

unions such as the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) and the National Union of Public and General Employees (NUPGE) to convince the entire Canadian labor movement to use its influence to have the Canadian state accept the international consensus (represented by the ILO and various members of the European Union, but not the United States) that the right to collective bargaining is an essential and unquestioned “human right.” Finally, Leah Vosko’s essay addresses the somewhat technical question of the International Labour Organization’s action regarding the “scope of the employment relationship.” In essence, Vosko focuses upon the ever-increasing phenomenon of individualized contract labor involving supposedly self-employed workers and its disproportionate (and highly negative) effect on women workers. As Vosko points out, even though the ILO has attempted to redefine a “platform of labour policy” which would protect such workers, that attempt has been largely unsuccessful – and is actually mimicking an already outmoded Canadian policy platform. Unless and until improvements are made in ILO standards, Vosko has little hope for workers caught in the trap of employment relationships that deny them the benefits and protections available to other “real” employees.

To be honest, it can be hard slogging to get through these substantive chapters, as several are written in language that is both technical and jargon-filled; but for the most part, the essays are worth the effort. And for those who wish to be more selective, O’Brien’s brief concluding essay does a fine job of summarizing the central conclusions of the various pieces. Thus many readers will want to consult this essay before investing the time in reading each detailed piece. What O’Brien does not do in that concluding text, however, is offer much in the way of the alternative strategies promised in the Introduction. Of course, it is too much to expect that a simple panacea might be offered that could alter the extremely gloomy situation which these essays have outlined. But it is still a bit disappointing to realize that O’Brien’s core conclusion is that “Canadian workers are faced with a range of unfavourable developments in the field of social cohesion” (193). While it is true, as implied in the Introduction, that increased worker solidarity may force governments, NGOs, and employers to alter policies in ways that are more worker-friendly, it is still disappointing to discover that after all of the research that went into this project, there is precious little evidence indicating how the sought-after “new and flexible forms of worker solidarity” might be created (194). “Workers of the world unite” is hardly a new suggestion – but it does seem to be the only one on offer in this volume. Still, the detailed work which has been presented and the authors’ desire to bring workers back to the heart of discussions concerning social cohesion make this a worthwhile read. One can hope that *Solidarity First* will fall into the hands of some policymakers.

Jim Mochoruk
Department of History
University of North Dakota
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Dominique Clement. *Canada’s Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change 1937–82*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009, 296 pp., CAN\$85.00 (cloth), \$32.95 (paperback), ISBN 9780774814799 (cloth), 9780774814805 (paperback).

Dominique Clement, in this significant book, seeks to measure the relationship between rights discourse and social change. This complex and nuanced study originated as a dissertation. Clement explores the formation of four Canadian rights associations and, in the

course of the study, develops a micro-history of the human rights movement. He shows how a variety of human rights issues triggered citizens' application of human rights principles, which served to inform their thinking and illuminate the community problems they sought to alleviate. Each of the associations became a site of pointed contestation for hard-won, ultimately defining beliefs. The author provides lively accounts of state overreach and of subsequent citizen engagement and struggle with the application of these concepts. The associations worked on behalf of vulnerable and powerless people. Those advocates who did the hard work of compiling and filing briefs and uplifting public opinion are carefully characterized by Clement as human rights workers; they were not, he explains, single-issue social activists. This is an important distinction and a valuable contribution, one that much of the literature on social change fails to make.

Moving geographically from west to east, the four case studies start with the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association, which developed a compelling defense of free speech for news media, the axiomatic right in a democratic society. The organization got its start in the early 1960s when a concerned group of citizens sought to mitigate excessive police powers and state repression of an unpopular minority group, the Freedomites. In the east, the Newfoundland–Labrador Human Rights Association (NLHRA) would be pivotal in the development of a human rights code that provided equal pay for women, and is an example of a small, geographically isolated organization that had a national impact only because of funding from the national government. In the space of 12 years, the NLHRA was able to lead a campaign to improve the Human Rights Code, secularize the provincial education system, protect protestors, and defend due process in the courts, all the while developing teaching tools for youngsters. The Montreal *Ligue des Droits de L'Homme* secured recognition of the unique needs of handicapped youth and the elderly in the drafting of the Quebec Bill of Rights; and, lastly, the Toronto-based Canadian Civil Liberties Association developed mechanisms for single mothers mired in poverty to question government welfare policy and seek redress.

In the course of the author's extensive research, he identified thematic issues that frame the four case studies. The themes include the impact of state funding on social movement activism, and the differences between rights association activists of the 1930s to 1950s era compared to the generations of the 1960s and 1980s, the various change strategies deployed by activists, and the obstacles encountered in forming a national social movement organization in Canada. In the process, he explores the ideological divisions among activists dedicated to the same cause.

The reader learns how the relationship between the people and the state can be fraught with tension, especially when the state feels threatened, as when societal values, attitudes, and behaviors are undergoing a gigantic transformation, as they were in the 1960s and 1970s in Canada. Clement goes to great lengths to explain the difference between human rights associations and social movement organizations. This is important, he notes, because it delineates the profound struggles that individuals, for the most part, pursued in an effort to both modernize the state and curb its reach into the private lives of citizens. Of interest is how a government that triggered the need for human rights associations would transition, during Prime Minister Trudeau's era, to a government that incorporated or, in the eyes of some, co-opted, the voluntary associations, such as the *Ligue des Droits de L'Homme*, with grants. Clement states that this was done in order to build popular social allegiance to national institutions.

Clement sums up the sea change in Canadian human rights laws and practices in the concluding chapter. It is here that Clement clearly distinguishes between human rights work and social movement activism. Social change is interpreted as legal or structural

change, he explains, while human rights are derived from the state. This brings us to the question of the provocative and engaging title, *Canada's Rights Revolution*. The changes chronicled and analyzed in the book are profound. Whether or not they have permanently and unremittably changed the nature of the state and are, therefore, truly revolutionary is another question. How the government responds to the current threat of non-state actor attacks, for example, and whether or not the Canadians support the government security apparatus, will tell us whether the human rights developments are lasting or were contingent upon time and place. The questionable title aside, this book is well worth reading, and could be used in the classroom as well as by community reading groups. The text informs while it stirs the social conscience. One would hope, however, that the primary audience would be government workers in liberal democratic republics, whose task it is to implement policy while upholding human rights. Clement reminds us that human rights originate in human morality and not in law, and that "a society with a strong rights culture allows individuals to make claims even though, at the time, they are not recognized by the state or even the community around them" (34).

Elizabeth S. Overman
College of Liberal Arts
Jackson State University, Mississippi
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Victor Konrad and Heather Nicol. *Beyond Walls: Re-Inventing the Canada–United States Borderlands*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2008, xvi+352 pp., US\$99.95 (cloth), ISBN 9780754672029.

It is well known that the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States transformed the discourse on and the outlook for the US–Mexican border. In fact, much has been written about that border by academics and in the popular media. More quietly, however, the US–Canadian border has also undergone unprecedented changes, but its transformation has been considerably less documented and studied. *Beyond Walls: Re-Inventing the Canada–United States Borderlands* by Victor Konrad and Heather Nicol fills that gap and does much more, stating with elegant simplicity that "the nature of the borderland zone has changed. This change, however, is subtle and barely visible" (15). After a historical overview that educates the reader on the basics of the birth and life of the US–Canadian border (Chapter 1), Konrad and Nicol, both of whom possess a vast amount of knowledge on borders and border studies, dig out a large number of concepts and data and fit them together in a book that takes us on an insightful trip through time, space, and a myriad of issues affecting the US–Canadian border today, and likely well into the twenty-first century. In Chapter 2, they throw around terms such as "reterritorialization," "edge concepts," "frontiers," "boundaries," "identity," "interstitiality," "third space," "social construction," "horizontal relations," "borderlands continuum," "securitization," "border renationalization," and "symbolic regime," among many others, and demonstrate how these can help us explain what is happening in North America. Where one would expect this display of knowledge to confuse and obscure, Konrad and Nicol do nothing but clarify and enlighten.

In Chapter 3, the authors go back to lead the reader through the physical and symbolic evolution of the US–Canadian border over time, unintentionally but also unfortunately taking the reader to the lamentable conclusion that there is little reason for this border to change and that change for the sake of change, even if it is in the name of security, does