

l'histoire canadienne, comme le Crédit social, le Parti réformiste de Preston Manning ou le populisme dit « intelligent » de Maxime Bernier (Chapitre 4).

Finalement, le dernier chapitre effectue une cartographie de l'espace intellectuel de la droite depuis le milieu des années 2000. Quelques exemples québécois y sont donnés, comme Denise Bombardier, Lise Ravary et Nathalie Elgrably-Lévy, en plus de présenter le regard des intellectuelles sur Donald Trump et sur l'islamisme.

L'ouvrage présente ainsi plusieurs contributions intéressantes à la littérature sur l'idéologie de la droite et sur le populisme. Il présente de manière claire l'évolution de la droite, son omniprésence et comment cette dernière peut teinter les formations politiques se trouvant ailleurs sur l'échiquier politique. Il est également important de souligner que l'ouvrage de Boily fait partie des rares publications couvrant le populisme au Canada et au Québec, en plus d'intégrer un chapitre complet sur l'apport des femmes intellectuelles dans les débats.

Néanmoins, l'auteur associe le concept de droitisation au populisme. Boily reprend la définition du populisme qu'il avait présentée dans son ouvrage *La Coalition avenir Québec* (2018), soit « un style politique, pouvant s'exprimer sur le plan autant identitaire que protestataire » (90). Or, cette définition demeure générale et peut aussi être appliquée à d'autres courants politiques, comme l'antisystème. Sans critères de mesure systématiques, il existe un risque réel de voir le populisme partout. Alors qu'il est reproché à plusieurs autrices et auteurs d'évacuer les populistes de gauche dans leurs études, associer le populisme à la droitisation (censés être mutuellement exclusifs) sans davantage d'explication sur la véritable teneur populiste des discours donnés en exemple peut porter à confusion. Il aurait aussi été intéressant de pousser le cas québécois et des apports distincts de la Révolution tranquille par rapport aux exemples classiques convenus dans la littérature, ainsi que de voir comment la gauche peut faire preuve de droitisation. En dernier lieu, la dimension des femmes de droite en politique demeure une avenue à explorer.

En somme, l'ouvrage constitue une base intéressante pour asseoir la réflexion sur l'omniprésence de la droite et du populisme au quotidien, par le biais d'angles moins couverts dans la littérature et de références à des publications clés sur la question. Encore une fois, Boily nous offre un ouvrage utile et original qui saura susciter l'intérêt des politologues.

Bibliographie

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At the Pleasure of the Crown: The Politics of Bureaucratic Appointments

Christopher A. Cooper, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020, pp. 148.

Jonathan Malloy, Carleton University (jonathan.malloy@carleton.ca)

Since the 1800s, the politics-administration dichotomy has been a central question in public administration—perhaps the central question. What is the relationship between elected officials and the permanent bureaucracy? Can a strict line—a dichotomy—be drawn between them? And is that desirable?

Chris Cooper's *At the Pleasure of the Crown: The Politics of Bureaucratic Appointments* tackles this question in a fresh and original manner. Drawing from a massive database of all

provincial deputy minister appointments in Canada since 1867, Cooper tracks the turnover of deputy ministers relative to changes in government and premiers. He then relates this to changes in governing parties, as well as to premiers within governing parties.

Cooper finds three broad eras or “bargains” between politicians and public servants. In the first *spoils* era, turnover is significant and blatant at the change of government, as governing parties appoint partisan supporters to replace the previous government’s people. In the second *Schafferian* era (named after Bernard Schaffer, who documented this period), election-related turnover drops significantly and deputies remain in place. But in the third *managerial* era, beginning around 1980, turnover accelerates again. Cooper analyzes turnover from several dimensions, such as in relation to overall career patterns and longevity, to establish that change in government is consistently the significant variable. He also establishes that intra-party transfers of power, when a new premier from the same party takes office, do not see the same level of turnover—until the new premier wins an election, at which point there is a housecleaning.

These broad eras correspond with conventional wisdom. However, Cooper is particularly interested in explaining the current era, and this is the book’s main novelty. Cooper suggests that most explanations of modern turnover focus on “the quest for control”—that political leaders want to bring in ideologically like-minded partisan sympathizers that they can control. Cooper suggests *partisan control* is not the objective—rather, it is *policy responsiveness*. Premiers want individuals that will carry out their vision, and this may be less about ideological leanings and more about personal competencies and orientations. Incoming premiers vowing change will naturally favour bureaucrats who are change agents (in the right direction). Stabilizers will bring in stabilizers, and so on. This is different from a century ago, when partisanship was king, regardless of personality. Modern appointments are political but in a policy, rather than partisan, sense. This does not disprove the overall quest-for-control explanation, but it significantly clarifies it.

Cooper is somewhat equivocal on the normative implications of this. The strength of the current managerial era is that bureaucrats are arguably more democratically responsive. When a government is elected to power, the new deputies see their role as implementing the new agenda rather than blocking or moderating it to suit existing interests. The downside is a possible reluctance to speak truth to power and to raise legitimate concerns and objectives. While there can be nostalgia for the Schafferian bargain of fearless permanent deputies serving governments that come and go, this could also risk stagnation, drift and an entrenchment of the status quo. The elusive ideal, then, may be bureaucrats that are highly responsive to the policy directions set by elected officials yet also brave enough to put their foot down when it is required. But this also requires politicians prepared to listen to things they don’t want to hear and to not interpret every concern and doubt as obstruction. That is a complicated matchup.

One of the great strengths of this book is the comprehensive provincial focus. Cooper does not look at the federal government, partly because it has been better studied but also because the 10 provinces provide a much richer and more comparable set of data. This focus allows study of governing parties beyond Liberals and Conservatives and of a wider set of policy regimes. Unsurprisingly, new parties wanting to pursue bold policy directions, such as the Parti Québécois in 1976, make significant changes at the deputy level to facilitate them. This is also generally the case for New Democratic party (NDP) governments—though Cooper notes that the Manitoba NDP seems to clean house less than those in other provinces—as well as strongly neoliberal “change” regimes such as the Ontario Harris Conservatives. But it is the policy direction, not the party label, that most matters.

Another strength is Cooper’s research design. His primary approach is quantitative, working with his exhaustive database to provide solid confirmation of these distinct trends. But the book also has a significant qualitative element, as he draws extensively from the literature on provincial bureaucratic turnover, including royal commissions from the 1930s and extensive quotes from past ministers and deputies. This material provides colour and confirmation of

the trends yielded in the quantitative analysis. The qualitative evidence also informs his primary argument that modern turnover is not partisan but rather policy driven.

At the Pleasure of the Crown is a short book—only 107 pages of text, plus notes. Compliments must be given to the University of British Columbia Press for publishing such an excellent piece of analysis: shorter than a typical monograph but far more than a single article. This allows Cooper to build his argument carefully at length and to present both his quantitative analysis and qualitative context, all in a trim package. (In a sign that perhaps a certain television show has had its day, this study of ministers and deputies in parliamentary systems does not make a single reference to *Yes, Minister*.) *At the Pleasure of the Crown* is a very grounded study that will serve as an important reference going forward for the study of public management in Canada and as a new answer to a perpetual public administration question.

Conflicts of Interest. Christopher A. Cooper, the author of the reviewed title, currently serves as the French-language book review editor for the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. This review was coordinated by the journal's English-language book review team without any involvement from Dr. Cooper. The author of this review, Jonathan Malloy, does not have any conflicts of interest to declare.

Partisan Odysseys: Canada's Political Parties

Nelson Wiseman, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020, pp. 240.

A. Brian Tanguay, Wilfrid Laurier University (btanguay@wlu.ca)

In this concise and accessible primer on party politics, Nelson Wiseman employs a “granular” historical approach—thick description—to shed light on how Canada's political parties, major and minor, have adapted over time to their changing environments, sometimes completely reinventing themselves in the process. As the “values, concerns, and interests of Canadians have changed,” Wiseman writes, so too have the various parties' stances on the key issues of the day, along with their approaches to mobilizing votes to gain power (viii).

In straightforward chronological fashion, starting with the rebellions against the colonial elites and the struggle for responsible government in British North America in the early 1800s, Wiseman explores the dominant “motifs” of each successive era of party competition. There is a certain conceptual looseness to this notion of motif, but it seems to stand in for the prevailing narratives, visions and policy prescriptions advanced by the constellation of parties at any given time in their quest for power. For example, “empire versus continent became the central motif of party politics between the 1890s and 1930s” (20), with the Conservatives advocating strong ties to Great Britain and the Liberals favouring closer relations with the United States. Motifs can also incorporate existing socio-economic conditions, however, as was the case during Pierre Trudeau's lengthy tenure in power from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, when the “irrepressible power of Québécois nationalism against a background of stagflation . . . became the motif characterizing his time as prime minister” (83). Stagflation, the coexistence of high unemployment and runaway inflation in the early 1970s, was the principal factor behind the Liberal government's imposition of wage and price controls in 1975, only a year after Pierre Trudeau had gleefully pilloried Robert Stanfield and the Conservatives for suggesting just such a freeze during the federal election campaign.

This policy reversal on wage and price controls provides a particularly arresting illustration of the programmatic flexibility of our major parties (85), considered to be one of the defining characteristics of our distinctive party system since at least the early twentieth century, when André Siegfried