

davantage des organisateurs et cadres du parti et d'un chef qui est prêt à défendre ces orientations durant la joute électorale. Au sein du Parti québécois, il y a toujours eu un débat interne entre les réformateurs et les partisans du statu quo, mais tôt ou tard, un programme renouvelé devra être au diapason des attentes des électeurs. Un « nouveau » Parti québécois ne pourra voir le jour sans un programme renouvelé tout en créant, ce que Montigny appelle, des « mécanismes de compensation » pour les militants. En fait, le Parti québécois a probablement davantage besoin d'un Georges-Émile Lapalme que d'un sauveur!

Malgré tout, le Parti québécois demeure au Québec, le parti politique avec le plus grand nombre de membres, soit plus de 70 000 en 2017. En comparaison, la CAQ a au plus 20 000 membres et QS Québec solidaire 10 000 membres. Par ailleurs, Montigny s'interroge sur la nécessité d'avoir au Parti québécois l'obligation pour un chef de se soumettre à un vote de confiance. Les militants du PQ ont en ce sens plus de pouvoir que ceux des autres partis (91). Jusqu'à présent, cela n'a pas été très utile pour la cohésion et la solidarité au sein des membres du parti, surtout après une défaite électorale. Mais il observe également un changement dans les objectifs des militants : « les membres du Parti québécois ont donc évolué. Certains qui militaient davantage pour des idées ont quitté le PQ (...). Les militants actuels se préoccupent davantage qu'auparavant des moyens à prendre pour gagner leurs élections » (85). De plus, le clivage OUI-NON à indépendance s'est érodé « au profit de d'autres clivages sur les politiques publiques et les questions d'identité » (92 et 102).

Somme toute, le livre de Montigny replace l'étude des partis politiques au Québec dans le contexte des transformations partisans qui s'opèrent au sein de la société québécoise. Il s'inscrit dans la lignée des recherches de Vincent Lemieux et de Réjean Pelletier – qui ont d'ailleurs supervisé la thèse de l'auteur – tout en soulignant que nous vivons dans une période qui « a été la plus ouverte de l'histoire du système partisan québécois » (105). Il faut espérer que certains étudiants utiliseront ce cadre d'analyse pour étudier et comparer le Parti québécois avec la CAQ, le PLQ et QS et continueront à renouveler les recherches sur les partis politiques et sur la vie démocratique interne de ces derniers.

## Métis Politics and Governance in Canada

**Kelly Saunders and Janique Dubois, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019, pp. 220.**

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Since the Supreme Court's 2003 decision in *R. v. Powley* defining Métis Aboriginal rights in section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, conversations about the Métis in academic and community settings have focussed on questions of identity. Much of this work, whether by Métis or non-Métis scholars, has been written from historical, legal or sociological perspectives and has sought to understand the origins of the Métis Nation—whether as an analytical end in itself or as a means into discussions about current situations or future possibilities. In this context, Kelly Saunders and Janique Dubois make an innovative contribution by writing from a political science perspective and by emphasizing aspects such as political organization and governance in the present day.

Though neither of the authors is Métis (13), they both have long-standing connections with Métis organizations. In light of this, it is not surprising that the book focusses on Métis political organizations and on these organizations' current political work as an embodiment of Louis Riel's legacy (5). The authors' primary argument is “that, at their core, the Métis have always

been a political people” (4), and they emphasize the complex relationship between continuity and change in Métis communities and organizations to illustrate the ways that “the Métis have navigated their own traditions in a political context that they no longer fully control” (9). While the authors acknowledge the salience of questions of identity, they stress that their “goal is not to resolve debates about Métis identity but, instead, to consider how Métis politics and governance can contribute to our understanding of the evolution of Métis identity within the context of the colonial Canadian state” (11). This shift in focus represents a significant innovation in the literature about both Métis politics and identity.

Saunders and Dubois outline their argument in six substantive chapters that focus on the historical roots of Métis political organization, the principles that underlie Métis governance, the characteristics of current Métis governments, the process of creating a Métis civil service, the role of women in Métis governance, and projects of Métis self-government; these chapters are followed by a conclusion that looks toward the future in the context of the *Manitoba Métis Federation Inc. v. Canada* and *Daniels v. Canada* judgments at the Supreme Court. Tying these aspects together is the prominent use of Michif terms and a recognition that “Métis approaches to governance are reflected in the principles of freedom, kinship, democracy, the rule of law, and provisionality” (60) and build on the regulations of the buffalo hunt as they have been adapted since the nineteenth century (148). The authors draw on a variety of textual sources, including an extensive examination of documents created by Métis organizations and by federal and provincial governments, as well as a significant number of interviews of Métis Elders and leaders.

While Saunders and Dubois emphasize themes such as continuity, relationality, democracy, diplomacy and the central role played by women, they also discuss the constraints that the Métis have faced in exercising self-determination and self-governance. In particular, they focus on Métis organizations’ responses to the imposition of colonial structures and practices by the Canadian state, particularly as they reflect ongoing conversations about how to live in accordance with Métis values in the contemporary context. They conclude that “compelled to work within the constraints imposed by the Canadian state and the accompanying process of colonization, domination, and assimilation, the Métis Nation has remained an active agent of resistance and change” (10).

Saunders and Dubois aim to reach as wide an audience as possible with their work, writing in part for academic audiences but also seeking to provide “an opportunity for all Canadians, and in particular citizens and leaders of the Métis Nation, to reflect on the achievements that have been made as well as on the barriers still remaining” (8) on the path toward self-determination and self-government. In general, they have written an accessible book that does an admirable job of explaining the current state of Métis organizations, their work and their interactions with the Canadian state.

While this book makes a significant contribution to the fields of Métis studies and Indigenous politics, and to Canadian politics in general, it also points toward areas that will benefit from further research. For example, there are opportunities to expand the analysis to consider other forms of political organization and relations to Canada, based on the legacies of the buffalo hunt, as Métis people moved beyond the homeland (such as the Métis Settlements in Alberta and the importance of diplomacy in the diaspora). The authors’ extensive use of Michif reflects the central role of language retention and revitalization in political projects while also offering a reminder of the importance of *nēhiyawēwin* and *Anishinaabemowin* to Métis families and communities and to understandings of ourselves and our relationships with our relatives and neighbours. In sum, this volume presents a timely portrait of contemporary Métis political organizations, while also offering a strong foundation for future analyses of Métis projects of self-government and self-determination that will be of significant interest to community members as well as to scholars.