

zoning which are not decisions to spend money. The Toronto height by-law is a good example, around which swirl turgid arguments about central city blight and astronomical rents (predicted as consequences both of the by-law and of its repeal, depending on your position).

A second and more subtle issue raised by the authors concerns the impact of money from higher level governments. Since the mix of priorities for the higher level government is different from the city's, since different things are competing for money at the different levels of government, conditional grants skew the priorities of local government. The authors give a good example. Suppose, they say, a citizen learned that the school board had decided to spend less on school maintenance and also to rehabilitate two drop-out prevention schools; he might conclude that officials had decided that drop-out schools were more in need of repair. In fact, state funds allowed the rehabilitation, while other shortages in the general budget had dictated a reduction in allocations for maintenance. While the consequences of this particular situation may only be a citizen's distorted view of reality, in other cases they may be worse, such as 90 per cent federal support for the interstate highways which spoiled downtowns of many American cities. The importance of higher level governments' control over municipalities in North America has always been stressed, but seldom shown in such a factual and specific way as in these pages.

The book also has a lot to say about the agency which initiates versus the agency which remains the passive administrator of outside directives — the same agency can play both roles. The authors characterize the passive role as the "Adam Smith" model, since in this case the agency is catering to the whims of the outside forces of the market place, be they council demands, state aid, citizen complaints, or other agencies' priorities. The "Galbraith" model describes the active role of an agency making its own decisions and imposing them on the outside world. Such a construct needs considerable refinement: the relationship between an agency and its clientele is economically, philosophically, and politically far removed from the relationship between that agency and, say, the council or a higher level government. For instance, it is obvious that bureaucrats are often called upon to make political decisions — who gets what, why, where, and how. Furthermore, it is doubtful that a city council, whose members are supposed to be performing the political functions of the municipality, could step in and take over making the political decisions that bureaucrats make. The weakest part of the

book is that in discussing the relative independence of an agency from outside forces the authors do not evaluate the organizational implications of influence by different outside forces.

But one should not fault a book for what it does not do: the weaknesses are more than offset by an intriguing discussion of the meaning(s) of redistributive policies and the kinds of questions we should be asking ourselves about them.

Two minor points are worth mentioning. It is not the authors' fault, but there were large numbers of typographical errors, so many (at least one every three or four pages) as to be quite annoying. Also, since urban politics deals especially with the use of land and space allocation, it would have helped if there had been more maps to show the locations of schools, libraries, and street projects mentioned in the book.

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Heinz Eulau and Kenneth Prewitt, *Labyrinths of Democracy: Adaptations, Linkages, Representation, and Policies in Urban Politics*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1973, pp. xxxi, 713

Exploring the labyrinths of local democracy has produced, as other reviewers must have surely noted, a labyrinthine book. One reason for this is that the authors often seem obsessed with presenting a maximum of cross-tabulations and correlations, to the detriment of producing a structurally manageable work. While some of the theoretical discussions are most interesting (especially the ones on policy and representation), much of the time this reader felt that the authors were being pulled along by the tables.

The book is divided into a number of parts. After a lengthy but rather imprecise introduction to method, the discussion centres around: (1) the internal processes and attitudes of councils, such as types of social relations, governing styles, governing practices, degree of internal conflict, and their interrelationships; (2) the electoral context (a typology combining the measures of turnout and incumbent defeats) of different councils; (3) the role and behaviour of interest groups in different cities, as perceived by councilmen; (4) the process of representation (usefully distinguished from the "state" of being representative); (5) stages of policy development, from "retarded" through various transitional stages, to "advanced"; the policy "maps" of councils, which include their perceptions of problems, their values on urban develop-

Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics

Richard Bailey



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Table of Contents Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics

1. Understanding the eBook Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics User Reviews and Ratings

- Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics Free and Paid eBooks
 - Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics Public Domain eBooks
 - Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics eBook Subscription Services
 - Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics Compatibility with Devices
 - Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - Interactive Elements Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
- 8. Staying Engaged with Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In

Urban Politics

- Benefits of a Digital Library
- Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics

10. Overcoming Reading Challenges

- Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
- Minimizing Distractions
- Managing Screen Time

11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics

- Setting Reading Goals Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
- Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time

12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics

- Fact-Checking eBook Content of Labyrinths Of Democracy Adaptations Linkages Representation And Policies In Urban Politics
- Distinguishing Credible Sources

13. Promoting Lifelong Learning

- Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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