# Antecedents Predict Introduction and Fate of Public Innovations and their Organizations:

## A Quantitative Analysis of Antecedents of Ten Income Security Innovations and Organizations, Saskatchewan, 1971-2021

**Eleanor D. Glor**

**Fellow, McLaughlin College, York University, Toronto, Canada**

**Editor-in-Chief, *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal***
**www.innovation.cc**

Copyright Eleanor D. Glor
ISBN 0-9687137-1-11

Published by: The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal
2022

Acknowledgement:
My special thanks to Hugh McCague of the Statistical Consulting Centre, York University, Toronto for his advice on the statistical aspects of this study.

# Predicting Introduction and Fate of Public Innovations and their Organizations:

## A Quantitative Analysis of Antecedents of Income Security Innovations and Organizations, Saskatchewan 1971-2021

## Table of Contents

**Chapter 3: The Canadian, Saskatchewan and USA Contexts for Income Security Innovations……29**

Chapter 3 explains the income security context at the time the Saskatchewan innovations were introduced. The federal government had introduced the Canada Assistance Program in 1967, a subsidy to provincial welfare programs that Saskatchewan and other provinces had accessed, on condition of compatible programs. At the same time, the Government of Canada was negotiating a pilot with Manitoba for an alternative approach, a Guaranteed Annual Income. Some pilots were also running in the USA at the same time. November 20, 1972 to May 9, 1974, the federal Parliament had a Liberal minority, supported by the NDP. As a condition of its support, the NDP asked for more support for income security programs. Provinces were encouraged to establish more income security programs. Local federal officials signaled the programs would be cost-shareable. The programs had to be in place before the federal government would determine whether it was willing to cost-share the programs, so Saskatchewan set up new programs on the expectation there would be federal cost-sharing. The Oil Shock of 1973 improved the Government of Saskatchewan's revenues but the subsequent recessions tightened those of the federal government. The Oil Shock of 1978-9 maintained Saskatchewan's revenues when those of other governments declined. Tightening federal revenues reduced federal willingness to cost-share new programs. The federal government began to talk of block funding.

**Chapter 4: Six Factors and Clusters in Saskatchewan…..……..……. 37**

Chapter 4 examines the most important antecedents of policy innovation identified in a systematic literature review and compares them to the antecedents with the highest means found in this study.

**Chapter 5: The Ten Innovations and Organizations Studied…….43**

Chapter 5 describes the innovations and their organizations and discusses studying the scores of the innovations and their organizations together. The research is done on ten income security innovations and their organizations introduced for the first time by the Government of Saskatchewan, 1971-81. The innovations were the first in the Government of Saskatchewan's community and population (Canada and USA). The principle (policy) guiding the innovations was that low-income people should not need to become paupers before they became eligible for a government income subsidy, with the understanding that in a boom-bust economy people sometimes needed help. Other income security programs of the Government of Saskatchewan, mainly welfare, which also provided dental care, drugs and eyeglasses, permitted recipients to hold very few assets if they were to be eligible. Saskatchewan is a fairly rural province, so this meant people had to sell their farms, homes, and businesses before they were eligible, in a boom-bust economy. Recognizing this situation, the innovations required recipients to have low-income but allowed them to retain their assets. The five new programs subsidized low-income people who: used day care in order to work, working families with children, seniors, permanently injured workers with lost income, and non-profit employers hiring welfare recipients assessed as unemployable.

The five innovations were all first in Canada and USA. Unlike welfare programs, Saskatchewan day care, SIP and FIP were income but not asset tested:
(1) Federally cost-shared generously subsidized day care, tied for first with Manitoba;
(2) Family Income Plan (FIP), an income subsidy to low-income working families, including

single parents with children, many of whom were working at minimum wage;
(3) Senior Citizens' Benefits Program (SIP), an income subsidy for low-income seniors, acting as a top-up to the Government of Canada's 1952 OAS and 1967 GIS, with eligibility tested through the income tax system; (4) Employment Support Program (ESP), a subsidy to local governments and non-profit organizations to hire people on welfare, thus encouraging welfare recipients to work, with program officer support. The ESP program was only available to people on welfare who were classified as unemployable by the social assistance program. The workers were typically paid minimum wage. The transfer was indirect, as employers received the money and paid ESP workers a wage. This in turn created eligibility for the federal unemployment insurance program after six months of work.
(5) Workers Compensation Board (WCB) income subsidy, adding a regular income component on top of the one-time insurance payment for permanently injured workers suffering loss of income because of the injury. The income subsidy was partially paid by Social Services and cost-shared by the Government of Canada, for the lowest income recipients.



This study is unique in providing the perspectives of three public servant raters responding to a new instrument that reported antecedents of introduction and fate of the ten innovations and their organizations. The study instrument was reliable and valid and the raters were reliable. The instrument contains 1267 statements, producing 555 pairs of data in both times 1 and 2. The responses to the statements on innovations and organizations were sufficiently similar that the data could be combined, so it was. The 550 measures of antecedent pairs were combined into a classification system of groups of antecedents, factors (external support, the economy, ideology, politics, resources, effects) and clusters (1-the two external and one internal cluster; 2-political and internal [resources, effects] clusters; 3-political and support [economy factor, internal cluster] clusters; 4-political and support cluster). The capacity of the combinations to predict introduction and fate was identified and compared. Three hypotheses were studied. The fate of financial and personnel resources, neoliberal and post-neoliberal changes are identified. Several comparisons are made, of: changes in resources from the NDP to the neoliberal Progressive Conservative government and the survival periods of innovations and organizations. Methodology and measures are described.



A previous study showed factor and some cluster scores predicted introduction and aggregate innovation and organization fate (survival vs termination). This chapter explores whether introduction and fate of individual innovations and their organizations could be predicted, according to three hypotheses:

***Hypothesis 1***: ***Factor scores predicted introduction and/or fate of individual innovations and their organizations.***
(1) In Time 1, factor scores of very high economy and resources, positive effects, and near to neutral ideology and politics predicted introduction. In Time 2, factor scores of very high politics and external support and substantial ideology predicted survival; very high ideology and politics predicted termination. (2) Highest/lowest factor scores in time 1 predicted introduction and fate in times 1 and highest/lowest factor scores in time 2 predicted fate for each innovation and its organization. (3) It was not possible to accurately predict fate in Time 2 with highest or lowest scores in Time 1. (4) The types of factors and their direction overall did not accurately predict

individual innovation and organization fate. (5) All factor scores were significantly different in Time 2 compared to Time 1, except external support. *Factor means predicted introduction of innovations and organizations in time 1. Factor scores predicted fate in time 2.* Hypothesis 1 is supported.

***Hypothesis 2*: *Scores of clusters of factors predicted individual innovation and organization introduction and/or fate.***

Individual innovation and organization factor scores were studied for hypothesis 2. (1) Individual innovation and organization factor scores did not predict fate with Time 1 scores, but did with Time 2 scores. (2) The magnitude of Time 1 factor scores did not predict individual innovation and organization fate. (3) A low time 1 aggregate score did not predict Time 2 fate. (4) Innovation and organization factor mean predicted fate in time 2. (5) Aggregate innovation and their organization scores predicted fate in time 2. (6) Mean innovation and organization scores did not predict fate with Time 1 scores, but did with Time 2 scores. (7) Factor score rankings predicted fate. The neutral score of 3.0 was a turning point for survival/termination. (8) The scores of every innovation and its organization went down in Time 2, even ones that survived, but the innovation and its organization with the smallest score changes survived. (9) Introduction and fate of innovations and their organizations were successfully predicted by innovation and organization score relationships to neutral (3.0): high scores in Time 1 predicted innovation and organization introduction; innovations and organizations with scores above 3.0 in Time 2 survived; ones with scores below 3.0 in Time 2 did not survive. (10) Scores for all factors except external support of above and below 3.0 predicted introduction and fate. External support scores moved in several directions and clustered in three groups in time 2. (11) Surviving and terminated innovations and their organizations scored differently but not significantly so in Time 2 (regression analysis). *Cluster scores did not predict fate with Time 1 scores but did predict individual innovation and organization fate in time 2.* Hypothesis 2 was partially supported.

***Hypothesis 3: Individual innovation and organization scores predicted introduction and/or fate of individual innovations and organizations.***

(1) The best combination of factors and clusters predicting fate are external support factor, political cluster (ideology, politics) and support cluster (economy, resources, effects). (2) Factors were grouped into clusters by similarity of means. (3) Successful combinations of factors into clusters (political, support clusters) were considered by individual innovation and organization. (4) In time 1, innovation and organization political cluster scores were all below 3.37, quite close to neutral (3.0). (5) The best cluster predictor of introduction was support cluster, the best predictors of fate were political and support clusters and external support. (6) Political and support clusters flipped their scores from time 1 to time 2, political cluster moving from near neutral to high; support cluster moving from high to low. *Clusters of individual innovation and organization scores predicted fate of individual innovations and their organizations.* Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Some of the same factors and clusters of antecedents of introduction and fate were important in both time 1 and 2, mainly support cluster (economy, resources, effects). Some of the same and some different clusters were important to survival and termination. In time 2, support cluster declined considerably for all innovations and organizations but least for the ones that survived. In time 2, political cluster increased for all innovations and organizations, but least for the ones that survived.

***Key words:*** Public sector policy innovation, innovation antecedents, innovation measurement, predicting innovation and organization fate, Saskatchewan

# Chapter 1: Introduction[i]

This book considers the antecedents of introduction (implementation) and fate of ten trailblazing innovations and their organizations, pioneered by the Government of Saskatchewan, Canada, 1971 to 1982. The forces that influence the successful introduction of public innovations have fascinated many observers. In the scholarly literature, these are described as antecedents and are often identified as contextual. Much less attention has been paid to the antecedents that influence innovations' fates—survival or termination. Despite substantial numbers of publications reflecting both opinions and scholarship about antecedents, antecedents of public policy innovation introduction were not comprehensively documented until recently (Glor, 2021a-f).

Three approaches have been taken in identifying antecedents of innovation. An early one studied individual case studies. A second approach considered the complexity of the process of many antecedents at work (Torugsa and Arundel, 2016). A third approach attempted to identify and understand antecedents of groups of innovations. All three assumed antecedents have an influence on innovations. The third approach is taken here.

Many antecedents have been identified as influencing the introduction of innovations. A systematic literature review of policy innovation antecedents by Canadian scholar Glor (2021a-f) identified 594 antecedents in 87 documents, 508 of them uniquely stated (Appendix I). The systematic literature review found that the most mentioned antecedents of introduction fit into internal, external and political clusters of antecedents, numerically ranked in that order. This suggests scholars consider grouped internal antecedents such as resources and internal communications to be the most important or, pragmatically, the most accessible to study. Whatever the reason, internal antecedents have been identified the most.

Looking separately at trailblazing (first three introductions in a population/community) and adoption (all introductions new to the work unit) of innovation, Glor concluded that trailblazing, the type of innovation considered in this book, was "more concerned in the literature with the innovations' external and political ecologies and the government's structure and problems" than adoption. They (gender neutral) found adoption, that is innovation new to the work unit, "was more concerned with external structure, pressure groups, transactions and obstacles". They concluded "the best indicators could form a framework for antecedents of trailblazing/adoption of public policy innovation". The literature on introduction of trailblazing "paid most attention externally to the ecology of the innovation, politically to the political ecology and internally to the internal structure and the problem/ideas. Adoption literature paid most attention externally to the external structure and citizen pressure, politically to the political ecology, and internally to the ecology of the innovation process and internal obstacles" (all quotations Glor, 2021f: 17). Except for the political cluster, where the political ecology was of interest to both trailblazing and adoption, the preoccupations in the other two clusters were different for trailblazing and adoption. The 18 grouped antecedents mentioned the most for trailblazing and adoption in the literature are identified in Table 1. The 9 most-mentioned grouped antecedents, that distinguished trailblazing best (were most different from each other) were, in order, for external cluster, external environment/context, external drivers and influence of other governments/regions. For political cluster, they were political support, political drivers and ideology. For internal cluster they were structure; problem, creativity, ideas; and enhance capacity to innovate.

This book moves beyond the existing literature to take a careful look at antecedents of trailblazing innovations in a different way: it explores in detail the relationship between antecedent factors and clusters preceding both introduction and fate. They are identified by three expert assessors of numerous items for the ten public sector innovations and their organizations. If the antecedents influence the introduction and/or fate of these trailblazing innovations, can this influence be detected?

**Table 1: Best Indicators of Differences between Antecedents of Trailblazing and Adoption, from Studies of Public Policy Innovation, Assessed in a Systematic Literature Review***

| | **Grouped Antecedents** | | | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Highest Ranked:*** | **External-Highest** | **Political-Highest** | **Internal-Highest** | |
| ***Trailblazing*** | -external environment/ context<br>-external drivers<br>-influence of other governments/regions | -political support<br>-political drivers<br>-ideology | -structure<br>-problem, creativity, ideas<br>-enhance capacity to innovate | 9 |
| ***Adoption*** | -governance environment<br>-national/state innovation policy<br>-institutional context<br>-citizen pressure | -political actors<br>-politics<br>-the political | -innovation process<br>-internal obstacles | 9 |
| **Total** | **7** | **6** | **4** | **18** |

***Abbreviations:*** TR=trailblazing; T=total.
* <7% difference of difference=a pattern; =>7%age point difference=no pattern, a good indicator of difference. Antecedents are listed in order magnitude of difference. ***Source:*** Glor, 2021f, Table 2, columns 4, 7.

The five innovations studied in detail here were all trailblazing in the Canadian and American context. A more specific question can therefore be asked: Which independent antecedent variables (antecedents) influenced introduction of five income security trailblazing innovations and their organizations (organizations are necessary to approval, implementation and assessment of innovations) in the government's community/population? A government's community is the group of governments to which it relates; its population is all the governments in its category—in this case, all Canadian and/or American governments). Canada typically compares itself to the USA.

This study addresses the following general research question "What influences the introduction and fate of public sector innovations and their organizations?" It does so by addressing the more specific research question "What influenced the introduction and fate of these ten Saskatchewan income security trailblazing innovations and their organizations?" The question is considered two ways, by: (1) Identifying separately the influences on the introduction and fate of the ten income-security innovations and their organizations. The influences on (antecedents of) the innovations and their organizations are identified at time of implementation (time 1) and time of fate (time 2) in terms of: (a) their resources; (b) influences identified through completion of the new, valid instrument developed to identify influences on introduction and fate of the ten innovations and their organizations. (2) Comparing the most identified antecedents of policy innovation introduction, and (some) fate of public innovations identified by Glor in the systematic literature review to ten income security innovations and their organizations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan, 1971-82. The study identifies antecedents and, even more workably, groupings of related antecedents of introduction and fate. Fate is survival to 2021 or termination.

The book identifies, measures and considers the changes in antecedents, grouped antecedents, factors (external support, the economy, ideology, politics, resources, effects) and their clusters (external, political, internal) between introduction of the sub-population (all) of the Saskatchewan income security innovations introduced 1971-82 and their fate. The book thus identifies some of the consequences of the change from a social democratic government to a neoliberal government through the fate of the innovations and their organizations. The innovations were introduced for the first time in Saskatchewan, as compared to introductions in USA and other Canadian governments. Income security programs are defined as financial transfers to low-income individuals by governments.

Previous research on these factors/clusters identified in the systematic literature review found not only that the factors/clusters could be identified and counted but also that changes in them predicted the aggregate fate of the Saskatchewan innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2019). This book considers whether antecedent factors/clusters predict the introduction and/or fate of the ten innovations and their organizations not just in aggregate but *individually* and whether the same antecedents were relevant for all innovations and their organizations in both times 1 and 2. A variety of clusters (groups of related factors) and factors (groups of related grouped antecedents) are studied to see whether or not and which ones were able to predict individual introduction and fate of the innovations and their organizations, in an attempt to demonstrate that they influenced introduction and fate, and to determine whether or not, and if so, whether the same clusters influenced introduction and fate of individual innovation and organizations.

The book begins by placing the study in the context of literature on antecedents of introduction and fate of public sector innovation. There is considerable literature on introduction of individual innovations (87 documents) but a limited amount on antecedents of their fate. The antecedents revealed by that literature were classified into grouped antecedents, factors and clusters of factors (a hierarchy) (Glor, 2021c). The book then uses the measures developed in a new instrument to consider, in a much more detailed manner than the rest of the literature, antecedents (antecedents, grouped antecedents, factors, clusters) of introduction and fate of ten income security innovations and their organizations of the Saskatchewan Blakeney government, 1971-82. The reliable and valid instrument was completed by three expert observers; analysis used a quantitative methodology (Glor, 2017b). The instrument contains 1267 statements, producing 555 pairs of antecedent data in both times 1 and 2. Time 1 is the time of implementation, during the 1971-82 Blakeney government; Time 2 is the time of survival or termination. For eight innovations and their organizations, Time 2 ended during the nine years of the next, Devine government, 1982-91; time 2 has not ended for two others; that is, eight innovations and their organizations were terminated, two survive. The analysis is done by combining the data for innovations and their organizations as the results were sufficiently similar to do so, providing descriptive statistics and conducting regression analyses and *t*-tests.

The antecedents found in the literature were classified and ranked in terms of number of mentions (Glor, 2021c). To discern whether they applied to the Saskatchewan income security innovations and their organizations, factors (groups of related grouped antecedents) and clusters (groups of related factors) are studied to see whether and which ones applied to Saskatchewan and whether the antecedents were able to predict introduction of the ten case studies individually. They successfully predicted introduction. The book also explores whether the same or different

clusters influenced fate by considering how the scores for the factors and clusters changed from the time of introduction to the time of fate and considering the factor and cluster scores in time 2 by themselves. The political and support clusters flipped scores between time 1 and 2: External support grouped antecedent varied in time 2 by whether the case studies survived or not.

Three hypotheses are studied and the analyses found: 1) Hypothesis 1: Factor scores predicted introduction and/or fate of individual innovations and their organizations. Hypothesis 1 is supported. 2) Hypothesis 2: Cluster scores predicted individual innovation and organization introduction and/or fate. Cluster scores did not predict fate with Time 1 scores but they did predict individual innovation and organization fate in time 2. Hypothesis 2 is partially supported. 3) Hypothesis 3: Scores of individual innovations and their organizations scores predicted introduction and/or fate of individual innovations and their organizations. Analyses of the results find introduction and fate of the innovations and their organizations were predicted by political, support and internal clusters and external support factor. The best cluster predictor of introduction of innovations and their organizations was support cluster (economy, resources, positive effects). The best predictors of fate were external support grouped antecedent, political and support cluster. Hypothesis 3 is supported.

***Theoretical framework.*** Glor's (2014) framework for researching the impact of innovation on organizations is here likewise applied to policies/programs. The framework suggests exploring both the impact of individual innovations and of antecedents related to organizational people, functioning and structures. These approaches are seated within four conceptual theories, loosely based on the work of Gibson Burrell, British Professor of Organisation Theory at the University of Leicester and Gareth Morgan Professor Emeritus of Organization Studies and Distinguished Research Professor at York University, Toronto (1979) . The four organizational concepts are interpretive, humanist, functionalist and structuralist. An *interpretive* approach considers case studies and develops theories from them. The *humanist* approach focuses on people (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). A *functionalist* approach explores issues/factors/clusters correlating highly with innovation and organization survival/termination. Theoretical interests are relationships, causation and generalization; theory-building occurs through causal analysis. Structures are important because they must survive if the functions are to survive. A *structuralist* approach focuses on the fate of structures—policies/programs/ organizations—measured by founding and termination rates (Glor, 2014). For each of the four approaches, the framework addresses what an appropriate definition of innovation is, its focus, what each is most suited to studying, suitable level(s) of analysis, appropriate methodologies and measures, what is likely to be affected, and the impacts that can best be studied within each approach. Dennis Gioia, Pennsylvania State Smeal College of Business and Evelyn Pitre, University of North Texas (1990) recommended doing multi-paradigm theory-building: the framework suggests a way to do so. This book studies antecedents of introduction and fate of innovation, that include people, issues, structures and functions and emphasizes functionalism.

Structural functionalism *(*functionalism*)* is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks at both social functions and structures. The functionalist approach sees innovation performing a function in society and government. The antecedents, factors and clusters are important for their influence on the introduction and fate of the innovations and their organizations. The three clusters found in the systematic literature review performed the

functions of selecting and securing approval for an innovation (external cluster), determining who would be in control and assuring the existing power structure remains in place (political cluster) and determining what should be done and doing it (internal cluster).

*Antecedents* in this book are defined as influences (independent variables) occurring before implementation or fate of innovations and their organizations (dependent variables). The concept antecedent is used so much that it seems to be used as a collective term for anything that occurs before the phenomenon being studied that might influence its occurrence. While antecedents have been studied considerably, whether they actually influence an action has received limited attention. Because so many antecedents have been identified, they need to be combined into related groups. Glor (2021a) suggested grouping them into a hierarchy, as grouped antecedents, factors and clusters. The 508 unique antecedents identified in 87 articles in the systematic literature review (Glor, 2021c: Table 4) are classified in Appendix I into 28 grouped antecedents and 3 clusters.

American dissemination scholars Francis and William Berry (2013) and Glor (2019), suggested studying clusters of antecedents in an entire policy field, such as first introduction of income security programs/pensions (German scholars Michael Bauer and Christoph Knill, 2014; Bauer et al, 2019) or fate of innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2013, 2015, 2019). Little research has studied antecedents influencing fate of public sector innovations and their organizations individually.

There is much to be learned if both innovations that survive and terminate are studied. At the same time, termination of innovations is more difficult to research than implementation, became implementers and elected officials are reluctant to admit failure and do not wish to be associated with it. Here, all of the innovations were successfully implemented. In tracking fate, it is important to record the reason an innovation was terminated. As termination can occur at any stage of the innovation process, it may have failed because it was not fully implemented; fully implemented but the chosen model did not work; under-funded and thus unable to accomplish its objectives; fully implemented, accomplished its objectives, but was terminated anyways, for other, for example, (e.g.) political and constraint reasons. Adolescent innovations are the most vulnerable (16-30 years old) (see references later). While it was difficult to track the fate of policies and programs in Saskatchewan, it was easier to track the fate of their organizations. As well, innovations and their organizations may have additional objectives than the ones outlined in policies and programs, such as fulfilling elected officials' and managers' expectations; fulfilling organizational processes and financial objectives; assuring jobs are protected and the organization survives. Very little literature has looked at antecedents of the fate of innovations: data is hard to find and it is a complex phenomenon.

This book's objectives are to identify groups of influences on the introduction and fate of ten successfully implemented income security innovations and organizations, all of the income security innovations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan, 1971-82. They achieved their objectives (to increase the income of low-income people) and to determine whether antecedent factors and clusters predicted individually the introduction and/or fate of the ten individual income security innovations and their organizations.

As indicated earlier, a *government community* is defined (Glor, 2021g) as the group of governments to which the government relates, compares itself and/or with which it works regarding the issue addressed by the innovation. The Government of Saskatchewan community was the Government of Canada and progressive Canadian provincial and American state governments. The policy/program communities consisted of members of the government's party, some electoral supporters, pressure groups and progressive elected and appointed officials from social democratic governments and parties in Europe and New Zealand. The *income security community* for the innovations studied here was Canadian and American progressive governments, especially ministers of social services, elected officials interested in income security and public servants working on income security. A *government's population* is the group of governments of which a government is a member; here, the governments of Canada, Canadian provinces and USA states and federal government.

Some authors have named as factors what are here called clusters; e.g. American scholars Berry and Berry (2013) only identified two kinds of clusters, external and internal to the jurisdiction, when studying dissemination of public innovations. Glor (2019; 2021) added a political cluster and identified internal as internal to the Government of Saskatchewan (public [civil] service, legislature, Lieutenant-Governor (representative of symbolic monarch) and courts. The Legislature, Lieutenant-Governor and courts are independent of each other. Other clusters are possible, too; e.g. Berry (1994: 442) added economic, social and political clusters for internal cluster. Glor (2019) explored the best combinations of factors and clusters in order to predict the introduction and aggregate fate of ten innovations and their organizations. Six factors (external support, the economy, ideology, politics, resources, effects) and factor clusters (external, political, internal clusters) predicted introduction and aggregate fate of the innovations and their organizations. The support cluster (economy, resources, effects factors) predicted *introduction*; a support cluster that had declined considerably and become very negative, with a much higher political cluster (ideology, politics) score predicted *global fate* (survival/termination). This book studies antecedent factors and clusters specific to the income security innovations and their organizations individually to see whether or not groupings of antecedents (factors and clusters, a hierarchy) influenced (predicted) introduction and/or fate of ten innovations and their organizations. It also explores the relationship between the antecedents of introduction and fate and compares the antecedents that are important at the stages of introduction and fate, by individual innovation and organization and compares the Saskatchewan findings to those of the systematic literature review.

***Definitions.*** Antecedents, introduction, fate, government and innovation community and population were defined earlier. *Innovations* are new policies/programs/processes introduced for the first time in a government. *Trailblazing* is the first three introductions of an innovation in its community or the government's population. The income security innovations studied in this book were all first in Canada and USA, the Government of Saskatchewan's population. They were discontinuous with the past, as required by British scholar Osborne's (1998) definition..

To put "new" in perspective, Norwegian innovation scholars Bloch, Mortensen and Bugge (2011) and Bloch and Bugge (2013) measured public sectors in five Nordic countries (MEPIN). Of all respondents, 20 – 30 per cent stated they were the first to introduce the innovations. Government of Saskatchewan CCF and NDP governments have a history of being innovative, as renowned American scholar Seymour Martin Lipset found in *Agrarian Socialism*

(1968), Glor in *Policy Innovation in the Saskatchewan Public Sector, 1971*-82 (1997) and *Is Innovation a Question of Will or Circumstance?* (2002). Left-wing Saskatchewan scholar Harding (1995) argued the government was not very innovative. In the two books, Glor found that the Blakeney government implemented 160 innovations in eleven years and has since discovered more (total 183) (Glor, 2023 in press). An important source of innovations that were included in the NDP platforms was NDP convention resolutions (Harding, 1995: 465-71) and 12 consultations with NDP members and members of the public, conducted in 1970. As Osborne's (1998) definition required, new groups were served, such as working parents and their children with subsidies, people on welfare with subsidized employment and indigenous people with indigenous-run, autonomous educational institutions.

Organizations are administrative units delivering policies, programs and/or processes (Glor, 2015: 14). They are responsible for the functions of government. Some studies only treat the highest-level departments/ministries/agencies as organizations; e.g. Peter deLeon, former Distinguished Professor of Public Policy, University of Colorado and former editor, *Policy Studies Journal* (1978, 1997) and Stuart Kaufman of the Rand Corporation (1976). They probably treated organizations that way because their data source, the United States Government Manual (USGM) is organized by department. This approach minimizes the number of organizational terminations. At the other end of the spectrum, Norwegians Koson Sapprasert and Tommy Clausen (2012), studying the private sector, recommended studying organizations at the level of organizational units and projects. In this book, for the Government of Saskatchewan (a parliamentary system), organizations are studied at all levels; e.g. departments (ministries), branches, divisions, units but not projects. The five organizations studied were created to deliver the five income security innovations. Programs and administration were budgeted separately in the Department of Social Services (Social Services) that was responsible for four of the innovations and organizations. Departments were not allowed to run deficits—they could only spend approved expenditures. The Workers Compensation Board (WCB), an agency of the Saskatchewan government, was responsible for one innovation and its organization but it did not create a separate unit to administer the WCB innovation for many years. It eventually did. A component of the WCB subsidy for low-income workers was delivered by Social Services and was cost-sharable with the federal government. Once Established Programs Funding (block funding) was introduced by the federal government in 1977, the Canada Health and Social Transfer in 1996 and the Canada Social Transfer in 2004, cost-sharing no longer applied. Cost-sharing of the Saskatchewan Assistance Plan (SAP) under the Canada Assistance Plan continued until 1996.

*Trailblazing* of innovations and their organizations as used in this book is the first, second or third time an innovation is introduced in an innovation's community or a government's population. The innovations studied are therefore all trailblazing. Osborne (1998) defined "total innovation" as innovations new to the innovating organization and offering a new service to a new group. While the five innovations studied fulfill Osborne's definition, the order and ranking of adoption is considered important here. The government introducing an innovation first in a community or population as Saskatchewan did, faces a unique and difficult task and has no one to consult about how to do so or to whom to compare themselves.

*Organizational innovations* include process and public administration innovations but are not the subject of this book. The organizations studied here were created to support the

innovations and were not especially innovative. They are studied, however, because they were directly related to and necessary to the innovations.

*Fate* is survival or termination of innovations and their organizations. Survival is measured by ongoing appearance in official documents. *Termination* is measured by: (1) disappearance from official documents (the definition used in the organizational demography literature [Glor, 2013]); (2) substantial reduction in funding; (3) transfer to another department to perform a different function (e.g. ESP was transferred, retained its name and mandate but added eligibility for businesses, then it disappeared within a year); (4) privatization (sale/transfer to a private corporation or a non-profit organization). These definitions come from the United States Government Manual (USGM, 2008-09) but the USGM does not mention privatization. Privatization is included in termination in this book.

Some scholars have suggested using more nuanced categories of termination. European scholars Boin, Kuipers and Steenbergen (2010), e.g. distinguished abolishment, absorption in a merger and splitting into two or more entities. Norwegian scholars Rolland and Roness (2012) distinguished pure termination (most innovations) and termination into existing units. Irish scholar Muiris MacCarthaigh (2014) distinguished death, absorption, merger and replacement. Such approaches, including the one used here, allow a more accurate reflection of fates and locations but focus research on the type of termination. This is worthwhile but it requires detailed research on every case study.

While these nuances were tracked for the income security innovations and their organizations and the time frames of innovations and organizations were also tracked by Canadians Glor and University of Regina scholar Ewart (2016), the information added a limited amount to understanding of fate. Importantly, it may not be possible to track these categories from existing documentation for the Saskatchewan 1971-82 innovation population. Trying to do so absorbs a tremendous amount of research time, adds much complexity and makes comparison and integration with organizational termination literature difficult. To make the approach worthwhile, termination would need to be the focus of the research and a smaller population should be studied. This book therefore uses the standard survival/termination distinction. Its focus is influences on both innovation and organization fate.

Nonetheless, Glor and Ewart (2016) tracked the fate of the ten innovations and their organizations studied here. They found numerous changes: policy changes, new program legislation with name changes, eligibility criteria changes, substantial budget reductions and increases (the latter do not terminate an innovation), departmental geographical location changes, and numerous organizational changes. Study of these ten innovations and their organizations is intended in part to be a pilot for a larger study, in order to identify an appropriate methodology and the best sources of information. Consequently, the standard definition of termination of innovations and their organizations was used. No record was found for how the items terminated in the Progressive Conservative Party budget of 1989-90 had changed. While the abbreviations FIP and SIP remained in the *Estimates*, changes had occurred in the legislation and program names, eligibility criteria and budgets had been reduced substantially. The acronyms may have been retained to maintain familiarity and give the impression of more continuity than actually existed. Because of these major changes, FIP and SIP are considered to have been terminated in 1989-90. The new FIP was terminated during the early 1990s, then abolished in its entirety

during the late 1990s by the Romanow government. Amalgamation of all income security administrative organizations into one during the early 1980s terminated the earlier individual organizations.[ii] Personnel wondered whether this action presaged downsizing of the programs and they were right: restraint occurred during the first Devine government; the four Social Services programs were terminated, with even heavier constraint, during the its second term.

*Innovation survival* is retention of a policy, program or process/organization at approximately its current level, on the same or similar terms. *Termination*, as indicated earlier, is disappearance of an innovation/organization from the record (abolition), transfer to a different department (ministry), a name change, major funding cuts, and privatization (sold/transferred to the private or non-profit sector). This is how termination is treated in the termination literature; e.g. USGM (2008-09) and Glor (2013). The USGM defines termination this way but it does not mention privatization. Glor included privatization.

American scholars Brewer and deLeon (1983), on the other hand, defined policy termination as "the deliberate conclusion or cessation of specific government functions, programs, policies or organizations." This total eradication definition had the effect of minimizing how many terminations occurred. Brewer (1978) recommended thorough evaluations of programs be done and considered before making decisions in favour of termination, and rational and humane endings. There is no evidence that this occurred in Saskatchewan; the evidence points instead to abrupt and total abolition for day care and the Employment Support Program (ESP).

Research by Scottish public policy scholar Justin Greenwood (1997) showed policies often have successors. The innovations terminated in the current study had successors but the policy they served was abolished; in every case, henceforth the recipients' equity had to be almost totally used up before they were eligible for the programs (retention of $5000) was allowed. In the poor economy and high inflation of the early 1980s, the cost of the innovations increased considerably.

*Prediction of fate* is a forecast, a statement about what will happen in the future (survival/termination). This book explores whether or not and how accurately factors and clusters of antecedents predicted the introduction and fate of the individual innovations and their organizations. They are assessed through a new instrument that quantifies the antecedents, factors and clusters influencing them (Glor, 2017a).

The *innovation dissemination* literature began early. It defined innovation as anything perceived by the innovators or their organizations as new, no matter how long ago the program may have been introduced elsewhere or how many other states had adopted it (Jack Walker, 1969; Gray, 1973; Rogers and Kim, 1985; Rogers, 1995; Berry and Berry, 2013). Studying internal and external antecedents of process innovations in local governments, Richard M. Walker (2014) found empirical evidence of the importance of internal antecedents of organizational size, administrative capacity and organizational learning, but not in relation to external antecedents. This is the definition used here for dissemination/diffusion/adoption of innovation. The current study focuses on trailblazing and especially first implementation in the population (i.e., first adoption) and fate, and does not examine dissemination of the innovations.

Berry and Berry (2013) suggested that definitions focused on the first few adopters were used more before 1990 and that the focus has been primarily on dissemination since then. This could be because of budget restraint and downsizing and therefore fewer actual trailblazing innovations being introduced post-1990, when neoliberalism[iii] and New Public Management (NPM) were promoting reduction of government and were widely adopted (Saskatchewan was an early adopter.). In neoliberal environments, within government, naming a change "innovation" was often used to reinforce political directives and as a proxy for NPM. Policy/program innovations primarily focused on saving money and restricting access to programs, not on serving new groups. Dissemination includes adoption at all stages of innovation, from trailblazers to laggards. Including all adoptions shifted the focus to whether innovations had been adopted and pressured public servants to adopt NPM, as opposed to focusing on trailblazing of innovations, for which there were few resources. While those who study dissemination are making an important contribution, there is still much to learn about innovation by focussing on trailblazing. This book adds an additional, understudied, focus on the fate of policy innovations and their organizations. By studying both introduction and fate, a window opens on what portion of introductions are terminated and how quickly. This study opens that window at a time when the dominant ideology changed.

**The Research So Far**

This book is part of a multi-year research program studying antecedents of introduction and fate of public sector innovations and their organizations. The book considers which factors and clusters most influenced the introduction and fate of innovations and their organizations. This book has been preceded by research in several steps, examining the following issues:

(1) The introduction and fate of the departments (ministries) of the Government of Canada (Glor, 2011). This created a baseline termination rate for Canadian government organizations. It is available for use in comparing Canadian federal, provincial and municipal government organizational termination rates.

(2) The mean mortality (the term used in the organization mortality literature) rates of private, non-profit and public sector organization populations, internationally (the study found 33 published organizational mortality population studies including one usable database, on the Internet). The literature on mortality rates of many populations of organizations was gathered into sectors and compared. The private sector had the second highest mortality rate, the non-profit sector the lowest and the public sector organizations the highest mortality rate. Contrary to what USA Republican scholars had said, public sector organizations did not have low mortality rates but rather had the highest mortality rates of the three sectors (Glor, 2013).

(3) What the most-mentioned antecedents of introduction of policy innovations were in the scholarly literature. The literature on antecedents of introduction and fate of public sector innovations and their organizations (organizational demography) was integrated in a systematic literature review (Table 1) (Glor, 2021a-f).

(4) How innovation has been studied, and what an appropriate framework would look like for studying public sector innovation (Glor, 2014a, b; Glor and Rivera, 2015, 2016).

(5) The history of these ten innovations and organizations—their resources, the periods each existed, mean survival periods, and how innovations and organizations compared—was determined (Glor and Ewart, 2016).

(6) The antecedents identified in the systematic literature review were compared to those identified in other systematic literature reviews, literature reviews and meta-analyses of antecedents of innovation (that studied the private sector, dissemination of public sector innovation and public sector innovation processes) published in the literature (Glor, 2021c).

(7) An instrument to identify antecedents of introduction and fate of the ten innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2017a) was developed and published. The instrument uses a five-point Likert continuous (interval) scale, with 1438 possible response items per rater, of which 1267 were fully completed, producing 550 matched pairs of data for each rater in both time 1 (introduction of the innovations and their organizations) and time 2 (their fate).

(8) Three public servant raters working for the Saskatchewan government during implementation of the innovations completed the instrument. The three raters and the instrument were verified (Glor, 2017b). The raters were found to be reliable; their validity could not be assessed. The instrument was reliable and valid.; it could therefore legitimately be used to assess the ten Saskatchewan case studies (Glor, 2017b).

(9) The factors were organized into clusters (groups of factors) that were tested for their capacity to predict the introduction and *aggregate* fate (survival/termination) of the innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2019).

Having put in place some of the pieces needed to study public sector innovation and its antecedents more rigorously, the current research program turned to studying the antecedents of five income security innovations and their five organizations. The case studies are the sub-population, all five income security innovations and their five organizations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan, 1971-82, of which the next government, 1982-91 terminated eight and retained two. The two retained (WCB) still exist.

This book continues the research program in the following steps:

(1) The data collected through the instrument on the ten innovations and their organizations are analyzed. Data for innovations and their organizations are found to be sufficiently similar that they could be combined, and are.

(2) Based on the analyses, the antecedents studied in the instrument are organized into six antecedent groups, called factors: external support, the economy, ideology, politics, resources and effects (Glor, 2018) (Table 2).

(3) The most important grouped antecedents, factors and clusters are identified.

(4) The most important are analyzed for whether they can predict introduction, introduction and fate, and/or fate of individual innovations and their organizations.

**Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Six Factors, Innovation and Organization Data Combined, Times 1 and 2**

| | External Support | Economy | Ideology | Politics | Resources | Effects |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **No. Pairs** | 19 | 40 | 57 | 99 | 172 | 168 |
| **Mean Score Tm 1** | 3.815789 | 4.862500 | 3.178421 | 3.134680 | 4.267500 | 3.826190 |
| **SD** | 1.1572300 | 0.3394471 | 1.3404128 | 1.434441 | 1.0099998 | 0.7837487 |
| **Mean Score Tm 2** | 3.157895 | 1.525000 | 4.377193 | 4.281178 | 2.401163 | 2.458333 |
| **SD Tm 2** | 1.3022697 | 0.9333562 | 0.9967837 | 1.2862110 | 1.6028479 | 1.5644025 |
| **Mean Difference** | -0.8157895 | -3.3375000 | 1.198772 | 1.146498 | -1.8159884 | -1.367857 |
| **SD** | 1.842481 | 1.117389 | 2.019006 | 1.465650 | 2.090442 | 1.632082 |

***Abbreviations:*** Tm1=Time 1; Tm2=Time 2.
Mean Difference calculated by R Commander per statement and summed (555 pairs).
***Source:*** Glor, 2019: Table 1. Used with permission.

The field of public sector innovation lacks some basic studies. One is a clear understanding of the contexts and antecedents associated with trailblazing of innovations. Another, that is even less studied, is the contexts and antecedents associated with the fate of public innovations. A third is comparison of the antecedents of introduction, survival and termination of public innovations. This book contributes to those three topics.[iv]

# Chapter 2: What Do Scholars and Practitioners Say About Introduction and Fate of Public Sector Innovations?

Literature on antecedents of introduction policy innovation is examined first, then literature on fate, including literature on the fate of public policies and organizations. An international comparative study of first introduction of income security innovations is reviewed in Chapter 4. Factors identified in the literature and the Saskatchewan antecedent literature are examined in Chapter 5.

***Policy (including program) innovation introduction.*** American scholars Jeffrey Brudney and Ted Hebert (1987) studied external actors influencing 50 US state agencies (not innovations): actors (the governor, legislature, clientele groups, professional associations), agency type and differences in the nature of the environment (agency structural characteristics, funding provisions, exogenous shocks to normal operations, state of the environment). They might cluster as external 1 (external support, economy), external 2 political (ideology, politics), internal (resources, effects), and support (economy, resources, effects) clusters, which are also examined in this book. Torugsa and Arundel (2016) of the Australian Innovation Research Centre, University of Tasmania examined innovation antecedents, factors associated with complexity and how complexity affected innovation outcomes in the most significant innovation in the work group of 4,369 Australian government employees. Complex innovation—incorporating more than one type of innovation—correlated positively with a variety of beneficial outcomes ("effects" in this research). Saskatchewan innovations and their organizations were also complex, introducing a new principle (policy), five new programs for five new target groups, benefitting both those in need and employers. Typically, the employers paid minimum wage (not a living wage), without benefits or pension and were employing people on welfare and women. The employers paid into the Workers Compensation Board (WCB) Fund, that provided insurance against income lost due to injury/death at work.

The literature sometimes refers to drivers and barriers to innovation. In their pilot study of drivers of public sector innovation in five Nordic countries, Bloch and Bugge (2013) found key factors were political mandating (60%) and internal actors (management 80%, internal staff 70%). Barriers to innovation were lack of funding, inadequate time and lack of internal incentives. Risk aversion was not important. Based on work by innovation scholars from the European and Israeli PUBLIN project, involving eleven case studies from nine countries, Koch and Hauknes (2005) and Koch et al (2006) found risk aversion to be important and identified such drivers and facilitators as problems, non-problem-oriented improvement, political push, a culture review and support mechanisms (resources, capacity for innovation, competition, technology). Barriers in the health field included large size and complexity. Large size typically supports administrative innovations (Glor, 2013), heritage and legacy, "professional" resistance, risk aversion, very high public/political profile and accountability, and a need for consultation with unclear outcomes. Koch and Hauknes' work was done as part of the Publin project, building on the MEPIN project.

The LIPSE Project was a multi-national European public sector innovation project, funded by the European Union that followed the Publin project. It was headquartered at Erasmus Universiteit, Rotterdam, Netherlands and was led by Victor Bekkers. As part of the LIPSE project, Bekkers, Tummers, Stuijfzand and Voorberg (2013) identified three dimensions of drivers and barriers for social innovation: innovation environment, adoption of innovations and innovation process. They emphasized the barrier of strong legal culture and the positive influences of leadership linking stakeholders and risk management strategies. Other projects have also examined drivers and barriers (e.g. Glor, 1997: 4-8; 1998; 2002: 139-171).

Robert Lieberman of Columbia University and Greg Shaw of Illinois Wesleyan University (2000) found national factors were more important than regional influences in adoption of welfare innovations under USA Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) waivers, 1977 – 1996. Glor's (2021c: Table 1) systematic literature review discovered that in the literature the internal cluster is the most examined. The internal cluster listed more antecedents (261) than the external (132) and political (97) clusters.

The political could potentially be considered part of the external environment, as Berry and Berry (2013) did; if it were, in Glor's review there would be 225 external antecedents and 261 internal antecedents, similar numbers. Berry and Berry (2013) found innovation dissemination was influenced by internal and external clusters (they used "factors") but they did not explore introduction of innovations, only adoption/ dissemination. While these external and internal totals are not greatly different, because this book is about the public sector and the literature identified numerous political antecedents (97), the political cluster was separated and the three cluster totals remain different. The three clusters (external, political, internal) imply that authors considered internal antecedent factors to be the most important cluster in introduction of policy/program innovations. There is also a public administration/management literature that identifies antecedents of their innovations (e.g. the work of Richard Walker). While implementation of policies and programs is an essential stage of innovation, the external and political clusters determine which policy and program innovations get approved.

This book examines clusters of external, political and internal factors influencing the introduction and fate of five trailblazing innovations and their five organizations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan 1971-82 under a social democratic (NDP) government. Eight of ten were terminated up to 2021 and their fate under the next, Canada's first neoliberal government and subsequent governments. The book treats the political cluster, external support and economy factors as external; it does not examine social factors as such.

In Canada, social policy is constitutionally a provincial responsibility and is decentralized. In relation to its responsibilities, the Government of Canada has more revenue potential than the provinces and has therefore regularly subsidized provincial spending. Canada has fewer and larger provinces but smaller populations than the USA. The Government of Canada has facilitated income security through provincial cost-sharing but also created its own social programs—old age pensions, unemployment insurance and child subsidy programs.

Berry and Berry (2013) identified national and regional influences in innovation; these were examined for Saskatchewan. In terms of regional influence, its neighbouring provinces are Manitoba and Alberta. Saskatchewan, 1971-82 and Manitoba, 1969-77 had New Democratic

Party (NDP) (social democratic) governments but Alberta consistently had Progressive Conservative governments, 1971-2015. British Columbia, west of Alberta, also had an NDP government 1972-75. Rather than being influenced by both its next-door neighbours, Saskatchewan innovations were influenced by the two other NDP governments, federal funding, federal minority governments and New Zealand, that also had several social democratic governments. Minority. The federal government was a Liberal minority 1972-74, supported by the federal NDP, that asked for more income security funding as its condition of support of the Liberal government.

Rather than only considering internal and external clusters in this study, as Berry and Berry did, three basic clusters are studied and more predictive combinations are created.In the systematic literature review (Glor, 2021a-f), the most-mentioned factors with *external cluster* were external support and the economy. Within *political cluster*, the most-mentioned factors were ideology and politics. They are external to the Government of Saskatchewan. Within *internal cluster*, resources and effects were most-mentioned in the literature; they are internal to the Government of Saskatchewan. Berry and Berry (2013) treated the economy and politics as internal factors to the jurisdiction: these are also examined. The Saskatchewan Blakeney government tracked programs and organizations in its budgets; the Devine government only tracked organizations consistently. Premier Blakeney also reported annually to the party on progress implementing its platform, that included over 100 commitments, many of which were innovations.

*Considering innovations and organizations together.* This study integrated the data for the antecedents of the five innovations and the five organizations, because their results were sufficiently similar to do so. Only a little research has been conducted on antecedents of the fate of innovations and their organizations, considered together. German scholars Christian Adam and Michael Bauer (2018: 16) suggested it is not apparent that the factors influencing policymaking and termination are different: their literature reviews suggested they were similar, although the ranking of their importance changed from introduction to fate.

***Innovation fate.*** Glor is one of few scholars who has studied both the introduction and fate of innovations. Early on, they studied 160 policy/program (Glor, 1997) and 34 administrative/process (Glor, 2002) innovations introduced in the Government of Saskatchewan, nine Canadian innovations (six federal, two provincial and one municipal) (Glor, 2015) and the current ten innovations and their organizations (Glor and Ewart, 2016). For 160 innovations, numerous antecedents were identified, such as Saskatchewan's social history (e.g. the Social Gospel movement, Great Depression, agricultural and industrial unions, agricultural movements, indigenous populations and organizations) and political history (Progressive and Farmer's movements, radical non-profit organizations, CCF and NDP parties in power) (Glor, (1997, 2002). For nine Canadian innovations, Glor (2014, 2015) found politics, employees, functions, survival and other factors were important. For the ten innovations and their organizations studied here, they found that support, political and internal clusters were most important to aggregate fate (Glor, 2019).

***Policy/program fate***. In their framework for policy dismantling, Bauer and Knill (2014) indicated that many influences are possible and suggested key influences in policy dismantling include, in order of importance: political decisions and politicians, external (macro) factors,

institutional conditions and opportunities, situational factors and dismantling strategies. The strategy that seems to apply best to the eight terminated innovations and their organizations studied here is active dismantling: reduction of funding, destabilization of the organization, then an active dismantling decision and high visibility, with a strong, clear and firm preference to dismantle. The Saskatchewan neoliberal governments seemed interested only in the preferences of its supporters, ignoring and resisting those who sought to retain programs. They adopted a sequence of neoliberal changes in their first term (e.g. elimination of the gas tax, reductions in business taxes, reduced public service wages through reorganizations, creation of a large deficit and debt). In their second term, they introduced severe restraint and many terminations, including eight of the income security innovations and their organizations studied here. Acknowledging many factors can be at work, Bauer and Knill developed four ideal types of dismantling (based on active/passive approaches and extent hidden/revealed) and a conceptual framework for policy dismantling. Their paper generated some discussion, to which they responded (Bauer et al, 2019). The 1970s Government of Saskatchewan was active and revealed; the 1980s Government of Saskatchewan was active and hidden. Today Saskatchewan again has a Fuel Tax and Road Use Charge Act, imposed on purchasers and importers of fuel.

My classification of antecedents into antecedents, grouped antecedents, factors and clusters of public policy innovation introduction was based on the antecedents identified in the literature (Glor, 2021c). It organized the limited literature on antecedents of fate of public sector innovation. Appendix I identifies the influences on fate from that literature, in order of number of mentions into: politics (5 mentions), external support (3), economy/internal/resources (2), people/effects/ institutions/situation (1). Politics, external support and resources are the most important influences (measured by number of mentions) on fate identified in the literature.

German termination scholars Adam and Bauer (2018: 16) suggested it is not apparent that the factors influencing policymaking and termination are different. Whether they are for innovation is investigated here.

Some authors; e.g., Harvard University professor Paul Pierson (2000a, b), argued that time, timing and sequence of events (i.e. in case studies) are a more useful approach to studying social phenomena than are antecedents. Case studies, however, still study variables, just in a more detailed way. It is possible to provide examples but difficult to demonstrate that variables are consistent across cases, one case at a time. One of Pierson's criticisms is that studying antecedents only provides a snapshot of a situation and that the historical pathway is more important. The weakness of an historical approach is that it can only consider a few case studies while a study of antecedents, as done here, can summarize more. The study of both antecedents and historical processes is important and has been addressed previously in study of these Government of Saskatchewan income security innovations and their organizations. The structural changes in the ten innovations and their organizations before eight were terminated are outlined in Glor and Rivera (2016). Rivera was USA Regent's professor and colleague of an early scholar of innovation, Everett Rogers.

There were few policy/program changes yet numerous but unimportant organizational changes during the period from introduction to fate. The Saskatchewan literature followed the history of the innovations and their organizations and the results from the instrument studied here took two detailed snapshots of antecedents before introduction and fate. While this approach still

studied antecedents, it also looked at the variables Pierson suggested. The snapshots were not at one time but during stages of a process—introduction and fate.

The instrument measures antecedents, factors and clusters considered to have been necessary to the introduction and fate of the innovations and their organizations. If the measures correlate closely with what happened, the antecedents create some understanding of why they happened.

Only clusters at a very general level were comparable in the systematic literature review of antecedents of introduction of public sector innovation (Glor, 2021c: Table 1). The LIPSE scholars prepared several meta-analyses of dissemination of innovation and clustered antecedents, that they called external, internal and dissemination. Glor classified the antecedents and antecedent factors identified in the systematic literature review of introduction into three clusters, external, political and internal clusters. The most-mentioned grouped antecedents of introduction varied by cluster. In external cluster, citizen pressure, governance environment/context, external environment/context, institutions and national/state innovation policy were the most important factors. In political cluster, political culture, political actors/people, and politics were most mentioned. In internal cluster, innovation process; problem, creativity, ideas; structure and organizational culture were most important.

The factors identified as important in the public sector innovation literature for the *internal cluster* were similar to those identified for the private sector by Rutgers University Professor Fariborz Damanpour (1991); for diffusion/adoption by the LIPSE scholars (Bekkers et al, 2013); and for process innovations by City University of Hong Kong Professor Richard M. Walker (2003, 2007) (Glor, 2021f): policy/process, drivers and internal environment. In other words, antecedent factors for implementation of different kinds of innovations were shared. The *external and political factors* for introduction of public sector innovations in a government community were somewhat different: In external cluster, the important factors were drivers, context and innovation policy; in the political cluster, they were context, drivers and people.

While some authors who studied other kinds of innovation incorporated politics into their external cluster (e.g. the LIPSE scholars, studying dissemination), others incorporated politics into their internal cluster related to a jurisdiction (e.g. Berry and Berry, 2013, studying dissemination). In order to allow future analyses to be consistent, and because it was mentioned so frequently for introduction of public policy innovations, a political cluster was kept separate in Glor's analyses.

Policy(program) innovation fate has not been studied as much as introduction. While 87 articles addressing antecedents of introduction were found, only nine articles addressing antecedents of fate of policy/program innovations or their organizations were found (Appendix I, II). Antecedents and their number of mentions for fate included politics (5 mentions), external support (3), economy (2), internal (2), resources (2), effects (2), people (1), institutions (1) and the situation (1) (Appendix II). These are mostly organized into the same categories used to analyze the results of the instrument, thus making them comparable. Political and internal clusters have been found to predict aggregate innovations and their organizations fate (survival/ termination) (Glor, 2019). This book considers whether factors and clusters also predict fate of individual innovations and their organizations.

***Organizational fate***. Most of the literature on fate has focussed on organizations, not policies/programs. Antecedents have been treated as selection factors for organizational survival/termination (Baum, 1996). Organizational evolutionists such as Joel Baum of the Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto and American scholars of private sector organizational evolution and complexity Bill McKelvey (1994) and Howard Aldrich (1983) studied determinants of fate. American and European scholars Boin, Kuipers and Steenbergen (2010) examined the role of institutional design in the survival of American New Deal public organizations, finding that design's role was sometimes positive and sometimes not, as it changed over time. American scholars Damanpour and Wischnevsky (2006: 275) suggested that in the private sector "innovation adoption contributes to organizational success but is not necessarily the primary success factor." In cases where innovation is not the primary success factor for organizations, innovation would be one of several factors contributing to organizational fate, and all factors would need to be studied in order to determine the relative importance of innovation. A functional perspective, with its focus on organizational management, fits better with study of introduction, while a structural perspective fits better with a focus on organizational fate.

Organizational evolutionists such as Hannan, Freeman, Carroll, Baum, Oliver, Singh and Boin saw innovation as the means by which organizations evolve. Whether this is different from organizational "change" is a moot point but they found selection factors that correlated with increased/decreased organizational termination included location in capital city/close to the executive, politics, niche width, population density, change, organizational age**,** size, resources, embeddedness and competition (summarized in Glor, 2015). In some studies, survival analysis (e.g. time series, survivor function, hazard rate) was used to identify differences in the fate of organizations that changed compared to organizations that did not change within populations and across populations (e.g. Singh, House and Tucker, 1986; Hannan and Carroll, 1992; Peters and Hogwood, 1988). In most studies, organizations that changed had higher termination rates in the short (0-15 years old) and adolescent (16-30 years old) term after change, but settled into rates similar to those of older organizations as the survival time got longer (Amburgey, Kelly and Barnett, 1993; Baum, 1996; Damanpour, 1991; Singh, House and Tucker, 1986; Singh, Tucker and House, 1986***;*** Brüderl and Schüssler, 1990; Glor, 2013). When the eight innovations and their organizations were terminated in this study, they were adolescent in age; the surviving innovations and their organizations grew to be old and still exist.[v]

Much political science literature has been divided into policy and public administration fields of study in the last 25 years. Greenwood (1997: 2136) recommended studying them together. The instrument (questionnaire) studied here was divided into policy and process sections, which offered similar statements for assessment, thus allowing comparison of policy and process results. The responses to the policy and public administration questions were sufficiently similar that the data could be combined, as confirmed by Welch's (unequal variance) *t*-test and a paired *t*-test (555 paired statements) (Glor, 2017a).

***Public sector organization (PSO) fate (survival/termination)*.** With few exceptions, there are separate literatures on policy and organizational fate. Some organizational literature studies the demography of organizational populations. The PSO termination literature began in the USA in the 1970s, using the USGM listings of creation and termination of federal PSO. At this time, the Republican Party was making the argument that there were too many PSOs. Some scholars supported this argument; e.g. Kaufman (1976), but others did not (Glor, 2015; Lewis, 2002)

partly because Kaufman looked at only two dates, ignoring all terminations that occurred between them, and thus erroneously minimizing the number of terminations. A 1978 symposium in *Public Administration Review (PAR)* addressed organizational termination favourably; a special issue of *International Journal of Public Administration* (*IJPA*), 20(12), 1997 published papers commissioned by USA Congressional Republicans to develop a plan to eliminate selected programs, as part of a presidential cut-back exercise. European scholars also studied dismantling: Jordan, Bauer and Green-Pedersen (2013: 795) suggested studying four types of factors: political (why do politicians dismantle?), prevailing opportunity structures, strategies (how actors dismantle) and effects (especially on policy status quo). This book also looks at political (politics, ideology) and internal (resources and effects) clusters. European scholars studied U.S.A. federal agencies, concluding PSO are density dependent, like private sector organizations (Van Witteloostuijn et al, 2018). Glor (2013) uncovered a higher PSO termination rate compared to non-profit and private sector organizations.

Quantitative measures of antecedents (also called determinants) have identified factors associated with earlier organizational termination—they are among the most common measures of organizational effectiveness—and many determinants of innovation have been established.[vi] Literatures on innovation introduction, dissemination, innovating organizations and innovation and organization fate have tended to be isolated from each other. Antecedent clusters have not been studied much, except for a limited analysis in Glor (2019). Gray (1973) and Berry and Berry (2013), studying diffusion, and Glor (2015), studying innovations and their fate, observed that innovation researchers typically do not study early adoptions, but rather dissemination of policies in a population, through case studies. Most researchers considered only a few issues at a time, naming them factors/antecedents/prerequisites/drivers.

Only four previous papers have addressed *both policy and organizational termination*, as this book does (Daniels, 2001; Glor and Rivera, 2016; Glor and Ewart, 2016; Adam and Bauer, 2018). American scholar and former Congressman Mark R. Daniels' paper is the introduction to a third symposium of commissioned articles published in IJPA, 2001, on policy and organizational termination, that they regarded as an under-attended topic.

Adam and Bauer (2018) provided an update, following another round of austerity in Western democracies in the 2010s and continuing low scholarly outputs on the subject of termination. They suggested the study of policy and organization termination have diverged to address different empirical and research questions and are distinctly successful. They called for a rational conception and real-world termination observations. The current research should help to fulfil this request. Adam and Bauer (2018: 5) suggested "Especially in times of 'permanent austerity' … that Western democracies have undergone since the 1970s, efforts to research the conditions influencing the termination of public programs should be peaking…" [but were not]. This book contributes to that effort. Adam and Bauer (2018) and Glor noted that the fate of public sector innovations and their organizations has been little studied. As innovation scholar Sandford Borins (2014) suggested, most innovation research considered introduction of case studies, public sector entrepreneurship and innovative organizations but typically only one of these types at a time. A serious weakness in the literature is that most case studies were written within a very few years of introduction of innovations and their organizations and so they could not and did not address fate. This book takes a longer-term perspective. German scholars

Christoph Knill and Andrea Lenschow (2001) and Glor (2014, 2015) suggested expanding the range of issues studied.

To summarize, many possible influences on introduction, dissemination and fate of innovations and their organizations have been suggested, and in some cases demonstrated. The public sector innovation literature suggests that the major antecedents of innovation were external and internal. This was the conclusion of the dissemination LIPSE scholars de Vries, Bekkers and Tummers (2016) in their literature review and Berry and Berry (2013), in their summary of the dissemination literature. In her systematic literature review of introduction of policy innovation literature, Glor (2021c) also concluded that scholars thought internal cluster was the most important in introduction of innovation, based on the number of antecedents identified. An analysis of the systematic literature review data (Glor, 2019) that will be studied again here found that six factors (external support, the economy, ideology, politics, resources, effects) predicted introduction and aggregate fate of income security innovations and their organizations introduced in the Saskatchewan government, 1971-82. The support cluster (economy, resources, effects factors) predicted aggregate *introduction.* The most important antecedents of aggregate fate were found in political cluster (ideology, politics factors). The policy termination (e.g. Harris, 1997) and non-innovation (e.g. Hartley, 1983; Wright, Erikson and McIver, 1985; Berry et al, 1998; James et al, 2016) literature agrees that ideology is important but the innovation literature has not been highly occupied with it. That innovation research agreed with the findings of de Vries, Bekkers and Tummers (2016); Berry and Berry (2013); and Collier and Messick (1975) for innovation dissemination that internal cluster and external economy were among the most important antecedents of introduction. The current paper offers an opportunity to compare findings for introduction and fate.

Many factors and clusters have been proposed in the literature and some were found to influence introduction, dissemination and fate of innovations and policies and organizations generally. This research has not, however, built an understanding of the major factors and clusters of factors most influencing the introduction and fate of innovations and their organizations. Because only four previous papers considered both policies and organizations in the same paper (Daniels, 2001; Adam and Bauer, 2018; Glor and Rivera, 2016; Glor and Ewart, 2016), and only Glor's (2019) also looked at fate, it is not yet clear whether the antecedents of innovations and their organizations were unique to introduction or important to fate as well. This study attempts to contribute to this literature by studying the introduction and fate of ten income security innovations and their organizations, determining whether the most important influences on them could be identified and assessing whether they predicted their individual introduction and/or fate.

## Chapter 3: The USA, Canadian, Saskatchewan Contexts for Income Security Innovations

Income security policy (program) innovations increase income security by subsidizing the income of low-income people in innovative ways or by subsidizing new categories of recipients. Federal income security programs have included Family Allowance for all families with children, Old Age Security for all seniors, Guaranteed Annual Income for low-income seniors. Provincial income security programs have not tended to be universal. They have included employer-paid insurance related to employment death and debilitating injuries, provincial welfare programs and the new programs studied in this book. Three Canadian experiments have provided guaranteed annual income for all very low-income people. Universal programs cover everyone or cover a whole group of people such as all people over 65 years old. Non-universal programs distinguish among recipients on the basis of need. They provide transfers to individuals, distinguish among recipients through such tools as eligibility rules and means- or income-testing of benefits related to recipients' resources. One examined here provided transfers to organizations on the basis of applications and the recipients' status (on welfare). Income-tested programs consider only the applicant's income, means-tested programs assess both income and assets to determine eligibility. Means-tested programs are a problem for people who have assets but low income, such as farmers periodically, some elderly and some permanently injured workers.

American comparative scholars David Collier and Richard Messick (1975) studied first introductions of income security innovations in the 59 formally autonomous countries at time of adoption, comparing first introduction of five income security programs, usually based on need. The programs replaced income lost due to: (1) injury related to employment; (2) sickness and maternity; (3) old age; (4) unemployment; and (5) raising children. They explored two types of antecedent, hierarchical and spatial, and whether these were necessary or necessary and sufficient prerequisites for introduction. Hierarchical was measured by modernization (income per capita, per cent of population engaged in agriculture and industry) and spatial (country and region) by order of diffusion among nations. They found four patterns: 1) 1883-91, earliest adoption, in central Europe, starting with Germany with sickness and maternity (health) insurance in 1883, work injury insurance in 1884 and an old age pension in 1889.[vii] This correlated highly with middling work force in agriculture. 2) 1892-1908, Western Europe and Scandinavia, including UK in 1897. These countries were even more modern. 3) 1908-22, less developed European countries, former British colonies (e.g. Canada), and more developed South American countries, with both low and high levels of modernization. 4) 1923-60, countries with a high percentage of population in agriculture combined with regional and hierarchical influences and including the USA (an exception, with high modernization measures). They explained the USA anomaly by impact of liberal ideology, stressing self-reliance for the poor. They did not address issues in highly decentralized federations, e.g. Canada, where constitutional responsibility for most income security programs is provincial or agreements have been reached to create joint federal-provincial responsibility (Appendix III).

The first Canadian provincial income security program was workers' compensation, introduced in 1913 in Ontario, Canada's most industrialized province.[viii] Probably because it is

highly agricultural, Saskatchewan was a late adopter of workers' compensation (1929). The first provincial measures to aid the poor were mothers' allowance programs in Manitoba and British Columbia towards the end of World War I (Osborne, 1985: 1). A widows' or mothers' allowance was introduced in the USA by individual states, starting after 1910 and with them becoming almost universal by the 1930s. Progressive CCF/NDP Saskatchewan governments were the first governments in Canada and USA to introduce publicly funded and administered hospital (1947) and medical (1962) (sickness and maternity) insurance.[ix] Saskatchewan was the first Canadian or USA subnational government to establish innovations of the five types studied here (see Case Studies, below). At the same time as it introduced new income security programs, Saskatchewan also introduced new social services, in an environment of low density for both types.[x]

The first Government of Canada income security program was a pension for returning soldiers after World War I. The first old age pension plan in Canada was established in 1927, providing a means-tested income for Canadians over 70 with little to no income, cost-shared provincially-federally. In 1952, the taxable Old Age Security Act (OAS) came into effect, providing a small universal federal pension to all Canadians 70+ who had lived in Canada for 20+ years. In 1967 the income and asset-tested Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) was introduced to top-up OAS for the lowest-income seniors. These were often women who had not worked outside the home or had worked at jobs with no pensions and so had no other pension. The employer-employee contributary Canada Pension Plan (CPP) was introduced in 1965 as a long-term solution, but it was never large enough to support seniors entirely. The first universal Government of Canada program was the family allowance for children under 16, paid to mothers, introduced in 1944; later it was income-tested, then abolished in 1992. It was followed by a series of income-tested programs and income tax write-offs for children, usually paid to the "head of household" (usually the father). More than 35 years after Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the Government of Canada introduced a subsidy for day care. Government of Canada roles in income security were greatly reduced beginning in the late 1970s with block funding and a reduction in amounts (accompanied by a supposed increase in provincial tax room that was never a viable option for provinces).

The federal and provincial governments were in fiscal crisis during the 1990s. The federal government dealt with its crisis by introducing block funding, then largely by reducing the size of its transfers to the provinces. Federal funding of income security was reduced again starting in the late 1980s with yearly block funding cuts, continuing into the 1990s, and then major funding retrenchment in 1995. More reductions occurred 1996 to 2003 (OECD, 1996); funding grew slowly after 1999. Coincident with replacement of the CAP with the CHST in 1996, the federal government introduced large cuts to the size of its cash transfers to the provinces and territories.8 Over the period 1995-97, federal cash transfers to the provinces were reduced by 34 percent in real per capita terms

From the federal government perspective, Osborne (1985: 11) described the situation for the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), that subsidized provincial welfare for the poorest:

> The reform of Unemployment Insurance in 1970 had a significant impact on CAP by keeping people off assistance rolls and offering benefits at levels not requiring supplementation. (However, many of these reforms have since been reversed, causing upward pressures on CAP spending.) In November 1970 the Federal Government

> published a White Paper on Income Security proposing to convert family allowances to an income-tested program, to raise the Guaranteed Income Supplement, and to improve the CPP. It rejected the Guaranteed Annual Income as a replacement for income security programs, and proposed experiments in Canada like those in the U.S. that were evaluating the guaranteed income approach. It proposed discussions with the provinces on the future of CAP.

A few years later the federal government permitted some additional funding under CAP but not the increase in subsidies that Government of Saskatchewan had hoped would occur. Recipients still had to be income and asset tested (Hum, 1985a, b). By the late 1970s, the Government of Canada began to reverse social funding by introducing block funding.

During the mid-1970s, the USA state of New Jersey; the cities of Gary, Iowa, Seattle, Washington and Denver, Colorado; and the Province of Manitoba introduced guaranteed income experiments (GIE) (negative income taxes) experiments. Manitoba's GIE was the only Canadian experiment and was partially Government of Canada funded. National Health and Welfare Canada employee John Osborne (1985) and University of Manitoba scholars Evelyn Forget (2011) and Simpson, Mason and Godwin (2017) wrote about the Manitoba GIE.

The Government of Saskatchewan did not adopt a GIE experiment or program, favouring the alternative—new income supplements targeted to specific low-income groups: a day care subsidy for low-income working families; an income subsidy for a low-income, working families; a supportive program paying minimum wage for people who had been on welfare join the workforce; an income subsidy for low-income seniors; and an income (as opposed to a one-time insurance payment) for disabled workers injured on the job and unable to work. These were some of the main low-income groups in Saskatchewan. The Blakeney government did not create a new income subsidy for indigenous people, another main low-income group, although all were eligible for the new income supplement programs, except status Indians, who are a federal government responsibility. Instead, priorities for indigenous people were identified by indigenous people. They identified better education as their first priority (10 new autonomous indigenous-run educational institutions were funded by the province). Ten additional indigenous programs were also created and funded. Indigenous people were a priority but were dealt with differently, as they requested.

The Government of Saskatchewan hoped the innovations would be federally subsidized under the expanded CAP. CAP staff were encouraging on this subject. CAP required that the programs be new and implemented before the federal government would consider subsidizing them. The GIE experiment was being negotiated by the federal government with Manitoba as Government of Saskatchewan was introducing its four targeted Social Services innovations during its first term, the early 1970s. The WCB income was the last introduced, in 1980. This does not support Berry and Berry's (2013) regional diffusion model, as Saskatchewan's neighbour Manitoba introduced a GIE pilot that was not adopted permanently while Saskatchewan's other neighbour, Alberta did not introduce either model. Alberta, Canada's richest province, did introduce some new social service programs, however, such as a program to serve brain injured children. Alberta has better social services than most provinces.

Saskatchewan's approach was more paced, in a boom-bust economy. The day care subsidy and ESP (initially a pilot) were introduced before the 1973 oil price shock, FIP and SIP immediately afterwards, when government revenues increased due to the increase in oil prices and some small increases in taxes and royalties. This was a period when both individual and corporate incomes were increasing.

Saskatchewan was an agricultural province with substantial and diverse but underdeveloped natural resources: forestry and mining (potash, uranium, coal, oil and gas). Both the Blakeney (1971-82) and Devine (1982-91) governments were pro-development, wanting to encourage economic growth and job creation. Both saw a role for government aiding economic development; the Blakeney government policy being to see the population through crown corporations sharing in (and helping fund) development, the Devine government policy being to see all development occur in the private sector, with taxpayer subsidies through no-ties public support. The 1970s investments of the Blakeney government kick-started the resource boom in Saskatchewan. The Devine government followed the neoliberal trickle-down economics promoted by the Margaret Thatcher British and Ronald Reagan USA administrations, later discredited. All three governments were ideologically opposed to government intervening in the economy and sold off most of the public investments, at low prices. The two-term Progressive Conservative Party government was replaced in 1991 by the Roy Romanow NDP government, which also sold off some of the Blakeney government investments and fully abolished the remainder of the FIP program, due to deep deficit and debt inherited from the Devine government. Several members of the 1982-91Progressive Conservative government were convicted of crimes of corruption but after four terms the 1991-2006 Romanow/Lorne Calvert NDP governments were replaced by a new, right-wing Saskatchewan Party, which has been elected four times as of 2022 (next election due in 2024).

NDP policies have moved toward the centre, Saskatchewan Party policies have moved right. The Saskatchewan NDP has not published a statement of principles although it is affiliated with the social democratic federal NDP. A Wikipedia website on the Saskatchewan NDP describes it as centre left and Saskatchewan scholars have identified it as Third Wave social democratic (e.g. McGrane, 2008, 2014: 239ff). The Saskatchewan Party supported the NDP government's Crown Corporations Public Ownership Act that requires thorough study of any proposed privatization and requires it not take effect until after the next general election (McGrane, 2008: 156). The Saskatchewan Party has published nine principles, of which the first five (2020) are (https://www.saskparty.com/guiding_principles, Appendix VII):

1. Economic growth and job creation through the private sector, not government, as the engine of the economy;

2. Smaller, less intrusive, more efficient government;

3. Steady, gradual reduction in government spending and taxation while maintaining a firm commitment to balanced budgets;

4. A high-quality health care system for all Saskatchewan people, regardless of where they live within the province;

5. A strong social safety net which protects those who truly need support while encouraging individuals to become self sufficient.

Saskatchewan under CCF and NDP governments was a leader, introducing elements of the welfare state first in Canada and USA; e.g. it was the first Canadian province to introduce hospital and medical care insurance; it introduced many firsts during the Blakeney government, such as a growing dental program and a universal pharmaceutical program (Glor, 1997; 2002). It was a poor, agricultural province with very little development of its other resources, and what there was, was on disadvantageous terms, providing the government little income. Its people needed the welfare state.

Public policy, pension policy and comparative public policy scholar Patrik Marier (2013: 629) suggested the reasons are the same two as in Sweden: a hegemonic social democratic party and a goal-oriented bureaucracy sharing social democratic objectives. O'Fee (2008), studying third parties in Saskatchewan, half agreed. I am not sure I agree. While the CCF/NDP was elected a considerable number of times, its election was dependent on Saskatchewan having a strong third party. If it ever was, the NDP is no longer hegemonic in Saskatchewan (Pitsula and Rasmussen, 1990; Eisler, 2022), largely because the Liberal Party has practically disappeared and the right has mostly united in the Saskatchewan Party, including part of the Liberal Party.

The 2020 election results were Saskatchewan Party 61% of votes, New Democratic Party (NDP) (32%), new Buffalo Party (3%), Saskatchewan Green Party (2%), Progressive Conservative Party of Saskatchewan (2%), Independent (0%), Saskatchewan Liberal Party (0%), with 444,997 votes cast. The Saskatchewan Party won its fourth election with 48 seats, a landslide; the NDP 13 seats. The Saskatchewan Party won landslide elections in 2016 and 2020. Saskatchewan also had landslide elections for the Blakeney government in 1971, 1978; the Devine government in 1982; and the Romanow government in 1991. A landslide is being defined as winning more than 70 per cent of the seats.

***Addressing income inequality, poverty and low income.*** *Income in/equality* refers to how different incomes are. In a completely equal income environment, people would keep the same amount of money, incomes would be equal. This is not the case anywhere (Ternowetsky, 1995). It represents, however, the sense of "fairness". *Poverty* refers to an income that is inadequate to meet the basic needs of an individual or family. Welfare throughout Canada provides an income that is well below the poverty line. During the 1980s and 1990s in Canada, conservative governments tried to force people on welfare to work, in an environment with too few jobs for everyone who wanted to work to have a job. They did so by reducing welfare, especially to single "employables". Those living in poverty who worked often made minimum wage, which was a poverty wage throughout Canada. Those who did not work remained on welfare but were driven into very deep poverty. Homeless people had existed in Canada during the 1930s and 1950s but disappeared during the 1960s and 1970sm when better income security programs were introduced. They returned in the 1980s and have remained since, relying on supplementation from food banks and religious institutions, the same strategies that appeared during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Low income generally refers to the people with incomes in the bottom quadrant of incomes, sometimes 30 percent of mean income. Some of these people manage to get by, others are in desperate situations.

The innovations of the Blakeney government in Saskatchewan did not seek to achieve a guaranteed annual income or equality. Rather, the government tried to alleviate some of the worst problems and hardships by increasing incomes, in an ethical environment that expected people to support themselves. The government introduced new programs that tried to address: (1) The inability of low-income families to pay for day care and thus to have the second parent (usually the mother) go to work or to have single parents (usually women) go to work. (2) The inability of employees on minimum wage with children to work, as their income was insufficient to support a family and they were better off on welfare, especially since welfare provided drugs and eyeglasses. Employers paying minimum wage could and did not differentiate among employees based on whether or not they had children and said they could not pay more. (Whole industries in Canada are based on the minimum wage; e.g. hospitality, retail.). While the Blakeney government steadily increased the minimum wage from one of the lowest in Canada to the highest, the problem remained if employees had children. (3) Seniors were one of the poorest sectors in Saskatchewan, which had a higher proportion of seniors (12%) than most other provinces.

To reduce poverty among seniors, the federal government had introduced the the universal Old Age Security (OAS) plan for pensioners in 1927 and the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) in 1967, based on income and equity, as a temporary measure. The employer-employee contributory Canada/Quebec pension plans had been introduced in 1966, for those who had worked. Even with these measures, poverty was rampant among seniors, especially women seniors who had never worked outside the home or had worked at jobs that had no pension. (4) Officials believed that some of the people on welfare could work and this belief was widespread in the broader population. While a few of them could, they could not find work or had poor work skills. Older and indigenous workers, in particular, had trouble finding work. (5) Workers injured on the job who had permanent disabilities that prevented them from working received a lump-sum payment from the Workers' Compensation Board, an employer- (and sometimes government-) funded insurance program that did not allow workers to sue their employers even if liable. The amounts were determined by the body part that was injured, as was done in the private insurance industry. For permanently injured workers, the amounts were insufficient to keep the former workers out of poverty.

Early, the Blakeney government increased royalties on natural resource production and introduced a price-sensitive royalty system (Burton, 1997, 2014). This was followed by the first oil shock in October, 1973, that quadrupled the price of oil by 1974. As an oil producer, the government was therefore fortunate to have a year early in its government when it under-expended its budget, just as it had introduced two new income-security innovations (ESP for people on welfare and day care subsidization for low and middle-income parents) and wanted to provide more support to low-income individuals, families, farmers and small employers who were living in or near poverty. The existing welfare program (SAP) had been introduced following the federal CAP legislation in 1966 and was subsidized approximately 50 percent by the federal government. SAP provided a very low income, well below the poverty line, and required recipients to liquidate and spend all their assets except $5000, before they were eligible for welfare (social assistance).

Recognizing that anyone could require help from the government sometime during their lifetimes, only income rather than income and assets would determine eligibility for the innovations. This was of particular help to farmers having poor crop years, homeowners who had run out of unemployment insurance or workers' compensation insurance, and people running small businesses or losing their jobs in poor economic climates. The policy recognized that income drops occurred regularly in Saskatchewan due to its boom-bust economy, driven by weather (agriculture) and primary product markets (agriculture, potash, uranium, coal, oil, gas, forest products). Recipients on welfare were also encouraged to help themselves by working, if they could, but this was voluntary, not compulsory. The five new income security program innovations were introduced to fulfill this policy.

# Chapter 4: The Six Factors and Other Clusters in Saskatchewan

The systematic literature review conducted on 87 international policy innovation documents found 594 antecedents, 508 of them unique, that were classified into 28 grouped antecedents, 5 factors and 3 clusters (Appendix I). The factors were context, drivers, obstacles, policies/processes and people (citizen pressure) (Glor, 2021c). The most-mentioned factors in external cluster were context and people; in political cluster, drivers, political context and political actors; in internal cluster, innovation process, drivers, people and internal environment. Multiples more antecedents were identified in the literature for internal cluster than for the other clusters (Glor, 2021b;)

In keeping with the literature, these six factors are considered, named: in external cluster, external support and the economy; in political cluster, ideology and politics; and in internal cluster, resources and effects. The grouped antecedents composing the factors are outlined in Table 1 (Glor, 2021c: Table 2 is partially transcribed here as Table 1). In Table 1, percentages are recalculated as proportions of the total cluster. The measures for the factors derive from the instrument are outlined in Chapter 6.

The instrument examines six main grouped antecedents, important in Saskatchewan, organized into the three clusters found in the systematic literature review. The instrument's main grouped antecedents were also found in the systematic literature review. The relationship between the findings of the systematic literature review and the Saskatchewan income security program instrument are examined next.

## External Cluster

***External context factor*** in the literature included several grouped antecedents—governance environment/context (32 mentions), external environment/context (25), institutions (17) and influence of other governments (6)—that had a total of 80 mentions, 56.3 per cent of the external cluster mentions.

***The economy*** was not mentioned most in the literature but it was very important to the Government of Saskatchewan's capacity to introduce innovations. The economy represented all of the resources expended in Saskatchewan, including resources for the private, non-profit and public sectors. During the initial period of implementation of the Saskatchewan innovations, the economy grew slowly and individual incomes were stable, 1971-73. In October 1973 oil prices quadrupled due to members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), led by Saudi Arabia, proclaiming an oil embargo. The embargo was targeted at nations that had supported Israel during the Yom Kippur War. This price increase provided the Government of Saskatchewan with an unexpected fiscal surplus in 1974. The 1978-79 oil price shock was caused by the Iranian revolution and led oil prices to double, again increasing Saskatchewan government revenues. In the literature, the order of mentions was demands/push/drivers/external support/good economy, the economy's factor, was mentioned 13 times, 7.9 per cent of mentions. In the literature, the order of mentions in external cluster was

external environment (25), people (50), policy/process 17), and then drivers (13), including the economy. The factor counts are provided in Table 3.

**Table 3: Factors by Grouped Antecedents and Three Clusters Derived from a Systematic Literature Review of Antecedents of Trailblazing and Adoption of Public Policy**

| **Factors** | **Clusters** | | | **Factor Total No. Mentions, %.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **External Cluster: No. & % of Antecedents** | **Political No. & % of Antecedents** | **Internal No. & % of Antecedents** | **No. & % of Antecedents** |
| ***Context*** | Governance environment/ context-32<br>External environment/ context-25<br>Institutions-17<br>Influence of other governments-6<br>Factor external context T=80, 46.8% | Political culture-28<br>(The) Political-6<br>Factor political context T=34, 28.6% | Organizational culture/climate-25<br>Internal only-3<br>Factor internal context T=28, 9.2% | 142<br>23.9%<br>99.9% |
| ***Drivers*** | Demands/push/ drivers/ external support/good economy-13<br>Factor drivers T=13, 7.6% | Politics-24<br>Ideology-17<br>Political Support-10<br>Drivers/demands-6<br>Factor political drivers/ demands T=57, 47.9% | Problem, creativity, ideas-50<br>Demand/drivers/push-32<br>Enhance capacity to innovate-13<br>Factor drivers T=95, 31.3% | 165<br>27.8%<br>100.0% |
| ***Obstacles*** | Barriers/obstacles/pull-11<br>Factor obstacles T=11, 6.4% | Political Barriers/obstacles-3<br>Factor obstacles T=3, 2.5% | Barriers/pull/obstacles-29<br>Factor obstacles T=29, 9.5% | 43<br>7.2%<br>100.0% |
| ***Policy/ Process*** | National/state innovation policy-17<br>Factor policy T=17, 9.9% | Platform inclusive, included in political platform-3<br>Factor process for bldg. political platform T=3, 2.5% | Innovation Process-70<br>Structure-42<br>Factor policy/process T=112, 36.8% | 132<br>22.2%<br>100.0% |
| ***People*** | Citizen pressure-50, 29.2%<br>Factor people T=50, 44.6% | Political Actors/People-22<br>Factor people T=22, 18.4% | Other people-21<br>People only-16<br>People/employees/staff/individual characteristics-3<br>Factor people T=40, 13.2%, | 112<br>18.9%<br>99.9% |
| ***Other*** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ***Total antecedents*** | 171<br>100.1%<br>28.8% | 119<br>100.0%<br>20.0% | 304<br>100.0%<br>51.2% | 594<br>100.1%<br>100.0 |

***Abbreviations:*** &=and.

## Political Cluster

In the literature, the most mentioned grouped antecedents were political culture (28), politics (24), political actors/people (22) and ideology (17). The Saskatchewan instrument examined politics and ideology.

***Politics*** are the power-related activities carried out by political parties and politicians. The NDP prepared an extensive platform for the 1971 election, to address many problems being experienced by Saskatchewan people, such as the declining family farm, labour rights reduced by the Liberal Thatcher government that preceded the Blakeney government, underdevelopment of resources, a declining environment (especially soil degradation) and a substantial portion of the population living below the poverty line.

***Ideology.*** Based on Sargent, Freeden and Stern (2013), ideologies are organized and patterned belief and value systems. Ideologically, members of the Blakeney government were mostly Fabian social democrats, with strong social consciences, partly due to the influence of the Social Gospel movement. Saskatchewan scholar David McGrane (2014) has defined three types of social democratic ideology: Fabianism, Crosland's and Third Way social democracy. While social democracy was an active ideology in the last half of the nineteenth century, Fabianism was originated by the British Fabian Society, founded in 1884, and included German social democratic theorist and politician Eduard Bernstein; British Labour Party politician and author on the right wing of the Labour Party, Anthony Crosland; and British socialist, economist, reformer and co-founder of the London School of Economics, Sidney (and Beatrice) Webb. It emphasized the elimination of poverty, more equal distribution of wealth and opportunity for sufficient food and shelter in return for a moderate day's work in order to create happiness. The Fabians prescribed state intervention and cooperatives, that were strong in Saskatchewan.

McGrane (2014: 205, 232ff) argued that the approach taken by the Blakeney government can be described as "traditional" social democracy, emphasizing support to and participation in the economy through crown corporations, improvements in labour conditions and human rights, and income security. In contrast, Third Way social democracy, which began in Saskatchewan with the Romanow government of 1991, provided less support to crown corporations and income security, like the Devine government, though not to the same extent. and was followed by the New Labour administration of Tony Blair 1997-2007. In Saskatchewan the withdrawal by the Romanow government cannot be explained as much by a change in beliefs so much as by the financial inability to refund the terminated innovations. The decline in government revenues in Saskatchewan was due to its boom-bust economy and to tax reductions by both neoliberal and NDP governments and payment of a wage to mothers. Municipal government was a key area of action. Bernstein emphasized similar ideas but expressed two differences. First, unlike the thinking of the Fabians, social democracy is not inevitable and does not have a fixed goal. It is a set of principles and involves the slow reform of capitalism through the hard work of motivated people. Second, Bernstein saw democracy as the for achieving social democratic reforms. They saw social democracy as concerned with civil, social and economic rights. The Fabians and Bernstein formed the foundation of social democracy, strongly advocating public ownership and universal social programs. After WWII and the creation of the welfare state, some revisions were introduced to social democracy, based on the work of Anthony Crosland, who recommended economic growth through economic planning, providing the private sector with risk capital and

Keynesian policies of demand stimulation and, if necessary, deficit financing of government. Central government was the key level. Profits were not evil as long as a reasonable portion was reinvested in production or taxed by government support social programs. None of these authors emphasized class conflict, a key notion of socialist and communist beliefs.

The Blakeney government had important, more left-wing critics within the NDP. These included, e.g. Jim Harding (1995), concerning social and justice innovations and all of the innovations studied here, and Judith Martin, who supported universal day care, on day care (1995).

Third way social democracy emerged in the 1990s in Saskatchewan and the UK, Saskatchewan first, following a decade of government constraint, in order to balance budgets with the lower revenues created by lower taxes. McGrane uses Anthony Giddens' version of Third Way as representative. To Giddens, the Third Way transcends traditional social democracy and the neoliberalism of the 1980s. Its focus is the additional economic and social inequality created by neoliberal economic growth and the freed market. It is also more responsive to current concerns of civil society; e.g. the environment, women's lives, cultural pluralism, diverse lifestyles and identities. In the good society, society's three main types of institutions are in balance—the state, the economy, civil society. Third way requires innovation, a healthy civil society, within bounds, and a shift in the emphasis of tax policy from progressive income taxes to regressive environmental, consumption and inheritance taxes. Governments helped private companies and did not renationalize state-owned companies (they could not afford to do so). They emphasized equality of opportunity, a term used by conservatives in the 1960s, including voucher schools, based on merit and need. They admitted the Third Way was a move to the political centre.

Neoliberalism, a return to classical liberalism, was initiated by Austrian-British scholar Friedrich von Hayek, with *The Road to Serfdom*, 1944. Neoliberals are noted for their criticisms of the Keynesian welfare state and of totalitarian socialism (communism). Hayek was concerned that expansion of public ownership, a generous welfare state and economic planning would lead to fascism and totalitarianism. Only an open, competitive and free market could lead to consumer choice and freedom of association, economic prosperity, societal progress and increased liberty. He did not predict the direction neoliberalism would take toward populist fascism as seen in Chili (military fascism of Pinochet government), Hungary, Poland, USA and Italy, most recently.

In the policy innovation introduction literature, the grouped antecedent ideology was mentioned 17 times (14.3% of political cluster), less than political culture (28, 23.5% ), politics (24, 20.2%) and political actors/people (22, 18.49%). Elements of political cluster were mentioned 119 times in the literature.

## Internal Cluster

The internal-to-the public-service grouped antecedents mentioned most in the literature were the innovation process (70, 23.0%). problem/creativity/ideas (50, 16.4%), structure (42, 13.8%) and demand/drivers/push (32, 10.5%). 304 internal antecedents were mentioned.

***Resources.*** Due to an agriculture-based economy, underdevelopment of natural resources a boom-bust economy and low taxes, the Saskatchewan government had few resources with which to work in 1971, when it assumed power. Three external economic shocks occurred during the Blakeney government: in the 1970s, two oil shocks (1973, 1979) (positive for Saskatchewan government revenues), and, in the early 1980s two recessions fuelled by slow economic growth, high interest rates (over 10 per cent), and high inflation and unemployment (negative for revenues). The recessions occurred mostly during the Blakeney period, January 1980 to June 1980, June 1981 to April 1982, 17 months. The remainder occurred under the Devine government, May 1982 to October 1982, 6 months (Devine became Premier in May 1982).

In 1974 the government ran a substantial surplus, with which it funded a number of the expensive new innovations studied here (FIP, SIP, expansion of ESP). Day care was introduced earlier, the WCB innovation later.

***Effects*** were the outputs and outcomes of innovations. Beneficial effects created support for the government; failures reduced it. Early in the Blakeney government, for instance, it fulfilled its promise to deal with the inability of children to afford to purchase their parents' farms. The solutions introduced were a Land Bank that bought the land with the intention of temporarily holding until the price of land fell and children could afford to buy it back and Farm Start that helped people start their own farms. The Land Bank initiative was based on the assumption that land would become less expensive, especially with legislation denying foreigners the right to buy Saskatchewan farmland. The Land Bank did not succeed because land just kept on getting more expensive. The Opposition criticized the government for "collectivizing land" and suggested it was following Soviet practice. This was a sensitive issue for numerous Saskatchewan farmers as many, especially Ukrainian immigrants, had left their home countries during the 1930s when the Communist government of Georgian Joseph Stalin began collectivization in the Soviet Union. Georgia is one country away from Ukraine and was also part of the Soviet Union. Nationalization was not the intent of the government but the accusation hurt it anyways, so it let the innovation languish. The Devine government promised a subsidy for farm purchases. Other innovations were successful, especially the provincial investments in the oil and gas, uranium and potash industries that facilitated resource development and secured government income from them. The potash investment was so successful that the Conservatives ran in 1982 on a platform asserting that the substantial profits from provincially-owned potash mining should be going into Saskatchewanians' pockets rather than into paying the Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan's debts. Both failure and success were thus successfully turned against the government and what had been an uncontroversial policy initially became one. Several innovations had positive effects, however, such as the children's dental plan, the universal drug plan, efforts to reduce erosion of soil, through new tillage practices, agricultural marketing aids and indigenous educational institutions. While these created positive impressions among the public and maintained belief in the government, providing benefits for the "undeserving poor" (FIP, indigenous people) as perceived by conservatives, remained controversial for indigenous people. The Premier reported yearly to the NDP Convention on progress implementing the more than 100-item platform but left-right divisions within the party affected how its members reacted. Although the socialist Waffle was an important left-wing group within the party initially, it grew less powerful over time. Nonetheless, they and NDPers in other provinces continued to criticize the Blakeney government for not being more left-wing. Jim Harding's critical edited book, *Social Policy and Social Justice* is representative of that criticism. The Blakeney government's

willingness to try common sense innovations identified by party members was striking. While some failed, failure did not paralyze the government, but sent it searching for better solutions. This is a necessary feature of innovative governments. While much of the Blakeney public service was highly professional, it accepted ideas from abroad and within the province, Harding criticized the public service as "technocratic".

**Systematic Literature Review and Saskatchewan Means Compared**

Table 4 compares the most-mentioned antecedent findings in the systematic literature review and the antecedents with the highest means in the Saskatchewan questionnaire. External drivers in the systematic literature review included economy and external support, that also appear in Saskatchewan, and governance environment, that does not. Political drivers/ ideology and ideology/politics may be related but political support was not explored for Saskatchewan in the questionnaire. In the systematic review, structure; problem, creativity, ideas; and enhance capacity to innovate were mentioned the most. These most important antecedents suggest the motivation for innovation was coming from within. In Saskatchewan, the motivation for most of the innovations came from the political party and their political platforms.

**Table 4: Comparison of Mean Ranks, Antecedents of Trailblazing in Systematic Literature Review, Saskatchewan, Income Security Innovations and their Organizations**

| Highest Mean | External-Highest | Political-Highest | Internal-Highest |
|---|---|---|---|
| **SLR Introduction*** | External environment/context<br>External drivers<br>Influence of other governments/regions | Political support<br>Political drivers<br>Ideology | Structure<br>Problem, creativity, ideas<br>Enhance capacity to innovate |
| **Sask Introduction Tm1 Rank** | Economy-1<br>External Support-4 | Ideology-5<br>Politics-6 | Resources-2<br>Effects-3 |
| **Sask Fate Tm2 Rank** | External Support-3<br>Economy-6 | Ideology-1<br>Politics-2 | Resources-4<br>Effects-5 |

***Abbreviations:*** Sask=Saskatchewan; SLR=Systematic literature review; Tm=Time
* ***Sources:*** Table 2, data from Glor, 2021b; Appendix I.

There are similarities in the grouped antecedents identified in the systematic literature review and this study, but they are not identical.

The six Saskatchewan factors, identified by the instrument, were considered as possible antecedent factors for both implementation and fate of the ten Saskatchewan income security innovations studied.

## Chapter 5: The Ten Innovations and Organizations Studied

This research in this book is done on ten income security innovations and their organizations introduced for the first time in the USA and Canada by the Government of Saskatchewan, 1971-81. The *innovations* were also the first in the Government of Saskatchewan's income security community and its government population.

In 1971 Saskatchewan did not have a strong history of income security programs, for a number of reasons. First, it was a poor province. Second, the people who receive income security are poor. Although many were communitarian, Saskatchewan people valued self-reliance and self-reliance. This was especially true among people of the Evangelical churches. Members of the Protestant Social Gospel churches tied salvation and good works together and were more willing to help the poor. Tommy Douglas' Baptist Church participated in the Social Gospel Movement but his CCF/NDP governments could afford only limited income security programs. They were not expanded by the Liberal government that preceded the Blakeney government. Under the Liberals, Saskatchewan joined the Canada Assistance Plan, joining later than many governments, thus securing cost-sharing of its welfare program. Third, some of those who qualified for income security programs were considered the undeserving poor—single mothers, indigenous people, the ghettoized rural and urban poor. Many people even believed that the disabled, of whom there were many from the wars, should be financially supported by their families. At the same time, churches, although not financially equipped to help, did what they could to help. Much of this work was done by women. The myth lived on that many people on welfare could actually work if only they wanted to do so.

The principles and policy guiding the income security innovations of the Blakeney government were there should be poverty reduction, there were no undeserving poor, and low-income people should not need to become paupers before they became eligible for government income subsidization. The welfare programs of the Government of Saskatchewan, that provided dental care and eyeglasses, and some other benefits, permitted the recipient to hold very few assets valued at a maximum of $5000 if they were to be eligible. Saskatchewan was half rural, so this meant that farm, town and city dwellers with low income, even for just one year, had to sell their farms, homes, and businesses before they were eligible for social assistance, in a boom-bust economy. The innovations allowed recipients to receive income supplementation while retaining their assets. The five new programs subsidized low-income people who: used day care in order to work, working families with children, seniors, non-profit employers hiring welfare recipients and permanently injured workers who lost substantial income due to their injury. This increase in recipient's income allowed them to get off or not enter the trap of welfare, to escape the label of "undeserving" by being able to pay for their own dental care, eyeglasses and prosthetics, to provide their children with post-secondary education, and to enter the workforce if they could. The unemployment rate in Saskatchewan declined considerably after the early 1970s, to the lowest rate in Canada, because of a good economy so these programs also helped increase the size of the workforce.

**Policy/Program Innovations**

The only government for which all its policy/program innovations have been identified is the Government of Saskatchewan, 1971-82 (1997, 2002, 2023 in press). The sub-population of income security innovations studied here were five of them.

The five innovations were the first introduction in Canadian and American governments (Glor, 1997) of the programs:

(1) Federally cost-shared, generously subsidized day care;[xi] tied for first with Manitoba;

(2) Family Income Plan (FIP), an income subsidy to low-income working families, including single parents, with children, many of whom were working at minimum wage;

(3) Senior Citizens' Benefits Program (SIP), an income subsidy for low-income seniors, acting as a top-up to the Government of Canada's 1952 OAS and 1967 GIS, with eligibility tested through the income tax system; [xii]

(4) Employment Support Program (ESP), a subsidy available to local governments and non-profit organizations to hire people on welfare, thus encouraging welfare recipients to work, with program officer support. The ESP program was only available to people on welfare who were classified as unemployable by the social assistance program. The workers were typically paid minimum wage. The transfer was indirect, as employers received the money and paid ESP workers a wage. This in turn created eligibility for the federal unemployment insurance program after six months of work. While ESP was not a traditional income security program, because it paid the subsidy to the employer rather than the individual, the arrangement had advantages for the recipient in helping them get back into the workforce.

(5) Workers Compensation Board (WCB) income subsidy, adding an ongoing, regular income component on top of the one-time insurance payment for permanently injured workers suffering loss of income because of the injury. WCB was paid by employers, with periodic top-ups by the provincial government. For the lowest income recipients who qualified for social assistance, the income subsidy was partially paid by Social Services and cost-shared 50-50 by the Government of Canada.

The policy and program changes were more difficult to track than the organizational changes. Unlike welfare programs, Saskatchewan day care, SIP and FIP were income but not asset tested.[xiii]

Day care and FIP recognized the benefits of child rearing to society. FIP acknowledged that earned income and especially minimum wage is not related to need. It helped families transition from welfare, which included dental and vision benefits for those with the lowest earned-income, which often meant pay at minimum wage and no benefits. Leaving welfare often meant a downgrade in benefits that they could afford. The Blakeney government made prosthetics available to the disabled and hearing aids to the elderly and disabled. FIP, day care, ESP and WCB all encouraged work in a period of low unemployment. Federal family allowance lost its universal character by becoming taxable under a neoliberal Progressive Conservative federal government 1984-1993 and then was abolished in 1993 by a Liberal neoliberal government that implemented a downsizing program developed by the previous neoliberal

Conservative government. Family allowance was soon replaced by a sequence of child-based, income-tested programs including a regressive 2006 family income-splitting tax program introduced by the next federal neoliberal Conservative government of 2006. Although not always served, the long-term principle has been that the subsidy should be sufficient to cover the incremental costs of having a child. It comes closer to this principle today, with Liberal government changes.

The need to subsidize these groups (low-income working families (FIP), low-income seniors (SIP), the low-income long-term unemployed (ESP), low-income permanently injured workers who lost income (WCB) and the principles involved sometimes later became part of the welfare state in Canada (e.g. children's programs), but it was substantially dismantled during the 1980s by the Government of Saskatchewan and in the late 1980s and 1990s by the federal government. Employers were responsible for the large unfunded liability in the WCB Fund when the innovation was introduced; however, a portion of the WCB injured workers' income program qualified for the provincial Saskatchewan Assistance Plan (SAP) (welfare), paid by Social Services and so was cost-shared by the Government of Canada. It was therefore of substantial benefit to both employers and permanently injured workers. This approach was subsequently adopted by all provinces. The Government of Canada had signalled willingness to cost-share costs of these innovations and their organizations except ESP (because the people employed under the program had been assessed as unemployable under SAP) but pulled back and did not actually cost-share all of them. By the late 1970s it stopped cost-sharing individual programs by introducing block funding, that it cut steadily.

The five new Saskatchewan income security programs were innovations because they subsidized the income of low-income people in innovative ways that had never been tried before (ESP and WCB) and because they subsidized new categories of recipients: day care subsidized low-income parents who worked and used day care, FIP low-income families with children, SIP low-income seniors, ESP people on welfare who wanted to try to work, WCB a monthly income for disabled workers.

***Organizations*** supporting these five innovations were a provincial department (ministry) (Social Services) and an administrative tribunal (WCB) [xiv]. The organizations' data from the research instrument was sufficiently similar that it could be and was combined with the innovations' data (Glor, 2018). Eight innovations and their organizations were delivered by Social Services, two by WCB.

The next government ***terminated*** the eight Social Services innovations and their organizations during the late 1980s but retained the WCB innovation and its organization. It created successor programs to all four Social Services innovations, abolishing ESP after one year, and converting the other three programs into less generous, means tested programs. SIP and FIP were given new names while retaining the same initials. Although the 1971-82 NDP Government of Saskatchewan had eliminated the unfunded liability of the WCB Fund with a grant from the Consolidated Fund, the Progressive Conservative government of 1982-91 let the debt in the WCB Fund accumulate again. This provided a subsidy to employers through an unfunded liability that kept employer payments lower than required to fully pay for the WCB Fund.

**Table 5: Comparison of Resources for Innovations and their Organizations at Founding and Later**

| | **$ 1975-76 Actual; ESP=budget ***** | **SS Dpt Resources $1975-76***** | **Resources for SS Innovns $ 1989-90** | **Total SS Resources, Estimates 2013-14** | **2013-14 Mean SS Salaries & Benefits** | **WCB* 1979** | **WCB 2013** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Resources for Four Social Services Innovations** | | | | | | | |
| Day Care Subsidy | *1975-6:* FTE: 13 Subsidy: $4.79219M | | FTE: N/A *1986-7*: $16.5809M *Child care 1989* $16.175M | Difference 1975-76 to 1989-90: $11.789M 246% | | Not identified | Not identified |
| FIP | *1975-6*: $13.0 M *1976-77*: $14.316239M; $95/family/ month; $34/ child/month | | *1986-7* $19.338M *1989-90, 1990-91* $13.1M (-$6.238M) Name disappeared 30/6/1998. | Difference 1975-76 to 1989-90: +0.1m +0.77% | | | |
| SIP | *1975-76* $4.095589M to 37,292 seniors *1976-7:* $6.5M to 36,647 seniors, mean $177/senior. Eligibility determined by GIS. | | *1989-90*: $15.88M *1990-91:* $17.1888M *1996:* Seniors' Income Plan SIP, created. *2013-14*: $27.401 | Difference 1975-76 to 1989-90: 11.784411M 287.7% | | | |
| ESP | *1975-6*: $1.6M (budget) Maximum: *1979-80* 10 FTE, $4.040M | | 1986-7 Gone | N/A | | | |
| **Totals:** | | | | | | | |
| FTEs | 40 FTEs | 2078 FTEs | 1857.7 | N/A | | 198 FTEs | 628 FTEs |
| Admin $ Estimate** | Mean $/FTE= 30,789 x 40 = 1.23156M | $13,728/ FTE | Not identified | 1,748 FTES 11.882M | Est. 64,006/ FTE | 5.89M | Salaries, benefits 40.216M Admin expenses: 41.874M |
| Total $ | 23.487778M | 138.48672 M | 1986-87: $45.155M, 92.2%. 1989-90: $51,816,372, 92.2%. ++ | 224.241M | | 5.898824 M | Assets: 1.939404B Liabilities: $1.3B |
| Ratio innovns to total SS | FTEs 40/1748 = 2% $32.6M/138.5M = 23.54% | | 1989-90 SS: $51.8164M/$380.434M= 13.6% | $59.142M/ 224.241M= 26.4%. SS reduced 1989-90 to 2013-14, by 41.1%. | Not identified | Not identified | Not identified |

*Source:* This table is a revised version of Table 2, Glor and Ewart, 2016: 12.

***Abbreviations:*** Admin=administrative; B=billion; Dpt=department; ESP=Employment Support Program; FIP=Family Income Program; FTE=full time equivalent (person years); Innovn=innovation; M=million; max=maximum; SIP=Seniors' Income Program; SS=Department of Social Services;

* WCB was not a budgetary item (did not appear in the Estimates). It was a cost-recovery administrative tribunal, although it typically carried an unfunded liability. In some years of the Blakeney government, the GoS made contributions to the Fund. The innovation was a change in eligibility criterion that paid a monthly pension to the poorest disabled workers. This moved some of the costs into the welfare budget. **Community Services was used as the salary standard, thinking their $/FTE costs were similar to those of the four innovations. ***Full time equivalent (FTE) and budget figures are from Saskatchewan *Estimates*, actuals are from *Public Accounts*. + WCB no longer reported number of employees in its Annual Report. Estimate $64,000/employee.

++ Saskatchewan Housing had been removed from the Social Services budget.

## Resources

The resource history of the ten innovations and their organizations is summarized in Table 5. In 1973-4, the only related income security program was day care assistance. It was only available if the recipient was on SAP, and only to people on welfare looking for work. It had a tiny budget (0.01 per cent of the Social Services budget).

***Resources.*** By 1975-76, the cost of the innovations combined was $32.6 million (M)—24 per cent of Social Services expenditures, while the cost of SAP (welfare), the largest program, was $59.1M—43 per cent of total Social Services costs. Eligibility for SAP was income and asset tested, while the innovations were only income tested. The Government of Saskatchewan had shifted costs considerably into non-asset tested income security programs by 1975-6, as evinced by flat spending on SAP and increased spending on the income security innovations, based on the expectation of federal cost-sharing under a new federal Social Services Act. By 1986-7 the innovations cost $65.4M, nowhere near matching inflation; by 1989-90, $51.8M, less than in 1986-87; by 2013-14, programs with similar names and target groups had declined to $59M but had increased from 24 to 26 per cent of the Social Services budget (there had been major reductions in Social Services programs, the denominator for the calculation). This percentage increase was partially due to moving Saskatchewan Housing crown corporation out of the department, thus also reducing the denominator. The 1980 WCB innovation brought the supposedly self-financed WCB fund into balance between assets and future commitments. The innovation cost SAP additional money but it was cost-shared. The expenditure was not reported separately.

***Fate of Personnel***. Social Services' full time equivalent positions (FTEs) increased by 40 per cent 1974-83 and then decreased 27 per cent by 1987 under the Devine government. In real terms, both funding and personnel were substantially reduced. Costs of the four innovations represented 2 per cent of staffing and 24 per cent of Social Services spending. They were not expensive programs to operate, while resources for the innovations were substantial. Prior to introduction of the four innovations, the Department of Welfare, predecessor to the Department of Social Services, had primarily provided welfare to the destitute and institutional services to the disabled and elderly. Now it spent a quarter of its resources on income security outside of SAP and ran corrections services (the provincial jails).

***Post-Neoliberal changes.*** The Devine government was followed by another NDP government, led by premiers Roy Romanow, 1991-2001 and Lorne Calvert, 2001-2007. These were Third Wave (centrist) social democratic governments,[xv] initially more concerned about the finances of the province and retaining low taxes than reintroducing the Blakeney income security innovations. By the late 1990s it conducted an Income Security Redesign: Phase I that included introduction of new benefit programs to help low-income families care for their children and to encourage and support their decision to work. This created a program with a similar target group to the FIP terminated in 1986. The Romanow government had terminated the Conservative version of FIP in the early 1990s and deleted it from the *Estimates* in 1998 when the Income Security Redesign was introduced and a new federal National Child Benefit was introduced. New programs were launched, including the Saskatchewan Child Benefit, Saskatchewan Employment Supplement and Family Health Benefits. With an improved provincial economy and less unemployment, there was a substantial decrease in the number of families receiving these benefits and in the total amount they received (Department of Finance, N.D.) (Glor and Rivera, 2016: 12-14).

***Comparative resources.*** By 2012-13, under a new right-wing Saskatchewan Party government, three programs existed with similar names to those of the 1970s programs, though with different mandates. The not-adjusted-for-inflation funding had been reduced substantially. The innovations nonetheless had a substantial resource impact on Social Services. Low-income groups lost their priority during the 1980s but returned as priorities during the late 1990s under the NDP government that inherited a large debt and deficit. The original four innovations were not returned to their 1970s funding levels and FIP had been abolished. Today there is a program called SIP, but the initials stand for something else; there are programs with similar objectives to those of FIP and SIP, but they are asset tested. Expenditures on SAP were almost identical in 1973-4 and 2013-14, despite major inflation during the 40-year interval. The economy was booming once again but program cuts remained in place. The number of Social Services employees was lower in 2013-14 than in 1975-6 but only 40 full time equivalents were dedicated to the innovations in 1975-6 and computers have reduced the need for staff. Currently (2022-23), FTE are no longer reported in the *Estimates* and Corrections have been transferred to a new Department of Corrections, Policing and Public Safety.

Government of Canada funding was maintained through CAP until the late 1980s when it began to be cut yearly under a Progressive Conservative government. At that time, the federal government had a substantial deficit and debt and the OECD was encouraging it to cut back. In 1996, under a Liberal government, block funding was rolled into a Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) funding block and reduced even further. Health and social funding were separated into the Canada Social Transfer (CST) and Canada Health Transfer (CHT) blocks in 2004. Income security has remained block funded, receiving small increases since (https://www.fin.gc.ca/fedprov/mtp-eng.asp#Saskatchewan), often not keeping up with increases in costs to the provinces. In 2007, under a new neoliberal Conservative government, the CST was changed to be equal per capita funding for every sub-national government, tied to the GDP and capped at 3 per cent per year in 2007, to be reviewed in 2024. This was done regardless of poverty levels and despite knowledge that health and social problems are worse for low-income people. The Bill Clinton USA administration also introduced block funding of social transfer funding to the states in the 1990s.

## Survival Periods

The survival periods for the innovations and their organizations are identified in Table 6.

***Survival Period—Innovations.*** The *four Social Services innovations* survived a mean of 12.75 years, a median of 12.5 years and a mode of 12 years. The dispersion was a range of two years, a variance of 0.9167 and a standard deviation of 0.9574. All Social Services innovations—day care subsidy, FIP, SIP and ESP—were terminated by the next, Devine government, 1982-91. While FIP retained its name and SIP its abbreviation, the Devine government's introduction of assets, not just income, as a consideration for eligibility represented a major policy change and the termination of the Blakeney government programs.[xvi] The *five innovations* survived a total of 93 years as of 2022; their mean survival period is 18.6 years and growing because WCB still exists.[xvii] Only the WCB innovation survived the whole period, creating a skewed, bimodal distribution between 12 and 42 years with high homogeneity. The median was 18.6 years, the. This skewed result suggests the need for research on additional Government of Saskatchewan innovations.

**Table 6: Comparison of Survival Periods for Ten Saskatchewan Income Security Innovations and their Organizations**

| Innovation | Innovation Survival Period (years) as of 2022 | Organization (Division) Survival Period (years) | Org minus Innovn Difference (years) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Day Care parent subsidy | 13 | 16 | +3 |
| FIP | 12 | 9 | -3 |
| SIP | 12 | 9 | -3 |
| ESP | 14 | 12 | -2 |
| ***Total Years Survived & Mean*** | ***51; Mean 12.75*** | ***46; Mean 11.5*** | ***-5 years; mean -1.25*** |
| WCB | 42 | 35* | -7 |

***Original calculation:*** Glor and Rivera, 2016: Table 5. ***Abbreviations:*** Org=organization; Innovn=innovation.
*The WCB innovation was managed as part of Accounting Branch for 35 years, then Operations Branch.

***Survival Period—Innovations' Organizations.*** The four Department of Social Services (SS) innovations each initially had its own organization. All required legislation, except ESP; ESP was a new grant program serving the "unemployable," already legally served under existing SAP legislation. CAP did not cost-share grants and so did not cost-share it. Initially ESP was managed by Community Affairs Branch then in 1975-6 a new Employment Support Division was created to manage it, located in a new Community Affairs Branch (branches were one level higher than divisions). Following the change of government in 1982, ESP was moved in 1985 to a new Saskatchewan Employment Development Agency. ESP was expanded and made available to Saskatchewan businesses. This iteration of ESP eligibility and transfer of ESP's organization outside Social Services led to the demise of both the program and its organization within a year. The survival period of the organizations internal to the WCB could not be calculated because the innovation information was never reported.

***Relationship between Periodization of Innovations and Organizations.*** The periods that innovations and organizations existed varied somewhat between innovations and their organizations. Organizations changed more than innovations under the NDP but not so much under the neoliberal government. Table 6 compares the survival period of the ten innovations and their organizations. The organizations had partially independent survival, surviving in four cases for a shorter period than the programs they managed. The details of the program and organization structures and changes can be found in Glor and Rivera (2016: tables 2-4). In 1975-6, the expanded Social Services department had four branches: Income Security, Community Affairs, Social Services, and Corrections. By 1985-6, Social Services no longer had branches, only four lower-level divisions: Family Support, Young Offender Services, Day Care and Rehabilitation Services divisions (SSAR, 1975-6, 1985-6). This reorganization allowed the government to demote and reduce the salaries of the senior and middle managers in the branches (lower-level staff's incomes were protected for a time because they had collective agreements). The WCB continued to be self-managed as an administrative tribunal, preparing several reports each year. The WCB innovation and the highest level WCB organization survived, avoided a major unfunded liability, a confrontation with employers, and further calls to abolish the WCB.[xviii] Even when there were structural changes after35 years in the WCB, they were not reported publicly. While the names of organizations one level down in the WCB changed over 37 years, it was not possible to find out when nor whether the innovation was a factor. During the more transparent Blakeney years, FTEs were reported for all five programs but this practice ended under the next government (Glor and Ewart, 2016: 15-17).[xix]

***Innovations and their organizations studied together***. Glor (2013, 2014) and others (Glor and Rivera, 2015, 2016; Glor and Ewart, 2016) have recommended bringing study of innovations and their organizations closer together. Adam and Bauer (2018) recommended studying termination of innovations and their organizations jointly. Previous research determined the data secured from the instrument for the innovations and their organizations was sufficiently similar that it could be combined, so it was (Glor, 2017a). Whether clusters of factors successfully predicted individual innovation and organization introduction and fate are new subjects for exploration.

## Chapter 6: The Study

Most of the literature on public sector innovation and organization antecedents is based on analyses by scholars examining government and non-government organization population data, not programs/programs and organizations together. Little of it reflects the perspective of practitioners, those who participated and knew the context, policy and program best. The study is an exception. It collected data through the instrument and from well-educated practitioners, using a new instrument prepared for the purpose that reflects known influences on introduction and fate of the ten innovations and their organizations. Three reliable public servants who worked at different levels, knew the innovations and organizations and observed them from different perspectives at time 1 and two of them who worked for the subsequent government completed the instrument, indicating agreement or disagreement on a 5-point Likert scale with 1267 statements about the innovations and their organizations. The statements referred to the two time periods: introduction and termination/survival.

Post-hoc examination of the two time periods presents a problem and advantages. Raters were not predicting the future, they were identifying situations at the time, which has been used by the author of this paper to predict the then-future. Objectivity was aided by taking many measurements. Raters were chosen carefully for their objectivity and the scope of their knowledge; this is why public servants were chosen as raters, not elected officials. These public servants knew the policies/programs and organizations best among all public servants at the time of implementation. Several factors helped these raters be objective: (1) The three raters who completed the questionnaire were located in very different places in the government at the time of the assessments. One was a front-line official and later a manager of one of the innovations assessed who worked for the programs for the entire periods of both governments. A second was a senior official responsible for the programs in Social Services. The third was a central agency employee familiar with the programs. To assure one rater was not an outlier compared to the others, and therefore potentially biased, the responses of the raters were compared for consistency (reliability). This assures they perceived a similar reality and gives assurance that it was one reality. The raters were found to be reliable. A final factor was the active effort of the Blakeney government to recruit a competent public service by recruiting nationally and internationally. They did not fire many public servants from the previous, inactive Liberal, government. The Progressive Conservative government of 1981, on the other hand, fired all of the senior public service and pushed out many public servants, replacing them with partisan Progressive Conservatives. They would not have been objective raters. A considerable amount of research was done to identify objective information, such as identifying budgets and actual expenditures and staffing levels, where possible. Although the Progressive Conservatives had criticized the NDP government's honesty in its reporting of personnel, the Conservatives stopped reporting staffing levels once in power. It was therefore more difficult to confirm the accuracy of information during the Progressive Conservative government as they did not in many cases deposit their documents in the Provincial Archives or the Legislative Library. The combination of official records and public servants' memories produces some confidence that the data collected in the instrument accurately represents the situations at the time of introduction and fate of the innovations and their organizations.

The instrument assessed the antecedents, factors and clusters influencing the ten income-security innovations and their organizations and attempted to predict the introduction and fate of the innovations and their organizations, individually. Factors influencing introduction and fate of public sector policies, programs and organizations have been studied somewhat, from the perspective of antecedents, complexity of policies, organizational demographics and ecology (Glor, 2018, 2019) but limited research has been published on the factors key to the introduction, and especially the fate, of policy/program innovations and their organizations from public servants' perspectives.

***Study Instrument***. A new instrument was developed to assess the antecedents of introduction and fate of the Government of Saskatchewan innovations and their organizations. Each statement used a five-point Likert continuous (interval) scale. The instrument had 1438 possible response items per rater, 1267 were answered for both time 1 and 2, producing 550 matched pairs of statements for introduction and survival/termination. The raters and instrument were verified: The verification process considered *rater* reliability, interrater reliability and whether the *instrument i*s reliable and valid. Tests of rater reliability included rater consensus and consistency; intraclass correlation, employing tests applicable to continuous variables (Pearson product-moment correlation); and interrater reliability (five tests using paired samples and one test of all raters). Raters were found to be reliable. Instrument reliability (internal consistency) was assessed through intraclass consistency using Cronbach's alpha and intraclass correlation coefficient. The instrument was found to be reliable. Instrument validity was determined by construct validity (intraclass correlation) and content validity (having experts complete the instrument). The instrument was found to be valid but limited validity testing could be done because the instrument is new. Nonetheless, based on these findings, the instrument can be used to assess the five case studies (Glor, 2017b). The instrument is provided Glor (2017, appendices), organized by factor and item.

***Measures.*** A literature search, informants, experience and hypotheses informed measures of factors that could have influenced the introduction and the fate of innovations and their organizations. From them, a new quantitative instrument was developed (Glor, 2017a), measuring two types of independent variables—primary attributes and secondary attributes. Primary attributes (variables/issues) affect all of the innovations and their organizations more-or-less equally and may also affect other innovations and their organizations. Secondary attributes affect innovations and their organizations individually and possibly differently, and require scoring of individual issues and innovations and their organizations. Innovations and their organizations were assessed separately, with the same or similar questions.

*Introduction and fate* were *measured* by appearance of innovations and their organizations in and their retention/disappearance from official documents (budget *Estimates, Public Accounts* [actual spending], departmental annual reports). Adam and Bauer (2014) suggested that this approach was used primarily in studying organizations but not so much in studying policies and programs and that policies/programs have not been studied much quantitatively. They suggested other definitions may have been used in case studies and qualitative analyses. The definitions used here allow both innovations and their organizations to be studied, using quantitative and empirical analyses to be done. Had case studies been prepared, they might have addressed some similar issues as this study.

Clusters were scored and hypotheses were tested, using the 550 matched pairs of statements from the instrument. Study of the antecedents of introduction and fate together is relatively new but they are both necessary elements of implementation in government. The study consolidates antecedents of introduction and fate of ten individual income security innovations and their organizations by examining three hypotheses: (1) Factor scores predicted fate of individual innovations and their organizations. (2) Cluster scores predicted fate of individual innovations and their organizations' fate. (3) Scores of individual innovations and their organizations predicted their individual fate.

***Measures of factors and clusters.*** *Factors* are statements in the instrument grouped by common themes. Six factors were studied: external support, economy, ideology, politics, resources and effects. The ways they were assessed are outlined below (the full instrument is published in Glor, 2017a). External support has the fewest pairs (19) and resources the most pairs (172) (Table 2). *Clusters* are groups of related factors. Possible factors influencing innovation introduction were identified from the literature reviewed (e.g. Glor, 2015; de Vries, Bekkers and Tummers, 2016; van Witteloostujin et al, 2018), from the systematic literature review, from author's experience and research and from analyses of the factors, to determine which ones were related. Glor (2013, 2015) developed the instrument to assess antecedents, factors and clusters influencing the introduction and fate of innovations and their organizations. The instrument measured the six factors (Glor, 2017b).

*External Support* was support for the innovation by the political party in power, the governing party's election platform, and implementation of the innovation by other government(s). It was also measured by: support of minister/senior staff/front line personnel, support of a pressure group or an official report; the economy and the provincial government's fiscal situation, and whether federal political and funding support was available.

The *economy* was measured by economic growth rate, unemployment rate and government debt.

*Ideology* was the strength of the party in power's ideology and the public's support for the ideology as measured by the consistency of federal and provincial election results. American scholars Wright, Erikson and McIver (1987) found public opinion surveys were the best measure of dominant ideology: several surveys were available. One survey was available for Saskatchewan during the Blakeney government, 1971-1982: a 1975 prairie (Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan) and national survey of contemporary perceptions of Canada's indigenous peoples was available (Gibbins and Ponting, 1977). It suggested pejorative ethnic stereotyping but also that the least educated took these perspectives most and the most educated least. A 1986 Canada-wide survey on attitudes toward indigenous people found that economic conservatives opposed aboriginal self-government and special status for indigenous people (despite treaties and the constitution providing for them). A 1998 national survey about aboriginal self-government found Canadians did not have a common sense of what self-government means (Martin and Adams, 2000). While racism enhanced oppositional positions, it was not a necessary condition (Langford and Ponting, 1992). Two representative Saskatchewan surveys, the 2011 Saskatchewan Election Study (SKES) and the 2012 Taking the Pulse (TTP) survey examined attitudinal obstacles to special public policies toward indigenous people and found that those holding conservative views about the role of government and economic conservatives opposed policies aimed at ameliorating

aboriginal hardship, which was and is considerable. Conservative, highly ideological, well-educated people opposed most public policies giving special attention to indigenous people, including special educational institutions (White, Atkinson, Berdahl and McGrane, 2015; Martin and Adams, 2000). Attitudes toward indigenous people may have been somewhat similar during the Blakeney government.[xx] Attitudes may have become even more oppositional when neoliberal politics and economics became dominant in Saskatchewan 1982-1991.

Berry et al (1998) measured ideology by comparing results of federal and state elections, supplemented by other measures. Five measures are used here, including theirs'. Ideology was measured as a primary attribute for organizations but not for innovations: primary attributes (variables/issues) affect all of the organizations more-or-less equally and may also affect innovations. Raters were asked, for example, to rate their agreement with: "The organization's approach integrated well with the dominant ideology in the province" and "The organization's approach matched the ideology of the government."

*Politics* were: (1) effect of federal government ideology on provincial governments; (2) how long Saskatchewan governments were in power; (3) ratio of time in power between the innovating and next governments; (4) whether the federal government had promised specific federal funding or federal funding was not available; (5) importance of a change of government. The ratio of years in power is important because it indicates how long governments had available to implement their policies.

*Resources* were measured by several statements for each innovation and organization: *financial resources* (balanced/deficit budget, size of debt competition with other priorities, existence of windfall revenues, funding provided, and whether resources were retained); *administrative support* (whether innovations were small, whether infrastructure was funded, new positions were provided, and whether the organization had recently changed, prior to introduction of the innovation; whether the innovation was fully implemented (fully and quickly funded, retained its funding, fully and quickly staffed and implemented, how long the government was in power); and employee support (managers and/or working level employees supported the innovation, personnel were well treated, whether they were competing for funding with other programs).

*Effects* (4) were measured by whether: (1) the program model was efficacious; especially, whether it successfully augmented the incomes of the poor; (2) the innovations reduced poverty, yet respected the public's desire not to see the system cheated and not to attract the poor from other provinces; (3) innovations fulfilled their goals and objectives; and (4) the administration was respectful of clients.

*Clusters* were measured by combining factor scores. External cluster was measured by combining measures for external support and the economy. Political cluster was measured by combining measures for ideology and politics. Internal cluster was measured by combining measures for resources and effects. Some new clusters were explored, combining results for different measures.

***This book*** explores whether the scores of factors and clusters including new clusters influencing innovations and their organizations predicted *individual* innovation and organization

introduction and fate of the ten innovations and their organizations during an era of Canada's first transition from a (liberal) social democratic[xxi] to a neoliberal government. A neoliberal government was elected federally within two years of the Saskatchewan election that installed a neoliberal government.

Eight innovations and their organizations were terminated 1982-91; two were retained, to the present. The individual innovation and their organization events and resource histories are outlined in Glor and Rivera (2016). Their funding did not keep up with the high inflation that took hold after the first oil shock, then the funding was cut in real terms under the Progressive Conservative government. Their principle was changed and the subsidies became less generous (Table 5). Eligibility criteria were changed to require assets to be used up for eligibility for income security could be established. The Blakeney principle had been that there should be no distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor: anybody could need help with income at some point in their lives and therefore income security programs should not require recipients to be paupers (almost no assets) before they could receive any government assistance. Income security should apply first and welfare, requiring asset tests, last. Income security programs were only income tested, a distinction of particular importance for farm and home (or equity and mortgage) owners required to sell their assets before they were eligible under asset tested programs. The Blakeney approach was meant to help people get off the stigmatized social assistance and also to reduce health care costs as social status is a major determinant of health (Marmot et al, 1991; Wilkinson, 1998). This principle disappeared during the subsequent neoconservative governments. When the NDP was again elected during the 1990s and 2000s, additional money was put into these programs. Today's programs with similar names, under the right-wing Saskatchewan Party, are both income and asset tested. The Blakeney principle is gone.

Antecedents and grouped antecedents were studied for the ten Saskatchewan innovations and their organizations—the income security innovations and their organizations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan 1971-82—through a new instrument containing 1267 statements examining issues thought to influence introduction and fate of the innovations and their organizations. Completed by three experts, it produced 555 pairs of data in both times 1 and 2; raters and instrument were reliable, the instrument valid (content and construct validity) (Glor, 2017b). Using the systematic literature review classification system, Saskatchewan's antecedents and grouped antecedents were combined into six factors —external support, economy, ideology, politics, resources and effects.

Factors were combined into clusters of related factors and compared: (1) external support and economy into an external cluster and combined with resources and effects, an internal cluster; (2) ideology and politics into a political cluster and combined with resources and effects, an internal cluster; (3) ideology and politics as a political cluster, combined with a support cluster (economy factor, resources and effects, that are the internal cluster); (4) the political and support clusters combined. They were explored to assess the most important influences on adoption and fate of individual income security innovations and their organizations. Two types of *external cluster*[xxii] existed in the department's environment and included Type 2 (external support, economy) and Type 1 (ideology, politics) clusters. *Internal cluster* is Type 3 (resources, effects) cluster. External support could not be combined with other factors because it was the only factor that measured in different directions in time 2 for surviving and terminated innovations and their organizations. Clusters and clusters combined with factors had been found previously to predict

aggregate introduction and fate of innovations and their organizations (survival/termination) (Glor, 2019). This book examines whether clusters, sometimes combined with factors, also predict introduction and fate of *individual innovations and their organizations.*

***Hypotheses.*** Several theories were employed as recommended by Knill and Lenschow (2001), Adam and Bauer (2014) and Glor (2014, 2015). This multi-theory approach permits consideration of case studies and effects on case studies, people, functions, and structures. Glor's framework (2014) for studying innovating organizations was adapted to guide this research on influences on introduction and fate of innovations and their organizations.

There are actually more than two stages in successful implementation of innovations and their organizations. All stages of the innovation process (Rogers, 1995; Glor, 1998) must be successfully accomplished for implementation and positive effects to occur and so were explored in the instrument. These are treated as readiness (political cluster), negotiating approval (external support, economy), effective implementation (resources), a focus on results (effects), and fate plus learning (changes from time 1 to 2). According to Jordan, Bauer and Green-Pedersen (2013), policy dismantling also involves several aspects. In their meta-analysis, Berry and Berry (2013) suggested external and internal factors were the most important influences on dissemination of innovations.

Principles guiding the Saskatchewan government changed from the Blakeney to the Devine government, from concerns for groups of citizens (working women, low-income working families, seniors, helping people on welfare get into the workforce at a time of low unemployment, farmers, injured workers) to individual and family responsibility for incomes (the Devine government terminated all of the Social Services income security programs, promised job creation and individual income tax reductions, eliminated the gasoline tax and introduced a mortgage interest reduction plan).

Previously, Glor (2018, 2019) established that the factors cluster and that one group of clusters could predict *in aggregate* whether innovations and their organizations would survive or terminate. This finding implied, therefore, that the capacity of the clusters to predict individual innovations and their organization's introduction and fate should also be explored. This book consequently addresses whether antecedent factor, cluster and individual innovation and their organization scores predict the fate of the ten innovations and their organizations *individually*. It begins by summarizing the author's previous research: Some factors accurately predicted aggregate introduction/fate of innovations and their organizations. It then explores three new hypotheses.

***Methodology.*** Information on the innovations and their organizations was accessed in numerous sources.[xxiii] Research was conducted on ranked time of introduction of the innovations among Canadian and American governments (Glor, 1997; Hum 1985a, b). The innovations are all of the income security innovations introduced by the government; therefore they are not a sample, but a full sub-population of innovations introduced; the full population is all of the innovations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan 1971-82.

The data on the factors and clusters were identified through a new instrument examining influences on innovations and their organization's introduction and fate in the Government of

Saskatchewan. The instrument included 1267 items distributed on five-point Likert scales, 555 paired statements for times 1and 2, describing antecedents during introduction and fate. The valid instrument was completed by three expert, reliable public servant raters (Glor, 2017b).

Quantitative research required models with a time lag between the independent and dependent variables to ensure that the measures preceded their hypothesized effects. Longitudinal data addressed causation, but also permitted consideration of longer-term effects of innovation and causal direction (Andrews, Boyne and Walker, 2011). There were sufficient external constraints in the data sets to capture the circumstances in which innovations and their organizations operated and what contributed to/constrained them. Internal and external measures of policy and organizational context were included: Numerous authors (Berry and Berry, 1990, 1992, 2013; Wright, Erikson and McIver, 1987; Lieberman and Shaw, 2000; Arsneault, 2000; Boehmke, 2009) found both internal and external factors were important in determining whether innovations were introduced. Glor (2015) concluded researchers should also address several dimensions of effects, because gain in one dimension (e.g. political support) may be realized by sacrificing another (e.g. adequate resources). External and internal data were collected.

The raters were the best-informed people about these innovations at the time of their introduction and now. One was still employed by the government at the time of termination. The three raters were also the only people still available with knowledge of the innovations. The program officer worked on one of the Social Services programs and later was a manager for all of them. The second was a senior manager responsible for all of the Social Services innovations. The third was a central agency officer responsible for all ten innovations and organizations.

Cronbach's alpha, a measure of internal consistency, can be used to see how related a set or collection of items are as a group. While it is common for the collection of items to be a few or many questions (e.g., items on a scale) answered by many participants or respondents, it is still mathematically and statistically sound, though novel, to have the collections of items be a few raters (respondents) answering many questions. Cronbach's alpha still works as a measure of internal consistency in the latter scenario. Similarly, with the data in this latter structure, as in this study, various statistical tests (e.g., *t*-tests) and regressions (e.g., mixed logistic regression) can be done where the sample size is taken as the number of questions, not the number of raters (respondents).

This matter does not mean that the results from these three raters are representative of all other persons involved in the earlier programs under study because from that particular viewpoint the sample size is only 3. Rather, the statistical analyses show in a novel, adapted, and reasonable way that on wide-ranging features and conditions of the subject matter there is substantial consistency and agreement in the views of three former public servants who had first-hand experience and extensive knowledge. These three persons were the only surviving and readily approached former public servants. It is common, and sound, to check the amount of agreement among a few raters such as two or three raters. While the statistical analyses do show substantial consistency and agreement among three highly knowledgeable raters, they do not show the representativeness of their views among all involved in earlier years with the programs studied. However, these three raters have considerable experience and expertise on the subject and their views are noteworthy and suggestive of further investigation.

Whether the fate of individual innovations and their organizations was predicted by the factors was considered through individual innovation and organization scores and clusters of factors. Statements (1267) were scored on a five-point Likert scale as Strongly Disagree=1, Disagree=2, Neither disagree nor agree=3, Agree=4, Strongly Agree=5. These scores were treated as follows: A score above 3.0 indicated that the element being measured was active, 3.0 was neutral, below 3.0 indicated it was a negative contributor to survival. Sufficient information was available to permit the analyses to be done, to predict aggregate fate and now to try to predict the individual fate of innovations and their organizations. Innovations and their organizations were introduced 1973-80. Only paired data for times 1 and 2 were analyzed.

This book: (1) uses Glor's (2014) framework for studying the issues; (2) uses the data from completion of the instrument (Glor, 2018) for times 1 and 2; (3) reports, analyzes and discusses the results; (4) identifies key factor clusters influencing implementation and fate of individual innovations and their organizations; (5) compares the important independent clusters at time 1 to the clusters at time 2; and (6) assesses whether and which clusters and combinations of clusters and factors predicted implementation and fate of individual innovations and their organizations best and were therefore most important in prediction. The capacity of these factors and clusters to predict aggregate fate (groups that survived/terminated) was previously demonstrated (Glor, 2019). Now factor and cluster predictors of *individual* innovation and organization introduction and fate are evaluated. Earlier analyses are reviewed, demonstrating that factor and innovation and organization scores predicted *aggregate* innovations and their organizations' introduction and fate, then factor (***Hypothesis 1***) and cluster (***Hypothesis 2***) scores and the scores of clusters of individual innovations and their organizations (***Hypothesis 3***) are used to attempt to predict the introduction and/or fate of individual innovations and their organizations.

# Chapter 7: Findings

This chapter provides findings for descriptive statistics and aggregate innovation and organization scores and assesses whether individual innovation and organization implementation and/or fate can be predicted with the factors and clusters. Descriptive and quantitative findings are outlined in this chapter for the factors and clusters and for the ten innovations and their organizations.

## Descriptive Findings

Descriptive statistics are provided in Table 7 for factors and three clusters—Types 1, 2,3.

**Table 7: Time 1 and 2 Factor and Cluster Scores and Differences, by Innovation and Organization Fate and Type**

| Types Factors + | Terminated | | | | Survived | Pairs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clusters | DC | ESP | FIP | SIP | WCB | |
| **Type 2 External Cluster Means:** | | | | | | |
| ***ExternalSpt Tm1*** | 4.500000 | 3.625000 | 3.500000 | 3.625000 | 3.833333 | 19 |
| ***ExternalSpt Tm2*** | 3.500000 | 2.000000 | 2.750000 | 3.750000 | 4.000000 | |
| ***Difference*** | -1.000000 | -1.625000 | -0.750000 | +0.125000 | +0.166667 | |
| ***Economy Tm1*** | 4.687500 | 4.875000 | 5.000000 | 5.000000 | 4.750000 | 40 |
| ***Economy Tm2*** | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 2.125000 | |
| ***Difference*** | -3.312500 | -3.500000 | -3.625000 | -3.625000 | -2.625000 | |
| **Type 1 External Cluster Means:** | | | | | | |
| **Tm 1** | 4.593750 | 4.250000 | 4.250000 | 4.312500 | 4.291667 | 59 |
| **Tm 2** | 2.437500 | 1.687500 | 2.062500 | 2.562500 | 3.062500 | |
| **Difference** | -2.1562500 | -2.562500 | -2.187500 | -1.750000 | -1.229165 | |
| **Type 1 Political Cluster Means:** | | | | | | |
| ***Ideology Tm1*** | 3.360833 | 3.166667 | 3.111667 | 3.291667 | 2.888889 | 57 |
| ***Ideology Tm2*** | 4.500000 | 4.458333 | 4.416667 | 4.500000 | 3.888889 | |
| ***Difference*** | +1.139167 | +1.291666 | +1.305000 | +1.208333 | +1.000000 | |
| ***Politics Tm1*** | 3.599833 | 2.666833 | 3.049833 | 3.183333 | 3.175614 | 99 |
| ***Politics Tm2*** | 4.750167 | 3.891667 | 4.150167 | 4.466667 | 4.140175 | |
| ***Difference*** | +1.150334 | +1.224834 | +1.100334 | +1.283334 | +0.964501 | |
| **Type 2, Political Cluster Means:** | | | | | | |
| **Tm 1** | 3.510208 | 2.854271 | 3.073021 | 3.223958 | 3.083452 | 156 |
| **Tm 2** | 4.656354 | 4.104167 | 4.255010 | 4.479167 | 4.059405 | |
| **Difference** | +1.146146 | +1.249896 | +1.177083 | +1.255209 | +0.975953 | |
| **Type 3 Internal Cluster Means:** | | | | | | |
| ***Resources Tm1*** | 4.328684 | 3.947632 | 4.357805 | 4.409714 | 4.325000 | 172 |
| ***Resources Tm2*** | 2.289474 | 2.289474 | 2.585366 | 2.314286 | 2.600000 | |
| ***Difference*** | -2.03921 | -1.658158 | -1.772439 | -2.095428 | -1.725000 | |
| ***Effects Tm1*** | 3.867647 | 3.837647 | 3.867647 | 3.794118 | 3.760000 | 168 |
| ***Effects Tm 2*** | 2.441176 | 2.455882 | 2.441176 | 2.382353 | 2.578125 | |
| ***Difference*** | -1.426471 | -1.381765 | -1.426471 | -1.411765 | -1.181875 | |
| **Type 3 Internal Cluster Means:** | | | | | | |
| **Tm 1** | 4.098166 | 3.892639 | 4.12726 | 4.101916 | 4.085000 | 340 |
| **Tm 2** | 2.365325 | 2.372678 | 2.513271 | 2.348319 | 2.589062 | |
| **Difference** | -1.732841 | -1.519961 | -1.599455 | -1.753597 | -1.495938 | |
| **Total No. Pairs** | 116 | 116 | 119 | 113 | 91 | 555 |

***Differences*** calculated as mean in time 1 minus mean in time 2. ***Abbreviations:*** DC=Day care; ESP=Employment Support Program; Externalspt=External support; FIP=Family Income Plan; SIP=Senior Citizens' Benefits Program; Tm=Time; WCB=Workers Compensation Board innovation.

## Quantitative Findings

***Factors.*** Factor means (Table 7, Table 8) were different from each other. In time 1, the most important (highest measuring) means were, in order, the economy and resources. The next rank of antecedents included effects and external support. The least important were ideology and politics. In time 2, the most important antecedents, based on means, in order, were ideology and politics. The next rank included external support and effects. The least important antecedents in time 2 were resources and economy.

**Table 8: Comparison of Factor Means, Times 1 and 2, Paired *t*-test**

| Factor | *t* | df | Alternate hypothesis | Interval 95% confidence | Mean of Difs Tm1-Tm2 | p-value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ideology** | -4.6568 | 55 | true difference in means is not equal to 0 | -1.6431076 -0.6543924 | -1.14875 Increased | 0.00002074 Significant* |
| **Politics** | -8.317 | 98 | true difference in means is not equal to 0 | -1.4200579 -0.8729387 | -1.146498 Increased | 5.32e-13 Significant* |
| **External Support** | 1.3105 | 17 | true difference in means is not equal to 0 | -0.3557619 1.5224286 | 0.5833333 Decreased | 0.2074 Not significant |
| **Economy** | 18.482 | 38 | true difference in means is not equal to 0 | 2.979644 3.712664 | 3.346154 Decreased | <2.23-16 Significant* |
| **Resources** | 12.256 | 171 | true difference in means is not equal to 0 | 1.565749 2.166926 | 1.866337 Decreased | < 2.2e-16 Significant* |
| **Effects** | 11.998 | 166 | true difference in means is not equal to 0 | 1.139612 1.588531 | 1.364072 Decreased | < 2.2e-16 Significant* |

***Source***: Database 46r. Each factor was calculated individually. * ***Significant*** at .001 level. ***Abbreviations:*** t=*t*-test result; df=degrees of freedom; difs=differences; p=probability.

Factor means predicted aggregate innovation and organization introduction and survival or termination. In time 1 introduction of innovations and their organizations was predicted by high mean scores for factors economy, resources and effects. In time 2 survival was predicted by high mean scores for external support, politics and ideology and termination by high scores for politics and ideology. These conclusions were supported by significant findings from several analyses: comparison of mean scores for all factors at times 1 and 2 using *descriptive statistics* and *three statistical tests*: paired samples Wilcoxon test, analysis of variance (ANOVA) and Logistic Regression Analysis (Glor, 2018).

External support is not significant because it scores in different directions for surviving and terminated innovations and their organizations in time 2, and the data is combined in time 2 in this analysis.

Resources and effects were sometimes significant when other factors were used as regression intercepts; *resources and effects led to more likely survival of innovations and their organizations*, despite resources going down when the economy went down in time 2 and

ideology and politics going up. *Resources and economy could be distinguished. Compared to resources, however, the other factors did not make a big contribution to survival,* in part because resources had more data.

*Logistic regression analysis* found the factors influenced survival but did not contribute much to the analysis compared with means. Changes in factor means successfully predicted aggregate fate (see below).

***Clusters.*** First, the factors were grouped into Type 1 external (ideology, politics), Type 2 external (economy, external support) and Type 3 internal (resources, effects) clusters (Table 7). *Types 1 and 3 clusters successfully predicted individual innovation and organization fate.* These clusters scored differently and moved in different directions. Political and internal clusters clearly and consistently predicted individual innovation and organization fate. Type 2 external cluster did, but only in aggregate but not for individual innovations and their organizations. Type 2 external cluster results were consistent but not remarkable. More problematically, Type 2 external cluster obscured the effects of both economy and external support.

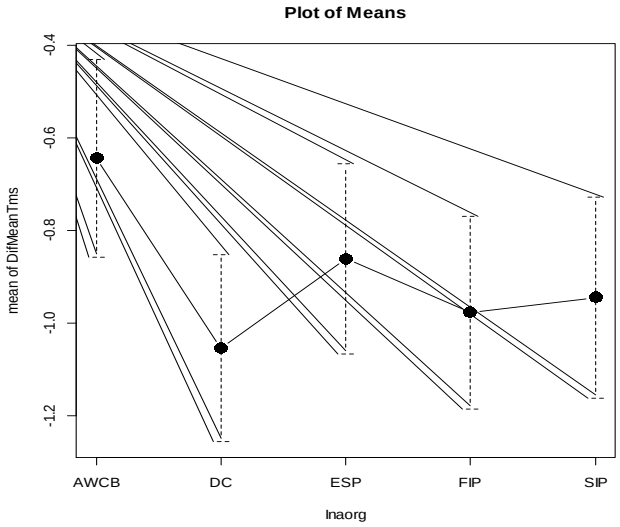
Second, economy fell the most of any factor, from the highest scores in time 1 to the lowest scores in time 2 and had the most extreme variation. Economy's pattern is consistent with those of resources and effects in that it moves and drops in value; however, they were not completely the same in values. Nonetheless, while economy has more extreme scores than resources and effects, it moves in the same directions at the same times as Type 3 cluster. Economy was substantially low for the surviving innovation and its organization but a little higher than for terminated innovations and their organizations. Economy is not a perfect measure for the surviving innovation and its organization, however, as WCB expenses declined during the recession and it was allowed to incur new debt in unfunded liability. Its costs and expenditures were therefore not as closely linked to the economy as the revenues and expenditures of other innovations and their organizations. The Consolidated Fund, that funded the terminated innovations and their organizations, was also allowed to accumulate a high deficit and large debt but the income security program funding declined. Economy was not therefore, by itself, able to distinguish surviving and terminated innovations and their organizations.

*Political and support clusters combined* identified differences among innovations and their organizations better (see fourth approach). When economy was combined with internal cluster, to create support cluster, predictions were better. *Economy should be combined with Type 3 internal cluster, forming support cluster.*

*Innovation and organization scores predicted aggregate introduction/fate* of innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2018). (1) Innovation and organization mean scores predicted introduction and aggregate fate. (2) Changes in innovation and organization scores predicted time 2 aggregate innovation and organization fate. Mean joint scores of survived and terminated innovations and their organizations were different but not highly different—scores were sensitive and accurate. All scores declined in time 2—surviving innovations and their organizations the least, terminated ones the most (Figure 1). (3) Mean scores of ten innovations and their organizations were considered. They declined: Eight terminated innovations and their organizations had the greatest mean differences (lost the most score) from times 1 to 2 (range -

0.8606897 to -1.0531034); the surviving innovation and its organization (WCB) had the smallest differences (-0.6428571). WCB differences were noticeably smaller than the others. (4) A paired samples *t*-test found innovation and their organization scores changed significantly overall from time 1 to 2. (5) Comparison of means using one-way ANOVA, a measure of how much each score differs from its group mean,[xxiv] showed significant differences between time 1 and 2 scores for innovations and their organizations as a whole. Next, prediction of introduction and fate is extended from aggregate factor innovation and organization scores to individual innovation and organization scores. They are analyzed by hypothesis.

**Figure 1: Plot of Individual Innovation and Organization Mean Score Differences, Time 1 to 2**




All innovation and organization scores declined from time 1 to 2; day care the most; WCB, the surviving innovation and organization, the least.

## Assessment of Hypotheses

### *Hypothesis 1: Factor scores predicted introduction and/or fate of individual innovations and their organizations.*

***First,*** factor descriptive and analytic statistics revealed mean scores of factors and survived/terminated innovation and organization scores were *different* from each other in times 1 and 2 (Table 3, 7). In time 1 scores were high for economy (4.6875 to 5.0) and resources (3.947632 to 4.409714); substantial for external support (3.5 to 4.5) and effects (3.76 to 3.867647); fairly neutral for ideology (2.888889 to 3.360833) and politics (2.666833 to 3.599833). In time 2, for terminated innovations and their organizations, ideology (4.416667 to 4.5) and politics (3.891667 to 4.750167) were very high; economy (1.375 for all four) was very low; resources (2.289474 to 2.585366) and effects (2.382353 to 2.455882) were low. For surviving innovations and their organizations, ideology and politics scores were similar (ideology just below high), but external support moved to high. External support was high for the innovation and its organization that survived (WCB), substantial for four innovations and their

organizations and low for four innovations and their organizations. *In time 1 factor scores of very high economy and resources, positive effects, and near to neutral ideology and politics predicted introduction. In time 2 very high factor scores for external support and substantial ideology predicted survival; very high ideology and politics scores predicted termination.*

***Second,*** *differences in mean scores* at times 1 and 2 were lowest for surviving innovations and organizations (Figure 1) and highest for terminated innovations and organizations. They predicted individual survival and termination of innovations and organizations.

***Third****, highest/lowest factor scores* predicted introduction and fate in times 1 and 2 for each innovation and its organization (Table 5). In time 1, economy, resources, effects and external support, in order, scored highest. Economy and resources had the highest scores, with all mean scores over 4.0 (one anomaly). Other scores were all between 3.0 and 3.9 (three anomalies); ideology and politics had the lowest scores.[xxv] These high and low scores predicted all innovation and organization implementation. In time 2, two factors (ideology, politics) scored means >3.999 of a possible 5.0 (one exception) for all terminated innovations and their organizations. They were the highest scoring factors. The innovation and its organization that survived (WCB) had slightly lower and the lowest means (one exception). Economy, resources and effects flipped from moderate scores to become the lowest scores in time 2. They moved to negative scores (<3.0). Ideology had the highest score and economy the lowest. Unlike in studies of trailblazing and dissemination of introduction of innovation, ideology and politics were very important in determining the fate of innovations and their organizations. Scores for ideology and politics were highest in *time 2*, but high scores did not support survival—*innovations and their organizations with the lowest ideology and politics scores survived in time 2*. External support in time 2 was high for innovations and their organizations that survived but mixed, < >3.0, for innovations and their organizations that did not survive. This was probably because the Opposition (NDP) and interest groups worked particularly hard to retain SIP and Day Care, that scored above 3.0 for external support. Based on highest scores, for the innovation and its organization that survived, the most important factors were, in order, politics, external support and ideology; for terminated innovations and their organizations the most important factors were politics and ideology. Economy had the lowest scores; it was important for this reason and for its effects on innovation and organization resources (the Blakeney government paid off the province's debt and so could have borrowed money but instead balanced its budget every year). The Devine government's economy was initially poor but by the time the innovations and their organizations were terminated its economy had improved. The Conservative government had, however, incurred a large provincial debt in its first term 1982-86, by introducing expensive tax cuts and new programs when it was already in deficit with existing programs: This consistent practice among neoliberal governments was then followed by major downsizing (termination) of income security programs, including these eight innovations and their organizations (day care, FIP, SIP, ESP). The innovations remained in name but eligibility criteria changed to asset tested. Nonetheless, costs increased.

***Fourth***, using highest mean of individual *factor* scores for each innovation and its organization in time 1 predicts, highest to lowest scores, that day care, SIP and FIP would survive, with WCB ranked fourth of five. Using lowest scores predicts ESP[xxvi] and then WCB would survive. WCB was the only actual survivor in time 2, while ESP only survived a year

longer than the other innovations and their organizations. *It was not possible to accurately predict individual innovation and organization fate in time 2 with highest or lowest scores in time 1*. This finding suggests innovations and their organizations with the lowest ideological and politics scores had the most potential to survive but the approach was not fully accurate.

***Fifth***, fate of individual innovations and their organizations was predicted by considering the *types of factors that changed* and their *direction*. All innovations and their organizations experienced large declines (>1.0) in economy, resources and effects. All experienced large increases in ideology and politics except WCB for politics (Table 5). For eight innovations and their organizations, highest scores in time 1 were economy and in time 2 were politics and ideology. WCB had a much higher score for external support in time 2 than did terminated innovations and their organizations. Six terminated innovations and organizations (day care, FIP, SIP) experienced substantial increases in ideology. External support moved up for four innovations and their organizations (SIP, WCB) and moved most for WCB. The failure to retain four innovations and their organizations (day care, SIP) when they had substantial external support is surprising in a democracy, but not always under neoliberal governments, which favour business and can have authoritarian tendencies (thus ignoring public opinion). They tend to focus benefits on their base of voters rather than on the public as a whole. While the NDP also served its base, for example, with its labour legislation, the CCF/NDP government in power 1944 to 1964 had also improved labour legislation. The failure to retain innovations and their organizations with external support scores under 3.0 (ESP, FIP) is not as surprising. *The types of factors and their direction overall did not accurately predict individual innovation and organization fate. Factor means predicted implementation of innovations and organizations in time 1. Factor scores predicted fate in time 2.*

***Hypothesis 2: Scores of clusters of factors predicted individual innovation and organization introduction and/or fate.***

First, an attempt was made to predict individual innovation and organization implementation and fate using *magnitude* of *individual innovation and organization factor and aggregate and individual innovation and organization scores in times 1 and 2*. In time 1, WCB had the lowest ideology score, below neutral and the second lowest politics score. It scored second highest for external support (Table 5). All other scores were mixed in time 1. *Time 1 factor magnitude of scores did not predict individual innovation and organization fate.*

Each innovation and organization's aggregate mean was also examined. In time 1, WCB had the second lowest mean score (Table 9). *A low aggregate score in time 1 did not predict fate in time 2. However, in time 2, innovation and* organization *factor mean predicted fate.* For WCB, ideology and politics were on the low side of high; external support was high. Economy, resources and effects were on the high side of low. Aggregate innovation and organization scores, using highest scores, predicted WCB would survive (score of 3.05) and that all the other innovations and organizations, with means below neutral (3.0), would terminate (Table 7). While the scores were not highly different, they were meaningful and predicted fate. *In time 2, means and aggregate innovation and their organization scores predicted individual fate* (Table 9).

**Table 9: Means of Combined Innovations and Organizations, all Factors, Times 1 and 2**

| | Terminated | | | | Survived | Total No. Pairs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Factors (Means)** | **DC (2)** | **ESP (2)** | **FIP (2)** | **SIP (2)** | **WCB (2)** | |
| **No. of Pairs** | 116 | 116 | 119 | 113 | 91 | 555 |
| **Mean Time 1** | 3.998420 | 3.666609 | 3.886611 | 3.902714 | 3.765458 | |
| **Mean Time 2** | 2.965546 | 2.765805 | 2.915994 | 2.932153 | 3.045751 | |
| **Difference** | 1.032874 | 0.900804 | 0.970617 | 0.970561 | 0.719707 | |

*Mean innovation and organization scores did not predict fate with time 1 scores, but did with time 2 scores.* Important influences changed from time 1 to 2. In time 2, for innovations and organizations that survived, their external support, economy, resources and effects scores were highest, though not by much. Scores for external support were not higher than for those that were terminated. Ideology and politics scores for ones that survived were the lowest, with the exception of ESP for which the politics score was the lowest in time 2. For terminated innovations and their organizations, ideology and politics scores were the highest.

These scores reflected fundamental political change in time 2. In Canada, this change occurred in Saskatchewan first and was for the Government of Canada in 1984 and other provinces (e.g. Ontario 1995-2002; Alberta 1992-2006, beginning with another recession) and election of neoliberal governments. Worldwide, this shift to neoliberalism began with the Pinochet military dictatorship (Chile 1973 – 1990), Thatcher (UK 1979-90), Reagan (USA 1981-89) and the Shipley and Bolger New Zealand Labour governments (1984–1990). The Saskatchewan Conservatives were especially influenced by the Thatcher and Reagan governments.

Second, innovation and organization ranked mean scores and ranked mean differences were considered (Table 10). Innovation and organization mean scores in time 1 were between 3.7667 and 3.998; all scored substantially higher than neutral (3.0). In time 2, all terminated innovations and their organizations scored just below 3.0, even with inclusion of high scoring factors (politics, ideology). ESP had the lowest scores in both time 1 and time 2 but lost the second fewest points. In time 2, the surviving innovation and organization (WCB) scored higher than 3.0. Like the others, their scores dropped but remained just greater than 3.0. Their scores were only slightly higher than the ones that were terminated, however. The direction innovations and organizations scored from 3.0 mattered. The surviving innovation and organization lost the fewest points. Day care scored highest in time 1 and lost the most points. SIP and FIP lost similar numbers of points. When WCB is removed from the rankings, the mean score rankings in times 1 and 2 for terminated innovations and organizations are the same. Only WCB changed its rank, from second lowest score in time 1 to highest in time 2 (Table 10).

To summarize, innovation and organization mean scores in times 1 and 2 were as expected. In time 1, all means were above 3.0; ideology and politics scored low and ranked lowest; external support, economy, resources and effects scored high and ranked high. In time 2,

innovations and organizations that *survived* had the highest overall mean factor scores, above 3.0, their scores changed the least and they had the highest ranking. *Terminated* innovations and organizations in time 2 had lower mean scores, ranked the lowest and they changed the most. Innovations and organizations that survived had relatively low scores in time 1 and relatively high scores in time 2; their mean scores changed the least. The rankings of these scores were as expected.

**Table 10: Ranked Mean Innovation and Organization Scores and Differences, Times 1 and 2, Survived/Terminated**

| | **Time 1 Introduced All I&O** | | **Time 2 Survived/ Terminated** | | **Ranked Difference of Means Tm2 - Tm1*** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ***I&O*** | ***Ranked Mean Tm1*** | ***I&O*** | ***Ranked Mean Tm2*** | ***I&O*** | |
| **Highest** | Day Care | 3.998420 | WCB | 3.045751 | DC | -1.0531034 |
| | SIP | 3.902714 | DC | 2.965546 | FIP | -0.9762185 |
| | FIP | 3.886611 | SIP | 2.932153 | SIP | -0.9440708 |
| | WCB | 3.765458 | FIP | 2.915994 | ESP | -0.8606897 |
| **Lowest** | ESP | 3.666609 | ESP | 2.765805 | WCB | -0.7197070 |

Abbreviations: I&O=innovations and their organizations. Only the two WCB survived. *Difference was calculated by R.

Differences in means among innovations and organizations that survived and terminated were not large but were consistent and therefore meaningful. The fate of innovations and organizations could be predicted, but measures were very sensitive to whether they were above or below neutral. *Mean scores and rankings predicted fate. The neutral score of 3.0 was a turning point for survival/termination.*

**Table 11: Comparison of 10 Innovation and Organization Scores, Times 1 and 2: *T*-test, Mean Ranked in Time 2**

| **I&O** | **Time 1** | | **Time 2** | | | **No. Pairs** | **Differences** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Mean Score** | **SD** | **Ranked Mean** | **SD** | **Fate** | | **Difference of Means*** | **Amt Chg** |
| WCB | 3.765458 | 1.163227 | 3.045751 | 1.569806 | Surv | 91 | -0.6428571 | L |
| Day Care | 3.998420 | 1.110142 | 2.965546 | 1.759222 | Term | 116 | -1.0531034 | H |
| SIP | 3.902714 | 1.141409 | 2.932153 | 1.693627 | Term | 113 | -0.9440708 | M |
| FIP | 3.886611 | 1.207050 | 2.915994 | 1.754430 | Term | 119 | -0.9762185 | M |
| ESP | 3.666609 | 1.202984 | 2.765805 | 1.691836 | Term | 116 | -0.8606897 | M |

Data: DifMeanTms and SurvTm2; t = -11.419, df = 554, p-value < 2.2e-16 (significant)
Alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
95 percent confidence interval: -1.263566 to -0.892650
Sample estimates: mean of the differences -1.078108
The standard deviations were a little higher in time 2.
***Abbreviations:*** Difference=Dif, I&O= innovations and their organizations, Surv=survived, Term= terminated. Amt Chg=Amount of change in score: L=Low, H=high, M=Medium.
* = calculated in R Commander.

Third, the *amount of each innovation and its organization's change* (differences in scores) was compared from time 1 to 2. Amount of change has been demonstrated to be important in organizations as it increases vulnerability to termination (Barnett and Carroll, 1995). *The scores for every innovation and its organization went down in time 2, even innovations and their organizations that survived but the innovation and its organization with the smallest score changes were the ones that survived.* The paired *t*-test (Table 11) found a significant difference in scores between times 1 and 2. Changes in innovation and organization scores are graphed in Figure 1. *The surviving innovation and organization (WCB) experienced less change than other innovations and their organizations.*

**Table 12: Logistic Regression Analysis of Survival in Time 2 Predicted by Number of Pairs, Factors and Difference of Mean Scores between Times 1 and 2, Compared to the WCB, the Surviving Innovation and Organization.**

**Coefficients:**

| | **Estimate** | **Std. Error** | **z value** | **Pr(>\|z\|)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **(Intercept)** (Effects) | 28.52550 | 12.94748 | 2.203 | 0.0276 * |
| Factor.Politics | -12.44201 | 5.38160 | -2.312 | 0.0208 * |
| Factor T. Ideology | -20.12292 | 8.59202 | -2.342 | 0.0192 * |
| Factor T. Economy | -22.71425 | 9.92627 | -2.288 | 0.0221 * |
| Factor T. External support | -26.80586 | 11.51857 | -2.327 | 0.0200 * |
| Factor T. Resources | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Number of pairs | -0.17731 | 0.07643 | -2.320 | 0.0203 * |
| DifMeanTms | 0.03156 | 0.06516 | 0.484 | 0.6281 |

1 not defined because of singularities. Intercept is effects. Database: Author 46s AEffcts.xlsx. Significance codes: <0.01=*. The maximum z value is 5. It is the test-statistic for the Wald-test that the parameter is 0, calculated with the parameter divided by the standard error.

Call: glm(formula = SurvTm2 ~ No.pairs + Factor + DifMeanTms, family = binomial(logit), data = Dataset)

Deviance Residuals:

| **Min** | **1Q** | **Median** | **3Q** | **Max** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -0.7256 | -0.6766 | -0.5866 | -0.4845 | 2.1045 |

(Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)
Null deviance: 508.09 on 554 degrees of freedom. Residual deviance: 501.14 on 548 degrees of freedom. Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 4

**> exp(coef(GLM.2)) Number of Exponentiated coefficients ("odds ratios")**

| (Intercept) (WCB) | No. pairs | Factor T. Economy | Factor T. External support |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2.446057e+12 | 8.375168e-01 | 1.365605e-10 | 2.282249e-12 |

| Factor T. Ideology | Factor T. Politics | Factor T. Resources | Dif. Mean Times |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.822750e-09 | 3.949164e-06 | NA | 1.032067e+00 |

Fourth, *changes in position of innovation and organization scores* in relation to neutral were examined. In time 1, all innovation and organization factor scores were well above neutral (3.0). The three innovations and their organizations with highest scores at the time of implementation—day care, SIP, FIP—had the largest changes in their scores in time 2, to below 3.0; all three were terminated. The two with the lowest scores in time 1—WCB, ESP—had the

smallest changes in their scores in time 2. ESP survived slightly longer (one year) than other terminated innovations and organizations but it too was soon terminated. The only innovations and their organizations with scores of more than 3.0 in time 2 were the two WCB and they were the only ones to survive. *Implementation and fate of innovations and their organizations were successfully predicted by innovation and organization score relationships to neutral: high scores in time 1 predicted innovation and organization implementation; innovations and organizations with scores above 3.0 in time 2 survived; ones with scores below 3.0 in time 2 did not survive* (Table 10).

Fifth**,** individual innovation and organization *factor scores* in times 1 and 2 (Table 13 logistic regression) in relation to the neutral score (3.0) were considered. In time 2, terminated innovations and organizations scored below 3.0 and scored lower than ones that survived for four of six factors (external support, economy, resources, effects). Ones that survived scored slightly lower for ideology and politics than terminated innovations and organizations. Innovations and organizations that survived (WCB) scored higher than 3.0 while the eight innovations and organizations that terminated (day care, ESP, FIP, SIP) scored 3.0 or below for external support, economy, resources and effects. They scored highest for ideology and politics. There were two exceptions, in external support: SIP and day care scored above 3.0 (3.75 and 3.5 respectively), despite terminating. *Scores of above and below 3.0 predicted implementation and fate for all factors except external support. External support scores moved in two different directions in time 2, for the innovation and organizations that survived and terminated.*

**Table 13: Individual Innovation and Organization GLM Logistic Regression Coefficients, Time 2, Ranked, Compared to WCB, the Surviving Innovation and Organization**

Coefficients:

| | Estimate | Standard Error | z value | Pr(>\|z\|) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Intercept) (WCB) | 188.49 | 34357.43 | 0.005 | 0.996 |
| Total day care | -159.16 | 29695.14 | -0.005 | 0.996 |
| Total.ESP | -159.24 | 29695.14 | -0.005 | 0.996 |
| Total FIP | -159.24 | 29695.14 | -0.005 | 0.996 |
| Total SIP | -159.07 | 29695.14 | -0.005 | 0.996 |
| Mean time 2 | -32.92 | 5760.33 | -0.006 | 0.995 |

Deviance Residuals:

| Minimum | 1Q | Median | 3Q | Maximum |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -0.2444 | -0.2250 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 | 2.7162 |

(Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)
Null deviance: 508.090 on 554 degrees of freedom. Residual deviance: 36.923 on 549 degrees of freedom. AIC: 48.923. Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 24.

> exp(coef(GLM.24)) # Exponentiated coefficients ("odds ratios")

| (Intercept) | Inaorg[T.DC] | Inaorg[T.ESP] | Inaorg[T.FIP] | Inaorg[T.SIP] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7.266637e+81 | 7.570917e-70 | 6.988539e-70 | 6.988539e-70 | 8.259182e-70 |

MeanTm2 5.049118e-15
Call: glm(formula = SurvTm2. ~ Inaorg + MeanTm2., family = binomial(logit), data = Dataset)

Sixth, logistic regressions[xxvii], the main statistical tool used to predict the future, were analyzed for each factor. The p-value for each term tests the null hypothesis that the coefficient is equal to zero (no effect). A low p-value (usually < 0.05) indicates the null hypothesis can be rejected. Regression coefficients represent the mean change in the response variable for one unit of change in the predictor variable while holding other predictors in the model constant. Regression analysis was thus able to determine whether factor scores accurately predicted survived/terminated innovations and organizations.

Table 12 compares the surviving innovation and organization (the intercept, WCB) to the scores of each terminated innovation and organization combination and the mean in time 2. The surviving innovation and organization had the highest and a positive, logistic regression coefficient; terminated innovations and their organizations had negative regression coefficients that were very similar to each other. Regression analysis correlations correctly distinguished individual innovations and their organizations that survived (WCB) and did not (day care, ESP, FIP, SIP) but the results were not significant. *Innovations and their organizations surviving and terminated scored differently but not significantly so in time 2. Cluster scores predicted individual innovation and organization fate in time 2.*

Previous work identified the best cluster for predicting *implementation* of innovations and their organizations at the aggregate level in time 1 was support cluster. Two clusters predicting *aggregate* fate (survival or termination) were (1) external and internal clusters; and (2) political and support clusters (Glor, 2019). The best combination for predicting aggregate *fate* in time 2 was political cluster combined with external support factor. Fate of individual innovations and organizations was not examined. The focus of the next hypothesis *is* individual innovation and organization scores rather than the factor and cluster scores examined in hypotheses 1 and 2.

***Hypothesis 3: Individual innovation and organization scores predicted introduction and/or fate of individual innovations and their organizations.***

Logistic regression (Table 12) identified six factors as significantly different from the intercept effects, and therefore as contributing significantly to the survival or termination of innovations and their organizations in time 2. External support, economy, ideology, politics, resources, and number of pairs were significantly different. Resources were so important compared to the others that it showed as no answer (NA). This provides some confirmation for the finding in the systematic literature review that internal cluster was the most important for introduction of policy innovation, based on the most mentions. The difference in the means of pairs between time 1 and 2 for all factors was not significant. From this data, clusters are thus best formed as: (1) resources and effects, (2) economy and external support, and (3) politics and ideology.

The factor whose coefficient is most similar (is having a similar amount of influence) to effects is politics. The least similar is external support, as expected, due to different scores for surviving and terminated innovations and their organizations. The coefficients for politics and ideology are similar to each other and most similar to effects, and so form a cluster. Economy is related to external support. *Aggregate fate was thus predicted.* Was individual innovation and organization fate also predicted with clusters or perhaps clusters combined with factors?

**Table 14: Political and Support Clusters, External Support Factor, by Individual Innovations and their Organizations' Fate, Times 1 and 2**

| **Factors +** | **Terminated** | | | | **Survived** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Clusters** | **DC** | **ESP** | **FIP** | **SIP** | **WCB** |
| | | | | | |
| **Means External Support Factor:** | | | | | |
| ***External Spt Tm1*** | 4.500000 | 3.625000 | 3.500000 | 3.625000 | 3.833333 |
| ***External Spt Tm2*** | 3.500000 | 2.000000 | 2.750000 | 3.750000 | 4.000000 |
| ***Difference*** | -1.000000 | -1.625000 | -0.750000 | 0.125000 | 0.166667 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| **Means Political Cluster:** | | | | | |
| ***Ideology Tm1*** | 3.360833 | 3.166667 | 3.111667 | 3.291667 | 2.888889 |
| ***Ideology Tm2*** | 4.500000 | 4.458333 | 4.416667 | 4.500000 | 3.888889 |
| ***Difference*** | -1.139167 | -1.291666 | -1.305000 | -1.208333 | -1.000000 |
| | | | | | |
| ***Politics Tm1*** | 3.599833 | 2.666833 | 3.049833 | 3.183333 | 3.175614 |
| ***Politics Tm2*** | 4.750167 | 3.891667 | 4.150167 | 4.466667 | 4.140175 |
| ***Difference*** | -1.150334 | -1.224834 | -1.100334 | -1.283334 | -0.964501 |
| | | | | | |
| **Means Political Cluster:** | | | | | |
| **Tm 1** | 3.510208 | 2.854271 | 3.073021 | 3.223958 | 3.083452 |
| **Tm 2** | 4.656354 | 4.104167 | 4.255010 | 4.479167 | 4.059405 |
| **Difference** | 1.146146 | 1.249896 | 1.177083 | 1.255209 | 0.975953 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| **Means Support Cluster—Economy Factor and Internal Cluster:** | | | | | |
| **Means Economy Factor:** | | | | | |
| ***Economy Tm1*** | 4.687500 | 4.875000 | 5.000000 | 5.000000 | 4.750000 |
| ***Economy Tm2*** | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 2.125000 |
| ***Difference*** | -3.312500 | -3.500000 | -3.625000 | -3.625000 | -2.625000 |
| | | | | | |
| **Means Internal Cluster:** | | | | | |
| ***Resources Tm1*** | 4.328684 | 3.947632 | 4.357805 | 4.409714 | 4.325000 |
| ***Resources Tm2*** | 2.289474 | 2.289474 | 2.585366 | 2.314286 | 2.600000 |
| ***Difference*** | -2.039210 | -1.658158 | -1.772439 | -2.095428 | -1.725000 |
| | | | | | |
| ***Effects Tm1*** | 3.867647 | 3.837647 | 3.867647 | 3.794118 | 3.760000 |
| ***Effects Tm 2*** | 2.441176 | 2.455882 | 2.441176 | 2.382353 | 2.578125 |
| ***Difference*** | 1.426471 | 1.381765 | 1.426471 | 1.411765 | 1.181875 |
| | | | | | |
| **Mean Support Cluster (economy + internal cluster):** | | | | | |
| **Tm 1** | 4.294610 | 4.220093 | 4.408484 | 4.401277 | 4.278333 |
| **Tm 2** | 2.035217 | 2.040119 | 2.133847 | 2.023880 | 2.434375 |
| **Difference** | -2.259393 | -2.179974 | -2.274637 | -2.377397 | -1.843958 |

External support behaved differently from the other factors and distinguished survived from terminated innovations and their organizations in a different way. External support scored innovations and organizations in three different groups in Time 2. It scored below 3.0 for four terminated innovations and their organizations (ESP, FIP). It scored substantially (3.499-3.999) for four terminated innovations and their organizations (day care, SIP) and it scored high (3.999+) for the surviving innovation and its organization (WCB). Table 13 shows this combination of clusters and factors, allowing for external support factor to distinguish survived and terminated innovations and their organizations, and also allowing consistent clusters (political, support) their appropriate influence.

Factors were grouped into clusters by similarity of means across innovations and their organizations (Table 14, column 7). Successful combinations (political, support clusters) were considered by individual innovations and their organizations. For clarity, Table 13 is summarized in Table 14 for time 2. In time 1, innovation and organization political cluster scores were all below 3.37 and therefore quite close to neutral (3.0).

**Table 15: Summary and Comparison of Scores for Political and Support Clusters and External Support Factor by Innovations and their Organizations and Mean, Time 2**

| **Factor/Cluster:** | **DC** | **ESP** | **FIP** | **SIP** | **WCB** | **Mean** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***External support factor:*** | 3.500000 | 2.000000 | 2.750000 | 3.750000 | 4.000000 | 3.200000 |
| ***Political Cluster (Type 1):*** | | | | | | |
| ***Ideology*** | 4.500000 | 4.458333 | 4.416667 | 4.500000 | 3.888889 | 4.352778 |
| ***Politics*** | 4.750167 | 3.891667 | 4.150167 | 4.466667 | 4.140175 | 4.279769 |
| ***Mean*** | 4.625084 | 4.175000 | 4.283417 | 4.483335 | 4.014530 | 4.316274 |
| ***Support Cluster (Economy + Type 3):*** | | | | | | |
| ***Economy*** | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 1.375000 | 2.125000 | 1.525000 |
| ***Resources*** | 2.289474 | 2.289474 | 2.585366 | 2.314286 | 2.600000 | 2.415720 |
| ***Effects*** | 2.441176 | 2.455882 | 2.441176 | 2.382353 | 2.578125 | 2.459742 |
| ***Support Cluster Mean*** | 2.035210 | 2.040119 | 2.133847 | 2.023880 | 2.434375 | 2.133488 |
| **I&O mean** | 2.965546 | 2.765805 | 2.915994 | 2.932153 | 3.045751 | |

Means calculated by one-way ANOVA

I&O= innovations and their organizations

In time 2, four external support scores (ESP, FIP) were negative (below 3.0) and six (D-C, SIP, WCB) were positive. In time 2, mean political clusters were all above 4.0, high. WCB scored (tied for) third for politics and was fourth for ideology, and had the highest mean overall. WCB had the lowest external support factor but it was still high. In terms of support cluster, WCB had a mean score below 3.0, but still scored highest among the innovations and their organizations (Table 13). In support cluster, economy scored low for all innovations and organizations except WCB, that still scored below 3.0.

*The best combination of clusters and factors is therefore political (ideology, politics) and support (economy, resources, effects) clusters, combined with external support factor.* The best cluster predictor of introduction was support cluster, the best predictor of fate was political and support clusters and external support. All of the factors were used to explain fate. Political and support clusters flipped their scores from time 1 to time 2, political cluster moving from near neutral to high; support cluster moving from high to low. The Opposition NDP fought the hardest in the Legislature to retain one program—SIP. SIP had the second highest external support score in time 2 in the study. Of the programs that were terminated, SIP, FIP and ESP had successor programs, ESP only for one year.

*Individual innovations and their organizations scores predicted fate of individual innovations and their organizations.* Some of the same factors and clusters were important in both at time of implementation and at time 2; namely, support cluster (economy, resources, effects). Some of the same and some different clusters were important to survival and termination. In time 2, support cluster declined considerably for all innovations and organizations but least for the ones that survived. In time 2, political cluster increased for all innovations and organizations, but least for the ones that survived.

Hypothesis 3 is of particular interest to practitioners and consultants, who have searched for factors for successful innovation. Innovation has also been of interest to scholars, who have considered it in terms of antecedents. The antecedent literature has identified many antecedents thought to influence successful implementation of innovations. A smaller literature has considered antecedents of fate (termination/survival). This is the first evidence-based contribution to addressing the hypotheses.

## Chapter 8: Discussion

The 183 innovations introduced by the Government of Saskatchewan 1971-82, attempted to address both long-standing and new Saskatchewan challenges; e.g., high price of agricultural land, risk of loss of the family farm, underdevelopment of natural resources, lack of labour and human rights, inability of indigenous people to compete in the economy, and poverty. The five income security innovations studied in this book were meant to address poverty among the most vulnerable who wanted to work—women, the working poor with children, seniors (especially women), those on welfare who wanted to try to work but needed support (mostly men), permanently injured workers who experienced a major loss of income (mostly men)—who were not eligible for welfare, although its rates were also increased. The income security innovations benefited non-reserve indigenous people; in addition, other innovations were targeted toward indigenous people, especially in the education, justice[xxviii] and economic systems. The province was guided by indigenous people in terms of what was needed. The overall effect was one of increased hope among disadvantaged people.

One of the early steps taken by the neoliberal Devine government, 1982-91 was to reduce taxes very substantially, especially for businesses. The federal Mulroney government did so as well during the late 1980s. Poor people do not have sufficient income to pay taxes, so this did not benefit them. Rather, it immediately drove the Saskatchewan government into deep deficit, where it remained throughout the Devine government. The Devine government also eliminated many of the Blakeney government innovations: it privatized the natural resource crown corporations (at low prices), which had been delivering substantial revenues to the Heritage Fund, all of which was now drawn into the Consolidated Fund, beginning at the very end of the Blakeney government and progressing throughout into the Devine government. The costs of some of the Blakeney government income security innovations increased substantially, especially the day care, SIP and FIP programs, when the economy declined, January 1980 to June 1980 (a short, mild drop in GDP and no decline in quarterly employment) and June 1981 to October 1982 (category 4 of 5, more severe) (Canadian Encyclopedia, N.D.) By 1989-90, the Devine government had increased the means tested day care and SIP budgets by 2.5 times but it had also eliminated ESP and reduced the means tested FIP funding to below its 1975-76 expenditures (figures not adjusted for inflation) (Table 5). When the Romanow government took over a government in deep deficit and debt, it seriously considered declaring bankruptcy (Roberts, 1997) because the province could no longer borrow money in the markets. This had happened before in Saskatchewan, and at that time, too, it was the CCF (predecessor to the NDP) that brought the province's finances into balance at the expense of its own policies. This was part of the reason for the Blakeney government's insistence on a balanced budget every year. The Romanow government had two choices: were to deal with the deficit or to deal with the deficit. Its campaign promises to repurchase the resource crowns and to bring back the programs targeting groups living in poverty went out the window. Because neoliberal politics had taken over the international financial institutions, Saskatchewan had to compete internationally with low debt to GDP ratios, resource taxes, other taxes, and government expenditures. As a result, even when the economy was good, the extra government resources went to tax cuts and mortgage relief. Some new spending was provided for children and seniors.

David McGrane (2014: 205, 232ff) has argued that the approach to the Saskatchewan income security problems taken by the Blakeney government can be described as "traditional" social democracy, emphasizing support to the economy through crown corporations, improvements in working conditions and human rights, and income security, in contrast to "Third Way" social democracy of the Romanow government, which withdrew its support from crown corporations. and income security. It brought back some but not all of the labour rights that had been withdrawn by the Devine government. McGrane argued the principles of the NDP remained largely the same. Much of what happened in Saskatchewan is not explained so much by a change in NDP beliefs as by the government's financial inability to accomplish NDP objectives. Unlike Conservative governments, NDP governments disciplined themselves into balanced budgets. The decline in government revenues in Saskatchewan was due to its boom-bust economy and tax reductions by both neoliberal but also by the Romanow government. Like other governments, Saskatchewan was caught in the race to the bottom of the 1980s, led by the Thatcher and Reagan governments. Low revenues prevented expenditures on crown corporations and income security. The unions were weaker than they had been, partly because of the effect of globalization on local industry. Because of a low Canadian dollar, a good chunk of Canadian and Saskatchewan industry, resources and farms were bought up by foreign investors. Crown corporation head offices were lost or became symbolic (potash).

This book tracked the antecedents—classified as grouped antecedents, factors and clusters—of ten innovations and organizations of the Blakeney government. The antecedents were organized into three clusters, external, political and internal. While there were some unique factors influencing Saskatchewan income security innovations, such as the actual (in some cases) and supposed (in other cases) availability of federal funds specifically earmarked to expand social services programs. Some or even many of the influences apply to other types of Saskatchewan innovations as well. The policies of the Blakeney government followed those of traditional social democracy. Election of the neoliberal Devine government and its subsequent actions confirmed the importance of politics and ideology to Saskatchewan income security policy and programs. The policies of the Romanow and Calvert governments were third way social democracy. The principles published by the Saskatchewan Party referred to earlier suggest that the Saskatchewan Party Brad Wall (November 2007 to February 2018) and Scott Moe (February 2, 2018 to the present) governments have been less radical than the neoliberal government of Devine, but more recently they have turned again to privatization of crown corporations. The failure of the NDP to be elected since 2007 suggests that its move to the centre may not have retained all of its support. Many of its supporters have also moved away—family farmers, public servants and crown corporation employees fired by the Devine government. Since, there has been limited public investment; e.g. some at the University of Regina, and in roads, but little else. Few new, presumably private sector, buildings have been built in the downtowns. There are more immigrants, presumably to work mostly in the oil industry. The energetic development in farms, cities, industry and mining of the Blakeney years has not returned. While resource extraction is active, it has not led to diversification and middle class jobs.

# Chapter 9: Conclusion

Analysis of antecedents, organized into factors and clusters, for ten income security innovations and their organizations and their survival/termination found the following.

***Factors:*** (1) Factors accurately predicted aggregate introduction/fate of innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2019). (2) Different factors predicted aggregate introduction and fate. (3) Factor scores predicted both survival and termination. (4) Survival of individual innovations and their organizations was predicted by high external support; higher (though not high) economy, resources, and effects; and lower (though not low) ideology and politics. (5) Termination of individual innovations and their organizations (except ESP) was predicted by lowest economy, resources and effects and by highest politics and ideology. (6) Ideology and politics factor means were much higher in time 2, under a neoliberal government, at the beginning of a neoliberal period, than in time 1, the social democratic period. (7) Highest and lowest factor scores were opposite from each other in times 1 and 2. In time 1, the strongly growing economy, small increases in taxes, two major increases in the price of oil and the resulting additional government revenues were used to create, among others, these income security innovations and their organizations, i.e. they were created from new revenues (Saskatchewan revenues were positively affected by the two 1970s oil price shocks ).[xxix] It was not necessary to reallocate existing expenditures. When recession struck, the Blakeney government was able to keep its budget in balance despite 17 months of recession January 1980 to June 1980 and June 1981 to April 1982. The Devine government then faced 6 months of recession, May 1982 to October 1982. In time 2, responses to the poor economy during the new (Devine) government's first term—budget restraint, large reductions in business and gas taxes, and therefore reduced government revenues, were primarily based on ideology and politics. In its first term, the Devine government added an expensive mortgage program, and in its second term, expensive agricultural subsidies. This created a budgetary and revenue crisis, that the government followed with a major retrenchment. This was a typical pattern—major spending increases, followed by retrenchment—for neoliberal governments. (6) All factor scores were significantly different in time 2 compared to time 1, except external support.

***External and internal clusters:*** (1) Clusters accurately predicted individual introduction/fate of innovations and their organizations. (2) Clusters predicting *introduction* of innovations and their organizations were high Type 2 external cluster (external support, economy) and high Type 3 internal cluster (resources, effects). (3) Clusters predicting *survival* of individual innovations and their organizations were high Type 1 political cluster (politics, ideology), neutral Type 2 external cluster (external support, economy) and low but slightly higher Type 3 internal cluster (resources, effects) compared to terminated innovations and their organizations. (4) Clusters predicting *termination* were high Type 1 political cluster (politics, ideology), neutral Type 2 external cluster (external support, economy) and lowest Type 3 internal support cluster (resources, effects).

***Political and support clusters, external support factor:*** (1) *Introduction* of innovations and their organizations in time 1 was predicted by high support cluster (economy, resources, effects) (this is the approach Berry and Berry [2013] took to dissemination); substantial external

support factor; and neutral political cluster. (2) *Survival* in time 2 was predicted by high political cluster, high external support factor, and low but highest support (economy, resources, effects) cluster. (3) *Termination* in time 2 was predicted by high and highest political cluster and low and lowest internal cluster. Introduction and fate were predicted by different clusters and factor scores: They were close to opposite. (4) Innovation and organization with middling political cluster scores in time 1 had lowest but still high scores in time 2; they survived. (5) While it was not possible to predict fate in time 2 with highest or lowest time 1 scores, it was possible in time 2, using time 2 scores: innovations and organizations with high political cluster and external support scores survived; innovations and organizations with even higher political cluster and both low and substantial external support scores were terminated. This suggests ideology and politics were more important than external support for termination.

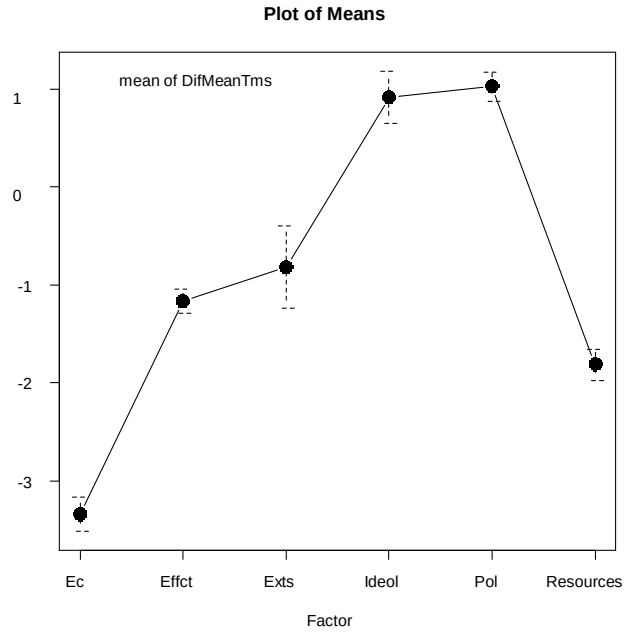
***Individual innovations and organizations:*** (1) The patterns of factors predicting individual innovation and organization introduction in time 1 were high economy, resources and effects, substantial external support and neutral ideology and politics. (2) Factors predicting individual innovation and organization survival in time 2 were high politics and external support and substantial ideology. (3) Factors predicting individual innovation and organization termination in time 2 were even higher scores than for survival for politics and ideology; low economy, resources and effects; neutral external support. (4) Individual innovation and organization summative factor scores were not significantly different in times 1 and 2 but had a turning point (3.0). All innovation and organization scores declined in time 2; day care the most (terminated), WCB the least (survived).

***Amount of Change Mattered:*** (1) The factor that changed the most from time 1 to 2 was the economy; second most, ideology, politics and resources; least external support and effects (Figure 2); (2) Surviving innovations and organizations experienced the smallest score change. Terminated innovations and organizations experienced greater amounts of change than surviving innovations and their organizations for every antecedent cluster; (3) While external support in time 2 was high and highest (4.0) for innovations and their organizations that survived, two other innovations and organizations (day care, SIP) also had substantial external support scores—3.5 and 3.75, in time 2. Despite having the lowest external support scores, ESP survived a year longer than the other terminated innovations and their organizations (Glor and Rivera, 2016: Table 2). In 1987-88 it was transferred to an employment development department and eligibility criteria were changed to include businesses. (4) Since 1971-82, the Saskatchewan government has tended to alternate between two ideological types (liberal social democratic, neoliberal). The pattern of lower alternating with higher political influence has continued. Mason found this pattern led to both camps becoming more partisan in the USA (Mason, 2018). In Saskatchewan, the NDP moved toward the centre, conservative politics became more partisan, more ideological and more similar to the politics of Alberta, which has imitated USA politics considerably, influenced by the American-owned oil companies.

***Clusters Mattered:*** (1) Clusters behaved similarly: score and rank moved in the same directions between times and were associated with the same innovation and organization fate. (2) Support (economy, resources, effects) and political (ideology, politics) clusters accounted for five of the six factors. (3) Clusters successfully predicted individual innovation and organization fate. (4) Two external clusters, Type 1 (ideology, politics) and Type 2 (external support, the economy) predicted *aggregate* innovation and organization fate (survival/termination) but

external support had to be treated separately in order to predict *individual* innovation and organization fate. Type 2 cluster could not predict individual innovation and organization fate because external support scores moved in different directions for survival and termination in time 2. (6) The results raised the question: should economy be combined with the internal

**Figure 2: Plot of Factor Mean Differences, Times 1 to 2**




***Database:*** Glor 46r. ***Abbreviations:*** Ec=economy, Effct=Effects, Ests=External Support, Ideol=Ideology, Pol=Politics, Resources=financial and human resources.

cluster? The scores for economy dropped more than those for internal (Type 3) cluster but economy followed a similar pattern to internal cluster in all other ways: all dropped well below 3.0 in time 2. In time 2, survived innovations and organizations scored low but highest for both economy and internal cluster; terminated innovations and their organizations scored lowest for economy and internal cluster. Although they behaved similarly, economy was not under the control of Government of Saskatchewan, while resources and effects were. (7) Rather than the two types of external factors (Type 1, 2) expected, the study found that two clusters (political, support) and external support factor predicted fate. (8) In time 2 but not time 1, political cluster, alone, predicted innovation and organization fate successfully; innovations and organizations with highest political scores terminated and those with the lowest scores survived. It is not surprising that high scores for political cluster led to innovation and organization termination: neoliberal ideology is opposed to both government and income security programs; it risks destabilizing government and the lives of the poor. (9) Reducing factors that already described up to 172 issues (resources) into even smaller clusters revealed how important political and support clusters were. Sometimes as few as two clusters predicted individual fate: e.g. support (internal cluster, economy), political (ideology, politics) and internal (resources, effects) clusters. Clusters identified the most important influences on the introduction and fate of innovations and organizations but care must be taken not to be too reductionist and conclude these are the only factors and clusters at work.

***Issues***

***Principles and policies*** informing the innovations studied here (need for low-income supplementation in order to reduce poverty) were different from those informing neoliberal innovations (reduced government intervention, expenditure reduction, acceptance of greater inequality and authoritarianism, dominance of ideology and politics, personal self-reliance, very limited income security programs for the poor). The principles guiding government changed from concerns for groups of citizens (working women, low-income working families, seniors, helping people on welfare get into the workforce at a time of low unemployment, injured workers) to an emphasis on individual self-reliance and family responsibility for incomes. The Conservatives promised job creation and individual income tax reductions, terminated most income security programs, eliminated the gasoline tax (Alberta has no gas tax) and introduced a mortgage interest reduction plan. Today The Saskatchewan has a Fuel Tax and a Road Use Charge that impose a tax on purchasers and importers of fuel.

The findings from this research have ***implications for both elected and appointed officials.*** They should expect cuts to and termination of income security programs under neoliberal governments but this was Canada's first neoliberal government, so few knew for sure. Neoliberal governments since have consistently targeted income security programs for the poor. The WCB innovation and organization served both business and injured workers, so they had a better prognosis. The capacity to let an unfunded liability re-accumulate in the Fund also meant the neoliberal government was not required to put any funding into the surviving innovation and its organization during its terms. Neoliberal governments since have often funded their initiatives with increased government deficit and debt, continuing to hold the belief that a trickle-down effect would occur. Typically, the funds have benefited the rich but not the poor. The WCB innovation and organization therefore had appeal to both social democrats and neoliberals but the social democratic government was fiscally conservative and reduced the debt in the Fund. The neoliberal approach cost government and business nothing at the time. Where and when and perhaps only when, elected and appointed officials can develop or find innovations that appeal to such wide interests, do social democrat's/liberal's innovations and organizations have the potential to survive in a neoliberal environment? A number of the Blakeney innovations benefited both, including day care, FIP and the WCB innovation.

The findings have ***implications for the public and democracy.*** Gradually, over the 20th century, as capitalist economies grew richer, progressive governments introduced income security programs to aid those left behind. Progressive, often universal, programs, especially at the Canadian federal level, were combined with an expansion of the franchise. Keynesian economics dominated government economic policy. As political and economic neoliberalism took hold, starting with Saskatchewan in the early 1980s, income security programs shrank (e.g. unemployment insurance, Old Age Security) and a number were abolished (e.g. child family allowance). With economic globalization and international supply chains, manufacturing jobs moved from the developed economies to specific underdeveloped ones with cheaper labour and no/weak unions. This seriously weakened developed world unions and Keynesian economics were less effective. Unemployment grew, the social safety net was less effective and voter turnout declined. Resentment and political divisions grew. Functionalism sees the purpose of government and its functions like innovations as maintaining stability in society, but governments that fundamentally change programs each time there is a change of government do

not maintain stability. Conservatives in the past maintained the stability of government but neoliberals are radicals, sometimes even reactionaries. They have changed the nature of government and its role fundamentally. In Canada, this happened first in Saskatchewan. It has led to economic and social policies more like those of the early nineteenth century than the 1950s.

Mason (2018) described two kinds of ideology, identity and issue positions. They flag the potentially serious, negative consequences of the combination of well-sorted social (e.g. ideology) and partisan (e.g. politics) identities, generating distinct psychological and behavioural outcomes and a unique capacity to motivate three polarizations—partisan prejudice, political action and emotional reactivity, the latter leading most strongly identified group members to feel heightened anger in the face of a threat and greater enthusiasm when the group is victorious. Once social and partisan identities are well-sorted, polarization is difficult to avoid. Using public opinion polling, Mason (2018) and Tesler (2016) observed social and partisan sorting of the US Democratic and (especially) Republican parties increased party ideology. Canadian politics are now sorting similarly, especially in Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario, Quebec and nationally. This sorting may be based on imitation of successful American Republican politics.

While the ten innovations and their organizations in this study fulfilled their mandates, the Government of Saskatchewan's time 2 move to emphasize political cluster in decision-taking risked the consequences of sorting and clinched the fate of the eight innovations and their organizations. In Saskatchewan during the 1980s, political cluster measures increased for both terminated and survived innovations and their organizations; economy, resources and effects declined for both terminated and surviving innovations and their organizations. The Government of Saskatchewan initially withdrew innovations and organization resources and thus effects, then terminated eight of ten innovations and their organizations; these factors also declined for the innovation and its organization that survived but not as much (they were nonetheless under 3.0, negative).

By studying the antecedent factors and clusters of both the introduction and the fate of these ten innovations and their organizations, some insight has been gained into why they were introduced, survived or were terminated. The importance of the political cluster in fate but not so much introduction has been revealed. The innovation that survived was adopted throughout Canada. The termination of eight of ten innovations and organizations by the next, neoliberal government that did not believe in income supplementation are a reflection of that ideology. Some new subsidies were introduced later for the targeted groups, nonetheless, by NDP governments of Saskatchewan and other provinces, and the Government of Canada, by Liberal governments; e.g., for children, day care and augmentations for seniors. The only new one introduced by a neoliberal government was a new income-tested child subsidy introduced in the late 1980s by the federal government, replacing the universal family allowance and reducing costs fo the federal government. Subsidizing working families with children, usually earning minimum wage, is still controversial and continues to be resisted by neoliberal governments, despite its benefits to NGOs and businesses paying minimum wage.

Guaranteed annual income experiments have been conducted in Canada in Manitoba (1) and Ontario (2) by NDP and Liberal governments. All of them have been evaluated positively. But all of them have been abolished immediately when Conservative governments took power.

This research program has established: (1) the termination rate of all Government of Canada departments (Glor, 2011), (2) an international termination rate baseline for public sector organizations (Glor, 2013); (3) a framework for studying the factors affecting innovations (Glor, 2014); (4) theories and hypotheses for examination (Glor, 2015; Glor and Rivera, 2015); (5) the effects of the innovations on the organization's people (salary improvements, empowerment to innovate in the Blakeney government, then major reductions in innovation budgets and discouragement of innovation in the Devine government); (6) a demography for the sub-population of ten income security innovations and their organizations of the Government of Saskatchewan; (7) that the data needed could be collected for Saskatchewan innovations and their organizations and their fate (Glor and Ewart, 2016); (8) developed and verified an instrument to assess their antecedents, and verified three raters (Glor, 2017a, b); (9) identified the most influential factors in the fate of the ten income security innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2018); (10) successfully predicted the aggregate fate (survival/termination) of the ten innovations and their organizations (Glor, 2019); and (11) successfully predicted the fate of individual innovations and their organizations using data from one grouped factor and clusters, collected in the instrument.

Many people ask why the Blakeney government lost the support of the Saskatchewan people. The neoliberal Opposition argued, as the economy had moved into recession (most Canadian governments change during recessions), that the money that had gone into the crown corporations should have gone into individuals' pockets. They were arguing for individual rather than collective benefits but did not make clear that most of the benefits of selling the resource crowns would go to the rich. Others argued the government was no longer as responsive as it had once been. This was represented by the Premier cancelling his usual one-week annual bus tour of the province in 1980, in order to participate fully in the Canadian constitutional negotiations. These negotiations completely absorbed the Premier's attention for many months. Their involvement bore fruit: Saskatchewan was key to including aboriginal rights in the Constitution. European research (Vigoda-Gadot, Shoham, Schwabsky and Ruvio, 2008) found that responsiveness, leadership and vision were key to public perception of a government as innovative. The fading of Blakeney's leadership within the province made room for Conservative leadership and for unanswered accusations.

***Future research.*** To assess the impact of factors and clusters on the survival/ termination of all the innovations of the Government of Saskatchewan, implemented 1971-82 is would be a possible next step. Study of ten innovations and their organizations has established a context for them and determined major external and political influences on them and many of the internal influences. The current study established that further research on the fate (demography) of other Saskatchewan innovations is possible. Such a study would be the first on the fate of an entire innovation population (all of the innovations of one government). If the same context applied to some of the other innovations, it might be possible to apply the contextual findings in this study to them. Further research would need to determine whether the sources of information on fate are restricted to programs that appear in official budgetary documents or whether crown corporations, administrative tribunals and other structures can be included. This research could consider the demography of innovations and their organizations to answer "What happened to the innovations and their organizations of the Saskatchewan government, implemented 1971-82?" If the termination rate could be determined, it could then be compared to the normal termination rate for public organizational populations (<1.3 percent per year) (Glor, 2013). Further work

would be required to see if the fate of the remaining innovations of the Government of Saskatchewan 1971-82 can be determined.

Saskatchewan has changed since the 1970s. It has gone from being a province in which half the economy was agricultural, with many farmers, to having most farms run by corporations and employees and far fewer farmers.[xxx] This was encouraged by the federal Department of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada and international free trade agreements. The number of farms declined from 50,598 in 2001 to 34,128 in 2021. There were 44,140 farmers in 2021, compared to 66,275 in 2001. The number of farms that are over 3,500 acres, the largest classification in the agriculture census, has increased, as has rental of land, due to the cost of land and farm debt (Statistics Canada, 2021 Census of Agriculture, https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/census-agriculture; CBC News, May 13, 2022). The family farm has pretty much disappeared; the rich uranium mines are largely depleted, coal is no longer in as much demand, but Saskatchewan's agricultural products, oil and gas and potash are still in great demand and major international industries. There are more migrants in the province, working primarily in oil and gas. The Blakeney government efforts to retain the family farm and secure more benefits for the people of Saskatchewan from development of its resources were only successful during its government. The substantial indigenous population (about 15% of the population) continues to be largely marginalized. Other studies have shown that social policy retrenchment earns votes from right-wing religious and neoliberal partisans (Giger and Nelson, 2010). In Saskatchewan, since the Blakeney government, a sequence of centre- and especially right-wing parties have become dominant; producing greater inequality (Stiglitz, 2014); even Third Way social democracy may be a spent force (Eisler, 2022).

Since the 1990s, the Saskatchewan and federal NDP have remained Third Way social democrats, the Liberal Party has almost disappeared in western Canada and the NDP is the alternative. The NDP has been elected in all of the western provinces, including a one-term government in Alberta. Currently, the federal NDP is supporting a minority Liberal government, and has secured promises for national day care, a children's dental program and a universal pharmaceutical program. The day care program has been implemented and the beginnings of a childen's dental program has been funded.

After the period studied, democratic governments worldwide became dominated by neoliberalism, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, their economic policies encouraged by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the United States government and free trade agreements that made it law. Due to high debt, Canada retrenched its budget in 1995. It is in deep debt again, due to its effective response to COVID-19. Some countries (e.g. USA, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Italy, Brazil, Philippines) later elected right-wing nationalist populist governments: In Canada, Quebec elected and reelected one in 2018 and 2022; as did Ontario and the new leader of the United Conservative Party and Premier in Alberta fits that description. This research demonstrated that Saskatchewan was an early adopter of neoliberalism in1982 in Canada. John Warnock (2003) of the University of Regina argued that neoliberalism, economic and political, has become the dominant ideology in Saskatchewan. Dale Eisler (2022) argued similarly but did not call it neoliberalism.

## References

Adam, Christian & Michael W. Bauer. 2014. A Conceptual Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Policy Change – Measurement, Explanation and Strategies of Policy Dismantling. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 16(1), S: 28-44

Adam, Christian & Michael W. Bauer. 2018. Policy and Organizational Termination. Chapter in W. R. Thompson (Ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.138

Amburgey, T. L., D. Kelly & W. P. Barnett. 1993. Resetting the Clock: The Dynamics of Organizational Change and Failure. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38(1): 51-73.

Andrews, R. B., G. A. Boyne & R. M. Walker. 2011. Dimensions of publicness and organizational performance: A review of the evidence. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 21 (Supplement 3): i301–i319.

Arsneault, S. 2000. Welfare policy innovation and diffusion: Section 111 waivers and the federal system. *State and Local Government Review,* 32(1): 49-60.

Barnett, W. P. & G. R. Carroll. 1995. Modeling internal organizational change. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2: 217-36.

Bauer, Michael W., and Christoph Knill. 2014. A Conceptual Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Policy Change: Measurement, Explanation and Strategies of Policy Dismantling. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 16(1): 28-44. DOI: 10.1080/13876988.2014.885186.

___, Louisa Beierlein, Jorn Ege, Christoph Knill and Jarle Trondal. 2019. Perspectives on International Public Administration Research: A Rejoinder to Johan Christensen and Kutsal Yesilkagit. Preprint May, *ResearchGate*.

Baum, J. A. C. 1996. Organizational Ecology. In *Handbook of Organization Studies*, ed. Stewart R. Clegg, Cynthia Hardy and Walter R. Nord, 77-114. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Bekkers, V.J.J.M., L.G. Tummers, B.G. Stuijfzand, W. Voorberg. 2013. Social Innovation in the Public Sector: An Integrative Framework. LIPSE Working paper (no. 1). Rotterdam, Netherlands: Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Berry, Frances Stokes. 1994. Sizing up state and policy innovation research. *Policy Studies Journal*, 22(3): 442-456.

Berry, F. S. & W. D. Berry 1990. State Lottery Adoptions as Policy Innovations: An Event History Analysis. *American Political Science Review,* 84(2), 395-415.

___. 2013. "Innovation and Diffusion Models." In C. M. Weible & P. Sabatier (Eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press (chapter 7).

Berry, William D; Ringquist, Evan J; Fording, Richard C; Hanson, Russell L. 1998. Measuring citizen and government ideology in the American states, 1960-93. *American Journal of Political Science* 42(1) (Jan.): 327-348.

Bloch, Carter, Peter Mortensen & Markus Bugge. 2011. Measuring Public Innovation in Nordic Counties. Report on the Nordic Pilot studies - Analyses of methodology and results. Oslo, Norway: NIFU STEP.

Bloch, Carter & Markus M. Bugge. 2013. Public sector innovation—From theory to measurement. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics,* 27 (December): 133-145.

Boehmke, F. J. 2009. Policy Emulation or Policy Convergence? Potential Ambiguities in the Dyadic Event History Approach to State Policy Emulation. *The Journal of Politics,* 71(3): 1125-1140.

Boin, A., S. Kuipers, & M. Steenbergen. 2010. The life and death of public organizations: A question of institutional design? *Governance: An international journal of policy, administration and institutions,* 23(3): 385-410.

Brewer, Garry D. 1978. Termination: Hard Choices—Harder Questions. *Public Administration Review,* 38(4) (July-August): 338-44.

Brewer, G. & P. deLeon. 1983. *The Foundations of Policy Analysis*. Homewood, Il.: Dorsey Press.

Brudney, J. L & F. T. Hebert. 1987. State agencies and their environments: Examining the influence of important external actors. *The Journal of Politics,* 49(1): 186-206.

Brüderl, J. & R. Schüssler. 1990. Organizational Mortality: The Liabilities of Newness and Adolescence. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 35 (September): 530-547.

Burrell, Gibson & Gareth Morgan. 1979. *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis.* London, UK: Heinemann.

Burton, John. 1997. Resource Rent and Taxation—Application of New Principles and Approaches in Saskatchewan. Pp. 59-77, Chapter 3 in Eleanor D. Glor (Ed.), *Policy Innovation in the Saskatchewan Public Sector, 1971-82*. Toronto, Canada: Captus Press.

___. 2014. *Potash: An Inside Account of Saskatchewan's Pink Gold.* Regina, Canada: University of Regina Press.

Canadian Encyclopedia. N.D. Recession in Canada. (They quote the C.D. Howe Institute.) https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/recession

Collier, D. & R. E. Messick. 1975. Prerequisites versus Diffusion: Testing Explanations of Social Security Adoption. *American Political Science Review,* 69(4): 1299-1315.

Damanpour, Fariborz. 1991. Organizational Innovation: A Meta-analysis of effects of determinants and moderators. *Academy of Management Journal*, 34(3): 555-90.

Damanpour, Fariborz and J. Daniel Wischnevsky. 2006. Research on innovation in organizations: Distinguishing innovation-generating from innovation-adopting organizations. *Journal of Engineering and Technology Management,* 23: 269–291.

Daniels, Mark R. 2001. Policy and Organizational Termination. *International Journal of Public Administration,* 24(3): 249-262.

deLeon, Peter. 1978. A Theory of Policy Termination. In Judith V. May & Aaron B. Wildavsky (eds), *The Policy Cycle.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications (279-300).

___. 1997. Afterward: The Once and Future State of Policy Termination. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 20(12): 2195-2212.

Department of Finance. N.D. Saskatchewan Update. Regina, Canada: Government of Saskatchewan.

de Vries, H., V. Bekkers, & L. Tummers. 2016. Innovation in the Public Sector: A Systematic Review and Future Research Agenda. *Public Administration*, 94(1): 146–166. doi: 10.1111/padm.12209

Eisler, D. 2022. *From Left to Right. Saskatchewan's Political and Economic Transformation.* Regina, Canada: University of Regina Press.

Forget, E. L. 2011. The town with no poverty: The health effects of a Canadian guaranteed annual income field experiment. *Canadian Public Policy*, 37(3): 283-305. DOI: 10.1353/cpp.2011.0036

Gavigan, Shelley A. M. & Dorothy E. Chunn, 2007. From Mother's Allowance to Mothers Need Not Apply: Canadian Welfare Law as Liberal and Neoliberal Reforms. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 45(4) (Winter), article 5.

Gibbins, Roger & J. Rick Ponting. 1977. Contemporary Prairie Perceptions of Canada's Native Peoples. *Prairie Forum*, 2(1): 57-81.

Giddens, Anthony. 1998. *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Giger, Nathalie & Moira Nelson. 2011. The electoral consequences of welfare state retrenchment**:** Blame avoidance or credit claiming in the era of permanent austerity? *European Journal of Political Research,* 50(1): 1–23.

Gioia, D. A. & E. Pitre. 1990. Multiparadigm Perspectives on Theory Building. *Academy of Management Review*, 15(4): 584-602.

Glor, Eleanor D. (Ed.). 1997. *Policy innovation in the Saskatchewan public sector, 1971-82*. Toronto, Canada: Captus Press.

___. 1998. "Public Sector Innovation in Canada." Pp. 300-340 in Randy Hoffman, Diane Jurkowski, Victor MacKinnon, Janice Nicholson, James Simeon (eds). *Public Administration: Canadian Materia*ls, Third Edition. Toronto: Captus Press.

___ (Ed.). 2002. *Is innovation a question of will or circumstance? An exploration of the innovation process through the lens of the Blakeney government in Saskatchewan, 1971-82, 2nd Edition*. Ottawa, Canada: The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal. https://www.innovation.cc/books.htm

___. 2013. Do innovative organisations survive longer than non-innovative organisations? Initial evidence from an empirical study of normal organizations. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 18(3), article 1. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol18-no3.htm

___. 2014. Studying the impact of innovation on organizations, organizational populations and organizational communities: A framework for research. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 19(3), article 1. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol19-no3.htm

___. 2015. *Building theory of organizational innovation, change, fitness and survival*. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 20(2), article 4. https://www.innovation.cc/books.htm

___. 2017a. Studying factors affecting creation and fate of innovations and their organizations—I: A new instrument. Appendix I, Appendix II, Appendix III, Appendix IV. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 22(2), article 1. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol22-no2.htm

___. 2017b. Studying factors affecting creation and fate of innovations and their organizations – II: Verification of raters and the instrument. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 22(3), article 1. http://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol22-no3.htm

___. 2018. Factors (Antecedents) Influencing Creation and Fate of Innovations and their Organizations – III. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 23(2), article 1. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol23-no2.htm

___. 2019. Factors and clusters most influential in creation and fate of innovations and their organizations – IV. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 24(2), article 1. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol24-no2.htm

___. 2021a. Can the PRISMA Protocol be Used to Guide a Systematic Literature Review of Antecedents of Policy Innovation Trailblazing and Adoption? – I, *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 26(2), article 2. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol26-no2.htm

____. 2021b. Analysis of Antecedents of Trailblazing and Adoption of Public Policy Innovation Identified by a Systematic Literature Review– II, Glossary, *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 26(2), article 3. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol26-no2.htm

____. 2021c. A Nomenclature and Classification System for Antecedents of Public Policy Innovation Trailblazing and Adoption Derived from a Systematic Literature Review – III. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 26(2), article 4. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol26-no2.htm

____. 2021d. Comparisons of Antecedents of Trailblazing/Adoption and Quantitative/Qualitative Studies of Public Policy Innovation Identified in a Systematic Literature Review – IV. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 26(2), article 5. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol26-no2.htm

____. 2021e. A Comparison of Antecedents of Different Types of Innovation – V. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 26(2), article 6. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol26-no2.htm

____. 2021f. Conclusion: Important Antecedents of Public Sector Innovation – VI. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 26(2), article 7. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol26-no2.htm

____. 2021g. Defining, Distinguishing and Studying Public Sector Innovation and Change. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 26(3), article 4. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol26-no3.htm

____. 2023 in press. Demography of an Innovation Population: 183 Public Policy/Process Innovations and Comparison with Normal Programs/Organizations.

___ & Garry Ewart. 2016. What happens to innovations and their organizations? Piloting an approach to research. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 21(3), article 1. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol21-no3.htm

___ & Mario Rivera. 2015. Proposal for research on the fate of innovative public sector organizations, populations and communities: A research synthesis and prospectus. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 20(2), article 3. https://www.innovation.cc/volumes-issues/vol20-no2.htm

Gray, Virginia. 1973. Innovation in the States: A Diffusion Study. *The American Political Science Review*, 67(4) (December): 1174-85.

Greenwood, Justin. 1997. The succession of policy termination. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 20(12): 2121-50. DOI: 10.1080/01900699708525289

Hannan, M. T. & G. R. Carroll. 1992. *Dynamics of Organizational Populations*: *density, legitimation, and competition*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Harding, Jim. (Ed.) 1995. *Social Policy and Social Justice: The NDP Government in Saskatchewan during the Blakeney Years.* Waterloo, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Harris, Michael. 1997. Policy Termination: Uncovering the Ideological Dimension. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 20(12): 2151- 2175.

Hartley, Jean F. 1983. Ideology and Organizational Behavior. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 13(3): 7-34.

Hum, D. P. J. 1985a. The Working Poor, the Canada Assistance Plan, and Provincial Responses in Income Supplementation. In J. S. Ismael (Ed.), *Canadian Social Welfare Policy: Federal and Provincial Dimensions.* Toronto, Canada: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada (Chapter 7, 120-38).

___. 1985b. Social Security Reform during the 1970s. In Jacqueline S. Ismael (Ed.) *Canadian Social Welfare Policy: Federal and Provincial Dimensions*. Toronto, Canada: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada (29-47).

James, O., J. O. Petrovsky, A. Moseley & G. A. Boyne. 2016. The politics of agency death: Ministers and the survival of government agencies in a parliamentary system. *British Journal of Political Science*, 46(4): 763-784. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123414000477 Published online: 20 January 2015.

Jordan, Andrew, Michael W. Bauer & Christoffer Green-Pederson. 2013. Policy Dismantling. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(5) (May): 795-805.

Kaufman, H. 1976. *Are government organizations immortal?* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Knill, C., & A. Lenschow. 2001. Linking Different Perspectives on Institutional Change. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(2) (March), 187-215.

Koch, P., P. Cunningham, N. Schwabsky, J. Haukness. 2006. *Innovation in the Public Sector. Summary.* Oslo, Norway: NIFU STEP.

Koch, P. & J. Hauknes. 2005. *Innovation in the public sector*. Oslo, Norway: NIFU STEP.

Lambright, W. H & H. M. Sapolsky. 1976. Terminating Federal Research and Development Programs. *Policy Sciences*, 7(2) (June): 199-213.

Langford, Tom & J. Rick Ponting. 1992. Canadians' responses to aboriginal issues: the roles of prejudice, perceived group conflict and economic conservatism. *The Canadian Review of Sociology*, 29(2) (May): 140-166.

Lewis, D. 2002. The Politics of Agency Termination: Confronting the Myth of Agency Immortality. *The Journal of Politics,* 64(1) (February): 89-107.

Lieberman, R. C. & G. M. Shaw. 2000. Looking Inward, Looking Outward: The Politics of State Welfare Innovation under Devolution. *Political Research Quarterly,* 53(2): 215-40.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1968. *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan. A Study in Political Sociology*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc.

MacCarthaigh, M. 2014. Agency termination in Ireland: Culls and bonfires, or life after death? *Public Administration,* 92(4): 1017-37.

Marmot, MG; Stansfeld, S; Patel, C; North, F; Head, J; White, I; Brunner, E; Feeney, A; Smith, GDavey. 1991. Health inequalities among British civil servants: the Whitehall II study. The Lancet, 337(8754): 1387-1393. DOI: 10.1016/0140-6736(91)93068-K

Marier, Patrik. 2013. A Swedish Welfare State in North America? The Creation and Expansion of the Saskatchewan Welfare State, 1944–1982. *Journal of Policy History,* 25(4): 614-37.

Martin, Judith. 1995. "The Continuing Struggle for Universal Day Care." Pp. 17-51 in Jim Harding (Ed.), *Social Policy and Social Justice: The NDP Government in Saskatchewan during the Blakeney Years.* Waterloo, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Martin, David & Chris Adams. 2000. Canadian Public Opinion Regarding Aboriginal Self-Government: Diverging Viewpoints as Found in National Survey Results. *American Review of Canadian Studies,* 30(1): 79–88.

Mason, L. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

McGrane, David. 2008. "Which Third Way? A Comparison of the Romanow and Calvert NDP Governments from 1991 to 2007." Pp. 143-163 in Howard Leeson (Ed.), *Saskatchewan Politics: Crowding the Centre.* Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Center.

____. 2014. Is the Third Way the Only Way? Pp. 238-249, Chapter 8 in David McGrane, *Remaining Loyal: Social Democracy in Quebec and Saskatchewan.* Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press.

McKelvey, Bill & Howard E. Aldrich. 1983. Populations, Natural Selection, and Applied Organizational Science. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 28(1) (February): 101-28.

McKelvey, Bill. 1994. Evolution and organizational science. in J.A.C. Baum & J.V. Singh (eds), *Evolutionary Dynamics of Organizations*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

OECD. 1996. *Social Assistance in OECD Countries. Volume II: Country Reports.* Research Report No. 47. London, UK: HMSO.

O'Fee, Kevin. 2008. Saskatchewan's Political Party Systems and the Development of Third Party Politics. In Howard Leeson (Ed.), *Saskatchewan Politics: Crowding the Centre.* Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Center (Pp. 189-196).

Osborne, John E. 1985. The Evolution of the Canada Assistance Plan.
Collected August 1, 2014 at: http://www.canadiansocialresearch.net/capjack.htm (no longer available).

Osborne, S. 1998. *Voluntary Organizations and Innovations in Public Services*. London, UK: Routledge.

Peters, B. G. & B. W. Hogwood. 1988. The Death of Immortality: Births, Deaths and Metamorpheses in the U.S. Federal Bureaucracy 1933-1982. *American Review of Public Administration,* 18(2) (June): 119-133.

Pierson, Paul. 2000a. Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics. *American Political Science Review* 94(2) (June): 251-267.

___. 2000b. Not Just What, but When: Timing and Sequence in Political Processes. *Studies in American Political Development,* 14(1): 72-92. doi:10.1017/S0898588X00003011

Pitsula, J. & K. Rasmussen. 1990. *Privatizing a Province: The New Right in Saskatchewan.* Vancouver, CA: New Star Books.

Roberts, David. 1997. "Premier reveals Saskatchewan flirted with bankruptcy: Undisclosed federal bailout averted crisis in 1993." *The Globe and Mail,* Saturday, March 22, 1997.

Rogers, E. M. 1995. *Diffusion of Innovations.* 4th Edition. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Rogers, E. M. & J. I. Kim. 1985. "Diffusion of Innovations in Public Organizations." In R. L. Merritt and A. J. Merritt, *Innovation in the Public Sector*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage Publications (85-108).

Rolland, V.W. & P. G. Roness. 2012. Foundings and Terminations: Organizational change in the Norwegian state administration, 1947-2011. *International Journal of Public Administration,* 35(12): 783-94.

Sapprasert, K. & T. H. Clausen. 2012. Organizational innovation and its effects. *Industrial and Corporate Change,* 21(5): 1283–1305. doi:10.1093/icc/dts023

Sargent, Lyman Tower, Michael Freeden and Marc Stern (eds). 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Simpson, W., G. Mason, & R. Godwin. 2017. The Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment: Lessons Learned 40 Years Later. *Canadian Public Policy,* 43(1) (March): 85-104.

Singh, J., R. House, & D. Tucker. 1986. Organizational Change and Organizational Mortality. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 31(4): 587-611.

Singh, J., D. Tucker, & R. House. 1986. Organizational Legitimacy and the Liability of Newness. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 31: 171-193.

Stiglitz, J. 2014. *The price of inequality: How today's divided society endangers our future*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

Ternowetsky, G. 1995. "Income Inequality, 1971-82: The Saskatchewan Case." Chapter 6, pp. 149-171 in Jim Harding (Ed.), *Social Policy and Social Justice: The NDP Government in Saskatchewan during the Blakeney Years*. Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Tesler, Michael. 2016. *Post-Racial or Most-Racial: Race and Politics in the Obama Era*. Chicago, IL & London, UK: The University of Chicago Press.

Torugsa, Nuttaneeya A. and Arundel, A. 2016. Complexity of Innovation in the public sector: A workgroup-level analysis of related factors and outcomes. *Public Management Review* 18(3), 392-416.

Tweddle, A. & H. Aldridge. 2018. *Welfare in Canada, 2017.* Toronto, Canada: Maytree.

USGM (United States Government Manual). 2008-09, 2020. History of Agency Organizational Changes Federal Agencies Terminated, Transferred, or Changed in Name Subsequent to March 4, 1933. www.usgovernmentmanual.gov/.

Van Witteloostuijn, Arjen, Arjen Boin, Celesta Kofman , Jeroen Kuilman, & Sanneke Kuipers. 2018. Explaining the survival of public organizations: Applying density dependence theory to a population of US federal agencies. *Public Administration,* 96(4) (December): 633-650.

United States Government Manual (USGM). 2008-09. "History of Agency Organizational Changes Federal Agencies Terminated, Transferred, or Changed in Name Subsequent to March 4, 1933," available at: https://www.usgovernmentmanual.gov/

Walker, J. L. 1969. The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States. *American Political Science Review,* 63(3): 880-99.

Walker, R. M. 2003. Evidence on the Management of Public Services Innovation. *Public Money and Management,* 23(2) (April): 93-102.

___. 2007. An Empirical Evaluation of Innovation Types and Organizational and

Environmental Characteristics: Towards a Configuration Framework. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(4) (October): 591-615.

Walker, Richard M. 2014. Internal and External Antecedents of Process Innovation: A review and extension. Public Management Review, 16(1): 21–44. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2013.771698

White, Stephen, Michael M. Atkinson, Loleen Berdahl & David McGrane. 2015. Public Policies toward Aboriginal Peoples: Attitudinal Obstacles and Uphill Battles. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, 48(2) (June/juin): 281–304. doi:10.1017/S0008423915000281

Wilkinson, Richard G. 1998. Mortality and distribution of income. Low relative income affects mortality. BMJ (Online), 316(7144): 1611-1612.

Wright, G. C., R. S. Erikson, & J. P. McIver. 1987. Public Opinion and Policy Liberalism in the American States. *American Journal of Political Science*, 31(4) (August): 980-1001.

Warnock, John W. 2003. The Structural Adjustment of Capitalism in Saskatchewan. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Wright, Gerald C., Robert S. Erikson, & John P. McIver. 1985. Measuring State Partisanship and Ideology with Survey Data. *The Journal of Politics*, 47(2) (June): 469-89. https://doi.org/10.2307/2130892

Zolnhofer, Reimut. 2009. How Politics Matter when Policies Change: Understanding Policy Change as a Political Problem. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 11(1) (March): 97-115.

## Appendix I: Antecedents of Introduction of Public Sector Policy and Program Innovation, Classified into Grouped Antecedents, Factors and Clusters

**(see next page)**

**External Environment-1/Context**-3
-Temporal (time) context-1
-History, previous crises-2
-Societal conditions/Social context-4
-Literacy level
-Urbanization
-Present situation dangerous & unsustainable (listed under both push & pull)-1
T=14

***Obstacles/Barriers (Inventory low/Pull):***
-Strength of obstacles-2
-Economic-1
-Declining trust-1
-Problematic environment/Future not attractive (also under Push)-2
-Unsolved wicked problems/Problems-2 T=8

***External Drivers/Demands (push-2):***
*Good economy-2*
T=4

*Governance Environment:*
-Criticism of status quo by powerful actors-1
-Differences in concepts of a self-governing people vs delegating political decisions to political elites-1
-Which meaning of demos (members of a political community) in play: a collective unity with a shared will and purpose vs a plurality of individuals with diverse ideas and interests-1
T=3

*Citizen pressure:*
-Political community (territory/organization, who included/excluded)-1
-Citizens as critical spectators-1:
-Citizens critical of functioning of key democratic institutions & politicians-1
-Citizens voice their opinions and stand up to public authorities-1
-Troublesome relationship between citizens & politicians/other public authorities-1
- Citizens unsatisfied with conventional policy-making-1
-Declining trust-1
-Citizens use decentered platforms to formulate political demands but do not take part in considering what works for the totality-1
-Animosity, legitimacy problems between political elites & citizens-1
-Citizens more satisfied with non-elected representatives than with those they elected-1
-Weak institutional linkages between innovative policymaking arenas and party politics-1
-Goal & purpose in democratic innovation processes not clear or coordinated between the involved actors incompatible with aspiration to engage citizens in policymaking-1
& evaluation criteria-1
-Representation as acting on a given mandate is
-Citizens as participants in democratic policymaking-1:
-Creative destruction-1
-Desire to improve the citizen–political representative relationship-1 T=16
-Citizens increasing pressure to deliver the impossible, leading to further disenchantment-1
-Ideas: cognitive & normative-2
-Interdependence-1
-Ownership-1
-Profile, accountability-2
-Desire to create a better future-1
-Ambitions & self-confidence high-1
-Commitment by representatives to engage in ongoing dialogue with the represented over the content of what is being represented -1
-Commitment by representatives to develop policies together (process)-1
-Idea of citizen councils-1
-External support (external to politics & government)-8
-Pressure: interests-1/Pressure from NGOs-1
-Entrepreneurial leadership-1
-Federal-provincial collaboration-2
-State/provincial influence-2
-Regional/national influences-2
-Support for capital investment-1
-Inclusion, knowledge sharing, trust-3 T=34
T citizen pressure=47

***Institutions***-6
-Fiscal plenty (earlier)-1, now severe austerity-1
-Threatening competition-1
-Democratically legitimate-1
-Institutions help prevent public authorities from abusing their power but may fail to do so if they are easily changed-1
-If issue is regional, regional & sectoral dynamics-1
-Lack of institutionalized meeting places between politicians & citizens-1
-Institutions that support entrepreneurial agency can promote innovative activities & the capacity to pass reforms-1
-le tournant néo-libéral des institutions-1 T=13

***Economic/Innovation policy:***
-Academic freedom/Free thinking-2
-Research-1
-Key players become more aware of the role they play & participate in reflective conversations-1
-Harness technology & social innovation-2
-Cutting-edge expertise-1
-Economic policy
-Promotion of cooperation & interaction between agents of the innovation system, esp. science & fiscal

policy-3
-How the idea was developed-1
-Qualified employees esp. R&D personnel-1
-A suitable labour market-1
-Demographic, educational, industrial, spatial & fiscal policy-5 T=19

***Governance Example: Citizen Collaboration/Participation****:*
-Involving citizens in policy innovation with politicians-1
Involving citizens in service innovation with public employees-1
-Involving citizens, politicians, public servants]-1
-Citizen characteristics-1
-Creation & maintenance of citizen interconnected-ness through use of ICT/A popular (pop) culture based in technology-2
-Customer awareness, feeling of ownership/part of something-3
-Social capital-1
-Risk aversion-1
-Pressure on government to change-1
-Community democracy regime-1
-Reflective conversations about the innovative goals of collaboration-1
-Common interest in the planned innovation-1
-Trust between parties-1
-Joint learning, developments-1
-Output-focused-1
-Public interest in the objectives-1
-Facilitative role, representing a change in institutional design toward collaboration-1
-A joint fact-finding process-1
-Complementary & appropriate resources: human, financial-2 T=23

**Political**-5:
***Political culture***-2
-Vision-1
-Values-1
-Willingness to take risks-1
-Political education/civics education-3
-Capacity to innovate democracy-1
-Crisis in representative democracy signifies necessity for radical changes-1
-Political innovations would affect distribution of political power & influence in society, balance between the inherent tensions in democracy-1
-Balance risks & potential benefits-1
-Politicians willing/not willing to surrender their position as sovereign decision-makers, their political primacy, to assume role as democratic facilitators & monitors-1
-Need balance between scope for democratic stability & change-1:
-Stability is important-1
-Capacity to adapt to changing conditions-1
-Political culture affects democratic stability & change-1
-The role perceptions of actors stabilize democracy; a shifting political culture destabilizes traditional institutions & practices-2
-Consider whether innovations bringing citizens into the political realm will destabilize representative democracy & hamper its capacity to renew itself or will promote innovative capacity of representative democracy & render it more robust by aligning its political institutions with the advent of a new political culture-1
-Limited scope & tradition for experimentation-1
-Need systematic experimentation-1
-Risk that ideas never become more than bold ideas, never make it to the state of concrete democratic innovation-1
-Need a coherent innovation process-1
-Relevant-1
-Adaptable-1
-Intentions-1
-Criteria-1
-Whether an innovation is incremental or radical depends on the context-1
-Distance between new practices & those which there before-1
-Political graffiti [correct spelling] in Saudi Arabia, where there is little other political freedom-1 T=30

***Ideology****/A framework of political thought/*-
Hegemonic ideas & practices-9
-Political vision-1
-Neoliberal ideology-1
-Social democratic ideology-1 T=12

***Politics***-14
-Ambitious but realistic goals & aspirations-1
-Technological advancements-1
-Political support-2 T=16

*Barriers (pull)*:
-Engrained routines, habits, role perceptions & politics/path dependencies that preserve the status quo & consolidate existing power relations-2
-Deliberate attempts to isolate previous & potential innovators-1 T=4

***Actors/People***-2*:*
-Perceptions of risks vs potential gains-1
-Evaluation of output, outcome-1
-Perception of how the innovation affects scope for innovation in future-1
-Distribution among actors of power to block or promote innovations-1

-Groups-1
-Individuals-1
-Willingness to take risks/risk-taking/risk appetite-3
-Ethical risks-1
-Motivation to innovate -1
-Values/Honour/Integrity/Organized religion/High ethical standards-5
-Goal, purpose(s)-1
-Rational, results-based-1
-Mastery-1
-Way innovation facilitated-1 T=22

***Example: USA states:***
-Previous innovation in a capital city-1
-State governor's party-1
-Characteristics of population:
-Policy innovations by major companies-1
-Racial composition-1
-Size of gay & lesbian population-1 T=5

**Internal**-9:
***Obstacles/Barriers (pull)***-3:
-Managerial vacuum, uncertainty about authority & managerial responsibility-1
-Consensus-thinking-1
-Blocks new ideas; balancing of interest is time demanding-1
-Network cannot create increased interdependence-1
-Organizations give reps ambiguous mandates-1
-Extrinsically motivated personnel-1
-Top-down management-1
-Major challenge-1
-Imitation-1
-Institutions-1
-Established admin, financial structures-2
-Discrimination, inflexibility of structures-2
-Metrics-1
-Regional steering -1
-Political risk avoidance-1 T=20

***Demand (push, drivers)***-1:
-Intrinsically motivated personnel-2
-Motivation to innovate-2
-Groups/supportive organizational social environment/organizational culture-5
-Trust-2
-Bottom-up-1
-Individuals-2
-New paradigm to restore healthful social relationships-1
-Connections-1
-Relations-1
-Personnel variability-1
-Non-linear interaction-1
-Redundancy-2
-Minor challenge-1

*Problem & Ideas:*
-Palpable dissatisfaction with current system-1
-Problem-solving-1
-No labeling-1
-Acceptance of a new idea-1
-Modern-1
-Early-1
-Vision-2
-A problem-2/Rethinking a problem-2
-Creativity/ Novelty/Enhanced creativity-11
-Creative capacity/potency to produce novelty/ intuition-3
-Complexity-2/Emergence-1
-Following-1
-Negating-1
-Idea(s)/Ideas for adaptation/A creative idea-4
-Idea & demonstration of a better product/process-1
-Approach each innovation individually-1
-Active search for ideas/examples of innovn-1
-Resiliency-1
-Thinking-1
-Free thinking-1
- Entrepreneurial thinking-1
-Assignment of personnel-1
-A process-1
Goal, objective, purpose, ends-2
-By public servants-1
-Uncertainty-1
-Information-2
-Design-1 T=69

***Enhance capacity to innovate***-1
-Avoid habitual behaviour-1
- Innovative capacity-8
Produced by:
-knowledge production-1
-knowledge exploitation-1
-learning capacity, connective capacity, ambidexterity, risk monitoring, leadership, technological capacity-6 T=16

***Innovation process****-1:*
-Ethics-1
-Respect-1
-Employee integrity-1
-Input from the field-1
-All stakeholders consulted-1
-Opportunity-1
-Leadership-4
-Management-1
-Managerial leadership-1
-Risk management-1
-Manage change-2
-Change required, not yet defined-1
-Peer change agents-1

-Trials, constructive errors-1
-Create desired effects-1
-Fate: need direct innovation grants from public sector & horizontal activities (different levels & sectors)-2
-Plan-1
-Participative planning-1
-User participation-1
-Need to connect social policy, innovations & user participation-1 T=26

*Structure*-2
-Processes/Operations-3
-IT, Future plans for use of ICT, e.g. use of ICT in student-centered learning, integration across the school curriculum-2
-Resources-6
-Capacity to fund-1
-Slack-1
-People (also see below)
-Foster internally driven individuals-1
-Staff released-1
-Other resources-1
-Space-1
-Effective admin-1
-Communication-2
-Pilots-2
-Decisions-1
-Legislation-1
-Implementation-1
-Organizational climate for implementation:
-Management support-1
-Innovation-users values fit-1
-A healthy learning organization-2
-Info-1 T=33

*Org culture/climate*-2:
-Org character/Big orgn-3
-Org pattern-1
-Create an innovation culture-1
- Risk-taking-1
-Support for innovators & collaboration-1
-Change organizational culture-3
-Uncertainty -1
-Pilots/demonstration projects-2
-Resources-3
-Competition -1
-Current state of technology-1
-Effective implementation-3
-Effects-3
-Innovation metrics-1
-Institutionalization-1
-Extent of diffusion in the economy and society-1
-Organizational Learning-2
-Organizational compatibility w/ citizen participation-1
-Open attitude-1
-Risk-averse culture-1
-Incentives for co-creation-1 T=35

*Innovation Management:*
-Executive sponsorship-1
-Innovation process skills-4
-Willingness to take risks-2
-Mgmt system-1
-Clear ownership-1
-Change mgmt-2
-Experimentation-1
-Convince managers & employees-2
-Marshalling of people, money, materials, machines, processes, methods, procedures-1 T=14

*People*-23
-Motivation-1
-Awareness-1
-Imagination-1
-Adaptability-1
-Involvement & commitment-1
-Human & positive psychological capital-1
-Ideas -1
-Skills -1
-Decision, design, problem-solving skills-4
-Social capital-1
-Competences-1
-Governments should test for these factors-1
-Leadership-1
-Personnel support the Innovation-3
-Risk & rewards associated with development:
-Social-1
-Political-1
-Institutional-1
-Increasing returns to scale-1 T=23

**Examples:**
***1. NPM:***
*Drivers:*
-Strategic work-1
-Goals, results evidence-based-1
-Formalization-1
*Barriers:*
-Takes more time-1
-Too strong a focus on results & goals (vs. process), requires massive investment in project organization-1
-Top-down thinking inhibits cooperation & weakens ownership-1
-Rational planning inhibits entrepreneurial behaviour-1
T=7

2. ***Health sector innovation***: Non-medical factors challenging & spurring health sector innovation: cost, supply chain problems, sustainability T=3

**3. *Participation and Collaboration***

**Clusters:**
**1. External Environment/Context-13**
**- *Obstacles/Barriers (pull)-8***
**- *Drivers/Demands (push)-338***
***-Institutions-14***
***-Governance***
*-Environment/Citizens-22*
*-Economic/Innovation policy-19*
*-Citizen Collaboration/Participation-23*

**2. Political-5**
***-Political culture-30***
***-Ideology***-11
***-Politics***-18
-Barriers-4
-Actors/People-22
-Example-5

**3. Internal**-23
*-Obstacles/barriers-20*
*- Demand/push: Problem & Ideas*-48
*- Enhance capacity to innovate*-16
*- Innovation process*-26
*-Structure*-33
*- Org culture/climate*-35
*- Innovation Management*-14
*-People*-23
*-Examples*-1

**Comments on Appendix I:**
1. An antecedent occurs before the innovation of interest is developed/implemented/ experiences its fate. Many papers assume antecedents and factors are similar/the same, but here they are distinguished.
2. The public sector innovation literature is highly elitist, in that most innovation authors quote the same authors.
3. There is a large innovation literature on a governance innovation, collaboration between citizens and elected officials, which has identified many antecedents. To some extent, this has changed the balance of antecedents considered. This literature recognizes the substantial discussions of how government should act that are going on online and in activist groups, without considering their politics, and considers how to represent these citizens more effectively in discussions of options for government action.
4. The literature has identified a large number of antecedents. In my own work I identified introduction as the first three times an innovation was introduced in the USA or Canada. Most literature is not as explicit about its definitions.
5. Factors signal the issues respondents/authors considered important. They emphasize, for example, external, internal or political factors. Many/most signal a number of actors and the complexity of securing support, finding a appropriate innovation, implementing, evaluating and learning from innovations.
6. A number of factors were indicated in more than one cluster category (context, political, internal); e.g., political culture was indicated to be both a contextual and a political factor.
7. One source of ideas on factors was a discussion held by an innovation network consisting of several people who had been responsible for implementing innovations. The network included both private and public sector participants. It was the only "article" that included the private sector. The reader will be able, in some cases, to identify participants from the private sector.
8. The factors identified (Appendix I) have been grouped into three types of factors—external environment (context), political and internal clusters (Glor, 2019).
9. In some cases, the same or similar factors were identified in two or even three clusters.
10. Some authors identified factors quite generally (e.g. external, political, internal), others much more specifically to the innovation/issue being discussed.
11. It is notable that a number of the same factors are identified as antecedents for two or even three clusters, e.g., people, politics, resources.
12. Many authors of articles and books use terms like demand (push, drivers) and obstacles (barriers). These are generic terms that do not describe the nature of the antecedents except to say that the antecedents support or interfere with innovation. Such an approach only offers two types of antecedents.

The business terms push and pull are used in some public sector literature (e.g. Sorensen and Vabo, 2020). The terms originated in logistics and supply chain management, but are also widely used in marketing and product design. The original meaning of push and pull was in operations management, logistics and ***supply chain management***, and referred to ***pull*** system production orders that begin when inventory declines to a certain level; and to ***push*** system production that begins based on *demand* (forecasted or actual). Collected February 5, 2020 at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Push%E2%80%93p

ull_strategy The primary difference between push and pull marketing lies in how consumers are approached. In ***push marketing***, the idea is to promote products by pushing them to people. In ***pull marketing***, the idea is to establish a loyal following and draw consumers to the products (Collected February 5, 2020 at: https://smallbusiness.chron.com/difference-between-push-pull-marketing-31806.html)

Push and pull are also used in ***product design***. Most product designs fall under one of two categories: demand-pull innovation or invention-push innovation. ***Demand-pull innovation*** happens when there is an opportunity in the market to be explored by the design of a product. The product design attempts to solve a design problem. The design solution may be to develop a new product or to develop a product based on one already on the market, e.g., modifying an existing invention for another purpose. ***Invention-push innovation*** happens when there is an advancement in intelligence. This can occur through research or it can occur when the product designer comes up with a new product design idea (Collected February 5, 2020 at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Product_design#Demand-pull_innovation_and_invention-push_innovation).

In the ***public sector***, ***demand-pull*** antecedents can come from members of the public (citizens), non-government organizations (NGOs), pressure groups, opinion leaders, political parties or politicians and can be based on ideology. ***Push antecedents*** can, again, be based on the desires of citizens, NGOs, etc., but also those of public servants, who want to see an innovation implemented but need someone else's approval. They promote the innovations to decision-makers and funders, so in my opinion the distinction is not terribly clear. Authors reviewed in this book sometimes included similar issues under both pull and push; e.g., "unsolved wicked problems" were included under push, while "problematic environment" and "future not attractive, problems, desire to create a better future" were included under pull. In this study of antecedents, it was too complex to try to include a distinction between push and pull.

While the desire to create a better future can probably be assumed, the process by which it is decided in the public sector to address problematic environments and problems depends on the level at which the problem exists: Societal and governance problems are typically addressed at the political level. A literature exists on how to engage and involve citizens more. Public administration problems are typically addressed within the public service and may involve, at the national and state/provincial level, departmental ministers. In local government, councillors sometimes become more involved.

13. The literature does not appear to include all of the possible antecedents of public sector innovation and rarely mentions and does not explore some of them in much detail (e.g. ethics). In a book review of *Extreme Economics* (Yglesias, 2020: 2), for example, Yglesias identifies other possible antecedents, such as frequently the issues in Davies' book are not economic, as they suggest, but rather power and cruelty as policy. While Davies emphasizes the new underground prison economy in food and services in Louisiana, Yglesias identifies the origin of the innovation as a response to the ultralong Louisiana prison sentences, the ultralong prison sentences in the USA, in a country which has the highest imprisonment rates among developed countries. Likewise, Yglesias notes Davies' "peppy neoliberalism of the global ruling class" and suggests they could have been less animated by the injustice stemming from "mistakes of judgement" and more animated by the "malice and indifference on the part of the powerful". They describe Louisiana's prison system as "cruel, exploitative [prisoners must work for a government-owned corporation for 2 to 20 cents per hour] and (judging by the state's relatively high crime rate) ineffective criminal-justice system. Yglesias also suggests Davies drew the wrong conclusion in implying that refugee camps should be disorganized rather than organized, and rather that the cause of failure is "a failure to care about the refugees' well-being" and "aid agencies should trust refugees with money". Kinshasa was actually destroyed by "decades of misrule by the dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, who was installed and maintained in office by Western powers eager to ensure that their companies would retain access to lucrative mines". Aceh's rapid rebound was not due to economics but the "central government reaching a generous peace accord with the local secessionist rebel group". Ygliesias does not say that Davies is a free-market dogmatist because they note that Chile's economic inequality and privatized education system are important sources of its problems.

The Innovation Network mentioned ethics of innovation, asserting they need to be ethical. *The*

*Innovation Journal* has published some on the ethics of innovation, but the approach has been managerial. Eleanor D. Glor has asserted that public sector innovations should only be considered as innovations if they do good, but of course that is hard to predict sometimes. Yglesias outlines a Panamanian innovation subsidizing all tree planting. It was used to plant teak plantations instead of rain forest trees and continued the devastation of the land, water and ecosystem.

Yglesias, Matthrew. 2020. Book Review of *Extreme Economics*: *What Life at the World's Margins Can Teach Us About Our Own Future*, by Richard Davies. Published by Farrar, Straus & Giroux. *The New York Times Book Review,* Weekend, February 1-2.

14. The literature directs its comments at different levels of antecedents. These have been organized into the external environment/context (e.g. citizen, political and public servant roles), political and internal clusters. As examples, the types of antecedents include, at the contextual level, citizen participation, forms of government and institutions; at the political level, political culture, ideology, politics and governance; at the internal level, drivers/barriers; problems, creative thinking and ideas; innovation capacity; the process; the innovation; support; and organization.

15. The clusters reviewed here exist at different levels of antecedent (like in biology), so it seems to be a classification system.

## Appendix II: Examples of Antecedents of Fate of Public Sector Policy/Program Innovations from a Systematic Literature Review of Policy Innovation Antecedents

| Fate of Policy/Program Innovations | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Author (s)** | **Factors/ Clusters** | **Antecedent Factor(s)** |
| 1.<br>Glor 1997 | External<br>Internal<br>Political<br>People<br>Ideology | Fate of 5 preventive health innovations, Saskatchewan:<br>-Reproductive health education in schools (X)<br>-Provincial child & youth safety committee<br>-Seniors' health centre<br>-Native, urban pre- and post-natal program<br>-Prenatal nutrition (X)<br>2 not fully implemented (X)<br>3 abolished by neoliberal government during 1982 |
| 2. Borins<br>2014 | Personnel | Bottom-up innovations by middle management. |
| 3.Tan<br>2004 | Allocative efficiency<br>Finances<br>Technical efficiency<br>Public value | The paper differentiates between public & private sectors to understand why PSO are typically less innovative than PS. It provides a typology sensitizing to the impact of innovation upon public sector *allocative efficiency* ('are we doing the right things?'). A survey of public innovation indicators identified good financial measures e.g. Economic Value Added (PS) & Net Economic Value (public sector). The trend is away from *technical efficiency* ('are we doing things the right way?') towards allocative efficiency. Both the private sector notion of *service encapsulation* & the public sector notion of *public value* provide frameworks with which to assess the consequences of innovation. The answer to the question "Why do public sector organizations seek innovation?" has to be because "Innovation helps to increase public value". |
| 4. Onyett, Rees, Borrill, Shapiro & Boldison<br>2009 | Local whole systems interventions<br>Teamwork<br>Team effectiveness<br>Staff burnout<br>Job satisfaction<br>Leadership<br>Embedding & sustaining change<br>Senior sponsorship & support<br>Local capacity for ongoing development.<br>Capacity for delivering whole systems interventions<br>Supporting facilitators<br>Effective partnerships | 14 mental health teams covering community, inpatient, and primary care across different NHS regions in England completed the pilot stage of the evaluation of a 7-day focused local whole systems intervention for improved teamworking and leadership, the "Effective team working and leadership in mental health" (ETL) program. Measures were taken of teamwork, team effectiveness, staff burnout, job satisfaction and leadership style. Development & implementation of the ETL programme highlighted the importance of clearly conceptualising teamworking issues based on sound research evidence, assessing the team's current performance, and then developing interventions and evaluating change specifically on those factors. Further attention is needed to embedding and sustaining change, for example by ensuring that there is strong senior sponsorship and support within the participating organisations, and building local capacity for ongoing development.<br>There is a need to develop capacity for delivering such whole systems interventions wherein thinking can be challenged, issues about authority and the exercise of power candidly explored, and where participants can continue to learn and adapt to ever-changing circumstances. The skills required of facilitators to achieve this are not inconsiderable and some |

| **Fate of Policy/Program Innovations** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Author (s)** | **Factors/ Clusters** | **Antecedent Factor(s)** |
| | | infrastructure needs to be in place to ensure facilitators are adequately trained, supported and developed.<br>Since the inception of the program policy imperatives concerned with personalised care and wellbeing & mobilising the workforce to achieve it, have further highlighted the importance of effective partnership working at local level. The challenge is now to continue to capture and disseminate the experience of effective local whole systems leadership & teamwork interventions in order to continue to develop this important form of whole systems development and make it more widely available. |
| 5. Sossin, Leduc & Champagne 2011 | Capacity to operate & maintain change<br>Frequent reorganizations<br>Interference of other reforms | This article presents an experience of regional innovation in healthcare organizations whose deployment was suspended in spite of its promising results and well-founded conceptual basis. Using the perception of planners and managers, the article examines the capacity of healthcare organizations to operate & maintain change. The frequent reorganizations of the healthcare system's main structures & the interference of several other reforms in past years limited the institutionalization of change, especially when these reforms did not take into account local initiatives. |
| 6. Bauer & Knill 2014 | Political decisions, politicians<br>External (macro) factors<br>Institutional conditions & opportunities<br>Situational factors & dismantling strategies | Many influences are possible: key influences in policy dismantling include, in order: political decisions, politicians, external (macro) factors, institutional conditions & opportunities, situational factors & dismantling strategies (four ideal types). |
| 7. Glor 2015 | Political<br>Internal | Meta-analysis of 232 innovations.<br>Fate of their organizations. |
| 8. Glor 2018 | Ideology<br>Politics<br>External support<br>Economy<br>Resources<br>Effects | 10 income security innovations and their organizations:<br>There are types of factors: Ideology, politics, external support, economy, resources, effects. |
| 9. Glor 2019 | Political cluster<br>External support<br><br>Political cluster<br>Economy<br>Resources | 10 income security innovations and their organizations:<br>Most important in fate (survival/ termination) was political cluster (2018).<br>Best factors + clusters for predicting *survival* in time 2:<br>Political cluster (ideology, politics) & external support factor (2019).<br>Best factors + clusters for predicting *termination* in time 2:<br>Political cluster, economy factor + resources factor. |
| ***Totals Fate of Policy/ Program Innovations Total articles-9*** | ***Politics-5***<br>***External support- 3***<br>***Economy-2***<br>***Internal-2***<br>***Resources-2*** | ***People-1***<br>***Effects-1***<br>***Institutions-1***<br>***Situation-1*** |

## Appendix III: Timing of First Introduction of Income Security Programs by Government of Canada, Other Canadian Provinces, and Saskatchewan, Compared to International First Introductions and Rankings

| **International Income security Program Introduction Rank**[1] | **Responsibility, First Adoption(s) in Canada, Current Status** | **Saskatchewan Program** | **Year and Order of Saskatchewan Program** |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***1.Work injury*** | Provincial<br>Ontario- 1914<br>Nova Scotia – 1915<br>BC - 1916<br>Alberta – 1918<br>New Brunswick 1918<br>Continues today. | Workers' Compensation Board | 1929 Insurance program<br>1979 – Monthly income introduced through WCB, funded by Social Services; insurance plan continued – 1st in Canada & USA. |
| ***2.Sickness and maternity*** (close to #3) | Provincial. Initial federal 50/50 cost-sharing to create a national program:<br>National Hospital care – 1957<br>National Medical care (Medicare) – 1966<br>Continues today. | Public, universal, comprehensive, single-payer hospital & medical care insurance (Medicare) | 1947 – 1st provincial hospital insurance in Canada/USA.[xxxi]<br>1962 – 1st universal single-payer medical insurance in Canada/USA |
| ***3.Seniors' (Old Age) Pensions*** | Federal. 1927 *Old Age Pensions Act*, permitting federal government to assist provinces that provided a pension to British subjects 70 & older. Joint federal-provincial until federal Old Age Security (OAS) Act, 1951. Initially universal, now income tested.<br>1967 federal Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS). Income and equity (needs) tested, not taxable.<br>1966 federal Canada Pension Plan (CPP) (compulsory for employed; contributory by individual and employer 50/50).<br>OAS, GIS, CPP continue. | SIP | 1975 – 1st provincial pension for seniors. |
| ***4.Unemployment insurance*** | Federal. 1940s with contributions from employees, employers, and federal government.<br>Expanded early 1970s, influenced by federal NDP supporting Liberal minority government.<br>New, less generous employment insurance continues, with reduced benefits and eligibility. | None | None |
| ***5.Widow's/ Mother's Allowance with Children's*** | Federal universal Family Allowance, 1944, paid to the mother. Has been terminated.<br>Several revised versions since. Poor | Family Income Plan (FIP): low-income families with children | 1974 – 1st provincial/state in Canada/USA |

[1] Collier & Messick, 1975.

| **International Income security Program Introduction Rank**[1] | **Responsibility, First Adoption(s) in Canada, Current Status** | **Saskatchewan Program** | **Year and Order of Saskatchewan Program** |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***subsidy*.** | women & their children changed from deserving to undeserving poor with neoliberal reforms (Gavigan & Chunn, 2007). Now head of household receives it.* | | |
| **Not listed by** Collier & Messick**:** | | | |
| ***Employment support program*** | National, late 1960s: grants to employers to hire students. | ESP. | 1973 – 1st provincial/state in Canada/USA<br>Grants to non-profit employers to hire people on welfare, who were supported by provincial government staff. |
| ***Day care subsidy*** | National/Provincial.<br>Through tax system, GoC spent $0.6B 2004-5; $3.3B 2013-4. Federally subsidized, national program introduced 2022 by a minority government supported by the NDP, which made national day care a condition of its support. Quebec program the model. | Substantial, broad-based day care subsidy | 1974-75 Just after/tied for 1st with Manitoba.<br>1998 Quebec |

*Notes:* Typical order identified by David Collier and Richard E. Messick; established by calculating correlations between date of first adoption and subsequent adoptions. They called them social security programs (top 5), the American term for income security programs. They were adopted in a remarkably consistent order. Source of information: *Social Security Programs Throughout the World, 1971*. Source excluded non-autonomous and socialist countries.

In USA, state mother's allowances (with children) were established 1911-35 (2 states without), then the federal Social Security Act 1935 provided them.

*Abbreviations:* GoC=Government of Canada

## Glossary

A glossary is an alphabetical list of terms or words found in or relating to a specific subject, text, or dialect, with explanations; a brief dictionary; e.g., "a glossary of Inuktitut words".

*Antecedents* are influences (independent variables) occurring, in this book, before introduction or fate (dependent variables) of innovations and their organizations. The concept antecedent is used so much that it seems to be used as a collective term for anything that occurs before the phenomenon being studied that might influence its occurrence. Many antecedents have been identified as influencing the introduction of public policy innovations—see systematic literature review by Glor (2021a-f), who identified 508 unique antecedents in 87 scholarly documents (books, monographs, reports, papers) (2021a). While antecedents have been studied considerably, whether they actually influence an action has received limited attention. Because so many antecedents have been identified, they had to be combined into related groups. Glor (2021c: Table 1) suggested grouping them into a hierarchy as antecedents, grouped antecedents, factors and clusters.

*Clusters* are groups of related factors. The ones explored here were external cluster 1 (political: ideology, politics), external cluster 2 (external support, economy), internal (resources, effects), and support (economy, resources, effects).

*Community*. A *government's community* is the group of governments to which the government relates, compares itself and/or with which it works regarding the innovation. During the Blakeney government, the Government of Saskatchewan's community was the Government of Canada and progressive Canadian provincial and American state governments. An *innovation's policy/program community* is the group of organizations/individuals engaged with the problems innovations are meant to address; here, some members of Cabinet, the government's party, some electoral supporters, interested pressure groups and some progressive elected and appointed officials from Canada and social democratic governments and political parties in Europe and New Zealand. The *income security community* for the innovations studied here was Canadian and American progressive governments, especially ministers of social services, elected officials interested in income security and public servants working on income security. Networks were not as common during the 1970s as they are today.

*Consolidated Fund (The)* is the fund in the Government of Saskatchewan, the Government of Canada, and other governments, into which all revenues are deposited, from which all of government is funded, and which is reported in the budgetary *Estimates*. The Social Services innovations and organizations studied in this book were funded from the Consolidated Fund. The WCB innovation and organization was funded by employers, whose payments went into the WCB Fund, except for the portion funded by Social Services for recipients who would have been eligible for welfare.

*Dissemination/diffusion* is the adoption of innovations. Rogers (1995: 262) identified the range and proportions represented by adopters at each stage: innovators (2.5%), early adopters (13.4%), early majority (34%), late majority (34%), laggard adopters (16%). The *innovation*

*dissemination* literature defines innovation as anything perceived by the innovators or their organizations as new to their organization, no matter how long ago the program may have been introduced elsewhere or how many other states may have adopted it. The term dissemination does not clearly distinguish innovation from policy transfer or change (Glor, 2021g).

*Factors* are groups of related grouped antecedents.

*Fate* is survival or termination of innovations and their organizations. It is measured by appearance in or disappearance from official documents, the definition used in the organizational demography literature (Glor, 2013); substantial reductions in funding; and transfer to another department to perform a different function (often with retention of its name).

*Government* is the activities, services, organizations and administration funded by the Consolidated Fund, state-owned corporations (crown corporations in Canada), administrative tribunals and other types of government organization funded in other ways. It also includes the Legislature and the Lieutenant-Governor, who represents the Monarch.

*Implementation* is used interchangeably with introduction in this book. Implementation is tracked through such forms as legislation, resource (personnel and funding) allocation, appearance in official government documents.

*Income security* programs are financial transfers by governments to low-income individuals (in the case of ESP, the transfer was indirect, to a non-profit employer to pay the worker).

*Introduction* is used interchangeably with implementation in this book. Introduction of innovations and their organizations are the two elements of the adoption of an innovation in government.

*New Public Management* (NPM) is an approach to administering/managing public organizations at national and sub-national levels. It was developed during the 1980s as part of an effort to make the public service more "businesslike" and to improve its efficiency by using private sector management models. As in the private sector, NPM often focused on the centrality of citizens who were the recipients of services or “customers” of the public sector. NPM often decentralized service delivery to give local agencies more freedom in how they delivered programs or services. Some NPM reforms used e-government to consolidate programs or services to a central location to reduce costs. Some governments used quasi-market structures, forcing the public sector to compete with the private sector. Key themes were financial control, value for money, increased efficiency, identifying and setting targets, monitoring performance, and devolving power to senior management. Performance was assessed with audits, benchmarks and performance evaluations. Some NPM reforms used private sector companies to deliver what were formerly public services.

*Population*. A population is all or nearly all of something. A government population is a complete group of governments, e.g., all USA states and territories, all Canadian provinces and territories, all American and Canadian sub-national governments.

*Organizations* are administrative units delivering policies, programs and/or processes (Glor, 2015: 14). They are responsible for delivering the functions of government.

*Organizational innovations* include process and public administration innovations but are not the subject of this book. The organizations studied here were integral to the innovations and were not necessarily innovative.

*Public sector* (*The*) is the government sector, including organizations funded by the Consolidated Fund and crown corporations, administrative tribunals and other types of government organization funded in other ways.

*Survival* of an innovation or organization is retention of a policy or program or organization at approximately its current or an increased level, on the same or similar terms.

*Termination* of innovations and their organizations is disappearance from the record, whether because of a legislative or program name change; transfer to another department, sometimes to perform different functions; a substantial reduction/abolition of its budget. This is the definition used in the USGM (2008-9, 2020). This book also treats privatization as termination. Termination typically involves a substantial reduction in funding or staffing with impacts on programs.

*Trailblazing* is the first three adoptions of an innovation in a government's community or population. Some authors (e.g. Rogers, 1995) distinguish invention (first) from subsequent adoptions.

## Index

## About the Author

***Eleanor D. Glor*** is Editor-in-Chief and Founding Publisher of *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal* (www.innovation.cc), Ottawa and Fellow, McLaughlin College, York University, Toronto, Canada. She worked for the Government of Canada, two Canadian provincial governments, a regional municipality and a city during her career as a public servant. Eleanor has published about innovation in the areas of aging, rehabilitation, public health, aboriginal health, and Saskatchewan, other provinces/territories and the Canadian federal government. She has published seven books, five chapters and 46 articles on public sector innovation, most from an organizational, especially a public service perspective.

## Endnotes:

[i] Abbreviations used in this book: CCF=Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party, SS=Department of Social Services, NDP=New Democratic Party, WCB=Workers Compensation Board.

[ii] This is one of the strategies for termination recommended by Lambright and Sopolsky (1976: 199), who said: "(T)o kill an R&D program, one must weaken the constituency behind it. Useful strategies for would-be terminators include decremental funding and the amalgamation of competing R&D programs within the same agency".

[iii] Neoliberalism is a modified form of 19th century liberalism favouring free-market capitalism and including the social and political issues surrounding it. Modern liberal (Neoliberal) governments have been strongly driven by ideology and politics, have opposed government in general and in particular have opposed income security programs for the poor.

[iv] One reviewer of this book suggested that a different, political science, topic related to ideology should be addressed in this book, presumably because of the finding that politics and ideology were important for termination of innovations and their organizations. While other topics such as that one could be addressed, using the data produced here, this book focuses on understanding antecedents of introduction, survival and termination of public innovation.

[v] Time period definitions: Short term—15 years old and under (studies included 9.25, 10, 10, 11, 11 years), medium term—16 to 30 years old (studies included 22, 26, 27, 28 years), long term—over 30 years old (studies ranged from 43 to 192 years).

[vi] Damanpour (1991) analyzed 23 mostly private sector quantitative studies of determinants and moderators of organizational innovation and recommended studying type of innovation and stage of adoption, but as secondary contingencies (intermediate variables) between primary contingencies and organizational characteristics. Damanpour and Wischnevsky recommended comparing "the units that succeed in *generating* innovations with those that do not, and the units that succeed in *adopting* innovations with those that do not" (2006: 286). Glor (2021d). Damanpour and Wischnevsky (2006) have studied antecedents of trailblazing and adoption. Type of organization and scope of innovation were important determinants of innovation. Positive and negative statistically significant associations at the 0.05 level were found between the mean correlations of the three-paired types for specialization, functional differentiation, professionalism, managerial attitude toward change, and technical knowledge. These are internal factors. Camison-Zornoza et al (2004: 350) found types of organization and organizational size correlated significantly with innovation. The associations between organizational variables and innovativeness were not distinguished significantly among the private, non-profit and public sectors, but were by the type of organization (manufacturing, service, non-profit sector) and the scope of innovation (low, high). Damanpour (1991: 583) suggested it was no longer necessary to replicate the results for variables with strong significant results, such as specialization, functional differentiation and external communication in a unidimensional study of innovation. To develop theories, Damanpour recommended studying type of organization (industry, sector, structure, strategy), variance in environmental threats and opportunities for different types of organizations, and multidimensional innovation to better understand the combined effects of different factors (contingencies) on organizational innovativeness (Damanpour, 1991: 582-3).

[vii] Other programs were adopted more slowly, even in Germany: Unemployment insurance in 1927 and family allowances in the German Democratic Republic in 1950 and in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1954.

[viii] Using the Meredith Principle, a compromise in which employers fund a compensation system and share the liability for injured workers. Injured workers receive benefits while they recover, but cannot sue their employers. All Canadian WCB are based on the Meredith Principle. http://www.wscc.nt.ca/about-wscc/meredith-principles

[ix] In the United Kingdom in 1942, Sir William Beveridge recommended a national health service, revised approaches to unemployment relief and slum clearance. The Government of Canada Cabinet Sub-Committee on Reconstruction hired Leonard Marsh to review Canada's existing social programs and assess its future needs; his 1943*Report on Social Security for Canada* was leaked to the press: it recommended central government direction of housing, health care, job creation and full employment.
https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/medicare/medic-3h07e.html

[x] Saskatchewan's first social democratic governments, 1944-64 had been followed by a Liberal government, 1964-71.

[xi] Earlier, Glor (1997) reported Saskatchewan first for day care cost-sharing but Manitoba was first by a couple of months, in the same year. Data is reported by year so they were tied for first. *Source:* Ron Hikel, who worked on the program in Manitoba.

[xii] The Manitoba Basic Annual Income experiment existed 1975-78, and considered assets.

[xiii] For example, in Sept. 2017 the Saskatchewan Assistance Program (welfare) increased allowable assets to the following: a single employable person, a single parent with one child and a couple with two children increased to $10,000, $10,500 and $16,000, respectively. The allowable asset level for a single person with a disability increased to $40,000 (Tweddle & Aldridge, 2018) as a result of a federal initiative.

[xiv] The WCB administrative tribunal was set up under provincial legislation. Such tribunals are commonly known as commissions or boards, and make decisions about a wide variety of issues, including disputes between people or between people and the government.

[xv] According to Wikipedia, the third way is a position akin to centrism that tries to reconcile right-wing and left-wing politics by advocating a varying synthesis of some centre-right and centrist economic and some centre-left social policies. ... The Third Way is promoted by social liberals and some social democratic parties. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Way

[xvi] Farmers owning land or families owning a home but having extremely low-incomes, e.g., were no longer eligible. Two Blakeney government programs were recreated by the Romanow government of the 1990s that performed similar functions to those performed by the Blakeney government innovations. The Building Independence Initiative replaced FIP and the Senior's Income Plan replaced the Saskatchewan Income Plan. Provincial politics, changes in federal cost-sharing and objectives, and political ideology were driving forces in these abolitions and re-creations.

[xvii] In organizational public sector population studies, Author(s) (2013) defined medium-age organizations as between 16 and 30 years old (mean survival period in the medium-term population studies was 22, 26, 27, and 28 years).

[xviii] The government had also introduced strong workplace health and safety legislation, which contributed to the prevention of accidents (Snyder, 2002: 118) and fewer and less serious accidents.

[xix] The Opposition had complained the government had too many personnel and that the government did not provide sufficient information in this regard. Historically, the Blakeney government provided more personnel information than any other government.

[xx] A conversation I had with them suggested they thought focusing on indigenous people was a hard sell but important.

[xxi] "Liberal social democratic" refers to a social democratic government with a strong emphasis on human rights.

[xxii] Berry and Berry (2013) treated ideology and politics as internal factors: internal to the jurisdiction. Here they are treated as external to the government.

[xxiii] Harding, 1995; Hum, 1985a, b; Author, 1997, 2002; GoS budgetary *Estimates*, departmental annual reports, *Public Accounts.*

[xxiv] ANOVA quantifies the predictive value of a predictor or a set of predictors in a model. The predictors can be continuous and/or categorical, and the categorical predictors can be dichotomous or multinominal https://www.researchgate.net/post/When_you_compare_mean_of_more_than_two_groups_by_ANOVA_test_which_post-test_you_recommend_to_find_different_groups2 .

[xxv] During the early years of the Blakeney government, the Liberals were the official Opposition (had the next largest number of seats in the Legislature). In the 1971 election, the NDP won 45 seats and the Liberals 15. In 1975 the NDP won 39 seats, the Liberals 15, the Progressive Conservatives 7. For the most part, the Liberals were partisan but not highly ideological. The NDP was similar. In the 1978 election the NDP won an increased number of seats—44—but the Progressive Conservatives became the Official Opposition with 17 seats. No Liberals were elected.

[xxvi] ESP was changed by the Conservatives to allow business subsidies but did not secure much public support. Lack of support for FIP linked to the issue of the undeserving poor. SIP (seniors) also supported the deserving poor. People actively organized to support SIP and day care.

[xxvii] The logistic (logit) regression model uses a logistic function to model a binary dependent variable (survival/ termination). Mathematically, a binary logistic model has a dependent variable with two possible values; these are represented by an indicator variable, where the two values are labelled "0" and "1". In the logistic model, the log-odds (the logarithm of the odds) for the value labelled "1" is a linear combination of one or more independent variables ("predictors"). The corresponding probability of the value labelled "1" can vary between 0 and 1 (including "0" and "1"), hence the labelling; the function that converts log-odds to probability is the logistic function, hence the name. The unit of measurement for the log-odds scale is called a *logit*, from *logistic unit*, hence the alternative names. The defining characteristic of the logistic model is that increasing one of the independent variables multiplicatively scales the odds of the given outcome at a *constant* rate, with each dependent variable having its own parameter; for a binary independent variable this generalizes the odds ratio. Binary logistic regression is used to predict the odds of being a case based on the values of the independent variables (predictors). The odds are defined as the probability that a particular outcome is a case divided by the probability that it is a noncase. Collected October 3, 2018 at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Logistic_regression

[xxviii] Most of the people in provincial jails were indigenous, usually due to the inability to pay fines.

[xxix] According to Wikipedia, "The 1970s energy crisis was a period when the major industrial countries of the world, particularly the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, faced substantial petroleum shortages, real and perceived, as well as elevated prices. The two worst crises of this period were the 1973 oil crisis and the 1979 energy crisis, when the Yom Kippur War and the Iranian Revolution triggered interruptions in Middle Eastern oil exports." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970s_energy_crisis

[xxx] Eisler (2022) argues Saskatchewan land was over-settled and that eventually a reconning would be required.

[xxxi] 1945, November: City of Swift Current residents voted to *establish Saskatchewan's* first health region. The Swift Current Health Region *was* a self-governing authority that successfully provided a comprehensive range of health care services. After the failure of the federal health insurance proposal in 1946, the CCF government in Saskatchewan moved forwards with its own plan for a provincial hospital services insurance plan. Having already provided provincial funding for the health needs of the indigent, the blind and single mothers in 1945–46, the government of Tommy Douglas proceeded to develop a province-wide plan. https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/medicare/medic-4h05e.html