

**Antecedents of Implementation and  
Fate of a Public Innovation Population  
of 183 Government of Saskatchewan  
Innovations, 1971-2021**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Which factors influence implementation and fate of public innovations? Some research has been conducted on factors influencing innovation introduction but little on those influencing fate of public sector innovations. This study considers eleven factors potentially and actually influencing a full-population of 183 public innovations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan (GoS) 1971-82 and their fate over 50 years (124 terminated, 59 survived). These antecedents include economic situation, government finances, time period (decades) elapsed, ideology, politics, government in power, governments' priorities, sectors, types of innovation, relationship to information, and interactions among antecedents. Differences were found among the antecedents of innovation implementation, survival and termination; the influence of antecedents on implementation and fate were not identical but the factors were shared. The analysis inductively informs the following innovation questions: (1) What were the antecedents of implementation of GoS innovations? (2) What were the antecedents of termination of innovations? (3) Were termination rates consistent over time or did terminations cluster? (4) What were the innovating government's innovation priorities? (5) What were subsequent governments' priorities, revealed by termination of innovations and new programs added? (6) What were the governments' relationships to information? (7) Did the antecedents interact, and if so, how (assessed by a multiple-streams analysis). The factors are assessed for each innovation and a new database prepared. Implementation, survival and termination rates varied by the factors assessed. The most important factor in fate was ideology, due to the dominant government ideology changing from the implementing to the next government).

**Key words:** innovation antecedents, characteristics of innovative organizations, innovation introduction, innovation termination, innovation survival, policy termination, multiple-streams analysis.

### **Introduction**

Scholars and public management practitioners want to know what factors influence implementation, survival and termination of public innovations. Implementation is defined as either passing of legislation to create the innovation and/or allocation of personnel/allocation of a budget to the innovation. Termination is defined as an innovation's transfer to another department (ministry), a change in its name, a major funding cut, abolition (mortality,

disappearance from the record) and privatization (sold/transferred to the private/non-profit sector).<sup>1</sup> Survival is lack of evidence for termination.

This study considers whether eleven factors influenced implementation and fate of the full population of 183 trailblazing GoS innovations, implemented 1971-82 and their fate, 1971 to 2021, 50 years. Trailblazing is the first three implementations of an innovation in its government's population. In one case, an innovation implemented fourth was included as trailblazing, because it clustered with the first three 182 implementations.

The GoS's population was and is Canadian provincial, territorial and federal governments and USA state and federal governments. The innovations of other governments were not assessed in a systematic way, such as a survey. The researcher's judgement was that it would not be possible to secure a systematic review. Instead, informants were approached and the literature, including innovation award literature, was reviewed with regard to individual innovations.

Most (169, 92.3%) of the 183 innovations implemented by the Allan E. Blakeney GoS were policy (including program) innovations. Policy is defined this way in much of the policy literature (e.g. Howlett and Cashore, 2020). The remainder (14, 7.7%) were administrative innovations.

Data on innovation demography and eleven influential factors are used here to study the innovation population and its subsets and to characterize economic, financial, time, political (3), sector, type, priorities, information influences and interactions among them. This contributes to understanding in the GoS the three clusters of factors found in a systematic literature review (SLR) of antecedents of policy innovation (Glor, 2021, Table 2, 15), the external, political and internal-to-government clusters.

The SLR's influences were found in 87 policy innovation documents (Glor, 2021). It identified the most important (most mentioned) influences on introduction of policy innovations by identifying individual antecedents, then grouping them into grouped antecedents, factors and clusters. The most important antecedents were identified several ways. Three ways include: (1) The most important grouped antecedents for trailblazing were compared to the most important grouped antecedents for introduction<sup>2</sup> of innovations in the literature. Adoption is all adoptions of innovations, the definition used by the OECD (2018). The six grouped antecedents with the largest differences of differences for trailblazing compared to adoption were distinguished, in external cluster, external environment, external drivers, and governance environment; in political cluster, politics; in internal cluster, internal demand and internal obstacles (Glor, 2021, Table 2, column 8). (2) Eight grouped antecedents were found to be extremely or very important for trailblazing as compared to adoption in the SLR. They were, in external cluster, citizen pressure and external environment; in political cluster, political culture, ideology and politics; in internal

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<sup>1</sup> This definition was chosen because it is a definition used in the termination literature (e.g. Glor, 2013) and it is the definition used in the United States Government Manual [USGM] (2008-2009, 2020). The USGM is the main source of demographic information on the USA federal government's programs and organizations. Implementation and fate have been most studied in the USA federal government. Using the same definition makes comparison with the USA possible (see comparison with USA in Glor, 2023a). The USGM does not, however, mention privatization, while it is included as termination in this study.

<sup>2</sup> The literature does not always define introduction.

cluster, problem/creativity/ideas and structure (Glor, 2021: Table 4c). (3) The bottom-line ten best indicators were identified as, in external cluster, external environment/context, external drivers, and influence of other governments/regions; in political cluster, political support, political drivers, ideology and inclusive process for building platform; in internal cluster, structure, problem/creativity/ideas and enhance capacity to innovate (Glor, 2021: Table 4c).

Bauer and Knill (2014) emphasized direction of policy change, suggesting studies address liberalisation and deregulation of public industries as dismantling and welfare state retrenchment, and measured increase/decrease of a government's policy commitment in a policy sector as number of policies and instruments (policy density) and settings of their instruments (policy intensity, especially funding). As they recommended, this article identifies the number of innovations implemented and terminated in each sector and by type. This study starts during the period before neoliberal<sup>3</sup> dismantling of government, regulation and the welfare state began in Saskatchewan, includes the full dismantling period and neoliberalism's ongoing implementation.

Informed by the literature and knowledge of the Saskatchewan innovations, eleven influences are considered in the current paper. The economy and government finances are important because, when the innovating Blakeney government came into power, Saskatchewan was a poor province with low resource taxes. Because of a stagnant economy, a long-term debt (since the 1930s) and a commitment to balanced budgets by previous governments and the Blakeney government, the Blakeney government had to boost its economy in order to fund the innovations it had committed to introduce in its more than 100-item political platform. With small tax increases, new revenues and the creation of new resource production crown corporations (state-owned corporations), it boosted the economy. Two windfall increases in the price of oil and gas during the Blakeney government boosted its tax revenue. By the late 1970s, the federal government no longer considered Saskatchewan a poor but a rich province, able to contribute to rather than receive equalization payments that redistributed federal tax dollars from rich to poor provinces (10 provinces).

The social democratic Blakeney government supported enterprise and individuals. The neoliberal Devine government that followed the Blakeney government dismantled many of the Blakeney innovations, especially the economic and social ones, but not all of them. Devine supports to business (tax cuts and grants) did not ask for anything in return while the Blakeney innovations increased government revenues and expanded the economy. Details of the terminations and patterns are explored later.

The literature has found that the size of the period from creation to termination of normal organizations influences their termination rates. Both young and adolescent organizations have higher termination rates than mature organizations and sometimes their termination rates increase again later (summarized in Glor, 2015). To determine whether the same phenomenon

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<sup>3</sup> Neoliberalism is an ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of free market competition.... [I]t is most commonly associated with laissez-faire economics. In particular, neoliberalism is often characterized in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth as the means to achieve human progress, its confidence in free markets as the most-efficient allocation of resources, its emphasis on minimal state intervention in economic and social affairs, and its commitment to the freedom of trade and capital. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neoliberalism>

might be at work in public innovations, the period of time between implementation and termination/survival was studied.

The influence of the political domain on the implementation and fate of innovations is also explored. Three aspects are studied: political parties, politics of the government in power and dominant ideology in the political domain.

The sector and type of innovation is likewise explored, to see whether social democratic and neoliberal governments retained economic, social and administrative innovations at different rates. Social democracy is a “political, social, and economic philosophy ... that supports political and economic democracy. As a policy regime, it advocates economic and social interventions to promote social justice within the framework of a liberal-democratic polity and a capitalist-oriented mixed economy. The protocols and norms used to accomplish this involve a commitment to representative and participatory democracy, measures for income redistribution, regulation of the economy in the general interest, and social welfare provisions” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_democracy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_democracy)). Neoliberalism is an “ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of free market competition... [I]t is most commonly associated with laissez-faire economics... neoliberalism is often characterized in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth as the means to achieve human progress, its confidence in free markets as the most-efficient allocation of resources, its emphasis on minimal state intervention in economic and social affairs, and its commitment to the freedom of trade and capital (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/neoliberalism>).

The Devine government that replaced the Blakeney government was Canada’s first neoliberal government, 1982-91, based many of its changes on the models of the British Thatcher and American Reagan neoliberal governments and hired a Thatcher advisor. Because the neoliberal Devine and subsequent British (Boris Johnson) and American (Donald Trump) governments disregarded information, the role of information is also considered. While individual governments make sure they collect the information of most interest to them, these three governments deliberately tried to mislead the public, as revealed, e.g. by the misleading reports promoting the need to abolish more public organizations published by the Brookings Institution and Republican Reagan government, and scholarly journals, based on them (Kaufman, 1976; Bardach, 1976; Daniels, 1997, 2001; Geva-May, 2004: 309). Some of these scholars worked for the Reagan government, producing reports that supported termination of public programs and organizations on principle (ideologically), then published the material again in scholarly journals. Others offered faulty evidence (e.g. Kaufman, 1976), as found by Lewis (2002); Carpenter and Lewis (2004); Berry, Burden and Howell (2010); and Glor (2015).

From the perspective of a rational policy cycle, Adam, Bauer, Knill and Studinger (2007) defined termination as being a logical end of unsuccessful policy choices. There is evidence of rational terminations in this study—e.g. the implementing Blakeney New Democratic Party (NDP) government abolished six of its own innovations during its three terms, a 3.3% termination rate. It did so because: (1) a sound implementation method not found; (2) implementation was too slow and unproductive; and (3) the objectives of the innovations were

not achieved. The Third Way<sup>4</sup> social democratic NDP government (1991-2007) that followed the Devine government also cut programs rationally, because it inherited an enormous, untenable non-self-financing deficit and debt, incurred by the Devine government, 1982-1991. The Blakeney government balanced its budget every year, the Devine government never did so. Incurring large deficits and debts was standard neoliberal practice at the time, in order to tie the hands of non-neoliberal governments. The three governments that followed the Blakeney government terminated 47.54%, 6.56% and 9.8% of the original 183 innovations. The 47.54% termination rate for the 9-year Devine government suggests something other than rationality was at work.

Finally, this paper explores some of the ways in which the influences interacted; e.g., the neoliberal ideology of the Devine government led it to tie the hands of the next, third way social democratic government. The Reaganomics “trickle-down effect”<sup>5</sup> did not emerge.

This paper explores the following research question: What were the influences on the implementation, survival and termination of the 183 innovations of the GoS introduced 1971-82. (2) Did the influences vary among sectors?

## Methodology

Each of the 183 innovations was assessed for, information was collected on and a database was prepared for 11 factors: state of the economy at time of implementation and fate; state of government finances at time of implementation and fate; dates of implementation and termination/survival to 2021; number of years of survival and decades from implementation until termination or survival to 2021; dominant ideology in political domain at time of implementation and fate; political party in power at implementation and fate; government (Premier) in power at time of implementation and fate; sector of the innovation (economic, social, administrative); type of innovation (e.g. agricultural) (14 types). Analyses are done of governments’ relationships to information and transparency interactions among factors.

## Results

The findings for the ten possible influences are examined below.

**Economy.** When the Blakeney government was elected in 1971, the economy of Saskatchewan was half agricultural; its rich natural resources were little developed. The economy was listless. By 1974 there was a major worldwide increase in oil prices, causing an oil

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<sup>4</sup> Third Way is a centrist political position that attempts to reconcile right-wing and left-wing politics by advocating a varying synthesis of centre-right economic policies with centre-left social policies.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third\\_Way](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Way)

<sup>5</sup> The trickle-down effect is an economic theory that holds that all financial leverage, tax benefits, and incentives given to rich high-income earners, business owners, and corporations will result in overall economic growth. It will gradually benefit everyone, including the middle class, lower class, and the poorest section of society.  
<https://www.wallstreetmojo.com/trickle-down-effect/>

and gas boom in Saskatchewan. While there was a recession in Canada (Table 1) as a whole, it did not affect Saskatchewan as much because it was an oil producer. A second, smaller oil price shock occurred in 1978. Inflation began in 1975 and continued through to 1980, when a recession occurred.

**Table 1: Recessions, Elections and Premiers in Saskatchewan**

<b>Canadian Recessions Since 1970:</b>	<b>Election that Changed Political Party</b>	<b>Premier &amp; Political Party</b>
December 1974 – March 1975 4 months	Election June 11, 1975, just after recession. No change of government	Allan E. Blakeney, NDP, June 23, 1971 - May 8, 1982
January 1980 – June 1980 6 months	No election	
June 1981 – April 1982 10 months May 1982 - October 1982 6 months	Election April 26, 1982, during recession. Change of government.	Allan Blakeney, NDP  Grant Devine, PC Party
March 1990 – October 21, 1991 19 months November 1991 - April 1992 6 months	Election October 21, 1991, during recession Change of government.	Devine, PC Party 3/90 - 1/11/91 Romanow NDP 1/11/91 - 4/92
October 2008 – May 2009 8 months Saskatchewan economic boom 2007 - 2015	Election November 7, 2007 Canadian recession began 11 months after election. Change of government just as Saskatchewan economy boomed.	Brad Wall, Saskatchewan Party 21/11/2007 – 2/2/2018
March 2020 – August 2020 6 months	October 26, 2020, 2 months after recession. No change of government	Scott Moe, Saskatchewan Party, Premier 2/2/2018

Canada experienced six recessions 1970-2021, two of them during the Blakeney years:

- December 1974 – March 1975, 4 months (Blakeney in power). Saskatchewan benefited from increase in oil and gas prices.
- January 1980 – June 1980, 6 months (Blakeney in power).
- June 1981 – October 1982 (Blakeney in power to May 1982, 11 months months; Devine June to October 1982, 5 months)
- March 1990 – April 1992 (Devine in power 3/90 to 1/11/91, 19 months; Romanow 1/11/91 to 4/92, 6 months)
- October 2008 – May 2009, 8 months (Wall in government from 21/11/07). Saskatchewan booming.
- March 2020 – August 2020, 6 months (Moe in power)

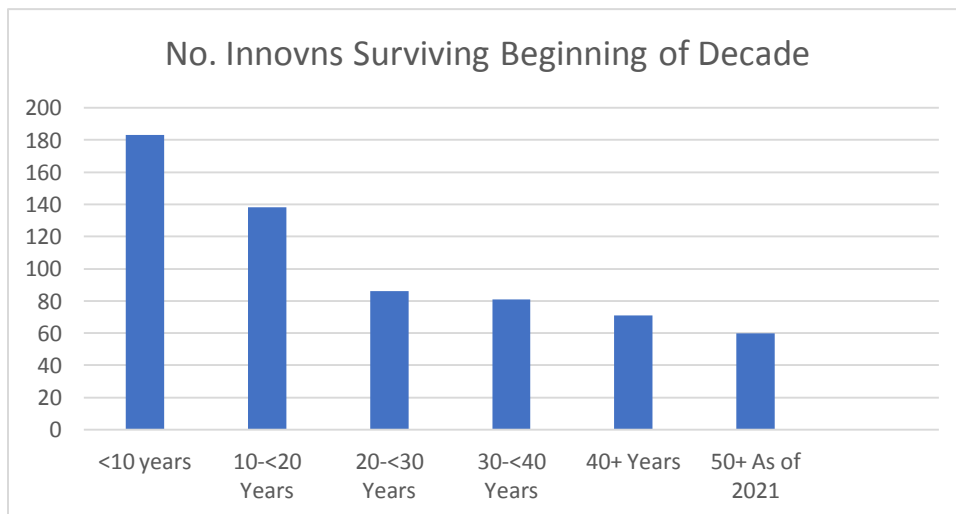
The Blakeney government experienced Canadian recessions in 1974-75 (4 months), 1980 (6 months) and 1981-82 (12 months), The government changed from NDP to Progressive Conservative in May 1982. The new PC government experienced recession during its first five months in office but not afterwards until 1990-91 (20 months). The Romanow government experienced recession November 1991-92 (6 months); the Wall government 2008-09 (8 months) and the Moe government March 2020 for 6 months (Table 1).

**Government finances.** When the NDP took power in 1971, the budget was balanced but small and the Liberal government was inactive. Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) (predecessor to the NDP) and NDP budgets were consistently balanced. The NDP planned for a surplus in 1974-75, due to a major international oil price increase. The surplus was +\$0.048B on expenditures of \$0.899B, 5.3%. Thirty-eight innovations were implemented in 1974, the most of any year (Appendix I). During the next oil price shock in 1978, 24 innovations were implemented, the second largest number in any one year (22 were implemented in 1972 and 1973). During the oil shock years, the innovation increases were supported by new revenue. Growth in the economy under the NDP plus small tax increases produced more government revenues, beginning in the early 1970s, and more resources for crown corporations, programs and innovations. A substantial increase in Saskatchewan’s credit rating in the late 1970s allowed the crown corporations to borrow self-financing money at reasonable rates for their expansions, especially important for the Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan.

**Time** was an important factor in termination of GoS innovations. It was calculated by decades between an individual innovation’s implementation and its termination or its survival in 2021. Remaining innovation calculations were made two ways, based on: (1) total number of innovations implemented during 50 years (183) and (2) innovations remaining at the beginning/end of each decade.

Terminations did not occur at a constant rate; varying considerably by decade but with much higher termination rates in the first two decades than in the latter three. Calculated based on the original number of innovations (183), 24.6% of the innovations were terminated in the first decade, 28.4% in the second, 2.7% in the third, 5.46% in the fourth and 6.0% in the fifth decade. Precipitous drops in the number of innovations in the first two decades (90) were followed by smaller drops in subsequent decades (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Number of Innovations Surviving at Beginning of Each Decade**



**Legend:** *Vertical:* number of innovations. *Horizontal:* Decades elapsed since implementation of innovations.



The number of terminations and the termination rate increased in the second, fourth and fifth decades out of five decades. They declined in the third and fourth decades. Calculated based on the number of innovations remaining at the beginning of each decade, termination rates per decade were 25.1%, 37.7%, 5.8%, 12.3% and 15.5% (Table 2).

**Table 2: GoS Innovations Created 1971-1982, Decades to Termination/Survival and Ladder of Survival/Termination**

Decades from Creation Date	<10 years	10-<20 years	20-<30 years	30-<40 years	40-50 years	50 years 1971-2021
<b>N of Innovations Terminated during Each Decade after Each Was Impld</b>	45	52	5	10	11	<b>123</b>
<b>% of Innovations Terminated during Decade N= 183</b>	24.6	28.4	2.7	5.46	6.0	<b>67.2</b>
<b>Cumulative Termination of Innovations (N)</b>	45	97	102	112	123	<b>123</b>
<b>Cumulative Termination Rate N= 123</b>	36.6	78.9	82.9	91.1	100.0	<b>100.0</b>
<b>N of Innovations Surviving at Beginning of Decade</b>	183	138	86	81	71	<b>60</b>
<b>% Terminations during Decade to Innovns Surviving, Beginning of Decade</b>	24.6	37.7	5.8	12.3	15.49	-

*Abbreviations:* Innovns=innovations, N=number, surviving=censored. 30-<40 includes one surviving innovation, the remainder survived 40+ years. *Note:* Contents reproduced from Glor (2023a: 9, Table 1).

Forty-five (24.6% of 183) of the Blakeney innovations were terminated in the first decade and 52 (28.4% of 183) in the second. The 97 innovations terminated in the first two decades were 53.0 percent of the Blakeney innovations. While the termination rate in the first decade was 24.6%, it was only 3.3% during the Blakeney portion of that decade (Table 2, 3). Decades were measured from point of implementation of each innovation. Termination rates were highest during the first two decades; they declined considerably afterwards. The 50-year termination of 123 was a rate of 67.2 percent of 183 innovations (1.34%/year); the 30-year termination (102) rate (55.7%, 1.9%/year) was higher than the 50-year termination rate.

**Ideology.** Termination rates of the two ideological types of government (social democratic, neoliberal) were different, based on remaining innovations. Social democratic (“traditional”, Third Way) governments had lower termination rates and neoliberal had higher rates. Even the neoliberal Wall/Moe government terminated innovations at a rate below the mean. Neoliberal governments terminated many more of the innovations (103, 83.7% of terminations, 56.3% of all 183 innovations); social democratic governments terminated fewer (20, 16.3% of all terminations, 10.9% of all innovations). Ideology was the most important factor in terminations. The traditional social democratic (Blakeney) termination rate was 3.3% and the Third Way (McGrane, 2008, 2011, 2014) (Romanow/Calvert) social democratic rate was 7.65% based on 183 and 15.4% based on remaining innovations. Compared with NDP governments, neoliberal (Progressive Conservative, Saskatchewan Party) governments terminated many more innovations—103 (56.3% of 183) (Table 3).

**Table 3: Saskatchewan Innovations Terminated, Analyzed by Ideology, Government (Premier), Politics (Political Party), and Years in Office**

	Social Democratic Blakeney NDP 30/6/71- 8/5/82	Neoliberal Devine Progressive Conservative 8/5/82-1/11/91	Third Way Social Democratic Romanow/Calvert NDP 1/11/91- 21/11/07	Neoliberal Wall/Moe Sask. Party 21/11/07- 2021	Total
N Terminations Horiz 122 Vert 183-120=63	6	86	14	17	123
N Innovns Surviving Beginning Govt	183*	177	91	77	60 183
Termination Rate % N=183 Innovns	3.28	47.0	7.650	9.29	67.24
Termination Rate %/Yr N=183	0.298	5.22	0.478	0.664	0.678
Difference from Mean/Yr (N=183)	-0.348	+4.482	-0.2	-0.043	1.34 mean
Difference from Mean	-0.992	+3.142	-0.862	-0.676	1.34 mean
N=Remaining Innovns, End of Govt	177	91	77	60	60
Termination Rate N=Remaining Innovns, End of Govt	3.3	48.59	15.38	22.1	-
Termination Rate/Yr, Innovns Remaining, End of Prev Govt	11	9	16	14	50
	0.30	5.40	0.96	1.58	-

\*Total created by the Blakeney government. *Abbreviations:* %=percentage, Govt=government, Innovns=innovations, N=number, Prev=previous, Sask.=Saskatchewan, Yr=year.

**Politics.** In terms of politics, NDP governments terminated 3.3% and 7.65% of 183 innovations. The Progressive Conservative government terminated 47.0% and the Saskatchewan Party government 9.29% of 183 innovations. Of the 123 innovations terminated, NDP governments terminated 16.26%, Progressive Conservative and Saskatchewan Party governments terminated 83.74%. Politics had a big influence on terminations (Table 3).

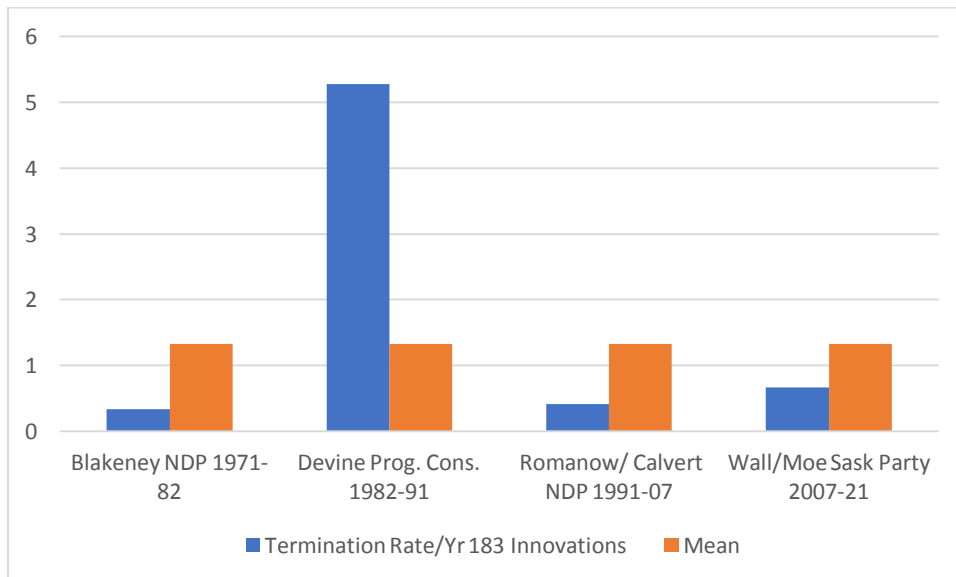
**Government** termination rates were affected by (1) the interaction of recessions and elections and (2) which government was in power. When there were elections within a year of a recession, of the six Canadian recessions since 1970, Saskatchewan governments changed three times, 60% of the time, and did not change two times, 40% of the time. Innovation termination rates under the Devine government clustered around elections (Table 1).

Terminations varied by government: they were lower (20) under two NDP governments (traditional, Third Way) and higher (103) under Progressive Conservative and Saskatchewan Party (neoliberal) governments. The Blakeney government termination rate was 3.3% and the Romanow/Calvert (McGrane, 2008, 2011, 2014) termination rate was 7.65% based on 183. Compared with NDP governments, Progressive Conservative and Saskatchewan Party governments terminated 83 more innovations (Table 3).

Following the Blakeney government, the Devine government's terminations (86) were a much higher proportion than for any other government (47.0% of all innovations, mean of 5.22%/year, compared to 3.28%, 7.65% and 9.29% for the other three governments (N=183). The Devine government terminated 86 innovations, 69.9% of all terminations (N=123). Based on the remaining innovation population, the Devine governments' termination rate was even higher (47.0%, 5.22%/year) for Devine, compared to (3.28%, 0.298%/year) for Blakeney, 7.65%, 0.48%/year for Romanow/Calvert and 9.29%, 0.66%/year for Wall/Moe governments) (Table 3).

Devine and Moe/Wall governments terminated more (103) and Blakeney and Romanow/Calvert governments fewer (20) innovations. Considering remaining innovations, Progressive Conservative and Saskatchewan Party termination rates were the highest and NDP termination rates the lowest (Figure 2). Devine terminations were so high that all other governments had termination rates below the mean (Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Comparison of Governments' Innovation Termination Rates to the Mean (%/Year)**

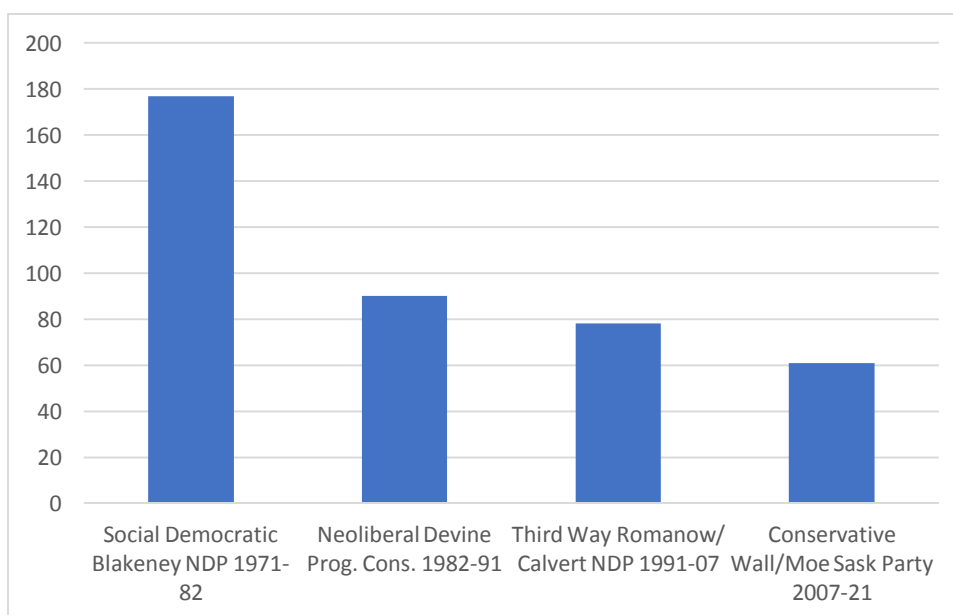


**Legend:** *Vertical:* Innovations' percentage termination rate per year. *Horizontal,* order of information: Name of premier, name of political party, years in power. *Abbreviations:* NDP=New Democratic Party, Prog. Cons=Progressive Conservative, Sask Party=Saskatchewan Party, Yr=year.

Nonetheless, the termination rate under the 16-year Romanow/Calvert NDP government (1991-2007) was higher than expected (7.65% of 183, 2.3 times the Blakeney government's rate; it terminated 15.4% of the remaining innovations). It took this approach for three important reasons: (1) It was a Third Way social democratic government, preceding the Tony Blair Third Way government, UK (1997 to 2007) and so did not major economic changes. (2) It was hampered in what it could do by a free trade agreement with the USA signed by the federal Mulroney government in the late 1980s. (3) Most importantly, the Romanow government inherited a bankrupt government. Especially during the 1980s, driving governments into near-bankruptcy was a neoliberal strategy for forcing and then explaining policy termination and

privatization. The strategy hamstrung subsequent governments. The Romanow government faced two possible choices for dealing with the GoS' large deficit and debt: declare bankruptcy or increase taxes and/or cut programs. It seriously considered declaring bankruptcy, which would have seriously hampered its capacity to borrow money, so it opted instead to prioritize balancing the budget. The GoS had run a balanced budget consistently throughout earlier CCF (1944-1964), Liberal (1964-1971) and NDP (1971-1982) governments. This was a serious commitment and a consequential issue because Saskatchewan had also nearly declared bankruptcy during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Then it received a large loan from the federal government, which did not happen this time. The GoS continued to pay back this debt until the 2010s. Previous GoS governments not only believed in balanced budgets, they had to generate sufficient revenues to pay back the debt.

**Figure 3: Number of Original 183 Innovations Remaining at End of Each Government by Ideology, Premier, Political Party and Years in Power**



**Legend:** *Vertical:* Number of innovations remaining. *Horizontal,* in order: Ideology, Premier's last name, political party name, years in power. **Abbreviations:** NDP=New Democratic Party, Prog. Cons.=Progressive Conservative Party, Sask Party= Saskatchewan Party.

Following the Blakeney era recession of January 1980 – June 1980 and June 1981 – May 1982, a total of 19 months, during which it maintained a balanced budget, and during and after the Devine government's recession of June 1982 – October 1982, a total of 5 months, the Devine government did not maintain a balanced budget. It incurred substantial and increasing deficits and debt, due to an initially, short-term poor economy; substantial tax cuts, especially for businesses and farmers; and expensive new policies (mortgage subsidy; large reduction in fuel taxes; open, subsidized Saskatchewan Pension Plan,<sup>6</sup> a large federal-provincial agricultural

<sup>6</sup> The Saskatchewan Pension Plan (SPP) was created in 1986, managed by the Department of Finance's debt management unit, which managed all of the government's investments and debt. In 1988 it was transferred to the Crown Investments Corporation (CIC) and became a crown corporation, the Investment Corporation of Saskatchewan (ICS). That entity was privatized in 1994 to become Greystone Capital Management, SPP continued with Greystone. It then became

subsidy). An enormous GoS deficit and debt developed. Following the Devine government, to balance the budget, the Romanow government could not afford and abolished some of the Blakeney government policies: the Family Income Plan, an income subsidy for low-income families with children and the Prescription Drug Plan, that had grown large. Although Saskatchewan had the highest minimum wage in Canada during the latter Blakeney years, it still did not provide a living wage for families with children, so their incomes and also prescriptions universally had been subsidized. Despite program cuts, the 16-year Romanow/Calvert yearly termination rate was only 0.478%/year (based on 183), 64.3% less than the mean termination rate of 1.34%/year (Figure 2). Figure 3 compares governments and factors that may have affected innovation termination rates.

In summary, termination rates in the four governments (Blakeney, Devine, Romanow/Calvert, Wall/Moe) were different, varying from 3.28% in the Blakeney government to 47.0% in the Devine government. It was 7.65% in the Romanow/Calvert government and 9.29% in the Wall/Moe government. Over fifty years, the total termination rate was 67.2 percent (Figure 3). In terms of innovations remaining and available to terminate, the termination rate per year was lowest under the Blakeney government (0.3%/year), second lowest under the Romanow/Calvert governments (0.96%/year). It was highest under the Devine government (5.4%/year) and second highest under Wall/Moe governments (1.58%/year). Romanow/Calvert (-0.862%) and Wall/Moe (-0.676%) governments had termination rates per year closest to the mean (1.34%). Based on remaining innovations, the Wall/Moe's termination rate (1.58%/year of remaining innovations) was nothing like the Devine government's termination rate (5.4%/year) (Table 3).

***Innovation Sectors.*** Innovation termination rates were different among the three policy sectors (economic, social, administrative) (Table 4). The social sector had the highest sector termination rate, 76.2%. The economic sector had the second highest sector termination rate, 70.7%, while the administrative (processes, organization) sector had the lowest rate, 48.9%. Although termination rates were different among sectors, termination rates for the substantive economic and social sectors were fairly close to each other. All termination rates were greater than 48 percent over 50 years (mean 67.2%).

***Types of innovations*** were analyzed within sectors. Fourteen types of innovations were identified, in the economic sector (economic development, agriculture, environment, labour, occupational health), the social sector (education, Indigenous education, other indigenous innovations, health, social, human rights), and the administrative sector (participation, finance, management innovations).

Termination rates were different across types of innovation (Table 4). The highest (100%) termination rates (4<sup>th</sup> quartile), were for the types of innovations occupational health, education, Indigenous education and other Indigenous policies, followed by economic development (81%) and agriculture (80%) innovations. Three economic and 3 social types were in the 4<sup>th</sup> quartile. Five types of innovations had termination rates in the third quartile: health

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Greystone Management Investments, and subsequently TDAM. In 1995 Leith Wheeler was added as a second investment manager and the assets were split between the two managers. SPP in 2022 added two more investment managers for a total of 4 investment managers with oversight by both the Board of Trustees as well as an investment consultant. <https://www.saskpension.com/> Corey, Shannan SPP <scorey@saskpension.com> Jan. 17, 2023

(75%), management (75%), social (70%), environment (60%) and labour (55%) innovations. Two types of innovations were in the second quartile—participation (40%) and finance (31.6%). Only one type of innovation was in the 1<sup>st</sup> quartile, with the lowest termination rate—human rights (12.5%) (Table 4).

**Table 4: GoS Innovation Fate (Terminated/Survived) by Sector and Type**

Sector, Type & Abbreviation	Total Implemented	Number Terminated	% Terminated	Number Survived	% Survived
<b>Economic Sector:</b>					
Economic Development	21	17	81.0	4	19.0
Agriculture	10	8	80.0	2	20.0
Environment	15	9	60.0	6	40.0
Labour	20	11	55.0	9	45.0
Occupational health	7	7	100.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>71.2</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28.8</b>
<b>Vertical %</b>	<b>39.9</b>	<b>42.2</b>		<b>35.0</b>	
<b>Social Sector:</b>					
Education	8	8	100.0	0	0.0
+Indigenous Education	10	10	100.0	0	0.0
<b>Total Education</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Other Indigenous	7	7	100.0	0	0.0
Health	12	9	75.0	3	25.0
Social	20	14	70.0	6	30.0
Human rights	8	1	12.5	7	87.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>x49</b>	<b>75.4</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>24.6</b>
<b>Vertical %</b>	<b>35.5</b>	<b>39.8</b>		<b>26.7</b>	
<b>Administrative (Processes) Sector:</b>					
Participation*	10	4	40.0	6	60.0
Finance	19	6	31.6	13	68.4
Management	16	12	75.0	4	25.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>48.9</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>51.1</b>
<b>Vertical %</b>	<b>24.6</b>	<b>17.9</b>		<b>38.3</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>67.2</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>32.8</b>
<b>Vertical %</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>99.9</b>		<b>100.0</b>	

**Termination rate:** 66.2% 1971-2021, 50 years= 1.34%/year. 4435 years of survival over 50 years. Two-thirds terminated; one-third survived after 50 years.

\* Including 3 Indigenous innovations (numbers 163, 164, 165 in database).

While the Blakeney Indigenous education institutions lasted until 2017, the only innovations that became fully institutionalized (survived 50 years) were seven of the eight human rights innovations (87.5%), although the terms of their operations sometimes changed. All educational and non-educational Indigenous innovations were terminated (100%). The provincial government described this as mainstreaming, which had not worked when it was in place before 1971 in Saskatchewan. The Saskatchewan indigenous population is 15% of the provincial population (White et al., 2015). Although termination rates were different among different types of innovations, only three innovations had less than a 50% termination rate and only human rights innovations had low termination rates (12.5%). While human rights

institutional innovations were the most retained, innovations that empowered the most disadvantaged were not highly retained.

Two-thirds of finance innovations were retained. Until 1978, Saskatchewan's senior central agency staff (heads of Department of Finance, Budget Bureau, Chief of Staff to the Premier), who played key roles in the financial innovations, had previously been colleagues in the public administration program and taught finance at the University of Regina before entering government. Many of the Blakeney government finance innovations would have been helpful for many governments.

Though more economic (73) and social (65) innovations were implemented, more administrative (45) innovations survived (21, 16, 23, respectively).

***Governments' priorities.*** An innovating government's innovation priorities were considered to have been revealed by the factors economy, government finances, ideology, sectors, types of innovation implemented, information and interactions among the factors. Subsequent governments' priorities were revealed by which types of innovations they terminated and which new programs they added. Ideology was found to be the most important factor in the current research.

Previous GoS research on factors influencing ten Blakeney government income security innovations and organizations assessed key antecedent factors before implementation and the same factors again at the time of their fate 15 to 44 years later. They were assessed with a measurement instrument examining six factors—external support, the economy, resources, effects, ideology and politics. The tool had 1267 statements (items) and 555 pairs of data, with scoring distributed on a five-point Likert scale. Three expert raters completed the instrument. Based on mean scores, the most important factors at time of implementation were found to be the economy, resources, effects and external support, in that order. At time of termination/survival, ideology and politics, in order, were found to be the most important factors. (Glor, 2018). This research found the Devine government was more ideological than the Blakeney government.

***Information.*** The Blakeney and Devine governments had different perspectives on information and transparency. The Blakeney government made information a priority, attempted to find additional ways to make government information available to the public and published new reports. The Bayda Inquiry published plain language summaries of its consultations. An important new report was a consolidated financial report on the crown corporations. To make this possible, it moved all of the crown corporations to the same fiscal year. While the Progressive Conservative Opposition criticized the Blakeney government for not being even more transparent, when the Devine government came to power it held back considerably more information from the public. To empower itself to question the books of the Blakeney government, the Devine government hired a private sector accountant to review the NDP books when it came into power. Neither the Devine government nor the accountant demonstrated a good understanding of what they were attempting to criticize, however. Criticisms were made, nonetheless.

**Factor Interactions.** As with many human phenomena, many of the factors were complex (interacted). These included, e.g., the economy and the GoS's finances, time, ideology/politics/government/priorities, sectors/types of innovation, information/critiques. A multiple-streams analysis (Appendix I) explores Blakeney government implementation interactions. It reveals that implementation and termination of innovations interacted with the economy (booms, recessions), government finances, elections, type of Opposition party, time, political factors (government ideology, political party in power, government in power, Official Opposition party) sector, type of innovation and information. There were factors that were under the control of the government (e.g. government expenditures and revenues (within limits), pacing of innovations), ones that were not (e.g. booms, busts, mortgage interest rates) and ones that were only somewhat so (e.g. dominant ideology, acceptable level of taxation, dominant opposition party, availability of the Premier).

## Discussion

Each type of factor explored—time periods, economy, finances, governments, politics, ideology, sectors, types of innovation, information and interactions—was found to be important.

**Time.** Innovations were implemented in groups: six the year the Blakeney government was elected in June 1971; a mean of 27 innovations per year in the following three years when the government ran a surplus; half that many in 1975, an election year (June). In the following years, the numbers of innovations implemented declined: a mean of 16 per year 1975-1978, an election year; a mean of 17, 1978-1980; a mean of 1.5 during 1980 and 1982, an election year (April). This decline in the number of innovations, especially in the Blakeney government's last 1.3 years in power may have given the electorate, and especially the NDP membership, a sense of a less dynamic government.

The decline in innovations was probably due to several factors. First, the government consistently maintained a balanced budget. It therefore lacked funds for innovations during some years. Secondly, during the NDP's last 28 months in power, 17 of those months (60.7%) were recessionary and the growth rate in the remaining months were only slightly better. Saskatchewan was not exempt from this low growth period, as it had been somewhat in 1973-4. Second, throughout the Blakeney years the NDP ran on similar platforms, also reducing their appeal. Third, the Premier was the dominant force in the government and he was preoccupied with the Canadian constitution negotiations, 1978-1982. The GoS' priority was the recognition of an Indigenous inherent right to self-government in the Constitution, which it secured (section 35). Fourth, the newly neoliberal Progressive Conservative Party took advantage of this situation: they challenged NDP policies, not so much the purchase of 40% of the potash industry at current prices but that the money used should have gone into Saskatchewan residents' pockets instead. In this context, a great deal was made of a badly-received crown corporation advertising campaign. Fifth, the NDP did not realize the political tide had turned and so did not address it quickly. It had done polling in December 1981 showing the NDP in the lead but did not do any additional polling January to April 1982 before the April election. It did realize the mortgage subsidy was popular and adopted a policy similar to that of the PCs: mortgage interest rates had peaked at 21.3% in September 1981, declined to 18.8% in December 1981 but then rose steadily



19.41% in March 1982 and stayed high in April (<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171012/cg-b003-eng.htm>). This policy change made the NDP seem weak and did not attract support. The NDP had been discussing further innovations, such as more urban parks and a provincial sickness and accident plan for all residents, and public servants had been asked for ideas, but the money was not available. Changes in the numbers of innovations over time and therefore the dynamism of the NDP GoS may have been a factor in the decline in support for the NDP, but so were other factors.

A liability of newness has been found for organization termination in the literature: Brüderl and Schüssler (1990) for businesses (they also found a liability of lack of resources); Carroll (1983) for 63 samples of organizations; Freeman, Carroll and Hannan (1983) for American labour unions, American semiconductor firms, and San Francisco newspaper publishers. Other researchers demonstrated a more nuanced approach was needed: Brüderl and Schüssler (1990); Carroll & Huo (1988); Fichman and Levinthal (1991) found in their databases that there were instead liabilities of organizational childhood or adolescence or both (and of small size). The age at which adolescence occurred varied among organizations. The high survival rates before 1990 (75%) and the low survival rates (40%) after 1990 among nine Canadian case studies (Glor (2015) also suggested an age-related factor; however, there may be some additional dynamics at work among public sector organizations, such as infrastructure or political or economic period factors. Understanding the period phenomenon required examination of the external environment of the organizations as well as the internal environment as they interacted (Glor, 2015: 82).

Innovations were more likely to be terminated when they were young or, as Brüderl and Schüssler and Glor found, adolescent, than when they were adult (Glor, 2015). The adolescent phenomenon was also found in the current GoS study: The first twenty years were the most precarious for GoS innovations; rates per decade declined considerably afterwards.

The mean termination rate after 49-58 years of survival for public organizations has been estimated (Glor, 2013). It has also been estimated for normal policies (Berry, Burden and Howell, 2010). When normal and innovative (1971-2003/2001) policies had survived 32/30 years, their survival rates dovetailed to different but not highly different termination rates per year. After 30 years, the 71 (of 183) Saskatchewan innovations surviving were moving toward normal termination rates. The remaining innovations were legitimate for both social democratic and neoliberal governments, with the exception of Indigenous institutions, that lost their legitimacy after 40 years when neoliberal federal and provincial governments abolished/severely cut funding to all Indigenous educational institutions (some shared federal-provincial funding). The provincial government terminated them three years after the federal government. Social democratic (27 years) and neoliberal governments (23) were in power for similar periods after 1971 as of 2021 but without a social democratic government for the previous 14 years (Table 3).

While periods of elapsed time mattered in the GoS and most terminations occurred within 20 years, length of time studied also mattered. All USA federal domestic policies (Berry, Burden and Howell, 2010) and Saskatchewan policy (169) innovations were compared by studying their termination rates at the same time (GoS 1971-2001, USA 1971-2003). Over 30 years, GoS policy innovation termination rates were higher than the termination rates for normal USA

policies over 32 years. After 50 years, the GoS innovation termination rates had fallen to the 30-year normal policy termination rates (the 50-year normal policy termination rate was not available). While no GoS administrative innovations were terminated once 30 years had passed, their termination rate continued to decline. After 50 years, administrative innovation termination rates were the same as those of international organizations: the years studied in the groups overlapped. GoS' highest termination rates were during the first two decades after implementation; Although GoS innovations were mostly policy innovations (169 policies, 14 processes), the total rate for both (67.2% termination, 43-50 years) was 1.34%/year, close to USA all-policies over 32 years (1.548%/year). GoS' termination rate for policies and processes combined over 30 years was 1.9%/year, which is a similar time duration but higher termination rate per year compared to all USA normal policies.

The policy periods of time studied were almost identical—GoS 30-year calculations ended in 2001, USA 32-year all-policies study ended in 2003. Termination rates per year over similar years, time periods and coverage of a whole government were different (1.93 vs. 1.548%/year, 0.382 percentage point difference, a 24.7% difference). The administrative innovation time period (50 years) was not identical to that of all the organization populations because 3 normal organization population studies covered more than 85 years. One covered 63 years; 6, around 50 years. Ones covering longer periods had lower termination rates than ones covering 50 years (1.29, 1.21, 1.12, 1.1, 1.09, 0.27%/year). Organization studies (1.051%/year, 50 years) covering periods closer to that of administrative innovations (1.04%/year termination rate, over 50 years) had more similar termination rates.

GoS policies were studied over a longer time period (50 years) than USA all-domestic policies (32 years). As with organizations and administrative innovations, numbers of policy innovation terminations declined over time, compared to the original numbers of innovations, as the number of policies in the pool grew smaller and the number that could be terminated shrank. Most terminations occurred within 20 years, although a smaller number continued to occur in the next two decades (Table 2). Policy innovation terminations and their termination rate increased in the fifth decade. This was at a time when concurrent neoliberal federal and provincial governments specifically targeted Indigenous policies for cuts, believing that Indigenous people should not receive special benefits, despite their being promised in them in Crown treaties. Indigenous people did not use and did not do well within mainstreamed services. After 50 years, the GoS policy innovation termination rate was 1.4 percent per year, lower than the 30-year rate of 1.93%/year but not as low as the process innovation rate of 1.0 percent per year after 50 years.

The GoS policy termination rate after 30 years (1.93%) was different from the 32-year USA all-domestic normal policy termination rate 1.548%/year over 32 years (Berry, Burden and Knill, 2010) (difference 0.382 percentage points). The normal approximately 50-year public organization termination rate (1.051%/year) was the same as the Saskatchewan administrative innovation termination rate (1.0%/year) over 48 years. Termination rates were lower after 48 years than after 30-32 years and more similar.

Termination rates for Blakeney innovations were very high during the first decade (45 terminations, 25.6%) and second decade (52, 28.4%) after they were implemented, declining during the third and fourth decades, to 5 (2.7%) and 10 (5.46%), but increasing in the fifth (11,

6.0%), thus forming an S-shaped curve, as predicted by Rogers (1995). The termination rate of all Blakeney innovations declined to a rate above (policies 1.93%/year, 30 years) but not highly above that of normal policies (1.548%/year after 32 years) and the same (admin 1.0%/year, 50 years) as organizations (1.051%/year, 53.5 years). This suggests the 60 Blakeney government innovations remaining after 50 years had become normalized and legitimized (Singh, Tucker and House, 1986) but, given what happened with the Indigenous educational innovations after 46 years, innovations may still be vulnerable to ideology. While observers would not expect innovations to continue forever, this demography suggests the observer can expect innovation termination rate to decline eventually to normal or near-normal termination rates, except for ideologically-driven decisions terminating innovations

**Economic factors** contributing normalcy and legitimacy were probably the improvement in the Saskatchewan economy after 1982. It declined, however, during the latter part of the fourth decade, with effects on government finances.

**Politics.** In Saskatchewan, government terminations were mostly done according to government, political party and ideology. The Devine 1982 election campaign used the divide-and-conquer approach, rather than the Blakeney attempt to work cohesively together. The Conservatives convinced financially stressed Saskatchewan voters that they would be individually better off under a Devine government. This was out of keeping with the communitarian approach of the Blakeney and all CCF/NDP governments. Individualism has remained dominant in Saskatchewan since then, partly because many of the more communitarian parts of the population (e.g. small farmers, some public servants, Social Gospel believers) have been driven from the province or become overwhelmed (by large corporate farmers, conservative in-migrants who came to work in the expanded oil and gas and potash industries, expanded economic and social conservatism and unification of the Right). Those who sought to help the disadvantaged are no longer as strong as they once were in Saskatchewan.

Saskatchewan politics were influenced not only by Saskatchewan and Canadian factors but also by USA politics. Regarding policies, Berry, Burden and Howell predicted changes in the partisan composition of USA congresses would have a strong influence on policy durability and spending levels. Like Lewis (2002), they dispelled the myth that policies are indissoluble, demonstrating instead that policy terminations were commonplace. They found that significant changes in policy appropriations and a sitting congress were most likely to transform, abolish, or cut policies inherited from an enacting congress when its partisan composition differed substantially. This was true in GoS as well, when the neoliberal Devine and Wall/Moe governments were elected. They adopted the policies of Nixon, Reagan and other Republican governments. Berry, Burden and Howell offered a coalition-based account for policy evolution. This happened in Canada and Saskatchewan as well. In Saskatchewan, Liberals, Progressive Conservatives, neoliberals and social conservatives formed a coalition in the late 1970s, that continues to this day. Recently created innovations and innovations created by a social democratic followed by a neoliberal government were particularly vulnerable in GoS.

USA effects were asymmetric: partisan losses regularly shortened policy life spans, partisan gains lengthened them; policy spending declined after partisan losses, increased after gains (Berry, Burden and Howell, 2010). The numbers of surviving Saskatchewan innovations

were also reduced by partisan losses. In Saskatchewan, after a partisan gain (NDP government elected in 1991), there was an exception: policy spending declined during the first term of this Third Wave government, due to the government prioritizing re-balancing the budget. It successfully balanced the budget during its first term; policy spending grew slightly in its subsequent three terms.

Berry, Burden and Howell (2010: 10) only found one high-scoring Cox regression in their research: their Model 1 (with Breslow method) predicted life spans (program mutation/death) and majority party seat losses. This was also a factor in GoS, where a 1978 majority NDP government (44-17 seats) was replaced in a landslide election in 1982 by a neoliberal government (56-8 seats).

**Governments.** One government terminated more innovations than any other, by far: The Devine government terminated almost half (47%) of the Blakeney GoS innovations, representing a strong reaction.

**Ideology.** Another factor was a change in the dominant ideology in the early 1980s: neoliberal governments terminated Blakeney innovations at a higher rate (83.7% of terminations), NDP governments at a lower rate (16.3%) (Table 3). During the 39 years following the Blakeney government (1982-2021), social democratic governments were in power 16 years and neoliberal governments 23 years (and are likely to be for 27, as the Saskatchewan Party was re-elected in 2020). The period of time studied and the ideology of the governments in power mattered.

While Saskatchewan politics changed over time, the most striking factor in the termination profile of Blakeney government innovations was ideological. A neoliberal government followed a social democratic government in 1982 and undid half of the Blakeney innovations during its nine years in power. Saskatchewan was not alone in turning to neoliberalism during the 1980s: Many neoliberal governments were elected/imposed internationally during the economic stagflation of the 1980s, that laid the ground for this ideological shift.

Studying 723 arm's length agencies created 1985-2008 in the UK (a parliamentary system like GoS), Greasley and Hanretty (2016: 159) also found agencies operating under right wing governments and heavily indebted governments were more likely to be terminated. Politics and ideology were important to termination in both the UK and Saskatchewan. Innovation termination in the GoS was also supported by the combination of concurrent neoliberal governments federally and provincially: Mulroney overlapped Devine, 1984-1991; Harper coincided with Wall, 2007-2015).

Elapsed time since implementation of innovations mattered but politics and ideology mattered even more and provided a clearer picture than time. Termination rates of the remaining innovations of the Blakeney government (6 terminated during the Blakeney government) (Table 3) were highest under the next, neoliberal government. The Devine government's 47% termination rate suggests the influence of ideology more than of a rational assessment of the success of innovation at solving problems suggested by Adam, Bauer, Knill and Studinter

(2007). It even implies the dominance of ideology rather than just of politics because terminations were consistent with neoliberal ideology. Traditionally, Saskatchewan governments had left in place most of the changes/innovations adopted by previous governments. Based on remaining innovations, not surprisingly, the termination rate was lowest under the Blakeney government (3.3%, 0.3%/year). It was second lowest under the Romanow/Calvert government (15.38%, 0.96%/year). The highest termination rates were during the nine years of the neoliberal Devine (48.6%, 5.4%/year) and Wall/Moe (22.1%, 1.58%/year) governments. Sixty (32.8%) of 183 Blakeney innovations remained in 2021.

**Sectors.** The Blakeney government implemented more economic (75) than social (63) innovations. While 70.7% of the economic innovations were terminated, 76.7% of social innovations were terminated, supporting the assessment that these neoliberals were socially conservative. The Indigenous innovations were particularly controversial: the Blakeney government knew they would be but hoped to make a positive contribution to development of the most underdeveloped, poverty-stricken and disadvantaged portion of the Saskatchewan population, in the way Indigenous people wanted to proceed. All the Indigenous innovations were terminated by neoliberal governments. Only half (48.9%) of administrative innovations were terminated.

**Types of innovations terminated.** *Highest termination rates* (100%) were for occupational health, education, Indigenous education and other Indigenous innovations. All-of-a-kind terminations of these 32 innovations likely reflected policy decisions based on ideology, not pragmatism. These reasons were not openly acknowledged, however. The types of innovations with the next-highest termination rates were economic development (81%), agriculture (80%), management (75%), health (75%) and social (72.2%) innovations.

Although the innovations crossed a wide range of types, the existence of large numbers of innovations within specific types that were opposed by neoliberals was probably a factor as well. These included, e.g. economic development (21), labour (20), Indigenous (20) (10 Indigenous education innovations, 7 other, 3 participation innovations), education (18), social (18) and environment (17) innovations.

Besides ideology, these terminations were also affected by attitudes toward those receiving the services and beliefs about the role of government. Attitudes toward the disadvantaged (only the *deserving poor* should be helped; Indigenous people should help themselves) and about the role of government were well-established among conservatives in Saskatchewan but became more extreme and entrenched during the 1980s under Devine. Social democratic parties, with roots in the Social Gospel, Progressive, farmer and labour movements, were more willing to help all disadvantaged people and in active government. A change from a traditional social democratic to a neoliberal government thus represented a major, ideological change. Many progressive people were driven out of the province by the change of government and the loss of family farms. Ideological changes are rare.

Neoliberal ideology has remained dominant since. According to Farney (2012), Canadian and American conservatives have exhibited three types of conservatism since the 1960s—traditional, laissez-faire and social conservatism:

Traditionalists favour old institutions and resist change, starting with the French Revolution. Laissez-faire conservatives resist government involvement in the economy. Social conservatives resist social progress. Canadian Progressive Conservative Party (existed 1942 to 2003) governments were traditionalists and favoured government involvement in the economy. They considered that social issues were personal and not an appropriate subject for politics. Laissez-faire conservatives were pushed aside in the latter half of the 20th-century, when Canadian conservatism embraced neoliberal economic policies that included free trade, balanced budgets, and privatization of crown corporations (state-owned corporations). (Glor, 2023b)

*The least-terminated* types of Blakeney innovations were human rights (12.5%) and finance (31.6%) innovations. *Human Rights*. In February 1947, a group including Eleanor Roosevelt began drafting the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A Canadian, John Humphrey, Director of the UN Secretariat's Division for Human Rights, was the main author. During its first term in 1947, the Saskatchewan CCF government, with a Liberal Opposition, was the first Canadian government to introduce a bill of rights, that passed the Legislature unanimously (only CCF and Liberal members). It was followed by the Canadian Bill of Rights, 1960 under a Progressive Conservative government with a Prime Minister from Saskatchewan; an Ontario human rights code and enforcement commission, 1962 (Progressive Conservative government); and a Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, 1975 (Liberal government). Canada (1977) and Saskatchewan (1979) also created commissions. Formal human rights had cross-party support across Canada and became institutionalized; this upheld their survival in Saskatchewan under neoliberal governments. The Canadian Supreme Court found parts of the *Indian Act* unconstitutional because of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, included in the Constitution in 1982 (Blakeney government was actively involved in its repatriation from the U.K. and especially in including Aboriginal self-government). A shared commitment to human rights among social democratic, progressive conservative and liberal governments was supported by the introduction of some human rights institutions by conservative governments before introduction by the Blakeney GoS: e.g. Ontario Legal Aid Plan, 1967; GoS implemented second Canadian legal aid plan, 1974. The GoS amalgamated several different statutes into the 1979 Human Rights Code and created a uniform enforcement process through the Commission. Code. The Commission has been accepted by Saskatchewan conservative governments and have been adopted across Canada. While Canadian human rights institutions have been retained, right-wing conservative governments have placed limits on them: The Alberta Human Rights Tribunal awarded the largest costs award in Alberta human rights history against a *complainant* in 2020; Manitoba introduced legislation to cap the amount of money the province's human rights commission could award in 2020; Saskatchewan requires complaints to be made to the Commission within one year of becoming aware of the discrimination.

While human and Indigenous rights are robustly related, neoliberal governments have opposed empowering Indigenous policies. The federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was found guilty several times of providing less funding per Indigenous child under its jurisdiction than any province provides for its population of Indigenous children (maximum penalty \$40,000). Canadian and Saskatchewan surveys found right-wing conservatives do not favor special efforts to help Indigenous people (Langford and Ponting,

1992; Martin and Adams, 2000; White et al., 2015). This includes their rights under the treaties. While discrimination existed, the Saskatchewan and federal human rights institutions survived and played a role in the current Canadian federal Liberal government's efforts to improve this situation.

The retained *finance* innovations were forecasting revenues through a personal income tax model and the economy through a macroeconomic model, four pension innovations, standardizing fiscal periods, preparing and publishing a consolidated financial statement for the operations of all commercial crown corporations.

*Information* available to the public increased under the Blakeney government but declined under the Devine government. *Factor interactions* mattered.

## **Conclusion**

Among the 183 GoS trailblazing innovations, after 50 years, 67.2% had been terminated and 32.8% survived. This study examined whether eleven factors identified in a systematic literature review of the most important (most frequently identified) antecedents in the literature were also important antecedents in GoS trailblazing policy innovations (most GoS innovations were policy). The same factors were examined regarding their fate 1971-2021.

The paper identified and distinguished the importance of the impacts of the economy, finances, time periods, governments, politics, ideologies, sectors, types of innovations, information and interactions among innovations on the demography of GoS innovations. More research is needed on implementation and fate of innovations in other governments.

Conclusions can be drawn: (1) Economic recessions were important to implementation but not termination of innovations. (2) Social democratic governments ran balanced budgets, neoliberal governments did not. (3) Time (decades) was important: most Saskatchewan innovations were terminated during the first 20 years after their implementation and the largest number was terminated during the 1980s, representing a liability of newness and adolescence. (4) Ideology was the most important factor in the fate of the innovations. (5) A change in ideology from social democratic to neoliberal involved a decline in economic growth, although another boom occurred 2007 to 2015. (6) The most vulnerable were targeted for budget cuts and the disadvantaged were not as effectively served, in keeping with neoliberal ideology.

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**Appendix I: Multiple-streams Analysis, Factors Influencing Implementation of GoS Innovations**

Year	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82
<b>Innovating Blakeney Govt:</b>												
<b>Implmd inns #</b>	6 6 Policy 0 Admin	22 22 Policy 0 Admin	22 20 Policy 2 Admin	38 35 Policy 3 Admin	16 15 Policy 1 Admin	10 10 Policy 0 Admin	17 15 Policy 2 Admin	24 22 Policy 2 Admin	13 10 Po 3 Admn	12 11 Pol 1 Admn	2 2 Pol 0 Admn	1 1 Policy 0 Admn T=183
<b>Factors: Economy Elections</b>	Platform consltn Stagflation Elecn 23/6/71 Liberal Opposition	Stagnant revenues	Stagnant revenues	Recn 12/1974-3/1975 Oil price shock mitigated Sask economy New rev	Recn 12/74-3/75 Boom & inflation Elecn 11/6/75 Liberal Opposition			Oil price shock Boom Uranium expansion resistance Elecn 18/10/78 PC Opposition		Recn Jan-June	Recn 6-10/82	Recn 6/81-10/82 Constit apprd 17/4 Elecn 26/4/82
<b>Finances \$ billion</b>			<i>Public Accounts</i>	1974-5 R \$0.947M E \$0.899 S \$0.048							<i>Estimates:</i>	81-2 2 .288 -2.285 Net .236
<b>Inn Priorities</b>	Lab 9 (Env 2)	Eccd 3 -Lab, OCH 9*	Eccd 8 Social 4	Eccd 3 Social 4	Eccd 4	Env 3 Indig 4 Fin 3	Lab 3	Eccd 3 Indig 3 Finances 5 Mgmt 3	0 (4x2)	Indig 4	Indig 4	0 Elecn May
<b>People Info</b>	NDP partcly dvd compr platf & tracked implem	Very active Prem throughout	Prem's Tour each year except 1981 because of Constit negns	Increase transparency, esp. cc	NDP compr've platform; disclose d govt finances			Compr've NDP platform Consolid financial statements all crown copns	Stand-ardize cc FYs	Govt in power 9 yrs	Prem, AG absorbe d by constit negs	NDP compre-hensive platform
<b>Governments:</b>												
<b>Time: Govt Yrs in Power</b>	<b>Blakeney NDP</b> 30/6/71-8/5/82 11 yrs SD hard left Waffle active w/in NDF	<b>Govt Priorities</b> ,>2: EcCd, Lab, OCCH Indig, Soc, Equally Education (popn young)	<b>Devine PC</b> 8/5/82-1/11/91 Neo-liberal ideol	<b>Devine Govt Priorities:</b> Deprecate staff, disadv'd clients. Saic was increasing, actually reduced transparency.	<b>Romanow/ Calvert NDP</b> 1/11/91-21/11/07 Both Third Way S.D. but different policy foci.**	<b>Govt Priority:</b> Romanow: balance the budgetcrucial, then health care reform. Mid-term was spent on na-tional unity. A Child Care benefit recd national recognition. A work & family initiative rqtd by labour was implemd & later discontinued by the Wall/ Moe govt. Calvert: growth in child care spaces & early learning implemd. Universal Seniors Drug Plan, minimum wage tied to reaching the poverty line, Crowns a huge priority: public ownership promised & implemd (key to winning 2003 election). Lowest Cost Bundle of Utilities: legislation to protect ownership.	<b>Wall/ Moe</b> 2007-2021 Neo-liberal	<b>Moe Priorities:</b> -advance economic interests, increase exports, retain support of business & large farmers. -Reduce role of crowns -Reduce costs of education (popn aging) -Control.	<b>Total 2021:</b> 50 yrs			

Governments:												
<b>Dpt'al support</b>	Move policy staff to line dpts	Incr staff, budget, salaries Value staff	Cut lab, OCCH, indigenou. Sell resource cc. Catch social welfare cheaters	Devine govt: Reduce staff, budgets, salaries. Central agency staff, e.g. chiefs of staff, were not held in as high regard by the PS as Blakeney & Roman-ow/ Calvert staff.	Both govts func'd same way. Public service (PS) treated with respect & operated in the Blakeney style of professional development & courtesy. Romanow Prem's office had an Associate Deputy Minister responsible for policy with a group of senior policy advisors who worked with policy staff in dpts & crowns to develop the policy agenda of the govt. Cabinet had policy committees that oversaw items prior to their consideration by cabinet. The system worked well. Relationship between political & PS sides was one of respect.	Political staff made clear when they were relaying messages with the full authority of the Prem & when not.	Elecn 26/10/20 May PS not happy with their treatment under Wall or Moe govts.	Govt creat-ed Miny of Trade & Export Develop-ment Control				
<b># Blakeney Inn Govt priorities &gt;2) Survg Begin Govt</b>	183**	Eccd 21 Lab 21 Indig 11 Other soc 8 Equally	177	Govt active in economy Reduced health, soc, ed \$. Formal equity	91	PS never in doubt of the govt's direction & always did their best to provide options to achieve that outcome, identify who would/wouldn't support. If there were times when PS thought a priority was not a good idea, they would say so but still provide the road map to develop the best way to achieve the politically-defined outcome.	77		60			
<b># Term</b>	6		86		14		17		123			
<b>Term % 183</b>	3.3		47.0		<b>7.65</b>		9.29		67.24			
<b>Yrs in Govt</b>	11		9		16		14		50			
<b>Term %/Yr 183</b>	0.3		5.22		0.478		0.664		1.34			

\*Environment=2, Social=2, Indigenous=2, Human Rights=2; \*\* Total created. \*\*\* Romanow's task was to return the province to some stability from bankruptcy, and to do that in a way that didn't completely abandon his principles. The first few years were brutal and many in the NDP thought he had betrayed his party and his own beliefs because of the tough choices the cabinet had to make. As soon as the budget was balanced, baby steps were made on social spending. Calvert's government opened with the line "no economic progress without social progress" and that stuck as his mantra and was evident in the decision making pretty much throughout his tenure.

**Government Priorities:**

*Romanow* - balance the budget was crucial, then it was health care reform. Mid-term was spent on national unity. A Child Care benefit received national recognition, and a work and family initiative was something that labour requested. It was implemented and later discontinued by either Wall/Moe government.

*Calvert* - growth in child care spaces and early learning, implemented universal Seniors Drug Plan, minimum wage tied to reaching the poverty line, Crowns-a huge priority on public ownership, promised and implemented Lowest Cost Bundle of Utilities, passed legislation to protect ownership (2003 election won because of Crown Corp position).

*Moe* - the government said advance economic interests and increase exports. Some say his real priority is total government. He has established a new police force, controlled by the government/minister without a clear explanation. His management of COVID didn't follow health advice, he didn't consult with the public. Instead, in the end he listened to an anti-mask/anti-vax group that was driving the Saskatchewan Party Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) to distraction and called it a consultation. Their recent budget decision to add Provincial Sales Tax (PST) to everything "entertainment and sports" related is causing them grief just as people are beginning to recover from COVID isolation in the business community. The federal government has announced \$60M in funding for health care which was the same place their PST revenue was to have been directed. The federal government is asking for some evaluation information in return: right wing governments are fighting the request.

**Abbreviations:** #=number; %=percentage; AG=Attorney-General; Apprd=approved; Calt=Calvert government; Can=Canadian; cc=crown corporations; Compr=comprehensive; Consolid=consolidated; Consltn=consultation; Consit=constitution(al); cc= crown corporation; dvd= developed; Dpts=departments; Ec=economy; Eccd=economic development; Elecn=election; Env=environment; Equaly=equality (equal, esp. status, rights, opportunities); Favd= favoured; Formal equity=consistent/equal treatment at all times; func'd=functioned; FY=fiscal year; Govt=government; implm=implemented; Inn= innovations; Lab=labour; ideol=ideology; impld=implemented; Indig=indigenous; Inn=innovation; jurdns=jurisdictions; Mgmt=management; OCH=occupational health & safety; negs= negotiations; Opd=opposed; opns =operations; partcly = participatively; %=percent; platf =platform; popn=population; Prem=Premier; PC=Progressive Conservative Party; recd=received; Recn= recession; Rev=revenues; SD=Social Democratic; Sm=small; Survg=surviving; Term=termination(s); Yr=year, w/in=within.