

going beyond even the most accurate measurement of "individual-level attitudinal changes."

Not surprisingly, then, the radical or leftist element in the "New Politics" remains somewhat underexposed. Acknowledging that "the New Politics is not independent from the traditional left-right dimension," Poguntke has only a "few remarks" about the "logical links" between New Politics and left-wing policies: "...the quest for autonomy and more participation have repercussions for the preferred organisation of industrial production, business life and democratic governance. Furthermore, ecologically-adapted industrial production cannot be enforced without a substantial degree of political control." (38) These few remarks raise expectations that Poguntke's analysis later cannot fulfill. His insight, cited at the outset of this review, that the Greens lost out in the 1992 election because they responded incoherently and campaigned without engagement in an election dominated by an "unfavourable political agenda" all of a sudden sounds a bit hollow. Who set that political agenda? Which dominant ideology provided campaign coherence for what interests? Could the German Greens have given a "coherent" answer without losing their integrity as a New Politics party?

Answers to these questions obviously would require a different book, and the criticism is therefore unfair. Poguntke has written an intelligent and mostly compelling analysis of *Green* politics. But from the kinds of critical perspectives *left history* (and many Greens) are committed to, one may at least be permitted to ask whether the "New Politics" phenomenon can be understood in its entirety without asking such questions. And more generally, one may ask how

much further the usefulness of empirical behaviouralism can be driven before the measurement of the measurable needs to be reconnected with the more "conventional" tools of critical social science.

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Greg Marquis, *Policing Canada's Century: A History of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1993).

Police historiography has, within the last few years, established a respectable niche within the broader spectrum of Canadian social history. Professional and amateur historians, sociologists, and journalists have all turned their attention to chronicling the development and exploits of local and national police organizations. Such themes as the rise of a professional police force; the coercive function of the police in breaking strikes and maintaining public order; the social welfare role of local police departments; the impact of technology on crime fighting; public relations; and the romantic myths associated with one of the country's national symbols, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, have all been explored with varying degrees of success. The publication of Greg Marquis' *Policing Canada's Century*, signals the maturation of police history by providing a comprehensive look at how the governing body of Canadian police, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, operated. It also marks the first attempt by a scholar to combine the disparate themes of police studies into a single volume.

Policing Canada's Century is an institutional study of a non-governmental body, the Chief Constables' Association of Canada (CCAC) and its successor, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP), from its inception in 1905 through to the end of the 1980s. Drawing upon the published proceedings of their annual conferences, personal papers and interviews with past presidents, along with contemporary accounts of the CACP, Marquis offers an inside look at how the "guardians of the law" governed themselves and battled crime. As Marquis argues, the emergence of a professional police force across Canada did not come easy. Indeed, the process of rationalization and standardization which the twentieth century police establishment underwent, was tedious and protracted. The book's opening chapter on policing in the nineteenth century sets the stage for a detailed examination of this over-arching theme. From militia units to a ragtag collection of small patrols in cities and some small towns, municipal police forces gradually became recognizable fixtures in Canadian society. Yet at the turn of the century, their struggle for legitimacy had only just begun.

It is this growth and progression towards professional status that Marquis traces in this book. Marquis reveals, by examining internal CACP debates and public pronouncements on various matters of crime control and the drafting of Canadian laws, that the CACP and its members, worked closely with the state, not only in keeping close tabs on alleged left and right-wing subversives and criminals, but also in setting the general tone for social order in Canada. By constantly trying to cultivate an image of respect and authority for itself, the CACP helped to entrench the rule of law as a bulwark

to a stable capitalist social order. Moreover, the CACP ensured that it would retain an important position in Canada's socio-economic development as a crucial component of state authority.

According to Marquis, however, the CACP did at times stand at odds with the state. Police unionism and strikes by local forces became at times contentious issues. Politicians and the public generally opposed strikes by such an essential service as the police. Yet, numerous men and women on the beat across the country, conscious of their small salaries relative to other occupations and the life-threatening risks involved in their line of work, viewed a strike, as did many other workers, as a viable option to pursue once contract negotiations had failed. Even though the CACP leadership split on the issue of strikes being waged by its membership, it does highlight the fact that police officers, although used periodically by the state and employers to break strikes, were also workers themselves. Labour historians should take special note of Marquis' research in this area and build upon it to address the dilemma facing this sector of public employees in their fight for improved wages and union representation.

Policing Canada's Century also possesses a wealth of information sure to spark interest among historians engaged in various areas of study. The role played by policewomen, first hired in cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax in the 1910s and 1920s, is uncovered and provides an excellent starting point for a more in-depth treatment of this aspect of women's work. As well, the history of the social reform movement is enriched by this book's sketch of police efforts to curb vice and instill middle-class notions of respectability in young Canadian women and men. The police, as Marquis

notes, also served as precursors to the modern welfare state. By outlining the social welfare services numerous police departments provided, from housing unemployed, transient men, to settling domestic disputes, this book gives another glimpse into the pre-welfare state reaction to poverty and the origins of this institution. Marquis' discussion of how the CACP responded to and handled organized crime, juvenile delinquency, and the "war on drugs", stretching back to their efforts to eliminate the use of opium, or the "dope evil" in the 1920s, will add to the work of social historians and sociologists in assessing the extent to which the Canadian state and its agencies attempted to regulate most aspects of civil society and maintain a strict sense of law and order.

Similar to most books devoted to the history of a single institution, the ability of *Policing Canada's Century* to explore the broader context of twentieth century Canada is constrained by its narrow focus. At times the book becomes rather encyclopedic in approach, with an absence of solid conclusions in regards to the impact of the CACP's actions on its milieu. For instance, Marquis contends that the growth of organized crime in the 1970s "was reflective not only of Canada's increasing diversity, but also of a general decline in police authority." (355) He fails to discuss, however, how the CACP, or local police forces, by targeting certain ethnic minorities, notably 'Orientals,' as prime suspects, played a part in fostering a public panic over organized crime and its alleged perpetrators.

This oversight is indicative of the prevailing weakness of the book's concluding chapters. The initial sections dealing with the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are the strongest,

reflecting Marquis' previous work on the police in Toronto and the Maritimes. Yet as the narrative moves beyond World War Two and into the 1970s and 1980s, the material and analysis become somewhat thin. Marquis should not be faulted for braving uncharted waters, but more could have been done on how the Charter of Rights shaped the policies of the CACP and the duties of police officers generally, vis-a-vis investigating crimes and apprehending offenders. Police relations with natives and other ethnic communities, at times hostile and confrontational in the last twenty years, could also have been more closely considered. Nevertheless, *Policing Canada's Century* stands as a significant contribution to our understanding, not only of this facet of the Canadian state, but of some of the intricacies of the law and the response by law enforcement officials in this country to crime. Police history, with *Policing Canada's Century* to its credit, is now poised to assume a more prominent position in Canadian historical scholarship.

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Ruth A. Frager, *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1992).

For the past two decades, labour, immigration and women's history have been arguably the most intellectually vibrant fields of historical enquiry in Canada. Contributions from scholars in these fields have served to correct the narrow and elitist class-, ethnic-, and gender-