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**Social Innovation and Governance in
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Juan-Luis Klein
Directeur



NOTES SUR L'AUTEUR

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INTRODUCTION²

While the decades following the Second World War saw a proliferation of social innovations in public administration³, the term 'innovation' as such was rarely mentioned. Instead, emphasis was placed on the main political reforms that led, among others, to the establishment of diverse types of welfare states in the developed countries, in particular through defamilialization and decommodification of public services (Esping-Andersen, 1990). However, over the past two decades, reference to innovations in public administration and public services management has become more commonplace. This growing interest in social innovations can be largely explained as the outcome of reforms inspired by New Public Management (NPM), a new paradigm that emerged in the 1980s (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993).

In this paper we begin by providing an overview of social innovations and show how a great number of these have in fact emerged from the new NPM approach. Thereafter, we take a more critical look at these innovations and discuss alternative views of innovation and governance. In conclusion, we comment on, among others, the specificity of social innovations in public administration and how this topic merits further research.

² We wish to thank Luc Bernier, Director of CERGO (Centre de recherche sur la gouvernance), and Louis Côté, Director of L'Observatoire de l'administration publique (ENAP), for their suggestions and advice concerning, among others, NPM and the public value approach. We also thank Nicolas Charest from ENAP's Observatoire de l'Administration publique for his suggestions concerning the documentation on innovations in public administration. We nevertheless assume full responsibility for the choice of the documents retained as well as for the analyses proposed.

³ This latter can be defined as [translation] 'the entirety of administrative power controlled by the state (directly by departments or by public enterprises)', which is based on 'a network of organizations tasked to accomplish the different missions of the State' and that are oriented toward the general interest (Simard and Bernier, 1992 p. 15). For a more international definition, we refer to the definition proposed by the United Nations (2006).

1. SOCIAL INNOVATION: SOCIETAL PARADIGM AND NEW CLUSTER OF INNOVATIONS

Public administration has become a fertile ground for social innovation, a phenomenon that has been approached from different angles. In most chapters of this book, for example, social innovation carries a more general meaning and is viewed mainly as a process that aims to contribute new solutions to unresolved social problems. A further notion of social innovation focuses on the type of social relationships generated by these innovations, such as organizational innovations (management and coordination relationships) and institutional innovations (power and regulatory relationships) (Lévesque, 2006). In this chapter, we subscribe mostly to the first meaning given to the term, although we do at times make use of the second meaning when it appears expedient, in particular with regard to public services.

Social innovations in public administration and in most public services spread more through institutionalization, namely through the recognition and support of public authorities, than through market forces. Moreover, the role of the state remains significant in market or quasi-market situations, and state-regulated redistribution consolidates the demand for services deemed essential (Le Grand and Bartlett, 1993). In public services, product innovations often become organizational innovations, because [translation] 'the division of tasks, their content, the nature of competencies, the coordination procedures are heavily processed and reconfigured when the content of the service is modified' (Callon, Larédo and Rabeharisoa, 1997, p. 35).

Moreover, some geographical areas are more receptive and conducive than others to social innovations (Moulaert *et al.*, 2005), explaining why the NPM approach has spread differently in different countries (Bezes, 2009, p. 41). Certain historical periods have also been more favourable than others, such as major crises, which are generally overcome through the adoption of generic innovations (transversally, in many sectors of activities). This latter phenomenon generally gives way to clusters of innovation, as shown by Schumpeter (1939). However, innovations following major crises do not spread randomly, but rather in keeping with a socio-technical paradigm that promulgates a new vision of the problems, methods and possible solutions (Freeman, 1991; Freeman and Perez, 1988).

This socio-technical paradigm, which applies to technological innovations, is correlated by a societal paradigm that applies to social innovations (Jenson, 1989; Lévesque, 2005). This new type of paradigm promotes the emergence of radical innovations, such as social innovations that

break into new knowledge domains, but also incremental or 'ordinary' innovations⁴. The societal paradigm also promotes the creation of a path that renders innovations increasingly irreversible.

For a new paradigm to gain foothold, the old paradigm must first have proven itself incapable of providing solutions and responses to the current social problems and demands. Moreover, a transition to a new paradigm requires the building of political and social alliances as well as a change in the sites of power. Further, these changes also presuppose distinct realizations that promote learning and the assimilation of new approaches and the use of new tools (Hall, 1993). For a new societal paradigm to manifest in innovations thus requires not only coalitions and alliances but also entrepreneurs and 'intrapreneurs', including in public administration (Bernier and Hafsi, 2007).

⁴ Ordinary innovation is moreover the title of a book by Alter (2005), who shows well the importance of incremental innovations. The distinction between radical innovation and incremental innovation is generalized in the literature. The few researchers who reserve the term innovation for change that 'represents discontinuity with the past' are an exception (Osborne, 1994; Osborne and Brown, 2005, p. 4-6; also Hartley, 2011). As Bezes (2009) shows for France, Bernier and Hafsi (2010) for Canada, and Hall and Soskice (2001) for Germany and the United States, change is sometimes based mainly on incremental rather than radical innovations.

2. NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT: A NEW SOCIETAL PARADIGM AND A NEW WAVE OF SOCIAL INNOVATION

In this section we show how the New Public Management (NPM) approach has promoted the deployment of social innovations, in particular of the organizational type and the institutional type. For this, we proceed in three steps: 1) we specify the context in which government reforms emerged, including the alliances that allowed for them, 2) we then define NPM in relation to the innovations, and 3) we characterize the main innovation clusters in their relation to governance.

2.1 The reform movement of the state: political parties and political and social alliances

According to Kamarck (2003, p. 2), '[a]t the beginning of the twenty first century many of the world's nation states are engaged in serious efforts to reform their government and inject a culture of innovation into their government's bureaucracies.' The arrival to power of Margaret Thatcher in 1979, Ronald Reagan in 1980 and, to a lesser degree, Brian Mulroney in 1984 could be seen as the turning point that ushered in those to state reforms (Savoie, 1994). Although these reforms were driven by right-wing and neoliberal thinking, they are not the exclusive brainchild of right-wing political parties because they were also pushed by leftist and left-of-centre governments, such as the Labour Government in New Zealand in 1984 and in Australia in 1983, and then by Bill Clinton in 1992 and Tony Blair in 1997. In some countries such as Sweden and the Netherlands, the reforms were less ideological and more pragmatic. And in other countries such as Germany, France and Japan, the effects of the reform movement were more limited than elsewhere, at least until the mid-1990s (Pollit, 2011, p. 7).

Some analyses have well captured the coalitions and alliances behind those reforms. Wood (1995, p. 102), for example, identifies the formation of a coalition bringing together 'accounting firms, financial intermediaries, management consultants and business schools', in sum, a 'coalition of professional and corporate interest.' However, the push in that direction also came from within the state. In that context, a new class of 'top public managers' with a background in neoclassic economics rather than in the social sciences and humanities were predisposed to take on 'analytic work in collegial elite units and to distance themselves from front-line supervisory role in favour of a super-control position which offers more job satisfaction and less tedious routine' (Ibid).

Similarly, in France, where NPM gained ground somewhat later, Bezes (2009, p. 23 and 475) identifies a reformist coalition bringing together both the internal and external actors, comprised of the executive and legislative powers from politics, the ministerial departments and top functionaries from the administrative level, and experts from the professional sphere. The situation in France thus shows:

[translation] traces of a slow conflictual process through which the transversal and centralist coalitions in the [French] state become increasingly more engaged in a dynamic of reaffirming and corroborating the state's authority with regard to its orientation, coordination and control as well as its governance capacities in the face of sectorial departments and multiple actors participating in public action. (Bezes, 2009, p. 26).

At the level of the nation states, one portion of the middle class displayed an interest in an improvement of public services combined with a reduction of taxes, and was amenable to the idea of involving the market in order to get there (Sossin, 2002, p. 85). For different reasons, other segments of society involved in the new social movements were also favourable to reforms likely to ensure a democratization of public services based on the participation of the users, thereby expressing a lack of confidence in the ability of the bureaucratic state to provide democratic accountability (Aucoin, 1995, p. 188 sq). In addition, citizens' groups in certain regions even submitted formal appeals for a decentralization of public administration (Moulaert, 2009; Klein, 2008; Lévesque, 2007).

The government reform movement was supported by most of the big international institutions such the World Bank, the IMF, the United Nations (Department of Economics and Social Affairs) and the OECD (United Nations, 2006). Innovations in public services were encouraged by competitions in many countries, the most known being the American Government Awards Program of the John Kennedy School of Government, which received financial support from the Ford Foundation starting from 1985 and more recently from the Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation. Such initiatives were reproduced in Brazil, Chile, China, East Africa, Mexico, Peru, the Philippines and South Africa (Borins, 2008, p. 2), not to mention Canada, where the IPAC Award has been issued since 1990 (Bernier, Hafsi and Deschamps, 2011, p. 2). The United Nations also grants its United Nations Public Service Awards (United Nations, 2006). In addition to encouraging best practices, these diverse initiatives promote information sharing and the spread of innovations while supporting governments in the modernization of their public administration and the improvement of their public services.

2.2 The NPM approach: ideas and axioms favourable to innovation

NPM can be considered 'a set of new ideas about the role of government' as well as 'a set of managerial innovations in the public sector' (Van de Walle and Hammerschmid, 2011, p. 3 and 6). At the level of ideas, NPM has eclipsed⁵ other management approaches. However, most authors concede that NPM is 'not a well-defined [...] set of reforms' and that it is 'more a recognizable term than a fully established concept' (ibid, p. 4). Moreover, the implementation of the NPM approach presupposes the existence of: 1) the new institutional economy, comprised of public choice, monetarism, and a supply side economy, alongside 2) new management trends characterized by a 'mixture of management theories and business motivation psychology' (König quoted by ibid) as well as a penchant for 'pop management stardom' (Hood, 1991, p. 6).

Both of these theoretical approaches are amenable to the introduction of private business into the public sector and are in essence favourable to innovation. Each also questions the traditional values of public administration in favour of those of efficiency, creativity and risk-taking (Dunn, 2002, p. 101). However, they differ with regard to the degree of autonomy they accord to managers. The first, the new institutional economy, views competition and financial incentives as the key to ensuring compliance to the principal; while the second, new public management, seeks to entrust managers with greater autonomy and leeway so that these can innovate (Pollitt and Dan, 2011, p. 7).

Hood (1991, p. 4 and 5) was the first to characterize NPM as an ideal type that included the following elements: 1) 'Hands-on professional management in the public sector.' This refers to giving more autonomy to those at the head of a public organization by means of a clear sharing of responsibilities and a better accountability. 2) 'Explicit standards and measures of performance.' To this end, the targets, objectives and indicators must be better defined if one wants quantitative evaluations of the performance and a superior accountability. 3) 'Greater emphasis on output controls.' Diverse innovations could be proposed to implement incentives for an improved performance. 4) 'Shift to disaggregation of units in the public sectors,' which aims for a decentralization of administrations and management systems alongside relatively independent operational units with budgets leaving great leeway to managers, the whole with a view to greater effectiveness. 5) 'Shift to a greater competition in public sector.' The aim here is to achieve cost reduction and greater effectiveness by introducing competition among units within or outside of the public sector through tendering procedures. 6) 'Stress on private-sector styles of management practice' through the introduction of private sector management tools in the public sector, leading to, among other results, more flexibility in the hiring of personnel.

⁵ It predominates to the point where 'the number of empirical studies concerning the introduction of NPM in public sector organizations is virtually uncountable' (Diefenbach, 2009, p. 982).

7) 'Stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use.' Following the example of the private sector, public administration is encouraged to be more frugal and to reduce costs, in particular concerning human resources.

This definition of NPM, inspired mainly by the British experience, provides elements found in many government documents, in particular in those of Anglo-Saxon countries. As noted by Hughes (2008, p. 4), the two latest elements are 'hands-on professional management and disaggregation.' In fact, the separation of the political (steering) from the operational (rowing) functions and the [translation] 'adaptation of a multi-divisional organizational model to be used for downsizing central administrations for the benefit of small independent operational units in charge of public policies' are two phenomena that represent a reversal of trends (Bezes, 2009, p. 24). However, what appears new to us is above all the emphasis placed on elements that did exist before but that were rather marginal, such as the emphasis on outputs and outcomes rather than on inputs and processes, or the values of effectiveness and efficiency instead of universalism and equity (Pollitt and Dan, 2011). The above-mentioned definition of NPM has thus led to a new vision of public administration.

In this perspective, that definition can be retained as a starting point, especially as it is the first to have been formulated. As indicated by Bernier and Angers (2010), many other researchers thereafter developed their own definition; however, the added elements such as client orientation have not substantially modified the vision imparted by this first definition (Aucoin, 1990; Bezes, 2009; Emery and Giauque, 2005; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Pollitt and Dan, 2011). Lastly, as we shall see in the following section, that paradigm gives way to a new space for social innovations in public administration.

2.3 A new wave of social innovations

The state reforms and the wave of innovation resulting from these took place in two stages. The first, from the 1980s, was centered on economic liberalization, the privatization of state corporations and the reduction of public spending, all in compliance with the goals of monetarism and supply side economics (Sossin, 2002, p. 77; Bezes, 2009, p. 23). The second stage, from the 1990s and 2000s, was focused more on administrative reforms and the modernization of the state, with the goal to make services more efficient and more responsible with regard to users. This latter stage also generated a 'set of managerial and service delivery innovations' (Van de Walle and Hammerschmid, 2011, p. 3 and 6).

Although the various countries differed with regard to the types of reforms they adopted, over time the concepts spread 'from one country to another, often without even changing terminology,' as demonstrated by the 'Customer Charters' in the United Kingdom and the 'Citizen's Charters' in the United States (Kamarck, 2006, p. 5 and 21). As to the question of whether NPM represents a model (pattern), Pollitt (2011, p. 2) responds that 'yes, there has been a discernable pattern to the public management reforms which have swept over so many of the European, North American and Australian countries (not to speak of elsewhere) in the three decades since 1980.' He subsequently advises to exercise prudence, especially as studies have also revealed a significant gap between the discourse and reality (Ibid, p. 9).

In keeping with the characteristics of NPM already discussed, social innovations branch off into many different directions. In the framework of a greater autonomy for managers, the distinction between steering and rowing, and an orientation given by the mission (mission driven), many innovations will be pursued. The quest for performance and efficiency opens up a large space for defining new indicators for measuring outputs and for conceiving innovative methods and procedures for performance-based management and budgeting. Similarly, the emphasis on monitoring results rather than processes has led to innovations concerning client orientation, the improvement of the quality of services (e.g., TQM), significant modalities for resource allocation and evaluation, not to mention 'a focus on organisational capacity building' (Levy, 2011, p. 20). The disaggregation of public services administration as a whole into specialized service units opens up a territory of innovation that features relatively independent agencies, partnerships such as public-private partnerships (PPP), decentralization toward regions and local communities, non-profit organizations and devolutions. The transition to greater competition in the public sector promotes 1) a redesign of the contractual and quasi-contractual processes entered into between the central directions and the agencies, and even between the units of independent agencies, 2) a proliferation of calls for tenders, 3) the establishment of quasi-markets open to both the private and the non-profit sector as well as the social economy. The emphasis on private sector-based management and on a 'customer driven government' encourages innovation to embrace new management modes, new organizational forms (lean organization), new ways of recruiting and remunerating personnel, business processes renewing, new forms of work organization, and new relationships to users. Lastly, the accent on greater discipline and parsimony in the use of public resources has generated a greater awareness for the need to achieve greater productivity alongside cost reductions. In particular human resources costs have been targeted for reductions, usually by encouraging staff to take voluntary retirement (here, the public sector appears to have taken the cue from the private sector).

Diverse listings of innovations in public administration exist, for example those based on the many applications submitted to award competitions, which allows to identify achievements from

the point of view of both the actors and the experts (Bernier, Hafsi and Deschamps, 2010; Borins, 2008). There are also typologies that highlight the scope of innovations in public administration and public services, namely incremental innovations (e.g., providing a service to a larger clientele, or providing more choices for a service), radical innovations (participation of users in the development of a policy on home care services) and 'systemic and transformative innovations' (e.g., creation of autonomous agencies) (Mulgan and Albury, 2003). This last category can only take shape 'when the organizations develop the appropriate alignment of culture, systems management methods and processes that embed innovation in the fabric of the organizations' (ibid., p. 33).

For our part, we find it useful to distinguish, within social innovations, organizational innovations from institutional institutions, in particular in public administration, where NPM tends to separate what belongs to steering from what belongs to rowing. In this way we find, among the organizational innovations in public services, innovations concerning flexibility in management, new modes of work organization, modalities for recruiting functionaries and promotion, new modalities of accountability, the use and control of allocated budgets, new performance management tools, evaluation methods, initiatives for providing users with more choices, charters for citizens or users, and modalities for the provision of services. The institutional innovations comprise everything else from the political domain as such, including: the revision of the field of competency of the state apparatus; the reciprocal role of elected government officials and managers; the modalities for distinguishing between steering and rowing; the decentralization or delegation of public services; the creation of relatively independent administrative entities such as the agencies; externalization; and the delegation of power, partnership and privatization (Bezes, 2009, p. 23-24).

As it would go beyond the scope of this paper to present all innovations in public administration, we shall conclude with an examination of two categories of innovations that appear to us as the most significant, namely the creation of the independent agencies and the Alternative Services Delivery approach. The creation of agencies that are [translation] 'at the heart of the NPM reforms' (Emery and Giauque, 2005, p. 138) responds to many objectives, such as breaking the monolithic block represented by the bureaucracy, providing managers with more autonomy in view of promoting innovation, creating more direct relationships with users, and improving efficiency and the accountability of services. Two large types of agencies were created, the 'executive agencies' in the United Kingdom (Next Steps), located within a department, and separate service agencies, created starting from a specific legislation (statutory service agencies).

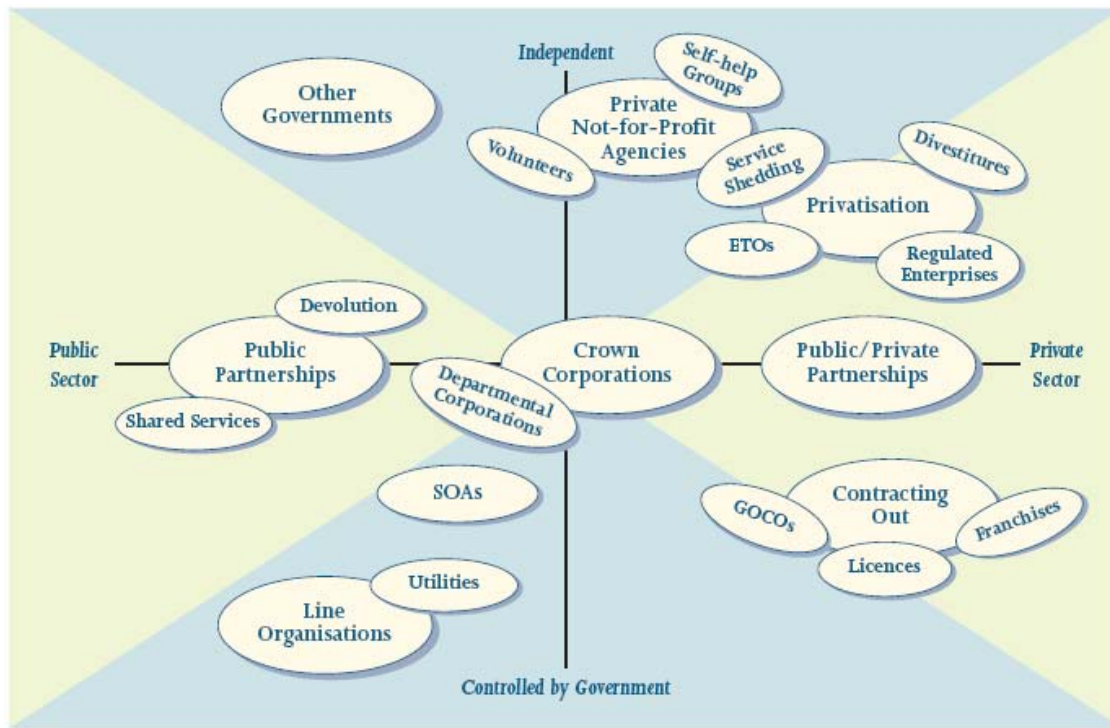
Many countries, among them the United States ('performance-based organizations'), New Zealand (State Owned Enterprise, SOE), Japan and Canada ('special operating delivery'), have implemented 'executive agencies, but it was the United Kingdom that engaged in the most

massive effort of creating such agencies, involving 76% of all civil servants of that country' (Borins, 2002, p. 9). In 1998 and 2002, the Labour Government renewed its support to the agencies while making modifications aiming among others for better political control (some referred to this as 'de-agencification') (Elston, 2011). Canada, for its part, stopped creating new 'special operating agencies' (SOAs)⁶ in 1997, in favour of separate agencies or 'statutory service agencies.' Elsewhere, such as in Australia, many categories of agencies exist, including one where the employees are exempted from the regulations normally governing public servants (Australian Government, 2011).

The programs Next Steps (1988) in England, Public Service 2000 (1989) in Canada and Renouveau du Service public (1989) in France constitute programs for rethinking public services alongside the structures intended to ensure delivery. Canada has put forth an approach called Alternative Service Delivery (ASD), the framework of which was first proposed in 1993 and then fine-tuned (Wilkins, 2011, p. 6). According to Good and Carin (2002, p. 4), ASD 'is a uniquely Canadian term that has gained currency as a worldwide phenomenon.' The approach mobilizes diverse institutional innovations (e.g., agencies or partnerships) and aims to improve the delivery of services by working toward a 'citizen-focused service delivery' (Zussman, 2002, p. 53). From this angle, it is sometimes presented as 'a creative and dynamic process of public sector restructuring that improves the delivery of services to clients by sharing governance function with individuals, community groups and other entities' (Ford and Zussman, 1997, p. 6).

As Figure I shows, service delivery can be provided by four clusters of organizations, namely the public sector (including Line organizations and SOAs, or devolution to other levels of government), the private sector (through independent entities, such as the associations and social economy businesses, businesses taken over employees), and state-run organizations, through licenses, contracting out and government-owned contractors operated (GOCOs). The partnerships serve to interlink organizations that are exclusively public (between agencies, for example) or that are private and public, as is the case with public-private partnerships (PPP).

⁶ As pointed out by Wilkins (2011: 5), 'subsequent stocktaking resulted in some SOAs being privatised, repatriated to departments or retained with tighter parameters.' See also Edward (2001), who indicates that he had been wise to proceed rather slowly with SOAs.

Figure 1: Delivery Options

John Wilkins, Commonwealth Secretariat (2011 :3)

What is new in the case of the ASD is a question grid that allows to choose the most appropriate institutional form on the basis of a bottom-up, case-by-case approach. If we want public services to be innovative, their production and delivery should take into consideration ‘the “public sector service value chain” and the connection between employee commitment, quality public services, client satisfaction and citizens’ confidence in government (Wilkins, 2011: 1). The institutional innovations resulting from these restructurings or the decisions to implement improvements can lead to a full-fledged series of organizational innovations. The diversity of the institutions and organizations involved in the delivery of services (see Figure 1) and in the integration of the value chain in the production of services, including through the mobilization of stakeholders (suppliers, users and the affected community), constitutes a matrix of innovation. Apart from the institutional innovations already mentioned and the organizational innovations around the improvement of services, governance appears ‘at the heart of ASD’ (Wilkins, 2011: 9) and, in the best of cases, manifests as shared governance (Desautels, 1999).

3. LIMITS OF NPM AND SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES

The reforms and innovations realized with the NPM approach have produced significant changes in the restructuring of the administration (Aucoin, 2002, p. 115). However, they have also revealed observable limits in most countries. In the following we will present some of these limits, followed by an examination of possible alternatives in terms of governance and innovation.

3.1 Limits of the reforms and innovations generated by NPM

Over the past years, 'some governments realised that not everything about NPM has worked out as intended' (Vries, 2010, p. 4) thereby revealing the 'dark sides of managerialistic enlightenment' (Diefenbach, 2009). Many experts view the innovations coming out of NPM as a relative failure (Merrien, 1999, p. 101), while some even regard this approach as utterly doomed (Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow and Tinkler, 2005). On the whole, caution is advised because despite the great number of studies on 'the effect of specific subsets of reform' (Van de Walle and Hammerschmid, 2011, p. 16), we still do not have 'solid scientific knowledge of the general outcomes of all this thinking and activity' (Pollitt and Dan, 2011, p. 31).

The limits of the reforms and innovations generated by NPM result in great part from creative tensions that have become less creative over time (Emery and Giaque, 2005, p. 124 sq.). As examining these tensions in detail would exceed the scope of this paper, we shall focus on two of them, the tension between the political (steering) and the administrative (rowing) functions, and the tension concerning the disintegration of bureaucracy in favour of independent and specialized units. Both of these reforms have given way to a double fragmentation: a vertical fragmentation between the political and the administration, and a horizontal fragmentation between the diverse and relatively specialized independent units (Van de Wall and Hammerschmid, 2011, p. 11; Aucoin, 2002, p. 49). This double fragmentation has created a serious governance problem that cannot be resolved by market regulation. For one, it has led to a loss of control of the political with regard to the strategic management of diverse services, thereby posing a regulatory problem. Some speak of a 'fragmented state,' a 'state of agents' or even a 'shadow state' or 'hollow state' (Heinrich *et al.*, 2009; Greve, 2008; Milward and Provan, 2000). Secondly, the double fragmentation has made it more difficult to ensure the coordination of the specialized and independent units for activities that address many policies at the same time (e.g., policies on global warming, poverty and social exclusion). Moreover, a collaboration between the diverse departments and services is hardly encouraged by the other innovations

represented by the new control, evaluation and incentive systems. This is compounded by other negative consequences such as duplication and waste.

For Emery and Giauque (2005, p. 95 and 100), the separation between the political (steering) and the administrative (rowing) functions is in part artificial and little realistic because steering consists of integrating policies and service provisions. As a consequence, it becomes difficult to completely distinguish the how, which concerns the management of public organizations (among them efficiency), from the what, defined by the mission resulting from political deliberation and the content of which allows to assess whether the realized activity is efficient or not. 'In this regard, the argument that public management reform entails a fundamental distinction between the steering and rowing functions of government is too often misleading or simply wrong' (Aucoin, 2002, p. 45).

Moreover, the emphasis placed on the evaluation of results rather than on the process lead to a managerialization of politics and a politicization of the administrative level. The functioning of public organizations is above all ensured by administrative officers, but by focusing their evaluation on the results and by forwarding the brunt of the information to the elected government officials, who evaluate the policy's effectiveness by reviewing [translation] 'the orientation of the policies on the basis of operational details' (Emery and Giauque, p. 125). In the absence of indicators concerning the political objectives, steering becomes inevitably encumbered, especially given that 'the political capacity of government' has been reduced (Aucoin, 2002, p. 44). Instead of contributing to clarify the respective role of the political and the operational, NPM thereby leads to a confusion of roles.

In this perspective, we observe the beginning of a reversal of trends in the countries that were the first to adopt NPM, such as the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Under the Blair government, the Next Steps agencies were not abandoned but were clearly subordinated to their departments, while some were merged or completely integrated into the department they fell under (Pollitt, 2011, p. 12; Good and Carin, 2003, p. 17). Likewise, in his report on New Zealand, Schick (1996) reminds that a democratic government should be at once connected to and separated from the organizations tasked with its administration. In that context, 'a greater need for outcome focus rather than measuring production outputs, and the need for more coordination beyond the boundaries of single public organizations' were identified (Van de Walle and Hammerschmid, 2011, p. 21). As we shall see in the following, approaches other than NPM have been proposed to encourage new forms of governance and innovations of a more participatory nature.

3.2 Networked governance and collaborative innovations

For over a decade, NPM seems have reached its peak, 'thus requiring us to look beyond or transcend NPM' (Christensen and Laegreid, 2011, p. 12). In this perspective, many countries have begun to amend the NPM-inspired reforms and new avenues of thought are already spurring different social innovations. Of these new avenues, the three that are most often mentioned are: 'the new Weberian state which aims to restore the legitimacy of the state by placing more emphasis on non-economic value and societal problem;' the theories concerning the relationships between 'the state, civil society and the market;' and 'the government-governance theory about vertical and horizontal steering with the so-called network society' (Vries, 2010, p. 3). As evidenced by the 'public value management' approach, these diverse visions overlap in many regards, in particular concerning governance and innovations (Benington and Moore, 2011; Moore, 1995).

3.2.1 Toward a collaborative governance

Concerning public administration, Paradeise *et al.* (2007, p. 89) advance that 'an emergent model is best represented in the mid-2000s as integrating governance.' The NPM-inspired reforms have turned the welfare state into a kind of 'welfare pluralism' or 'welfare mix' that features a diversity of relatively independent actors in the delivery of services (Evers and Laville, 2004; Pestoff, 1995). As a result of contrasting, if not conflicting, institutional arrangements, the governments have had to become involved in networks to ensure the realization of activities that pertain to the public interest. This explains the diversity of governance approaches that has emerged, as evidenced by the extensive range of terms that are in use: networked governance, distributed public governance, integrated governance, joined-up governance, holistic governance, new public governance, digital-era governance, collaborative governance, whole-of government. However, 'the most crucial difference with NPM is that they do not just focus on steering, but also on following through to implementation and delivery.' Moreover, 'some of the new and emerging models for collaboration, cooperation and eventually coordination reaffirm the role of government' (Van de Walle and Hammerschmid, 2011, p. 22).

In this regard, the public value management approach merits further consideration, despite its drawbacks, in particular those concerning the Westminster model and the roles of elected government officials and public servants (Rhodes and Wanna, 2011). According to this approach, which was first formalized by Moore (1995), 'the governance of the public realm involves networks of deliberation and delivery in pursuit of public value' (Stoker, 2005, p. 47). This new understanding can be characterized by the following four recommendations. First, 'public

interventions are defined by the search for public value.' The meaning and need for the delivery of services is shaped by the framework of exchanges between the stakeholders and the government officials, among other reasons because the collective preferences and the public value have not yet solidified into coherent entities and have yet to be established (Côté et Lévesque, 2009, p. 37 sq.). Second, the legitimacy of a large range of stakeholders must be recognized and appropriate means must be found for obtaining their participation. Third, 'an open-minded, relationship approach to the procurement of services is framed by a public service ethos.' This requires acquiring the means to choose the best suppliers, be they from the public, associative, or even the private sector. When making a choice, both the 'ethic of public service' and 'a public service ethos' should be taken into consideration. Fourth, 'an adaptable and learning-based approach to the challenge of public service delivery is required' (Stoker, 2005, p. 49).

As affirmed by O'Flynn (2007, p. 353), 'within this research for meaning and direction a public value approach is attracting considerable interest, both in practitioner and academic circles.' By reintroducing deliberation and public value, this approach aligns with theories of heterodox economists who have shown, for one, that collective preferences are not necessarily readily discernible (Monnier and Thiry, 1997) and, secondly, that the range of rationales for action extends far beyond mere self-interest, without denying the importance of the latter (Boltanski and Chapiello, 1999; Enjolras, 2008). Moreover, unlike hierarchical coordination and market coordination, coordination through networks can be based on both horizontality, as in market coordination, and on involvement, as in hierarchical coordination (Hollingsworth and Boyer, 1997). The network thereby functions as a specific form of coordination, although, to become a mode of governance, it must be able to 'play a role in steering, setting directions and influencing behaviour.' And that role cannot be fully assumed without an identity and mutually shared trust (Parker, 2007, p. 4).

As we shall see in the chapter on social innovations in Quebec (see Klein *et al.* in this work), the actors involved in public services in the framework of a governance qualified as partnership-based cannot only participate in the co-production of a service (as is the case with parents involved in a school committee), but also co-develop or co-build a public policy starting from a consultation with elected government officials and representatives from senior public administration (Pestoff, 2009; Vaillancourt, 2009; Côté et Lévesque, 2009). As concerns managers and public administrators, this form of governance presupposes major learning investments and 'longer-term relationship management skills' due to the emphasis put on the deliberation and collaborative construction of the public value (O'Flynn, 2007, p. 362). This comprises significant challenges, the importance of which should not be under-estimated. Very critical of this approach, Rhodes and Wanna (2007, p. 417) nevertheless write: 'Such a philosophical challenge has not been seen since neo-liberal and public choice theories

revolutionised public management in the 1980s. Table 1 demonstrates how public value management (Moore, 1995) differs from both traditional public administration and from NPM.

Table 1: Three theories of public administration and governance

	Traditional public administration	New public management (NPM)	Public value management
State	Inserted and generally interventionist	Limited (privatization and deregulation)	Located (no exterior) and partner
Governance through actors	Hierarchies Public servants	Markets Purchasers and providers Clients to contractors	Networks and partnerships Collaborative governance Civil leadership
Role of policy-makers	'Commanders'	'Announcers/ commissioners'	'Leaders and interpreters'
Role of public managers	'Clerks and martyrs'	Efficiency and market maximizers	'Explorers'
Role of the population	Citizen user	Customers	Co-producers and citizens
Strategy	State and producer-centred	Market and customer-centred	Shaped by civil society and state
Key concepts	Public goods	Public choice	Public value
Needs/problems	'Straightforward, defined by professionals'	'Wants, expressed through the market'	'Complex, volatile and prone to risk'
Innovation	Some large-scale, national and universal innovations (compare social net in welfare state)	Innovation in organizational form more than content Process Radical innovation	Innovation at both central and local levels Collaborative and incremental innovation

Adapted from Hartley (2005, p. 28 and 29), Stoker (2006) and Lévesque (2005).

3.2.2 Open innovations and collaborative innovations

According to the NPM perspective, innovation is initiated and conducted by the producers. To get there, NPM makes two requests (Verhoest *et al.*, 2007, p. 470-471). One, 'Let public managers innovate', in compliance with the managerial approach, and two, aligned with public choice theory, 'Make public managers innovate', namely by exerting internal pressure (control) on the latter and external pressure by creating competition. In sum, for innovation, NPM looks to the capitalist entrepreneur as a reference, while ignoring the specificity of 'political-administrative pressure-responses' (Ibid, p. 484 and 489). From this angle, innovation could be categorized more as closed than as open innovation (Chesbourg, 2003).

In the framework of collaborative governance, innovation that involves and integrates users represents a form of open innovation. Thereby, collaborative innovation can be defined as:

an externally focused, collaborative approach to innovation and problem solving in the public sector that relies on harnessing the resources and the creativity of external networks and communities (including citizen networks as well as networks of nonprofits and private corporations) to amplify or enhance the innovation speed as well as the range and quality of innovation outcomes (or solutions) (Nambisan, 2008, p. 11).

More broadly, it can be specified by 1) shared objectives and goals that strengthen the network while giving it a direction, 2) a shared vision of the world and a social conscience for interpreting the dynamic of the external environment in a consistent way, 3) the capacity to create social knowledge through interactions and dialogue among the members of the network, 4) an architecture of participation that supplies governance mechanisms allowing users to participate in discussions or deliberation, and an integration that ensures that the benefits and spinoffs benefit all members (Ibid, p. 12).

From the point of view of the relationship to the state and the community, collaborative innovations can be distinguished on the basis of two dimensions, one being the nature of innovation or the problem (whether well defined or little defined) to be solved, and the second being the nature of the leadership and the arrangements of collaboration (leadership ensured by the government or by the community). Concerning a cross-over of these two dimensions and the two possibilities that each offer, Nambisan (ibid) identifies four types of contributions from public administration. When the problem is not well defined and the services relatively new, two scenarios can take place. In one, the government exerts leadership as 'innovation seeker' in the search of new ideas with citizens and researchers, and in the second, leadership comes from within the community in an informal structure, with the government acting as 'champion

innovator' by interconnecting the partners (e.g., citizens and non-profit associations) to find innovative solutions. Cases where the problem is well defined and services already in place also result in two scenarios. In the first, the government exerts leadership by acting as 'innovation integrator' by facilitating the integration of diverse contributions for a final production, and in the second, the community exerts leadership in an informal structure while the government acts as 'innovation catalyst'.

Collaborative innovation undoubtedly allows for innovations that are better adapted to the users and their community. Apart from the case of downright failure, innovations that spread do not necessarily constitute improvements, be it from the point of view of the organization or the users, explaining the importance of collaborative governance (Hartley, 2011). As was observed in United Kingdom, innovation encouraged only for the sake of performance sometimes leads to 'hyper-innovation', which can be as harmful as 'a shortage of innovation' (Ibid, p. 171).

Lastly, collaborative innovations in the framework of a networked governance (collaborative) can reduce risk in various ways (Hartley, 2011, p. 181). First, they promote information sharing and good practices between organizations, thereby contributing to the success of the experiments and the reduction of failures. Secondly, by focusing on the process and its development stages and by considering that '[h]ow services are provided has an impact on the public sphere as well as what is provided', collaborative innovations allow not only to reduce costs but also to anticipate what is feasible from one stage to the next. Thirdly, from the point of view of risk reduction, such innovations are well adapted to public services that are multidimensional and that comprise a high number of stakeholders, namely users, citizens, managers and personnel, politicians and their advisers, the media, interest groups, and lobbies. In sum, to the extent that they encourage deliberation and even co-construction, collaborative innovation ensures not only greater support but also better conditions for success due to, in particular, the mobilized tangible and intangible resources, in particular for the production of services normally provided by a welfare state (Von Hippel, 2005, p. 73).

CONCLUSION

Two conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing discussion. The first concerns the course of social innovations in public administration over the three past decades. The second concerns the specificity of social innovations in that domain combined with the importance of giving these more attention if aiming for a theory of innovation that is not limited to the private sector.

While public administration has traditionally been considered very little favourable to innovation, it has become rather fertile subsequent to the adoption of a vision and of reforms and by looking to private enterprise for not only organizational innovations (e.g., management modes and incentives for innovation) but also for institutional innovations such as the creation of internal independent entities and the provision of external entities (quasi public, private and non-profit associative). Some of these innovations represent imitations of what the private sector had already realized and constitute 'creative destructions.' This vision and its associated concepts have spread to all developed countries and even beyond, although with contrasting configurations, an analysis of which would exceed the scope this chapter.

NPM here represents a paradigm for putting this set of innovations into a coherent framework and for promoting their spread. With time, the reforms adopted have revealed their limit from the point of view of governance and the relative loss of control and expertise of the state. Thereby, new avenues of thinking have emerged. And although NPM continues to be predominant for the moment, these new avenues are spurring new waves of innovation that call for a reframing and redefinition of the public value, deliberation and user participation with the view to improving governance and creating a more collaborative innovation. It would be premature to advance that these new avenues will one day become as dominant as NPM, especially since such avenues could only take root if new alliances were forged both within and outside the state. However, predominant or not, these new avenues are nevertheless provoking changes in public services and are giving way to new relationships between the state, the market and civil society (Lévesque, 2003). This prompts us to find out whether these new innovations will promote the emergence of a renewed administration by hybridation with the existing one or whether they will lead to a form of sedimentation, which would have a more limited impact (Thelen, 2004). We tend to argue that hybridation could prevail in some societies and sedimentation in others, depending on the country.

Lastly, despite a certain mimetism of NPM with regard of the private, we wish to underline that the course of innovation taken in the public sector reveals significant specificities. The sector is subjected to the same economic constraints to innovation facing other sectors, albeit with a

certain delay. In addition, it must deal with additional constraints pertaining to the political realm and public opinion. Moreover, the spread of innovations in the public sector is not ensured by the market but by institutionalization, which essentially consists of the recognition and support of public authorities. Here as well, radical innovations must be justified before being adopted, explaining the role, undoubtedly more determining here than elsewhere, of a societal paradigm and a narrative thread that gives them not only direction but also meaning. However, such a societal paradigm only establishes itself in a sector such as public administration if it is carried by large social alliances. Moreover, while in the private sector innovations are considered as good if they make a profit, the same cannot be said for the public sector, where they are not only expected to be beneficial to the organization but also to make improvements to public value, or to contribute to the creation of public value. In that context, public administration cannot pursue 'creative destructions' as if the negative consequences were externalities (in the domain of public value, there are no externalities strictly speaking), explaining its penchant for pilot projects as well as open and incremental innovations. Innovations of rupture are normally preceded by debates within society. In sum, innovations in public administration would be a lot more complex from the point of view of processes. For all these reasons, it appears to us that researchers and professionals specialized in innovation can no longer ignore the domain of public administration, especially if they want to contribute to building an innovation theory that would be applicable to more than just the private sector.

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