

criteria that would also be available to the public. This provision would eliminate the appearance of patronage while encouraging an independent, less-partisan Senate to continue their valuable investigative research and to act as a complementary check on the executive. Smith also encourages the establishment of regional and communications committees to guarantee that regional concerns be adequately addressed and communicated to the media and public. This proposal would not only increase the credibility of the Upper House but it is also politically feasible because it does not undermine the principles of responsible government or require constitutional negotiations.

A few other aspects of the book should be addressed. The authors do not adequately consider the need to increase the number of senators for underrepresented provinces. Explanations of the difficulties associated with doing so are outlined: it would require constitutional reform and could lead to jurisdictional overlap by the provinces in the federal Parliament. For many Canadians, the equal representation of provinces in the Senate, however, is an essential component of reform and will ultimately need to be addressed if the perceived inequality is to be rectified. Also, because some of the proposals are presented piecemeal, in comparison with others – which can be confusing – those who have little experience with the various reform alternatives might require supplementary information to clarify previous proposals in their entirety.

Joyal's book is highly recommended for those seeking to understand the actual activities of the Senate and its contributions to the Canadian parliamentary and political processes. Academics will be pleased with the systematic approach to reform, and students of politics will be provided with an exceptional and much-needed defence of the Senate by those who have intimate knowledge of its performance and activities.

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### **The Tools of Government: A Guide to the New Governance**

Edited by LESTER M. SALAMON, with the special assistance of Odus V. Elliott. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. xii, 669, bibliographical references, index.

The debate that took place in the 1995 Spring issue of this Journal and in many others about the so-called new public management (NPM) and more traditional forms of government seems to have come full circle. Indeed, for all the innovations in the delivery of government services, the challenge of lining up both the means and the ends with fundamental democratic accountabilities remains open and unresolved. The unfortunate part of this debate and that reality in Canadian public life is that the means (e.g., third-party partnerships, use of alternative methods) are often blamed for an inadequate attention to the ends (e.g., accountability, responsible ministerial government, appropriate oversight of public money). The very comments of the cur-

rent president of the Treasury Board about the failure of the federal government and its bureaucracy to exercise the kind of control it should would seem to only add a bit more fuel to the fire without sorting one from the other. The gains made by such alternative forms of delivery are in danger of being lost without necessarily increasing or improving on accountability and control. Kill the means; dodge the ends.

For that reason, Professor Lester Salamon's book, *The Tools of Government*, is important reading today. Founding director and principal research scientist at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies, and professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Salamon is well positioned to help us understand the extent to which government has changed in the past two decades. Through the contribution of a variety of authors, his volume documents, at times in great detail, the way in which a variety of public service-delivery tools have worked and evolved. *The Tools of Government* also reminds us of the issues and challenges faced by public leaders and administrators in this new governance reality. To call Salamon's approach either a paradigm or framework would invite a further debate about the coherence of the whole in which public governance occurs today.

Cast in this light, the book might be seen as one for the post-NPM era. The bloom is off the rose of reinvention, out-sourcing, privatization and partnerships. There have been successes and failures. Nonetheless, a balanced view – if that is possible – would suggest that there have been some good results, some bad ones and some mediocre. What has become clear is that the expectation that public goods are important and need to be governed publicly remains vibrant, regardless of the means sought to deliver them.

Before a more thorough examination of *The Tools of Government*, two specific issues have to be addressed. First, is this book just too American to be relevant? Secondly, does this book reflect the anti-state orientation so commonly found in American public discourse? With respect to the first question, this book is definitely American. However, while all but one of the twenty-four contributors are American, they are also distinguished academics who also have impressive experience in government. Many, such as Donald F. Kettl of the Brookings Institution, have contributed extensively to the worldwide debate about the transformation on government over the past twenty years. There is also a chapter by Arthur B. Ringeling, professor of public administration at Erasmus University, Rotterdam, on the European experience. Such an array both limits and defines the text. The depth and thoroughness of each contribution offers an impressive picture of the state of governance and the delivery of government services. That the focus is limited to the American experience may be an issue to take into account. However, because of the high level of activity and change in the United States, and the scope of Salamon's overall analysis, the book is indeed relevant to experience and debate elsewhere.

Salamon addresses the debate of state/no-state directly when he says that "the deep ideological divide between supporters and opponents of state action has continued to foster a rhetoric that obscures the extent to which public and private action has fused" (p. vii). Taking a more global perspective, governments around the world, regardless of their ideological orientation, have experimented with and adopted different forms of public-service delivery. They have also faced the governance backlash when accountability and oversight of the public goods are not adequately resolved.

*The Tools of Government* tries to steer clear of the ideological state/no-state debate and takes a structured examination of the new "tools" of government. Building on previous work (see his article in *Public Policy*, Summer 1981, and his edited volume, *Beyond Privatization: The Tools of Government Action* [Washington, D.C: Urban Institute Press, 1989]), Salamon defines a tool of public action as "an identifiable method through which collective action is structured to address a public problem" (p. 19). Beginning with direct government delivery, he moves through a "tools" continuum of social and economic regulation, contracting, grant, direct loan, loan guarantee, insurance, tax expenditure, fees, liability law, government corporations, and ends with vouchers. Through the collaborative efforts of an impressive range of contributors, each "tool" is subjected to a structured, detailed and valuable analysis of effectiveness, efficiency, equity, manageability, legitimacy and political feasibility, degree of coercion, directness, automaticity and visibility. The writers perform admirably in trying to adhere to the analytical demands created by this set of criteria. While his tools approach makes for rather formulaic reading, Professor Salamon's intention is to examine dispassionately the state of a new public sector, one that has changed – neither systematically nor consistently, but changed nonetheless.

So, in the end, the state is alive and well, but different. This difference leads to a preoccupation with governance over government. As Salamon notes, his approach "emphasizes the continued need for public management even when indirect tools are used. This is so because private markets cannot be relied on to give appropriate weight to public interests over private ones without active public involvement" (p. 15).

At the core of this text is the view that neither full privatization or anti-state views nor full public-sector delivery is the reality after many efforts at reform of the public sector. Rather, a hybrid of delivery means has created what Salamon calls the "new governance." As he points out, "Network management rather than either public management or market dynamics comes closest to describing the central realities involved" (p. 601).

In Salamon's view, the range of policy and delivery tools has great advantages. They increase the engagement of other sectors in solving public problems. They overcome resource limitations that often plague the public sector. Through engagement of other sectors, they increase legitimacy and secure support for public action.

The great linkage to all this is that all of these tools be seen as public action, politically delineated and defined. As simple as that may sound, Salamon recognizes and writes effectively on the challenges to make it so.

The challenges that governments, the broader public sector, and the private sector have created are ones that are all too familiar: on the management challenge, Salamon writes, "Indirect tools paradoxically require advance planning of far more operational details than is the case with more direct tools. ... [A]ll of this requires new processes and new skills that differ considerably from those of traditional government management" (p. 603). On the accountability challenge, he notes that discretion and flexibility in delivering services are important elements in indirect government, but government remains accountable for both the policy and delivery of such services: "How to square these new approaches with the more traditional procedural safeguards of administrative law, however, is still far from settled, leaving administrators and courts alike significantly adrift" (p. 605). And, on the legitimacy challenge, he writes, "Third party government may delegitimize government in the very

act of enabling it to operate in new spheres" (Ibid.). Additional contributions on these challenges round out the examination: Donald F Kettl writes on managing indirect government; John Lordan, on financial accountability; Paul L. Posner, on accountability challenges; and B. Guy Peters, on the politics of tool choice.

Salamon's conclusions are that schools and students of public administration, as well as those in government, have to develop new skills and better understandings of how other sectors work. In saying this, Salamon fails to fully account for the many schools that have broad bases of learning, some with specific focus on the not-for-profit sector. He is correct, however, when he notes the great divide between public and private management schools. Certainly, the notion that one or the other approach is sufficient is just not realistic today.

Salamon's talk of the "dense mosaic of policy tools" now available in the public sector is the reality with which we must come to grips. In Canada, we hold ministerial accountability to be the underlying element of the parliamentary system, but, at the same time, we have continued to let it drift and change without clear reflection. One of the key challenges is that ministerial accountability has never been as pure or as undiminished as some would hold. It has shifted and been challenged. Indeed, it has at times been a cover for no accountability at all or for preventing Parliament from doing its work of detailed analysis of legislation and issues. Such issues remain unresolved and poorly debated, even as we try to improve public services and find new ways to deliver them.

In the past twenty years, political choices have changed the way governments deliver policy and services. The time has come to fully recognize this and address the kinds of challenges that Salamon raises. *The Tools of Government* is a valuable and important contribution to a studied approach to these difficult questions.

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