

démontrent que la retenue des « entrepreneurs » identitaires québécois sur la scène internationale est motivée plus par un désir de maintenir la réputation du Québec que par un souci de ne pas empiéter sur les compétences fédérales. Le nationalisme minoritaire ne sert donc que d'explication partielle quant au comportement de ces entrepreneurs.

L'avantage de produire la discussion théorique détaillée en début d'ouvrage est l'allègement du texte, ainsi qu'une méthodologie partagée par l'ensemble des auteurs. En revanche, un lecteur désireux de s'informer sur une étude de cas en particulier sentira vraisemblablement le besoin de lire le chapitre d'introduction pour en saisir les nuances. Malgré une discussion étoffée de la terminologie employée, les auteurs semblent tenir pour acquise l'homogénéité de la nation. De plus, Massie et Lamontagne s'appuient abondamment sur les travaux de Stéphane Paquin, qui est d'ailleurs l'auteur du chapitre 5 du volume. Il aurait peut-être été pertinent d'inviter Paquin à présenter sa propre méthodologie.

Nonobstant la variété des cas à l'étude, une vue d'ensemble de l'ouvrage montre une attention particulière pour le Québec, même dans les textes traitant d'autres régions. Nous ne mettons pas en doute la pertinence d'étudier la paradiplomatie identitaire québécoise, mais l'introduction aurait pu explicitement énoncer la centralité du Québec dans cet ouvrage. Finalement, une conclusion globale, rassemblant les résultats des diverses études de cas, aurait été la bienvenue, particulièrement puisque l'introduction du volume touchait directement à tout ce qui suivait. Cela aurait donc été une opportunité de boucler la discussion en proposant des pistes de réponses et de réflexion valables pour tous les cas à l'étude.

Néanmoins, cet ouvrage judicieusement structuré et bien documenté n'est pas sans pertinence. Sa contribution primaire se trouve dans sa présentation de plusieurs études de cas qui, prises ensemble, permettent d'approfondir notre compréhension de la diplomatie menée par les nations non souveraines occidentales, dans ses diverses formes et transmutations. Sans pour autant les répertorier dans une conclusion, le collectif présente également plusieurs axes de réflexions encore à poursuivre dans le but de brosser un portrait complet de la paradiplomatie identitaire. Cet ouvrage forme donc une base bien utile pour l'étude de nations minoritaires.

The Multilevel Politics of Trade

Jörg Broschek and Patricia Goff, eds., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020, pp. 400.

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Canada—a rich, federal state that is extensively immersed in international trade but less frequently studied than its larger southern neighbour—provides an interesting point of departure in this assessment of subfederal and transnational involvement in trade policy. While the United States (US) and the European Union (EU) are well-travelled territories for scholars immersed in the intricacies of subnational and transnational influences on trade policies, the extensive coverage of subfederal influences on Canadian trade negotiations and the inclusion of case studies on Mexico, Switzerland and Australia provide novel insights into the formal and informal influence that subfederal jurisdictions and organizations exert on national trade negotiations.

The primary purpose of this volume is to contribute to the “comparative scholarship on the multilevel architecture of trade policy” (6). Three main factors are presented as crucial to

understanding trade policy governance, namely the changing nature of trade policy and trade agreements, institutional configurations in federal states, and state–society linkages. The editors differentiate between self-rule (separation of powers; a weak upper chamber at the national level) and shared-rule (power-sharing; a strong upper chamber) federalism and, drawing on Albert Hirschman’s classic work, also introduce the concepts of *voice* (how subnational entities can influence trade negotiations) and *exit* (how subnational entities can prevent—or prevent implementation of—an agreement). This framework guides all contributions for the purpose of constructing a nascent theory of subfederal influence on trade policy.

Empirically rich chapters show how some subfederal entities can formally participate on the side of their own government in trade negotiations (Canada), or mostly consult (US, Belgium), ratify or reject agreements (Belgium), or lack formal say (Australia). In all cases, the partner and type of agreement also influences the extent of subfederal contestation (ch. 9; p. 355). Mexican regions have formal powers but limited financial and human resources to influence national trade negotiations; centralized federal systems such as Austria leave subfederal entities with few formal means of influencing trade; shared-jurisdiction federal systems (for example, Switzerland and Belgium) enable greater influence, especially when these entities have the capacity—a variable introduced in conjunction with institutions—to act. The contributions by Jorge A. Schiavon and Marcela López-Vallejo on Mexico and by Andreas R. Ziegler on Switzerland are also noteworthy because they explain subnational jurisdictions’ authority to sign bilateral agreements with other countries—something rarely covered in the trade literature. Most chapters also reveal a diverse array of formal rules and informal channels of engagement that show how political will and ingenuity play critical roles in navigating different federal structures in order to influence trade negotiations.

This is not a book for novices, with all contributors assuming the reader has a fundamental understanding of modern international trade and trade agreements. Political science graduate students and scholars will appreciate the comparative case studies and detailed empirical analyses, all contributing to a solid attempt at constructing a theoretical framework connecting vertical and horizontal linkages at the subfederal, domestic and regional levels. This should also appeal to researchers interested in the intersection of federalism and/or regionalism and foreign policy.

A good scholarly endeavour should not only provide new insights but also leave the reader with new questions and ideas; this book does not disappoint. Focusing primarily on state–society relations, Gabriel Siles-Brügge and Michael Strange draw attention to municipal contestation of EU trade policy and trade agreements, including in France during transatlantic trade negotiations (challenging the findings of Meunier and Roderer-Rynning [2020]); no other chapter mentions unitary states. Yet there is no inherent reason why multilevel contestation should occur only in federal systems. One can think of subnational influences through civil society groups, trade unions and/or local parties and municipalities in countries with devolution (for example, the United Kingdom) or with strong local autonomy (for example, Sweden). Furthermore, a debatable assumption permeating many of the chapters is that contestation is primarily prompted by trade negotiations and the intrusive behind-the-border issues included in modern trade agreements. However, trade policy is more than trade agreements. Tariff wars, protectionist and data transfer legislation, and trade defence mechanisms have all been at the forefront of contentious government actions in recent years. Relatedly, when and to what extent is the changing nature of subnational activism on trade a response to local and regional constituency anxiety about globalization generally—from technology replacing workers to immigration—rather than a specific desire to influence trade policy? It’s admittedly difficult to parse that relationship.

Encouragingly, in the concluding chapter of this well-written and engaging book, the editors acknowledge that disentangling multilevel influences on various aspects of trade

negotiations and policy will be a long-term, multifaceted endeavour, and they invite research that can challenge, modify and/or strengthen their findings. With their geographical focus on North America and Europe (plus an intriguing chapter on Australia), there is ample opportunity for others to investigate whether the model of subfederal engagement offered herein holds up in non-Western socio-economic contexts—and in studies on specific trade issues.

Reference

Meunier, Sophie and Christilla Roederer-Rynning. 2020. "Missing in Action? France and the Politicization of Trade and Investment Agreements." *Politics and Governance* 8 (1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/pag.v8i1.2616>.

Colonialism's Currency: Money, State, and First Nations in Canada, 1820–1950

Brian Gettler, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020, pp. 336.

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Key categories in the study of Indigenous–Canadian politics include land, sovereignty, political authority, status, gender, treaty and resistance. With notable exceptions, money tends to be left off this list. Brian Gettler's *Colonialism's Currency: Money, State, and First Nations in Canada, 1820–1950* shows us how ideas related to money, along with its use, have symbolically and practically mediated the colonial project. The text is divided into three sections, each composed of two chapters. The first demonstrates the relationship between money and colonial ideology, the second examines money and changing forms of political authority, and the third discusses how colonial control was justified and exercised through the control of money. While Gettler's focus is on the history of money and colonialism in Canada, the conclusion deploys this history to interpret Indigenous politics in the neoliberal present, where money remains crucial.

Chapter 1 speaks to the complicated development of Canada's money and how "the text and images circulated by the Canadian monetary supply" projected an "idealized image of the developing political, economic, and social order" (44). For example, the banknotes that would accompany the treaty process depicted what was and remains at issue in interpreting the meaning of treaties as a land-cession contract or a framework for coexistence, as the images "asserted that the railway would come and First Nations . . . would accept this or some note like it as a token payment in exchange for their lands" (53). Chapter 2 examines the policy debates surrounding the commutation of presents—historically associated with the establishment and maintenance of alliances—into cash. These debates were crucial to associating improvidence with Indigeneity: the idea that Indigenous peoples were spendthrift, careless, profligate and in need of guidance and tutelage. By transforming Indigenous peoples from allies into minors, this association "helped construct a Canadian polity from which First Nations had been excised while simultaneously providing the Indian Department with a renewed mandate" of "shepherding Indigenous peoples toward liberal individualism and their ultimate integration into Canadian society" (76–78). An interesting figure in this development was the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head. Head applied his previous experience as an assistant Poor Law Commissioner in England to Upper Canada: he implemented the