swedish metal workers in the post-war period, the immediate response was to begin monitoring workers rather than to engage in prevention. Annette Thörnquist provides a political economic analysis of unequal power relations between workers and employers to explain why authorities chose this route, rather than regulating exposure, which is under the control of the employer, in the process legitimizing the continued exposure of workers to silica. She speculates that an effective response might also have been impeded by the Swedish model of industrial relations, which emphasizes union-management co-operation and self-regulation in a heavily centralized collective bargaining environment.

When the Pemberton Mills building collapsed in Massachusetts in 1860 killing over 100 workers, mainly women and girls, and injuring many more, response was separated from recognition. While the event was readily labeled a disaster by the press and community, and a disaster relief fund was established, there was no response targeting either the insufficient regulatory apparatus of the state, nor the negligent employer. Patricia Reeve notes that a lack of an organized labour movement of mill workers and community was partially to blame. Unfortunately, the

nature of the response actually undercut the self-respect and confidence of workers, as repeated narratives of employer avarice and negligence produced an image of employee susceptibility – indeed helplessness – raising doubts about the fitness of workers to participate in social and political life because of their vulnerability and lack of independence.

Even where a working disaster is recognized, response may be short-lived. David Whyte explains how public reaction to the 1988 North Sea Piper Alpha disaster that killed 176 momentarily disrupted the 'self-regulatory' approach that had become dominant in a 'hot' British economy fueled by an oil boom. Costly preventive controls were introduced, but as soon as attention died, the oil industry mounted a campaign that led to a loosening of regulatory controls combined with an intensification of the work process. British legislators accepted the industry's arguments that it needed to become more 'efficient' to survive.

Three chapters examine the 1992 Westray Mine explosion that killed 26 miners in Nova Scotia, and led to a series of public enquiries, reviews, criminal prosecutions, and civil litigation that severely impugned the legitimacy of the province's Occupational Health and Safety regime. Fourteen years later, however, not a single individual or organization had been held legally accountable despite clear evidence of blatant disregard for safety by the company and the complete failure of the inspectorate. In the end, public inquiries reaffirmed a model of occupational health and safety based on internal responsibility that could have been in severe jeopardy.

Richard Johnstone and Eric Tucker show that when a disaster disrupts people's unreflective acceptance of dominant social and productive relations, inquiries can have the effect of reconstructing the event in such a way as to reassure

the public that nothing is fundamentally wrong, i.e. that everything possible (and practical) is being done to prevent future disasters. Even criminal prosecution, by decontextualizing and individualizing events, can serve to legitimate inadequate health and safety management and regulation by creating the impression that there are only a few 'bad apples' in an otherwise healthy box. Susan Dodd traces the evolution of explanations produced by official enquiries into the long string of coal mine disasters in Nova Scotia, to show how each drew attention away from the responsibility of both the employer and the state.

This book performs a truly valuable service in drawing attention to the political nature of responses to death and injury in the workplace. Whether an incident is classified as a disaster is of secondary importance, however; the book's major contribution is to provide a political economy of occupational health and safety generally, as well as the closely related field of workers' compensation.

In Canada, as in most of the industrialized world, information on work-related injury, disease, or death is heavily dependent on recognition by Workers' Compensation Boards. Only when they recognize cases as 'arising out of and in the course of employment,' amongst other criteria, do they gain reality as a work-related disease, injury, or death. In this way, WCBS play a key role in shaping the social constructions that normalize and legitimize death and injury in our workplaces, in addition to removing them from the criminal sphere in which they could be treated as the outcome of assaults. One has only to examine the decisions of case managers, appeal tribunals, and courts to appreciate the latitude that is enjoyed by WCBS, and to appreciate the significance of Tucker's book.

Had this book devoted more space to the more mundane world of occupational

health and safety, it might have drawn even more attention to the role that trade unions play in all of this, as it is in their daily scrimmages with management and state authorities that trade unions challenge the monopoly which employers, their managers, and public administrators would otherwise enjoy in deciding what is work-related, and therefore requiring response. The breakthroughs that trade unions were able to make into the joint administration of the workplace in the 1970's and 80's marked the height of this movement in Canada, as even non-union workplaces enjoyed a degree of representation in joint workplace occupational health and safety committees.

Across North America, Europe, and in other parts of the world, trade unions took action in their workplaces and communities, sponsored studies, and took part in commissions of inquiry to shape countervailing explanations of workplace injury and death that forced states and employers to respond. By not giving the trade union movement the attention it deserves, some readers might be left with the notion that the solution for workers facing death and injury in the workplace lies in an outraged public, a vigilant press, concerned legislators, or even in academia. These certainly play a role, but more often do not escape the effect of unequal power relations in society. Workers' health and safety concerns are primarily recognized and effective responses are won when unions are in a position to challenge the power of employers, or when progressive forces, including sympathetic academics, coalesce to form political alliances that compel employers and the state to make needed changes. In the end, this is the conclusion that *Working Disasters* demands.

WINSTON GERELUK

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**Malek Khouri and Darrell Varga, eds.**  
*Working on Screen: Representations of the Working Class in Canadian Cinema*  
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2006)

IDEALLY, A COLLECTION of essays on a cinematic genre or other related category (feminism, for example, or a national cinema) should accomplish a number of goals. The essays should collectively illuminate films most of us know well, introduce us to films we have missed or neglected, argue for a new interpretation of films we have perhaps treated like poor relations, and finally provide the collection with some overarching themes. This collection of 13 essays edited by Malek Khouri and Darrell Varga (who also contribute essays of their own and an introduction) succeeds admirably on all counts.

The essays are neatly divided into four categories: "Workers, History, and Historiography," with essays on labour films, the Canadian Communist Party, and CBC's landmark *Canada: A People's History*; "Work, Gender, and Sexuality," with more narrowly focused essays on the salacious classic *Valerie*, hockey films, gay themes in *The Hanging Garden*, and the well-known *Margaret's Museum*; "Dirty Work," with essays on the Women's Labour History Project and the Chinese-Canadian *Dirty Laundry*; and "Working on National Cinema," with essays focused on Québécois cinema, top-down films (*Final Offer* and *Canada's Sweetheart: The Saga of Hal C. Banks*), class and race (especially *Rude* and *Soul Survivor*), and "metropolitan dystopias" (such as *way-downtown*). And while this remarkable survey may occasionally miss a Canadian film worthy of discussion it nonetheless travels border to border in an impressive manner.

One might add that this collection offers a bonus: it discusses Canadian films in such a way that Canadians

encounter their national cinema without being bored with the obvious, while non-Canadians (like myself), even if they may have seen many of the films discussed in the essays, benefit greatly from the context and nuance developed by the contributors.

The lead essay after the editors' introduction begins with a lament by labour and labour film historian David Frank that there exists no guide to Canadian labour films. He proceeds to outline such a guide with examples from both documentary and feature film genres, from 1919 through the 1990s. The reasons for the absence of such a guide, Frank makes clear, are not surprising when the (massive) CBC/Radio-Canada production of *Canada: A People's History* offers only an "underwhelming" presence of actual labour history. (A separate essay in the volume by Varga covers that CBC production.) Instead of a volume on labour films, then, this volume moves through a series of essays with much greater aspirations.

The editors set out their task succinctly in their very helpful introduction: "What is absent from Canadian film studies ... is substantial analysis of class relations."<sup>(4)</sup> What is present instead, clearly, is an extensive body of study that defines Canadian cinema "through the connotation of national cultural traits that were imagined as specific to the Canadian experience."<sup>(3)</sup> This virtually all-class approach has led to studies of "national or regional identity" while "marginalizing other aspects" such as work, class, gender, and ethnicity.

What is to be done? According to the editors, we must undo the marginalization of the working-class Canadian majority – "a whole host of workers – white collar, teachers, intellectuals, agricultural workers, civil servants, and the information and technology sector," not to mention "the unemployed, women, racial and ethnic minorities, and children." <sup>(6)</sup>

Although some of these groups sometimes "misleadingly conceive of themselves, and/or are conceived by others, to be beyond class or as part of a grand 'middle,'" <sup>(6)</sup> the editors strive to include the formerly excluded.

This program is admirable and for the most part determines the success of this volume, a readable compendium of forays into films about all those members of the working class the editors have defined. Readers should be aware, however, that this inclusiveness comes with a price that I suspect most readers will be willing to pay, that is, the contributors have great latitude in defining how their particular film or set of films will fit into the elastic rubric, "working class." To take what may be an obvious and I hope not too facetious example: *Valerie* (1968) is a defining film of "films de fesse" (or to use an equally wonderful term, "maple syrup porn"); yet it is not only *Valerie* as a sex worker or even as a member of the working class that is the primary focus of Rebecca Sullivan's essay. ("Work It Girl! Sex, Labour, and Nationalism in *Valerie*") Instead she shows how such films inevitably and inadequately represent "the modern liberated women" in "sexual rather than economic terms" as this dramatizes the perceived status of women in Québec society. Similarly Bart Beatty's essay on hockey films ("Not Playing, Working: Class, Masculinity, and Nation in the Canadian Hockey Film") foregrounds "the social spaces of urban, middle-class, white men as nationally normative," <sup>(113)</sup> especially the relationship of hockey to the media ("the history of the CBC is ... linked to that of hockey"<sup>(113)</sup>), its essential role in defining Canadian nationhood, and its function (similar to that of the National Basketball Association in the USA) as an economic escalator for the talented few; hockey players as workers (e.g. struggling for a union in *Net Worth*) are therefore not quite as important a focus.

This tension between the ostensible subject of the volume – “representations of the working class” – and its inevitable survey of numerous related themes that transcend the actual working class runs through a number of other essays. Essays by Malek Khouri and John McCullough illuminate brilliantly numerous problems associated with the representation of gay and Black Canadian characters respectively but it is the gayness and racism at the centre of the films (*The Hanging Garden* for the former and both *Rude* and *Soul Survivor* for the latter) that lead the writers to lament the absence of adequate dramatization of class relationships. This should not come as a surprise since there are virtually no workers in any of these films, except perhaps for the wonderful media (radio) construct Rude herself, the voice that sums up the film as one in which “the Zulu nation meets the Mohawk nation.” (263)

An essay collection has to deliver the goods over and over again. For the most part this volume succeeds. Despite my occasional apprehension that the real Canadian working class is in danger of slipping away from the authors’ grasp, the contributions of Joseph Kispal-Kovacs, Peter Urquhart, and David Frank admirably bring to the foreground auto workers, miners, and other representative workers featured in such sturdy and important films as *Margaret’s Museum*, *Final Offer*, and *Canada’s Sweetheart*, despite the perhaps inevitable drift in the latter two to working-class leaders and mis-leaders.

This is a welcome addition to the ever-growing library both in print and on-line of work on Canadian cinema. Its emphasis on class will only help sharpen the debate on the Canadianness of Canadian films, already joined by such works as William Beard and Jerry White’s *North of Everything: English Canadian Cinema Since 1980* (2002), Bill Marshall’s *Québec National Cinema* (2000), or even the

Canadian Film Encyclopedia (Film Reference Library at [www.filmreferencelibrary.ca](http://www.filmreferencelibrary.ca)). While Frank’s “search” for a guide to Canadian labour films remains to date unfulfilled, Khouri and Varga’s volume will admirably serve in the meantime in that capacity, among others.

TOM ZANIELLO

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**Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada, 1920 to 1950*** (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press 2006)

AT FIRST I EXPECTED Cynthia Comacchio’s new book on youth to be a welcome and much-needed Canadian version of Kelly Schrum’s *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girls’ Culture 1920–1945* (New York 2004). In that important book, Schrum traced the emergence of American female teen culture, arguing that teenaged girls helped to shape an evolving consumer culture and that there was a stage between childhood and adulthood recognized by pundits, marketers, and manufacturers as early as the 1920s. While reaching a similar conclusion about consumer culture on this side of the border, *The Dominion of Youth* offers much more. One of the most obvious differences between this book and its American counterpart is that it deals with both sexes, and while Schrum’s study fails to account for how youth managed to finance their newfound preoccupation with consumerism, Comacchio does not overlook the various forms of paid employment young Canadians took up during their teen years. Indeed, Comacchio goes even further when she ties the emergence of youth culture in Canada to the country’s own maturation process. Her chapters cover a wide range of topics including theories about modern youth, intergenerational relations, dating and

mating, high school culture, paid work, leisure trends and activities, and youth organizations.

To establish that a separate youth culture was emerging, Comacchio pays particular attention to the experience of attending high school which became more important from 1920 to 1950 than ever before. Indeed, the author asserts that school activities "reflected and projected the new social meanings ascribed to adolescence and consequently to the high school as the key formative institution in the lives of young Canadians." (128) Yet, Comacchio points out that the experience was by no means a universal one. Rural youth still did not share equal access to high school, because "attendance often involved considerable expense for the many rural youth who had to board in towns or cities." (110) Overall more youth were attending high school than ever before, but the experience of going to school for a longer period did not automatically translate into actually graduating from high school and Comacchio is careful to differentiate between the two. She cites a 1943 survey that found while 40% of youth wanted to enter the professions, "only 5 to 6 per cent of high school students ... actually went on to the university courses that the professions demanded" – the vast majority were headed for vocational training to enter other kinds of paid employment. (156)

After school young Canadians worked. Some worked on a part-time basis during the school years, to pay for the "fads, fashions and fun" that became symbols of their generation. Others left school permanently at the age of 16, to take up full-time paid work in order to contribute to the family economy, or as a personal strategy to facilitate leaving the parental home as soon as possible. Historians of labour will be particularly interested in the chapter "On the Job: Training and Earning," where the point is firmly

established that while "the historical trend was an overall lengthening of youth dependency, the end of adolescence was materially designated." Comacchio means that "the family's economic situation ... determined the options available to the young." (144) Unlike youth in the roaring twenties and those who found ample employment opportunities during World War II, the so-called "idle youth" of the Depression years were definitely hard-pressed to find work, and this case highlights the generational differences. Moreover, the author consistently recognizes that class and rural/urban differences were always at play and thus, she avoids generalizations.

The book is certainly not "all work and no play," as evidenced in the chapter on "Dating and Mating" where Comacchio asks whether "there was new participation in sexual activity among young Canadians as a result of a new morality." (98) She concedes that while concrete measures and solid evidence about private behaviours are very difficult to find, there was much attention and discussion given over to such questions, both by adult observers and by youth. In the end, Comacchio concludes that "the first small steps toward sexual revolution were taken, but the persistence of such 'traditional' considerations managed to ground enough of the 'flaming' youth and the succeeding generations to hold it off until the 1960s. The new morality that slowly took shape during this earlier period was real, but not so much realized, at least not among most adolescents." (98)

Adult concerns about youth also encompassed how young people were spending their leisure time in public, a subject taken up in Chapter 6, "At Play." While commercial entertainments became more widely accepted throughout the period under consideration, there was a lingering concern about delinquency. The various youth organizations



that proposed to remedy that threat and to teach citizenship lessons are the subject of Chapter 7, "At the Club." While many youth groups initially emanated from the churches, they increasingly also came from community-minded parents who took the initiative. Closer examination of these community clubs shows that the youth who participated were younger versions of their middle-class adult sponsors, and organized activities did not usually succeed in reaching the target group of so-called "problem youth."

Comacchio's title is meant to invoke double meaning. By "dominion," she means to indicate the space and terrain that youth occupied in the years between their childhoods and coming of age as adults. Yet, she also means to explore this in the context of the nation itself. Describing the purpose with which she began her book, she said she wanted "to consider the development of modern adolescence within the context of a nation that was suffering the 'growing pains' of becoming a mature participant in the modern world order." (211) One's teen years are characterized by the struggle to establish self-identity, and because Canada was making forays onto the world stage in this period, the parallel between the young dominion and her young citizens seems particularly apt.

In presenting the convergence between youth's experiences and the country's emerging national identity, Comacchio makes several references to the national surveys of youth conducted in the 1940s by the Canadian Youth Commission. The CYC is a rich source for the history of Canada's youth, but the book is somewhat misleading with regard to the CYC. Although the Commission was in step with the kinds of post-war planning studies that the government was undertaking, the CYC was in fact, an independent commission of inquiry originating with the YMCA; it was not initiated by

King's government as Comacchio repeatedly asserts. (43, 94, 153, 190, 203) The CYC had a broad base of representation and was not technically a government initiative, which serves to reinforce the fact that concerns over youth welfare, social education, and citizenship initiatives were coming from several sources including, but not limited to, government bodies.

This book about the creation and social construction of adolescence in Canada will appeal to historians who are increasingly turning their attention to the second half of the 20th century, where youth experiences and youth culture surface as major themes. As Comacchio clearly demonstrates, the 1950s and 1960s did not mark the *emergence* of a youth culture in Canada because a separate youth culture predated that period by as much as 30 years. *The Dominion of Youth* clearly and convincingly establishes that fact and therefore it should become a standard reference on 20th-century youth and popular culture.

LINDA M. AMBROSE  
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**John Boyko, *Into the Hurricane: Attacking Socialism and the CCF***  
(Winnipeg: J. Gordon Shillingford Publishing 2006)

THERE ARE MANY reasons to view the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation as a benign group of "liberals in a hurry," to use Louis St. Laurent's famous quip. Yet such a judgment would be very much at odds with the assessments made by its enemies who viewed the CCF as a serious threat in the 1930s and particularly the 1940s. The nature of the threat varied according to the fears of the authors but, by any measure, the language of attack was unrestrained. John Boyko has examined the "hurricane" of abuse directed at



the CCF from a phalanx of conservative propagandists, business people, newspaper editors, clergy, and even Communists. He suggests that the cumulative effect of this unrelenting barrage was to erode the CCF's base of support and eventually relegate it, and socialism generally, to the margins of Canadian society.

The strength of this volume lies in Boyko's documentation of the extraordinary campaign undertaken by several sectors of Canadian capital to discredit the CCF. The insurance industry is a prime example. Speaking to a popular distrust of the growing wealth and power of finance capital, the insurance industry had been singled out by the CCF in the Regina Manifesto as a prime target for socialization. The industry, not surprisingly, defended itself with a sweeping propaganda campaign. Equally predictable were the similar activities of any number of broader business organizations such as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. The seriousness with which they took the CCF challenge can be measured in the scale of their activities as hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature were distributed across the country. This impact was multiplied by the role of the daily press. Not only did editors jump on the anti-CCF bandwagon, they often refused to print CCF advertising during election campaigns and rejected letters to the editor responding to attacks on the CCF. Canadian liberal historiography that celebrates the role of high-profile Canadian journalists and their connections with those in power should pay particular heed to the manner in which they managed to squelch other voices by means of slander and innuendo.

Special mention has to be made of Gladstone Murray and Burdick Trestrail, two individuals who could probably be best described as propaganda entrepreneurs who built careers as anti-socialist gurus. Standard accounts of the CCF have

placed considerable weight on the ability of these two to mobilize right-wing sentiment and, more broadly, create uncertainty about the character of a potential CCF government. Boyko has carefully plotted their campaigns and provides a striking picture of both their reach and the nature of the message. Most interesting is the precocious Cold War language they used from the moment the CCF hit the peak of its popularity in 1943. Very quickly, they conflated the CCF with communism and, significantly, fascism, suggesting that they all constituted similar threats to freedom. This was the message, for instance, of Trestrail's tract *Social Suicide* that was mailed to every English-language household in Canada as well as adapted for advertisements in newspapers across the country. On the day of the 1945 federal election, drawing on still-intense wartime sentiments, he ran a nation-wide advertisement arguing Canadians were facing another "D-Day" in which, should the CCF win, "we would lose our individual freedom just as completely as though we had lost the war." (82)

Such hyperbole, and the political analogies of the moment, help explain what several historians have considered the CCF's greatest blunder. Ontario CCF leader Ted Jolliffe denounced Ontario Premier George Drew's illegal clandestine use of the Ontario Provincial Police to spy on the CCF as "Gestapo tactics." His evidence was overwhelming and Jolliffe's choice of language very much in keeping with that of his adversaries. Yet the CCF's lack of access to the press allowed its enemies to paint both the accusation, and the language, as outrageous. Indeed, Boyko carefully reconstructs some of the connections between these professional red-baiters and the Conservative Party including those who are generally overlooked in this regard, such as John Diefenbaker.

Less successfully explored here is the Communist Party's campaigns against the CCF. This is simply a different kind of issue than the class-based attacks of the CCF's bourgeois enemies and it requires a different kind of discussion. Key to explaining this contest on the left is an understanding of the histories of both the CCF and the Communist Party, and the international movements with which each was associated. This is no small task, and Boyko tends to oversimplify the issues at stake. For example, while the Communists' response to the emergence of the CCF was, in many ways, sectarian, the notion that the Regina Manifesto's call for the eradication of capitalism "should have" put Woodsworth "in good stead" (120) with the Communists ignores both the histories and self-perceptions of both parties. Similarly, the debate about the possibility of a popular front between communists, socialists, and liberals was an extremely complex one and requires a much more nuanced understanding of both the Communists' strategy as well as recognizing that the CCF was far from a homogeneous entity. Boyko wrongly assumes that red-baiting attacks on the CCF were always effective and the CCF had little choice but to react defensively to them. Boyko documents Communist slanders and questionable maneuvers, but it is equally necessary to recognize that these two parties had clashed during the Depression and the legitimacy of the Soviet Union as an ally in World War Two gave credence to Canadian Communists. Communist appeals for working-class unity could have wide appeal and the increasingly narrow electoral strategy of the CCF was incapable of challenging the Communists' strengths in areas of the labour movement and elsewhere. There were many in the CCF who were highly critical of the Communist Party, but sought to turn the CCF to more active extra-parliamentary struggles and would

have, quite explicitly, rejected the "social democratic" label that Boyko assumes can be applied unproblematically to the CCF. In fact, anti-socialists had reason to be wary of a potential new wave of radicalism and labour unity.

Boyko makes much of the Communists' support of other parties against the CCF in the 1940s. The point is well taken and is crucial to understanding the evolution of the Communist Party away from an earlier notion of principled class politics. But how widespread, and public, were these alliances? And why was the Liberal Party not tarred with the same red-baiting brush as the CCF? Most well known is the case of Windsor where the Liberals, particularly Paul Martin, benefited directly from Communist support rooted in the automobile plants. But the chapter reads as if there were a general Liberal-Communist alliance to stymie the CCF, which more than overstates the situation.

Generally speaking, Boyko's discussion of the Communists is extraneous to his focus on bourgeois opposition to the CCF. Given the general theme of the book, it would have made more sense to attend to more liberal anti-socialism and to the Liberal Party which generally eschewed the kind of attacks by the Gladstones and Trestrails and instead, famously, fought the CCF by adopting elements of the CCF's program around social security. As dramatic as the "hurricane" was, the main beneficiary of the CCF's decline was not the Conservatives or the Communists, but the Liberal Party. Studying reaction to the CCF requires recognizing the growing hegemony of a welfare-state-identified liberalism in the decades after the Second World War.

The other consequence of failing to recognize the salience of the liberal opposition to the CCF is to ignore the consequences of the CCF's response to the red-baiting attacks, for the CCF increas-

ingly took shelter under liberalism's ideological umbrella. In the face of red-baiting attacks, the CCF leadership took great pains to distinguish itself from Communism. While this made sense – the CCF did have a distinct political program – they did so extremely defensively by minimizing the disruptions that a future CCF government might cause. Whereas the CCF, in the 1930s, claimed, as a matter of course, that a CCF government would “revolutionize” society (albeit, hopefully, peacefully), such language could not be a part of the CCF's defensive posture a decade or two later. The missing element here is an appraisal of the ways in which the “hurricane” helped sweep away an alternative politics.

JAMES NAYLOR

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**Yasmin Jiwani, *Discourses of Denial: Mediations of Race, Gender and Violence*** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2006)

YASMIN JIWANI OFFERS a persuasive interpretation of how media representations of violence sustain hierarchies of dominance through what she calls the discursive denial of systemic racism and sexism. Jiwani's primary concern is the perpetuation of racial and gender inequality in Canadian government policy and the mass media over the past 20 years. But *Discourses of Denial* is also about identity, and how the normalization of these discourses of denial affects the lived experiences of girls and women of colour in Canada. Using a Foucauldian approach which focuses on “structures of power and the discursive devices used to maintain them,” (xiii) *Discourses of Denial* reveals how news media and government policies are not only gendered and racialized, but are also the corollaries of colonization and its legacy of vio-

lence. Jiwani provides great insight into contemporary social relations on both intimate and institutional levels by identifying and mapping the complex and interconnected terrain of racism, sexism, and violence embedded in everyday negotiations, discourses, and texts.

*Discourses of Denial* is a rich and generally succinct book, organized into four sections. The first addresses the theoretical and methodological frameworks used in her analysis. Although Jiwani claims that she is not writing for an audience “well versed” in theory, her book delves into postmodern, critical anti-racist, and feminist theory with little mercy. Jiwani argues that discourses of morality and mobility are central in governing the bodies of racialized women of colour, and that the dominant media propagates these discourses. In doing so, the media obscures the violence of race and racism by “reflecting an imagined community, its hegemonic ideals, and its fictions of assimilation.” (29) If this first section is somewhat dense, it is perhaps a necessary foray into a subject matter that is so intangible and yet so intrinsic to our way of thinking. The reader is rewarded with a sense of empirical balance in the following three sections.

The second part of *Discourses of Denial* gives an analysis of media representations of the highly publicized murder of Reena Virk and the equally sensationalized Vernon “Massacre.” These two incidents occurred within a year of each other, in 1996 and 1997, and both in the province of British Columbia. Reena Virk was a 14-year-old girl of South Asian origin who was brutally beaten and drowned by a group of 14-to-16-year-olds. While this group of seven girls and one boy was racially mixed, the two key instigators of Virk's murder were White. Through the Reena Virk case, Jiwani clearly demonstrates how the focus on girl-on-girl violence in media representations stra-

telegically obscured the role of racism and the interconnectedness between race and gender. Jiwani argues that the privileging of gender and the absence of any discussion of racism in either the news coverage or the subsequent court proceedings was made possible through the “common sense” of “everyday racism,” in what is at issue is as much what is being said as what is not spoken. In contrast, the media coverage of the Vernon “Massacre” provides an example of how racism and sexism are deflected through what Jiwani calls culturalization. In this incident, Rajwar Gakhal, a woman also of South Asian origin, was murdered along with eight of her family members by her estranged husband. The media portrayed this violence in cultural terms, citing the Gakhal family’s Sikh religion and the practice of arranged marriage as possible causes for violence. Culturalization, according to Jiwani, refers to the use of categories such as language and religion to signify race. Cultural racism, as opposed to biological racism, both naturalizes cultural differences and situates these differences against an invisible background of White dominance. Where the privileging of gender obscured the issue of race in the Reena Virk case, the privileging of culture performed a similar function in the case of the Vernon “Massacre.” A notable strength in Jiwani’s approach is her use of comparison. She effectively highlights the persistence and reality of White structures of dominance by comparing the media and court characterizations of Reena Virk with that of Kelley Ellard, Virk’s White murderer. In the same way, Jiwani reveals how the naturalizing of cultural difference neutralized and thus reinforced systemic racism in her contrast of media interpretations of the Gakhal murders with the attempted murder of Sharon Velisek. The Velisek incident occurred less than two weeks following the Gakhal murders, in the same

small town in British Columbia, and also involved an estranged spouse. However, where race was central to media representations of the Gakhal case, it was not an issue at all in the Velisek case.

Jiwani’s detailed exploration of these sensationalized cases clearly demonstrates the significance of the intersecting influences of race and gender, but strays from her assertion that class plays an equally important role in shaping the lives of women of colour. The third section of *Discourses of Denial* brings class into the analysis in a substantial way while at the same time foregrounding the voices of girls and women of colour. The two chapters in this section are, in my opinion, the most powerful. Drawing on interviews with immigrant girls and young women of colour, Jiwani provides an aperture into a previously silent perspective. The big question being posed here concerns identity, and what exactly is required of racial/cultural Others to fit in. Here, Jiwani perceptively argues that the constraints of poverty for many immigrant girls and young women living in a culture of consumption are interconnected with issues of race and gender. Socioeconomic factors, then, as a specific correlate of immigration, play a significant role in the experiences of immigrant girls in the public school system, health care system, and more broadly, in consumer culture. The analysis could, however, be extended to ask how class differences among immigrant girls and women of colour – not always one and the same category – result in differential patterns of vulnerability to violence. Jiwani places as much stress on the ways that discourses of Whiteness, Otherness, Orientalism, and the hierarchical binaries of colonialism are imposed as on how these discourses are internalized and normalized by girls and women of colour. The idea of normalization implies that while the “White/Other” binary is undeniably

significant, there is also a more complex hierarchy at work.

For example, in her discussion of the health care system, Jiwani shows how immigrant women are particularly susceptible to violence and abuse because of the constraints of immigration policies and patriarchal family structures. Immigrant girls and young women of colour are similarly vulnerable to violence because they are subject to the demands of two competing patriarchal discourses. But how would these intersecting racialized and gendered discourses shape the lives of those in interracial marriages, for second or third generation girls and women of colour, or for girls and women of mixed racial backgrounds? How do these discourses vary according to region, or in rural as opposed to urban settings?

In the final section of *Discourses of Denial*, Jiwani does address a more specific category of "Otherness" – the Muslim body – in a specific historical and geographical context – the aftermath of 9/11 in Montreal. Drawing from Said's work, Jiwani argues that the major Montreal newspapers embodied notions of Orientalism and the binaries of colonization in their representations of the event, and functioned not only to establish a climate of terror but one which obscured structures of White dominance. As Jiwani makes evident, the local context, particularly the distinct mix of English, French, Jewish, and Muslim communities in Montreal, shaped the dynamics of media coverage of the events of 9/11. Jiwani's key argument in this chapter is that the post 9/11 situation has emphasized the strategic use of discourses of denial under the banner of terror. More specifically, following 9/11, the Montreal news readership was bombarded by the mainstream media with representations of the binaries of East versus West, Christianity versus Islam, democracy versus oppression – essentially, those hierarchi-

cal binaries of *us* versus *them* which serve to reinforce structures of patriarchal White dominance.

The questions raised here are evidence that *Discourses of Denial* is undeniably a provocative and innovative work. Jiwani's most valuable contribution lies in the notion that the current status of race relations in Canada, characterized by normalization and denial, both allows for the possibility of certain types of violence and constitutes a powerful form of violence in itself. By identifying and explicating these discourses of denial, Jiwani provides a way of understanding racism that should be taken into consideration by those interested in the study of race as well as, more generally, scholars of Canada.

LILYNN WAN

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**Sheryl Nestel, *Obstructed Labour: Race and Gender in the Re-emergence of Midwifery* (Vancouver: UBC Press 2006)**

*OBSTRUCTED LABOUR* is a brilliant and cogent case study of the profession of midwifery's attempt to legitimize itself in the province of Ontario in the late 20th century. The basic argument is that in an effort to gain institutional and legal status for their profession, elite white midwives both excluded and ignored the issues of women of colour and immigrant women of colour with respect to developing educational and training standards, and opportunities, and establishing licensing procedures. Nestel presents an "alternative telling" of Ontario midwifery's "heroic" story. She claims that white middle-class women practicing midwifery were "unable to see past their own oppression and chose systems that marginalized other women," thus reproducing relations of domination based on race. Some Ontario midwives also reproduced these relations

of domination through their strategic use of cross-border maternity clinics utilized by Mexican women, to expand their own expertise and obtain credentials for practice standards set in Ontario.

Evidence was gathered through interviews with 23 women of colour who were immigrant midwives, midwifery students, and midwifery board members; and through interviews with a handful of white women involved in the initial Task Force, the Interim Regulatory Council, and the College of Midwifery. In addition, "hundreds of documents and publications linked to the development of midwifery in Ontario between 1981 and 1996" were reviewed.

Nestel states in her introduction that the processes that created exclusivity in the midwifery profession resulted from both "deliberate choices" and "seemingly benign inertia," neither of which were necessarily intended to enact racism, but simply are a part of "race-blind" epistemologies which guided action. Nestel makes clear that it was the omission of consideration of relations of domination between women that creates a profession that is non-inclusive. This situates the Ontario midwifery profession's development historically, as its processes parallel the same processes of major organizations of the Canadian feminist movement through the same decades.

The chapter on "Midwifery Tourism" is a fascinating analysis of relations of exploitation and hierarchy among women, under the guise of a universal global sisterhood. It focuses on the experiences of Ontario midwives working at maternity clinics for Mexican women in the United States, and demonstrates the author's skill at theoretical analysis of complex and contradictory phenomena. At the same time, I would like to have seen richer data presented in this chapter to support the analysis.

While Nestel's counter-narrative makes

a convincing case for race-blindness, I wondered why issues of language and economic class, both of which block educational and credential attainment, and which proved to be the two major barriers to the midwifery profession for most women, were not analyzed in intersection with race but instead presented as subordinate to it. The absence of data on white immigrant women in the study confounds the argument about race blindness. I would like to know more about the issues of economic status, language proficiency, and cultural knowledge as barriers to accessing basic information, following required administrative procedures, or meeting admission and licensing criteria as experienced by both white immigrant women as well as immigrant women of colour. And because not all women of colour were immigrants, or all immigrants women of colour, we need a clearer understanding of the different constellations created by multiple barriers and discriminatory practices: the individual experiences are often collapsed in this study and the overall complexity of the concept of "other" is not fully explored in the choice to prove race blindness. Informants' accounts describe "otherness" in relation to the expectations for a midwife in terms of sexuality, dress, gender norms, skin colour, social class, language, culture, poverty, and religion. But women's narratives have been pulled apart, partly I am sure from a concern for privacy and confidentiality. The study would be well served by fuller narrative accounts which illustrate this complexity and the impact of the attribution of diversely constituted "other" labels on individual lives and aspirations.

Nestel claims that in the push to gain credibility for midwifery as a licensed profession, the ideal midwifery candidate became a white, middle class, English-speaking, well-dressed and impassive female professional who behaves like a



medical doctor. There are also echoes in the study of normative gender requirements for midwives similar to those found in the early twentieth century opposition to European women as midwives, openly expressed then through concerns about their lack of refinement and cleanliness. Skillfully describing how race-blindness works in this specific case, and respectable midwifery is constructed, Nestel is actually demonstrating more: how both xenophobia and gender conformity are operative in a late 20th century multi-cultural society; and how they are so embedded in Canadian culture and the psyches of Canadian women that they have become invisible instruments of both domination and exclusion at individual, organizational, and institutional levels.

Nestel intends this study to be instructive, particularly to the midwifery profession, of which she was a committed member. And it could be, if the book was made more accessible through its use of language and a careful re-organization. The challenge of turning a dissertation into a book is evident. The experiences and insights the midwives and students have to share are rich and important and could be an organizing focus for a future publication if the goal is to share these findings beyond an academic audience. Still, this book is compelling and brave, and once I started it I couldn't put it down.

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**Alvin Finkel, *Social Policy and Practice In Canada: A History* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2006)**

THE PRODUCT OF over a decade of work, *Social Policy and Practice in Canada* traces the history of social policy in northern North America from the pre-contact period to the present. The book

is divided into four parts. The first two deal with the period before 1950, and the latter two with the period from mid-century to the present. Most of the sections that deal with the pre-1930 years are based on extensive secondary research, while those dealing with the post-1930 period (which constitute the majority of the almost 340 pages of text), draw on extensive primary research as well. Finkel covers a vast period and provides considerable detail about attitudes, institutions, and policies directed at the poor, the infirm, the aged, and the young. He does not, however, present his survey as a compendium of "facts." Instead, he argues that social policy in Canada has been the outcome of struggles between elites and popular classes who exist in social realities in which gender and race structure social experience. According to Finkel, with some partial exceptions (particularly some groups on the Pacific coast), Aboriginal peoples lived in fairly egalitarian societies in which the poor, infirm, and aged were cared for by medicine men and were able to obtain sustenance through customs of sharing. Europeans brought with them very different sorts of social structures. Far from egalitarian, they were "class divided and elite controlled," and "featured wealthy business people, professionals, government officials, artisans, farmers, labourers, and paupers." (326)

Finkel traces the feudal arrangements in New France, and the impact of the Poor Law in British North America, and provides an overview of the gradual, post-Confederation emergence of a movement for the state to provide social services and to redistribute wealth. He notes that while the government implemented some limited programs – for example, workers' compensation, mothers' allowances, and pensions for the elderly – before World War II, no universal system existed until after 1950. While the period from 1950



to 1980 or so marked a high point of government spending on social programs, the programs themselves were not about altering significantly basic structures of inequality. Indeed, Finkel suggests that in general those responses tended to leave in place the racism, patriarchy, and inequality that have been and continue to be central to bourgeois society in Canada. Instead, policy makers developed programs and institutions premised on continuous economic expansion. The idea was that by expanding the total wealth of Canadian society, the government could provide social programs to a large portion of the populace by spending a larger amount (measured in absolute terms) of wealth even while proportional distribution remained constant. By 1970 or thereabouts, when "stagflation" slowed growth, advocates of a neo-liberal creed began to decry government overspending. Balancing budgets without raising taxes (and especially without raising taxes on the rich) became the order of the day, and Canadians watched, though often not passively, as ardently pro-business governments reversed or seriously curtailed many of the hard-won gains of the previous 30 years. The book, however, is not a defeatist lament. Nor does it portray the post-1970 retrenchment as a particularly striking development. Instead, it places the post-1945 welfare state within a broader and longer history of struggle between right and left, a struggle that is ongoing and from which more thoroughgoing solutions to the persistent, dehumanizing inequality of capitalist society might materialize.

The book is clearly written. Its author provides a cogent introductory discussion of the relevant international literature. He also includes a lengthy bibliography which students and others unfamiliar with writing about social policy in Canada and elsewhere may consult as a guide for further reading, and

provides clear outlines of debates – for instance, that surrounding the purpose of workers' compensation legislation, the development of universal health insurance, issues of government housing policy – in which he periodically involves himself (see, 83, 169–89, and 221–43 respectively). He also compares Canada with the United States, Britain, and other European countries, and provides insight into the international social, economic, and political contexts. This places policy makers and policies within, and makes accessible, aspects of the transnational context. Thus, while the book contributes to scholarly debate about social policy and the welfare state, it also provides those with little background a solid introduction to the subject area, and would make an excellent undergraduate text for courses in the history of reform and/or social policy.

While I read the book, however, it did occur to me that placing reform and social policy, especially in the period from the mid-nineteenth century through to the early 20th century, explicitly in the context of a broader and longer history of colonialism might have provided interesting insights. Finkel is sensitive to some aspects of Canada's colonial past. For instance, he provides insightful discussions of the often abysmal conditions in which Aboriginal people lived and how racist social policies often disadvantaged their communities (see, for example, 56–59, 97–90, 119–21, 187–89). Yet, recent post-colonial-inspired scholarship, such as Adele Perry's *On The Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849–1871* indicates that in settler societies reform, and many of the earliest movements toward socially-oriented liberal states, were not straightforward responses to poverty in increasingly urban-industrial societies. Instead, they were complex responses to capitalism and colonialism, and were integral parts

of liberal state formation. While Finkel notes the difference between Aboriginal and European societies, focusing on the multiple meanings and roles that reform institutions and policies took on in settler societies in this period might have provided added insight into the role of social policy and related institutions in the transition itself.

In any event, this study provides a good synthesis of a wide array of primary and secondary material covering a host of temporal and spatial locations. It deserves the attention of those interested in the history of social policy and the history of the welfare state – student and specialist alike.

KURT KORNESKI

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**David Whitson and Richard Gruneau, eds., *Artificial Ice. Hockey, Culture and Commerce* (Peterborough: Broadview Press 2006)**

ALMOST A DECADE and a half ago Richard Gruneau and David Whitson's landmark study *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* provided a trenchant analysis of the game's development as a commercial enterprise, confronting hockey's iconic stature within the Canadian cultural universe and its reinforcement of hegemonic influences within the contested terrain of class, race, and gender. This edited collection, drawing on recent scholarship in the field of sport studies and revealing the contemporary fascination with invented allegiances and the politics of cultural production, is a worthy sequel, deepening our appreciation of the ideological weight and contested meanings associated with hockey's place within broader constructions of Canadian identity. The dozen essays included here are divided into two sections: the first entitled "Hockey

in Canadian Culture," the second "The Political Economy of Hockey."

In their superb introductory essay, which surveys and contextualizes writings about the game over the past half century, Whitson and Gruneau challenge the widespread assumption that hockey represents a 'natural' expression of Canadian identity. Rather, the contributors address hockey as "artificial ice," i.e. as a cultural construction which served a number of different purposes over the years and promoted the interests of some Canadians at the expense of others. Along the way they confront the weakening of assumptions about hockey as a signifier of Canadian nationality, and the ways in which hockey nostalgia naturalizes corporate capitalism and other vested interests. In so doing, they suggest, the hockey myth interferes with dreams of a more inclusive and democratic future.

Jean Harvey's lead essay analyzes the altered meanings associated with professional hockey in Québec over the last century and the erosion of hockey's privileged place in French-Canadian sporting culture in recent decades. Harvey focuses on the Montreal *Canadiens*, how they came to serve as standard bearers of French-Canadian identity in the years between the construction of the Montreal Forum (1925) and the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, and how subsequent changes in Québec society and within professional hockey weakened the relationship between the club and the people of Québec. Hockey expansion, the introduction of the universal draft, the establishment of the Québec Nordiques, the influx of European players to the NHL, and the corporatization of hockey identities all contributed to the process. But what makes this the most powerful essay in the collection are the connections Harvey makes between hockey and larger processes of social transformation within Québec: *les Canadiens*, he sug-

gests, served as an important rallying point for French-Canadians in an age dominated by the ideology of *survivance*; but more recently – as Québécois reflected confidence in their ability to run their own economic and political affairs and as Francophone cultural life blossomed – hockey became but one way to express French-Canadian assumptions of nationhood.

The essays that follow further deconstruct exaggerated and essentialist claims about hockey's embodiment of Canadian nationality. Brian Wilson analyzes whether hockey is a powerful expression of identity for Canadian youth amidst the global cultural processes that affect them, and asks whether hockey marginalizes youth who do not share in the Canadian hockey experience. Mary Louise Adams focuses on the gendered and racialized nature of hockey. She argues that the naturalistic hockey myth and the idealization of shinny – the so-called “game that belongs to all of us” – privileges native-born white men and a “pernicious sense of male entitlement: to space, to status, to national belonging.” (71) Julie Stevens and Robert Pitter also focus on gender and race issues. Despite the growth of female hockey and the bounce in popularity that accompanied the Canadian women's Olympic gold medal in 2002, Stevens argues, women have not been able to mount a significant struggle to influence “the values and future direction of the women's game; nor is it clear how women might exercise a greater degree of control...under current circumstances.” (98) Pitter looks at the hockey experiences of Blacks and Aboriginal peoples over time, and how class and race serve as systemic barriers for non-whites who imagine a professional hockey future. In the remaining essay in this section Michael Robidoux and Pierre Trudel jump into the debate over body-checking in minor hockey. They show how

the romanticization of hockey's rugged masculinity trumps not only scientific evidence about injury risks associated with body checking in younger children, but also the mission statement of Hockey Canada to provide a safe and enjoyable environment for kids.

The second half of the volume focuses on the commercialization of hockey, changes in the hockey labour market, and the continentalization and globalization of the game. The initial essays in this section are less engaging than the earlier ones, more matter of fact and descriptive, and their conclusions somewhat predictable. Mark Rosentraub addresses the difficulty small-market teams have in “playing with the big boys,” and compares the different strategies that major league baseball, the NFL, the NBA, and the NHL employ to share revenues, enhance competition, and to balance the interests of owners and players. Robert Bellamy, Kelly Shultz, and Dan Mason cover familiar ground in looking at the place of hockey in the United States, the evolution of the game in an evolving television and media marketplace, and the viability of the NHL's sunbelt strategy. The remaining essays by John Hannigan, Hart Cantelon, and Julian Amirante are fresher and more engaging, however. Hannigan looks at the move from Maple Leaf Gardens to Toronto's Air Canada Centre and the relationship among commodified sport entertainment, community allegiance, and discourses of nostalgia. Hart Cantelon analyzes alterations in the hockey labour market that have accompanied globalization, and the continuing assumptions about the superiority of Canadian hockey and of the NHL. He addresses as well the feasibility of a European ‘superleague’ emerging in the future. Julian Amirante's concluding essay looks at the creation of transnational sporting and entertainment audiences, comparing and contrasting hockey and soccer, and

calls for a historical understanding that situates sport within the broader process of global capitalism.

In sum, this is a pathbreaking set of essays written for the most part by sociologists and social theorists. It represents the most sustained critique to date of the corporatization of hockey and the mythologies that sustain and naturalize hegemonic authority. However, while effectively deflating the exaggerated presumptions of hockey mythology, the collection is rather less effective in explaining the game's continuing broad appeal. Are we to assume that fans of hockey, or of any sport for that matter, are simply cultural dupes, unaware of the competing interests and ideological manipulations that are part of its making? There is a tendency here to see hockey fans as the prisoners of nostalgia, robbed of agency because of their own "false consciousness" (although that phrase is never used). There is much truth, of course, in the proposition that sport has often served as a handmaiden of racism, hypermasculinity, militarism, and capitalist hegemony. Yet sport is all of that and more, and has been so over time. Hopefully, the essays in this important critical collection will encourage further sustained historical analysis of the complex processes that fashioned hockey's development over time and its prominent, though hardly uncontested, place in Canadian sporting life.

COLIN HOWELL

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**Jeffrey D. Brison, *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy and the Arts and Letters in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005)**

JEFFREY BRISON'S *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy*

and the Arts and Letters in Canada is a good book. It is also deceptive. In the "Preface" Brison suggests that this text is designed to address a straightforward issue: "the relationship between American wealth [represented by the massive Carnegie and Rockefeller philanthropic foundations] and Canadian culture in the days preceding the advent of consistent federal support for the arts and letters in Canada [in the form of the Canada Council]." (ix) In reality, this book is a sustained engagement with two different but, as Brison explains, intimately inter-related narratives: the development of professionalized intellectual and cultural work in Canada and the processes of Canadian-American relations from the 1930s to the 1950s. What ties these two narratives together is the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations and the ways in which Canadian intellectuals and artists work with them to build a national cultural infrastructure in Canada.

Methodologically, *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada* is anything but simple. In Brison's view, the foundations' interaction with Canadian artists and intellectuals both was, and was not, a case of American cultural imperialism. Drawing heavily on the work of the late Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci, Brison argues several key points. First, the creation – in the United States – of large philanthropic foundations represented a transformation of wealth into cultural power in civil society. Through their ability to channel resources, Rockefeller and Carnegie were able to influence a broad range of cultural processes from religious practice to the development of scientific medicine. Second, these foundations' interests in Canada represented an outward extension of American cultural practices. In effect, these foundations used their wealth to project upper-class American conceptions of medicine, scholarship, education, and artistic practice into other

countries, most forcefully into Canada. Third, American ideals were not simply imposed on Canadians. Instead, these foundations worked with like-minded Canadians who shared their basic values to promote a Canadian cultural, intellectual, and educational infrastructure that served the interests of both a "self-selected" Canadian elite and American cultural imperialism.

As Brison explains in his conclusions, this is not a story of crafty Canadians taking advantage of American money for their own interests or wealthy American institutions manipulating Canadians. Instead, it is a story about nation-building through which a small, self-appointed inter-locking continental elite fashioned in Canada a particular type of cultural infrastructure. In Brison's view, there is nothing inherent or natural in this particular way of "imagining" Canada. Instead, the professionalized cultural, intellectual, and educational infrastructure built by this self-selected Canadian elite with American foundation money served to solidify elite influence over cultural and intellectual production and educational processes in Canada. Brison's point is that this was an intensely undemocratic process. Foundation staff was self-replicating and self-selecting, as was the Canadian elite with which they worked. Not only was this elite highly unrepresentative of Canadian society but they enjoyed no popular sanction for their actions.

*Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada* is not a book that "adds to our understanding" of a particular subject matter or "fills in an historiographic gap." Rather, it challenges narratives of Canada's development as a nation-state and, as such, opens up new avenues of enquiry. It is a work that asks its readers to think again about the processes of Canadian cultural formation, the organization of civil soci-

ety, and Canada's historical and on-going relationship with the United States. In this work, Brison's key target is essentialist conceptions of Canadian/American difference. In a number of places he refers to the older fragment theory of cultural difference that posits foundational differences in Canadian and American national worldviews. According to this theory, the circumstances of Canada's foundational "moment" made it into a state-oriented paternalistic society in opposition to American liberal individualism. It is, Brison notes, ironic that it was American institutions – as opposed to Canadian – that established the infrastructure that was, late in the day, absorbed by the Canadian state and that Canadians, in fact, looked to Americans for models of cultural development. The fact that this history has been obscured, he believes, is a product of nationalist mythology that looks to define essential differences between Canada and the United States and so to legitimate particular conceptions of the Canadian nation-state.

This irony, however, is not what is important about this book. The fact that Canadian and American elites see eye-to-eye on a range of issues is not surprising. Nor is the idea that nationalist mythology is ... well ... nationalist mythology. What is important about this book is the way it opens up the question of the processes of Canadian cultural development and, by implication, the values and ideals that animate the Canadian national experience. The idea that Canada is not some haven of leftist progressivism set next to a free-market America is also far from shocking. A now appreciable scholarly literature on different facets of Canadian culture highlights both the limits of Canadian progressivism and the degree to which Canadian culture has been manipulated by elite groups to address their own interests. What Brison shows

his readers is how we can study these processes. In this regard, he makes remarkably effective use of Gramsci's heuristics. *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada* passes over simplistic descriptive assertions of hegemony as cultural leadership in favour of an engagement with the specific and concrete processes through which cultural infrastructure was built, the negotiations that surrounded this, and the periodically blunt ways in which financial resources were translated into cultural power. It is these complicated and concrete material processes in which an analysis of national development and civil society should be rooted.

The next step is to look at oppositional forces. Brison's focus on elite cultural politics elides this issue. What did workers and left-wing intellectuals think about cultural institutions being built around them? What uses did they make of them? If the logical – and intended – outcome of pre-Canada Council elite cultural politics in Canada was the creation of a professionalized elitist cadre of cultural workers, what alternative conceptions of culture, civil society, education, and the state were displaced by this process? Said differently: what alternative ways of thinking Canada were marginalized by the developments Brison charts?

As Brison notes in his epilogue, these questions are not just historical. Over the last decade the Canadian state has engineered the construction of a new social scientific and technological research infrastructure designed to link the academy more effectively to the needs of capitalist political economy. Brison's book gives us the tools to better understand and assess the complex processes that are reconstructing civil society. What we now need to think about is how an understanding of these processes – this history – can be used to imagine a different, more democratic Canada whose

civil society infrastructure can address human needs and aspirations.

ANDREW NURSE

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**Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2006)

AT FIRST GLANCE, writing the history of Canada's nascent wildlife conservation movement in the twentieth century might seem a trivial task. After all, the care and supervision of wildlife in Canada has largely been limited, some have argued, to the efforts of a few civil servants, game officers, and some natural scientists working within the federal and provincial bureaucracies. One could further claim that these public administrators confined their activities to a relatively narrow policy agenda, conserving wildlife whenever possible through government regulation but failing to develop a sustained critique of broader forces such as industrialization and commercialization that had brought some wildlife species to the brink of extinction. To those outside the field of environmental history, any attempt to chronicle the history of early wildlife conservation initiatives in Canada might thus seem an overly narrow administrative history of a small and relatively insignificant corner within the federal and provincial bureaucracies.

The recent release of Tina Loo's *States of Nature* will do much to dispel the notion of a limited historical significance for Canada's wildlife conservation movement. Although there have been a plethora of recent monographs on the complex history of Canadian wildlife conservation, Loo's beautifully written, lavishly illustrated, and exhaustively researched volume goes further than any of the oth-



ers with its examination of wildlife conservation as a broad social movement and as an outgrowth of popular culture. Loo's greatest achievement with this new volume rests with her ability to draw connections between these diverse influences, effectively weaving together policy history with various accounts of popular environmentalism and grassroots activism.

Loo begins her volume with an analysis of wildlife conservation as a medium for the expansion of state power at the dawn of the twentieth century. Prior to this period, Loo argues, conservation was pursued through informal local arrangements worked out by groups ranging from Aboriginal hunters to hunting clubs. In the early twentieth century, however, the federal and provincial governments began to usurp local authority over wildlife, creating sanctuaries, hiring game officers, and implementing regulations that, according to Loo, "had the effect of marginalizing local customary uses of wildlife, and in that sense was part of the colonization of rural Canada." (6) Conservationists often framed this colonial discourse in terms of race and class politics, singling out minority groups such as Asians, working-class pot-hunters, and especially Aboriginal people as particularly destructive towards wildlife. Moreover, the resulting crackdown on illegal hunting practices could have devastating consequences for these groups as trapping equipment was confiscated, fines were handed out, jail sentences were issued, and human communities were removed from parks and game sanctuaries.

The reader might find some solace in this litany of injustices if such hard-edged policies had the effect of saving wildlife on the brink of extinction. Yet Loo argues that federal and provincial authorities often restricted local access to game merely as a prelude to managing wildlife populations for commercial purposes. Several of Canada's national parks, for

instance, featured zoos to attract tourists and commercial abattoirs to attract revenue for the cropping of surplus game until well past World War II. For Loo, bureaucratic initiatives designed to control wildlife and rural hunting were the logical outflow of state authorities bent on dominating both humans *and* nature in hinterland regions.

Loo is at her best, however, when she describes the many individuals and organizations outside of government who contributed to the growth and development of wildlife conservation in Canada. She traces the contribution of early non-governmental organizations such as Ducks Unlimited to habitat protection, and includes a fascinating account of the Hudson's Bay Company's attempts to mobilize local Indigenous knowledge and labour to the cause of fur conservation in the 1930s. Perhaps even more significant is her pathbreaking attempt to create a pantheon of Canadian environmental heroes – in effect, an account of our Muirs, Pinchots, and Leopolds – to match the voluminous literature on major conservation figures in the United States. Some of the historical personalities Loo introduces, particularly Farley Mowat and Bill Mason, will be familiar to many readers. Others such as the outfitter Tommy Walker, who campaigned passionately for the protection of the northern British Columbia wilderness, or the filmmaker and wilderness guide Andy Russell, who advocated habitat protection in Alberta's grizzly country, are given a well deserved place alongside the more canonical figures in the conservation movement. Loo also rehabilitates figures who were famous in their day but are largely ignored today. Her chapter on Jack Miner – the man who invented bird banding – finally grants this working-class bird conservationist his due place as a key popular figure within North America's conservation movement. Loo's



account of Miner's early family life, his Christian-inflected environmental ethics, his famous waterfowl sanctuary near Kingsville, Ontario (established in 1904), and his somewhat brutal approach to predatory birds is one of the most engaging biographical portraits of a major figure in the North American conservation movement that I have ever read. In broad terms, Loo reveals that conservationist sentiment in Canada was manifest in a variety of social and cultural groups (e.g. elite sport hunters, working class farmers, Aboriginal fur trappers) and was grounded in a diverse array of ethical traditions ranging from utilitarianism to Christian stewardship.

It is difficult to find fault with a book that was so engaging and difficult to put down. There were, however, some minor points where I questioned Loo's interpretation of the available evidence. In her discussion of the caribou crisis in the 1950s and 1960s, Loo argues that federal wildlife officials still framed their arguments for conservation at least partly in terms of the commercial value of the caribou. Although she provides some quotes to back her claim, my own experience with the voluminous documentation on the caribou crisis suggests that the federal government had largely abandoned commercial dreams that had been applied to the caribou in the 1910s and 1920s as the perception of an extreme conservation emergency gripped the federal bureaucracy. I am also not convinced that reindeer were introduced to the Mackenzie Delta region in the 1930s as part of a conservation initiative to divert hunting attention from the caribou. According to many government reports during this period, caribou were thought to have largely disappeared from the Mackenzie Delta; the reindeer were established as an industrial pilot project and to provide a supplemental food supply to a population of Inuvialuit that were already suffering

from the effects of a collapse in their local food supply.

These are trivial criticisms of an otherwise fascinating and impressive volume. When I gave the book to one of my senior students – perhaps the most important litmus test of a volume's general appeal – he suggested that it was one of the best historical works he had read in his university career. I certainly concur in this sentiment. *States of Nature* is an intelligent, eloquent, and thoroughly entertaining account of the wildlife conservation movement in Canada. It stands as a major contribution to fields of environmental and conservation history in this country and internationally. It is an instant classic that will both educate and reward those who hope to learn more about the complex and multi-faceted ways in which Canadians have attempted to come to terms with the wild creatures who live in their midst.

JOHN SANDLOS

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**Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*** (Durham: Duke University Press 2005)

IN A FEW SHORT pages in the introduction to *Authentic Indians*, historian Paige Raibmon deftly unpacks the key strands of contentious debates – academic and popular – about cultural identity and authenticity. Using the example of the 1999 return to whaling by members of the Makah community of western Washington State, Raibmon sketches very clearly the parameters of ideological clashes over the “traditional” versus the “modern,” the ecological versus the wasteful Indian, civilization versus barbarism. The ideology of authenticity, she forcefully shows, has held Aboriginal people to “impossible standards” of cultural purity – standards

as ahistorical as they are unattainable. (9) I write in the present tense here because Raibmon's book, while grounded in case studies from the late-nineteenth to early twentieth-century Pacific Northwest, has such resonance with present-day expectations of Native and other cultural communities. No culture adheres to an unchanging check-list of definitive traits – yet this is precisely what has been expected of indigenous communities across the globe as they seek to assert their legal, economic, and cultural rights. One of many strengths of Raibmon's book is the way it captures both the tragic historical story of such misplaced expectations, and the ongoing intellectual and practical consequences of this binary thinking. The authentic-inauthentic dyad, she argues, is still a basic part of our thinking about cultural identity: we remain trapped on its terrain.

*Authentic Indians* is a study of “the work that authenticity did” in defining the parameters of Indianness for non-Natives and, in important ways, for Native people in the late-nineteenth-century Pacific Northwest. Authenticity is not defined so much as characterized: it is a “powerful and shifting set of ideas that worked in a variety of ways toward a variety of ends.” (3) Raibmon at every turn undermines the received meaning of the term – the notion of “purity or timeless tradition.” (212) Rather, authenticity is a colonial discourse, a set of colonizer assumptions and practices with important real-life implications for Native people. Raibmon uses three episodes – Kwakwaka'wakw participation in the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, Aboriginal migrant labour in the Puget Sound hop industry, and 1906 legal proceedings against a Tlingit artist – to investigate historically the implications of this ideology.

While those implications were often dire, Raibmon is careful to attend to the many ways Native people made use of,

subverted, and benefited from such expectations. Yet her attention to agency is not romanticized. The reader is regularly reminded of the broader context in which the episodes play out: this was an era of efficient and nearly final appropriation of Native lands and resources; of increasing economic marginalization of Native people; and of the rise of anthropology's salvage paradigm, with its zeal to rescue the last vestiges of “doomed” Indian cultures. In this oppressive context, Native people found ways to serve their own ends. The story of most interest to readers of *Labour/Le Travail* might well be the fascinating and multi-layered account of seasonal migrant workers in the hop fields of western Washington.

The title of the book and its episodic focus might lead one to assume that it is a work of cultural history – and it is that. But it is also a work of labour history. As Raibmon puts it, the episodes discussed in its pages “would misrepresent the historical reality of Aboriginal life were they not labour histories as well.” (11) The annual participation of thousands of Native men, women, and children in the hop harvest in the Puget Sound region is an instructive and understudied moment in Native history. As early as 1885 a British Columbia government agent reported that six thousand BC Native people were off working in the hop fields – perhaps a quarter of the province's Aboriginal population. For many the late-summer hop harvest came close on the heels of work in the salmon canneries, a modern incarnation of the complex seasonal productive rounds that Native people had followed for millennia. The journey to Puget Sound would have been familiar to many people from Alaska and BC, who had for some decades been making the trip to find work in sawmills and other operations.

Hop harvesting had a labour hierarchy, and some Aboriginal men were able to profit from this. Some became “hop

bosses" and pole pullers, higher-paying positions that might allow them to advance the interests of their own family or community members. The more lowly pickers exercised autonomy in this labour-intensive industry by leaving a farm that didn't provide proper housing or food for one that did, or by avoiding the region altogether in a bad health season. Work stoppages were another effective method of getting demands met: in an industry heavily reliant on Aboriginal labour, their refusal to work could threaten a whole year's crop.

Aside from direct work in the industry, Aboriginal people took advantage of many more economic and cultural opportunities in the region, many of these invisible to or misunderstood by non-Native observers. The gathering of diverse Native peoples from across the Pacific Northwest was an opportunity for trade, feasting, visiting with extended family, gambling, courting, and sport – much like the massive inter-cultural gatherings that had taken place in western Washington long before the first fur traders arrived. Medicine men, shamans, and other healers found a niche in cramped labour camps where people were more than usually susceptible to disease. Raibmon is writing about a period when international and reservation boundaries, and legal constraints like the banning of potlaches, sought to sharply restrict Native movement: labour migration offered a "short-term escape valve," (103) although not without complications.

Most intriguingly in the context of Raibmon's analysis of authenticity, Native people in the hop industry found opportunity in spectacle. Hop pickers in their "bright, showy calicoes" and with their "incessant song-singing and fun" made a very picturesque sight, as the naturalist John Muir put it. Throughout the picking season hundreds of tourists daily made their way to the fields by

local train, streetcar, or hotel carriage. It was precisely the impulse of authenticity – the notion among non-Natives that Natives were a romantic, vanishing culture to be glimpsed before it disappeared – that opened these spaces for Native innovation.

Raibmon acknowledges that being on display and having to "play Indian" in this way must have been a trial. Her primary attention, though, is to the ways Native people used the interest to their own ends. Many men came to the area not to work in the fields but as hunting and fishing guides. Many women found a captive market for baskets and other favorite tourist curios. A handsome basket could fetch as much cash as three days' work in the fields. Posing for photographs was another important source of income: Edward S. Curtis took some of his earliest shots in the hop fields.

Raibmon and the press deserve congratulations for generous use of visual material. Wonderful images bring another dimension to Raibmon's story. At times the reader would like a little more decoding. Why, for instance, are the hop-picking women dressed in high Victoriana in the late-summer heat? (82) Are they playing to contradictory expectations of feminine propriety and Native "showiness"? What about those who made cash through prostitution? Did they ply their trade in the makeshift tents and lean-tos of the encampments that dotted the Seattle and Tacoma waterfronts in the 1890s? (95)

Raibmon's account of the Native people in the hop industry ends, as does the book, on a more pessimistic note. Hop pickers reaped important economic benefits, but "ultimately they paid out much more than they earned." (133) Both the Indianness they performed for the tourists and the wage labour they performed for their employers helped to cement colonialist understandings of Native people as relics of a vanishing past. Aborigi-

nal people were able to manipulate this ideology to their own benefit, but in the end they could exert little control over its parameters. As Raibmon demonstrates through close and careful historical analysis, Native people could never get outside the dominant dichotomies of their day – authentic/inauthentic, Aboriginal/modern. In our own times, authenticity continues to act as “gatekeeper of Aboriginal people’s rights to things like commercial fisheries, land, and casinos.” (206) We remain trapped on authenticity’s confining terrain.

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**Magda Fahrni, *Household Politics: Montreal Families and Postwar Reconstruction*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2005)

MAGDA FAHRNI’S STUDY of Montreal families is the latest in a series of studies which have forced a re-thinking of the post-World War Two period in Canada. In it, she extends and deepens our understanding of the connection between the personal and the political as revealed in what she terms “household politics.” The author takes us to Montreal in the period from the last few months of the war to 1949 and tests how well our preconceptions of the period stand up to a sustained examination. She shows that the immediate post-war period was not necessarily a time of prosperity; in fact many returning veterans struggled to find employment and decent housing for their families. Nor did those families all fit the ideal nuclear model; some had to incorporate children born as a result of wartime infidelity, some were single-parent families, others included grandparents and siblings. She debunks also the image of the stereotypically large Québec family. Yet, she argues, “visions of family

were central to reconstruction and the postwar public realm,” and she looks at the meaning of reconstruction from the point of view of families and their relationship with various levels of government. Fundamental to her argument is the insight that during this period the boundaries between private and public were not just fluid and permeable, but that “the spheres themselves were undergoing a transformation...the public was expanding under pressure from various groups of citizens, who, in demanding measures of social and economic security, made private matters public for political purposes.” Thus, “the family not only became absorbed into the public, but also fashioned the public.” (22)

Federal, provincial, and municipal governments all shared the belief in the need for social stability in the wake of years of economic depression and war, but historians have paid most attention to the efforts of the King government to implement a welfare state. Fahrni is convincing in demonstrating that these new public measures did not immediately take over the task of providing for post-war families. Instead, she argues that in Montreal in the 1940s there was a “mixed social economy” in place, in which older forms of welfare co-existed with the new federal policies. Thus, Montrealers, whether francophone, anglophone, or Jewish, continued to turn to private agencies, voluntary associations, and the Catholic Church for support, even though they often resented the value judgments these agencies made about their housekeeping and parenting skills. Wary of the interventionist federal state, they also looked to the provincial government for assistance.

Using the records of a variety of these organizations, Fahrni concludes that, as a result of wartime experiences, both men and women quickly displayed a sense of entitlement to a new array of benefits and allowances. Not surprisingly, veterans

felt their service to their country gave them the right to jobs, housing, education allowances, and pensions. One of Fahrni's most interesting findings, however, is the attitude of women towards the emerging welfare state and the nature of their citizenship. Women's social citizenship – their claim to allowances and benefits – rested on their dependent status as wives and mothers of service men, but their complaints if the cheque did not arrive on time, or their demands for allowances to be indexed to the rising cost of living, clearly showed their sense of entitlement both as newly enfranchised citizens and family members.

Post-war prices were a major concern for families from a variety of socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds; and here Fahrni contests the American notion of high post-war consumption. In Montreal, families had to be very cautious in their consumption of necessities during this period. Poverty was not the source of shame it had been and consumers demanded a reasonable cost of living and turned to consumer activism and demanded changes in government policy in order to assure a comfortable, stable lifestyle. The author chooses specific incidents to demonstrate that both men and women were involved in this form of "household politics." The Squatters' Movement of 1946–7 illustrated the importance fathers attached to being able to provide decent housing for their families, and in the Catholic school teachers' strike of 1949 they articulated claims for their children's rights to education and their right as fathers to a voice in their children's education. Women meanwhile mobilized to organize consumers' groups, boycotted high-priced produce, and lobbied government for cheaper alternatives such as margarine.

While Fahrni does not attempt to over-generalize her findings, explaining from the outset that she considers Montreal

to be an exceptional city, she does enter into five specific historiographic debates. For instance, she agrees with recent arguments that have challenged the notion of Duplessis's reign in Québec as being an unremitting "Great Darkness." She sees the discussions going on in Québec about the role of government, private charity, and professional social work as being very similar to those taking place in other provinces. In addition, she contests the idea that the Catholic Church was a monolithic institution, showing that some groups, such as the *Ligue Ouvrière Catholique*, were adapting to social changes and attempting to keep themselves relevant in this new environment. Her research leads her to conclude that the Quiet Revolution was rooted in the modernization of Québec society already underway in the 1940s.

Fahrni's text is exemplary in its organization and clarity. The Introduction would serve as an ideal model for both graduate and undergraduate students – for the former to emulate, and the latter to dissect. It is also a splendid example of a new generation of historical synthesis which pays attention to differences of gender, class, and ethnicity as a matter of course, and combines consideration of discourses with analysis of material conditions and lived experience. In this well-rounded study all the constituent parts of the family are considered: mothers, fathers, children, and even grandparents. Admittedly, middle-class families and Anglophone families do get less attention than working-class and Francophone families, but Jewish families and Jewish social services are included. The plethora of primary sources consulted results in a bewildering number of acronyms, but the author can hardly be faulted for that, and in fact should be congratulated for the meticulous nature of her research and citations. One shortcoming which could be mentioned is that no trans-

lations are given for quotations from French-language sources. While this should not be a problem for the expert or upper-level student, the extensive use of untranslated quotations in chapter 6, for example, might mitigate against the text being adopted for undergraduate courses. Translations of key passages given in the footnotes would have been an asset. In addition, the text is supplemented with some well-chosen photographs which are beautifully printed on glossy paper. Given the high cost of printing, it's understandable that these are grouped together in the centre of the book, but the opportunity to make them *contribute* to the text is lost because they are not referred to specifically or even cited at appropriate places. Nevertheless, these are small quibbles about a study which contributes significantly to our understanding of the years between 1945 and 1949, and challenges us to re-think some of our assumptions about the subsequent period.

GILLIAN POULTER  
Acadia University

**Marcel Martel, *Not This Time: Canadians, Public Policy, and the Marijuana Question, 1961–1975***

(Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2006)

IN RECENT YEARS, especially following the publication of Doug Owsram's *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (1996), the Sixties have become an increasingly popular subject of historical study and debate. Marcel Martel's study of recreational drug policies in Canada during this period contributes a great deal to these emerging debates and to a wider discussion of public policy development more generally. Although questions remain about the actual process of policy development, and more could be said about the social

context within which such debates took place, Martel's book adds to an understanding of complex political processes in Canada and contributes to a number of scholarly fields, including the history of the Sixties in Canada, the history of drug policies, and the study of political processes and policy debates.

In his introduction, Martel clearly sets out what he hopes to accomplish in this book. He seeks to examine how various groups and individuals "influenced the development and implementation of public policy on drugs." (8) This he does quite successfully throughout the monograph, arguing that certain actors, including the media, interest groups, bureaucrats, and politicians, competed to shape the debate on the legalization of marijuana. To set the stage, Martel examines how, through the print media and the scientific community, recreational drug use became framed as a social problem and a subject of political debate. He then moves on to discuss how various interest groups participated in these debates and sought to influence the politicians who were ultimately responsible for any changes to public policy. Martel focuses here on four interest groups whom he claims played an important role in the debates: young people, and university students in particular; law enforcement officers; the medical establishment; and the pharmaceutical industry. As a central component of the overall argument, he states that these four interest groups had unequal access to centres of power and thus their influence over the public policy debates varied significantly.<sup>(73)</sup> Taking account of Canada's political reality, in which power is shared between the federal government and the provinces, Martel also discusses how four provincial governments, those of British Columbia, Ontario, Québec, and Prince Edward Island, participated in the policy debates over marijuana, arguing that provincial politicians rarely agreed



on recreational drug use policy and thus failed to cooperate with one another in the national debates. (118) As well, Martel examines the federal government's strategy to deal with the public debates on recreational drug use, the establishment of the Le Dain Commission, and the ways that federal politicians, bureaucrats, and various international pressures affected the debates. Although these discussions ultimately led to few changes in Canada's drug policies, Martel concludes by arguing that this should not be seen as a failure of those who pushed for change. Rather, it illustrates the complexity of public policy debates, the strength of the forces opposed to change, and the internal divisions within the groups that sought new drug policies. Connecting these historical debates to the current debates over marijuana legalization and decriminalization, Martel leaves us with some important questions about the autonomy of the Canadian state and the complexity of the public policy process. In the end, Martel successfully illustrates how various actors sought to influence Canada's drug policies, achieving what he set out to do in this study.

However, Martel's work also raises some important questions about methodology and the ways in which the complex process of public policy development can be understood. Through his in-depth discussion of the various actors involved in the debates over recreational drug policy in Canada, Martel illustrates the complexities of public policy debates and the power relations involved in such political negotiations. Yet, a number of important questions remain: how can we judge what groups and individuals are most influential in the discussions and how can we determine the actual influence of such actors?

One question relates to the role that various groups and individuals actually played in public policy debates. Martel points to what he sees as the key groups,

but this raises as many questions as it answers. For example, Martel argues that four groups were particularly important in the discussions – young people, law enforcement officers, the medical profession, and the pharmaceutical industry. Yet, he also points out that most of these groups played only a minimal role in the Le Dain Commission. It is thus unclear why these four groups are singled out as important or, alternatively, why the Le Dain Commission is seen as a key part in the public policy debates. As well, the category of youth is unclear throughout the book. Martel argues that university students were seen as representatives of their generation and thus focuses on the role they played in the discussions. (39) However, this fails to recognize the complexity of youth as a category and the divisions that existed within this incredibly diverse group. Martel also argues that the Le Dain Commission broadened the debate over drug policy and enabled the Canadian public to participate, (120) but how can we judge the actual involvement of the public and the degree to which the government actually took the opinions of such people into consideration? Also, are there other ways in which the public was able to participate in the discussions, such as through opinion pieces or letters to the editor in local or national newspapers, or were other groups and individuals also involved in the debates? In other words, how do we judge the participation of actors in policy debates and the influence of such groups on public policy decisions? These are complex issues and, while Martel acknowledges this fact, they should remain central throughout the book.

Another issue that is not dealt with sufficiently throughout the book is the social context within which such discussions were occurring. Although Martel is clearly focused on the political history of recreational drug use, more information on the social context surrounding

these debates might have contributed to his study and clarified the roles played by various groups and individuals. His introductory chapter includes an excellent overview of the influence of the Baby Boom generation on society; he argues this generational group forced a reevaluation of traditional values and mores related to drug use in Canada. However, much more could have been included on the widespread social and cultural challenges that emerged during the Sixties, placing the debates over drug policies in the wider context of the period. In a similar vein, Martel does not discuss the periodization of the Sixties, although this is an important issue for Sixties historians. At times he seems to refer to the Sixties as the decade between 1960 and 1969, while on other occasions he seems to extend the period into the 1970s. This is an important question about context, and Martel should clarify what he refers to as the Sixties and how his subject relates to the other social and political movements of the period.

On the other hand, Martel does an excellent job of relating the drug policy debates of the Sixties to present-day concerns in order to highlight some of the important themes that emerge from his research, such as the complexity of public policy debates and the influence of international pressure, and to illustrate that the discussion over recreational drug policy is by no means resolved. This provides an interesting opportunity to discuss the implications of his study and to point to future areas of investigation.

Overall, Marcel Martel's study provides an important and useful discussion of public policy debates regarding recreational drug use in Canada during the Sixties. It contributes to an understanding of complex political processes and of the various ways different actors participate in such negotiations. While this raises further questions about the

ways groups and individuals participate in public policy debates and their actual influence over those responsible for such policies, Martel's book is an excellent read and a useful addition to a number of scholarly fields.

ROBERTA LEXIER

University of Alberta

**Jonathan Wagner, *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada 1850–1939***

(Vancouver: UBC Press 2006)

THE AUTHOR of the standard monograph on the phenomenon of German National Socialism in Canada, who more recently edited an interesting volume of letters written to and by emigrants from Germany residing in this country between the world wars, has now followed up both these publications with a survey of migration involving the same two nations over the near century from 1850 to 1939. Jonathan Wagner's new study may surprise some readers, however, with regard to its content and scope.

Although German speakers comprise Canada's third-largest group of immigrants, during the period the author examines only a small percentage of those who quit the Reich proper chose to come to – and fewer still to remain permanently in – the Dominion. The vast majority who came were instead so-called *Volkdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) from eastern European countries like Russia and Rumania; but from the very outset Wagner does not deal with these. (12–13) Rather, he presents a parallel account of, on the one hand, Bismarckian/Wilhelmian/Weimar/Nazi and, on the other, Canadian policies dealing with emigration and immigration, respectively. Notwithstanding a general reluctance on the part of governments of whatever stripe in Berlin to lose their citizens to movement overseas, and Canada's

contrasting desire to gain at least a share of such individuals, albeit never in preference to British subjects, Wagner is at pains to demonstrate the wide-reaching complementarity of German and Canadian practices in this area. The dove-tailing of official behaviour and attitudes in Ottawa and the Reich included the troubled Depression years when the former halted almost all immigration after 1930, while shortly afterwards Hitler tried to drive every "non-Aryan" from their place of birth or naturalization. The fate of Jews who sought refuge in the country where notoriously 'none were too many' is only alluded in passing by the author who also decided to exclude any treatment of the obverse Nazi goal of convincing racially acceptable Germans to return "*Heim ins Reich*" from wherever they were living. (214, 219, 232) One is left wondering just how frequent *Rückwanderung* (literally "reverse migration"), which earlier regimes had encouraged but in the 1930s became a full-fledged ideologically motivated program, occurred with respect to Canada.

Yet another self-imposed limitation concerns the activities of Germans once they arrived in this country. This encompasses not only how they were "received by the non-German community" and "were integrated or assimilated into Canadian society," (11) but also what kinds of work they pursued here. Wagner emphasizes repeatedly that in each of the time periods into which he divides his investigation (1850–1870, 1870–1890, 1890–1914, 1914–1939) the federal government sought with greater or lesser exclusivity to attract men and women from just two occupational backgrounds. These were *bona fide* agriculturalists – that is, single males or families who were experienced in farming either as landowners or labourers – and females suitable for employment as domestics (household servants, mothers' helpers, and the like). Following

the reinstatement in 1923 of emigration from Germany after the hiatus occasioned by World War I and the lingering hostile sentiment among the public during its immediate aftermath, Canadian recruiting agents went so far as to require prospective immigrants to furnish a certificate from the authorities in their home district "confirming that they had indeed farmed" in Germany or elsewhere. (211) This stipulation was in keeping with what was, after all, the principal objective of Canada's post-Confederation drive to secure immigrants, namely to settle the newly established western prairie provinces and thereby create a sufficiently dense population base to withstand any possible imperialist ambitions emanating from south of the border. To this end the same representatives abroad were specifically instructed to reject applications from urban workers who were likely to seek similar jobs in Canadian cities – and, especially in the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike, only add to the prospect of political unrest there. Unfortunately, however, Germany's much more extensive industrial revolution absorbed precisely its excess rural labour in which alone Canada was interested.

So it is not without irony that the largest single contingent of refugees from Nazism admitted before 1939 – the overwhelmingly Christian and social democratic Sudeten Germans – had also mainly dwelt as artisans and functionaries in Czech towns; moreover, they were settled by their sponsors on virgin land in British Columbia and Saskatchewan where despite initial difficulties due to complete inexperience in agriculture, along with local anti-German resentment, the communities eventually succeeded. (172, 234) It would seem therefore that Canada's persistent difficulty in attracting Reich or for that matter other German immigrants in anything comparable to the numbers who emigrated to the United States had

less to do with a harsher northern climate or the aura of greater excitement on the American frontier cultivated by writers of the ilk of James Fenimore Cooper and Karl May – among several explanatory factors Wagner analyzes to account for this wide discrepancy – than to fundamentally misconceived socially and politically conservative Canadian policy in this field.

Though developments related to migration history in Germany and in Canada are accorded equal attention in Wagner's text, the sections relating to the latter are perhaps the more original. For example, he carefully parses the publicity materials produced by the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways acting as proxies for the government and intended to interest potential migrants in purchasing properties owned by these companies. Such propaganda brochures often considerably exaggerated the attractiveness of the country for newcomers and downplayed the very severe hardships they would invariably encounter. Some agents violated German law by actively soliciting emigration rather than merely providing factual information about conditions, for which they were prosecuted; and Wagner recounts in some detail an outright scam aimed at administrators and overseers in Germany (so-called "*landwirtschaftliche Beamten*"), a species of farm manager virtually unknown in owner-run Canadian agriculture. (135–139) The impression left upon the reader is that Canada's side of the story is more thoroughly researched as well as authoritatively presented. Certainly nobody named "Reichardt" was ever German foreign minister, and Robert von Puttkamer was interior minister in the state of Prussia rather than of the Reich. As for those whom the author labels "cathedral (*sic!*) socialists," these were not some sort of religious egalitarians, but instead academics. The German term *Kathedersozi-*

*alisten* means "socialists of the lecturing rostrum" or professorial chair. (94, 96, 108)

However, it would be churlish to end on so negative a note. The many passages from German-language sources are otherwise accurately and smoothly translated. Wagner's discussions of the works of such racially oriented authors as Karly Götz and Colin Ross who wrote about Canada for Nazified audiences during the Third Reich are quite informative; he might have mentioned in the same context the most prolific German writer on Canadian themes, A. E. Johann. (178–181) In less than 250 pages Jonathan Wagner has managed persuasively to describe the parameters of a vital aspect of inter-state relations between Canada and Germany, a welcome reminder that their mutual connection has by no means always been martial and conflicted.

LAWRENCE D. STOKES  
Dalhousie University

**Serge Durlinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec*** (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2006)

WHEN I GREW UP in a southern Ontario bedroom community that fed most commuters between Hamilton and Toronto, the family stories of my best buddy's parents, almost as much as much as my own, became part of my imagined sense of Canada's past. They both grew up in Verdun. Both were English Canadians. His father had served overseas as an artilleryman in Canada's Italian campaign. They married afterwards, and moved on to careers in engineering and local civic service as they played their parts in Canada's twinned booms of breadwinning and babies. But, like my own parents, bits and pieces of their past, from the 'no money' days in the 1930s to their search

for security after demobilization, began to fit together like a scattered jigsaw puzzle forming part of my national picture, at least back then. For them, it had been a long road from Verdun. What was its major fork? The war, of course.

But memory, family stories too, are only partial, uneven, even fictional snapshots set against histories of locales, of regions, and certainly of countries at war. How do we approach intersections of memory and history? How do we reach conclusions about the meaning of this war from a study of the responses of its home front and overseas participants? My praise for Serge Durflinger's new book is for an inspiring account of Verdun's place in Canada's 'last good war.' I'm borrowing the phrase from Jack Granatstein's new illustrated history of Canada in the Second World War, a fine memory-prompter for those who survived the war and a good introduction to it for those viewing, for the first time, photographs of Canadians responding to the dark period that followed Hitler's invasions or the bombing of Pearl Harbour. Durflinger contributes to the 'good war' narrative. As a local case study his book is painstakingly researched, clearly written, often critical, yet implicitly patriotic – that is, motivated by a deeply felt sense of writing a community-based history from a place he grew up in that contributed in many positive ways to Canada's war effort: Verdun's 'good war.' "For me," as Durflinger put it, "no walk down Wellington Street, the city's main thoroughfare, can be separated from the ghosts that are everywhere now plainly visible to me. They tell an important and inspired story in which the community's Second World War experiences figure prominently." (xi) As such, *Fighting from Home*, which began as a doctoral dissertation, succeeds admirably.

How does Durflinger situate this city in the midst of the horrific costs of Canada's

part in reaching VE and VJ Days? Even if just one locale is assessed, such exercises can be ambitious as inquiries located at micro/macro intersections. From his opening chapter, which sets the stage for September 1939, to his detailed account of the veterans' return, Durflinger has done both the research digging and the writer's job of crafting clear, succinct narratives. It is a lucid, lively account.

On the face of it, what made Verdun unique, compared to anywhere else in Canada, was the fact that large numbers of both French- and English-Canadians shared conditions of urban poverty – a basic push-factor for recruitment from both populations. Unsurprisingly, Verdun's 'fair share' in supplying men and women was simply not exceeded – anywhere. In assessing this, and many other aspects of war service, from civic volunteerism to the effects of rationing and family dislocations, both federal and local sources are used very effectively. And the records deployed, from the Department of National Defence to Munitions and Supply and National War Services, have been put to work by a scholar with broad expertise in military history. Skilled, too, is his use of local sources, from the Verdun and Montreal press, both French and English, as well as the partly bilingual *Messenger/Le Messenger*, to civic records, to oral history (a must in such projects). Durflinger was clearly up for this task.

To tell a locale-based story cast within the 'good war' framework brings in many topics: enlistment rates, civic support for the war effort, and civilian war service in the paid workforce. Durflinger does justice to each. Throughout this book, he considers the manifest effects of war endured by some 70,000 Canadians, most of whom were working class and mainly of British or French origin, cramped together in a mere six square kilometers adjacent to the Montreal metropolis. 'Cramped,' for readers not aware of local

conditions in the war years, provides an image of just how poor, densely housed, and socio-economically oppressed Verdun was. Durflinger opens with a stage setting portrait of housing conditions, with family members and other residents, young and old, living "on top of each other in nearly identical two- and three-storey tenement flats where everyone knows everyone else's business."<sup>(x)</sup> He then describes how, after 1939 and as the war's demands mounted, mainly younger adults – men and women of prime military age – mobilized Verdun into an urban space that provided better conditions for many as the war dragged on. The war's positive effects are, however, balanced with due consideration for its costs. Durflinger assesses the disruptions and dislocations families experienced at home as they faced the losses overseas.

Durflinger could have been more specific in responding to Ruth Roach Pierson's critical work on the gendered patterns of these responses evoked in the public sphere, though he does highlight shifting ethnic and class boundaries throughout his chapters. His descriptions are often graphic. Evocative, for instance, are his portraits of working-class life in a city of so few services or amenities. High urban density was characteristic of Verdun, from working families to the unemployed and elderly, next to mighty Montreal. Unfortunately, Verdun remained a city with no railway link, buses, hotels, industry, or licensed establishments. Durflinger is prone to refer to the tenement housing and socio-economically confined Verdun of the 1940s as a 'community,' though the theoretical implications of this key concept are not rigorously explored. French, English, and other ethnic minorities lived cheek by jowl, with an aqueduct on one side, the St. Lawrence on the other, and the Lachine canal not far by. His task, as he puts it, was to "overlay" on this city "the greatest

military conflict the world has ever seen and observe what kind of responses and intracommunity dynamics develop. This is what this book is about."<sup>(x)</sup>

Of workable lengths, Durflinger's eight chapters explore how different groups within the social hierarchies of class and ethnicity responded to military demands and economic change. He begins with the consensus-based narrative of "forging a community," sketching Verdun's early history, its geography, its 'proud' record in WWI, its spurts of population growth driven by changing economies, and its 'pulling together' in the grinding poverty throughout the 1930s. Later, he sets his chapter themes within the broad pattern of economic oppression giving way to wartime recruitment and industrial wage employment. From political sociologist Leo Zakuta, who wrote just three years after the war, Durflinger crafts a class-based sense of solidarity and living environment. He writes about waterways, low rental housing, and the constant search for work drawing people together, at least in terms of a common experience. Zakuta called Verdun "one of the strongest" areas where everyday life patterns and space defined community identity, or "local self-consciousness."<sup>(19)</sup> Of course, for a city this size, we might consider other evidence on such themes as ethnic division, class oppression, or of gendered relationships of masculine power or feminine resistance to it. This book does not. Such topics do not fit Durflinger's narrative purpose.

Instead we get a detailed analysis of why so many men and women enlisted (Verdun's total came to approximately 7,000); how city hall provided home front support; how both war industry workers and civilian volunteers played their parts. We learn how the city's mayor, Lancashire-born Edward Wilson, led a municipal government that stood solidly behind the war effort, endorsed by both



French and English voters and property holders. More than most communities, Verdun's patterns of participation in war service efforts by citizen volunteers, as compared to paid labour employment by wage-earning men and women, did not neatly break down along class lines. Large numbers of citizens across the social classes worked for pay and volunteered as civilians on the home front.

Durflinger pursues carefully Verdun's answer to the question rooted in Québec's and Canada's fundamental conundrum of uneven English and French participation in a war involving Britain – how many joined up from these groups and why? Durflinger's "by service and language" chart for men and women shows 5,126 English against 1,190 French. The estimated total for the city as a whole, a tenth of all city residents across all ethnic groups, was even higher.

And 'against' is really the wrong word. Durflinger examines carefully the implications of francophone enlistees having to choose among Québec regiments, over half of which were, by language and by identity traditions, 'English.' Verdun also provided a high proportion of bilinguals. English 'with' French, as he underscores, is more accurate. Through useful case illustrations he also describes the local experience of 'disincentives' for French speakers, concluding that war service decisions were "not only about language."<sup>(34)</sup> Nonetheless and overall, for Verdun, this was a 'good' war with respect to recruitment and national unity. As with the First World War, however, local responses to enemy aliens (Germans and Italians) proved divisive. Verdun's enemy alien proportion, however, was not high. According to the 1941 Dominion census, only 376 Germans and 295 Italians were resident in the city's ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.

Unifying factors across Verdun are given much more attention. From Mayor

Wilson's 'Cigarette Fund For Verdun Soldiers Overseas' to city hall's effort to mobilize civilian support for the *HMCS Dunver*, a Royal Canadian Navy ship named after Verdun, Durflinger often conflates 'community' with overt displays of civic pride. Salvage drives, Victory Savings and Loans campaigns, and civilian home defence activities are described through newspaper sources that tend to subsume signs of ethnic difference in describing local events through a booster's sense of local pride. Durflinger does consider different social identities, but not as potential fissures that split Verdunites, fundamentally, over the conscription crisis or other potential sources of local conflict. Women's volunteer service, for instance, forms just part of the war effort consensus Durflinger focuses on. In one case, he illustrates this through several verses from a patriotic poem written by a Private Linstead, a year into the war. As a member of the Women's Volunteer Reserve Corps she cast herself as one of "just a bunch of women/Not expecting praise/But raising dollars where we can/to shorten Hitler's Days." (101)

Does Durflinger cross the line toward an overly sentimental account of Verdunites during the war? I don't think so. His consensus-based assessments of how the Canadian Legion, the YMCA, and Verdun's churches and schools got behind Canada's war are balanced with hard looks at family life disruption, crime, and juvenile delinquency. Durflinger's coverage of the June 1944 Verdun 'zuit-suit' riot, for example, I found fascinating, and nuanced. Tapping into newspaper accounts, he describes how in one incident the youth fad of 'garish' dress and oppositional street culture, present in other parts of Canada, the United States, and even Britain at this time, took a truculent turn. At the Verdun Dance Palace, a waterfront hall next to Woodland Park, at least 100 soldiers, most not much older

than the zuit-suiters, clashed with about 60 civilian youths, "not all of whom were zooters," Durflinger adds. "Dozens of naval shore patrolmen, army provosts, and Verdun police arrived to break up the melee, watched by large numbers of Verdunites. The brawl lasted for more than an hour and was over by 11 p.m." (161)

As a teenager myself, years later, I remember my father referring to my dress as akin to a 'zoot-suiter.' 'A what?' I wondered then. Durflinger's lively and well crafted account on Verdun's place in Canada's war is a revealing and well-researched study of how an important working-class community came together to provide its youth, its energies, and its organizational capacity to support the war effort overseas and at home. Readers will find significant and powerful signs of how this particular Québec and Canadian city took part in a bloody but necessary war. Verdun is a telling site of both memory and lived experience. It offers the story of a place, time, and set of local people's reactions to a horrific era like no other. Durflinger tells their story, clearly inspired by much of it; clearly aware of its harder edges. Years after I left my own hometown, I met a woman who became my marriage partner. Her mother, too, grew up in Verdun during the war. Durflinger helps describe how.

ROBERT RUTHERDALE

Algoma University College

**José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–1971*** (Vancouver: UBC Press 2006)

THIS BOOK IS ordered by an elegant analytic simplicity. Igartua addresses what is too often skirted in Canadian historiography. For all the discussion of representations of nationhood that now animates historians, few have actually bothered to

consider how quickly Canadian identity shifted in the middle of the last century. English Canada (which, after all, was most emphatically the dominant voice within the 'two nations' paradigm), over the course of the two-and-a-half decades following World War II, became something other than what it had once been. The assumption of Britishness pervaded the idea of Canada until the 1950s, and so routine was this association of nationhood with ethnicity and Empire that few questioned it, even as it was being assailed by various forces and developments. Igartua shows how settled was this sense of a hybrid British-Canadian identity at mid-century through scrutiny of debates associated with a new Citizenship Bill, responses to suggestions that the name of the national holiday be changed from Dominion Day to Canada Day, proposals to develop a new Canadian flag, in which national symbols such as the maple leaf might be integrated with the Union Jack, and representations of Canada in public school textbooks. By 1970, however, an ethnic national identity had been supplanted by a multicultural understanding of Canada premised, not on Britishness, but on civic citizenships of equality.

However much this Trudeauesque multiculturalism and its shedding of 'racialized' notions of nationhood might well mythologize Canadianness as, indeed, had the prior attachment to Britishness, there is no denying that something fundamental changed in terms of English Canada's self-conception as the 1960s came to an end. Igartua charts this development by looking at a series of bricks in the road to a Canada able to proclaim itself a "community of communities." (14) Among the milestones in the making of a rights-based Canadian citizenship would be post-war debates over Japanese internments, immigration policy, and espionage (the Gouzenko affair); Cold War imbroglios; the waning of Victoria Day and

the increasing openness to new symbols of Canadian nationality, culminating in Lester B. Pearson's final resolution of the flag issue in 1964; growing ambiguities in English Canada's response to and reception of the British monarchy; and the longstanding 1960s Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the final adoption of new federal policies in these areas in 1971. On all of these developments and many more, Igartua is insightful and informative.

Not without reason, Igartua regards the changing nature of English-Canadian identity in these years as the equivalent of Québec's Quiet Revolution. Just as French Canada shifted its understanding of Québec's historic identity rapidly in the years reaching from the Asbestos Strike of 1949 through the rise of Jean Lesage's Liberals in the 1960s, resulting in the implementation of a program of economic nationalism and rapid modernization, displacing the strangleholds of tradition and the Catholic Church, English Canada, too, underwent a significant "de-ethnicization." But there was a difference that Igartua really does not wrestle with: Québec's Quiet Revolution unleashed the hounds of a not-so-quiet revolutionary nationalist aspiration in ways that were not paralleled in English Canada, which perhaps suggests differences in national identity that are skirted in this book.

There is little to quarrel with in the general argument of *The Other Quiet Revolution*. At particular points, however, questions might well be raised. As examples only, I raise three.

First, Igartua's sense that English-Canadian identity has settled easily into the space he labels civic equality might well beg the question. Is this really an identity that English Canadians share and gravitate to in the same ways as earlier generations cultivated understandings of Canada as a northern nation, its

hopes and aspirations springing eternal from the deep well of British values and Empire's advances? Or, rather, might we not see so many fissures in the multicultural edifice, and so much that is contested and problematic, that we might suggest that English Canadian remains a national identity still very much in search of itself? In this sense the loss of English Canada's Britishness is undeniable, but it might be argued that an alternative identity has yet to be realized. Much of Canada's post-1970 history, in which regional balkanization and competing, even conflicting, identities, loom large, could well suggest that the ongoing 'crisis of Canada' lies precisely in the failure of a national identity to congeal in the aftermath of the 1960s.

Second, in focusing on specific events and political debates, most of which generated considerable editorial comment in English-Canadian newspapers and in Parliament (the sources on which this book relies), Igartua has chosen a particular path of argument. It takes him in specific directions, and along the way much is revealed. Other paths would, however, have illuminated the subject in different ways, and it is surprising that so little is made of the peculiarities of the 1960s and the importance of youthful rebellion in burying an antiquated past. English-Canadian identity was destined to look very different after New Left campus revolts, wildcat strikes, and second-wave feminist manifestoes, not to mention readings of *White Niggers of America* and contending with the War Measures Act.

Third, Igartua relies on recent social scientific writing on nations and nationalism, especially the work of Anthony D. Smith, to claim that nations are a much older phenomenon than nationalism. Smith seems an appropriate commentator because Igartua borrows his language of ethnic and civic nationalism, and Canada is such a young nation and a truly

Canadian nationalism such a late arrival, that it all seems to fit well with Igartua's concerns. Yet there is a considerable body of challenging writing that flies in the face of Smith's conceptualization, including important books on nations and nationalism by Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Geller, both of whom problematize and historicize nations and nationalism in useful ways. That critical insight, it seems to me, might well be related to the questions raised above, for had Igartua grappled seriously with the arguments of Hobsbawm and Geller he could well have been less settled in his view that a post-1970 English-Canadian national identity has indeed established itself, or that the editorial pages of newspapers and parliamentary debates provide the most appropriate entre into national identity formation.

This latter query is really something of a theoretical aside. The measure of any book is the questions it makes us ask. Igartua's pages give rise to many more than can be posed in a short review. It is a measure of his achievement that he makes us see the obvious, when it has, for so long, been anything but clear, and then allows us to rethink what he has made of it all. Authors cannot be expected to do much more than this.

BRYAN D. PALMER  
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**Aritha van Herk, *Mavericks: An Incorrigible History of Alberta*** (Toronto: Penguin Canada 2001)

IN THE INTRODUCTION to the book, van Herk issues a disclaimer. As a professor of Canadian literature and creative writing in the Department of English at the University of Calgary, van Herk readily admits she has "no historical training" (xi) and as a result she cannot provide a historical perspective to the history of

Alberta. Instead, she proudly announces that her goal is to tell the story of the province from her "idiosyncratic and biased point of view." (xi) And tell it she does: but does she tell it well is a matter of opinion.

Much like students writing essays in first year university history courses, van Herk tires to entice the reader with the addition of two words, mavericks and incorrigible, into a rather catchy title *Mavericks: An Incorrigible History of Alberta*. According to van Herk, Albertans are mavericks because they step outside the box as it were, refuse to do what they are told, are risk takers, display loud laughter when they fall flat on their faces, and then get up to proceed undaunted. But surely there are mavericks everywhere in Canada's past from Nova Scotia to Manitoba to British Columbia. Being a maverick is not limited to an Albertan! And the selection of the word incorrigible is rather curious since its context is left to the reader's imagination. Could it then mean that the history of Alberta is depraved, delinquent, and/or uncontrollable? Perhaps the lack of definition is warranted since incorrigible can now mean different things to different readers.

The book itself is divided into 14 chapters, more specifically vignettes, that can be read independently from each other. This format allows the reader the freedom to pick and chose a chapter by topic and/or area of interest. Chapter headings range from the traditional "First Peoples" and "Settlers" to the rather creative "Aggravating, Awful, Rawkward, Awesome Alberta" to the downright bizarre "Bread and Circuses, Culture and Bigotry." But by far the most odd chapter is the last one, titled "Buffalo and Beaver, Bluster and Blood." Arranged in alphabetical order like entries in an encyclopedia, Chapter 14 reads like an afterthought of 'and now for a word about' people

(Eric Harvie), places (Lac Ste. Anne) and things (gophers and rats). Although there is no concluding chapter to reinforce the mavericks theme laid out in the introduction, this should be no surprise. Van Herk asserts that "history is a plot" (382) and thus Alberta's history is a work in progress with no end in sight.

While *Mavericks* is not academic history, one wonders if it is even good popular history. Surely a certain level of research, methodology, analysis, and referencing is to be expected. After 25 years of grading history papers, I found myself constantly frustrated with van Herk's lack of even basic referencing to source material used in the book. And the inclusion of a selected bibliography just does not cut it. Neither does the name dropping of J. G. MacGregor, Grant MacEwan, and Hugh Dempsey with the comment that they are fine historians. So what! Even first year students know when you are using direct quotations from newspapers, it is simply not enough to put down the year. The day, the month and the year must be given in order to put the statement into context much like name, rank, and serial number in the military. For example, on page 345 in four separate instances only the year of the newspaper article was given. This is not acceptable. The same comment can also be made with regards to captions for the pictures in the book. Why have a picture of the Hop Wo Laundry being moved and say it took place in the 1920s? (346) The most obvious question is: did the move take ten years? And on page 190, two males appear to be doing chores outside a building and the caption reads, "Bachelors enjoying domestic chores." How on earth can we know that with any level of certainty? More detail is needed on such matters and once over lightly will not do as then it becomes difficult for the reader to get a sense of time and place.

Admittedly there is much to be said about writing history without being

trained in the discipline. It allows the individual to make broad sweeping generalizations without concern and in the words of Captain Kirk in the original Star Trek series, to 'boldly go where no man has gone before.' For example, in Chapter 13, "Ladies, Women and Broads," van Herk confidently asserts that Canada's early feminists came from Alberta. Emily Stowe must be rolling over in her grave! Even a cursory glance of works in Canadian women's history would indicate that such is not the case. And how can one comment about the exploitation of the West, the building of the railway, and prairie settlement in Chapter 8, "Settlers," without having a basic understanding of John A. Macdonald's National Policy of the 1870s?

This is not to say that *Mavericks* is a bad book or bad history. In fact, at times, it is quite entertaining, informative (in an odd way), fun, and even humorous. Ralph Klein is characterized as "a likeable Dumbo-faced maverick" (227) while R. B. Bennett "was another carpetbagging Easterner." (238) And the picture of the Northwest Mounted Police on page 156 with the caption "NWMP, ready to ride, not always sure where they were" is sure to bring a smile to the face of even the most serious reader of the book. Van Herk proves that history need not be dull and boring despite the perception of works produced by academically trained historians.

Writing in a more conversational style, van Herk provides the reader with her personal history, anecdotes, and observations at the beginning of each chapter. In addition, her use of contractions, the first person narrative, and ordinary vocabulary highlights the story of Alberta's history in this work that received the 2002 Grant MacEwan Author's Award. It is an easy read once you leave your PhD at the door. Her discussion of the Calgary-Edmonton rivalry in Chapter 11, "Urban

Rivals: Cities of the Plain" is worthy of any game seven in the Battle of Alberta between the Flames and the Oilers.

As a home-grown Albertan, van Herk has attempted to answer two questions: what is an Albertan, and why are Albertans the way they are? She suggests that western grumbling is part of the Alberta psyche and Albertans quite like it. The 1885 Riel Rebellion serves as an example of the West pursuing its autonomy. As true mavericks, Albertans have and will continue to display "a collective resistance to being caught, owned, herded, taxed, or identified." (394) But when all is said and done, van Herk says in order to truly understand Alberta one must live there. On a personal note, I have lived in Alberta since 1969 and I still do not get it. But I was born and brought up in Ontario. Need I say more?

Overall *Mavericks* is a welcome addition to Canadian history in general and Alberta history in particular. Is it academic history? No, of course not and it was not intended to be. Is it popular history? Well that is a matter of opinion. But let's face it, any time a book on the history of Alberta becomes a national best seller, gets people talking about and excited about history in this country and province is great! There is nothing wrong with popular history just as there is nothing wrong with academic history. The key is to blend the two forms. If van Herk ventures into the world of history again it is hoped that she will incorporate the best of the popular and academic history to become comfortable in both worlds.

TERRY L. CHAPMAN

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**Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press 2006)**

*HAUNTED BY EMPIRE* consists of 16 essays (and "Refractions" on these essays by Linda Gordon, Catherine Hall, and Nancy Cott) that take as their starting point and respond to anthropologist and historian Ann Laura Stoler's call to extend contemporary colonial studies to the history of the United States. Her essay advocating a comparative approach to European and US colonialism, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," is included in the collection. Stoler's comparative approach, using a broad definition of colonialism, challenges US exceptionalism and puts in question the deeply rooted notion among many Americans that the United States is not now, nor ever has been, an imperial power. As Nancy Cott explains, the idea "goes against the grain."

This may seem a curious stance to many Canadian readers, marked as we are by our historic relationship to, and geographic position between, two empires: 19th-century Britain and the United States in the 20th and 21st centuries. Despite the many critiques of the notion of American innocence in the long history of western colonialism, outlined in part by Linda Gordon in her "Afterword," the persistence of this idea is graphically illustrated here.

The authors acknowledge the imperial model but avoid engaging "empire" directly. Instead, they take up other aspects of Stoler's rich and insightful exploration of colonialism. Stoler's emphasis on "intimacies" (sites where populations are produced and reproduced) as a "transfer point of Colonial relations" is given particular attention. Not surprisingly, "intimacies" here are interpreted primarily through



the lens of race and its various and shifting internal and external meanings and interpretations. Comparing us and other imperial approaches to calibrating degrees of "colour" as a widely used colonial technology for differentiating "insiders" and "outsiders," "colonizer" and "colonized," "included" and "excluded," "citizen" and "non-citizen," "subject" and "non-subject" will be especially interesting to students of Canadian history.

Taking management systems as their interrogatory site, a number of essays explore the role of colonial bureaucracies and managers in enumerating, classifying, segregating, and assimilating various populations. The suggestion here is that these widely used approaches constitute a "family" of colonial techniques. Warwick Anderson, "States of Hygiene: Race 'Improvement' and Biomedical Citizenship in Australia and the Colonial Philippines," for example, finds similar logic and "political rationality" in approaches to "contaminated" Philippine lepers and "savage" mixed-race children in Australia. Anderson and others show the extent to which anxieties over miscegenation and "race suicide" underpinned the development of elaborate taxonomies of race and various attempts to fix social hierarchies based on an assumption of white supremacy which underpinned nation-building as well as imperialism.

This is graphically illustrated by Martha Hodes, "Fractions and Fictions in the United States Census of 1890." Hodes reminds us that the 1890 census was the first and only time people of African descent were divided into four categories: "black," "mullato," "quadroon," and "octroon." Using a real inter-racial family living in the Grand Cayman Islands at the time, she imagines them in the US in 1890 as a means of exploring the contradictions and fictions in this state-sponsored effort to enforce a definition of "whiteness" based on the "one drop" rule. Yet,

by drawing attention to varying degrees of colour, the census confirmed the existence of sex across race boundaries, the most obvious example of the failure of the strict segregation that mechanisms such as the census were intended to produce. Lisa Lowe shows that concerns about inter-racial sex were not limited to the US. In "The Intimacies of Four Continents," she examines the ways in which raced and "unfree bodies" were implicated in the rise of modernity, contradicting one of its central pillars: universal freedom.

Other authors explore questions of intimacies in the most personal of settings, the home, asking how public manifestations of race and class tensions were negotiated in domestic settings. As Katheen Brown, "Body Work in the Antebellum United States," argues in her examination of the relationship between wealthy employers and their black domestic servants in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts, the politics of producing bodies and homes reflected those of producing empires.

Given the overall focus on intimate relationships that certainly include, although are not limited to, marriage, family, domesticity, and sexuality it is surprising, even disappointing, that gender is little noticed by these authors. This is made all the more puzzling by the fact that the title of the collection plays off of Sylvia Van Kirk's early work on fur trade marriages, *Many Tender Ties*. As Gordon points out, this silence or absence reflects a more general weakness in colonial/post-colonial studies in which gender "hides itself so easily, standing so often behind racial and national and class conflicts, allowing those more assertive squabblers the spotlight." (450)

The comparative approach taken by all of the authors is suggestive of new pathways toward a deeper and more nuanced understanding of colonization. But, as

Emily Rosenberg, "Ordering Others: U.S. Financial Advisers in the Early Twentieth Century," rightly points out, there are problems with applying imperialism and colonialism with too broad a brush. She asks, for example, how we untangle different meanings of "imperialism," "internationalism," and "modernization." Following Stoler's lead, the essays here suggest that by uncovering the cross-currents of each of these we can better understand their enmeshments. Stoler recognizes the problems of comparing colonialisms across time and place, but, by rethinking what constitutes the colonial to include "concomitant 'constellations' of practices and convergent effects" as a basis for "reenvisioning ... circuits of knowledge production," (10) she promises a way forward that decentres the nation-state in order to render colonized "bodies" more visible.

As these essays show, this can be a challenging task. Since the state and state management of the colonial Other lies at the heart of the imperial project there is nothing new in the study of colonial systems and taxonomies. Attempts to reveal what these can tell us about the people charged with enforcing them as well as their subjects often privileges imperial power over colonized voices. Rather than bringing the bodily intimacies of empire into sharper focus, as Warwick Anderson points out, an emphasis on knowledge production can have the opposite effect, producing a "distancing, imperial optic." (112) A clearer picture of the often convoluted and contradictory attempts to "fix" colonial bodies emerges but those bodies themselves are frequently obscured or invisible.

I found many of the essays in this collection interesting, imaginative, and even provocative. But, overall, the authors' tentative approach to empire fails to adequately address Stoler's central challenge to us historians. Still, this is an important

contribution to colonial studies. Many of the essays clearly resonate with questions being asked by Canadian historians about the ways in which our past intersects with and reproduces colonialisms. *Haunted by Empire* will be of interest to students and scholars alike. The book's extensive bibliography makes it a particularly useful resource.

CATHERINE CAVANAUGH  
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**James Green, *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing That Divided Gilded Age America* (New York: Pantheon Books 2006)**

THE HUMAN SCALE of James Green's well-constructed and solid narrative transforms this dramatic confrontation into a vivid tableau of the social tensions and aspirations of the Gilded Age. The title centres on the death in Haymarket Square in Chicago, and also those associated with the events that took place there. On May 4, 1886, a bomb exploded in the ranks of the Chicago Police Department then engaged in trying to dissolve an anarchist-led rally for a nation-wide wave of strikes to establish the eight-hour workday. The damage of the bomb to the police was what mattered officially, as did the execution of anarchist labour leaders for conspiracy to bring about an atmosphere of violence leading to the death of police officers. The extent of death beyond becomes less tangible. The bombing and subsequent gunfire in the square certainly killed or mortally wounded an indeterminate number of demonstrators and bystanders and left many more injured, but the evidence grows weaker as we move away from the official sources. There were also four deaths that led to the calling of the rally, but these, too, seem to be difficult to prove.

In short, the case illustrates how the very sources on which the historian depends necessarily reflect the social and institutional priorities of the society that generated them. Much of Green's book traces the emergence and escalation of what created those priorities, the social tensions in Chicago that emerged from the unifying experience of the Civil War to the polarizing realities of 1886. Most immediately, the mass responses to the official suppression of the general strike movement of 1877 – particularly brutal in Chicago – inspired a political insurgency around labour and socialist candidates. This coincided with the emergence of similar mass movements across the country and in other industrial nations, but the efforts of the city fathers in Chicago to dismantle the movement suppressed the possibility of a less violent resolution of the issues at stake. In Chicago, the Socialistic Labor Party drew off enough immigrant voters to tilt the balance of power to the Democrats.

Green details how the city fathers sought to demobilize the insurgency. Patronage courted leaders of the discontented, while vote fraud minimized the chances for electoral success, along with the outright refusal of the government to accept socialist victories. All this capped the successive use of federal troops, the state militia, and an expanded and armed city police force against the working class and immigrant residents of the city. Understandably, many of the most active radicals and labour militants began to despair of any peaceful solution to the innately hierarchic and undemocratic system.

Moreover, these developments coincided internationally with the response of the German government to the rise of a mass socialist party by simply banning it. This inspired the rise of a new kind of anarchism that rejected hopes for electoral change in favor of "propaganda by

the deed." The synchrony of these experiences brought many of the more radical proponents of electoral action to what scholars would later label "anarcho-communism." Green rightly avoids drawing the reader into ideological conflicts that seemed important at the time but can now leave the reader stranded in a dark labyrinth.

One conflict involved the Greenback-Labor Party which built a united third party campaign in 1880 that included the SLP with results that provided another reason for the radicals to abandon electoral politics. After the GLP raised issues like black disenfranchisement, the Democratic press published an "exposé" allegedly proving the third party to have been mere pawns of the Republicans, using this as justification for ending all coverage of the insurgent campaign. (The disturbed Dyer D. Lum penned this pro-Democratic "exposé," subsequently meandering through the socialists to the anarchists before taking his own life.)

The centerpiece of Green's book is the national push to impose an eight-hour limit on the workday as of May 1, 1886. This offered a common focus to a fragmented movement. It brought together anarchists, socialists, the new American Federation of Labor, the declining Knights of Labor, and various other bodies to focus on a goal for which organized workers had been agitating since the close of the Civil War. That first May Day mobilized three or four times as many workers nationally as the 1877 strike wave, and the movement closed hundreds of factories and workplaces across Chicago. When strike leaders heard on May 3 that the police had killed four workers locked out at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company, they called for a protest rally the next day on Desplaines Street, near where Randolph Street emerged from downtown and widened into Haymarket Square.

In the wake of the bomb, an extensive official repression also aimed at breaking the eight-hour movement and the unity it briefly inspired. The police swept up hundreds for questioning but focused on removing eight anarchist labour leaders, convicting all of them, and hanging four on November 11, 1887. Although sections of the movement initially backed away from the charged men, what became an extensive defence campaign blossomed into an amnesty movement that, among other things, inspired the new Socialist International to declare May Day an international labour day. In contrast, the city created an official view (which almost nobody ever believed) that the police essentially turned back an imminent revolution at the "Haymarket Riot."

Although Henry David, Bruce Nelson, Paul Avrich and others have told this tale of an uphill fight against the forces of power and authority, Green does this in a particularly engaging and expert fashion. With other scholars, he shares the contemporary liberal assessment that the authorities had behaved miserably, inflicting "judicial murder" on labour leaders, inaugurating a wave of repression that further fragmented the labour movement and postponed the serious drive towards industrial unionism for decades. Green's narrative required no more than a simple recitation of theories as to what brought death to the Haymarket, though Avrich had no real doubts but that one or another of these understandably frustrated workingmen actually made and threw the bomb.

Green's epilogue describes the aftermath of Haymarket and its impact on the labour and radical movements in the familiar terms of defeat and demise, starting with the repression of labour and radicalism in Chicago. The authorities and the press would fan its flare into a full-blown panic that reached far beyond Chicago. Police officials (with assistance by

the Pinkerton detectives) began regularly finding explosives in the hands of strikers and radicals, although, when closely examined, there is often little of what we would today call a chain of evidence. Interestingly, Avrich took issue with this view of defeat in the wake of Haymarket and discussed the mass labour parties of 1886–87 and the revived radicalism of the 1890s as an extension of what he saw as the gains of the Haymarket episode.

Green's assumptions are more traditional than those of Avrich, but he aims for a much broader readership and covers this terrain without cultivating the almost unavoidable nostalgia for radical movements lost. It is recommended as a sound introduction to the labour issues of the period and a demonstration of why Haymarket is a subject worth frequently revisiting.

MARK A. LAUSE

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**John Barnard, *American Vanguard: The United Auto Workers During the Reuther Years* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press 2004)**

FROM THE OUTSET of this book, John Barnard leaves no doubt about his sympathy and support for the United Auto Workers, and particularly longtime President Walter Reuther and his allies. He acknowledges the encouragement and financial grants he received from a number of UAW leaders, although he also makes clear that this "is not in any sense an 'authorized' or 'official' history." (xiii)

The greatest strength of Barnard's study is his massive research base. He makes extensive use of union archives and conducted interviews with a wide array of UAW leaders. Barnard also makes good use of the secondary literature on the UAW, particularly Nelson Lichtenstein's magnificent biography of Reuther, *The Most*

*Dangerous Man in Detroit.* Barnard is certainly aware that much of the scholarship on Reuther and the UAW is far from favourable, but he rarely engages these critics, or interpretive debates of any kind.

Rather, Barnard devotes himself to building a narrative that emphasizes the achievements and contributions of the union. To be sure, Barnard pays much attention to the many controversial aspects of the union's history, including the internal divisions, political machinations, and the numerous unfulfilled goals. But in Barnard's account, the accomplishments of Reuther and company greatly outweigh the failures.

Barnard provides no shortage of evidence to support his perspective. He is especially effective in bringing home the extent of the struggle required to establish the union in the major automakers' plants. For instance, he emphasizes how precarious the union remained, and how much work was still left to be done, after the initial breakthroughs of the 1937 sit-down strikes. He outlines how internal discord and employer resistance nearly drove the UAW out of GM plants, and only Reuther's decision to mount a risky strike for recognition by the tool and die makers allowed the union to regain its organizing momentum. (141–6)

The dedication of Reuther and his comrades in building the union is one of many parts of the book that is enriched by some compelling pictures. Barnard includes well-known photographs just before and after the 1937 "Battle of the Overpass" in which Reuther, future UAW vice-president Richard Frankensteen, and other organizers were brutally beaten by a group of Ford "servicemen." (107–8) Altogether, the book features more than 75 images, mostly from the Reuther library, including photographs of pickets, sit-downers, demonstrations, parades, conventions, and of course key union leaders.

Barnard also provides a thorough

account of the battles among different factions within the union. His enthusiasm for the union is an especially valuable asset in this regard, as he shows how these were not merely petty squabbles but rather high stakes struggles for control of a powerful organization. Barnard also shows a keen eye for incidents that bring his story to life. For instance, Barnard provides an engaging description of the tactics that Homer Martin, the UAW's unsteady and often autocratic first president, employed to keep control of the 1937 convention. Barnard writes that "Martin kept a small metal box on the podium, an 'applausograph,' that he claimed could record the volume of voice votes with scientific accuracy." (122) Sure enough, "with the president announcing the results, the close votes went in favor" of his side. (122)

Not surprisingly, Barnard seems most assured in his analysis of the prosperous years that followed World War II, when Reuther won and then consolidated power and the UAW made its greatest gains on wages and benefits at the bargaining table. Barnard traces in impressive detail the union's advances, which allowed the weekly wages (inflation-adjusted) of the average auto worker to triple from \$56.61 in 1946 to \$170.07 in 1960. (260)

Regarding political matters, Barnard portrays Reuther as a principled leader and a shrewd tactician. While acknowledging many unfulfilled goals and a few key errors in judgment, Barnard describes Reuther as a tenacious and creative force leading labour's efforts to influence the broader political landscape. He also generally stands behind Reuther's (mostly successful) tactics in defeating rival factions in the UAW, including in cases that have been flashpoints for critics. The best example is Barnard's treatment of the "crackdown" on leaders of Local 600, based in Ford's massive set of plants at Rouge River. He concedes that the decision to put the local

in the hands of an administrator “smacked of revenge,” and that some key opponents of Reuther were lumped together with communists and driven out of positions of influence. (245–6)

But Barnard insists that there is more to the story than Reuther taking “political advantage” of “the ‘Red Scare’ hysteria of the times. He argues that Reutherites were also motivated by, among other things, a “principled objection to Communism,” and a deep conviction that the “democratic left, of which they were a part” had to prevail over the “totalitarian left” in the “struggle to shape humanity’s future.” (246)

This is one of a number of cases for which Barnard needed to do more than give his account of events and address in detail some key historiographic issues about the UAW. As it is, some of his statements about controversial events – such as his claim that Reuther was “both an anti-communist and an opponent of extremist anti-communism” (247) – cry out for further explanation and justification.

Social historians will find a number of underdeveloped themes in Barnard’s study particularly noticeable. After an early chapter on the auto industry before the union, Barnard tends to neglect the lives and experiences of autoworkers, and particularly the social factors such as race and gender that helped to shape them. The importance of women and gender issues in the union, let alone in the broader community, especially needed further examination. For instance, the contribution of women to the sit-down strikes, which has been well explored elsewhere, is given only a few paragraphs. While Barnard does devote considerable attention to race relations, especially in the 1960s, his analysis would have profited from drawing on insights from recent scholarship on racism and racial identities.

Barnard’s approach to other themes,

especially shop-floor militancy, shifts depending on the circumstances. In discussing the strikes that helped establish the union, he credits average workers “on the shop floor” for creating “the initial commitment to union action.” He contends that while organizers and future leaders could give some assistance, “nothing happened unless workers themselves stepped forward, asserted their rights, and drew up an agenda.” (95) But his view changes after the union becomes increasingly secure and a stable collective bargaining system is in place. Indeed, Barnard almost takes it for granted that Reuther and other top UAW leaders were justified in viewing shop-floor-initiated actions as destructive and disruptive.

There is also a conspicuous regional bias. One can hardly quibble with a study of the auto industry focusing on the mid-west region, especially the state of Michigan and the city of Detroit. But the book would have been enriched by giving more consideration to industrial growth and union activity in other areas, particularly Canada (since the UAW was an international union in the period covered by the study) and the American South.

On the whole, however, Barnard’s work succeeds in its most basic goal of making readers appreciate the achievements of Reuther and other leaders who built and led the UAW through its greatest years. For scholars in Canada, where the field of institutional labour history remains underdeveloped, Barnard has provided another valuable service. He also shows just how much the field has to offer when served by a dedicated historian.

DAVID GOUTOR

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**Clayton Sinyai, *Schools of Democracy: A Political History of the American Labor Movement*** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2006)

CLAYTON SINYAI'S *Schools of Democracy* provides a unique discussion of the American labour movement's political history from the late 1800s through to the 1968 presidential election, with a brief postscript which surveys contemporary labour politics in the United States.

Sinyai outlines the broad contours of American labour history using liberal democratic political theory as his narrative. Specifically, Sinyai argues that the American labour movement's conception of democracy and republicanism was inspired by the political thought of Jefferson, de Tocqueville, and Lincoln. Sinyai contends that unions sought to transform their organizations into "schools of democracy" in an effort to infuse the US working class with the strong civic virtues deemed necessary in a democracy by Aristotle and his philosophical successors in the United States.

Theoretically, Sinyai attempts to stake out a middle ground between "socialist radicals" and "supply-side Republicans." This theoretical middle ground uses Jeffersonian conceptions of democracy and republicanism as the lens through which to study the labour movement's political trajectory. However, this approach, in a field dominated by social democrats and Marxists, falters based on the lack of empirical evidence Sinyai provides in support of his argument.

The American democratic tradition, according to Sinyai, informed the labour movement's conception of democracy as embodying individual liberty, the rule of law, and civic virtue. This contention leads Sinyai to develop some bewildering conclusions. For example, Samuel Gompers is depicted as a Jeffersonian democrat of heroic proportions, while his radical

critics are portrayed as undermining the labour movement's capacity to construct their own proper "*governments* whose jurisdictions were defined by trade rather than territory." (28) For Sinyai, Gompers' lack of concern for the material and political clout of the industrial working class is overlooked in favour of his attempt to "create labor organizations that would *themselves* cultivate and preserve civic virtues that the political economy could no longer provide." (26)

Sinyai's nostalgic analysis presupposes, incorrectly in my view, that the material and political demands of Gompers' radical critics were inconsistent with the development of civic virtue within trade unions. Admittedly, more progressive segments of the labour movement envisioned building schools of socialism, or social democracy, rather than schools of liberal democracy, but Sinyai's narrow interpretation of democracy hurts his overall analysis. For example, in Chapter 4, Sinyai sharply criticizes the industrial-based Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), for breaking with the American Federation of Labor (AFL), on the basis that the CIO ought to have respected the democratic majority in the Federation who decided against actively pursuing aggressive industrial organizing. Although Sinyai does not deny the practical importance of the CIO in extending the collective benefits of unionization to industrial workers, his primary concern is with the theoretical idea that the division of the AFL and CIO represented an end to democratic self-government within the labour movement. Again, Sinyai's limited definition of democracy, which stresses its outward appearance (democracy as a formal vote taken by delegates at union convention), and not its substance (democracy as a tool to build working-class capacities and extend the bonds of class solidarity as widely as possible), allows him to dis-

pense with radical critiques too easily. For example, in defending the AFL's decision to exclude unskilled workers from its ranks, on the basis that the Federation was guided by civic notions of self-rule, Sinyai does not fully come to grips with the practical limitations of union democracy or the fact that the overwhelming majority of workers in the United States were not represented in the AFL's decision-making process.

In addition, Sinyai fails to engage in a serious discussion of gender, and does not consider race or ethnicity in any comprehensive way until Chapter 7, wherein he offers a thorough account of organized labour's important role in educating its members around the issue of civil rights.

It is certainly noteworthy that a book about the labour movement relies more heavily on liberal democratic theory than on class analysis. In writing such a book, Sinyai is sure to ruffle ideological feathers. This, in and of itself, is not a bad thing. Sinyai's *Schools of Democracy* does provide us with a unique analysis of organized labour's political development in the United States, but it suffers from a breakdown between its theoretical approach and the insufficient empirical evidence Sinyai uses to support it. It is this conceptual flaw that critically detracts from the author's arguments.

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**Carol Lynn McKibben, *Beyond Cannery Row: Sicilian Women, Immigration, and Community in Monterey, California, 1915–99*** (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2006)

CAROL MCKIBBEN'S monograph tells the story of a specific group of Italian immigrants from three villages in the northwestern coast of Sicily who settled in Monterey, California, between 1915

and 1928. Her interest in this particular group derives from both her scholarly focus on immigration and her Sicilian background and desire "to understand what being Sicilian meant, and why it seemed so powerful." (9)

Using community studies and oral history as primary modes of investigation, McKibben's work adds to a steady stream of books on Italian immigration published in recent years, contributing particularly to the literature of Italian settlements in the west and gender analysis. Her story, however, differs from other accounts in one regard: her protagonists are neither peasants nor factory or seasonal labourers, as were the majority of Italians who settled in the United States. Instead they are fishers. They fished for their livelihood in Sicily and continued to identify themselves as fishers in California as well.

According to McKibben's research, the first Sicilian fishers came to Monterey before World War I, but the majority arrived between 1920 and 1930, when California's economy seemed to explode. The census listed 972 Italians living in Monterey in 1920. By 1940, they had grown to 3,000, constituting one-third of the total population. (17–18) Like other Italian immigrants, they came to California through migration and family networks, often landing in Monterey by way of other American cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, San Francisco, or New York.

To Sicilian fishers, Monterey was an ideal destination. It bore a striking resemblance to their native villages in climate, coastline, and landscape. But unlike Sicily where fish had become scarce by 1900, sardines and salmon were profuse in Monterey. Word had it that "the fish were so plentiful" that they "are coming into the houses." (16) Seizing the commercial opportunities that Monterey fishing offered, some Sicilians also purchased

boats and canneries, quickly gaining a foothold in the town's economy.

McKibben argues that fishing gave the Italian community in Monterey a character and culture of its own. For Sicilians, she explains, "fishing in Monterey became a 'way of life,' a part of who they were, not merely an occupation." (6) Fishing entailed great communal effort and solidarity, and Monterey Sicilians established widespread family and kin networks. They relied on each other for support and aid with childcare, food, and work; they promoted marriages between Sicilians of the same villages; and they organized feasts that strengthened cultural and social ties among themselves and to their homeland. In doing so, argues McKibben, they created a distinct, insular community, recalling and reinventing "their identity in a powerful way that fused ethnicity with fishing, and with Monterey itself." (1)

McKibben maintains that women played a leading role in building this community and ethnic identity. They made important decisions about migration and settlement; they contributed to the work of fishing and fish processing; they promoted kinship through countless visits to relatives and fellow Sicilians; and they arranged social and religious gatherings, such as the rosary groups, which helped promote and preserve Sicilian values and culture.

Indeed, as recent scholarship on gender and migration has made clear, Italian immigrant women were far from invisible, passive, or silent. A recent collection of essays edited by Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, among others, shows for example that Italian immigrant women played an important role in local labour struggles and in building and sustaining the networks of working-class solidarity and political consciousness.

The women in McKibben's book, however, are far from revolutionary or politi-

cally active. They fit indeed a much more traditional profile of Italian immigrant women: conservative, religious, anti-union, overly concerned with family and their insular community. At the same time, however, they defy traditional stereotypes of submissive, docile, and reticent southern Italian wives. McKibben shows that Monterey Sicilian women not only controlled the domestic sphere, but also made important social and economic decisions.

For example, the majority of Sicilian women in Monterey worked in the sardine canneries. "Good" Italian women were expected to stay home but Sicilian Monterey wives challenged conventional perceptions of decorum and honour, insisting that "their work was both necessary and respectable." (49) Resisting their husbands' objections to their workforce participation, they pointed out that they needed to work for the good of the family. Indeed they were proud of contributing to the finances of their households and "felt that their labor was integral to the labor of the fishermen." (36)

Monterey Sicilian women proved also to be great entrepreneurs, using their extra wages to invest in real estate and the fishing industry as a means to access middle-class status. According to McKibben, largely thanks to the initiatives of their women, by 1951 Sicilians owned "fully one-third of Monterey's homes and small businesses." (55)

As Mike Maiorana, one of McKibben's interviewees, succinctly put it, the Sicilian woman was "the brain of the family;" she "made all the decisions" and really dominated the home. (20) Female power in Monterey, however, was more a result of fishing life than women's own struggle for liberation. Fishermen went to the sea for extended periods of time leaving their women to fend for themselves. In the absence of men, women were expected to make all kind of decisions and were held

accountable for them. As a result they developed a strong sense of independence and determination, which they used to shape the economic and social affairs of their home and community.

World War II marked a turning point for the Monterey Sicilian community and Italian Americans at large. American entry into the war forced Italians in the United States to confront their ethnic identity and ultimately redefine themselves as American citizens. Labeled "enemy aliens," about 1,400 Italians were forced to move out of Monterey. (84) Even though they resented the humiliation of being identified as a national threat, Sicilians responded to evacuation orders with compliance and stoicism. They also tried to redeem their image by making public displays of their loyalty, giving generous donations to the war effort, joining the army, and, above all, struggling to acquire citizenship and blend into mainstream American culture.

A case in point of this transformation is the celebration of the *fiesta* of *Santa Rosalia*, the Sicilian patron saint of fishing. Initially meant to bring the Sicilian fishing community together and cherish native religious values and traditions, after World War II *Santa Rosalia* became a political feast. Whereas it was originally modest and exclusive, it became ostentatious and inclusive. As McKibben points out, it "began to look more like an American-style parade," celebrating Italian pride rather than Sicilian culture.

In this respect, the story of Sicilian fishers in Monterey is neither unique nor distinct, but rather echoes the experiences of other Italian immigrants. It is a "success" story of assimilation and upward mobility, but also a story of cultural and ethnic loss. Contrary to what McKibben argues, Sicilian fishers stopped seeing themselves as fisherpeople after they achieved middle-class status, just as Italian factory workers stopped being radical

when they entered white-collar and professional jobs. After all, as the book indicates, they chose not to relocate to other fishing towns after sardines disappeared in Monterey in the 1960s. What they retained was just a sense of nostalgia for their homeland, a longing for a culture uncorrupted by materialistic concerns – genuine, simple, and communitarian.

While McKibben makes a convincing case for female power, she also underestimates the role that class plays in affecting identity. Even though she acknowledges that "class differences divided Sicilians as much as ethnicity and fishing united them," (121) she fails to explore the implications of class conflict on the process of ethnicization.

The anecdotes emerging from the oral interviews are fascinating. However, the story of Monterey Sicilians could have been enriched by other sources, such as local Italian language newspapers and immigrant literature and texts, allowing for a more complex picture of immigrant and community life.

These criticisms notwithstanding, *Beyond Cannery Row* is a significant contribution to the study and understanding of the processes of migration and settlement, and a compelling reminder of the crucial role of gender in shaping them.

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**Biju Mathew, *Taxi! Cabs and Capitalism in New York City* (New York: New Press 2005)**

TAXI DRIVING IS a common form of work that receives little recognition from the public or attention from scholars. As a member of the organizing committee of the New York Taxi Worker Alliance, Mathew brings an insider's knowledge of the labour struggles he describes in *Taxi!*

For research methods, the book combines recounted interviews with taxi drivers as well as fellow labour organizers, notes from observations, and analysis of various policies that impact on taxi work. The book does a first-rate job of communicating the solidarity that binds members of the New York Taxi Worker Alliance and taxi drivers more generally. Scholars and lay persons interested in labour struggles, automobilities, globalization theory, and the sociology of work will enjoy *Taxi!*

There are few books that focus on issues of labour struggle in the taxi industry. Able to articulate complex ideas through elegant and easy-to-read prose, Mathew conveys a sense of the many exploitative layers New York City taxi drivers must maneuver through if they are to keep themselves on the road, driving to live. For instance, until recently, drivers on average earned less than \$500 but worked upwards of 72 hours in a week. This is because of the hidden costs associated with taxi driving. Drivers must lease cars from garages and brokers for \$100 a day or more. The general public, as well as City administration and related regulatory bodies, fail to understand taxi drivers only take home a small fraction of what they generate in income during a shift, the majority of the money going back to the garage owners and brokers. A few lost hours stuck in a traffic jam without a fare can have dire consequences for drivers.

The exploitative relations between drivers and brokers/owners have deeper historical roots according to Mathew. Early in the 20th century New York taxis served as a legitimate front for the mob, providing cover for liquor transportation. In 1937, Mayor La Guardia introduced the Haas Act to wrestle control of the taxi industry back from the mob. The Act required owners to have a permit if operating taxis, which came in the form of a medallion issued by the City. Yet many of the mob bosses were the ones buying medallions.

The cost of a medallion remained relatively low and was regulated by the City until the late 1960s. Since then, the worth of a medallion has increased 2,000 per cent in a 25-year period, driving up medallion lease costs for drivers.

The illusion is that taxi drivers are independent contractors, but nothing could be more counter-factual. Taxi drivers in New York City do not own the means of production (the medallion) and so the economic risks of the taxi business are shouldered solely by drivers. The driver must pay the medallion lease plus car payments and cost of maintenance. Medallion owners pocket money without taking any risk while drivers often have not even covered the lease 8 hours into their shift. This blatant exploitation exists aside another form of regulation taxi drivers are subject to: fines. A stringent code of regulations regarding the cleanliness of the taxi keeps drivers under constant duress: they can be fined for something as small as having a bubble gum wrapper in their back seat. The aftermath of September 11, 2001 also greatly affected taxi drivers. Many lost upwards of 80% of their daily income, and 3/5 of drivers amassed over \$5,000 of debt as a direct result.

The New York Taxi Worker Alliance has scored some major victories in labour struggles, however. On May 13 and 14 in 1998, for instance, 24,000 New York City Yellow Cab drivers (98% of the active work force for Yellow Cabs) struck for 24 hours. To contextualize the size of this major success (and the size of the taxi industry in New York City), in all of Canada there are a bit over 38,000 people who make a living driving taxi (plus limousine). The strike, initiated in relation to new safety rules passed down from the Taxi and Limousine Commission, was spread through organizers distributing pamphlets at taxi cab stands, the airport, red lights, and traffic jams. Further, in 2004, the New York Taxi Worker Alli-

ance successfully negotiated a reorganization of taxi fares so that more money would reach taxi driver pockets.

Mathew convincingly argues that, despite the liquidity of capital under neo-liberal economic regimes, globalization is full of restrictive borders for those who labour. Money moves, people get stuck. Many drivers in New York immigrated to the United States in the late 1970s looking for greater economic opportunity. Some moved with their families. But others did not, and they now rarely see their families because of the costs associated with travel (though many loyally still send money home). Linked to this immobility, Mathew says many drivers now live a life of serial bachelorism, eking out their existence isolated in their taxi, sometimes socializing briefly in the night with other drivers.

Mathew does well to ground the contemporary labour struggle of New York City taxi drivers in historical antecedents as well as antagonism from municipal government. *Taxi!* also opens up space to ask other questions of the taxi driving industry. For instance, what is the plight of female taxi drivers? *Taxi!* does not offer much in terms of the lives of female taxi drivers in New York, but it would be important to know how female taxi drivers' experiences at work differ from male drivers (Mathew does state that women make up less than 1% of the industry, though this number was higher in the past).

Another issue is the idea of risk. In *Taxi!* Mathew treats risk predominantly as something having to do with economics and business. While the financial hardships (e.g. licensing fees, car maintenance) associated with taxi work are risky, victimization and health problems associated with taxi work are also important forms of risk Mathew could have investigated in more detail. As regards victimization, a Department of Justice Canada study by P. Stenning in 1996 found taxi

drivers in Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Halifax are highly victimized – 20 times more than the average Canadian. “Fare-jumping,” vandalism, and assault are the more common forms of victimization. One third had been robbed. Fifteen percent reported having had a weapon used against them. Taxi drivers face a disturbingly high rate of occupational homicide – four to five times higher than police. Drivers do not often report victimization because they feel the incident is not serious enough (it is normalized in the occupation); the police will not do anything; or the time it takes to file a complaint is time off the road. A Dutch study by Anee Elzinga, also in 1996, found similar patterns in the Netherlands.

With regards to health problems, increased rates of diabetes, circulation problems, higher blood pressure and cholesterol levels are reported. These health problems are usually incurred by people in their late fifties; yet they develop in drivers in their late thirties. Such health problems stem from sitting in the cars for long hours, not leaving their seats for fear they will miss a fare from dispatch. This brings up the question of how new labour movements attempt to deal with work-related health problems in an era of quasi-contracts and benefit slashing. Risky issues related to victimization and health have as much to do with the pressures of being a cab driver in a capitalist system as economic risk. So Mathew could have explicated these problematics further.

*Taxi!* is nevertheless an important contribution to the field of labour studies, and should be widely read by diverse audiences.

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**Tom Sito, *Drawing the Line: The Untold Story of the Animation Unions from Bosko to Bart Simpson*** (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky 2006)

WRITING IN THE 1930's the Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci evoked the hyper-rationalized, atomizing character of Fordism as the singular feature of modern Americanism. Gramsci's critique was especially prescient in its highlighting of the hegemonic implications of such standardized production beyond the industrial sphere in which the Model T and Mickey Mouse ostensibly constituted two sides of the same Fordist coin. In *Drawing the Line*, Tom Sito, a 30-year veteran of the animation industry and past president of America's largest animation union, Motion Picture Screen Cartoonists (MPSC), Local 839, crafts an appealing analysis of the heretofore undocumented tensions resulting from the production process of one of America's most enduring cultural media.

For Sito, "animation is the strangest of art forms" in which the imperatives of mass production and the mass market combine with the vicissitudes of the creative mind to "produce dreams by the yard."<sup>(47)</sup> Certainly one could see such a process as evincing a Fordism of the imagination, in which the individual creative consciousness is deconstructed into standardized parts and subsumed into the rationalized 'wholeness' of production. Although invested in the production of the absurd, animators have not found themselves exempt from the workings of capitalist production and have often turned to unionism as a means to protect their livelihood.

Much of Sito's analysis of animation unions follows an explicitly linear path, beginning in the 1920's with the first attempts at unionization of the nascent industry by the IATSE (International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees)

through to the present day labour challenges faced by animators contending with the effects of new technologies such as CGI (computer graphic imaging). Relying heavily on oral sources, Sito is especially effective at outlining the dire working conditions of early animators who laboured in conditions not far removed from the pre-World War I sweatshop. While such attempts at organizing ultimately proved futile in the politically conservative climate of the Jazz Age, the coming of the Great Depression and the comparatively pro-labour policies of the New Deal such as the 1935 Wagner Act provided the impetus for a much more vigorous labour presence. For Sito, the landmark strikes at Fleischer studios in 1935, Disney in 1941, and the record twenty-eight week Terrytoons walkout of 1947, in their respective attempts to relate workplace grievances to larger issues of social justice, represented the high-water marks of animation unionism.

The seminal 1941 Disney strike was of particular importance because it witnessed the temporary eclipse of the increasingly corporatist IATSE by respectively the liberal Screen Cartoonists Guild (SCG) and radical Conference of Studio Unions (CSU). While such a trend was seemingly beneficial in winning concessions for animators in the short term, its disastrous long-term implications became clear with the passage of the corporatist 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, the 1948 *Paramount* decision (in which the Supreme Court declared the studio system to be in violation of anti-trust practices, thereby hastening the decline of the short cartoon) and the rise of McCarthyism and HUAC in the early 1950's. Like many of their contemporaries in the artistic and intellectual worlds, animators suddenly found that attempts at industrial democracy were constrained on almost all fronts by those wishing to

purge American society of even the faintest progressive taint.

Following the general trend of American labour in the 1960's and 70's, animation unions, cowed by the ascendant conservative backlash and sated with the material rewards of neo-Fordism, eschewed issues of socio-economic justice and moved closer to a moderate liberal consensus. However, such complacency exacted harsh retribution when the corrupt, pliant unions of the late 1970's and 80's proved utterly impotent in the face of rising production costs, technological change, and widespread outsourcing which were beginning to engulf the industry.

The inability or unwillingness of animation unions to confront the "runaway production" (outsourcing large parts of the final production process overseas) of the late 1970's resulted not only from the general effects of the post-war labour economy but from specific contingences of the animation industry relating to issues of worker consciousness and corporate paternalism. (253) Although sensitive to the material economic imperatives which underwrote animation unionism, Sito employs an almost Thompsonian social analysis to argue that an artistic moral economy was also at work in this process. Like most workers, animators derived a strong sense of self from their labour, yet were unique in believing that the artistic nature of their medium set them on a plane exempt from the pedestrian realm of economics.

While labour historians such as Dan Rodgers and Lisa Fine have explored the nature of 20th century corporate paternalism in decidedly industrial settings, Sito's analysis of the process in the animation industry demonstrates the unique rhetorical devices employed to justify this ideology in an artistic labour context. Whereas modern industrial paternalism focused on producing a mass

rationalized efficiency, paternalism in the animation context, while not totally dissimilar, often evinced a character akin to traditional guild craftsmanship with its attendant notions of apprenticeship and meritocracy. Studio heads and ex-animators such as Walt Disney, Don Bluth, and the team of Hanna-Barbera (pioneers of the 'runaway production' of the late 1970's) often made appeals to recalcitrant workers via the rhetoric of a common artistry, thereby weakening much of the overtly coercive character of corporate paternalism. Yet the ostensible absence of coercion along with the aforementioned autonomous 'artistic mentality' combined to prevent the development of a consistently oppositional unionism amongst animators.

*Drawing the Line* is a fine analysis of an intriguing aspect of labour history made all the more so by the author's obvious passion for the subject and its actors. Thanks to the nature of the subject matter, the reader is treated to a plethora of rare and humorous cartoons and photos which give the narrative a real human dimension. An appendix detailing the relevant, and disproportionately Canadian, *Dramatis Personae*, along with a glossary of technical industry terms is especially helpful to the animation neophyte. Moreover, like much of the now greying 'new' labour history, the book possesses a distinctly utilitarian political character, from which Sito clearly hopes current and future animators, as well as the public at large, will draw inspiration. In many ways this accessible book is a *mea culpa* on the part of the author (which stops short of the polemical), for what he describes as his initial ambivalence toward animation unionism. Written as "part history, in part a memoir and in part a personal reflection on my specialized field," (5) Sito brings a level of intimacy to his work which is rare in historical scholarship.

Yet to describe this book as a work of

academic scholarship would perhaps be misguided. While admittedly making no claims to the contrary, Sito's work is of limited use to the academic historian due to its near total lack of engagement with the larger literature of labour and cultural history. Too often the anecdotal stands in for the analytical and attempts to place events in a larger historical context prove unsuccessful. Only superficial mention is made of the larger trends in political economy and cultural politics of the last 80 years (such as the commodification of leisure) which drove the mass production of animation that made unions necessary in the first place. Nevertheless, *Drawing the Line* provides an invaluable point of entry for professional scholars who wish to further investigate the intriguing field of artistic unionism.

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**Graham Russell Gao Hodges, *Anna May Wong: From Laundryman's Daughter to Hollywood Legend*** (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005)

AS A BIOGRAPHY, Graham Russell Gao Hodges's volume came at a most opportune moment – the eve of the centennial of Anna May Wong's birthday. Hodges's is not the only work that brings Wong back to the spotlight. Two other important books published around this time are Anthony Chan's *Perpetually Cool* (Lanham, MD, 2003) and Philip Leibfried and Chei Mi Lane's *Anna May Wong: A Complete Guide to Her Film, Stage, Radio, and Television Work* (Jefferson, NC, 2004).

What characterizes Hodges's biography is his use of substantial archival materials meticulously gleaned and compiled from a wide spectrum of sources such as fanzines, posters, newspapers, newsreels, film studio files, personal interviews, cor-

respondences and memoirs, and government documents (including immigration forms, birth certificates, and death certificates). Furthermore, these sources originate from European, Asian, and Oceanic as well as North and South American countries. They combine to present a comprehensive picture of the production, exhibition, and reception of Wong's transnational work. The author also does the reader a great favour by carefully categorizing and documenting these sources in his selected bibliography.

Some of the most useful details that Hodges successfully tracks down regarding Wong's life and work include: Wong's earnings as an actress in comparison with those of her Caucasian Hollywood counterparts; reviews from Scandinavia, Cuba, Japan, and the Philippines, in addition to the more well-known Western European, North American, and Chinese commentaries; details of some of Wong's obscure films as well as radio shows and TV appearances; her elaborate costumes and body language; her hobbies and public activities as a transnational sophisticate, her personal correspondences (especially with Carl Van Vechten) and intricate interactions with a wide range of artists, writers, and politicians in Europe, America, and China; and finally, images of her palm print from Charlotte Woolf's palm-reading book and her immigration document (Form 430) from 1927.

All these bits and pieces that animate the entire book, often to the reader's delightful surprise, demonstrate the labourious research the author conducted in preparing for the biography. The end result is a delightfully comprehensive and informative coverage of Wong's half-century of life and work, which, unsurprisingly, constitute the two emphases of the author's project.

Hodges's focus on Wong's life and work complies with the genre of biography. A unique challenge in this case, though, is

that his subject, an early 20th century Chinese-American actress active *prior to* the late 1960s canonization of the term "Chinese American" or "Asian American," has been historically obscured and reduced to what Maxine Hong Kingston calls a "No Name Woman" (xvi) or what Wong self-referentially alluded to as the "Half-Caste Woman." (149) Given her obscurity that resulted from her uncategorizable identity, accounts of her story are necessarily fragmented, at times contradictory, leaving her a mystifying figure, even for her contemporaries. How to fully address the contradictions and assess what Hodges calls Wong's "Janus-faced" legacy (234) become the crux not only of an individual biography, but also of the historiography of Asian Americans in general.

If Wong's contemporaries failed to meet the challenge, or more accurately, failed even to see this as an issue, because they suffered from Orientalism and/or narrow-minded nationalism, how then does Hodges redress this situation which involves recovering Wong *and* critiquing historical discourses on Wong? Facing such a "Janus-faced" legacy "with meaning inside and outside of Asian American society," Hodges suggests that "recasting her memory requires more breadth and subtlety than is needed for the worthy men and women who were pathbreakers in other fields." (234) His goal is to "move beyond negative perceptions of Anna May as solely the product of Orientalism" (235) by showing that her "cinematic and personal reputations translated differently among the world's myriad nationalities." (xx)

Hodges laudably critiques the mode of argument that fits everything into a set theoretical grid. His labourious excavation and weaving together of wide-ranging archival materials clearly demonstrate his commitment to "breadth and subtlety." Nevertheless, his project falls short

of full realization due to two weaknesses. First, as the title suggests ("from laundryman's daughter to Hollywood legend"), the structure unproblematically follows that of an "American Dream" (from rags to riches) hybridized with Bildungsroman (from a self-centered child to a socialized adult). Both formats presume a teleological trajectory predicated upon illusory causal linkages. In Hodges's biography, this predetermined trajectory translates into Wong's *predictable* transformation from a rebellious third-generation Chinese American child who desired Americanization, via the opposite swing to a Chinese identity, toward "becoming Chinese American."

The second weakness has to do with the author's shifting position vis-à-vis his archival materials. On the one hand, he perspicuously points out that Orientalism is inscribed in some ostensibly positive European writings on Wong. A Portuguese review of Wong's *Daughter of the Dragon* (Paramount, 1931), for example, states that many people "adore the yellow [skin]" and will "long for the Chinese, dreaming of oriental scenes, full of opium-smokers and peaceful faces." (115) Hodges rightly criticizes the review as an instance of "pure Orientalism, made up of Portuguese unfamiliarity with Anna May, and with Chinese people in general, racial fantasies derived from skin consciousness, and blatant stereotyping." (115) On the other hand, however, he tends to see the more dominant European media (from Germany, Britain, and France) as more capable of appreciating what Wong had to offer. Thus, English girls' imitation of the "Wong complexion" (by tinting their faces ivory with ochre color) and the "Wong haircut" (or the China Doll bangs) are seen as evidence of Wong's star impact in Europe (which was denied to her in America). Such an uncritical approach to Western European reactions to Wong prevents the author from fully

diagnosing the Orientalist fetishization of the Asian female mystique.

This blind spot stems from a more fundamental problem, that is, the tendency to fetishization does not only characterize the Orientalist reviewers contemporaneous with Wong; rather, it might also underlie the tributes by Wong's modern admirers, even Hodges's own project to an extent. This is highlighted in the fact that the tributary efforts described in Hodges's epilogue mostly hinge upon appropriating, stylizing, even exoticizing Wong's image without however paying sufficient attention to the complexity of Wong's situation as a labourer/actress with an uncategorizable nationality. Hodges's own project, as he acknowledges, is triggered by one of Wong's autographed photographs, which piqued his "interest" that turned into "fixation" and "obsession." (ix)

The challenge, for Wong's contemporary reviewers, modern admirers, *and* the author, is therefore to come up with strategies of moving beyond fetishization, beyond pat celebration of "an individual's will and strength against hegemonic powers" (xxiii) toward a *structure* of subversive dynamic. To achieve this level of "subtlety" (to borrow Hodges's term), one needs to learn from Wong. By that I mean that one should not simply describe and eulogize her personal virtues matter-of-factly, but should rather see those virtues as consciously constructed strategies that Wong mobilized in negotiating her disadvantageous position under Western colonialism and Orientalism. In other words, to assess Wong's legacy more adequately, we need to problematize the reductive scenario of heroic individual vs. evil society, and focus upon Wong's interactions with the socio-political apparatus of her time, oftentimes conducted on the *institutional* level. For example, note her effective mobilization of transnational

media in self-promotion, as Hodges usefully highlights throughout the book.

With that understanding, we come to see the "American Dream" or Bildungsroman model as a counter-productive model. It fails to address Wong's strategic negotiation insofar as it presumes an individual's self-sufficiency and inevitable success story against societal odds while occluding the multiple registers of Wong's situation.

Hodges's biography succeeds in building an impressively rich and accessible collection of Anna May Wong materials. By providing such excellent groundwork, it encourages readers to further explore the significance of biography in recovering and redressing repressed legacies, individual *and* collective. One way to deepen such an exploration is to reconceptualize the genre of biography so as to develop a more useful structure for addressing subversive identity formation. In this new model, identity formation is an open process susceptible to the interactions of variegated determinants, rather than a teleological trajectory that marches toward an a priori status (be it American, Chinese, or Chinese-American).

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**Dana Frank, *Bananera: Women Transforming the Banana Unions of Latin America*** (Cambridge, MA: South End Press 2005)

SINCE THE LATE 1980s, there has been a proliferation of studies on women and social movements in Latin America. Despite the plethora of work on women's activism south of the US border, there is a paucity of scholarship on their role in transforming contemporary trade unions, which risks creating the false impression that women's involvement in trade unions is a relic of the past. This

engaging, accessible book by labour historian Dana Frank is therefore a welcome and much needed addition to the literature on women and the labour movement in Latin America.

The author takes us on a journey that begins in a pick-up truck barrelling down a treacherous road from Honduras, packed with three women (plus the author) who are going to give a workshop on the difference between sex and gender to fellow women banana workers in Guatemala. Frank explains that she was able to gain the trust of her travelling companions, or the *mujeres bananeras* ("banana women") as they call themselves, due to the close personal friendships that she formed working as a consultant for the US Labor Education in the Americas Project, which helped to create a union label for Central American banana unions in 2002. The result is a sensitive portrait of the struggles that women banana workers have waged to gain full access to their own unions.

The book is divided into six short chapters plus an introduction and conclusion. The first three chapters describe the ups and downs of the banana export industry in Latin America, the gendered division of labour at both work and at home, and a brief history of the unions that emerged in the mid-1950s to defend the rights of banana workers, focusing on the case study of SITRATERCO, the oldest banana union in Honduras. The fourth chapter describes the activities of COLSIBA, a federation of banana unions from Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panamá, Ecuador, and Colombia that was founded in 1993 to strategize support for embattled banana unions. The fifth chapter describes the "War at Home" and the personal ordeals that women banana workers have gone through due to their involvement in unions. In very macho societies such as Honduras, one of the main barriers limiting women's partici-

pation in union life is that they have to ask permission from male partners to even leave the house, thus making it difficult for women to become trouble makers in the male-dominated labour movement. The sixth chapter describes the international alliances and organizations that have supported the banana women's activities in raising gender consciousness and building women's identity as trade unionists.

One compelling part of the book recounts how the rise of women's activism in banana unions was facilitated by internal democratization within SITRATERCO. Since the 1960s when women entered the banana industry, work has been divided by a sexist division of labour in which men work in the fields and women are confined to the packinghouses, where the pay is much lower even though the working conditions are equally harsh. Since the field workers always outnumbered the packers by four to one, it was difficult for women to gain access to union office. In 1975, however, a Left-affiliated male leadership overthrew the conservative leadership that was affiliated with the Cold War AFL-CIO, and the new leadership changed the union's internal structure. They established two rank-and-file committees – one for the male-dominated agricultural division, and one for the female-dominated packinghouse. Although empowering women was not necessarily the intention of these men at the time, as Frank argues, the establishment of two rank-and-file committees "finally opened the door for women to fully enter the union." (24) Women's organizing blossomed from there.

By the mid-1980s, "the winds of Central American Left feminism were blowing across the border" (25) from Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Women's frustration with the sexism that pervaded the revolutionary movements in these countries also stiffened the resolve



of women banana workers in Honduras to demand equal access to union office. As Frank notes, the bitter experience of the Sandinista Revolution and other guerrilla movements demonstrated that just because women were encouraged to fight along their male counterparts did not mean the latter were willing to share power. As in the revolutionary movements, women had to fight against the patriarchal leadership for access to resources and representation in their unions.

The call for action within the SITRATERCO union occurred in the mid-1980s, when the predominantly male union leadership suddenly appropriated an ILO educational grant intended for women's organizing. In 1986, women members of SITRATERCO launched a campaign to create a Women's Committee with official status and its own officers. The proposal was initially defeated, but thanks to the women's persistence, it passed in 1988. A little more than a decade later, workshops and activities geared towards the particular needs of women are now part of the unions' daily activities. In 2005, Adela Torres, a Colombian woman, was elected as General Secretary of the largest banana union in Latin America.

Since the book is so short (137 slim pages), it left me wanting more information on a couple of key issues. Frank explains clearly how women's struggles to raise gender consciousness have transformed men's and women's lives and their visions of trade unionism. It is less clear, however, how women's involvement in the union has affected collective bargaining, if at all. It would be interesting to know more about what demands have been put on the table as a result of women's activism, how this has affected women's perception of their own unions, and in turn, the mobilizing capacity of the union to defend workers against employers.

Frank also talks little about how the

banana workers' struggles fit into the broader context of the Central American or Latin American labour movements. A few comparisons of the strategies chosen by banana women with workers in other sectors would help illuminate why there has been revitalization within the banana sector and not elsewhere. For example, Linda Bickam Méndez's work on women workers in the maquiladoras in Nicaragua suggests that women have found the leadership of trade union centrals to be so patriarchal and impenetrable that they opted to form the María Elena Cuadra organization, which the organizers define as an "alternative" to a trade union. By contrast, Frank states clearly that "at every turn," the *mujeres bananeras* "framed their struggle for women's equality and empowerment in terms of union power." (30, her emphasis) I was left wondering whether the birth of women's activism in the Honduran banana unions was simply an unintended consequence of earlier democratization within the union or if there was something particular in the way that the international solidarity networks in the banana export sector have developed to help support women's struggles to transform their unions rather than work outside of them. Perhaps Frank will enlighten us on these questions in her forthcoming book on international labour solidarity, expected in 2007.

Nonetheless, there is such a great deal of information packed into a short space that these comments should not be read as a criticism but as a call for more research on the role of women in trade unions in Latin America. Among other important lessons, Frank's study underscores the importance of internal democratization for union revitalization.

South End Press has made this book available in an affordable paperback and it is written in accessible, engaging prose. For these reasons and many more, it

would be a welcome addition to course syllabi on issues related to social movements, women's studies, and Latin American labour history, particularly at the undergraduate level.

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**Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson, eds., *Women and Work Culture: Britain c.1850–1950* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing 2005)**

*WOMEN AND WORK CULTURE: Britain, c.1850–1950*, edited by Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson, is a collection of essays developed from a 2002 conference of the same title. A difficult challenge faced by editors of such books is bringing unity and cohesion to essays that cover a wide range of research questions over an extended time frame. In this instance, however, Cowman and Jackson use the edited collection format to its best advantage with essays that address common themes and issues, while at the same time providing a sampling of the richness and diversity of the scholarship being done in the broad field of the cultural history of women's work in Britain. Their useful introduction and clear organization help to draw out the common threads running through each of the essays. Some of the similar themes touched upon by the book's twelve contributors include the variety of contested meanings carried by the different types of work done by women, the identities created by women in association with work, and the ways in which women negotiated masculine cultural practices and discourses related to work in order to create feminine or feminist space. The assortment of historical and interdisciplinary methods and approaches that inform the authors' exploration of the experiences, negotiations, and understandings of work done

by women make this collection potentially very useful for teaching in a seminar setting. This collection would be helpful for encouraging students to think not only about the conflicting and fluid ways in which different types of work performed by women were represented and understood, but also about different approaches to the craft of history.

The twelve essays in the book are divided into five sections: "What do We Mean by Work?," "Factory Labour," "Youth," "Science and Medicine," and "Women and War." Two of the three essays in the first section demonstrate the important role of religion in shaping the meaning of work for different groups of women. Joyce Senders Pederson uses the writings and biographies of a number of prominent Victorian feminists to illuminate how their conception of work was infused with Protestant religious convictions, liberal thought, and the public service ethos of professionalism. For these feminists 'useful' work, both paid and unpaid, if undertaken in an altruistic spirit, answered a godly calling to all and fostered communal integration and individual moral development. While this idea of work was initially thought to be inclusive, by the end of the century more materialist and secular perspectives on work began to emerge, opening up a divide between the economic necessity of working-class and middle-class women. Religion also informed the meanings of work for four generations of middle-class Quaker women among the Bright circle, as demonstrated in Sandra Stanley Holton's contribution to the collection. The Quaker stress on good works, inner light, and oppositionism with respect to the established order informed the attitudes of these women to class, work, and wealth. These principles also guided their labour over the generations in operating businesses, caring for kin and community, and political activism through cam-

paigns against slavery, alcohol, and the corn laws, as well as their active involvement in radical politics.

As the editors point out, few subjects have received as much attention from historians of women's work in Britain as the "factory girl." Emma Liggins and Emma Robertson are able to offer fresh perspectives on this frequently explored topic by focusing on the role of women in the construction of female factory worker identities. Emma Liggins examines the narratives produced by the research of female social investigators like Clara Collet, and of feminists like Clementina Black, comparing them with, and tracing their influence upon, fictional accounts of the London work girl written by writers such as George Gissing and Margaret Harkness in the 1880s and 1890s. Social investigators like Collet were important in producing identities for the work girl, and in raising concerns about the morality and sexualities of women workers in the public sphere. Emma Robertson uses 13 oral interviews with women who worked at the Rowntree Chocolate Factory between 1936 and 1989 to look at women's workplace cultures, and the centrality of friendships and interactions between women workers in shaping how they understood their experiences in the workplace. Robertson shows the ways in which workplace camaraderie both helped to socialize women workers to the factory regime, while also providing strategies for resisting oppression. She also emphasizes that relationships among co-workers were often complicated by differences among women such as age, marriage, motherhood, respectability, and race. While one of the most fascinating essays in the collection, the evidentiary base of this piece is understandably thin due to the challenges of locating subjects for interviews.

In the section on youth, Selina Todd uses census records, social surveys, and

testimonies drawn from autobiographies and archival collections to investigate the experiences and interpretations of the high proportion of young women aged 14–24 who were involved in paid employment in the inter-war years. Despite the historiographical emphasis on the youthful consumer, Todd finds that young women's work and employment patterns were driven by family necessity and connections, and their wages were essential to the family budget.

The essays of Kaarin Michaelsen and Claire Jones show some of the ways in which women negotiated involvement in the fields of medicine and science, which were dominated by masculine cultures, discourses, and institutional forms. Michaelsen looks at the struggle and strategies of women physicians in Britain to overcome discrimination within the profession. Specifically, Michaelsen examines the work of the Medical Women's Federation (MWF) in advancing the professional interests and helping to shape the identities of female physicians between 1917 and 1930. She shows that the MWF used ideas of both equality and difference in the construction of professional identities, arguing for greater assimilation into the profession, while protecting the unique interests and perspectives of its female members. Michaelsen illuminates how in practice attention to difference could be used to promote equality, and that these ideas were not perceived as mutually exclusive. Jones's essay uses memoirs and obituaries of male scientists, as well as their representations in the press, photographs, and fiction, to show how the laboratory was constructed as masculine space antithetical to femininity, where heroic virtues of courage and stoicism could be demonstrated. Jones shows how these constructions of laboratory culture worked alongside professionalization and institutionalization to exclude or ignore female

participation. Jones uses the transgressive career of physicist Hertha Ayrton to illuminate the ways in which these processes shaped representations of women in the laboratory.

Much of the traditional historiography of women's work in wartime has concentrated on the degree to which such work advanced the cause of greater social, political, and economic opportunities for women in the long term. The essays in the war section of the book contribute to this debate but focus more upon the identities constructed around different types of female labour during the war years. Angela K. Smith uses literary texts, including Irene Rathbone's *We Were That Young*, as well as memoirs and diaries to explore the many diverse and contested ways in which the women's work in munitions factories in World War I was constructed by themselves and others. Smith shows how later literary representations, particularly Rathbone's, compared the experiences and sacrifices of women on the home front with soldiers serving in the war. Few occupations are as closely linked with masculinity as service in the military, and Lucy Noakes's essay shows how female participation in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and the Women's Volunteer Reserve during World War I had the potential to upset traditional gender roles by militarizing women, who were supposed to represent the civilians whom the military defends. The presence of many suffrage activists in promoting female service in military organizations also made them more threatening. In the end, however, great effort was made to emphasize the boundary between female and male military service, with the former taking on roles that stressed the feminine virtues of caring and nurturing.

*Women and Work Culture* is a valuable addition to the Studies in Labour History Series. It provides the reader with a sample of the diverse issues and methodologi-

cal questions that scholars in the cultural history of women's work in Britain in the late 19th and early 20th centuries are engaging. In addition to being a useful teaching tool, the collection will also be of great interest to researchers in labour and women's history, as well as a variety of other sub-fields in British history.

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**Andrew Rosen, *The Transformation of British Life 1950–2000*** (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2003)

IN 1950 MOST British people would not have owned their own homes nor had access to their own telephone. If they were lucky enough to afford vacations, they would have holidayed within the borders of Britain, perhaps even within a hundred mile radius. Europe would have been a place only soldiers and the wealthy would have experienced. Food afforded a similar parochialism. The most exotic fare most Britons would have had in 1950 was probably also the least welcome: the snoek, a fish of questionable taste from the waters off South Africa, pushed into service as an alternative staple during the lean years of austerity. Nineteen-fifty also saw the highest level of political mobilization in the twentieth century; in the election of that year, 12.5 million people voted for the Conservatives, with 13.2 million voting Labour.

Half a century later, the picture was, unsurprisingly, very different, as Andrew Rosen shows in his survey. Home ownership was enjoyed by 69% of the population. Not only did virtually everyone own or have access to a phone, but also to a range of other electronic devices only dreamed of by bespectacled boffins in 1950: stereos, televisions, DVD and video recorders, and mobile phones. Southern Europe had become, by 2000, the target

of millions of package holiday-makers, soaking up the sun and cheap alcohol in destinations like Ibiza and Mallorca. And, even outside of London, Britain itself had the smack of cosmopolitanism in its beverages and food. One could begin the day at Caffè Nero, served an Italian cappuccino by a Spanish barista, hunker down on a prepared avocado wrap at Prêt à Manger, and, inevitably, begin the evening with the country's prevailing national dish, chicken *masala*. The richness of culinary life was, however, matched by a leanness of political culture. In the election of 2001, voter turnout barely scraped 60% in most of the country.

Andrew Rosen's interesting, if not entirely satisfying, book provides good snap-shots of several of the major contours of what he calls the 'transformation' of Britain in this period. He argues that there are three major areas of such transformation: first, a notable increase in the standard of living matched with greater individual freedom; second, the decline of respect for longstanding institutions such as the monarchy and aristocracy, religion, the organized working class, and marriage; and, finally, the growing diversity and porousness of British life and culture, transected by new generational and ethnic identities and increasingly coloured by connections of varying strengths to both America and Europe. There is little to argue with in this picture. As Rosen shows, the Britain of 2000 is a more complex and less easily categorized society than it was in 1950. He has a good eye for the broad reach of this complexity. The impact of immigration on post-war Britain was, of course, to substantially revise notions of Britishness and urban society. But, to return to food, it can also be seen in the growth of Indian restaurants. In 1995, there were 10,000 Indian restaurants in Britain, employing between 60,000 and 70,000 workers and with a turnover of £1.5 billion, more than

the coal, ship-building, and steel industries combined. This says something, of course, about not simply identity but the economy as well.

Rosen also shows how, in the midst of this 'transformation,' there are constants in British society. In 1950, class was the most important category of social identity. It seeped through every aspect of national life, from politics to work to education. Fifty years later, as Rosen argues, class is a less obvious, but still powerful force in people's lives. There is a sobering section in the book in which Rosen shows just how social class continues to determine fundamental conditions of physical health and social opportunities. Childhood in Britain remains a sphere in which class is played out, from health at birth to the way that primary and secondary education shapes and often constrains individuals' chances in life. Despite the considerable expansion of universities in the 1960s and again in the 1990s, the old bastions of privilege, Oxford and Cambridge, still monopolize influence and power in Britain to a surprising degree. As recent controversies demonstrate, both universities are still seen as closed to many state school students. The recent historiography of 19th and 20th century Britain has laudably embraced empire and culture; it is a pity that this movement has occurred not merely by jettisoning serious thought about class but actually by denigrating it as a valid category. By contrast, Rosen points to class and the persistence of serious inequality as abiding characteristics of modern Britain.

There are, however, several problems with the book. Despite a broad sweep enlivened by many interesting details, it feels slight. In part, I think, this has to do with the nature of the book's research. This is not a monograph, but a survey. Nonetheless, it does feel at points that it has been written largely based upon the

statistics in the various volumes of *British Social Attitudes*. I felt rather battered with poll results after a while and left seeking shelter in a stronger analytical voice. At the same time, while I agree with Rosen's overall arguments, I had less sense of what he thought were the engines of this change. He runs the rule over politics, without giving a particularly compelling argument for the partial abandonment of one style of consensus for another, from Attlee and Macmillan to Thatcher and Blair. Rosen similarly traces Britain's change from a manufacturing economy to one based upon service and consumption without asking in a very rigorous way why this happened. Sometimes he offers very subjective observations on particular social problems, but these hang as impressionistic responses rather than strong or original arguments.

There is also an uneven tone to the book. It does not seem to have a clear direction, which might frustrate its use in teaching. In the last section, alongside chapters on Europe and America, Rosen offers an overview of post-war architecture. This is well-done as a stand-alone piece and it does give some sense of the curious cross-currents in arguments about Britishness and public space, but why architecture and not, say, visual culture like film or television? Or popular leisure? I was not convinced that there was a strong argument for architecture on its own as a bellwether of change in Britain. Ultimately, *The Transformation of British Life 1950–2000* gives an interesting, but incomplete picture of British society.

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**Patrizia Albanese, *Mothers of the Nation: Women, Families, and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Europe*** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2006)

DESPITE THE FACT that in the early 21st century few would discount the view that the 'personal is political,' the notion that the political is also highly personal may only just be creeping into scholarly discourse. Patrizia Albanese, who teaches at Ryerson University in Toronto, presents a very convincing portrait of how political policy reflects and affects personal life, specifically that of women and families, in her 2006 book, *Mothers of the Nation*. In this concise, 192 page study, Albanese has undertaken a very systematic survey of four regions of Europe that, during the 20th century, employed ideologies and enacted policies that utilized women's bodies as purveyors of nationalist goals.

In three clearly-organized sections, Albanese outlines nationalist goals in Germany, Italy, Russia, and Yugoslavia (later focusing on Croatia) first in the inter-war period, secondly in the post-1989 period, and finally in comparison with each other. In the nationalist regimes – Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, post-Soviet Russia, and post-Yugoslavia Croatia – what emerges as common to all regions was the attempt by policy-makers to regulate women's sexuality and reproductive lives as a way of furthering the nation. Most specifically, this meant utilizing women, both symbolically and practically, as reproducers of the 'ethnic collectivity' in terms of childbearing and socializing of children.

In all cases, the rise of nationalist regimes led to the implementation of pronatalist and pronuptialist policies that worked to repatriarchalize gender and family relations. Central to these policies was the goal of raising fertility rates. In Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy,



policies were put in place that restricted the use of contraceptives, and limited or eliminated access to safe abortions. At the same time, financial incentives and tax breaks were offered to increase family size and, in Germany, eugenic selection to reduce the population of 'undesirables' also became part of the program. Among many unusual measures taken in Germany was the "psychological or symbolic" incentive whereby mothers with nine children (or seven sons) could choose any official of the state to be the next child's godfather; by 1936 Hitler had 12,000 such godchildren. (27) In inter-war Italy, when Fascists equated declining birth rates with "an overall crisis of national vitality," (52) initiatives were taken to reward traditional family forms such as a bachelor tax on unmarried men, marriage loans for newlyweds (repayable only if a couple didn't meet a schedule for pregnancies), and "fertility prizes." (55) Similar policies were enacted in post-Communist Russia and in Croatia in the 1990s.

Comparable approaches were applied to women's labour force participation. Under Hitler, women were encouraged to leave the paid workforce and return to their proper places within the realm of 'Kinder, Kirche, and Küche' but when war broke out, they were encouraged to become workers for the cause once again. In Italy during the 1930s, Mussolini set as a goal a quota of only 10 percent of women employees in public and private sectors and gave preferred employment options to fathers with large families; the onset of war and other economic factors meant that such measures never really had their intended effect.

What nationalist family policies shared was the desire to "promote the ideas of order, authority, obedience, faith, and control at the level of the nation," (188) in essence to place "men at the head of the household and women in front of a crib." (189) The "oppression, submission, and

authority" of the father/husband in the home thus became a microcosm of the relations between the state and its citizens. The author soundly demonstrates that, "A key role of nationalist state policies ... is to achieve the social control of women for the specific purposes of re-establishing a real or mythical past order and glory, and ensuring a fecund, homogeneous, ethno-national future." (178)

Albanese concludes that, despite the short term successes of these policies as measured in increased marriage and fertility rates, the efforts of nationalist policy-makers were not able to curb the overall decline of either over the course of the twentieth century. Nor were they able to turn around the factors that kept women in the workforce. These outcomes are compared and contrasted in detailed statistical and policy analysis in Chapters 10 and 11 respectively, a section that is somewhat less interesting to read but nevertheless important to undergird Albanese's overall findings. Furthermore, Albanese's study also demonstrates that the so-called 'modernization' often thought to accompany the development of nationalism within a state did not hold for family relations. Indeed, she suggests that gender roles and relations can recede from a modern egalitarianism under the influence of extreme nationalist goals.

A particular strength of this book is Albanese's comparative approach. She measures her hypothesis regarding nationalist states against non-nationalist policies within the same country (or at least geographic region) during a different era. Thus, she is able to draw conclusions regarding significant shifts in state family policies, and their effects, from the Weimar Republic, to Nazi Germany, to post-reunification Germany, for instance. Similarly, Albanese analyzes the potential for gender equality that existed within Bolshevik ideology and practice in interwar revolutionary Russia and later

also in socialist Yugoslavia, but notes that measures that might have advanced women's emancipation as wives, mothers, and workers were reversed under Stalin. In post-communist Russia of the 1990s, "increased nostalgia for traditional female roles centred on the home and family" (104) meant that women's reproductive rights were curtailed and they were discouraged from entering the workforce. While nationalist laws implemented by the Nazis and Fascists in Germany and Italy respectively were specifically anti-feminist and designed to limit women's roles to that of wives and mothers, in multi-national Yugoslavia during the same period, women remained within a state of traditional agrarian and private patriarchy, as the country focused on economic development while negotiating diverse and regional cultural identities. After the break-up of Yugoslavia, Croatia emerged as one of the new "nationally homogeneous entities" in which women were encouraged to find their symbolic place within the "trinity of 'home, nation, and God.'" (123)

Albanese's book offers an excellent historical comparative approach to thinking about the intersection of gender and nationalism. What is particularly fascinating and well-illustrated is the way in which women's bodies and behaviour became tools of nationalist and indeed non-nationalist states, to which women responded with both acquiescence and rebellion. While the author's feminist and leftist biases are evident throughout, she also points out the gains that women did make, if only temporarily, within nationalist contexts – better maternity and childcare provisions for instance – and notes the inconsistencies within socialist approaches that affirmed equality but that saw women performing the proverbial 'double load' of domestic and paid labour. The book is well written though a social historian might wish for a few per-

sonal life stories of women living within these particular nationalist regimes as a means of illustrating the effect of the policies being examined.

Albanese's conclusions are provocative. An important 'lesson' of the book is her suggestion that the progression towards gender equality in the world is not a linear one, whereby we are moving ever closer to progressive egalitarianism. Rather, "two steps forward can be followed by three steps back ..." (191) While nationalism within North America has rarely been analyzed in gendered terms, this study behooves us to consider how nationalist ideology affects gender roles and family relations within less extremist contexts, and thus to consider how deeply the political impacts the personal.

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**Pei-Chia Lan, *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestic and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan*** (Durham: Duke University Press 2006)

THIS CAREFULLY RESEARCHED and clearly executed ethnographic piece is about transgression and making boundaries in an era of international migration. Using ethnographic data, the author pursues a theoretical thread of transgression and boundary-making to weave together a geopolitical map featuring Filipino and Indonesian migrant domestics, Taiwanese middle-class professionals, immigration brokers, and the source and host states. At the macro level, Lan illustrates how national boundaries are drawn and enforced, by both source and host countries, in the midst of international migration. As she demonstrates, at the micro level, Taiwanese middle-class women professionals who contract domestic labour out to migrant domestic workers

not only have to carefully map out gendered boundaries in their homes, they also make deliberate efforts to redefine culturally regulated meanings of femininity and domesticity. The domestic workers, who used to be housewives in the Philippines and Indonesia, are now maids making a living with their domestic skills in a foreign land. Therefore, they too are venturing into new territories of transgression and boundary-making. International migration is thus an institutional undertaking that constitutes and re-inscribes social boundaries along class, gender, racial/ethnic, and national lines locally and internationally.

The author applies the metaphor of "global Cinderellas" to migrant domestic workers and their paradoxical experiences abroad and at home. Going from being housewives to maids supporting themselves, married Filipino and Indonesian women seek employment abroad to escape unpaid housework at home, explore the outside world, and achieve financial independence. As migrants, they leave their impoverished homeland for financial betterment, imagined modernity, and temporary freedom. Once abroad, these migrant domestic workers celebrate their conception of a Cinderella-like life on their Sunday outings. They see their sleeveless shirts, tight jeans, dancing, and mingling with friends as the fulfillment of a liberated life style unavailable in their homeland. This sense of a liberated self is nevertheless limited, the author argues, because they spend the rest of the week confined to the homes of their employers. Moreover, they are racially characterized by those employers and politically marginalized in the host country. Furthermore, although they are trusted as surrogate family and fictive kin by their Taiwanese employers, delicately but clearly defined spatial and cultural boundaries are drawn in everyday encounters to ensure that they remain

at a distance and thus alienated. The tale of their migration journey is filled with simultaneous financial emancipation in their homeland and inevitable oppression in the home of their employer as well as the achievement of a liberated, albeit curtailed, gendered self in the host country.

On the other side of the divide is the Taiwanese middle-class, female employer whose professional status makes it a challenge for her to dutifully carry out the conventional "second shift." These women hire migrant domestic workers as live-in nannies and substitute daughters-in-law. Such an arrangement requires them to carefully carve out spatial boundaries in their homes to accommodate the migrant domestic workers. Simultaneously, they ascribe new meanings to the culturally regulated notions of domesticity and womanhood, so as to preserve their status as "the lady of the house." Racialized cultural boundaries are drawn deliberately to ensure that the maid will not contaminate their children or disturb their private family life. Migrant domestic workers therefore carry out only the physical aspect of reproductive labour. The labour defined by the culture as emotional and feminized remains in the hands of the Taiwanese employers, allowing the latter to assume a professional career in the public sphere while their sense of femininity in the domestic sphere remains intact. Separating the physical from the emotional and cultural aspects of reproductive labour, however, requires daily micro-management. The bad name the employer acquires for being demanding and difficult to please, the author argues, should be seen as a result of the politics of transgression and boundary making. When they hire migrant domestic workers, Taiwanese professional women not only need to assume new responsibilities to manage the maid in her private life; they have to constantly deal with the anxiety that ensues from the possibility

that their femininity and womanhood will be challenged.

Considering the analysis from a comparative perspective, limited progress has been made in challenging patriarchal orders in the domestic sphere among Taiwan's financially well-off new generation. Although Taiwanese professional women have made successful inroads into the public sphere, like their North American counterparts they are faced with subtle and not-so-subtle resistance when it comes to changing the unequal gendered division of labour in the domestic sphere. Instead of pressing their husbands to take part in reproductive labour, an easier alternative is to contract out part of their womanly duties to migrant domestic workers. They draw upon their financial resources, hard-won from the public sphere, to elevate their position in their otherwise losing battle in the domestic quarter. One cannot but wonder whether labour force participation in the public sphere opens up space for change, transformation, and liberation in the private sphere, or whether it simply means that patriarchy mutates into new forms of hierarchy and oppression with the migrant maids taking on the most strenuous work.

This is a fine and challenging ethnographic project, where the researcher dives into the social fabric of boundary making and transgression among diverse groups. The author covers stories from both the middle-class employers and their employees, the migrant domestic workers. Rich narratives and ethnographic data across the employer/employee divide allow the author to examine the dynamics of employment relationships. They make it possible for the author to present stories from both sides of the power divide. For example, stories of someone having their husband stolen by the maid are often cited by female employers. The maids, on the other hand, portray their female

bosses as demanding, jealous, and paranoid. To accomplish such a delicate task as an ethnographer, the author herself engages in transgression and boundary-making. While her personal middle-class background gives her research capital to access those newly rich employers, her research bond with the maids invites such questions as, "Why do you want to hang out with them?" Her affiliation with the maids is no less problematic. The researcher finds much comfort when her migrant domestic informants proudly display her as their "Taiwanese friend who speaks good English." Such acceptance and ethnographic "passing" are utterly unstable and subject to rupture. In the eyes of her foreign domestic informants, she is unquestionably "one of them" when it comes to politics of affiliation and categorization.

The book is a theoretically informed, sophisticated analysis of employment relationships in the era of transnational migration. Scholars in women's studies, racial/ethnic relations, labour studies, and international migration and globalization will find this book insightful and informative. It is clearly written, rich in ethnographic insights, and accessible to both undergraduate and graduate students in social sciences and Asian studies. Its tales from the field constitute a useful addition for novice ethnographers who will have to grapple with reflexivity and juxtaposition of position and locality in ethnographic inquiry.

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**Melanie Nolan, ed., *Revolution. The 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand***

(Christchurch: Canterbury Press in association with Trade Union History Project 2006)

THIS BOOK IS AN excellent overview of the 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand, which was the closest New Zealand ever came to a general strike. (25) The book arose from a conference organized by the Trade Union History Project, a key centre for labour historiography in New Zealand, in November 2003 to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the strike. There is an introduction by the editor, which provides the background to the dispute and provides a review of the historiography of the strike. There is also a useful timeline of the dispute and comprehensive bibliography.

The editor has organized the 13 chapters according to four themes. The first theme is a reconsideration of the historiography concerning the dispute. Erik Olssen and Richard Hill revisit their original theses concerning the dispute with Olssen arguing that the Strike shifted the political spectrum of New Zealand to the left and Hill emphasizing the ruthlessness of the State. Miles Fairbairn in a provocative essay questions the view that the strike was a 'right wing conspiracy' and puts forward a 'cock-up theory,' (68) which explains the strike more in terms of blunders by the government. He also highlights the poor development of business history in New Zealand, (73) which limits our understanding of employers' motives and tactics.

The second theme is 'polarization.' This theme covers issues such as the role of the press, police, and the special constables in the strike. Donald Anderson argues that strikers did not take criminal action in support of the strike and took a more favourable view of the regular police compared to the special constables

specifically recruited for the strike. John Crawford notes that there were considerable efforts by the state to hide the role of military in the strike. The military provided logistical support for the special constables, who played a crucial role in the strike. Regular and territorial officers provided leadership for the special constables.

The next theme looks at the strike from broader historical perspectives such as gender and the development of trade unions, the left, and the ruling class. The chapters on moderate unions and the ruling class highlight the limits of New Zealand labour historiography. Peter Franks notes that New Zealand labour historians ignored the 'moderate majority' both generally and specifically in regard to the 1913 strike, with only 20–23 per cent of unionized workers joining the strike. (164) He argues that rather than shifting New Zealand to the left, the strike entrenched state-sponsored compulsory arbitration as the preferred means of both labour and capital to deal with industrial disputes. Jim McAloon provides a comprehensive overview of the ruling class in New Zealand and its role in the Strike and to some degree addresses the concerns of Miles Fairbairn about the state of business history in New Zealand.

Kerry Taylor's essay charts the subsequent impact of the strike on the development of the left in New Zealand, noting how the New Zealand Communist Party and other Marxist groups constructed and deployed the memory of the 1913 Strike to develop an alternative voice to labourism. Melanie Nolan provides an excellent gendered history of the strike highlighting the contribution of working-class women in the strike, noting particularly the role of housewives' unions during the strike. The chapter notes how both sides during the strike used various notions of 'manliness' to praise and abuse their opponents. One minor quibble is that

there is only a brief mention of the role of non-working class women during the strike. (248) Farmers' wives would have provided a crucial backup to spouses who enrolled as special constables.

The final theme places the 1913 General Strike in an international context. While Donald McRaid's discussion of the origins of industrial militancy in the UK is very good in its own right, the links between the British experience and the Strike could have been clearer. Mark Derby in his article, "William E. Trautmann and the Role of the Wobblies," also provides important insights on the rise of the IWW internationally and its impact on New Zealand. While a lot is made of Trautmann's New Zealand origins, however, he only spent the first few years of his life there and it is not clear what his direct impact on the New Zealand IWW was.

There are some minor quibbles. With such an excellent book, it would have been helpful to have a postscript to bring it all together and remind the reader of the important issues raised by the book. There are times when the contributors could have made points clearer for non-New Zealand readers. Are we talking about coalminers or goldminers on the West Coast? (23–4) How large were the New Zealand Socialist Party and other left groups? (204)

Overall, the editor and authors produced an outstanding book. It provides a comprehensive overview of the strike, capturing different perspectives on the historical significance of the strike and linking it to major themes in New Zealand labour historiography such as trade unions and gender.

GREG PATMORE

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**Sherilyn MacGregor, *Beyond Mothering Earth: Ecological Citizenship and the Politics of Care* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2006)**

*BEYOND MOTHERING EARTH* is an excellent piece of scholarship that provides a theoretical, empirical, and strategic exploration of the project of feminist ecological citizenship. In setting forth this exploration, MacGregor presents a significant alternative to more familiar ecofeminist analyses. This work consists of a theoretical exploration of the intersection of ecological politics with feminism and a second part based upon interviews conducted with thirty activist women at the turn of the 21st century. A third dimension is apparent throughout the work, for it is the intersection of theory with empirical evidence that enables MacGregor to explore strategies for political action.

The theoretical portion of this work engages a wide-ranging literature, beginning and returning most frequently to ecofeminist writing, but also addressing green political thought and citizenship theory in detail. MacGregor's writing is very effective, her style is clear and comprehensive, and I would strongly recommend *Beyond Mothering Earth* for its accessible, insightful survey of the intersections between the international literatures of feminism, green scholarship, and political theory.

MacGregor briefly traces the evolution of ecofeminism, and how it has drawn upon changes in feminist theory, to highlight two areas of emphasis which she feels undermine the project as a whole. MacGregor persuasively critiques the "non-strategy" of using maternalism as a means for women to enhance their voice within green politics. Much like first-wave maternal feminists, many prominent ecofeminists such as Carolyn Merchant and Ariel Salleh emphasize how women's



maternal caring work grants them a distinct nurturing perspective that shapes their relationships to the natural world and provides the foundation for alternative social relationships to nature. MacGregor is not the first scholar to point out the limitations of this approach; she builds here upon a wider anti-essentialist critique and one which refuses to use women's subordinate roles, past and present, as an avenue to effect radical environmental change. MacGregor's other key criticism takes issue with the importance of lived experience and grassroots activism to ecofeminist alternatives, which she argues "reifies and accepts uncritically the experiences and knowledges of activist and non-academic women." (39) MacGregor is especially concerned that when ecofeminists have appropriated the grassroots they have also dismissed how these activists have themselves engaged with and at times rejected ecofeminist symbols and theory. MacGregor's treatment of ecofeminist writings is a pointed but generally balanced critique of a diverse body of writing.

Beginning in Chapter 4, MacGregor analyzes the possibilities of a more profound relationship between green and feminist citizenship. Broadly, this examination identifies the importance of "democratic politics and the language of citizenship to the project of ecosocial change." (73) The path that these democratic politics should follow does not deny the importance of subsistence perspectives from the global South and the specificity of women's material experiences with labour and nature, but neither does it use these experiences as grounds for future action. Instead, MacGregor articulates the importance of democratic participation and the use of citizenship politics as places for performance, conversation, and tools for socio-ecological change. She sets forth the insights of the small body of writing on green citizen-

ship and its conflicts over the appropriateness of action at local and global scales. Although MacGregor rejects degendered notions of "care" and "nurture" as means to recreate social relations to nature, she otherwise stops short of setting forth a comprehensive feminist theory of ecological citizenship. MacGregor's strengths in this first part are in bringing diverse literatures and evidence to bear upon particular points and in identifying and reconciling theoretical tensions; at times she sacrifices persuasion and clarity in the interests of analytical acumen and breadth.

In 1999 and 2000, MacGregor interviewed 30 women in the Greater Toronto area engaged in "public caring work" as environmental activists and engaged in "private caring work" as mothers. (14) MacGregor's aim here is to draw upon the insights and experiences of the same kinds of activist women who appear in much ecofeminist writing, not only to buttress her argument for the relative value of feminist ecological citizenship versus ecofeminism, but also as part of the practice of participatory knowledge-making that can inform democratic practice. To these ends, MacGregor gives necessary attention to methodology and presents the perspectives of these women in describing how they negotiate their roles as mothers and environmental activists and in how they theorize their own political participation. Thus MacGregor introduces an original approach to interpreting women's environmental activism by directly engaging the activists themselves in not only reflecting upon what they do but also setting forth their own considerations of the social, political, and gendered obstacles they face. In this part, MacGregor is not only self-reflexive upon her own position as an academic, but she also successfully uses her position to break down the dichotomy between activism and theory.

MacGregor's interviews are one of the great strengths of this work, demonstrating her skills at engaging in resonant conversations with the interviewees, exposing the diversity of women's environmental activism, and achieving her goal of bringing feminist ecological theory and "real life" to bear upon one another. It is nevertheless striking that MacGregor referred to the two parts of her work as "two stories" because a weakness in this work, and in particular in the description of the interview subjects, was the absence of narrative which would have better elucidated these women's experiences as active citizens.

By rooting her analysis in a particular time and place the interviews serve to illuminate how the practice of feminist ecological citizenship would be most effective in Western democracies where women already have greater access (through their rights, labour, and leisure) to the stages upon which the kinds of politics she describes can be practiced and performed. Her strategy is to this extent context-dependent. MacGregor recognizes this tension in her analysis – between the importance of universal citizenship and the success of local struggles in particular. (225–228) Nevertheless the role of scale and context in feminist ecological citizenship each demand greater attention than MacGregor provides.

This omission reflects how *Beyond Mothering Earth* presents an analysis more closely rooted in feminist theory than in ecology. MacGregor takes issue with the ways in which "women's capacity for abstract and principled thought about moral issues and ethical decision making has been eclipsed by a focus on material practices and lived experiences." (64) This privileges politics over material life and seemingly fails to recognize that it is by emphasizing the profound materiality of human social, economic, and cultural life, and the necessary connections

between people and nature, that ecology has served as a radicalizing force pushing people to rethink their allegiances to particular places, to future generations, and ultimately to the earth. With the exception of her analysis of the importance of time as part of the calculus of arriving at "ecologically friendly and socially equitable" (232) social and political arrangements, the theorizing in *Beyond Mothering Earth* operates independent of environmental constraints. This book is nevertheless an important contribution to green political theory, which, in contrast to environmental justice and eco-feminist literature, has largely neglected feminist insights by privileging the relationships of humans to nature without admitting the social realities of the human experience.

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**Michelle Murphy, *Sick Building Syndrome and the Problem of Uncertainty: Environmental Politics, Technoscience, and Women Workers*** (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2006)

MICHELLE MURPHY HAS drawn on her own extensive academic studies and practical career, as well as knowledge based on work with colleagues to write a thorough work on the problem of sick building syndrome. This syndrome is comprised of a wide variety of symptoms that can affect people to different degrees, and was initially recognized in the early 1980s, although there are still those making arguments against the existence of the problem. We live in a chemical-laden world, with homes, transportation, and workplaces surrounded in a dizzying array of furnishings and clothing made of synthetic materials, with little research available on the interaction of

products and the way they may act over time. This situation is compounded by the increased tightening up of air leaks to conserve energy, but without compensatory changes in standards and practice of air exchange. There is also a pervasive overlay of scented products that are touted as vital for personal grooming and maintaining a fresh-smelling home and office environment. The result is a veritable chemical soup in which many of us spend the majority of our time.

Sick building syndrome falls outside the accepted boundaries of illness in the biomedical world that demand specific tests and results to establish an agreed-upon definition of health, making this illness a contested diagnosis, and subject to argument against the reality of a problem. Standardized tests of air quality may not capture the presence of noxious substances that affect health, especially if the emissions are intermittent, and sampling procedures are deferred. Symptoms can vary among persons and across time, but the aggregate experience of affected people can provide a picture of the problem, and one of the criteria for discovering sick building syndrome is related to 20% or more of the building's occupants reporting diminished health.

One of the major features of Murphy's book is the revelation of sick building syndrome's disproportionate effect on women. This is related to the fact that women are a majority of the working staff in many of the affected buildings, with work sites surrounded by a wide array of synthetic furnishings and electronic equipment that emit toxic products. The gendered nature of work is also explored, with many women in subordinate positions and little control over their work pace and physical environment. Many of the women's work spaces are poorly laid out, with furniture that does not fit the individual who may spend the bulk of the day doing repetitive tasks. It is unfortu-

nately common to downplay women's experience of poor health, and to psychologize problems rather than investigate physical sources of the trouble. The tendency to blame the individual sufferers for their problems relieves building owners and operators of responsibility for remediation of toxic emissions. This is compounded by the political ramifications of industrial hygiene standards that are set by vested interests, and by a lack of workers' political clout in insisting on healthy levels of air quality.

There are also political implications in the relationship between research in environmental pollution and government offices and the funding for investigation of sick building syndrome and other related problems. It is difficult to believe in the neutrality of science when many of the government advisors are closely linked to corporations that supply recommendations on health issues that may be linked to chemical toxins. Remediation of environmental pollution could affect corporate profits. Murphy certainly has not covered up the risk of harm to those affected by sick building syndrome, especially when the Environmental Protection Agency cannot keep its own buildings safe for workers, and regulations are poorly enforced, while whistle blowers find themselves out of their jobs or research funds.

Indoor air pollution is an increasing source of problems to many people, and Murphy's questions about the effects of various airborne bacteria and moulds are important, particularly in the area of home or workplace air quality following flooding or even undetected water leaks. The public is becoming more aware of problems, and the emergence of social health movements to investigate some of the ways a society can cope with air pollution-related illnesses is evidence that people will not necessarily accept shifting blame for illness upon those who are

unable to defend themselves against government and big business.

Multiple chemical sensitivity is another condition that is covered in this book, and is experienced by people who react to very low levels of chemical substances in their environment, well below the threshold of detection by the average person. Murphy addresses this condition as part of the greater picture of our total environment at home, in the workplace, and in the general surroundings as chemical substances accumulate in the body. The fact that many of the substances are imperceptible to the average person and to standardized testing procedures leads to denial of claims of illness, and back to the medicolegal judgment of the existence of a health problem or psychological origins of the illness.

This book is of interest to workers in many fields, particularly women. The information is understandable to a casual reader, but also has sufficient depth to be valuable to people looking for more extensive details, and is reinforced by a comprehensive bibliography. Specific topics can be followed in the index. This book should be on the shelf in workplace and public libraries, both as a resource for people affected by sick building syndrome and those who want to raise their awareness of the possibility that their work or home environment may be at risk of indoor pollution. The book is valuable to people studying social health movements and social epidemiology, tracing the ways in which a particular society defines the presence or absence of a legitimate illness. It would also be beneficial for personnel in occupational health services, workers' compensation services, and disability insurers' offices to read the work thoroughly and make decisions on treatment and compensation based on contemporary work in the field, not old biomedical models that are inapplicable to the problems encountered in sick build-

ing syndrome. Many of the people making decisions that affect the well-being of people with sick building syndrome and related illnesses lack current knowledge in the field, and there is an urgent need to make informed recommendations for treatment, remediation of the indoor air quality, and compensation for those whose health has been compromised. The sole drawback that I have perceived in researching this book is in the cost of a library cloth edition, but this could be balanced by purchasing more than one copy of the paperback edition. This book captures many of the concerns that this reviewer has researched for academic papers as well as looking for answers in personal environmental health issues and workplace air quality after more than 20 years in hospital employment. The reader-friendly format leads the way to further studies in the area of indoor air quality, gender-biased organization of tasks in the modern workplace, and the intricate relations between government and corporations in decisions on our everyday environment.

MARILYN THORLAKSON

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**Michael Y. Dartnell, *Insurgency Online: Web Activism and Global Conflict***

(Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2006)

WHAT IS MEANT by the claim that politics increasingly speaks with an "Internet accent"? The title of Dartnell's book provides a good indication of the answer. According to Dartnell we are entering an era in which the Internet is becoming the media of choice, if not necessity, for marginalized non-state actors challenging the historical grip that states have had on the media and publicity. The results are potentially immense. States, claims Dartnell, are increasingly losing their

control over their borders, territories, and identities.

Theoretically speaking the implications are also significant. This is particularly true of international relations realist theory which argues that "states and the principle of sovereignty shape the international system and provide a structure to contain the chaos of human diversity." (13) Today, Dartnell contends we are entering a post-realist era in which non-state actors are, by means of the World Wide Web (www), able to produce and distribute information, thus providing a means of independently shaping public perceptions of events on a global basis. These changes are of such significance that Dartnell claims that "web media are part of a shift in politics that could be as far-reaching, profound, and unpredictable as the rise of print technology, mass literacy, and nationalism in the late eighteenth century." (15)

These are strong words indeed. However, in itself this is not a novel argument. Writings on the Internet and digital technologies tend to lean to either of two poles, the first a cyberpessimism in which the state and corporations "normalize" information technologies, the second a cyberoptimism in which ITs take on emancipatory qualities. While Dartnell leans towards the latter he makes more modest claims on the ability of Web activism to transform states and societies. Rather than threaten to displace the state "or its ability for autonomous action" Web activism "transforms" and complicates the internal and external environment in which states operate. (10)

The strength of Dartnell's volume lies not so much in his theoretical insights, but in succinct theoretical analysis of three very interesting case studies. Theoretically speaking other IT theorists such as Manuel Castells have made similar arguments particularly on the relative decline of the state, class-based politics,

and the emergence of non-territorially-based identities. These identities are being (re)articulated in a global mediascape and identity-based conflicts, once localized, are spilling out beyond the borders of the state.

As the case studies illustrate, these challenges to the state come in the form of Web-based "insurgencies" which, interestingly for the readers of this journal, come from the political left. The selection of case studies is very much a matter of choice as the author could have just as easily selected cases from the right, neo-Nazis and al-Qaeda, for example. Here Dartnell focuses on the Irish Republican Socialist Movement (IRSM), the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), and, in Peru, the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA). Each online insurgency reflects different aspects of Web activism – networking, global witnessing, and media relay respectively. While each case is distinct, all three organizations "are strongly marked by the failure of the state." (5) Each organization, moreover, "emerged in settings in which state formation is incomplete, weak, or deeply flawed." (13) All three organizations, while acting transnationally, put a premium on the identarian politics of place.

The first case, the IRSM, centres on a paradox, that is, the use of transnational Web activism to promote nationalism which, in turn, is based on place and the common history of a particular group. In this instance Dartnell succinctly describes the conditions in Northern Ireland and Ireland which gave rise to the IRSM. As a party the IRSM espouses Marxist-Leninist principles, including a revolution which would end partition, seize the state, set up a "dictatorship of the proletariat," and construct a socialist society. However, while it appeals to the transformation of politics within a specific territorial context it employs

Web activism to reach and motivate a geographically dispersed Irish diaspora spread over three continents. This global network of support serves to breathe new life into what would otherwise be a dying IRSM message.

The Web activism of RAWA differs from that of the IRSM, relying on Web activism in a struggle against patriarchy and for women's rights in Afghanistan. As an organization of Afghan women RAWA was established in Kabul in 1977 to fight for human rights and social justice. Forced by the Taliban to flee to Pakistan RAWA has continued its activism by means of an online insurgency against religious fundamentalism in Afghanistan. During the rule of the Taliban RAWA adeptly used its website to provide a "global witnessing" of the plight and oppression of Afghanistan women, a function it continues to perform albeit with strong condemnation of the current regime and the American (and Canadian) occupation of Afghanistan. Those who visit the site (over five million hits by August 2003) will encounter a powerful moral-emotional appeal of globally directed texts and multimedia which once viewed is not easily forgotten.

Finally, Dartnell examines the MRTA, one of the very first groups to employ Web activism in a struggle for social justice against an authoritarian Peruvian government. MRTA emerged during the period of civil war in Peru in the 1980s and 1990s. MRTA portrayed itself as an "organization of the people," a coalition of trade unions, workers' groups, students, and peasants (78) opposed to neo-liberalism and dedicated to creating a socialist society. MRTA had a flare for publicity, deftly employing a website among other media tools. This website carried its message to a global audience during its four month occupation of the Japanese ambassador's residence which began in December 1996. During the occupa-

tion MRTA used its website (created and managed by a Toronto activist group) to present its case to a global media, thereby thwarting the ability of the Peruvian government to control and frame the media message. While the occupation ended in the death of all 14 members of the MRTA occupation force, MRTA's activism did help undermine the government of Alberto Fujimori by exposing its corruption, incompetence, and human rights abuses.

Dartnell has chosen his cases well. Yet, in the end, his claims on behalf of Web activism are modest. He admits "Web activists *have* an impact, but they do not overthrow states or necessarily even redirect public policies. The change is wide-ranging rather than deep." (101) Herein lies the problem of almost all analyses of Web activism including these three cases. What exactly is their impact? How can this impact be measured? What difference does Web activism make? The above notwithstanding, Web activism has added new spaces of publicity, ones that challenge the ability of the state to control the mediascape and shape public perceptions. In a post 9/11 world where, thanks in part to the presence of IT, the US has increasingly lost its capacity to shape public perceptions (think of the huge February 2003 anti-war demonstrations organized largely on-line) this is no small accomplishment.

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