



Review

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In the choice of a comparative perspective, Beattie follows in the footsteps of Lipset, Alford, and others who have compared the Anglo-American democracies. Some tentative and interesting hypotheses are advanced comparing the fate of white minority men in majority settings in the public bureaucracies of Canada, Australia, the United States, and Britain. Although this tradition has produced much of value in the study of the class structures and political cultures of the four countries, I suspect it is not the best comparative perspective to adopt when the aspect of Canadian society one is focusing on is French-English relations in eastern Canada. The existence of two territorially based, highly segmented *linguistic* societies (each with its own set of institutions) in eastern Canada is precisely what makes Canada most unlike the other Anglo-American countries. This study should serve as an invaluable basis for researchers planning future comparisons with the civil services of Belgium, Switzerland, and other countries where more than one language is used.

For many decades Francophones have been underrepresented in the federal public service, and the language of work has always been mainly English. This was legitimated by the notion that a unilingual English administration was more "efficient." In recent years government efforts have centered on two related goals. The first of these, similar to affirmative action programs in the United States, has been to increase the proportion and position of Francophones in the public service. The second goal has been to equalize the status of the two languages, to make a "career in French" as possible as a "career in English" has always been. To find out their effect, Beattie did a 1973 poststudy of his original 1965 sample and found that although "there has been a slight reduction in discriminatory practices" (p. 192), "the Anglophone-Francophone salary gap for these middle-level men has not narrowed" (p. 188).

The appearance of Beattie's book is important in this context. It will be of interest to students of comparative intergroup relations, organizations, and occupations, and especially to those attempting the needed theoretical linkages among these areas.

Canadian Political Parties: Origin, Character, Impact. By Frederick C. Engelmann and Mildred A. Schwartz. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975. Pp. ix+358. \$6.95.

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In this volume Frederick Engelmann and Mildred Schwartz provide a comprehensive treatment of the Canadian party system which is based in part on their earlier book, *Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1967). The framework for this study is a three-dimensional typology of political parties. Parties may be organized on a mass or cadre basis, they may have broad or restricted

support among the citizens, and they may make pragmatic or principled appeals to the electorate. The Canadian federal party system has been characterized by the dominance of two parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, which are organized on a cadre basis and make pragmatic appeals to the electorate. Although both parties had broad support during the first 50 years following confederation, Conservative support has tended to be restricted to the non-French population since the conscription crisis of World War I, and the Liberals have frequently failed to acquire western support since the emergence of third parties there.

Given this party typology, Engelmann and Schwartz develop a systems analysis of the Canadian political parties by examining relevant inputs and outputs. Major inputs are generated by basic societal cleavages, the governmental system, and special influences, which include elites, the mass media, and organized interest groups. Central outputs include the provisions for leadership, the making of decisions, and the mobilization of the electorate. The input-output analysis is supplemented by an extensive discussion of party organization, support, and programs.

The analysis of the relevant governmental and societal inputs is impressive, despite an excess of systems terminology in the discussion of societal factors. The implications of federalism and of the electoral and parliamentary systems are clearly spelled out. Societal inputs tend to revolve around basic cleavages associated with nation building and the industrial revolution. In this regard, it is not clear that one gains any analytic leverage by subsuming oppositions between primary and secondary sectors of the economy and between workers and employers under the "functional-economic dimension" of cleavage (p. 71), or church-government conflicts and regional differences under the "territorial" dimension (p. 71). Their substantive analysis of these problems, which is very thorough, does not really benefit from such language.

The most problematic section of the study is probably the one dealing with special influences. Although the authors consider the impact of various elites on Canadian political parties, they do not give sufficient attention to the possibilities that some elites, particularly the economic elite, exercise more influence than others; that elite interaction may figure in political activity; or that elite members may possess common social characteristics that facilitate similar outlooks. The ways in which Engelmann and Schwartz address the question of elite structure lead them to discount John Porter's seminal work on these topics, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). The query should not be whether Canada has a "monolithic power elite" (p. 115 [Porter himself is quite a strong advocate of the plural elite position]), or whether members of the political elite are engaged in "any form of conspiracy, deliberate or otherwise" (p. 117). Rather, the task is to demonstrate how configurations of power and social class set parameters for political activity.

One encounters similar difficulties with respect to Engelmann and Schwartz's treatment of the mass media and organized interest groups.

They provide an excellent analysis of the types of partisanship exhibited in the media and demonstrate the influence the media exert on political style, but they do not connect media activities to the general elite structure. Given Porter's findings regarding the links between the mass media and other elites, as well as the more detailed work done by one of his students, Wallace Clement (*The Canadian Corporate Elite* [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975], which postdates the volume under review), it seems clear that ties between these elites may be important conditioning factors in the operation of Canadian political parties. In a parallel fashion, the discussion of organized interest groups fails to distinguish differences in the amount of power or influence exercised by such groups. Although we are presented with a detailed account of their structure and operation, there is no clear indication that some interest groups have institutional and elite affiliations which make it more likely that their demands, as opposed to others, will be met.

The most innovative part of the book is the concluding chapter. It is less a conclusion than an attempt to relate the party typology discussed above to competitive structures in order to generate hypotheses about the relationships between party and society. According to Engelmann and Schwartz, a party system is competitive when each of two parties receives at least one-third of the total vote cast. A given party is dominant if it polls more than one-third of the vote, while others receive less than one-third. In accordance with such distinctions, Canadian federal and provincial elections are then classified in terms of major patterns, the former from 1867 to 1972, the latter from 1919 to early 1974. The major finding is that elections at both levels have been competitive affairs among cadre-pragmatic parties but that parties with some principle-based appeal have been frequent participants in provincial elections.

Engelmann and Schwartz then elaborate a set of 15 hypotheses which relate parties to society in terms of leadership, policies, resource mobilization, effectiveness, and legitimacy. Some of the more interesting ideas include the following propositions: where "cadre-restricted-pragmatic parties compete, the result will tend to be unstable minority government" (p. 321); and where "dominance is accompanied by fragmented social bases, largely because cross-cutting loyalties are minimized, there will be greatest difficulty in responding to crises of legitimacy" (p. 323). The former hypothesis is substantiated by the fact that the federal elections of 1925, 1962, 1963, and 1972, which involved two pragmatic parties with restricted social bases, resulted in short-lived minority governments. The latter proposition is supported by an analysis of the events surrounding the conscription crises of the two world wars and the crisis of October 1970.

Some of the other strengths of the book deserve mention. The section on the character of Canadian political parties goes into much greater depth than the authors' first volume on questions of party support and policy formation. With regard to party support, Engelmann and Schwartz develop the concepts of electoral mobilization and party polarization and

use them to good advantage. The entire work is strengthened by the authors' firm command of Canadian political history; they continually elaborate theoretical points with historical references. Furthermore, the joint efforts of a political scientist (Engelmann) and a sociologist (Schwartz) produce a clear understanding of the relationship between party and society which does justice to both political and social concerns.

This book, like their previous one, is likely to be the standard source on political parties for another generation of students of Canadian social science. It goes well beyond its predecessor in terms of the incorporation of new findings into previously discussed topics, the areas covered, and the overall integration of this material into a more refined systems model. In addition, the theoretical structure and the related attempt to establish testable hypotheses about the operations of the Canadian party system establish its relevance for current research in the area.

White-Collar Power: Changing Patterns of Interest Group Behavior in Sweden. By Christopher Wheeler. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. Pp. xii+210. \$12.00.

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The aim of Christopher Wheeler's book is to give a picture of interest group politics in Sweden in the 1950s and 1960s. This is done through an analysis of the political activities of the Central Organization of Salaried Employees or the TCO, which is the biggest white-collar organization in Sweden, embracing salaried employees in the lower and middle income brackets within the private as well as the public sector.

Wheeler studies the impact of the TCO's policy-influencing tools—such as membership on government commissions and administrative agency boards and the so-called *remiss* replies to commission proposals—within three issue areas: supplementary pensions, inventors' rights, and school reform. The three cases are representative examples of different degrees of politicization: the supplementary pensions reform in 1959 was the greatest and most intensely contested social reform issue in Swedish history, whereas inventors' rights was a technical question with direct relevance only for small groups of salaried employees, and the school reform issue, which dealt with the new comprehensive school curriculum in 1969, held an intermediate position with respect to political effect. Wheeler concludes that the TCO's influence over public policy is greatest when political partisanship is least, and to the extent that the leadership succeeds in keeping issues from being politicized—in gaining access to the early stages of the decisionmaking process—its influence is often decisive.

The inventors' rights and school reform issues are good examples of areas in which the TCO, acting through administrative channels rather than through the political parties, takes the initiative early and applies