

BOOK REVIEW/ COMPTE RENDU

Thomas, Mark P., Leah F. Vosko, Carlo Fanelli, and Olena Lyubchenko (eds.). *Change and Continuity: Canadian Political Economy in the New Millennium*. McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 2019. \$120 hardcover; \$37.95 softcover; \$31.99 open ebook. (780773557413).

This book is the product of a workshop on “Rethinking the New Canadian Political Economy” hosted by the Global Labour Research Centre at York University in 2015. It builds upon the distinguished tradition of Canadian political economy (CPE) going back to the 1960s, the works of Melville Watkins, Wallace Clement, and others, and more recently published in a series of volumes by McGill-Queen's University Press. As outlined in Thomas's and Vosko's introductory chapter, the current volume's authors draw insights from a range of contemporary theories and studies. Several chapters emphasize the need to incorporate feminist approaches into the CPE tradition; others point to areas of research largely overlooked in past analyses.

The volume consists of five parts. Part 1 deals with the new Canadian political economy (NCPE), including issues of feminism, anti-racism, citizenship, and belonging. Clement's chapter (Ch 1) provides a solid historical review of works in the CPE tradition, outlining the three previous volumes in the series that he helped edit. He argues the uniqueness and strength of the CPE tradition is its holistic approach that goes beyond “exclusively economic explanations” (40), an approach this volume continues. In this vein, Vosko (Ch 2) examines employment standards from a feminist political economy (FPE) perspective, noting how this insufficiently researched area is vitally important to workers' conditions and more broadly to organized labour movements. Set against the historical construction of Canada's labour market, Nandita Sharma's chapter (Ch 3) examines Canadian citizenship and immigration policies; specifically, the nation-state centrism that has divided workers in the name of global capitalist exploitation.

Part 2 deals with regions and resources. Jim Stanford updates the staples tradition of theorizing within CPE to examine the rise and fall of Canada's latest commodity boom, centred on energy. He argues that Canada's "renewed reliance on extraction and export of unprocessed staples to other, more technologically advanced economies over the last fifteen years presents a qualitative step backwards in Canada's economic development" (87). Stanford then outlines three policy responses: direct regulation and restraint of further resource industry expansion; a strengthening of forward and backward linkages; and measures to support and nurture other strategic sectors. Suzanne Mills and Steven Tufts' following chapter (Ch 5) deals with changes in Canada's resource economy. They argue staples theory has its greatest explanatory power at the sub-national level, but that the reorganization of production and labour under global capitalism has strained the realization of economic benefits from linkages and worker mobilization as many now engage in long-distance commuting. The authors' also document Indigenous peoples' complicated relationship to resource extraction; the possibility of employment within this sector weighed alongside its consequent environmental and social harms. Peter Graefe (Ch 6) examines Quebec capitalism, specifically the denationalization of the Quebec bourgeoisie under neoliberalism, at the same time as progressive social movements from below, especially the feminist movement, have succeeded in ensuring policies and actions supportive of social infrastructure.

Part 3 deals with state, capital, and institutions. Stephen McBride (Ch 7) details the shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism; notably, capital's abandonment of the Fordist compromise in the 1970s as an impediment to accumulation. He points out, however, that important elements of the old bargain continue under a new regime of "privatized Keynesianism" (162). Adrian Smith (Ch 8) examines an earlier moment of displacement under settler colonial capitalism that incorporated "the socio-spatial practices of clearing, claiming, and keeping" (181) land formerly occupied by Indigenous peoples, and argues for an anticolonial and antiracist historical materialism. Rebecca Jane Hall (Ch. 9) confronts the dominant White masculine account of first settler colonial accounts, arguing that such accounts were patriarchal in assumption and in consequences. Hall continues to assert that Canada's patriarchal state continues to target "Indigenous women, their bodies, and their labours, and to interrupt northern Indigenous social reproduction" (196), as part of an "ongoing – and contested – project of appropriating Indigenous labour, land, and resources" (200).

Tanner Mirrlees (Ch 10) examines the political economy of Canada's cultural industries, interconnected and shaped by the capitalist mode of production, the state and civil society, and culture (210); and how this industry – an economic actor within cultural capitalism but also an important element of nationalism – must also compete against “the US-based globalizing cultural industries” (220).

Part 4 examines neo-liberalism restructuring of social services. Pat Armstrong, Hugh Armstrong, Tamara Daly, and Jacqueline Choiniere (Ch 11) examine how private companies are seeking to profit from senior's care through privatization and nursing home reforms, and how these negatively impact workers, residents, and the public at large. Using Ontario as a case study, Tobin LeBlanc Haley (Ch 12) traces “the emerging contours of Mad oppression in Canada” (246), specifically the process by which public supports are being removed from people labelled mentally ill as they are now deemed productive members of the workforce. Greg Albo and Carlo Fanelli (Ch 13) provide a similar example of the neoliberal state's downloading costs onto cities, even as they lack the fiscal levers available in other countries to deal with these costs. At the same, and as a result, cities have also become the focal point of opposition and social struggles.

Part 5 deals specifically with contestation. Lesley J. Wood (Ch 14) argues the CPE tradition, in measured contrast to the recent popularity of the contentious politics approach, contributes by engaging with social movements as part of a political project, a methodology, and as the object of analysis (301). Echoing Albo-Fanelli, Wood examines Montreal's and Toronto's anti-austerity protests in 2015. Simon Black (Ch 15) examines sport as a “contested terrain.” While focusing on current legal disputes at the level of major league hockey, and efforts to unionize players/workers, Black argues that turning the lens of political economy on sports labour can narrow “the distance between the lives and struggles of working athletes and the broader working class,” thereby “possibly opening up the prospect of fan-athlete solidarity against the interests of capital” (329). Similarly, Stephanie Ross and Mark Thomas (Ch 16) deal with workplace precarity and workers' movements since the Great Recession. They detail how opposition to neoliberal austerity has moved beyond labour to embrace new, diverse social movements, such as Occupy Wall Street, Idle No More, and Black Lives Matter. Olena Lyubchenko (Ch 17) completes the volume with an examination of Russia's Maternal Capital Benefit, introduced in 2006 by Vladimir Putin to counter that country's declining birth

rate. Lyubchenko argues that CPE can be profitably extended to other countries, thereby extending its value as an analytical approach.

Change and Continuity is a valuable successor to previous volumes in the series. It pays homage to the past tradition of CPE, without being caught in its own traIn doing so, this volume maintains CPE's distinctive approach and shows its continued vibrancy and importance.

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