

Policy Innovation in the Saskatchewan Public Sector, 1971-82

by Eleanor D. Glor. North York, ON: Captus Press, 1997. Pp. x, 280.

Whether what a government does to fulfill its promises can be called innovations depends on one's point of view, but there is a good deal of literature substantiating the author's use of the term in this book. And what a valuable source of "inside" information she has provided. She was able to persuade public servants, some elected but mostly civil servants, to write about specific innovations in their own words. In her introduction in Table 1, she cites some 125 instances of innovation. In the text of the book about half of them are discussed. She has grouped the innovations into fields: Economic Development, Social Justice, and Cost-containment Strategies. The section on each of these fields, which accounts for most of the book, is written by the people who were involved in creating the innovations. A short conclusion by the editor follows along with an Afterword by Allan Blakeney entitled, "Reflections on Innovations I Hoped to See." The analysis that Glor provides in her introduction and conclusion coupled with Blakeney's frank statement, especially if read in conjunction with the book he co-authored with Borins (1992), themselves make the book worthwhile.

Something of the character of the book is revealed by the titles of the contributions. They are as follows: "Framework for Economic Development: The Role of Crown Corporations," "Environmental Policy," "Resource Rent and Taxation," "Innovations in Agriculture," "Indian and Native Policy in Southern Saskatchewan," "Saskatchewan's One Province Library System," "The Saskatchewan [Children's

Dental Plan," "Social Justice for Workers," "Self-Enforcement of a Rights-Based Approach in Workplace Health and Safety," "Saskatchewan Community Colleges," "Getting People Off Welfare," and "Reducing Drug Prices."

Although written by those who had been involved with the innovations, these sections of the book are far from partisan in outlook. For example, the failure of the landbank scheme is written with no finger-pointing; and there is no reference to the ideologically driven cancellation of the children's dental plan after the Blakeney regime ended. The chapter on drug prices is in a class by itself in terms of depth of analysis and value to future work in solving the pharmacare issue. And aside from what value this book might be to policymakers and others, it seems to me to be an excellent contribution to the literature of contemporary social and economic history.

For these and other reasons, the book can be highly recommended. It is a must for classes in social affairs in the secondary schools, and in undergraduate university classes. But it is not only of value as a formal educational artifact, since, in the editor's words, it was written above all to be of help to political and public administrators at all government levels. It is to be hoped that it is widely read, and its lessons well learned.

REFERENCE

Blakeney, A. and S. Borins (1992), *Political Management in Canada* (Toronto and Montreal: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited).

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Constitutional Law

by Patrick J. Monahan. Concord, ON: Irwin Law, 1997. Pp. xviii, 492.

This book is part of a series written about the essentials of Canadian law. There is much of value in this book, but unfortunately it represents very much an Ontario vision of Canada and shows a remarkable insensitivity to the views common in Quebec and the West about this country and its constitutional functioning. There is no reference to the hinterland theory and there are only brief allusions to dualism which is the starting point for Quebec's perception of Canada.

The part of the book devoted to judicial decisions on the division of powers reflects the traditional, central-Canadian view of Bora Laskin and Frank Scott that everything the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC) did was wrong. The importance of the provinces' jurisdiction over property and civil rights under s. 92(13) of the *Constitution Act, 1867* is rather summarily dismissed as being essentially a road block to the hegemony of the federal parliament.

There is a failure to appreciate the wisdom of the words of Sir Montague Smith in the *Parsons* case, that "the words 'regulation of trade and commerce,' in their unlimited sense are sufficiently wide, if uncontrolled by the context and other parts of the Act, to include every regulation of trade ranging from political arrangements in regard to trade with foreign governments, requiring the sanction of parliament, down to minute rules for regulating particular trades. But a consideration of the Act shows that the words were not used in this unlimited sense." In other words, if it hadn't been for the *Parsons* decision, the long-time guarantee given to Quebec in the *Quebec Act* of 1774, the *Constitution Act* of 1791, and the *Constitution Act, 1867*, would have been utterly betrayed. Even that quintessential centralist, former prime minister Trudeau, had to admit that without the decisions of the JCPC, Que-

bec might not be within confederation today. The JCPC recognized that in a dualistic country of vast size, an excessive concentration of power in Ottawa would not be responsive to local needs and concerns.

If Quebec gets short shrift in this book there is no mention made of the hinterland theory, namely the view that Canada was set up in the interests of the heartland at the expense of the hinterland. The fact that the West is quite appreciative of the decisions of the JCPC which retained for those provinces a high degree of autonomy, is simply not recognized.

Nevertheless, the book contains a good review of the key case law on subjects such as peace, order and good government; trade and commerce; and criminal law, as well as a look at judicial interpretation as it relates to environment and transportation. Surely, however, the book should have contained a separate chapter on property and civil rights, rather than merely looking at heads of power which favour the federal parliament. It is interesting to note that on the subject of property and civil rights, both Professor Hogg and Mr. Justice Lysyk have written that historically the phrase "property and civil rights" included everything but the public law and the criminal law, and it was for that reason that a number of areas of commercial law had to be specifically enumerated in s. 91(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*. No mention of this historical perspective on the property and civil rights power is even alluded to in this book.

One of the best chapters in the book is "Constitutional Amendment Since 1982," in which the author analyzes the import and impact of the five amending formulas. In the review of amendments to the Canadian constitution on page 161, however, there are two omissions: namely the *Constitution Act, 1952* passed by the Canadian parliament and the constitutional amendment subsequent to 1982, which increased recognition of linguistic and educational rights for the English and French communities in New Brunswick.

I certainly agree with the author that some aspects of the *Supreme Court Act* fall under the aegis of the amending formula, contrary to the views of his colleague Professor Hogg, who believes that the *Supreme Court Act* is solely and totally within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Canada. Similarly, I come down on the side of Professor Monahan once again in contradistinction to Professor Hogg, with respect to the view that use of the general amending formula in s. 38 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* is required to create new provinces or to extend existing provinces into the territories.

There is generally a good collection of solid data in this book, but at times there are rather grating omissions. For example, in the discussion of the concurrent jurisdiction of the federal parliaments and provincial legislatures, no reference is made to probably the most important concurrent authority, namely that over direct taxation. Similarly, there is no mention made of s. 92A of the *Constitution Act, 1867* which provides for concurrent jurisdiction with respect to direct and indirect taxation of, and authority to legislate with respect to, inter-provincial trade in non-renewable natural resources.

Likewise, in this vein, when doing an overview of the sections of the *Constitution Act, 1867* that divide legislative authority, the author confines himself to ss. 91-95, ignoring three other important sections that divide legislative jurisdiction, namely: ss. 101, 109, and 117. Section 101 is dealt with in a later part of the book on the judicial system, but ss. 109 and 117 should most certainly have been categorized among the list of federal and provincial legislative powers, section 109 being of particular importance as it vests lands, mines, minerals, and royalties within the jurisdiction of the provinces. In this connection, reference should also have been made to the *Constitution Act, 1930* which finally vested jurisdiction over these matters in the Prairie provinces, reversing the earlier legal provisions that retained authority in these areas for the federal government.

The doctrine of parliamentary supremacy is summarily dismissed in this book, but it still plays a very important role in Canada's constitutional structure. The key illustration of this is the case of *In re Canada Assistance Plan*, where the federal parliament unilaterally, contrary to the provisions of the statute, amended it to the fiscal detriment of Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta. The Supreme Court of Canada, finding that this change did not violate the constitution of Canada, upheld the amendment, under the traditional doctrine of the supremacy of parliament. If the federal parliament had tried to do something similar with respect to equalization grants, they would have run squarely into the constitution of Canada, and it would accordingly have been unconstitutional. Nevertheless, if a subject matter is not protected under the terms of the constitution of Canada, the traditional doctrine of parliamentary supremacy still prevails.

Though the declaratory power under s. 92(10)(c) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, is mentioned later in the book, it would have been useful to list it along with reservation, disallowance, and remedial provisions with respect to education in s. 93, as one of the important unitary features of the Canadian constitution.

Finally, the role of lieutenant governors and governors general is dealt with in the usual manner, namely that they must always act "in accordance with the instructions of democratically accountable office holders" (p. 76). Though this is undoubtedly true, there are rare circumstances where the Crown's representatives have an important role to play, as illustrated recently in British Columbia where the lieutenant governor made it very clear that if Premier van der Zalm had not resigned after an unfavourable report by the conflict of interest commissioner, he would have exercised the royal power of dismissal. Obviously this is something that should be very rarely exercised, but in the absence of a process of impeachment, the royal power of dismissal is

the only equivalent method of controlling a first minister who acts in a flagrantly inappropriate way.

Despite the above reservations, this book provides a good technical overview of the Canadian constitution, though the author indicates that he has deliberately left aside any comment on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and on Aboriginal rights. The material on pre-1982 and post-1982 amendment is particularly useful, as is the background on executive and legislative power in Canada. It is also refreshing to see that the author has devoted a portion of his book to Canada's constitutional development prior to 1867, a period in Canada's overall develop-

ment that is often totally ignored, even though it was during that time that the most important convention of the Canadian constitution, namely, responsible government, was developed.

In summary, although there is much that is very useful in this book, as a native of Quebec and a long-time resident of British Columbia, I find it remarkably insensitive to the Canada that exists outside of Ontario.

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Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and Communication at the Crossroads of Europe

edited by Gerald Newton. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1996. Pp. xviii, 286. \$108.00.

Ce livre réunit des études sur l'origine, le développement et le statut actuel du Lëtzebuergesch, une langue d'origine ouest-franconienne, qui est parlée par la majorité de la population du Grand Duché du Luxembourg.

Comme la plupart des études qui composent ce livre sont centrées sur des problèmes linguistiques, la présente recension ne s'occupera que de deux chapitres, tous deux par Gerald Newton, qui relèvent de l'analyse politique de la langue.

Le chapitre 1 considère le développement du Lëtzebuergesch dans le contexte historique du Luxembourg et présente diverses références aux institutions politiques, religieuses, culturelles et économiques du Grand Duché.

Quelques années après l'indépendance du Luxembourg en 1839, un groupe d'intellectuels lança un mouvement pour la promotion de l'usage écrit du Lëtzebuergesch. Une littérature en Lëtzebuergesch eut des débuts assez lents mais son rythme de croissance s'accrût après la première guerre mondiale.

Newton explore dans le chapitre 9 la relation entre la formation de l'identité nationale et l'usage du Lëtzebuergesch. Bien que cette langue fût parlée par la majorité de la population, elle se trouvait en concurrence avec l'usage prédominant du français et de l'allemand parmi les classes les plus instruites de la population luxembourgeoise.

L'invasion du pays par les armées allemandes en 1914-18 offrit un stimulant au mouvement nationaliste après la première guerre mondiale. Une série de décisions légales furent prises en faveur de la promotion du Lëtzebuergesch comme langue nationale.

Au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale, le Luxembourg fut une fois de plus envahi par les armées allemandes et annexé au territoire du Troisième Reich. Les efforts nazis visant à imposer l'usage exclusif de l'allemand ainsi que la répression brutale infligée à tous les résistants incitèrent la population tout entière du Luxembourg à défendre et à promouvoir l'usage du Lëtzebuergesch comme symbole et élément constitutif de son identité nationale.

Au cours de l'après-guerre, les politiques de promotion du Lëtzebuergesch comme langue nationale s'affrontèrent à de sérieux obstacles: parmi ceux-ci, l'obstacle le plus fondamental était l'absence de systématisation de la langue en matière de grammaire, de vocabulaire, d'orthographe et de prononciation. Ceci était d'ailleurs aggravé par la présence diffuse de l'allemand et du français dans les moyens de diffusion de masse qui prenaient une influence sans cesse croissante, ainsi qu'au sein des échanges économiques et culturels en expansion rapide.

En 1984, une loi institua le Lëtzebuergesch comme "langue nationale" en tant que langue parlée, alors que le français demeurait la "langue officielle" (ou langue de l'administration publique) en tant que langue écrite. Quant à l'usage de l'allemand, il restait important dans les écoles et dans l'Eglise.

Newton se limite à la description des rapports entre l'instauration de l'identité nationale du Luxembourg et le statut du Lëtzebuergesch comme langue au stade formatif. Il ne propose aucune solution aux multiples problèmes qui concernent l'usage de la langue officielle dans les communautés locales, dans l'enseignement et dans les activités économiques et commerciales. Ces problèmes deviennent de plus en plus sérieux avec l'intégration du Luxembourg dans la Communauté Européenne et avec la pénétration croissante des langues étrangères et des productions culturelles étrangères dans la vie des Luxembourgeois.

Ce livre constitue une solide introduction aux problèmes qui résultent des usages conflictuels du Lëtzebuergesch en tant qu'instrument de communi-

cation et en tant que symbole d'identité nationale. Comme il existe des situations semblables au sein de plusieurs nations contemporaines, il est important de disposer d'études qui, comme celle-ci, soient bien documentées, afin de permettre une approche

des problèmes linguistiques d'une complexité comparable dans leurs dimensions politiques.

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Alternative Frontiers: Voices from the Mountain West

edited by Allen Seager, Leonard Evenden, Rowland Lorimer, and Robin Matthews. Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, 1997. Pp. vi, 185. \$15.00.

Parts of this collection of selected essays presented at the 1994 Mountain West Canadian Studies Conference will be of considerable interest to two distinct groups of readers. Whereas some articles will appeal to those interested in Canadian Studies as a discipline, others will appeal to those interested in ideological, philosophical, and cultural bases and determinants of public policy.

The introduction is an excellent primer on the roots and evolution of Canadian Studies. It should be read in conjunction with the concluding chapter which examines the nature and state of Canadian Studies in the United States. The two chapters allude to the conscious policy decision made by the federal government to support the Canadian Studies initiative in an effort to forge a national identity. The concluding chapter provides a useful reminder, albeit unintentionally, of at least one lacunae in our policy research, namely the nature and dynamics of public policy in the border regions between the United States and Canada. Despite some works in transborder cooperation, more analyses should be undertaken of the policy adjustments that various jurisdictions along the 49th parallel make to minimize costs and maximize the benefits of their proximity.

Of particular interest for readers of this journal are several articles devoted to the ideological, philosophical, and cultural bases of public policy and governance in Canada. The first of these is a chapter by Leslie Armour that provides some interesting insights on the centrality of "rational pluralism" which has served as the basis in the formation of public institutions and policies in this culturally and geographically diverse country.

The second of these is an article by Elizabeth Trott on the ideological basis of the multiculturalism

vision and policy, which raises a key question considering contemporary debates on the issue: "Can we support multiculturalism as a policy without promoting Canadian culture as distinct from many other cultures in Canada?"

The third of these is an intriguing article by Alison Beale which examines the ideological basis of cultural policy in Canada. It does so with special reference to different conceptions of citizenship, that is, Canadians as subjects, citizens, and consumers. The author argues that the prevailing conception today of "citizens as consumers," has been particularly influential in shaping arts and broadcasting policy, and that to some extent it has also manifested itself in the formation of education, immigration, and multiculturalism policies.

Of special interest for readers who specialize in Aboriginal and Northern studies is Doug West's article on the ideological and conceptual bases of Aboriginal governance and administration in the North. He raises two key issues in that article. The first is the issue of political and policy space for Aboriginal issues within the Canadian polity, and the second is the meaning and importance of culture and place both in political and policy development. A particularly interesting section of that article examines what might be called the hegemonic effects that "south-centralism" has on the governance and administration in northern Canada. He alludes to the continuous efforts that northern Aboriginal people must make to break free of the paradigms that southern Canadians impose not only in the establishment of governance and administrative structures, but also in the formulation and evaluation of public policy and programs in the North if they are to stave off the assimilationist thrust from southern Canada.

There are other articles that readers will find appealing in the book. Those interested in public policy related to the publishing industry in Canada should read the article by Ian Chunn entitled "Selling Out? Commercialism and Literary Publishing in Canada."

Those interested in national and regional identities and the role of historians in examining and even defining the same should read the article by Jeffrey D. Brisson. Those interested in the insights that fictional literature provides on the similarities and differences between Canadian and American political culture and the implications of the same for public policy should read the article by Valerie E. Legge.

This is a book that, as its title suggests, not only points to alternative frontiers, but is bound to open some interesting and significant vistas for anyone who reads it. It is also a reminder of the value of adopting a multidisciplinary approach to studying Canadian public policy.

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Mean Streets: Youth Crime and Homelessness

by John Hagan and Bill McCarthy in collaboration with Jo-Ann Climenhage and Patricia Parker (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xv, 299.

In *Mean Streets* John Hagan and Bill McCarthy set out to take criminology back to the streets. Recognizing that most North American survey research on youth crime during the postwar period has focused on young people in the classroom, with little attention being directed at a serious and growing social problem — the plight of homeless youth. Based on data collected in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the authors undertake a rigorous and systematic analysis of the variables associated with street crime among homeless youth living on the streets of Toronto and Vancouver. Even those familiar with Hagan and McCarthy's earlier work on the subject (some of the chapters were rewritten from previously published journal articles) are offered fresh insights for understanding crime on Canadian streets, particularly relating to differences in the level and character of youth street crime in Vancouver and Toronto.

A major strength of this study centres on the way the authors combine in-depth interviews with sophisticated quantitative analysis. Chronicling the lives of nearly 500 homeless youth, the book describes the harsh conditions that led many of these youth to leave home and the coping mechanisms they rely on to survive. Those, like myself, who favour theoretical integration will be impressed with the book in general, but especially with the final chapter where Hagan and McCarthy skilfully integrate traditional theories of deviant behaviour, that is, control and strain, with more modern approaches dealing with the life-course and social-capital theory.

There are two important policy implications suggested in the study. First, Hagan and McCarthy show

the limited impact of a crime-control strategy for addressing the street youth problem. We learn that youth who are harassed and charged by the police — a practice argued to be more common in Vancouver than in Toronto — are likely to reoffend. Conversely, Toronto's orientation to street youth, which is described as a "social welfare model," provides youth with important access to social capital in the form of overnight shelters and other support services. Within this context, the opportunities to become involved in crime are reduced. However, because the types of services provided by these agencies varies, had the authors placed more emphasis on identifying these differences perhaps more insight could have been gained in identifying which types of services are the most useful for augmenting social capital. This would be an ideal focus for future research.

A second important policy component, and one that should not come as a surprise to many practitioners in the field, is that the most effective way for youth to "beat the street" is through employment. Those youth who managed to find a job were better housed and fed, and were more able to distance themselves from the criminogenic environment of the street. Be this as it may, given that the data for this study were collected prior to recent restructuring and cutbacks to social-assistance provision and delivery in Ontario, it is possible that the situation facing youth on the streets of Toronto may more and more come to resemble the street scene of Vancouver — another question which should entail future research. In summary, this book is highly stimulating and should be read by anyone interested in youth, crime, and public policy.

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In Pursuit of the Public Good: Essays in Honour of Allen J. MacEachen

edited by Tom Kent. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. Pp. xii, 207.

This volume is composed of papers given at a conference honouring Allen J. MacEachen in July 1996. There are eight separate contributions and a final section that attempts to summarize the arguments put forward by the discussants of each of the papers. Overall the quality of the paper is very high and reflects the eminence of the contributors. They are Michael Bliss, Ken Battle, Thomas Courchene, Pierre Fortin, Richard Harris, James Schlesinger, and Kenneth Carty. Allan MacEachen provides a biographical sketch to open the volume and Tom Kent wrote on the overview of the commentary of the discussants. They included Keith Banting, Richard Van Loon, Lars Osberg, Peter Nicholson, John Stewart, Lowell Murray, James Bickerton as well as members of the audience.

The Bliss chapter is an overview of the historical record of pursuit of the common good by the Government of Canada since World War II. It describes how a bipartisan consensus in favour of state provision of social security programs emerged. Among the forces driving this process were the success of "war socialism" and the dominant place of Keynesian economic management ideas within the government. However, the Golden Age of the 1950s and 1960s began to come apart during the 1970s in the face of soaring debt, neoconservative critiques, technological change, and the increasing globalization of the world economy. Bliss concludes that pursuit of the common good in the coming era will require a new formula that reflects these new realities.

Battle argues that any future reform of social policy is unlikely to be initiated by either the federal or provincial governments but will have to emerge from "a new collaborative federalism" (p. 35) that is national in both spirit and substance. He provides an extended discussion of the emer-

gence of the welfare state and of some of the more recent reforms that are changing the character of these policies. Battle stresses the central importance of full employment to the successful operation of social welfare policies and how rising unemployment over the last few decades has been a major source of destabilization. He concludes with a brief discussion of five ideas that might form the basis of a new national social policy.

In his usual detailed overview, Courchene adopts a variation of a classification of stages in the historical development of the welfare state originally formulated by Hugh Hecló. Hecló's stages are experimentation, consolidation, expansion, and reformulation; and Courchene adds a fifth, the knowledge-information revolution. A review of present social policy options follows. For Courchene, social policy is a component of economic policy and must develop and enhance human skills and human capital. This is a different focus from the approach to social policy reform taken by Battle, which is based more directly on income security and reflects one of the important new divisions among theorists of these policies. Courchene also concludes that as responsibility for social policy increasingly rests with the provinces, some coordinated provincial response may be necessary.

Fortin's purpose is to explain the origins of the economic disaster that Canada faced in the first half of the 1990s with high unemployment and rapidly growing debt and deficits. He reviews some of the explanations of Canada's dismal economic performance and rejects all but one. The rejected scenarios include the impact of restructuring and technological change, globalization, political uncertainty caused by challenges to national unity, generous social programs, high payroll taxes, and provincial minimum wages. In Fortin's view, the recession was caused by the impact of high interest rates used by the Bank of Canada to achieve zero inflation and their impact on debt interest costs, tax revenues, and expenditures. This eventually led to rapid public sector contraction that exacerbated the situation. The

national economic costs of this policy continue today and will continue into the future. Fortin attributes the source of the problem in Canada — this policy was not adopted in the United States — to the centralized structure of the Bank of Canada which prevented other policies from emerging. This may well be true but the fact that there was so little public dissent about this policy may also suggest there are serious deficiencies in many other of our public institutions.

Harris provides a good overview of the development of the international economy over the last half of the twentieth century. He emphasizes the longer term decline of natural resources since 1982 and the shift to high wage manufactured and service exports. He argues that the key to economic growth is domestic investment, and the mobility of much capital is exaggerated. His recommendations for improved economic growth are to pursue policies that encourage national savings and to accept that restructuring our economy is necessary and that government still has an important role in the provision of educational opportunities. Did anyone say Millenium Fund?

Schlesinger, a former United States secretary of defence, argues that the pursuit of the public good is dependent on the existence of public support and legitimacy. However, pursuit of the public good is impeded by declining gratitude for what government already provides, declining public capacity in the

face of globalization, the loss of political cohesion or a sense of political community, and growing cynicism about the institutions for political decision making. Concluding his pessimistic diagnosis, he hopes the next millenium may see a revival in public trust and community.

Carty discusses whether or not Canada still has a national party system. In Canada, he writes, tension between a flexible and diverse North American society and political institutions borrowed from Europe, which required tighter control over legislators, is long-standing. The Canadian solution was to allow local party autonomy in the context of tight Ottawa discipline. “Canadian parties evolved to combine maximum local organizational autonomy with minimal parliamentary autonomy for their members” (p. 148). If the national parties are to become strong again, they will have to readjust this tension by allowing more flexibility and participation at the top.

This is a very fine collection and should be enjoyable reading for all those interested in public affairs. The articles are written in an accessible style. Further, the final chapter that summarizes the views of the discussants is excellent; a number of discussions that add substantially to the issues raised in the main chapters.

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The Post-Cold War Trading System: Who's on First?

by Sylvia Ostry. Chicago: A Twentieth Century Fund Book, The University of Chicago Press, 1997. Pp. xix, 309.

Sylvia Ostry argues that the United States gave up in the 1980s its role as the benign, hegemonic masterbuilder of the global economy and now is out for what it can get from the world trading system. As a result, no one is on first, and the best we can hope for is “groping along.”

Her logic has merit. She argues that in the immediate postwar period the constraint of the Cold War and the economic and commercial interests of US-based enterprises were compatible, so that the US aggressively pursued reconstruction in Europe through the Marshall Plan and in Japan through military procurement and technical assistance during the Korean War. (Ostry provides some interesting new details on the importance of technical assistance as part of both plans.) This policy, however, sowed the seeds of its own destruction; the aid was so successful that by the 1970s the European nations and Japan had begun to converge economically with the US. At that point the US lost faith in hegemony and began to pursue other more aggressive self-interested policies.

The “convergence club” of the European Union and Japan included a large number of market-based economic systems that had different balances between states and markets. As the US lead diminished, US governments and firms increasingly viewed any different policies or programs in other countries as “unfair” actions that must be combated.

But the multilateral system was not up to the more demanding needs of the US. In 1949, the US had rejected the proposed International Trade Organization. US industry believed it was too interventionist and would have confirmed legitimacy on “unfair” trading practices in other countries. So, when the US needed a multilateral system with teeth, they only had the

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was too weak to deal with their interests.

The US responded with a multi-track policy. The US government pursued unilateral actions through national policies, including Section 301, the Helms Burton Law, and 60 other measures. The US also pursued bilateral arrangements such as the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Finally, the US pushed for a new multilateral trading system that could handle its more aggressive agenda.

The result of all the jockeying in the 1980s was the Uruguay Round, which yielded in 1995 an agreement that went a long way to meeting US interests, including not only lower tariffs and the inclusion of agriculture, but also a new institution and new rules for a wide variety of primarily non-trade measures, such as regulations, laws, and policies related to government procurement, telecommunications, investment, competition, sanitary and phytosanitary standards, and intellectual property. Perhaps most important, according to Ostry, the new disputes-settlement system was written by the US and almost perfectly mirrors the US domestic system, which allows for private challenges of public policies. In short, we have at last a multilateral system compatible with US interests.

The book is not without its flaws. First, the way it is organized does not lead to a clear understanding of Ostry's logic. Her main message seems elusive because there really is no beginning or end of the book, just a middle. (I only fully appreciated her thesis during a seminar where she presented her findings.) Second, I thought the back-cover promotional material and the preface set the wrong stage for her book. They give the impression that Ostry, a former Canadian Ambassador to the Uruguay Round of the GATT and senior official in Canada and at the OECD, would bring some personal experience and insights into the world-trade policy debate. She does not. Instead, as senior fellow at the Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto,

she has produced a solid academic treatment of a pressing international policy issue. That does not change the worth of the book, but it might make a reader feel somewhat misled.

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Hazardous Waste Siting and Democratic Choice

edited by Don Munton. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1996. Pp. ix, 406. US\$65.00.

Hazardous waste siting processes, and the social turmoil usually associated with them, have spawned more than their share of evocative and memorable phrases, acronyms, and abbreviations. These include the frequently invoked and often maligned “Not in my backyard” (NIMBY), the less familiar “locally unwanted land uses” (LULUs), and the rarely heard “Yes in my backyard” (YIMBY). These three phrases and acronyms and many others are prominently featured in this significant new volume examining the problems associated with the design and siting of hazardous waste facilities.

The book originated in a workshop held at the University of British Columbia in September 1993. Munton, a political scientist and currently chair of International Studies at the University of British Columbia, has authored two papers, co-authored one, and carefully edited another 9 to produce 12 interdisciplinary essays that offer practical insights into the problems that arise in siting hazardous waste facilities.

The basic theory underlying many of the book’s papers is that most approaches to siting employed in the industrialized nations have failed largely because of NIMBY-type opposition to proposals for new facilities. Several authors propose a new strategy to siting based on the concept of voluntary choice. Under this theory, a bottom-up strategy to siting is required, one that protects democratic rights to participate in decision making, addresses equity issues that arise, and stresses the validity of public perceptions about health and environmental impacts. This approach requires a series of “mutual decisions” negotiated between host communities and facility proponents and, as contributors to this volume note, has been successfully employed by planners and policy makers in Alberta and Manitoba. The

voluntary-choice siting process also can be bolstered by a variety of techniques and incentives intended to persuade community residents to accept health risks associated with the facilities. Compensation and financial resources for the host community, impact mitigation and management, and cost- and risk-sharing agreements are examples.

Munton and other authors contrast the voluntary-choice siting strategy with the traditional top-down models such as Decide, Announce, Defend (DAD), an approach employed in most North American jurisdictions in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Under the DAD approach, facility proponents together with government regulators imposed unilateral decisions to build hazardous waste treatment plants in a chosen location.

Most sophisticated versions of the DAD model eventually were employed in Ontario by the Ontario Waste Management Corporation (OWMC), a Crown corporation established by the provincial government in 1981 to find a site for treating and disposing of Ontario’s hazardous waste. After drawing up a short list of sites and selecting a favoured site, the OWMC proceeded to defend its choice in a long, bitter, and complex environmental assessment (EA) hearing that began in the late 1980s. By the early 1990s, the OWMC had spent more than \$140 million of public money looking for potential sites in Ontario and developing its plan. Eventually the OWMC’s plan was turned down by the Environmental Assessment Board, thanks in part to NIMBY-type opposition to the proposal from local and provincial environmental groups.

This is a truly interdisciplinary book and the contributors bring a wide range of perspectives to the subject matter. The academic disciplines represented by the authors include geography, engineering, environmental studies, public policy, public health, economics, and political science. The authors also resist the common tendency to dismiss citizen concerns associated with the siting and operation of hazardous waste plants.

This is a very good book that deserves the attention of policy makers, industry officials, environmental lawyers and environmentalists and also will be of interest to students and teachers of political science, environmental studies, and planning.

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**Health Care: A Community Concern?
Developments in the Organization of Canadian
Health Services**

by Anne Crichton, Ann Robertson, Christine Gordon and Wendy Farrant. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1997. Pp. xxi, 408. \$29.95.

The origin of this book was a 1989 NHRDP grant to conduct a literature review on specific strategies for strengthening community health services. In the final product, this objective seems to have been largely abandoned. Instead, the book focuses on three themes: (i) the imperatives for health care reform, (ii) the welfare state as the context for reforms, and (iii) the rise and nature of community participation in health care policy and practice.

The main thesis of this book is that current reforms of the health care system signal a shift from the welfare state, as the context within which access to health care services is guaranteed, to the welfare society, where the emphasis is on health outcomes and "stakeholder" participation in health policy formation and service delivery. These changes are argued to be the result of two developments. First, the need to control and reduce government deficits and debts, which gave rise to the need to increase the efficacy and efficiency of the health care system. Second, the emergence of the health promotion movement as an expression of a shift in the goals of health care policy from a focus on access to health care services to a focus on health status and outcomes. The shift toward the welfare society is presented as part of a move toward various corporatist arrangements that are currently deemed to be both more effective in achieving political consensus and more efficient in achieving redistributive objectives.

A key element of the emerging welfare society is an emphasis on partnership building and stakeholder participation in policy development and program delivery. In the health care system regionalization is being adopted as a principal means to achieve those goals. This is an interesting thesis. It has not been convincingly argued by the authors, however, because the key concept of the welfare society is inadequately developed. This will be frustrating for those readers interested in trying to understand how current developments in the health care sector are related to more general changes in the nature and organization of society. Readers may also be frustrated because the authors have not used their analytical framework as the basis for organizing and presenting the material. Rather they have organized and presented the material in terms of types of services.

Although much interesting information is provided, its significance for the main thesis is often unclear. Parts of this book have been previously published. For those who are new to the area, however, it provides a good summary of the evolution of the Canadian welfare state and medicare. The information and interpretation of this material will be well-known to those familiar with this area. More original is the authors' contribution to the genealogy of health promotion and the subsequent analysis of its consequences for health care policy. The extensive bibliography and list of government reports will be of value to many.

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Saskatchewan: From entrepreneurial state to embedded state. K. Rasmussen. K. Brownsey & M. Howlett (Eds.), *The provincial state in Canada: Politics in the provinces and territories* (3. 2001. View 18 excerpts. Highly influential. Policy innovation in the Saskatchewan public sector, 1971-82. Eleanor D. Glor. *Business*. 1998. View 18 excerpts. Highly influential. Privatizing a province. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, Volume 22(2), 2017, article 1. _Appendix I: Scoring of Questionnaire for Primary Variables affecting all Five Income Security Innovations of Government of Saskatchewan, 1971-82. Primary Variable Measure 1) Ideology (see Appendix II). Score, Creation of Innovations, GoS, 1971-82*. NA. Score, when Innovations Abolished/Survived 1986-7**.