Changing Public Service Values: Limits of Fundamental Reform and Rhetoric

by

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B.A., University British Columbia 1979
M.Sc., University of British Columbia, 1983

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the School of Public Administration

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University of Victoria

Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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This study of public service reform examined how the Liberal BC government attempted to convince public servants to adopt private sector-type work values (referred to in this study as contemporary values). To accomplish this goal, government top advisers designed a change management program for senior managers known as Public Service Renewal. The research problem was framed as a special case of change management to investigate what until now have been unanswered questions on the adoption of new, contemporary work values in the public service. The study asked questions about the government's reform strategies, change management processes, rhetorical tactics, and the extent to which values currently held by public servants reflected new public service work values promoted by the BC government.

The main findings of this study are that BC's senior public servants hold strong traditional Westminster-based values concerning public servants' commitment to serve the public good, be respectful of the government of the day, behave responsibly and be willing to be held accountable and above all, take pride in public service integrity. The value profile of senior public service managers presented in this study shows these traditional values to be relatively robust as there was only minimal adoption of contemporary values.

The study also highlights the important role played by socio-demographic variables in determining public servants' orientation towards their work values. There were significant value differences between men and women, between managers who worked in social and land

ministries and between managers older and younger than 45 years of age. Other value differences were found between managers engaged at the (senior) strategic levels in the organization and those who ranked lower in the hierarchy, and between managers who have been with the government for more than 15.5 years and those who have lesser seniority.

The research further established empirical support for the construct of contemporary values and suggests that traditional values may be weakening, presumably as the result of the latest wave of public sector reform known as the New Public Management.

Based on these key findings this study concludes that the BC government's effort to encourage the public service to adopt contemporary work values did not succeed. Several factors contributed to this lack of success including the normative perspective of the New Public Management which holds the unproven view that private sector management principles create a more effective and efficient public service. Other contributing factors included incoming politicians wary of the public service, inconsistencies between rhetoric and reality, fragmentation and ultimate demise of the original vision of Public Service Renewal, shortcomings of the implementation process, and the persistence of traditional public sector work values.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the expert guidance and support of my dissertation committee. I am particularly indebted to my supervisor Professor Evert Lindquist for his inspirational guidance and support during the research process and during the writing of this dissertation. I am also especially grateful to Professor Jim McDavid for his support and special assistance with the quantitative components of the research.

I would like to acknowledge the senior officials of the Public Service Agency for providing access to archival data, for allowing me to carry out a survey of senior managers and for their overall support for this research. I would also like to express my appreciation to Angela Matheson of BC Stats for her assistance in administering the survey and for working with me on the statistical analysis of the results. In addition, I would like to thank senior public servants for granting me interviews and sharing their knowledge in support of the research.

Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge my friends as well as colleagues inside and outside the School of Public Administration for their continued interest and encouragement. I am particularly grateful to Cindy Vallance for her moral and practical support.

Finally, I would like to thank my sons Anami and Erik for their encouragement and confidence in my research efforts. My special thanks are reserved for my husband Haren whose infinite patience, unwavering support and love was instrumental in completing this work and without whom this dissertation would not have been possible.

PART ONE – OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1 Introduction

On May 18, 2001 the BC Liberals soundly defeated the New Democratic Party in the British Columbia provincial election. The Liberals won 57% of the popular vote and all but two of the 79 seats in the Legislature. After ten years in opposition and coming to power for the first time in the province's history, the Liberals were ready and eager to govern. They brought in a detailed, well thought out and revolutionary agenda founded on its political ideology and public sector reforms in the UK, New Zealand, Ontario and Alberta.

Without official opposition in the Legislative Assembly and with the support of the majority of the voting public the new government was emboldened to realize its fiscally conservative agenda quickly and forcefully. The Liberal reform agenda included plans to reduce the size of government through cutting programs and by restructuring the governing apparatus including the privatization of large programs such as BC Ferries and BC Rail, contracting out government services to the private sector, and devolving programs to the non-profit sector.

The Liberal government also undertook to reduce the influence of organized labour by using legislation to declare all negotiated collective agreements in the community health and social sectors null and void. Its agenda for reforming the BC public service included laying-off one third of the workforce, introducing and inculcating business-type management work values and concentrating human resource management into one central agency. This dissertation is a study of the Liberal government's reform of the public service.

Public service reform, which for the most part is concerned with changing work values and work behaviours of career public servants, is integral to large scale public sector reforms (presently known as the New Public Management), begun in the UK in the early 1980s and

adopted by many OECD governments including Canada over the past 25 years. The New Public Management was a reaction to globalization, the technology revolution, government fiscal problems, public demands for quality services, and pressures from supra-national organizations (Kernaghan, Marson, & Borins, 2000; Savoie, 1995).

Reform measures were designed to reverse government growth, eliminate annual deficits and make governments run better. They include the introduction of market-type mechanisms such as privatization of government services, establishment of state-owned enterprises, formation of independent agencies, and creation of internal markets (Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1991; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). The internal organizational components of reform are characterized by private sector-based work values, emphasis on results, a shift from tenured employment for top public servants to time-limited contracts, use of performance management systems, a reduction in the advisory role of senior public servants, and cuts to the public service (Boston, Martin, Pallot, & Walsh, 1991; Kettle, 1994). While the reform movement has sometimes been regarded as a global public management revolution (Kettle, 1994), the specific reform configurations vary from country to country depending on their history and prevailing conditions (Aucoin, 1995a; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000).

New Public Management ideas were consistent with the BC Liberals' political ideology and promised to meet several of the new government's fiscal and organizational objectives. There were additional advantages to adopting the New Public Management. It had been implemented internationally which gave it credibility, it was applied with some success in two like-minded Canadian provinces and it provided a ready-made model of public service reform on which to superimpose the BC government's unique ambition to radically change the public service culture. The BC Liberals public service reform was highly distinctive, not only by its far-

reaching scope, significant depth and degree of comprehensiveness, but also by its consistent and sustained efforts which, while transformed over time, went beyond the period covered by this study and was still ongoing at the end of the Liberals' second term of office.

Research Problem

This study consists of an examination of the BC government's radical change agenda for the public service, known as Public Service Renewal with a focus on the goal of realigning public servants' work values. The research problem is conceptualized as a special case of change management to investigate what until now have been unanswered questions on the adoption of new, private sector type work values in the public service.

The government's change management task was complex for three reasons. First, realignment of public service values was part of other radical changes brought in by the Liberal government. The value realignment program must therefore be managed, both in isolation and as part of the larger New Public Management agenda. Second, in Westminster type countries the public service has long been a key governing instrument with strong traditions, clearly defined responsibilities and well-known expectations. The public sector environment created by the New Public Management has resulted in different definitions and modified roles that are less well understood and could potentially confound the realignment process. Third, the identity of public servants is largely defined by their traditional role and rests on a framework of long-established public sector values (Lindquist & Pacquet, 2000). A deliberate attempt to replace these values with a different value framework may present exceptional challenges to the change management effort. Within this context the research intends to document the government's management of its value realignment agenda, to analyze how this effort was rhetorically framed, and to report on

the relative success of the realignment. The following section sets out the specific research questions designed to provide answers to the different dimensions of the research problem.

Research Questions

1. Since structural and organizational expression of the New Public Management has been shaped differently in various Anglo-American countries it is likely that the BC Liberals would create their own version of public sector reform. The contours of this reform may influence the relative success of the adoption of new work values by the BC public service. Therefore the first question sets the context for public service reform.

   What strategies did the BC government select to bring about its version of New Public Management?

2. The change management literature suggests that successful implementation of organizational change involves the use of proven change management principles (Dalziel & Schoonover, 1988; Eccles, 1994; Kennedy, 2002; Kotter, 1996). The second question explores the degree to which the implementation of BC's public service reform was consistent with proven change management principles.

   What change management process did the BC government use to implement public service reform?

3. Rhetoric is of central importance to organizational change as employees must be persuaded to accept, support and implement changes desired by their leaders. Rhetoric is even more important when change involves modifying institutional values which tend to be resistant to change (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Roe & Ester, 1999; Schuh, 2006). To the degree that

BC public servants adhere to traditional institutional values, changing theses values poses a significant rhetorical challenge. The third question examines the application of rhetoric.

What rhetoric did the BC government use to persuade public servants to accept its reform doctrines and a new work value framework?

4. Changing work values will only be successful if they become permanently embedded in the organization (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996; Parker & Bradley, 2000). Depending upon the quality of the change management program and the strength of the rhetoric there will be evidence of a shift in work values in the BC public service. The fourth question will investigate this shift in values.

To what degree do values currently held by public servants reflect new public service work values promoted by the BC government?

5. The literature on individual differences indicates that there are differences in work values between men and women (Elizur, 1994), and between organizational position, age and tenure (Harris, 1990; Thumin, Johnson Jr., & Kuehl, 1995). While these studies are situated in the private sector similar differences are likely to exist in public sector organizations. The fifth question will explore the effect of socio-demographic variables on public service work values in BC.

To what extent does the value framework currently held by public servants reflect socio-demographic differences?

Literatures Consulted

This dissertation brings together three independent but related areas of prior research to study BC's radical reform program. The first involves the literature on public sector reform, its theoretical underpinnings and manifestations. This literature sets the historical and theoretical context for BC's initiative. The second includes the literatures on the theory and management of change and the role of language in organizational change. These literatures provide the theoretical framework for analyzing the reform process. The third involves the literature on the influence of values on work and the specialized literature on public sector work values. These literatures form the basis for investigating the values in the BC public service. The potential contribution of this study is its empirical examination of the work value concepts currently receiving mainly normative attention (e.g., *A Strong Foundation*, 1996; Kernaghan, 2007: OECD, 1996; Van Wart, 1996a). In addition, no empirical studies have been published that show how governments changed or attempted to change public service work values (Hansen & Lauridsen, 2004; Van der Wal, de Graaf & Lasthuizen, 2006). The research undertaken in this study is intended to begin addressing this gap in the literature.

Research Setting

Research for this dissertation was conducted from early May 2005 to August 2007. In the May 17, 2005 election, the BC Liberals were returned to power for a second mandate. Although they returned with 40% fewer seats than in the 2001 election, the Liberals maintained a healthy majority in the Legislature with 46 seats with the NDP winning the balance of 33 seats. The

provincial budget was balanced in 2004/05 and the government ran budget surpluses while the study was being conducted.

In the month following the 2005 election, Premier Gordon Campbell appointed his new cabinet and announced significant changes to ministry structures. Two ministries were eliminated. Of the remaining 19 ministries, two had been newly created and 10 had been re-named and reorganized involving a shift of a dozen programs between ministries and a reallocation of 17 agencies, secretariats or taskforces to new ministries. The Deputy Minister to the Premier and Secretary to Cabinet was replaced and the position of Deputy Minister to the Premier for Corporate Planning and Restructuring was eliminated. Four other Deputy Ministers were removed from their position, two new Deputies were appointed and seven Deputy Ministers were demoted to the rank of Associate Deputy Minister as a result of program reconfigurations. Nine Deputy Ministers were moved to a different portfolio and one Deputy was appointed Special Advisor to the Premier.

The central agency responsible for Public Service Renewal called the Public Service Agency, (which had replaced the Public Service Employee Relations Commission in 2003), stopped referring to Renewal in its 2005/06 Annual Service Plan Report[1]. The Agency's focus shifted from "rebuilding and sustaining a professional public service" in its 2004/05 report to "planning for the workforce of the future" in 2005/06, thus suggesting that Renewal was complete.

Morale in the public service was low. Reports prepared by the Auditor General on the state of the public service in 2002 and 2004 had indicated that BC public servants neither trusted

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[1] BC government's Annual Reports were renamed Annual Service Plan Report in 2001.

nor had confidence in their executive leaders and that work motivation was low. These findings led the Auditor General to raise doubts about the government's ability to provide quality services to the people of British Columbia (Auditor General, 2002, 2004). A government-run 2006 Employee Engagement Survey showed a continued lack of confidence in government executives. Executive leadership scored slightly better in the 2007 government-run engagement survey but was still considered unacceptably low (BC Stats, 2006, 2007).

My Connection with the BC Government Public Service

When the Liberals came to power I had worked for the BC public service for 16 years and had held Assistant and Associate Deputy Minister positions for 10 of those years, including a two year appointment as the Secretary to the Treasury Board. During this time I served under two Social Credit governments (1985-1991), two New Democratic governments (1991-2001) and one Liberal government (2001). My employment with the BC government ended in October 2001, approximately six months after the BC Liberals were elected. During this short tenure with the new government, my participation in the BC government's reform was limited to preliminary planning activities. It was however, already obvious to me and my colleagues at the senior and executive ranks that the Liberal reform agenda would have significant implications for the BC public service.

In the early 1990s, I had started teaching part-time in the graduate and undergraduate programs of the School of Public Administration and the Faculty of Business at the University of Victoria. I developed a keen interest in public sector reform, organizational dynamics and change management and became particularly interested in the nature of social reality, the role of language in organizations and the opportunities offered by mixed methods-based research. I

believe that exposure to these different literatures together with my involvement in the day-to-day work in the BC public service, allowed me to develop a wider perspective on the Liberal reform agenda than otherwise would have been the case. I am also aware though that my involvement with the BC public service will have influenced my perspective on the new government's reform program. Moreover, as a result of my relatively long tenure with the BC government, I identify with its history, culture and prevailing values and may therefore be skeptical with respect to reform literature critical of the public service. Similarly, my work history gave me exceptional access to senior and executive levels in the public service which may have influenced my choice of research design.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation contains 12 chapters and is organized in five major sections. Part one: Overview of the Study includes this introductory chapter and Chapter 2 which sets out the research approach and methodology. It presents the research design, sample selection, data sources and instruments and analytical procedures.

Part two: Fundamental Reform consists of two chapters. Chapter 3 is a discussion of the literature on public sector reform. It describes how reform is modeled, explained and justified and includes s a short discussion on controversies about the New Public Management. Chapter 4 describes how public sector reform was introduced in BC, what form it took and how Public Service Renewal was framed.

Part three: Managing Reform and Rhetoric contains two chapters. Chapter 5 is a discussion of the literature on change management. It reviews literatures explaining change at the macro and micro level of the organization and the literature on the importance of language.

Chapter 6 traces the steps involved in implementing BC's radical reform and assesses this process against in light of prevailing theoretical models.

Part four: Reform Values and Identity consists of three chapters. Chapter 7 discusses the literature on work values in the public sector. It highlights the debate on traditional public service values and work values driven by New Public Management principles. Chapter 8 reports on the results of interviews with BC's senior managers on the nature of work in the public service, Public Service Renewal and their work value preferences. Chapter 9 presents the results of a survey of BC's senior managers' values which includes a discussion of the effect of socio-demographic variables and change on public service values. It also includes preliminary analytical representations of traditional and New Public Management public sector work values.

Part five: Findings, Implications and Conclusions, includes three chapters. Chapter 10 provides an overview of the key findings of the study and links them to the original research questions. Chapter 11 discusses the implications of the results for managing change in public sector organizations, by providing considerations for politicians, top public servants and consultants who wish to engage in value-based change. A short, final Chapter 12 concludes the dissertation by suggesting further opportunities for related research.

Chapter 2 Research Approach and Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to present the approach to the study and the methodology selected to carry out the research. The chapter begins by providing the ontological and epistemological justification for the methodological choices made in this project. After the introduction of the research design, the chapter presents sections on population and sample selection, data sources and instruments, and procedures. Methodological concerns are discussed in the next section and the chapter concludes with a methods overview linking the research questions to applicable data sources and analytical techniques.

The research methodology chosen for this dissertation is in part a reflection of the researcher's ontological and epistemological perspective. Researchers' understanding of what is real (their ontology) is the foundation for framing research questions and seeking answers to these questions (Knox, 2004). The connection between ontology and epistemology and the related debates about appropriate methods to validly describe social phenomena are well known (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). The ontological belief that reality exists independent of the mind and can therefore be objectively known, has led large numbers of social scientists to a quest for 'truth' about social phenomena. They bring to this pursuit natural science-based quantitative research methods. Other social scientists (albeit smaller in number) argue that reality exists only in the mind and that knowledge about this reality is of necessity subjective. These researchers do not believe there is an objective truth about social phenomena waiting to be discovered by scientific means. Rather, they suggest that reality is socially constructed and can be described

and understood only through qualitative methods that take the subjective nature of reality into account (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Morgan & Smircich, 1980).

The critical realist philosophy of Roy Bhaskar is sometimes seen as occupying an intermediate position between these objectivist and subjectivist perspectives. Bhaskar argues that reality does exist independent of the mind but that human knowledge of this reality is socially situated (Bhaskar, 1979, 1997). From a social science perspective, Bhaskar sees reality-as-society as providing the structures and practices necessary for human action while transformation is continuously taking place (Bhaskar, 1979). Bhaskar's ontological realism, combined with his epistemological relativism is a particularly useful starting point for the research approach taken in this dissertation and the research design presented in this chapter. It allows for the conceptualization of government organizations as the result of multiple interpretations of reality as it is continually reinterpreted and reshaped by human actions. Methods that might be appropriate for describing and observing this dynamic reality rely on a combination of quantitative and qualitative observations that can be triangulated to obtain a reasonable approximation of reality at a particular moment in time (Jick, 1983). The research strategy employed in this study is consistent with this methodological perspective.

Methodology

Research Design

A case study design was selected because it appeared most appropriate for answering the research questions set out in the introductory chapter. Case studies can be valuable as exemplars: instances of broader phenomena such as the implementation of Public Service Renewal type

programs in other jurisdictions (Gerring, 2004; Yin, 1980, 1990). It is also a useful design

because it provides an interpretation of how the BC government planned, framed and executed

its reform program, thus making the process findings transferable to other organizations planning

similar reform programs in the future (Bailey, 1992). Furthermore, case studies can contribute to

organizational learning by providing rich interpretations of historical events (March, Sproull, &

Tamuz, 1991).

Numerous examples exist that demonstrate how case studies can make important

contributions to the study of organizations. Worthy of note is Allison's analysis of the Cuban

missile crisis where he used three different models to explain the same set of events leading to

the crisis, and showed that expectation theories based on the rational actor model could not fully

explain organizational decision making within the US government (Allison, 1971). Another

ground breaking case study is Karl Weick's analysis of the Mann Gulch disaster which made it

possible to propose how organizations can be made more resilient and capable of preventing role

system breakdowns (Weick, 1993). Case studies have also influenced public policy making. For

example, Selznick's study of the Tennessee Valley Authority showed how the US government's

'grass roots philosophy' diverted the Authority's original aims by serving private interests

(Selznick, 1949/1966). Finally, Mintzberg's case based research has made a significant

contribution to understanding the role of public servants at different levels of the organizational

hierarchy and has illuminated the various roles business leaders play in organizations

(Mintzberg, 1973, 1990; Mintzberg, Raisinghani, & Theoret, 1976).

The case study design used in this research employs a mix of qualitative and quantitative

data collection methods to address the research questions from multiple perspectives and to

achieve a detailed and balanced interpretation of the BC government's Public Service Renewal

initiative. Research methods were selected for their potential to shed light on important aspects of the provincial reform program. They include an examination of government documents, interviews with senior BC government officials and a survey of government managers. Government documentation provides an account of Public Service Renewal from the perspective of the responsible central agency. A first set of interviews conducted in 2005 sought insights into executives' conceptualization and experience of BC's reform initiative. A second set of interviews conducted in 2007 examined senior managers' perceptions of working in a government environment, and looked at the way they defined their roles within government and how they articulated public service work values. The survey conducted in the summer of 2007 provided a record of the type and frequency of organizational change experienced by government managers since Renewal began and generated a profile of their public service work values.

Target Population and Sample Selection

At the time this research project was conducted the BC public service employed about 30,000 full time equivalent staff (*Estimates*, 2007). The target population for the study was limited to the approximately 3,300 BC public servants at the executive and management ranks (hereafter referred to as senior managers or managers for short). Reasons for restricting the population to senior managers were threefold:

1. The change management literature shows that organizational leadership is essential for the success of implementing change. Leaders must be, and be seen to be, champions of the program (Dalziel & Schoonover, 1988; Hall & Hord, 2001; Harrison & Young, 2005, Kotter, 1995; Quinn, 2004).

2. While employees at lower levels were involved at various times during Public Service Renewal, the BC government's effort was driven from the top down. Deputy Ministers were made responsible for implementing Public Service Renewal and change management efforts were primarily concentrated on the management cadre which numbered approximately 4,000 in 2001.

3. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the process of implementing Public Service Renewal and its mid term outcomes rather than to assess its long term institutionalization, which would have required participation at all levels of the organization. (Davenport, 1998; Kotter, 1995).

Interviews 2005: Interviews were conducted with seven executives using a non-probability purposive sample in which interviewees were selected on the basis of their involvement with Public Service Renewal. The sample comprised:

- The Deputy Minister to the Premier and Secretary to Cabinet and Deputy Minister responsible for the Public Service (Head of the Public Service)

- The Deputy Minister to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring

- The Assistant Secretary to Cabinet

- The former Deputy Minister of the BC Public Service Agency and Merit Commissioner[2]

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[2] The BC Public Service Agency was the successor the Public Service Employee Relations Commission responsible for Public Service Renewal at its inception.

- Two long-serving senior Deputy Ministers who were members of the Deputy Ministers Committee of Shared Services

- An Assistant Deputy Minister in the BC Public Service Agency

All interviewees were 40 years or older and most had been employed with the provincial government for more than 15 years. Each of these individuals played an important role in Public Service Renewal. The Head of the Public Service spearheaded the program and was personally involved in a number of workshops with senior managers. The Deputy Minister to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring oversaw the entire radical government reform program and was extensively involved in Public Service Renewal. The Assistant Secretary to Cabinet was involved in the implementation of the program. The Deputy Minister of the BC Public Service Agency was the architect of Public Renewal, the developer of the government's Corporate Human Resources Plan and the designer of the organizational infrastructure to support the project. The two long-serving Deputy Ministers were members of the Deputy Ministers Committee of Shared Services concerned with the centralization of human resources. The Assistant Deputy Minister in the Public Service Agency had extensive involvement in service delivery improvement initiatives. Because of their personal involvement with Public Service Renewal, retrospectively focused interviews with these seven individuals were expected to yield especially valuable information.

Interviews 2007: Interviews were conducted with 32 individuals using a non-probability convenience sample. The sample comprised 12 individuals who had left the BC government prior to Public Sector Renewal (former senior managers) and 20 individuals who were employed with the public service prior to the reform program and who were still employed at the time of

the study (current senior managers). Former senior managers were included because they had not been exposed to Public Service Renewal. Since a vital objective of the program was to convince senior managers to adopt new business-type work values, it is possible that former senior managers have a different set of preferred work values than current senior managers.

Current senior managers were selected because they had been exposed to Public Service Renewal, which could affect not only their work values but also their responses to the interview questions. The general characteristics of the sub-samples of former and current senior managers were similar. All respondents were high-ranking officials (Deputy Ministers, Deputy Minister equivalents, Assistant Deputy Ministers, Executive Directors and senior Directors). Years of service ranged from 7 to 33 years with an average tenure of 22 years. These long-average service years are a reflection of the composition of the senior management ranks in the BC public service at the time, where 57% had been employed for 15 years or more. With the exception of three individuals in the current senior management group, all interviewees were 40 years or older. The senior managers were well educated with some holding a Doctoral degree and most holding a Master's degree in Economics, Accounting, Political Science or Public Administration. Several had professional designations. The total sample comprised 16 men and 16 women.

Survey 2007: A province-wide random probability sample of 800 management level employees was used in the survey based on a population of 3318 and a 95% confidence level[3]. Deputy Ministers and individuals with Deputy Minister status were excluded from the sample since the survey questionnaire asked questions about Deputy Ministers. The 20 current senior managers,

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[3] The classification system allocates about 70% of managers to the senior ranks and about 30% to the junior ranks. For simplicity sake this dissertation will continue to refer to study participants as senior managers.

who were interviewed prior to the survey, were also excluded from the sample as it was likely that their responses would be influenced by the interview.

Data Sources and Instruments

Archival Records: The BC Public Service Agency's (Agency) historical records documenting Public Service Renewal from June 2001 to May 2003 were reviewed - including documents (paper and electronic) and video clips with soundtracks. The majority of these records stemmed from reform activities during 2002. Records were organized by the following major categories:

- *Planning:* Formal presentations and briefing materials to the incoming government outlining Renewal

- *Communication:* Communication plans, toolkits and E-letters produced throughout the project

- *Stage One – Consultations:* PowerPoint presentations, supporting documentation and reports for elected officials, ministry executives, a panel of experts and province wide focus groups

- *Stage Two – Workshops:* Planning documents and workshop binders for a series of workshops for executives, managers and supervisors

- *Core Services Review:* Instructions to ministries, project charters and presentations to elected officials

- *Workforce Adjustment:* Announcements and information packages for employees

- *Restructuring of Human Resources:* Presentations, plans and transitional documents

A complete list of records and other related government materials consulted is attached in Appendix A.

Interview Guides: Questions for the 2005 and 2007 interviews were designed for open-ended, semi-structured interviews suitable for situations where considerations of standardization are less important than obtaining answers reflecting respondents' personal perspectives and sentiments about a topic. Open-ended semi-structured interviews also permit the exploration of promising avenues of inquiry through follow up questions arising from interviewees' initial answers. A further advantage of such interviews is that new or conflicting perspectives that arise, can subsequently be addressed as more interviews are carried out (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Wildavsky 1989).

Interviews 2005: The aim of these retrospective interviews was to solicit detailed personal opinions about the objectives and perceived outcomes of Public Service Renewal from individuals who were in key positions of authority with the power to significantly influence the project. The interview guide contained one closed and nine open-ended questions. Most questions were aimed at soliciting information on process, the ideas behind the initiative, public servants' reactions to Public Service Renewal, and the level and distribution of acceptance of its main messages.

Questions were based partly on the direct relationship between the change effort and communications about this change. The purpose of communications (rhetoric) is to convince BC's senior managers that change is needed, their active participation in implementing the change is required and their continued commitment to the change is expected. To fully understand Public Service Renewal's communication strategy, it was necessary to review what the leaders of the organization had in mind when they conceived the program, what their expectations were, what kind of resistance they experienced from senior managers, and to what degree they felt the effort had been successful. Question eight asked for a rating between 1 and

10 of the importance of communication. While the answer to this question appears obvious given the importance of communications in the change management literature, it was expected that interviewees would provide some additional assessment of the communication effort.

The final question asked how they would express the objectives of Public Service Renewal in two or three messages to the public service in 2005. It was expected that the original vision in 2001 and the experience of implementing Public Service Renewal, might have affected leaders' current messages to the public service.

The interview questions were reviewed for clarity and tone by a small number of individuals familiar with Renewal who were not directly involved in its administration. The interview questions are included in Appendix B.

Interviews 2007: The purpose of these interviews was two-fold. The first objective was to distil a portrait or archetypical image of the "public servant" as seen from the perspective of senior managers. Questions focused on seeking senior managers' views on what it meant to be a public servant, explored how they defined themselves and others in the public service, and engaged them in a discussion about public service work values and behaviours. The second objective was to solicit interviewees' comments on the BC government work environment, to discuss the prevailing culture of the public service including the relationship between elected and appointed officials, and to identify work values and behaviours most important to the public service now and in the future.

The interview guide for these interviews contained two closed questions and seven open-ended questions. The two closed questions asked the interviewees to select and then rank five work values from an alphabetically-organized list of public sector work values. The seven open-ended questions were identical for former and current senior managers. The interview guide for

former senior managers included an additional question about the degree to which they were still in touch with their former colleagues in the BC government. The purpose of this question was to solicit views on Public Service Renewal from individuals who could speak about the topic without fear of repercussion.

Interview questions were checked for logic and clarity with about a dozen individuals knowledgeable about interview construction and/or who were familiar with the BC public service. Interview guides for the 2007 interviews are included in Appendix C.

Survey Questionnaire: Survey questions explored the two central areas of interest, organizational change and public service work values. A third important area of interest, which would have asked potential respondents direct questions about Public Service Renewal was not included in the survey questionnaire at the emphatic request of the Agency whose officials vetted my research questions. Agency officials wished to avoid possible confusion between Public Service Renewal and a new initiative on public service renewal underway at the time of the study[4]. In addition, there was some concern that questions about Public Service Renewal would trigger unwelcome memories of the tensions created by the Core Services Review and the Workforce Adjustment program implemented concurrently. This meant that references to the year 2001 could not be incorporated in the survey. However, the Agency did agree to the researcher's request to include questions about events that happened in the 'past two years' and 'in the past five years'. The use of two different time frames was expected to avoid drawing attention to Public Service Renewal. In addition, since the program, Core Services Review, and

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[4] This new initiative involved extensive consultations with senior public servants to determine a new vision, the development of a new set of competencies and the introduction of new values to guide public servants' actions. The values are to be integrated in the public service performance management system starting in 2008/09.

Workforce Adjustment did not come on stream until early 2002, the five-year timeframe could still meet the original survey objectives.

The Agency-approved survey included a total of nine questions. Eight questions focused on the frequency and type of change respondents experienced during the two different timeframes discussed above. The final question asked respondents to indicate the relative importance of 11 public service work values using a Likert-type scale. These work values were derived from the literature of work values and from the interviews with former and current senior managers. Respondents were also provided the opportunity to add one or more public service values they thought were important but that had not been included on the list[5].

The survey instrument was reviewed by small number of individuals who had either academic training in survey questionnaire construction or who, from personal work experience, were familiar with the type of changes that had occurred in the provincial public service. The survey instrument is included as Appendix D.

The survey was designed after the 2007 interviews had been concluded and, based on the results of these interviews, it was expected that public service work values might be modified by socio-demographic characteristics. Thus, analytical categories were created for capturing possible differences in public service work values as a result of socio-demographic variables. These variables, set out in Table 1 below, were obtained from government personnel records[6]. Ministries primarily concerned with land-based activities were grouped under "land." Ministries

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[5]It should be noted here that while public service values may be *desired or expected* by organizations, only individuals are able to *hold* values.

[6]For reasons of confidentiality the researcher did not have access to the raw data but provided instructions to BC Stats, the government's statistics agency, on data collection and data analysis.

whose main portfolio was social services were grouped under "social," and ministries that fulfilled a central function or that fell outside the land and social categories were grouped under "other". Individuals were categorized by ministry type, by location, gender, age, service years and management classification. Four age groups were identified: senior managers younger than 35, those between 35 and 44, those between 45-54 and those of 55 and older. Age categories were chosen on the basis of widely-held concerns about the aging of the senior management population. Years of service were grouped in three categories: less than 7 years (managers who were hired after the Liberal government came to power), between 7 and 15.5 years (managers who served mainly under the Liberal government and under the NDP) and more than 15.5 years (managers who served under Liberal, NDP and Social Credit governments). The BC government classifies its managers in three broad-banded categories, applied leadership (lower level), business leadership (middle level) and strategic leadership (higher level).

Table 1
Socio-demographic Variables in the Survey Sample

Socio-Demographic Variables					
Ministry Type[7]	Location	Gender	Age	Service Years	Management Classification
Land*	Victoria	Men	<35	<7	Applied Leadership
Social**	Outside Victoria	Women	35-44	7 – 15.5	Business Leadership
Other***			45-54	>15.5	Strategic Leadership
			≥55		

*Includes Agriculture & Lands, Energy, Mines & Petroleum Resources, Environment, Forest and Range, and Transportation
** Includes Aboriginal Relations & Reconciliation; Advanced Education, Attorney General, Children and Family Development, Community Services, Education, Employment & Income Assistance, Health and Public Safety & Solicitor General
*** Economic Development, Finance, Labour & Citizens Service, Office of the Premier, Public Service Agency, Small Business & Revenue, and Tourism, Sport & the Arts

Procedures

Interviews: Senior managers were initially approached in person, by phone or by e-mail. All interviewees were sent an e-mail that gave them the background of the study, explained their role in the interview and indicated that the interview would take between 45 to 60 minutes. E-mails to individuals interviewed in 2007 also included a request to electronically record the interview and permission was granted in all cases. No such request was made of the interviewees in 2005 because of the sensitive nature of the interviews. Interviewees received the questionnaire at least two days in advance of the interview. (Copies of e-mail invitations have been attached in Appendix E)

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[7]Titles and responsibilities of some of these Ministries were changed in June 2008 and again in the spring of 2009.

The atmosphere during the 2005 interviews was relaxed and informal with interviewees sharing their insights freely and openly. Only one senior manager asked not to be quoted on specific parts of the interview. The researcher documented responses to questions and additional comments offered during the interviews in handwritten notes. Notes were transcribed soon after the interview in order to retain as much as possible interview details. Because the interview questions were open-ended and time was limited, some individuals did not address one or more questions. However, answers to some questions were quite extensive –especially answers to the first question which asked about the individual's vision of Renewal. Depending upon interviewees' schedule interviews lasted between 20 minutes and 75 minutes. Most interviews lasted one hour. With one exception all interviews occurred in interviewees' office.

As in 2005, the atmosphere of the interviews conducted in 2007 was relaxed and informal. During the interview respondents appeared at ease and shared their opinions frankly and without hesitation. Only one interviewee asked not to be quoted without permission. Similar to the 2005 interviews and consistent with Wildavsky (1989), Czarniawska (2005) and Rubin & Rubin (2005 pp.112-114), interview questions were used as a guide to provide structure but interviewees could deviate from the questions if they felt this was called for. Recorded responses to questions were transcribed verbatim in order to maintain the nuances of the conversations. Depending upon the respondent's personal schedule, interviews lasted between 35 and 85 minutes. Most interviews lasted 50 minutes. Interviews with current senior managers were conducted in the interviewees' offices. Eight interviews with former senior managers were conducted in a private university office, two were conducted by phone and two interviews were held in the interviewees' personal home office.

Transcripts of the interviews were imported into qualitative data analysis software called NVivo. Initial thematic codes were established to capture categories within the discourse relevant to the interview questions. Because of the different purpose and nature of the two sets of interviews different coding schemes were set up for each. Interview transcripts for each interview set were searched for words or phrases that would fit the thematic codes and the coding scheme was adjusted to include concepts not initially identified, or to reorganize categories in a more logical framework. Coding proceeded iteratively to ensure no important themes were missed and overlap was minimized.

Survey: The survey was administered electronically since research has shown that response rates for electronically administered surveys are higher than for paper and pencil or faxed surveys (Church, 2001; Cobanoglu, Schonlau, Fricker & Elliott, 2001;Warde & Moreo, 2001). The researchers directed BC Stats in the sampling and administration of the survey. BC Stats' involvement in the project conferred a number of benefits and contributed to achieving a high response rate. BC Stats has access to all employee data managed by the Agency. Therefore, it was unnecessary to include socio-demographic questions that would have made the survey questionnaire longer and possibly reduced the response rate. It also meant that the accuracy of the socio-demographic information was high. In addition, BC Stats has the programming capability to transform the survey questionnaire into an electronic format, has direct access to public servant e-mail addresses, and carries the cachet of the provincial government.

The survey was sent out as an e-mail attachment inviting the random sample of 800 senior managers to respond to the survey. The message in the e-mail explained the purpose of the survey, indicated that the survey had been approved by the Agency, and assured potential respondents of confidentiality. A copy of the invitation has been attached in Appendix F. The

survey ran for three weeks in August 2007. Reminders were sent by e-mail one week after the survey was distributed and five days before the closing date of the survey. Copies of these reminders are included in Appendix G.

Survey response rate: The response rate was determined by expressing the total number of valid responses as a percentage of the total number of in-scope respondents. Of the 800 individuals who were sent the questionnaires 63 were out of scope[8]. Therefore the total number of in-scope questionnaires was 737. A total of 498 questionnaires were completed and returned for a response rate of 68%.

Survey respondent representativeness: Respondent representativeness was calculated for each of the six socio-demographic variables described above. Table 2 shows that men were significantly under-represented in the gender category but that the magnitude is small (5%) It also shows that 'land' ministries were significantly over-represented in the ministry category (9%) and that 'other' ministries were significantly under-represented in this category (11%). Results for the remaining four variables were non-significant. With the exception of 'ministry' the respondent sample is fairly representative of the population from which it was drawn.

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[8]Out-of-scope individuals were (1) managers whose survey invitation generated an automatic out-of-office reply which stated that they were out-of-the office past the survey closing deadline, (2) managers who indicated that they were no longer with government or had retired, and (3) individuals who indicated that they were no longer in a management level position.

Table 2
Socio-demographic Breakdown by Non-Respondents, Respondents and Population

Variables	Completed Survey*			χ^2	Sig.
	No	Yes	Population		
Ministry Type				43.25	*p* = <.0001
Land	421 (15%)	127 (26%)	548 (17%)		
Social	989 (35%)	185 (37%)	1174 (35%)		
Other	1410 (50%)	186 (37%)	1596 (48%)		
Location				1.96	n.s.
Victoria	1771 (63%)	335 (67%)	2106 (63%)		
Outside Victoria	1049 (37%)	163 (33%)	1212 (37%)		
Gender				7.38	*p* = <.05
Men	1479 (52%)	227(46%)	1706 (51%)		
Women	1341 (48%)	271(54%)	1612 (49%)		
Age				1.07	n.s.
< 35	89 (3%)	11 (2%)	100 (3%)		
35-44	728 (26%)	116 (23%)	844 (26%)		
45-54	1432 (51%)	269 (54%)	1701 (51%)		
≥ 55	571 (20%)	102 (21%)	673 (20%)		
Service Years				0.03	n.s
< 7	235 (8%)	44 (9%)	279 (8%)		
7 – 15.5	970 (35%)	176(35%)	1146 (35%)		
>15.5	1615 (57%)	278 (56%)	1893 (57%)		
Management Classification				0.09	n.s
Applied Leadership	809 (29%)	150 (30%)	959 (29%)		
Business Leadership	1536 (54%)	270 (54%)	1806 (54%)		
Strategic Leadership	475 (17%)	78 (16%)	553 (17%)		

 * Total sample respondents = 498; Total population sampled = 3318.

Methodological Concerns

It could be argued that single-case studies are a weak research design as they tend to rely more on description and qualitative data analysis than on quantitative techniques commonly used with cross-organizational designs. In addition, case studies do not normally create experimental conditions required for making definitive statements about cause and effect (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). It is also said to be difficult to generalize on the basis of a single-case study since idiosyncratic conditions are likely to dominate (Eisenhardt, 1989b, 1991). From a naturalistic inquiry perspective however, case studies may offer working hypotheses appropriate for other cases depending on the degree of fit (Gomm, Harmmersley, & Forster, 2000). Moreover, generalization may occur in the mind of the reader who connects the case to other instances in his or her experience (Marton, 1988). But even in the absence of apparent generalizability, interpretation of qualitative data was of paramount importance for addressing the research questions and the idiosyncrasies *were* to some degree the topic of interest.

In addition it could be argued that the research findings are not representative of the BC public service since only executives and managers were sampled for the survey and the interviews. Furthermore, the documentation about Public Service Renewal while extensive was obtained exclusively from the archives or the agency responsible for program implementation. A sampling of ministry records may have put a different light on one or more elements of Renewal. While it is true that the research is situated exclusively at the level of senior managers and on data produced by the Agency, these sources are central to understanding radical change efforts.

A further limitation is the lack of baseline data since the project grew out of the implementation of Public Service Renewal, not the program's planning and no opportunity

existed to establish a baseline. The results and inferences made on the basis of interviews and the

survey should therefore be considered with caution. They may however form the basis for

comparative studies, either within the BC public service or across other jurisdictions.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the research methodology used to address the

research questions presented in the previous chapter. Table 3 shows how the research questions,

data sources and analytic techniques link into an integrated research structure.

Table 3
Overview of Research Questions, Data Sources and Analytical Techniques

Research Question	Data Source	Analytic Technique
What strategies did the BC government select to bring about its version of New Public Management?	Government Records ± 200 documents	Descriptive
What change management process did the BC government use to implement public service reform?	Government Records ±200 documents	Comparative analysis
What rhetoric did the BC government use to persuade public servants to accept its reform doctrines and a new work value framework?	Government Records 2007 Interviews (n = 32)	Rhetorical analysis Electronically supported interpretive analysis
To what degree do values currently held by public servants reflect new public service work values promoted by the BC government?	Survey (n=498)	Descriptive statistics ANOVA/t-tests Tau-C tests
	2007 Interviews (n=32)	Electronically supported interpretive analysis
To what extent does the value framework currently held by public servants reflect socio-demographic differences?	Survey (n=498)	Principal component analysis Descriptive statistics Multiple regression

PART TWO – FUNDAMENTAL REFORM

Chapter 3 Perspectives on Contemporary Public Sector Reform

Public sector reform is not new. Western democratic governments have struggled with the challenge of governing efficiently and effectively since they were first established during the 19th century. Anglo-American countries have a long history of public sector reform starting as early as 1854 when the UK government commissioned a Royal Commission to review government operations. Successive American governments appointed more than a dozen Committees, Commissions and Taskforces to study the organization of government in the past 100 years (March, Olson, & Olsen, 1983 pp.281-82). The Canadian Glassco Commission recommended a new organizational structure for the central authority of government almost half a century ago (Royal Commission, 1962).

Yet none of these reforms were as fundamental, drastic and far-reaching as the wave of public sector reforms that altered the very fabric of governments over the past two decades. The reforms were *fundamental* because they redefined relationships between governments and society, *drastic* because they permeated organizational structures, policies and programs simultaneously and *far-reaching* because they were not limited to a single country but were taken up by most OECD countries and continue to spread to developing nations. While the major tenets of public sector reforms were similar –particularly among Anglo-American countries (Kettl, 1997), the spectrum of reform designs varied from radical in New Zealand, to major in the UK and Australia, to moderate in the United Stated and Canada (Halligan, 2003a p.207). But in all cases public sector reform became the fulcrum that created the capability for action and demanded new ways of approaching policy, organizational change and decision making.

In her recent book on disaster capitalism for example, Klein (2007) argues that governments and business use disasters (such as severe economic downturns in the 1970s) as shock therapy to reinterpret existing conditions as a "blank slate" for implementing radical changes which otherwise would have created significant opposition. Hurricane Katrina for instance displaced large numbers of poor black New Orleans residents creating the "opportunity" to completely restructure the education system by replacing public schools with (expensive and controversial) charter schools. In the same vein, radical public sector reform could and did wipe clean the existing (hierarchy based) archetypical government structures and replaced them with structures predicated on different organizational templates or reorientations (Freeman & Cameron, 1993; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). Such reorientations are the result of sudden and wholesale change involving "simultaneous and abrupt shifts in strategy, power distribution, structure, and control system" (Freeman and Cameron, 1993 p.18). In the new post-reform world adhocracies (rather than hierarchies) may be needed to address complex and often intractable policies such as AIDS and environmental policies (Desveaux, Lindquist & Toner, 1994). Furthermore, new complex governance systems may require altogether different decision making systems such as mixed scanning, a two step decision making technique which combines the development of rationally based high-level fundamental policy directions, and incrementally based implementation strategies (Etzioni, 1967).

The literature review that follows describes in some detail the economic forces and the political and administrative systems that led to different configurations of contemporary government reform. The focus of the review is the period of public sector reform since 1979 when the Thatcher government in the UK took the first steps to redefine the role of government. Thatcher's initiatives were a response to dramatic government growth after the Second World

War, rising annual budget deficits and growing government debt, and to government organizations that were no longer in touch with the citizenry (Peters & Savoie, 1994). The collection of more or less radical initiatives included extensive government restructuring through privatization, devolution of government responsibility to community organizations, creation of internal markets, market testing, mass lay-offs and a reorientation of the public service. The literature review concludes with a brief assessment of relative success of the implementation of public sector reform.

How Reform is Modeled, Explained and Justified

There is general agreement in the comparative government reform literature that the rise of reform can be explained by economic, social and financial problems common to Western countries during the late 1970s (Aucoin, 1995a, Halligan, 2003b, Pollitt 1990, Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). Based on their study of public sector reform in Anglo-American and European countries Pollitt and Bouckaert developed a model of reform which identified these socio-economic forces as key determinants of public sector reform. Their model explains how socio-economic forces in combination with political system configurations, influenced the particular shape of a country's reform. Once the package of reform was determined its implementation and achievement became a function of the country's administrative systems (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). A simplified and slightly modified version of the model is presented in Figure 1 on the next page.

| Global economic forces 1 | Socio-demographic change 2 |
| National Socio-Economic Policies 3 | |

(A)Socio-Economic Forces

| Pressures from citizens 4 | Economic and business management theories 5 |
| Party Political Ideas 6 | |

(B) Political Systems

Elite ideas about Desirable Reforms → Elite ideas about Feasible Reforms ← Change events, e.g. Scandals, disasters

Format of reform package 7	Governance and structural reform 7a ↔ Internal management reform 7b
Implementation 8	
Reforms actually Achieved 9	

(C) Administrative Systems

Figure 1
A Model of Public Management Reform (Modified)
Source: Pollitt & Bouckaert (2000).

The modifications consist of an expansion of the text in box B4 to account for the importance of economic theories in addition to the 'new business ideas' shown in the original model. In addition, the "format of reform package" box C7 was divided into governance and structural reform (C7a) and internal management reform (C7b) to emphasize their conceptual distinction.

Socio-Economic Forces

As indicated in Boxes A1 to A3 the ten countries studied by Pollitt & Bouckaert faced similar problems which drove them towards reform in the 1980s and 1990s. Flowing from economic and social crises of the 1970s such as the formation of OPEC and the resulting multi-nationals' losses and increased unemployment, national governments could no longer deficit finance their policy commitments or manage their increasing debt. Governments were also limited in independently managing their national economies in a globalized world where supra-national organizations constrained national governments' economic powers (Minogue, Polidano, & Hulme, 1998; OECD, 1995; Savoie, 1995).

Political Systems

Boxes B4 to B6 draw attention to political systems including citizens' pressures, economic and business management theories and party political ideas. Citizens and the business community saw their national governments as too big, too expensive and questioned the ability of their governments to successfully compete in a globalized world. They also expressed their concerns about inefficient monopolistic governments with inadequate incentive structures and unpriced services (OECD, 1995). Concurrently, the focus of citizen participation shifted from

engaging in party politics to joining social movements or interest groups which led to a reinterpretation of the meaning of representative government (Aucoin, 1995b).

Theoretical perspectives featured prominently in the minds of reformers (Aucoin, 1990; Boston, Martin, Pallot, & Walsh, 1991; Hood, 1991; Pollitt, 1990; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000; Terry, 1998). These perspectives were based on writings in new institutional economics, particularly transaction cost theory, agency theory, and public choice theory (Dunleavy, 1991; Jensen & Meckling, 1976; Niskanen, 1971; Williamson, 1985). In addition, reformers typically adopted the application of private sector management principles and work values to government organizations, known as managerialism (Dixon, Kouzmin, & Korac-Kabadadse, 1998; Pollitt, 1990).

Transaction theory associated with the work of Oliver Williamson (Williamson, 1981, 1985) focuses on maximizing the efficiency of transactions before or after the production of goods or services. The relative cost of transactions (typically assumed to be contracts), determines whether the structure of the profit-maximizing firm is characterized by hierarchy or market. Given recurring transactions and under conditions of high uncertainty (e.g., long term contracts) and high asset specificity (e.g., the degree to which assets is tied to a specific purpose), the firm will be better off to integrate vertically, i.e., bringing the transactions in house. Conversely, low uncertainty and low specificity will cause the firm the contract for the product or service in the market. Therefore, government organizations could increase efficiency by contracting for products and services with private sector organizations that have a lower cost structure (Ferris & Graddy, 1996). Decisions based on transaction cost analysis are made more complicated by two behavioural assumptions: "(1) the recognition that human agents are subject to bounded rationality and (2) the assumption that at least some agents are given to opportunism"

(Williamson, 1981 p.553). As a result it is not always possible to provide a clear ex-ante calculus for the choice between market and hierarchy.

Agency theory is concerned with the relationship between ownership and control where the principal (e.g., the shareholders) and the agent (e.g., the organization's managers) function within a contract relationship (Eisenhardt, 1989a; Jensen &Meckling, 1976; Kiser, 1999). Agency theory seeks to define contract relationships that are capable of resolving situations where principal and agent have conflicting objectives and where it is difficult (i.e., costly) for the principal to know whether the agent carries out the principal's wishes. Principals and agents may also have different risk preferences which could negatively affect the relationship. Taking into account assumptions of bounded rationality, self-interest and possible goal conflicts of the parties, the question becomes whether "a behavior-oriented contract (e.g., salaries, hierarchical governance) [is] more efficient than an outcome-oriented contract (e.g., commissions, stock options, transfer of property rights, market governance)" (Eisenhardt, 1989a p.58). Edgar Kiser has argued that the application of agency theory to government is more complicated than in the private sector because of third party involvement (e.g., citizens), the existence of multiple principals (e.g., politicians and legislators) and multiple agents (e.g., different bureaus responsible for policy implementation) (Kiser, 1999 pp.156-157).

The public sector variant of public choice theory, best known through William Niskanen's *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* (1971), assumes that decision makers (in this case top bureaucrats) are self-interested, rational, utility maximizing individuals. Public choice theory was suggested as a promising alternative approach for the study of public administration (Ostrom, 1971). The theory posits that bureaucrats are driven to enlarge their bureaus' budgets in order to maximize their utility function which includes salary, perquisites of

the office, public reputation, power, patronage and (but only to some degree) the public interest. Furthermore, public choice theory suggests that the bureaucrat's sponsor (the elected official) expects the bureaucrat to continually requests budget increases (Niskanen, 1971). Based on the presumption of diminishing marginal utilities, ever increasing budgets will push outputs beyond the level where marginal costs and marginal outputs are equal, thereby creating waste (Dunleavy, 1991).

> In a world where bureaucrats are more knowledgeable about cost than sponsors and where activities rather than outputs are discussed during the budget process, "the bureau [will have] the overwhelmingly dominant monopoly power"
>
> (Niskanen, 1971 p.30)

Niskanen concludes that smaller government is better government and makes a number of recommendations that include increasing the competition among bureaus for supply of similar services, increasing competition to the bureaucracy by greater use of private sources of supply, and reasserting control over the public service by the sponsor (Niskanen, 1971). Although *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* was written for the United States system of government its main tenets were very influential in Westminster type governments (Aucoin, 1990).

Managerialism is an approach to management rather than a specific theory. It refers to the literature on private sector management as applied to the public sector (Aucoin, 1990; Pollitt, 1990). Sound management principles have played a major role in organizations since the rise of scientific management at the beginning of the last century (Gilbreth & Gilbreth, 1917; Taylor, 1911) and were strongly influenced by theorists like Henri Fayol (1930) and Herbert Simon (1957). At that time little distinction was made between private sector and public sector management principles. Indeed, principles of government administration developed by Luther

Gulick are still taught in management programs today (Gulick, 1937). But the effect of private sector management principles on government organizations became more pronounced in the l980s and 1990s as governments were looking for solutions to their fiscal problems and turned to the prevailing management literature for answers. Popular books like *In Search of Excellence* (Peters & Waterman, 1982), *Reinventing Government* (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) and *Banishing Bureaucracy* (Osborne & Plastrik, 1997), presented a number of private sector management principles that were expected to result in efficient and effective organizations government organizations.

The application of private sector management principles to government reform infused these precepts with ideological overtones in which managerialists "seek to shift public agencies from an allegiance to the bureaucratic (hierarchy and control) paradigm to a post-bureaucratic (innovation and support) paradigm" (Dixon, Kouzmin, & Korac-Kabadadse, 1998 p.170; Kernaghan, Marson & Borins, 2000). Christopher Pollitt (1990) identified beliefs, values and ideas that form the core of this type of managerialism. He asserts that managerialism defines social progress in terms of productivity increases, supported by sophisticated technologies utilized by a disciplined production-focused workforce. This highly motivated workforce is led by professional managers who have been given the right to manage. Pollitt argues that the widely-held managerialist values were expected to "make institutions perform, provide the key to national revival, help to identify and eliminate waste, to concentrate resources where benefits can be seen to be greatest and give a clearest display where money is spent" (Pollitt, 1990 p.7).

Party political ideas (Box B5) refer to party platforms which in the 1980s and 1990s had remarkably similar effects on public sector reform in Anglo-American countries even though governments of different political ideologies were in power. For example, the Labour

government under Tony Blair, which followed the Conservative administrations in the UK, continued unabated with public sector reform (albeit with a different flavour). New Zealand's far-reaching reforms were accomplished under a Labour government and in Canada more progress was made on public sector reform under Liberal than under Conservative administrations.

Pressures from citizens (Box B6) are a common element used for explaining why governments should treat citizens as customers and provide quality service (Kernaghan, Marson, & Borins, 2000; Savoie, 1995). Perceived or real public service corruption and low standards of service appear to be the main drivers of citizens' dissatisfaction though how these pressures are exerted is not always clear. Pollitt and Bouckaert speculate that "if, for example, citizens become used to very rapid and customer-friendly transactions in banks, building societies and shops they may become progressive more and more discontented with [government services]…and such discontent…may then be expressed to political representatives" (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000, p.32).

Administrative Systems

The format of the reform package (Box C7), known as the New Public Management include measures intended to minimize or revert government growth, eliminate annual deficits, reduce public debt, reassert political control over the public service and generally making government run better (Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1991; OECD, 1999; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). The subdivision of the Pollitt and Bouckaert's reform package into governance and structural reform (Box C7a) and internal management reform (Box C7b) follows Hood's (1991)

categorization of New Public Management doctrines into two components, one for reducing hierarchy and the other for controlling hierarchy.

Governance and structural reform (Box C7a) fall within Hood (1991) category of disaggregating units in the public sector. Disaggregation refers to the break up of large government organizations into corporatized units (e.g., state-owned enterprises in New Zealand), franchise arrangements and contract agreements. The idea of disaggregation also includes the devolution of authority to non-profit organizations (Kettl, 1997) and privatization, both major characteristics of reform in New Zealand, Australia and the UK (Halligan, 2003a). Governments adopted privatization of government services to "bring about more market-oriented approaches such as user pay…and selling of assets" (Mascarenhas, 1993 p.321). Other market mechanisms include the requirement of government departments to bid on government services in competition with private sector bidders and the creation of internal markets where departments bid against each other for the right to deliver specific programs (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). Executive agencies (in the UK) and Special Operating Agencies (in Canada) created arms-length relationships which relieved the heads of agencies from the strictures of government bureaucracy in exchange for a business orientation and total dedication to service delivery and, in the case of Special Operating Agencies, self-financing (Aucoin, 1995a; Halligan, 2003b).

Internal management reform (Box 7b) falls within Hood's category of controlling hierarchies which are dominated by managerialist doctrines. They include an emphasis on private sector management styles applied by professional managers who are required to meet stated standards of performance with respect to outputs (Hood, 1991). In some Anglo-American countries department heads are renamed CEOs and work under short term, typically 5 year, contracts (Boston et al., 1991; Halligan, 2003b). Simplicity and flexibility guided internal reform

(reinvention) in the United States. Simplicity meant deregulating agency structures and personnel rules; flexibility referred to the creation of reinvention laboratories, small independent units within departments searching for greater efficiencies and effectiveness (Ingraham & Moynihan, 2003; Kettle, 1994). The size of the public service was reduced in these countries either directly through across-the-board staff reductions or indirectly through government restructuring (OECD, 2001 p.4).

Internal management reform has a distinct ideological flavour directed at the public service, especially the senior public service (Halligan, 1995). In the UK for example, internal reorganization supported the structural reform in a way that reasserted political power over what was perceived to be bureaucratic monopoly power (Richards, 2003). Politicians' diminished trust in the public service was reflected in the tendency to seek policy advice –traditionally provided by senior public servants– outside the organization and by increasingly relying on political rather than bureaucratic advice (Halligan, 2003a; Saint-Martin, 2000). This distrust was partly fuelled by the negative views of the public service held by President Reagan, Prime Minister Thatcher and Prime Minister Mulroney who all regarded the public service as part of the problem (B.G. Peters & Savoie, 1994).

Internal management reform has also been affected by ideas about entrepreneurial government which redefined citizens as customers and led to the expectation that entrepreneurial public servants will find ways to do more with less by reinstituting the profit motive and by being more innovative (Gore, 1993; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). In addition, as entrepreneurial governments manage on the basis of outcomes rather than activities and control government outlays through results rather than inputs, performance management systems are necessary to

ensure public servants provide quality services consistent with government direction (Osborne &
Gaebler, 1992).

To sum up, the drivers of public sector reform related primarily to the economic, fiscal
and social conditions that governments faced in the 1980s and 1990s. As governments looked for
ways to deal with these pressures they found inspiration and assistance in opportune theoretical
perspectives. While the interpretation and application of these theories varied with the specific
circumstances and politics of different regimes (Aucoin, 1995a; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000), they
had a strong influence on how the New Public Management was ultimately configured. These
configurations had structural and internal management components which, in the case of the
latter, strongly affected working conditions of the public service.

Reform Assessments and Critiques

Review of the New Public Management is mixed. The literature includes numerous
debates about the movement's relative importance in the history of public management,
warnings about its possible negative effects on democracy, concerns about increases in systems
of control, and enumerations of other possibly detrimental effects including an erosion of the
public service ethos. A major question is whether the New Public Management heralds a true
Kuhnian paradigm shift in public administration (Dobel 2001; Lynn 2001; Rosenbloom, 2001).
In their book *Banishing Bureaucracy*, Osborne & Plastrik argue that entrepreneurial government
organizations "represent an inevitable historical shift from one paradigm to another" (Osborne &
Plastrik, 1997 p.15). Williams disagrees on a number of grounds but mainly because the writings
are weak on scholarship, internally inconsistent and otherwise "severely flawed" (Williams,
2000 p.532). Strong criticism too is levelled by Paul du Gay who refers to *Reinventing*

Government as containing "epochalist narratives" that provide "easily digestible…slogans" not grounded in the "nitty gritty" of reality (du Gay, 2003 p.671). Fox acknowledges that Osborne and Gaebler's (1992) book contains many good points and a great deal of common sense. However, its lack of a consistent theoretical framework, style of argumentation and tolerance for contradiction has created a book more consistent with the hyper-reality of post-modernism than with sound principles of modern social science (Fox, 1996 pp.256-7). Finally, Lynn (1998) suggests that the legacy of the New Public Management can be viewed as a paradigm of questions rather than answers.

Authors have also expressed concerns about the possible effects of the New Public Management on representative democracy as a result of market failure (Kelly, 1998), or on substantive democracy as a consequence of public entrepreneurship (Terry, 1998) and as a result of the marketization of citizens into consumers (Box, Marshall, Reed & Reed, 2001). To be a consumer or a customer "is to perform a role in a system of market relations" (Pollitt, 1995). By implication consumers have fewer rights than citizens since they do not participate in the creation of the product, i.e., government policies. Moreover, public organizations are required to "accommodate the conflicting interests of citizens" rather than simply focusing on providing efficient services (Kernaghan, 1999). Maor studied the tenure of senior public servants in six countries (including Canada), between 1980 and 1996. He found that increases of managerial authority in some countries have led to greater uncertainty in the mind of politicians, who as a result, imposed greater controls on the public service (Maor, 1999)

Others have pointed to the many benefits of the New Public Management. Borins (1995) in a point-counter point discussion with Savoie (1995) for example, takes the view that rather than dwell on its real and perceived shortcomings the more useful questions that should be asked

are "*what reform efforts have accomplished*" (emphasis in the original) (Borins, 1995 p.128).

Elsewhere, Borins highlights the outstanding innovative behaviour of "local heroes" found in the

American and Canadian public service alike (Borins, 2000, 2000a, 2001).

    The debate on the New Public Management, its effect on the relationship between

politicians, political staff and career public servants, the quality of service delivery, the changes

in accountability structures, decentralization and adoption of private sector management

principles, has slowed somewhat in the past few years (Talbot, 2001). In the meantime,

governments have continued to implement new regimes consistent with reform principles,

principles that have had significant implications for the professional public service.

Chapter 4 New Public Management in BC

When the BC Liberals came to power in 2001, New Public Management had been in existence for more than 15 years in Anglo-American Countries. While Canadian reforms generally lagged behind other countries and were seen to be less strategic (Auditor General of Canada, 1993), there were significant national reform activities in the mid and late 1990s. At the same time, assertive public sector reforms were pursued by Conservative governments in Ontario and Alberta.

The 1993 election of the Klein government in Alberta brought significant, across-the-board expenditure cuts to government services and social programs (27% over four years) and large layoffs. Ministries were required to prepare 3-year business plans showing how goals were to be achieved and measured. Administrative savings were realized by grouping hospitals under Regional Health Authorities and by cutting the number of School Boards by one third (Schwartz, 1997). Premier Klein emphasized the politics-administration division introduced by the previous Getty administration, thereby reasserting political power over the bureaucracy (LeSage Jr.,2000).

The Harris government elected in 1995 on a "Common Sense Revolution" platform (Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, 1994), followed suit with large spending cuts especially in the social service portfolios, reduction of the public service by 16%, introduction of business plans built around core services, amalgamation of hospitals under regional health boards, consolidation of ministries, and increased controls over education (Clark, 2002; White, 2000).

The BC Liberals election platform gave strong indications of their plans for radical public sector reforms and their "New Era" document promised fiscal responsibility, government

accountability and citizens' choice. They went on to win a land-slide election victory with 77 out of 79 seats. This overwhelming election win provided a unique opportunity for the BC Liberals to pursue their reform agenda practically without opposition in the Legislature. Liberal leader Gordon Campbell, impressed with the New Zealand model and the fiscal successes in Alberta and Ontario, met with Premiers Klein and Harris to seek advice on public sector reform and had created his transition team well before the 2001 election[9].

Shortly after taking power in June 2001, Premier Gordon Campbell launched an ambitious and radical program of public sector reform. His new government embarked on a Core Services Review of all programs (intended to achieve significant cuts through privatization and public service reductions), completely overhauled government organizations including boards, agencies and commissions, and started a program of deregulation, privatization and decentralization (Langford & Lindquist, 2003).

In addition to these sweeping policy and structural reforms, the government undertook a fundamental "reorientation" of the public service which required that public servants replace long-held public service work values with a new set of work values based on a business like management style. This reorientation of the public service was of vital importance to the government's reform plans and received significant and sustained attention by the Premier and Deputy Ministers. It marked a unique attempt by the BC government to meet its policy and restructuring objectives by fundamentally reshaping the organizational and professional capacity of the public service.

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[9]Deputy Minister to the Premier for Corporate Planning, personal communication

Vince Collins, a long-serving former provincial Deputy Minister and member of the

Liberal transition team, developed a proposal to "revitalize and renew" the public service to

ensure the creation of a "motivated and competent workforce" (Collins, 2001). Mr. Collins was

appointed Commissioner of the Public Service Employee Relations Commission, the central

agency responsible for corporate human resources with the responsibility of implementing the

government's Public Service Renewal program.

The following sections describe the scale, scope and depth of the BC government's

public sector reform using the concept of a reform "trajectory". A trajectory as understood in

this context was part of a three stage scenario which moves from an initial situation (alpha) to a

future situation (omega) by following a chain of steps or events. Pollitt and Bouckaert (2000

pp.63-64) introduced this idea as a means to compare specific reform initiatives among 10

European and Anglo-American countries. Michael Barzelay (2001) employed a similar detailed

method to formalize case studies to facilitate comparisons of case studies in the domain of what

Barzelay calls "public management policy." Public management policy, which in essence is

identical to New Public Management, is concerned with the "authoritative means intended to

guide, constrain, and motivate the public service as a whole" (Barzelay, 2001 p.6).[10] Figure 2

below uses Pollitt and Bouckaert's alpha and omega scenario components but replaced the

trajectories with Barzelay's detailed events framework suitable for demarcating the research

questions.

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[10] Barzelay makes a distinction between "public management policy" and "program design" which is concerned
with the nature of government programs and addresses substantive policy issues in health, social services,
transportation and other programs. While program changes were part of the new government's agenda, they are not
included in the study.

The organizing framework functions by situating the period of interest (the episode or series of events) at the centre of the alpha and omega scenario. It classifies structures and processes subjected to change into five main categories collectively defined as "government-wide institutional rules and routines in the areas of expenditure planning and financial management, civil service and labor relations, procurement, organization and methods, and audit and evaluation" (Barzelay, 2001 p.7). The set of events numbered E1 to E5 making up the episode refers to the BC New Public Management during 2001-2005. Figure 2 does not enumerate elements of the government's agenda related to program changes though it does reflect the implications of these changes for the government work force. The following section discusses the elements of this framework in detail.

ALPHA	EPISODE	OMEGA

Ten years NDP government
 	
Narrow 1996 election loss to NDP (39-33 seats)
 	
Election campaign 2001
 	
Election win 77 out of 79 seats
 	
General concern about fiscal situation
	E1: Expenditure planning and financial management
	    E1.1 Fiscal Review
	    E1.2 Core Review
	    E1.3 <u>Budget Transparency and Accountability</u>
	        <u>Amendment Act</u> (2001)
	      <u>Balanced Budget and Ministerial Accountability Act</u>
	      (2001)
	E2: Public Service and Labour Relations
	    E2.1 Public Service Renewal
	    E2.2 Workforce Adjustment
	    E2.3 <u>Public Service Amendment Act</u> (2003)
	E3: Procurement
	    E3.1: <u>Procurement Services Act</u> (2003)
	E4: Organization and Methods
	    E4.1 Contracting out
	        E4.1.1. Medical Services Plan and
	           Pharmacare, (Maximus, 2004)
	        E4.1.2. Health Sector legislation October
	           2003 allows private partners to
	           contract out non-clinical services
	        E4.1.3. Payroll and HR administration, Telus
	           2002
	    E4.2 Privatization
	        E4.2.1 BC Ferry Corporation
	        E4.2.2 BC Rail (sold)
	    E4.3 Internal Reorganization
	        E4.3.1. Shared Services HR
	        E4.3.2. Revenue centralization
	        E4.3.3. BCBC returned to government
	E5: Audit and Evaluation
	    E5.1 <u>Auditor General Act</u> 2003
		Sound fiscal situation
		
		Competent public service
		
		Efficient and effective program delivery
		
		Accountable government

Figure 2
Organizing Framework for Public Management Changes in the BC Public Service
Source: Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000; Barzelay, 2001

Initial Situation (Alpha)

In 2001, after 10 years of NDP administrations, the political landscape in BC was highly favourable for a new government. After a convincing election victory in 1991, the NDP won the 1996 election with less than 40% of the popular vote. Yet, Premier Clark, who had replaced Mike Harcourt in February that year, undertook several high profile controversial initiatives including provincial wage guidelines, bringing non-union wages to union levels in the public sector, ICBC car insurance rate freezes, university tuition freeze and the construction of high-speed ferry catamarans that failed to meet service requirements (Howlett & Brownsey, 2001). Mr. Clark resigned under allegations of having solicited free construction on his personal property in exchange for a gaming license[11]. Deputy Premier Dan Miller stepped in and stayed from August 1999 to February 2000 when the party's new leader, Ujjal Dosanjh took over and served as Premier until the May 2001 election. These shifts in leadership, the declining popularity of the NDP and its narrow electoral win in 1996 had made a Liberal victory in 2001 practically certain. This allowed the BC Liberals a long planning horizon in preparing to govern. Such long transition is particularly helpful for parties that have no previous governing experience (Savoie, 1993b). In addition, the election results gave the Liberals a strong political mandate to carry out their far-reaching plans for the province quickly and with great assurance.

BC's economic conditions too promised to be a good starting point for the Liberals. As a small, open, resource-based, economy the province is dependent on world market prices and supplies. Its main industry groups are agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining, manufacturing, construction and utilities. About 79% of the BC labour force however, worked in the service

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[11]On August 29, 2002 the BC Supreme Court found Glen Clark not guilty of breach of trust.

industry in 2001[12]. Under the NDP unemployment fell from 8.9% in 1996 to 7.0% in 2000.

Moreover, while economic growth had lagged behind Canada for several years, BC's growth as a

percent change in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) had reached 3.8% in 2000 as illustrated in

Figure 3. Growth for 2001 was estimated at 4.0%

Per cent change in real GDP

British Columbia
Canada
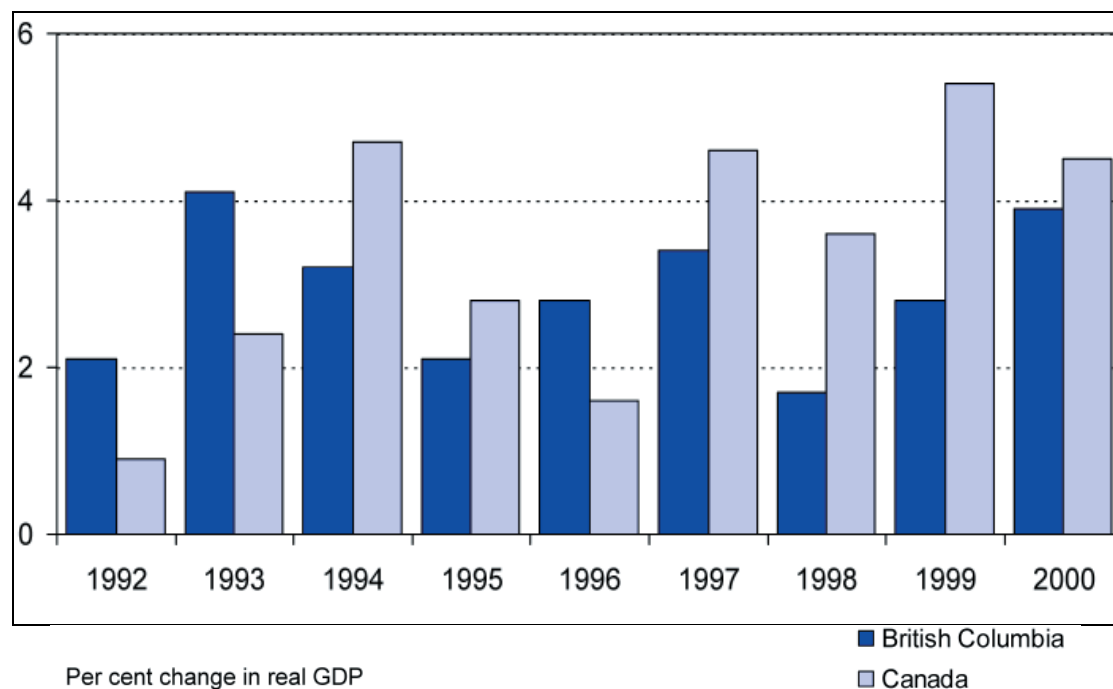
Figure 3
Canada and British Columbia Economic Growth

     Fiscal conditions were less advantageous than the political and economic situation as the

NDP had run deficit budgets for many years. Yet tax payer supported deficits fell from $793

million in fiscal 1996/97 to $210 million in 2000/01. Based on summary accounts –which

combine the financial results of the government with its Crown corporations and agencies, the

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[12] Unless otherwise indicated, information in this section is based on the Economic and Financial Review and the Estimates, published annually by the BC Ministry of Finance.

books showed a $1.1 billion surplus for 2000/01. Total tax payer supported debt however, had increased from $18.1 billion in 1995 to $25.7 billion in 2000/01. During the election campaign the BC Liberals had expressed doubts about the assumptions underlying BC's fiscal position and were ready to put the NDP's forecast to the test.

The Liberal government was faced with a tired and dispirited public service that had become increasingly politicized during the NDP regime. Traditionally, the BC public service consisted of careerist, non-proactive public servants who accepted a clear division between policy and administration (Ruff, 1996). When the NDP came to for power the first time in 1972, it upset this balance by replacing several traditional Deputy Ministers with assertive program oriented Deputies. Subsequent Social Credit administrations had encouraged senior public servants to be 'on side', – especially with its reform policies of privatization, restraint and downsizing in the late 1980s. When the NDP took over again in 1991, it promptly imported executives from Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the Yukon who appeared sympathetic to the NDP agenda. This influx of outsiders was seen by some as the building of a political network and the politicization of the BC public service (Ruff, 1996). The many shifts in public service leadership during the NDP administration and staff cuts in its second term led the Auditor General to comment that the human resource capacity of the BC government was at risk (Auditor General of British Columbia, 2000). Prior to the 2001 election, the BC Liberals were well aware of these issues and had asked their transition team to bring forward proposals for addressing the evident malaise in the public service.

Episode (Detailed Trajectory)

Expenditure Planning and Financial Management

Fiscal Review (E1.2): Within a week after the election and still in the interregnum, Liberal Leader Gordon Campbell appointed a Fiscal Review Panel, made up of a cross-section of representatives from the business community. In his July 23 transmittal letter, the Panel's Chairman Gordon Barefoot stated that the panel's task was to conduct an independent review of the province's fiscal situation in order to establish a "credible base line against which fiscal results can be measured" (Fiscal Review, 2001 p.1). The fiscal review panel used expenditure commitments and ministry fiscal projections (but not a $1.38 billion income tax cut announced in June), to forecast significant budget deficits. The panel concluded that

> [t]hese projected deficits indicate a structural fiscal imbalance that represents a serious threat to the financial health of the province. While we are not in an immediate financial crisis, government is operating in a fundamentally unsustainable manner.

(Fiscal Review, 2001 p.1)

As a result, the Campbell administration's July 30th *Economic and Fiscal Update* restated the 2000/01 Summary Accounts to project a $1.5 billion deficit instead of the $1.1 billion surplus projected by the NDP Estimates of March 15, 2001. Furthermore, the government injected an additional $248 million in the economy through business tax cuts to prevent the province from "withering away and ending up being a have not province" while promising a balanced budget by 2004/2005 (Ministry of Finance, 2001).

Core Services Review (E1.2): Under the guidance of Delta South MLA Val Roddick, Chair of the Core Review and Deregulation Task Force, the government launched a fundamental review of all ministry programs and Crown agencies and undertook to reduce the number of

regulations by one third, in July 2001. In a letter to government ministers Premier Campbell set out the parameters for the Core Services Review which included both a mandate review and a service delivery review. Ministries would be responsible for conducting the Core Services Review with the exception of most Crown Corporations and some Agencies, Boards and Commissions which were to be managed by the Crown Agency Secretariat, a central agency. An Administrative Justice Project was established to review those Agencies, Boards and Commissions that had a justice system focus.

Instructions issued by the Premier's Office in August 2001, described the primary purpose of the review as to "rethink government and to ensure that non-essential programs, activities and business units are eliminated." Specific instructions were similar to those used by the federal government in 1994 in that programs were to be submitted to five tests:

1. Does the mandate, program, activity or business unit continue to serve a compelling public interest? (Public interest test)

2. Is the package of programs, activities or business units affordable within the fiscal environment? (Affordability test)

3. Are we doing the right thing? Is there a legitimate and essential role for the provincial government in this program, activity or business unit? (Effectiveness and role of government test)

4. Are the current organizational and service delivery models the most efficient way to manage and deliver the program, activity or business unit? (Efficiency test)

5. Are the current measures and reporting mechanisms the most effective way to account for program, activity or business unit performance, relevancy, effectiveness, service? (Accountability test)

While no financial targets were set, ministries were expected to be "fully aware of the fiscal framework for the province and the need to put in place a sustainable management model" . In addition, ministry budget instructions issued soon thereafter demanded that ministries prepare budget packages that were to be 20%, 35% and 50% lower than their current budget. Only the two ministries of Health (Health Planning and Health Services) and the Ministry of Education were exempt from these requirements.

   Budget Legislation (E1.3): In August 2001, the Legislative Assembly passed the *Budget Transparency and Accountability Amendment Act, 2001*. Amendments included requirements for three year service plans, reporting on the service plans and generally tightened the reporting time lines set out in the *Budget Transparency and Accountability Act* passed in 2000 under the NDP. Consistent with the Core Services Review, service plans developed in the fall of 2001 were required to indicate Ministry "-strategic shifts" from existing program responsibilities to programs that would meet the criteria set out in the Core Services Review. The *Balanced Budget and Ministerial Accountability Act*, 2001 was also passed in August 2001. It mandated a balanced budget for 2004/05 and every year thereafter. The *Act* further specified that the government withhold 20% of cabinet ministers' salaries. Ministers would be able to earn back half this sum by meeting their ministry budget. Only if the government as a whole met its provincial budget target would ministers receive the other 10%[13].

Public Service and Labour Relations

   Public Service Renewal (E2.1): When public service renewal was launched in September 2001, the Core Services Review was in its final stages and its potential impact on the public

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[13] The Liberal government delivered balanced budgets since 2004/05 but incurred a deficit in 2009/10.

service was known to ministry executives. Renewal was intended to "sustain a professional public service" in the face of challenges presented by government changes and the problems inherent the public service. The initiative was to proceed in three stages: 'diagnosis of the people management issues, design and pre-implementation planning of people management strategies and finally implementation' .

Workforce Adjustment (E2.2): The Workforce Adjustment program was initiated concurrently with the announcement of public service renewal although the actual number of full time equivalent (FTE) reductions would not be announced until two months later. In November 2001, PSERC announced its comprehensive Workforce Adjustment strategy based on estimates contained in draft three-year ministry service plans (for an overview of ministry estimates see Appendix I). The range of reductions was expected to be between 8,050 and 11,550 FTEs over three years for a midpoint overall reduction rate of 9,800 FTEs. The plan assumed that 1,000 existing vacancies would not be filled, that 1,000 auxiliary positions would not be renewed and that natural attrition would reduce the overall target by a further 500 FTEs, leaving 7,300 position to be eliminated. On January 17, 2002 (known as black Thursday), the government announced a three year restructuring plan which included a reduction of 3,300 FTEs by March 2003.

Public Service Act Amendments (E2.3): Amendments to the *Public Service Act*, passed in 2001, established the Office of the Merit Commissioner. The Merit Commissioner is an Officer of the Legislature appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council for a three-year term on the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly. In 2001, the Commissioner of PSERC assumed the position of the Merit Commissioner to ensure "the smooth, efficient and timely introduction of the office of the Merit Commissioner" (Annual Report, 2001/02). This meant that for at least

three years the Merit Commissioner was overseeing his own policies and practices for which he was responsible as the Commissioner of PSERC. The *Public Service Amendment Act, 2003* eliminated the Public Service Appeal Board and simplified the appeals process for unsuccessful job applicants within the public service with the final decision resting with the Merit Commissioner.

Procurement

Procurement Services Act, 2003 (E3.1): This legislation restored open tendering on government contracts and was designed to take advantage of large purchase discounts. It also delegated greater authority to ministries for purchasing goods and services.

Organization and Methods

Contracting Out (E4.1): The government contracted for delivery of its payroll and components of its human resource administration with TELUS Sourcing Solutions BC (now called Provincial HRMS Partnership), in 2001. The management and administration of the Medical Services Plan (MSP) and PharmaCare (now called Fair PharmaCare) was contracted out to Maximus Inc., a United States based company. Results of outsourcing these functions have been mixed. The transfer of payroll to TELUS Sourcing Solutions BC incurred several delays[14] and Maximus was fined on several occasions for not meeting requirements of the contract (Leyne, 2005).

Privatization (E4.2): In 2003, BC Ferries, a tax supported Crown Corporation became a private corporation, British Columbia Ferry Services Inc. Majority shares are held by the BC Ferry Authority, run by a government appointed board. BC Rail was sold to Canadian National

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[14]Personal communication payroll transition team members

in 2003. The BC government reinvested part of the proceeds of the sale in a Northern

Development Project which was to proceed in partnership with Canadian National. A ten year

lease to a private corporation of the Coquihalla highway was cancelled after wide-spread public

opposition to the deal.

Internal Reorganization (E4.3): During the 2001/05 period, Procurement, Corporate

Accounting Services, Work Place Technology Services were reorganized in Shared Services BC

serving government organizations and were relocated to one ministry. The BC Buildings

Corporation, a tax supported Crown Corporation was disbanded and its functions were

transferred to Accommodation and Real Estate Services which became part of Shared Services

BC. The management of all provincial revenue, taxes fees and natural resource royalties were

centralized in one ministry. Human Resource Management was centralized in the new agency

called the BC Public Service Agency which replaced the Public Service Employee Relations

Commission (PSERC) in 2003. The new agency maintained its traditional policy function and

became responsible for all transactional human resource services previously housed in individual

ministries.

Audit and Evaluation

Auditor General Act, 2003 (E5.1): The Legislature passed a new *Auditor General Act*

which clarified the coverage and service provided by the office of the Auditor General, including

the lead role in establishing the criteria and selection process for the appointment of external

auditors to government organizations. In also strengthened the independence of the Auditor

General and improved the accountability of his office to the legislature .

Future Situation (Omega)

The BC government's vision of the future was based on reform experiences in New Zealand, Ontario and Alberta. The government's three-year strategic plan envisioned a prosperous and just province, whose citizens achieve their potential and have confidence in the future. Its goals of a strong and vibrant provincial economy, supportive infrastructure and safe, healthy communities, and a sustainable environment were to be achieved through innovative, enterprising and results-oriented management (BC Government, 2002). The Premier and his top public servants saw a future in which competent public servants would be able to deliver quality services to the citizens of the province. While the collection of events laid out in Figure 2 were to achieve the government's vision, Public Service Renewal was key to ensuring that the BC public service would be able to deliver on the vision. It was a conscious and deliberate attempt at dramatically changing the identity and work values of the BC public service.

Public Service Renewal Overview

The Renewal program consisted of three stages: issue identification, strategy development and implementation. The original timeline projected completion of stage one by December 2001, of stage two by April 2002, and the starting point for implementation in May 2002. No completion date was identified for implementation. As the project progressed, timelines and definitions of what activity belonged in which stage underwent minor shifts but overall timelines were consistent with the original plan. Responsibility for Renewal rested with Vince Collins, Commissioner of the Public Service Employee Relations Commission (PSERC). He was accountable to the Deputy Minister Committee on the Government Operations steering

committee and kept the Deputy Ministers Council (the executive sponsor) and the Minister of Government Services apprised on progress.

Issue Identification

This stage involved extensive Victoria based consultations with individuals and groups intended to reveal human resource issues that were to be addressed by Renewal. Respondents were asked to identify critical human resource issues and suggest how these issues might be resolved. Groups consulted included ministry executive committees, professional groups such has human resource and finance senior officials, unions and an outside expert committee. A complete list of groups consulted is included in Appendix H. In addition, PSERC conducted 10 focus group consultations with about 150 employees in eight locations across British Columbia. Employees were given a list of human resources issues (prepared by PSERC) and asked to identify and rank the top issues.

Consultation findings were published in *The Public Service Renewal Project: Report on Stage One.* The report included four objectives and three priorities flowing from the consultations and two additional objectives injected by PSERC.

- Proactive and Visionary Leadership
    - Priority (1) leadership change management
- Performance-focused Workforce
    - Priority (2) performance management
- Flexible and Motivating Work Environment
- Learning and Innovative Organization
    - Priority (3) employee development
- Effective People Strategy (PSERC addition)
- Progressive Employee-Employer Relations (PSERC addition)

Upon completion of the stage-one report, PSERC sought and obtained approval from the Deputy Ministers Council to proceed to the next stage.

Strategies Development

This stage was dedicated to (1) developing the three priority strategies identified in stage one, (2) seeking input and commitment from executives and senior public servants on Renewal and (3) engaging managers, supervisors and employees in the project. To meet these goals PSERC engaged the services of Western Management Consulting –the successful bidder on a Request for Proposal issued in July 2001. The contract required Western Management Consulting to organize a series of workshops in Victoria and across the province. Four different workshops were designed and delivered between April 2002 and December 2003. Victoria-based workshops (*Leadership in the New Era* and *Leadership Action*) lasted two days and were delivered once. Regionally-based workshops (*Leadership in the New Era – Building Excellence* and *Leadership Action*) lasted one day and were delivered 29 and 21 times respectively. The following sections provide a brief overview of each workshop.

Leadership in the New Era, April 2002: Prior to this two-day workshop, Vince Collins had requested that Deputy Ministers engage their staff in preparing for the session by answering questions on vision, values and leadership. Responses would be used to develop a Human Resources plan to support Renewal during the workshop.

The workshop was attended by about 200 Deputy Ministers, Assistant Deputy Ministers and senior managers. Premier Gordon Campbell delivered the opening address, followed by speeches by the Deputy Minister to the Premier and Cabinet Secretary and the Deputy Minister, Corporate Planning and Restructuring and the Deputy Minister, Attorney General and Solicitor

General and Public Safety. Context for the two day discussion was provided by representatives of Ipsos-Reid, a consultancy, who presented an environmental scan. Vince Collins presented the central topic, *Public Service Renewal: Building the BC Public Service for the Future*.

Speakers outside the BC government included Linda Stevens, Deputy Minister and Associate Secretary of Cabinet, Centre for Leadership, Cabinet Office who spoke on leading change in Ontario's public service and Jean-Guy Fleury, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Management Priorities and Senior Personnel, who made a presentation on Public Service Change. A panel of Martha Piper, President and Vice Chancellor of UBC and expert panel members Larry Bell and Judy Rogers provided an external perspective on leadership.

After the workshop, BC Stats and PSERC conducted a survey of workshop participants and found that 98% found the workshop useful, that 99% agreed that the discussion on vision and values was important to public service renewal and that 99% agreed that renewal of the public service was important for the future of the public service. Based on this support the report concluded that "participants were very supportive of the workshop's content and presentations" (BC Stats & PSERC, 2002).

In a follow up letter, the Deputy Minister to the Premier and Cabinet Secretary sent copies of *Harvard Business Review on Breakthrough Leadership*" to participants providing them some "personal learning material to stimulate ongoing thinking and insights on leadership" (Dobell, 2002). This publication is a selection of articles from Harvard Business Review written

since 1979 in which Daniel Goleman, Tom Peters, and other well-known business writers relay

their personal experience on leadership (Goleman, 2001).[15]

Leadership in the New Era – Building Excellence, June – October 2002: These one-day

workshops hosted by Deputy Ministers were delivered in seven different locations across the

province and were attended by about 2000 excluded managers and senior bargaining unit

supervisors. The workshops were intended to mirror the discussions that took place during the

Victoria workshop and to provide employees elsewhere in the province with a similar

experience. The purpose of the workshop was to engage managers in the public service vision,

values and the Corporate Human Resource plan, develop corporate and team actions to support

Renewal, gain commitment from leaders on what they personally would do to demonstrate

leadership and, build a sense of community among leaders (Public Service Labour Relations

Commission, 2002).

Workshops were attended by either the Deputy Minister to the Premier and Cabinet

Secretary, or by the Deputy Minister to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring. If

they were unavailable, video clips of their speeches delivered at the April work shop were

shown. Host Deputy Ministers received PowerPoint presentations and workshop scripts from

PSERC and were assisted by three facilitators, each with a specific responsibility to manage the

large (60 to 100 employees each) workshops. Workshop participants were shown video clips of

the highlights of the Victoria workshop. They were the Premier's speech and the panel

presentation *Leadership – an External Perspective* by Martha Piper, Larry Bell and Judy Rogers;

the panel had been chosen as the most popular session by April participants. Regional workshop

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[15] Almost all quotes about vision and leadership in the workshop binders were taken from leaders in the private sector

participants were also given an overview of Renewal, the Corporate Human Resources plan and highlights from Ontario's renewal program.

BC Stats and PSERC conducted a survey of the regional workshop series and found that 80% thought the workshop was useful, 89% agreed that the discussion on vision and values was important to Renewal and 95% agreed that renewal of the public service was important for the future of the public service. Unlike the feedback on the April workshop however, there were large variations in the evaluation results (63% - 95%). This led its authors to conclude that

> …despite this positive momentum, focus may be required for facilitating understanding on Renewal and the encompassing vision and values along with translating this understanding into action that can result in direct impact
>
> (BC Stats & PSERC, 2002)

Leadership Action Workshop, December 2002: This two-day workshop held in Victoria was attended by about 300 leaders from across the BC public service. Its purpose was to build on the leadership commitments made in April. The main topics included achieving public service excellence through leadership, sharing progress made on personal, ministry and corporate leadership, identifying what breakthrough leadership means and providing an enhanced leadership focus, commitment and motivation.

After a welcome by the Deputy Minister to the Premier and Cabinet Secretary, the Premier spoke on progress and the challenges facing the government in its commitment to leadership. The Deputy to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring reviewed events and progress since April. Guest speakers included Paul Tellier, President and CEO Canadian National Railway; an expert panel consisting of Lise Mathieu, Director General Health Services, Canadian Forces, Lloyd Craig, President and CEO of Coast Capital and Lynda Cranston,

President and CEO of the Provincial Health Services Authority; her Honour Iona Campagnolo,

Lieutenant Governor of BC; Bob Chartier, National Managers Community, Government of

Canada and; Hugh Culver, Principal Marathon Communications. Vince Collins presented an

update of Corporate Human Resources Plan projects.

BC Stats and PSERC conducted a survey of participants after the workshop and recorded

positive reactions. Of those who completed the survey, 99% felt encouraged that corporate and

ministry action was being taken to achieve Renewal. In addition, (90%) agreed that the

workshop was useful, and 94% concurred that ongoing annual workshops would be valuable.

However, only 62% expected that their ministry team would follow up on commitments made at

the workshop (BC Stats & PSERC, 2003)

Leadership Action Workshops May 2003 – December 2003: These workshops, known as

the 'legacy project', were delivered across the province to about 4000 participants. They marked

the point of transition between strategies development and implementation. Workshops intended

to institutionalize Renewal by establishing "leadership communities" by participants using a

number of management tools.

Workshops were hosted by a Deputy Minister and facilitated by one internal and one

external facilitator. PSERC provided the PowerPoint slides as well as scripts for the host Deputy

Minister. In addition, video clips were shown of those who spoke at the various sessions at the

December 2002 workshop. The purpose of the workshops was to share progress made on

personal, ministry and corporate leadership commitments, to introduce tools to support leaders in

the workplace and to support learning and networking in the public service leadership

community. Participants created leadership communities during the day and prepared a

preliminary Team Charter and Action Plan for continuing leadership community work for at

least three months. Further frequency of meetings was to be decided by the leadership

community.

Implementation

Project Charters for Renewal strategies had been developed by PSERC staff in early

2002. Strategies comprised:

1. *Establish a Leadership Centre within the Ministry of Government Service*[16] This

   Leadership Centre would become responsible for optimizing current leadership talent and

   recruiting, developing and retaining future leaders. The Leadership Centre was created in

   April 2003 and was amalgamated with the BC Public Service Agency, when it replaced

   PSERC a couple of months later.

2. *Review Recruitment and Selection Policy and Processes*.

   This review involved a three pronged strategy to (a) simplify staffing processes, (b)

   review the definition of merit and (c) review staffing appeals.

   a. Simplification of the staffing processes resulted in a policy change that permitted

      ministries to post management jobs "out of service" without having to first satisfy

      the requirement that no "in service candidates" could be found. Other planned

      simplifications involving an online recruitment process and the creation of an

      electronic applicant pool had not yet been realized when the study was completed

      in 2007.

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[16] The Ministry of Government Services was the ministry that housed PSERC

b. The definition of merit had already been partly addressed by the appointment of a Merit Commissioner in 2001. While one of the project charter objectives was to enshrine the definition of merit in legislation as "non-partisan and made on the basis of competence", no changes were made and the principle of merit remains as originally defined in the Agency Policy Directive 4.1 (BC Public Service Agency, 2008)

c. Staffing appeals were simplified (through the *Public Service Amendment Act* passed in 2003), for unsuccessful job applicants within the public service, by the repeal of the Public Service Appeal Board and by giving final appeal authority to the Merit Commissioner. Staffing (hiring) appeals for out of service job applicants were eliminated.

3. *Design Improvements to Employee Recognition Programs.*

The employee recognition Project Charter noted that notwithstanding existing recognition programs (Long Service Awards for employees with 25, 35 and 40 years of service, Monetary Employee Recognition awards for improvement ideas, and ministry based staff appreciation for up to $100 per employee per occurrence), employees do not feel sufficiently recognized. A Premier's Public Sector Excellence Award program intended to address this issue was not established until 2006.

4. *Establish a Corporate Learning Strategy*

This strategy was initially developed in response to the Auditor General's 2000 report, *Maintaining Human Capital in the British Columbia Public Service.* The learning strategy purpose was to develop a framework for addressing development needs of the public service. Its first output was a new competency framework for employees at all

levels of the organization. This competency framework became the basis for a 5-year $10 million partnership with a Consortium of Camosun College, Royal Roads University and the University of Victoria to develop and train supervisors, managers and executives to lead the public service[17].

5. *Develop a Performance Management Strategy*

   This strategy envisioned the development of employee performance and development plans (EPDPs), which would link individual performance objectives to organizational objectives set out in ministry service plans. Based on an employee survey carried out in November 2003, the Auditor General reported that 60% of respondents had not received an employee appraisal in the previous year whether based on EPDPs or other tools. The Auditor General further noted that the purpose of EPDPs was not well understood (Auditor General, 2004).

While several strategies were completed within the projected time frame, some did not come to fruition until the second Liberal mandate and others were still outstanding in 2008. One possible reason might be that Vince Collins, the lead Deputy Minister left the government in the spring of 2004[18].

Summary

The New Public Management arrived in BC after public sector reforms had been in place in Anglo-American countries for a long time. Public sector reforms were well documented in OECD publications and were prominent on government Websites. It was not surprising therefore

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[17]The program was extended by a further two years in the spring of 2008. However, a new competency framework was adopted by the BC government later that year.

[18]Personal communication Mr. Collins

that prior to the 2001 election the BC Liberal transition team designed reform strategies echoing what was done elsewhere. Reform design and change instruments together constitute the "package" of reform described by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2000). In BC, the governance and structural part of the package included privatizing provincial ferry services, and the sale of BC Rail; contracting out the administration of the Medical Services Plan, pay roll and human resources and, regulatory changes to permit private health care providers to contract out non-clinical services. Somewhat incongruously, the government also returned the semi-privatized BC Buildings Corporation to government proper. The Core Services Review was the instrument used to adjust government programs and involved program cuts and decentralization to non-profit organization.

By far the most extensive changes were made in the internal management part of the package, some involving regulatory change but mostly accomplished through reorganizations. Extensive centralization occurred in procurement, revenue administration and human resource management. Lay-offs resulting from program reorganizations, privatization, contracting out and, Core Services Review were handled through a Workforce Adjustment Program that included early retirement strategies and voluntary adjustment programs.

Public Service Renewal was the largest and most sustained public service change management program in the history of the province and reflected the BC government's overarching ambitions with respect to the public service. The purpose of Renewal intended nothing less than a redefinition of the public service culture. It was a dynamic and high profile change management program covering about two years and involved three distinct phases. The first involved broad consultations, the second concentrated on engaging large numbers of senior managers in the program, both in Victoria and across the province and the third stage was

dedicated to implementation activities of quick wins identified in the second stage and laying the groundwork for long term results.

Other change instruments served mainly a rhetorical purpose e.g., changes to financial legislation and to the *Auditor General Act*, the establishment of a 'Waste Buster' Website, 'open' Cabinet meetings and reduction of the number of Regulations. As time progressed these measures lost their prominence or were quietly discontinued.

PART THREE – MANAGING REFORM AND RHETORIC

Chapter 5 Change Theory and Language

Contemporary government reform arose from common goals and was framed in terms of economic, social and political inevitability. Depending on their ideology, governments selected and combined standard reform elements from an assortment of strategies such as privatization, decentralization and marketization to construct their own version of the New Public Management. Variations between governments could be traced by counting the number and types of elements used and describing how these elements combined into a greater or lesser radical interpretation of government reform. However, the theoretical underpinnings of the New Public Management are limited to arguments of economic necessity and the efficiency of market based operations and private sector management models. For a better understanding of the forces involved in fundamental change, its causes, dynamics and outcomes, it is necessary to turn to the change management literature.

This chapter discusses the change management literature in three sections. First, it provides an overview of theories that attempt to explain the reasons why organizations change and assesses the degree to which these theories offer satisfactory explanations for the New Public Management. Second, it discusses theories concerned with the manner in which change is accomplished, including organizational conditions necessary for change to occur and steps required to successfully implement and embed change in organizations. Third, it presents theories concerned with the important role of language in organizational change that explain how change is rhetorically framed, perceived by individuals and incorporated in the organizational discourse. The final section of the chapter provides a summary of the contributions made by these theories to an understanding of government reform.

Explaining Change at the Macro Level

Van de Ven & Poole (1995) have classified organizational change theories into four broad types of change generating mechanisms or motors: teleological theory, life cycle theory, dialectical theory and, evolutionary theory. A fifth type, complex non-linear dynamics was described by Garud & Van de Ven (2002). Each of these theories offers partial explanations for New Public Management configurations.

Teleological theories assume that change is goal directed and that organizational leaders are able to articulate goals, devise actions for reaching them and monitor progress. From this perspective, the primary cause of organizational change is the will of individual actors. Total Quality Management (Deming, 1994), Business Process Re-engineering (Hammer & Champy, 1993) and Learning Theories and Organization Development (Burke, 1982; Golembiewski, 1980), are examples of teleological theories that enjoyed wide-spread popularity in Anglo-American countries (Hood, 2000). Powerful government leaders in these countries would personify independent generating mechanisms by imposing their individual wills on the organization although Savoie suggested that some leaders, who saw themselves as the architects of purposeful change, were clearly mistaken (Savoie, 1993a).

Life cycle theories are based on the assumption that organizations have biological characteristics of birth, development, maturity, decline and death (Greiner, 1972; Quinn & Cameron, 1983). From this perspective change is inherent in organizations as they go through their life cycles. Like most change theories life cycle theory is private sector oriented and does not anticipate enduring organizations such as governments. A notable exception is the economist Anthony Downs, who described the life cycle of bureaus (large organizational government units) in *Inside Bureaucracy*. He argued that new bureaus are created by "advocates and zealots"

who,together with outsiders, press for the establishment of new bureaus. Once established, new bureaus struggle for autonomy and independence and may grow rapidly as they attract ambitious "climbers". Bureau growth will slow as a result of increased competition for additional resources, will lose its climbers who seek opportunities elsewhere, and will continue to decelerate and sometimes die (Downs, 1967 pp.5-23). Downs' life cycle theory however, is less relevant for Westminster governments who have more power in determining government bureaus than do U.S. governments.

The common thread running through life cycle theories is that as organizations grow large they will become highly formalized with rules, procedures and control systems characteristic of government bureaucracies. Such bureaucratic structures cannot be improved by effective collaboration and team approaches. Rather, they must be revitalized through structural and managerial solutions (Daft, 2004). The crisis following the unbridled growth of governments after WW II could be seen as a special life cycle case requiring drastic means to overcome the challenges of very large bureaucracies. Unfortunately, life cycle theories have little to offer in the way of solutions.

Dialectical change theory is based on conflict dynamics occurring among organizations in a competitive environment dominated by globalization and information technology. Change occurs when opposing values gain enough power to challenge the status quo leading to resolution through a new synthesis. However, creative syntheses are not always forthcoming and sometimes new conflicts simply replace the status quo (Garud & Van de Ven, 2002). Lindner (2003) argued that institutional change can be explained through dialectical forces when opposing forces collide at vulnerable points in stable institutions. Cule & Robey (2004) however, have suggested that a dialectical perspective alone does not provide a complete explanation of change but that such

explanations could be achieved by combining teleological and dialectical theory. It is clear that the usefulness of dialectical theories to the New Public Management is limited though they may partly explain the dynamics involved in the struggle for dominance between politicians and bureaucrats.

Evolutionary theories are founded on Darwinian principles of natural selection and random variation, forcing organizations to continually adjust to their environment in order to survive. Some researchers proposed a modified evolutionary theory explaining how changes are not continuous but occur intermittently during periods of great turbulence. This 'punctuated equilibrium model' can be found in the work of Brown & Eisenhardt, 1997; Gersick, 1991; Romanelli & Tushman, 1994; Tushman & Anderson, 1986; Tushman & Romanelli, 1985; Sastry, 1997. The punctuated equilibrium model also offers an opportunity to make distinctions between radical and convergent change (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). Convergent change is result of adaptive responses and occurs relatively slowly over time (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1969; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

Radical, revolutionary change occurs when outside (or inside) pressures force organizations to adopt an entirely new organizing template (Freeman & Cameron, 1993; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Hannan & Freeman, 1984). The punctuated equilibrium model may explain why so many OECD governments found themselves in similar circumstances in a globalized and digitized world with international interdependencies. The structural changes inspired by the New Public Management vary with the perception of environmental threat and would be more dramatic in countries where the threat seems most acute as for example in New Zealand where public enterprises performed poorly (Mascarenhas, 1991). In addition, the greater

the real or perceived threat, the more governments are inclined to turn to radical and often controversial strategies which may or may not address the threat (Klein, 2008).

Non-linear theories are an attempt to overcome shortcomings of the previous theories which do not provide a satisfactory account of the rise of reform and the New Public Management. This is because the processes of strategic change are far more complex than any of the foregoing theories can explain. According to Garud & Van de Ven, the sources of this complexity are (1) strategic changes occurring over time which means that different influences may be acting on different parts of the organization at different times and (2) that change generators are inherently incomplete.

> … in the evolutionary model, variations are assumed to arise randomly, but the process that gives rise to variation remains unspecified. In the dialectical model, the origin of the antithesis is obscure, as is the source of dissatisfaction in the teleological model, and the processes which trigger startup and termination theories do not account for the possibility of more than one single motor

(Garud & Van de Ven, 2002 p.25)

In this view one or more motors are driving change simultaneously and different types of change outcomes result from variations in positive or negative feedback (non-linearity) and from the strength of the different feedback loops. Thus, satisfactory explanations of change will need to take into account these different motors and feedback dynamics.

These different theories of organizational change offer general causal explanations for change at the macro level. Organizations change as a result of complex interacting forces which, in the case of the New Public Management, will have different starting points in different nations (Pollitt, 1995). Organizations also change because their leaders are goal directed and efforts to achieve desired goals demand organizational change. Political leaders like Thatcher and New

Zealand's Finance Minister Roger Douglas leveraged economic and political forces to introduce wide-ranging governance and organizational change. Organizations change as they grow from small to large to very large and from simple to complex demanding strategic action. Opposing positive and negative forces create conflicts in a dialectic pattern that may create resolutions through synthesis. Organizations also change because they exist in a competitive and globalized environment where their continued existence depends on the ability to adapt, or to radically change. While such existential threats do not normally occur for governments, globalization exerts a strong influence on national governments' independence and identity. Finally, each of these causes may be affected by different combinations of feedback loops and result in outcomes that are difficult to predict and provide, at least in part, an explanation for different reform outcomes in countries with similar conditions.

Accomplishing Change at the Organizational Level

Theories of changing refer to the practice of planned change even if this change responds to real or perceived outside forces. There is no doubt that the New Public Management exemplified the concept of "planned change" since the ideas underlying reform could only be realized through strategic, purposeful and carefully managed implementation. The most common theoretical representation of planning and executing organizational change consists of three phases: before the change, during the change and after the change. Kurt Lewin's model of unfreezing, changing, and refreezing is one of the most cited in the change management literature (Marion, 2002). A useful review of how the three phased model is employed by different theorists has been provided by Kanter, Stein & Jick (1992). The model assumes that prior to change organizations are at rest. They exist in some steady state that needs to be

interrupted (presumably through processes described in the previous section) in order to mobilize

forces for change. The next step is to bring about the change in structure or process or both. It is

at this point that the forces against change (resistance) are to be overcome by the forces

promoting change. The last step involves returning the organization to a steady state to ensure its

continued effective and efficient functioning, the assumption being that change has become

institutionalized. The management and practitioner literature is grounded chiefly in this three

step theory of changing that conceptualizes organizations moving from an unsatisfactory

equilibrium to a new, more desirable equilibrium. Accomplishing this shift successfully depends

on the organization's readiness to abandon the current equilibrium, it capacity to overcome

resistance and its ability to institutionalize a new equilibrium.

Conditions of readiness have been proposed by Galpin (1996), Vollman (1996), Stewart

(1994), Burke & Litwin (1992), Hall, Rosenthal & Wade (1993), and Daniels & Mathers (1989),

Readiness factors run from as few as five (Daniels & Mathers, 1989) to as many as 17 (Stewart,

1994) including such factors as the degree of customer focus, the level of innovation and the

quality of existing communication. In addition, Engleman & Van de Ven (2002) and Armenakis,

Harris & Mossholder (1993) identified the need to create change-enabling conditions.

Overcoming resistance to change is seen as the major challenge (Nord & Jernier, 1994;

Pardo del Val & Fuentes 2003). Resistance may be particularly high when employees strongly

identify with the existing organization (Fiol, 2002) or when organizations have a prominent

culture (Demers, Giroux & Chreim, 2003). Some authors argue however, that the focus on

resistance may be outdated and that strategies that seek to create and increase support for change

(rather than overcome resistance) have more promise (Dent & Goldberg, 1999; Krantz, 1999;

Piderit, 2000). Of particular note in this regard is Steven Kelman's work on procurement reform

in the United States from 1993 to 1997. Kelman argued against the assumption that people resist change as being oversimplified and misleading. He believes there exists in organizations a constituency for change, the group of discontented with the status quo who, together with enthusiastic supporters of innovation can be mobilized to bring about significant organizational change (Kelman, 2005 pp.6-7).

Institutionalizing change refers to embedding the new equilibrium in the organization's culture (Kotter, 1995; Mento, Jones & Dirndorfer, 2002). The difficulties of doing so successfully can be seen in mergers and acquisitions (Davenport 1998; Elsass & Veiga 1994; Schraeder & Self 2003). The type of change (radical or convergent) and the relative strength of the prevailing culture influence the level of successful institutionalization. The more radical the change and the stronger the culture the harder it is to make change permanent (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996; Parker & Bradley 2000). Moreover, in today's highly dynamic environment, change is continuous rather than intermittent. Researchers point out the challenge for contemporary organizations of being in a perpetual state of change readiness while at the same time institutionalizing adopted changes. Organizations must become adaptive entities functioning continuously and simultaneously at various stages of change (Brown & Eisenhardt, 1997; Conner, 1998; McLagan, 2003).

Notwithstanding turbulent times and the increased pace of change, prescriptions for successful change management strategies are virtually identical (Aldag & Kuzuhara, 2005; Daft, 2004; Johns & Saks, 2005; Kotter 1996, Knicki & Cole, 2003; Kreitner, Jones, 2004; McShane, 2004; Quinn, Faerman, Thompson, & McGrath, 2003; Robbins, Coulter, & Langton, 2006). They typically involve a number of steps starting with the creation of a sense of urgency indicating that change is needed, followed by the development and communication of a new

vision by the organization's leadership and the establishment of an implementation plan including objectives, timelines, human and financial resources and short term 'wins'. Communication strategies are developed to keep employees informed and encourage their active participation and adoption of the changes (Kotter, 1998; Kotter & Cohen, 2002). While the importance of communication is emphasized, the level of guidance provided by researchers has been minimal with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Richardson & Denton, 1996; Timmerman, 2003). One needs to turn to literature on the use of language in organizations to obtain greater insight in the role of communications.

Why Language Matters

In an article entitled "Taking the Linguistic Turn in Organizational Research" Alvesson & Kaerreman (2000) observed the increased interest in and focus on language in the social sciences including sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology and communication theory (p.136). Likewise, organizational discourse literature has seen significant growth in the past two decades. A literature review by Putnam & Fairhurst (2001) contained more than 500 articles and books, mostly published in the late 1980s and 1990s. While an understanding of organizational discourse relies on different theories and techniques, the overarching purpose is to explore linguistic interaction between people and explain how such interactions are an expression of and affect behaviour.

Rhetoric is concerned with using language in aid of persuasion (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001). Rhetorical strategies tend to be used by organizations mainly for advocacy or for dealing with crises (see for example Boje & Rosile's, 2003 discussion of the Enron crisis). Conger (2001), advises organization leaders to use rhetoric for convincing internal and external

stakeholders of the desirability of a particular strategy. In the public sector, Mueller, Sillince, Harvey, and Howorth (2003) recommend using rhetorical strategies to better understand and implement the New Public Management.

Cognitive linguistics looks at how individuals make sense of the world. People orient themselves to organizations by creating mental frameworks (schemata) of the organizational hierarchy, its distribution of roles and responsibilities and its overarching culture. These schemata constitute an individual's worldview and perspective for managing meaning (Weick, 1995). Likewise, meaning is central to pragmatics but in addition to schemata, action, context, and relationships contribute to meaning as "individuals construct social actions through working out discrepancies between what is said and what is meant" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001 p.89). Pragmatics equates language with action so that words like asking, directing and asserting constitute action in themselves.

Postmodern analyses, although generally less accessible, make important contributions to understanding organizations. The utility of postmodern analysis is its focus on the instability of meaning. Postmodern researchers suggest that language "functions as a system of difference, devoid of any stable and direct relationship with the natural world, [and that therefore] texts are meaningful only as different people read and interpret them in multiple ways" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p.113). Texts (which include the discourse, structure and processes of the organization) can be seen as a metaphor for organization. Therefore, organizational dialogues, conversations and narratives highlight the intertextuality between organizational structures and individuals in organizations.

These different approaches share the perspective that (organizational) reality is primarily socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). This view leads to an interpretative

understanding of organizations where communicative action "is constructive of social and organizational reality" (Heracleous and Barrett, 2001 p.756). Authors taking this approach have as their primary motivation the description and understanding of organization. Interpretive approaches are also prominent in parts of the organizational change literature. This literature emphasizes how change is experienced by those that are being subjected to change rather than those that are leading change. Researchers explore how individuals make sense of change, how change is reflected in organizational narratives and what role literary tropes like metaphor play in change management initiatives.

Isabella (1990) developed a model that explains how managers interpret organizational events as change management moves forward. Based on in-depth interviews with 40 managers, she suggests that managers' interpretations could be seen as moving through stages of anticipation, confirmation, culmination, and aftermath. Anticipation is characterized by rumors, fear and suspicion and by the absence of concrete information. Confirmation allows for a frame of reference that includes routine explanations and expectations of what the personal implications of the change will be. Culmination happens when the change actually occurs and people reinterpret the organization, develop new norms and forge new relationships. Finally, in the aftermath, the frame of reference again shifts towards evaluation of the change and the "identification of winners and losers" (Isabella, 1990 p.25). From this perspective, change demands continual adjustment of one's frame of reference and a new interpretation of reality by making sense of each phase. In their study of a professional engineering firm, Carter & Mueller (2002) documented how such a shift in reality occurs when the prevailing professional rhetoric is replaced with a new, dominant managerial one.

Employees' position in the organization hierarchy affects how they make sense of change. In one case study, Taylor (1999), found that senior managers told stories of discontinuous change (i.e., they saw themselves as agents who had made specific decisions to change) whereas individual contributors told stories of incremental change (i.e., from their perspective change had a marginal effect on their day-to-day activities). Brown & Humpreys (2003) studied organizational discourse during the merger of two colleges in the UK. Not only did they find differences between managers and subordinates, (the former casting themselves as heroes and the latter seeing themselves as victims) but they also observed differences between the interpretations of the merger by the two colleges. Dunford & Jones (2000) showed that sensemaking responses to changes in regulation were very different in three organizations even though they were subject to the same regulatory change. Finally, Bartunek (1988) compared personal reframing and organizational reframing in a model she developed of organizational transformation. "Reframing in individuals refers to discontinuous change in a person's understanding. Reframing in organizations refers to a discontinuous change in the organization's…shared meaning or culture" (p.151).

Boyce (1996 p.5) observed that "stories told in organizations offer researchers and organizational development practitioners a natural entry point to understanding and intervening in the culture(s) of an organization". As culture is the expression of shared values, experiences and meaning, stories will provide researches with important clues for managing change. Boje argued that by directly observing story telling in an organization he was able to demonstrate that stories are "textually embedded [and that therefore] their meaning unfolds through the storytelling performance event" (Boje, 1991 p.109).

Ford & Ford made the point that if it is true that "change is created, sustained and managed by communication then organizational conversations should be the focus of study" (Ford & Ford, 1995 p.560). More specifically, they conceive of such conversations as consisting of four stages: initiative, understanding, performance and closure. Elsewhere, Ford (1999) emphasized that conversations occur at the second order of reality (those that are socially constructed) rather than at the first order of reality independent of interpretation.

Metaphors are often used to describe and analyze organizations (e.g., Morgan, 1986; Putnam, Phillips & Chapman, 1996). Cleary and Packard (1992) argued that the metaphors proposed by Morgan become part of organizational development interventions through integrating them in the plan. They further believe that clients' thinking about change is facilitated if they can adopt metaphors "that they wish to be guided by" (Cleary & Packard, 1992 p.238). Sackman (1989) suggested that organizational change might be served by using two types of metaphors depending upon the kind of desired change, targeted metaphors and adaptive metaphors. Targeted metaphors, such as engineering should be used when the objectives of the change are clear and unambiguous. Adaptive metaphors such as planting, pruning, and nurturing should be used when objectives are largely unknown or ambiguous, in order to allow for recursive cycling within the change management process. Grubbs (2001) used the extended metaphor of allegory in a study of agencies in the state of Delaware. By transforming the discourse into different characters (e.g., Charity, Thrift, Prudence) he was able to clarify the themes pursued by the agencies and use these themes in his subsequent intervention. Finally, Armenakis, Harris and Mossholder surveyed 450 practicing turn-around agents (either CEOs known to have turned around organizations or successful change agents) and asked them about symbols (metaphors) used in their interventions. The four that were most often chosen

"corresponded to medical, maritime, athletic, and military metaphors" of which the medical one was the most popular (Armenakis, 1996 p.127).

In summary, the macro level generative change theories discussed in this chapter contribute to an understanding of the different causal mechanisms for organizational change. While no single theory can fully account the origin and development of the New Public Management helpful insights can be gleaned from the rather paradoxical combination of theories of individual will (teleology) and punctuated equilibrium (evolutionary). In addition, non-linear theories may explain variations in government reform in different countries by pointing to the diverse influences on organizations since strategic changes occur over long periods. Thus, a satisfactory explanation of what causes which type of change at what time must rely on a combination of theories.

Theories concerned with successfully implementing and sustaining organizational change on the other hand, converge on common precepts, principles and prescriptions that fully specify actions required in the change management process. Such theories are like recipes stipulating ingredients (e.g., readiness) and processes (e.g., how to overcome resistance to change) and are able to explain transformation failures as a function of leaving out some ingredients or not following steps in the right order. While these theories are precisely formulated and highly structured they are not necessarily exhaustive especially in the area of communication where they fall short of detail.

The literature on organizational discourse offers better guidance on the dynamics of communication as it highlights the role of language in the social construction of reality. It discusses the importance of rhetoric as a means to persuade individuals to embrace change or to interpret change in a way consistent with the organization's objectives. It demonstrates that for a

"new" reality to exist after the "old reality" has been transformed through a change management process, this reality must be infused with new meanings (schemata) about the organizational structure and processes. Finally, this literature aids in understanding how narratives are developed to explain individuals' role in the process and how identities are shifted accordingly.

Chapter 6 Implementing BC's Radical Reform

B.C.'s reform process was more than an extensive reorganization. It was the deliberate adoption of a radical variant of the New Public Management involving changes to governance, organizational structure, policy making and the public service. The scope, scale and depth of these changes were discussed earlier. This chapter narrows the discussion to the public service by examining in detail how the BC government implemented Public Service Renewal (Renewal)[19]. The analysis proceeds along two separate but parallel tracks. The first evaluates the Renewal process against the work of John Kotter (Kotter, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2002); an exemplar of established theory on implementing organizational change. Applying Kotter's eight step model allows the unpacking of a complex two-year process into analytically manageable phases which can then be assessed on their adequacy. The second analyzes the organizational discourse by isolating and highlighting the rhetorical strategies employed in implementing Renewal. The sweeping nature of BC's public sector reform demanded a complete reorientation of the public service and its traditional value system and the indoctrination of private sector management principles. While the significance of traditional public sector work values and their relationship to public servants' identity will be discussed in a later section, it is sufficient to note at this point that the adoption of new work values was central to Renewal and depended almost exclusively on verbal persuasion.

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[19] Unless otherwise indicated references to documents, speeches, speaking notes and PowerPoint presentations refer to the list of government documents in Appendix A

Kotter's eight-step model of organizational change was first published in Harvard Business Review in 1995. Since that time, the model has retained its basic structure and continues to be widely quoted in the change management literature. The eight steps, if executed correctly, will lead to successful organizational "transformation." Although Kotter projected continuous and ongoing organizational change in the future, his model is still consistent with Lewin's classical change management theory in which individuals have to be shaken out of their complacency (unfreezing), resistance has to be overcome by creating buy-in (changing) and change has to be institutionalized (refreezing). Each of the following sections analyzes one of the steps and is preceded by a brief description of Kotter's characterization.

Establish a Sense of Urgency

Transformation efforts are successful if the leader (or group of leaders) identifies and discusses crises, potential crises, or major opportunities for the organization. The point is not so much that the danger (or opportunity) should be real, only that the executive can convince employees of imminent danger to the well being of the organization (and by implication their personal well being). Kotter provides the example of a successful case in which "one CEO deliberately engineered the largest accounting loss in the company's history" (Kotter, 1995, p.60). The task is to shake employees out of their complacent state and to get them committed to the transformation the executive has in mind.

Vince Collins, a member of the transition team and the newly appointed Commissioner of the Public Service Employee Commission (PSERC), created urgency in the minds of the Deputy Ministers to the Premier with a June 2001 proposal intended to deal with existing and anticipated problems in the public service. Mr. Collins argued that "the combination of future social trends

and a unique legacy of ambivalence toward the management and development of its human resources left BC's public service inadequately prepared to respond to citizen's demands for high quality public services" (Collins, 2001 p 5). This ambivalence resulted from a number of factors occurring as early as the late l980s when the Social Credit government imposed privatization and contracting out on the public service. Ambivalence and general malaise also followed from politicization of traditional public service roles, the perception of an erosion of public services, and frequent leadership changes compounding the public service's "perception of instability and lack of direction" (Collins, 2001 p.4). The proposal emphasized the urgency of the problem by pointing to a 1997 report prepared by Mr. Collins in which he argued that the public service of BC was at a crisis stage.

The balance of the proposal sketched out a plan for addressing the crisis. While it did not include the workshops that would be conducted in the next two years, it did propose extensive consultations. These consultations were intended to "assess the adequacy of recent surveys conducted by the Auditor General and PSERC… and to begin to take the temperature of the workforce" (Collins, 2001 p.6). The proposal to enter into consultations with the public service seemed paradoxical:

- Taking the temperature of the workforce implies that the workforce is sick, a common metaphor used in change management usually indicating the need for immediate action

- Mr. Collins' 1997 report had shown that the public service was in crisis

- The surveys he referred to had covered about 10,000 public servants and survey results had not been questioned before. Moreover, during Renewal these surveys would repeatedly be used to illustrate the importance of undertaking the initiative.

Thus, it is not obvious why consultations were called for or whether they would add significant information about the state of the public service, which indeed they did not. Consultations merely "confirmed that there are common people management issues…were highly consistent with the previous employee survey research" (BC Stats, 2001 p.3). What the consultations *could* do however was to create the opportunity to put an "urgent" problem before the public service that demanded immediate resolution. The consultations would also position the new government as caring about the public service and welcoming their input. Consultations about the ostensible public service crisis would also divert attention from the planned Core Services Review, significant budget cuts and elimination of many public servant positions which were central to the incoming government's agenda with which Mr. Collins was familiar.

When consultations were initiated in the fall of 2001, public servants were anxious and uncertain about their future. In July, the Premier had announced Core Services Review and instructions requiring budget reductions of 20, 35 and 50 percent had been received by Ministries in early September. The cumulative effect was to cast a pall on the public service. The government however, insisted that Core Services Review and budget cuts were unrelated. For instance, when questioned by both members of the Opposition during his Estimates in August 2001, Premier Campbell repeatedly stated that Core Services Review was independent of the budget process, "[a]t the end of the day, the core review process – and this is important I think – is not about saving dollars or not saving dollars" (Hansard, August 27, 2001 p.819). That the Premier's statements may have been quite puzzling to the public service may be deduced from Core Services Review instructions which included an affordability test. This test asked whether "the package of program activities or business units [is] affordable within the fiscal

environment"[20].The July report of the Fiscal Review Panel had left no doubt about this situation with its statement that "expected multi-billion dollar deficits represent a serious threat to the financial health of the province" (Fiscal Review Panel, 2001). While Premier Campbell may have been strictly speaking correct in declaring that the Core Services Review and the budget processes were separate, the public service was well aware of the direct connection between the two and looked to the future with trepidation.

Consultations: PSERC staff arranged appointments with groups in Victoria (see Appendix H for a complete list), and set up staff focus groups. PSERC's Commissioner wrote a letter to approximately 150 employees inviting them to participate in the focus groups in one of eight provincial locations (Victoria, Vancouver, Nanaimo, Prince George, Nelson, Kamloops Smithers and Fort St. John). The opening sentence of the letter invited employees "to help us build a public service of the future". The urgency was expressed in the next two lines acknowledging that public servants live in a time of "transformation and uncertainty" caused by "ongoing and anticipated change initiatives such as the Core Review Process, E-Government, Shared Services model and the budget imperative", and explaining how government "as an employer" must respond to these initiatives as well as to "people management challenges such as an aging workforce and an already low morale". In addition to creating a sense of urgency, these statements had the effect of separating government-as-decision maker from government-as-employer, thereby permitting the government to make decisions that (negatively) affected the public service to which it then as employer "must respond". The statements also juxtaposed government actions (the Core Review Process and the budget imperative) against the problems

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[20] Premier Campbell's letter do Deputy Ministers 2001

inherent in the public service such as the "already" low morale; a repeated motif in the PowerPoint presentations used to seek feedback from the various groups. This rhetoric understated the impact of government decisions while shifting the emphasis for a solution to "renewing the public service".

In November 2001 while consultations were still ongoing, the Commissioner announced a plan on the government Intranet to "realign staff with priorities [with] core service needs, re-profiling the public service, and reducing long-term cost to help reduce the province's structural deficit". Realignment involved significant reductions by an estimated 8,050 to 11,550 full time equivalent employees (FTEs). Including 1,000 vacancies not to be filled, 1,000 auxiliary employees not to be replaced, and 500 FTEs lost through normal attrition, total FTE reductions over three years would be about 7,300 or 20% of the workforce. The Commissioner also announced a voluntary departure program which would be made available for three months starting in January 2002 (which left public servants wondering what would happen if they were laid off prior to January).

Consultation PowerPoint presentations and facilitator speaking notes made it clear that a public service Renewal was urgently needed as illustrated by the speaking notes excerpt below.

- The Public Service is facing a number of human resource challenges
- Through human resource surveys, feedback from managers and employees, and workforce statistics, we know we are facing:
    - an aging workforce
    - that is currently suffering from low morale -- and even more so with looming staffing cuts
    - we have suffered from a lack of corporate HR strategy
    - and the research indicates that we have not shown good corporate HR leadership in creating the most vibrant public service we can

- Coupled with many of these existing issues, the new government has launched a number of issues such as Core Review, Budget Review, etc. that will result in significant human resource implications
- That is the purpose of Renewal. We have many HR challenges that it is critical to address
- And People are the foundation to the new future.

The imagery of a suffering public service is consistent with a sick public service suggested in Collins' June proposal. This suffering is expected to increase as a result of "issues" created by the new government. The underlying message is that the suffering must end and that Renewal will be the solution. The speaking notes (and the PowerPoint slides) include an additional component of "suffering" which is the lack of a Corporate Human Resource strategy and lack of corporate leadership. The effect of adding this component, which was not included in the original proposal to government in June 2001, was to set the scene for PSERC's 2003 centralization of the human resources function under the BC Public Service Agency. The wording foreshadowed that whatever ideas would flow from the consultations would be transformed into a corporate strategy driven by "good corporate HR leadership".

On January 17 2002, known as black Thursday in the bureaucracy, the government announced a restructuring program which would reduce spending by eight percent over three years. The plan called for a reduction of 3,300 FTEs by March 2003, a number remarkably similar to the realignment number in the November 2001 Intranet message[21] (BC Government, 2002). The government's February 2002 budget was supported by detailed three year ministry service plans projecting radical changes to many government programs including reductions and

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[21]The realignment plan projected 3,200 layoffs by March 31, 03.

eliminations. (A detailed overview of ministry service plans showing the projected FTE reductions is provided in Appendix I. The actual results achieved by 2004/05 are shown in Appendix J). If the public service had been anxious and uncertain about the government's plans for its workforce in the fall of 2001 their fears would have been confirmed in the spring of 2002.

Workshops: In April 2002, PSERC organized a two-day workshop in Victoria attended by 231 senior public servants mainly at the rank of Deputy Ministers, Assistant Deputy Ministers and Executive Director and Directors. A scaled down one-day version of the workshop was delivered in different locations in the province to 1961 managers and supervisors. From the documentation of these events and the Premier's speaking notes, it was clear that the definition of urgency had shifted from public service problems, Core Services Review, budget cuts and workforce adjustment to higher level "fiscal, structural and service realities" (Premier of BC, 2002).

The participant binder included an environmental scan prepared by Ipsos Reid, a well-known and respected consultancy, under the tab entitled "imperative for change". The environmental scan, which quotes several authoritative sources, begins by presenting an explanation of the "cry" for Renewal. Renewal is urgent (as well as important) because of the "need to re-establish or re-define the nature of the social contract; the "bond" between government and citizens which has "weakened" as a result of key societal changes over the past few decades. These changes included citizens' growing negative perception of government, their different expectations of a smaller government, increased citizens' knowledge as a result of technology and declining trust in public institutions. Moreover citizens "crave control" in their "search for certainty of outcomes", demand choices and hold institutions accountable for performance. Lack of trust in the government will make it more difficult to "attract and retain the

public service leaders of tomorrow". The environmental scan then presented Renewal as *the*

solution because the public service is the key contact point in Government's relations with

citizens and the key driver of what citizens "get out" of the social contract. The image created is

of a government in trouble with its citizens which looks to the public service for help in fixing

the problem now, thereby securing a better future for all.

The balance of the environmental scan quoted statistical evidence to support the

argument of the weakened social contract. As the justification proceeded, the scan injected a

distinction between politicians and the public service which ultimately would allow some of the

blame to be attributed to the public service making the public service part of the problem. Table

4 follows the slides in detail and analyzes how politicians and public servants are presented.

Researcher comments are in italics.

Table 4
Environmental Scan Excerpt Presenting Citizens' Views on Politicians and Public Servants

Slide Number	Presents questions posed to citizens about government (1999 and 2001)	How citizens' responses are conveyed
13	How would you rate the performance of each of the following institutions?	– Highlights governments showing at the bottom at 36%. – *Does not highlight the line that shows public employees at 45%*
14	Please rate how much confidence you have in these institutions	– Shows government at the bottom at 23%
16	How much does each of the following occupational groups contribute to the well-being of society?	– Highlights public servants at 49% – *Does not highlight politicians at 34%* – Explanatory text reads: "Overall Canadians judge public servants more favourably than elected officials, but still place them behind

Slide Number	Presents questions posed to citizens about government (1999 and 2001)	How citizens' responses are conveyed
		other professions"
		– *By emphasizing the difference between other professions and public servants attention is drawn to public servants and away from the lower score of the politicians*
17	Please rate how much trust you have in the following occupational groups	– Highlights provincial and federal public servants at 41% and 37% respectively
		– *Does not highlight politicians at 19%*
		– Explanatory text reads: "And the Canadian public is less prepared to trust politicians and public servants"
		– *By highlighting the rating of public servants attention is drawn to their scores rather than to the significantly lower scores of politicians*
18	How confident are you in public sector leaders' ability to lead in today's complex environment?	– Slide shows 30% very confident and 41% moderately confident.
		– *The term "public leaders" may confound politicians and public servants. By leaving the term unexplained different audiences may interpret it differently.*
21	Generally speaking, when you think about the major problems facing Canada today, do you tend to view the government as an institution which helps to provide solutions to these problems, or…which	– *(Slide 21 and 22 should be read in conjunction)*
		– The slide shows 66% of respondents said the government made problems worse

Slide Number	Presents questions posed to citizens about government (1999 and 2001)	How citizens' responses are conveyed
	contributes to making these problems worse?	– Explanatory text reads: "…British Columbians believe Government makes things worse rather than better"
22	Are the problems with our political system related to individuals or to the institutions of governments and how the system works?	– Slide shows that 26% relate the problem to "individuals elected to office" and that 72% percent relate the problem to "Institutions and processes"
		– Explanatory text reads: "However, BC public more apt to blame "institutions of government" than elected officials for problems"
		– *The question did not ask respondents to comment on "individuals elected to office" but individuals generally. If 'individuals refers to 'individuals elected to office' then politicians have to take only 26% of the blame and 72% could be blamed on the public service typically identified with institutions and 'processes'*

Based on Ipsos Reid Environmental Scan, 2002

The "imperative for change" as presented by Ipsos Reid was framed almost exclusively in terms of the problematic relationship between governments and citizens. The essence of the message was that although the public service was at least partially to blame for the problem it would also be instrumental in its resolution.

Premier Campbell and Ken Dobell, Deputy Minister to the Premier and Secretary to Cabinet were the opening speakers the Victoria event. The Premier's speaking notes set out the fiscal and service challenges (declining tax revenues, increasing health costs, public expectations) suggesting the "size of the public service must be decreased" which resulted in a "massive Workforce adjustment exercise". The Premier's notes go on to explain that the government must address the fiscal and service realities in meeting its vision for the future. "Our challenge is to live up to our New Era commitments….We must be vigilant in our efforts to lead the Public Service to achieving this vision". The urgency, according to the Premier rests in the requirement to respond to 'realities' and to meeting the government's agenda.

Ken Dobell's speaking notes provide a series of compelling arguments for Renewal. In keeping with his public service status Mr. Dobell did not focus on the government's agenda but on historical institutional shortcomings and implications of recent government actions. His arguments highlighted centralized government, Core Services Review and [the state of mind] of current employees. Comments under the innocuous sounding "overly centralized government" echoed the indictments used to justify the New Public Management elsewhere: "cumbersome and inefficient practices and models" employed "in the guise of accountability"; a "command and control model…that stifled innovation and responded very slowly to change"; "a mindset that viewed change and innovation with suspicion"; "a bureaucracy that responded slowly to change and; "red tape, regulations, policies and procedures that went well beyond the needs of the commonwealth". The repetition of 'slow response' and the use of the words red tape, cumbersome, inefficient and bureaucracy are evocative of a sluggish public service not fit to serve a new, enterprising government dedicated to quality service. The statements that such inefficiency existed under the "guise of accountability" in a world where innovation was both

"stifled" and "viewed with suspicion", paints a picture of an unprofessional public service. In Mr. Dobell's words Renewal was urgent because the government wanted to move forward and the public service was holding the government back. Mr. Dobell concluded this part of his speech with the following emotional appeal:

> We see it in the faces of our employees, we experience [it] daily in our roles as executives and leaders. Outside data supports what we know in our hearts…We can not go doing things the same way: <u>Everything points to the need for renewal</u> (Emphasis in the original)

Workshops for regional managerial staff were carefully scripted events hosted by a Deputy Minister and attended by Mr. Dobell or Brenda Eaton, Deputy Minister to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring. Video taped sections of Premier Campbell's speech were shown as well as sections of video taped comments by public sector and private sector leaders who spoke at the Victoria event. The same PowerPoint slide presentations and speaking notes were used for all locations. Twenty minutes were dedicated to a section listed on the agenda as "The Imperative for Change and the Need for Renewal". Slides showed the conclusions of the environmental scan without the support of the statistics used in Victoria. The section of Mr. Dobell's speech detailed above was reproduced verbatim in the one day workshops but without the emotional appeal. Even though the urgency was pitched at a lower level in the regions, the rhetoric was essentially the same as during the Victoria workshop

Form a Powerful Guiding Coalition

Transformation is only possible if there is a critical mass of individuals who support the change management effort. In smaller organizations a critical mass of 4 to 5 individuals will

usually be sufficient to create change. In larger organizations the coalition has to grow to about 50 before real progress can be made at the later stages of the project. Kotter also observes that a guiding coalition needs to be supported and strengthened by outsiders because the normal hierarchy does not seem to work, i.e., no transformation would have been necessary if the internal organization worked well.

Renewal was led by a powerful guiding coalition partly because the initiative was driven by Premier Campbell but also because its organization and reporting relationships involved the top level of the public service. Prior to the 2001 election the Premier had traveled widely and met with the Premiers of Ontario and Alberta to seek advice on how to deal with the public service in which he showed a great interest. "The premier was very firm on his ideas for the public service. He had asked for advice from others in Canada but also had his own views. He wanted a professional public service."[22] The Premier's interest in the public service was well known and stories circulated in the bureaucracy that he was interested in Mrs. Thatcher's ideas and the extensive reforms undertaken in New Zealand. Ken Dobell's June 2001 welcome letter to Deputy Ministers was largely structured around what it would mean to be "the best professional civil service in the country" demonstrating the importance of the public service. In fact, the letter defines expected deputy behaviour in terms of "the best civil service in Canada" in four different sections. For example, being the best professional civil service in the country "means being committed to the agenda of the government, and aggressively implementing the government's programs, and setting ambitious targets, [that recognize] the needs of all government's clients [and] support our staff by [among other things] treating mistakes as part of learning". The

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[22] Ken Dobell, interview 2005

Premier's participation either in person on virtually in the workshop series as well as the

extensive participation of Ken Dobell and Brenda Eaton throughout the project was indicative of

the strength of the coalition. The organization chart shown in Figure 4 below demonstrates the

involvement of Deputy Ministers in the Renewal.
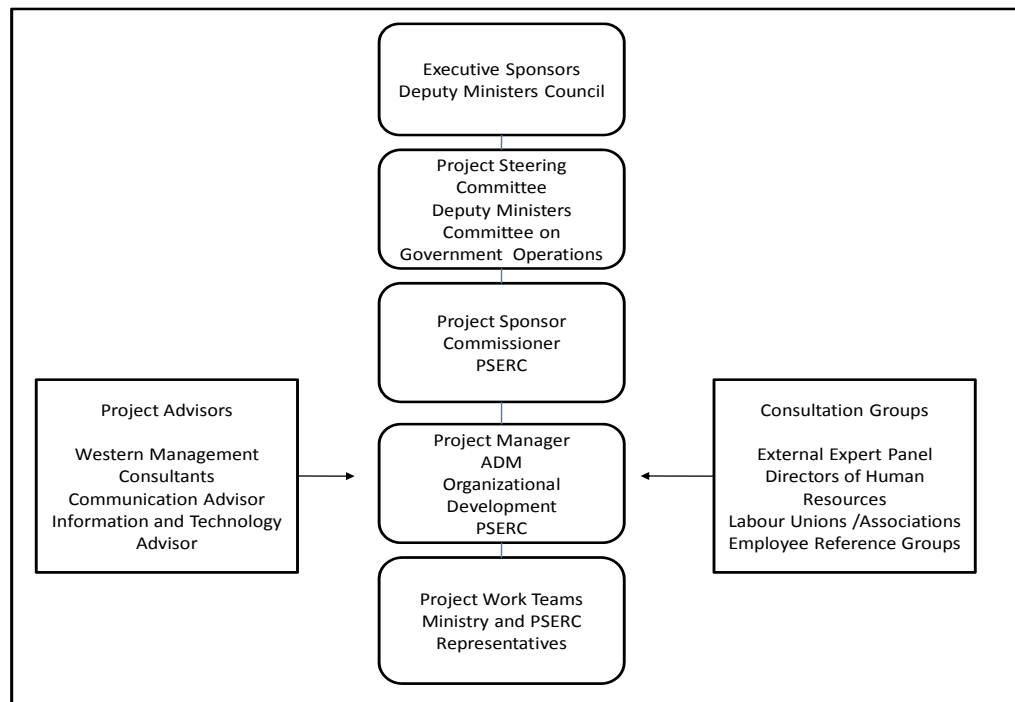
Figure 4
Organization Chart Outlining Roles and Responsibilities for Members of the Coalition

Each committee's responsibilities were spelled out in Terms of Reference. The Executive

Sponsors' terms of reference included the following accountabilities:

- Supporting and providing executive leadership to the Public Service Renewal
  Project.
- Championing the Public Service Renewal Project to public service employees.
- Providing a vision of the public service and government service delivery for
  the next ten years.

- Ensuring alignment of ministry work culture and human resource strategies to the core business of government and the Public Service Renewal Project

Accountabilities for the Project Steering Committee[23] also included the requirement to champion "the Public Service Renewal Project within the public service to other government executives". Deputy Ministers, Assistant Deputy Ministers and individuals in the management ranks were expected to be part of the team that would realize Renewal. Deputy Ministers and Assistant Deputy Ministers were highly visible during the workshops in 2002 and 2003.

Create a Vision and Develop Strategies to Realize the Vision

Successful transformation efforts have been guided by a picture of the future that is relatively easy to communicate and appeals to different stakeholders. A strong and inspiring vision goes beyond what has been articulated in the strategic plan. It presents a clear and convincing image of the future and the path that the organization will take to reach that future. The vision ensures that change initiatives are internally consistent and jointly compatible. The vision may not always be clearly articulated in the beginning of a change management effort but will still be effective if its gets consolidated within three to five months.

The vision that played such an important role in Ken Dobell's letter to the deputies in June 2001 was revised in April 2002 as a result of consultations with Deputy Ministers and

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[23]The Deputy Ministers Committee on Government Operations consisted of a subset of Deputy Ministers. Its involvement was discontinued in December 2001 after Stage 1 was completed. In Stages two and three the Deputy Ministers Committee on Shared Services (DMCSS) became the Project Steering Committee. Its mandate included (1) the development of shared services respecting finance, administration, information technology, procurement and supply, and (2) the development of consolidated human resource management services and major human resource policies/practices. It did not have a mandate to oversee public service renewal.

members of their executive. Part of the consultation took place prior to the April 2002 workshop and part took place during the workshop. As pre-work, PSERC had requested that ministries describe the meaning of the vision statement "To be the best Public Service in Canada". Ministries were also asked to answer two questions about public service values (1) "What do we most value as a Public Service?" and (2) "What do you feel are the most important elements representing the key values of the public service?" PSERC collated ministry responses prior to the workshop and included a selective list in the workshop binder. Workshop participants also received a draft document which showed:

- The original vision and associated statements
    - To be the best Public Service in Canada [vision]
    - A public service that takes pride in delivering the highest service quality and value to clients
    - A dynamic work environment that enables professional growth and organizational results
    - Passionate people that are committed to making a difference
- Five values organized under headings taken from the government's 2002/03-2004/05 Strategic Plan:
    - Integrity: to conduct ourselves in an ethical, honest, consistent and professional manner
    - Responsibility: to care about the public and achieve excellence in all we do
    - Accountability: to enhance efficiency, effectiveness and value of the public service
    - Respect: to treat each other, and those we service, with courtesy, fairness and dignity
    - Choice: to foster innovation and creativity in providing quality services

- Five managerial principles for realizing government's strategic plan: Supporting government to operate in an innovative, enterprising, results-oriented and accountable manner
- Six public service goals, proactive and visionary leadership, performance-focused workforce, flexible and motivating work environment, learning and innovative organization, effective people strategy and, progressive employee-employer relations

Ken Dobell asked workshop participants to consider the document and to propose two or three changes that "would enhance the Vision and Values". The feedback received from about half of the participant tables on the vision "to be the best Public Service in Canada" was highly critical. Participants felt that measuring whether the vision was achieved was problematic, that it emphasized competition instead of collaboration and, that it was too broad and not very meaningful. As a result the vision statement was changed from "To be the best Public Service in Canada" to "To achieve excellence in public service". It could be argued that by changing the vision statement Mr. Dobell demonstrated openness, flexibility and consideration of public servants' views. On the other hand, such extensive consultation on government's vision and its subsequent restatement could be interpreted as a lack of commitment to the original vision and a decrease in the government's resolve to implement Renewal.

Wording changes were also made to items associated with the vision. For example, the statement: "A public service that takes pride in delivering the highest service quality and values to clients" was changed to "A professional public service that delivers the highest service quality and value for British Columbians". The replacement of "clients" with "British Columbians" was urged by participants who did not feel that citizens or residents were the same as clients. With respect to the values, participants suggested that headings taken from the government's strategic plan were not reflective of the values proposed. For example, the value statement "to foster

innovation and creativity in providing quality services" was shown under the heading "Choice".

Likewise, the statement "To enhance efficiency, effectiveness and value in public services" was

classified under the heading "Accountability". However, no changes were made to the headings.

Presumably the symbolic benefit of having public service value categories correspond to those in

the government's strategic plan outweighed the importance of logical connections between the

headings and their description[24].

PSERC developed a series of strategies designed to realize the vision after the

consultations were completed in 2001[25]. They were organized under the five public service goals

included in the vision document. Some strategies were obviously intended to deal with long-

standing grievances. For example, the goal to create a Flexible and Motivating Work

Environment included strategies to develop enhanced recognition tools and programs, simplify

the classification system and examine flexible work hour practices. Other strategies were

included to address corporate issues such as the search for alternative dispute resolution methods

in the labour relations area, or the creation of employee self service methods for updating

personal information and the development of a Corporate Human Resources plan. Strategies

more directly related to Renewal included developing core competency and performance

management framework, employee and executive development. The package of strategies was

not amended as a result of the new vision statement which either meant that the vision statements

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[24]In 2007 the BC government revised its vision again to "Being the Best" and started a process of developing new value statements.

[25]Several of the strategies purported to have resulted from the consultations had already been decided before consultations started, e.g. development of core competencies, funding for employee development, streamlined classification process and the employee portal for personal information.

were equivalent or that the strategies were independent of the vision. A detailed description of the strategies is attached as Appendix K.

Communicate the Vision

Not only must the guiding coalition have a strong vision it must also be communicated often by members of the coalition directly and through speeches and newsletters. Every possible vehicle should be used to communicate the vision. Transformation will succeed if large numbers of employees are aware of the vision through credible communication and as a result are willing to help achieve the transformation. In order to avoid cynicism every member of the leading coalition should be seen to behave in a way consistent with the vision. New employee behaviours must be taught by example of the guiding coalition.

In 2002, PSERC developed a communication plan to support Renewal. Primary objectives of the communication plan were:

1. To increase the common awareness and understanding about what Public Service Renewal is and its benefits
2. To communicate, both internally and externally, why renewal is necessary thereby creating awareness of the legitimacy of the need for renewal of the public service
3. To communicate in concrete terms what Public Service Renewal will mean for individual employees and their role
4. To have people recognize and accept the individual leadership, accountability and authority required in the new public service

The BC government faced a particularly challenging communication task. It needed to persuade public servants that it was sincere about Renewal while it was in the process of laying-off thousands of employees, severely cutting ministry budgets and eliminating programs. This is likely the reason why in September 2001, the Public Affairs Bureau (government's

communications arm) "wanted to proceed in a low-key fashion while Stage I [the consultations]

is underway" and wanted "no formal launch of the Public Service Renewal project at this time"

(PSERC Briefing Document, 2001, p.7). When public service renewal *was* formally announced

in April 2002, one of the key messages contained in PSERC's communication plan attempted to

address this challenge as follows:

> We understand the difficult time employees are going through – the disappointment
> and cynicism that comes from the threat of job loss, public perceptions of poor
> values, and the onerous rules and poor people management experience

The message is consistent with the theme of mixed messages that runs through the rhetoric on

Renewal. It expresses empathy with employees' "disappointment" but then accuses employees of

"cynicism". The message identifies three specific conditions for which there is sympathy: the

threat of job loss (most unfortunate but necessary), public perceptions of poor values

(presumably those delivered by public servants) and the onerous rules and poor people

management experience (presumably under the NDP).

Other key messages proposed that "Public Service Renewal is a tool to help get you

through these difficult times", "is an opportunity for all employees to fulfill their aspirations for

exceptional performance and be recognized for it" and, "in the New Era, we're all leaders." As

Renewal developed over the next two years the message about leadership would become its

dominant theme so that ultimately leadership would be seen as the personification of Renewal.

The strategies and actions section of the communication plan proposed several vehicles to

relay the message about Renewal: an e-letter for monthly distribution, communication tools for

managers including a PowerPoint presentation, speaking notes, a list of "Things you Can Do"

and a 10 minute inspirational video highlighting the essence of the April workshop. The

strategies and actions section also recommended that Cabinet's support be requested to not publicly criticize public servants through the media or otherwise, and to support public servants who are publicly criticized in the news or otherwise. This request was not surprising since bureaucrat bashing was common during government reform (Aucoin, 1995; Savoie, 1993a). What *was* surprising was that the request needed to be made at all in an environment where the government had positioned itself as the champion of the public service.

In the summer of 2002, PSERC prepared a Creative Brief intended to develop a theme-line for the communication plan that would allow the re-positioning of Renewal as it moved into the implementation phase. Writers of the brief observed that most public servants will "see themselves as competent professionals who carry out their work with integrity". Renewal therefore:

> Seeks to build on this set of beliefs to create a working environment in the public service that promotes and supports not only, **integrity and professionalism** but also individual **responsibility and accountability** and **encourages innovation** in the workplace (emphasis in the original)

This view represented a significant shift from the oft quoted Renewal mandate "to rebuild and sustain a professional public service capable of providing quality services that meet the needs of British Columbians" which had rankled the public service and was seen by many as an insult[26]. It was also the first time that Renewal was projected from the perspective of the public service rather than the government. The brief also identified barriers suggesting that communications about public service renewal would be problematic:

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[26]Personal conversations with senior public servants 2001

1. The vast majority of public servants feel demoralized and are likely cynical about the change process underway with Renewal especially in light of Workforce Adjustment.

2. Pent-up cynicism at the lower levels of the public service towards new initiatives designed to improve the working conditions within the public service. Many employees have lived through previous initiatives designed to improve the working climate for public servants that met with little success due to poor planning and implementation or resistance to change at key levels of the organization.

The creative brief provided no specific strategies or key points to support its communication approach nor was it apparent from the roll-out of the April communications plan that the shift in positioning suggested in the brief had been adopted. PSERC implemented the original communication strategy as planned. It created:

- A scripted 27 slide PowerPoint presentation for Deputy Ministers that put Renewal within the context of the government's strategic plan and the new Vision and Values agreed upon in April, 2002

- A document called "Ten Things You Can Do To Communicate Public Service Renewal" intended for senior managers suggesting opportunities for communication, including that all who manage or supervise others make the PowerPoint presentation to their staff

- Monthly postings of E-letters on the government Website between August 2002 and January 2003

- A document named "Workforce Adjustment & Public Service Renewal" for Deputy Ministers containing key communication points on both topics. Workforce adjustment is positioned (among other things) as "a unique opportunity to create a renewed public service" The section on public service renewal does not refer to workforce adjustment

- A video featuring Premier Campbell, Ken Dobell and Brenda Eaton at the April 2002 workshop

The emphasis on leadership was becoming more and more apparent in these communications. For example, the PowerPoint presentation speaking notes declared that "Renewal is about all of us. We are the leaders in the New Era. We are the clients of Renewal as well as its champions". The "Ten Things You Can Do" document urges its readers (i.e., everyone who supervised staff) to "Personally model leadership behaviours". The Renewal Website consistently referred to Deputy Ministers and Assistant Deputy Ministers as "senior leaders" who had made "leadership commitments". The speaking notes on Workforce Adjustment & Public Service Renewal stated that as part of a new focus on managing people "we will develop strong leaders". Finally, all workshops and events related to public service renewal had leadership in the title. In fact, the agenda for a two day *Leadership in Action* workshop, organized in December 2002 for Deputy Ministers, Assistant Deputy Ministers and other senior public servants, was exclusively dedicated to leadership at the personal, ministry and corporate level.

Empower Others to Act on the Vision

Employees willing to act on the vision must be empowered to achieve transformation. This requires that the guiding coalition removes obstacles to change, change systems or structures that undermine the vision and encourages employees to take risks and engage in non-traditional ideas, activities and actions. Obstacles may include narrowly defined job descriptions, performance management systems that create perverse incentives and leaders who are themselves threatened by change. Employees feel empowered when their ideas are adopted and when they are able to provide leadership that directly supports the new vision.

The strategies subsumed by the vision are to some degree identical to actions suggested by Kotter, i.e., the strategies *are* getting rid of obstacles, changing systems and structures and encouraging non-traditional behaviours. Also, by definition senior public servants in leadership positions already have the power to create the desired changes and realize the vision. However, in the minds of the Commissioner of PSERC, Deputy Ministers to the Premier and the Deputy Ministers Council, senior leaders needed additional support through leadership development. On the one hand, leadership development could be interpreted as empowerment. On the other hand, senior public servants' actual empowerment would be constrained because all strategies leading to Renewal were controlled by PSERC. Nonetheless the senior public service and all individuals at management and supervisory ranks were expected to act on the vision by means of personalizing leadership and modeling leadership behaviours.

The personalized leadership concept was introduced by Don Sherritt, founding director of Western Management Consultants, who facilitated the April 2002 two-day workshop. His afternoon video presentation provided a definition of leadership ("influencing others"), reiterated the five values agreed to in the morning (integrity, responsibility, accountability, respect and choice), and explained how leadership behaviours would allow leaders to act on the vision and values in order to achieve the desired results by saying:

- your leadership behaviour affects employee behaviour
- employee behaviour affects obviously their motivation
- and the citizens… um
- and their behaviour with the citizens
- and the citizens' behaviour affects their perception of service value
- and then it flows back

Clearly, Mr. Sherritt's argument was flawed as well as unconvincing. Employee behaviour does not cause employee motivation, nor does citizens' behaviour cause their perception of service value and what "it flows back" signifies remained unstated. Nonetheless, workshop participants understood that excellent leadership practices were desirable for Renewal to succeed[27]. The break-out activities following Mr. Sherritt's presentation involved answering three questions:

1. How will you personally model leadership?

2. How will you model leadership as a ministry team?

3. What commitments are you prepared to make as a team?

The exercise left the definition of desirable leadership behaviour to individuals and their ministry teams. There was no requirement for participants to demonstrate how these leadership behaviours would contribute to achieving the vision or would be consistent with the management principles, values, or Renewal goals set out in the vision document. In fact, the connection between the public service and British Columbians, so central to the message by Ipsos Reid, was no longer apparent in Ken Dobell's summing up the workshop:

> There was also some personal work on our leadership styles. This may have
> surprised some of us or reaffirmed what we already know about ourselves. The
> reality is that we need to rectify employees' perceptions of government leaders and I
> think we have embarked on a road of improvement

The empowerment process had the effect of disconnecting Renewal from the problems it was originally to resolve. The problem was redefined as a leadership problem which, when resolved would serve as both means and end for Renewal.

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[27]Personal conversation with workshop participants, 2007

Plan for and Create Short Term Wins

Short term wins (within 12 to 24 months) need to be created to ensure maintenance of the transformation momentum. The win must be unambiguous and a clear indicator of change. Achieving short term wins require managers to actively look for ways to obtain clear performance improvements, establish goals in the planning and achieve these objectives. Key to the significance and success of short term wins are the tangible rewards for committed employees who are supportive of change and who are attempting to meet objectives set out by the organization.

Like the strategies discussed earlier, short term wins were designed by PSERC and were to be achieved by its own team without involving individuals outside the organization. The purpose was to achieve small but significant, quick wins that would encourage senior public servants to champion and participate in Renewal and discourage employee cynicism. Successful quick wins would be symbolic of PSERC's leadership and its prowess in creating positive outcomes leading the way to Renewal. The strategies published *Report on Stage One* identified a number of Quick Wins (QW) in several areas. The quick wins' listing included in Appendix L, shows these quick wins together with completion dates reported in Annual Service Plan Reports. Of the twelve designated quick wins one had already been accomplished in June 2001. Four had already been included in plans for 2001/02 in PSERC's 2000/01 Annual Report[28] (the learning fund, the executive development program, orientation, training and development for employees). Progress on three was not reported in Annual Service Plan Reports (flexible work practices, delegation of classification authority, simplification of policies) and one quick win was put in

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[28] Annual Reports were discontinued in 2001/02 and replaced with Annual Service Plan Reports

place in 2007 (broadbanding). This left three quick wins that were actually planned and accomplished within a reasonably short time frame (purchase of competency framework, employee development and career planning tools and development of a 3-year deregulation plan). This lack of tangible short term results deflated much of the Renewal momentum.

Consolidate Improvements and Produce Still More Change

While the short term wins embolden employees to continue pursuing the transformation, improvements must be consolidates and more change (consistent with the original vision) must be introduced to maintain the momentum. Successful short term wins increase the coalition's credibility and allow for changes to systems, structures, and policies that do not fit the vision. Lasting transformations require that victory not be declared too soon since it reduces the pressure for change.

As discussed in the previous section improvement strategies and short term wins were controlled by PSERC, not by senior managers who therefore would not have been "emboldened" by these improvements. The BC government *did* continue with the leadership workshops for another two years after the quick wins had been announced. To the extent that leadership was considered a problem, progress was made in terms of activities. As discussed in Chapter 1 employees' perception of leadership had improved only marginally in 2007.

Institutionalize New Approaches

In order to be permanent transformational changes must become an integral part of the organization's culture. This permanency will be strongly influenced by two factors: (1) employees believe that the change was forged as a result of their actions and (2) the next generation of leaders personifies the new approach. The first factor will require continued

communications to ensure employees understand the connection between their actions and the

improvements as a result of change. The second factor will require that succession planning is

focused on bringing in new leaders who will be demonstrably supportive of the changes.

Based on government documentation and the analysis of the previous seven steps it would be fair to comment that employee participation was limited to senior managers and actual improvements were created by PSERC. Thus, senior managers would not have seen a connection between their actions and improvements, i.e., the strategies and quick wins articulated in PSERC plans. The 2005 election brought in a new generation of leaders who had a new agenda driven by imminent retirements of many management employees, the expected competition in the labour market and the implications of a multi-generational work place. The new leadership continues to address the unsatisfactory results from the 2006 and 2007 Employee Engagement Surveys with leadership training at the senior and executive levels and put in place a mandatory performance management system in 2007. While the BC Public Agency retained his responsibilities, an important portion of the responsibility for the public service has been centralized in the office of the Deputy Minister to the Premier and Cabinet Secretary's office in support of profiling the BC government as an employer of choice "where ideas work".

To sum up, using a strict interpretation of Kotter's model (and by implication the collective wisdom of change management theories), the BC government made a strong start by creating urgency in the minds of senior public servants through processes of consultation and workshops. It also put a high-level powerful coalition in place to guide Renewal which was exceedingly visible as all workshops were led by Deputy Ministers. The coalition's power was also evident from the status of invited speakers, personal involvement of the Premier and noticeable involvement of Deputy Ministers to the Premier. The proposed new vision statement

was renegotiated with workshop participants and sub-components of the vision were established through consultation though some elements were not changed from the original vision. In his writings Kotter acknowledged that the vision may need some consolidation but it is not clear whether consolidation involves negotiating the vision. A path to realize the vision was articulated in terms of internally coherent and jointly compatible strategies consistent with Kotter's model. In addition, strong communication plans were put in place to communicate the vision and strategies.

Until this point the steps were true to the Kotter model though arguably imperfectly carried out. The balance of the change management process however, deviated from theory by centralizing strategies for improvement and quick wins within the central agency (PSERC) removing the responsibility for putting change in place from the senior managers. At the same time the very definition of the type of change required mutated to "leadership" and "leadership development", unfortunately without any direction about how such leadership development should proceed. As a result the change management program as originally envisioned was neither consolidated nor institutionalized.

The entire implementation process was saturated with contradictory, paradoxical and inconsistent rhetoric as both messages and tone changed over time. In the early stages the government publicly shared its disregard for what it saw as an unprofessional and sluggish public service, inadequately prepared to respond to citizens demands while at the same time blaming the previous government for this state of affairs. Subsequently the government lamented its lost connection with citizens and the weakening of its social contract even as it put some of the responsibility squarely at the feet of public servants and encouraged the public service to solve the problem by becoming more innovative, enterprising, results oriented and accountable. As the

implications of Core Services Review became clear and the public service continued to be

dispirited and uninspired by the earlier rhetoric government leaders shifted to the positive but

ambiguous messages on leadership.

PART FOUR – REFORM VALUES AND IDENTITY

Chapter 7 Values and Identity in the Public Sector

Reorientation of the public service was of crucial importance to government reform designs and the very foundation of the New Public Management in which the policy influence of public servants was to be curtailed, their numbers reduced, their employment relationship redefined, and their work values replaced with private sector principles. Embracing private sector-type management was expected to move public servants to a new, post-bureaucratic paradigm and empower them to shift from a culture dominated by hierarchy and control to one guided by innovation and change (Dixon et al., 1998; Kernaghan, Marson, & Borins, 2000). In essence, the reorientation of the public service was an attempt to redefine public servants' work values through "value engineering" (Martin & Frost, 1996 p.607). In BC this value engineering was to be accomplished through Public Service Renewal.

This chapter explores the literature on values, work values and work ethics. It provides an overview of the value literature and discusses the various interpretations of work values and differences between the private and public sector. It then turns to the history of work values in the public sector and traces these values to the writings on bureaucracy by German sociologist Max Weber and the institutional history of pertinent Anglo-American governments. Finally, it constructs a definition of public service work values prior to public sector reform (traditional values) and derives definitions for a new set of work values based on the New Public Management literature (contemporary values). In addition, it illustrates how subscribing to contemporary values requires public servants to redefine their identity.

Values and Work Values

The online Oxford Dictionary defines value as "the regard that something is held to deserve; importance or worth" with the second meaning being "principles or standards of behaviour" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2008). The online Merriam-Webster defines value somewhat circuitously as "something (as a principle or quality) intrinsically valuable" (Merriam-Webster, 2005). It seems reasonable to conclude that values refer to something worthy and desirable. Yet, researchers do not define values the same way. Rokeach for example, defines value as "an enduring belief that a specific mode or conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (Rokeach, 1973 p.5). Super (1970) equates values with needs and Schwartz & Bilsky's value dimensions are expressed in terms of goals (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). In an exhaustive overview of the values literature Agle & Caldwell identified at least eight commonly used definitions of values and values systems, each slightly different from the next (Agle & Caldwell, 1999 p.362). Most writers do agree however, that values develop through the influence of culture, society and personality and that moreover "values occupy a… central position in the cognitive system and personality make-up of individuals, determine attitudes, and are… closely linked to motivation" (Dose, 1997 p.220).

Hodgkinson developed a value theory of administration (as distinct from management), in which he precisely defines the connection between self and behaviour through the processes of motivation, values, and attitudes in what he calls the psychological aspects of value action. Value action is visualized within a framework of concentric circles starting with the unitary self or ego in the centre. This unitary self has a few basic motives, shown in the next circle, which are the result of needs, wants and desires. The next circle contains the values which flow from the

individual's innate motivational structure, education, life experience and culture. Values are a source of attitudes, shown in the next circle, which predispose individuals to act to stimuli in persistent ways, and finally, behaviours occur as observable facts (Hodgkinson, 1996 pp.112/13).

The literature on workplace values explicitly links values, motivation and behaviour. The relationship between religious values and work behaviour for example, has been the subject of a large body of research ever since Weber proposed that the belief system of early Protestants created strong incentives to be frugal, follow an ascetic life style and work hard (Bendix, 1962). There is some evidence of differences between work values of Catholics and Protestants and researchers have found support for Weber's thesis that Protestants work harder than Catholics (Arslan & Chapman, 2001). Researchers developed scales in trying to measure the 'Protestant Work Ethic' and scores on these scales have been associated with job satisfaction levels, job involvement and organizational commitment (Dose 1997). Furnham (1990) identified achievement motivation as one of the key psychological constructs underlying the Protestant Work Ethic while recent studies have argued that it no longer satisfactorily explains work behaviour (e.g., McMurray & Scott, 2003).

Other values literature focuses on the work attributes desired by individuals that hold specific values. One vocational preference scale for example links career choice to values such as security, altruism, detachment, independence, creativity and money (Pryor, 1981). There is some evidence that in the United States veterans, non-whites and women prefer the security of working for the public service; a preference associated with risk aversion reported by individuals planning to work for government (Blank, 1985; Lewis & Frank, 2002). Also, people who work for government or who plan to work for government have a desire to serve the public interest, show loyalty to duty and government and are interested in social equity (Perry & Wise, 1990). It

may be reasonable to suggest that given similar geographic conditions and comparable opportunities, individuals self select public sector partly on the basis of work values.

A large literature is concerned with what individuals value while they are *at* work. Research mainly focuses on outcomes obtained in work contexts and the effects outcomes on job satisfaction, commitment and motivation (Butler, 1983; Herzberg, 1987; Locke, 1968, 1976). Motivation in turn, is influenced by interactions between individual attributes such as needs, personality, beliefs and values as well as job characteristics and working conditions (Argyris, 1973; Davis-Blake & Pfeffer, 1989; House, Shane, & Herold, 1996, Pinder, 1998). Some researchers such as Locke and Henne (1986) even argued that work values underlie most work motivation theories. Several studies have made comparisons between the private and the public sector with mixed results. Karl & Sutton (1998) for example, found differences in job satisfaction between private sector workers who valued good wages above all and public sector workers who valued interesting work most. Houston found that both public and private sector workers valued interesting work, but that workers in the private sector valued wages more than those in the public sector (Houston, 2000). Wright observed not only is there a paucity of empirical comparative research between the sectors but also that much "of what does exist provides conflicting evidence" (Wright, 2001 p.567). He goes on to argue that in order to understand the motivation of public servants (i.e., determine what they value in the workplace) the unique characteristics of public sector organizations need to be taken into account.

Work Values in the Public Sector

Individual work values are central to most value literature even when the research is focused at the organizational level. Research questions are concerned with the instrumental role

of values in career choice, work motivation, satisfaction, commitment and ethics. It does not

normally address employer expectations about the values that individuals bring to the workplace

(Agle & Caldwell, 1999). But society (and governments) expects far more from public servants

than from other mortals. As stated by Dwivedi:

> The profession of public service has no parallel among other professions
> (excepting the priesthood) in the sense that society expects public servants to act
> with unwavering integrity, absolute impartiality, and complete devotion both to
> the public interest and to the state. This is the basic and fundamental precept upon
> which various standards and requisites of performance for public servants have
> been built
>
> (Dwivedi, 1999 p.233)

It is this fundamental precept that is the foundation of bureaucratic morality; work values unique

to the public sector that do not have their counterpart in the private sector. Public sector work

values derive from the historical relationship between governments' elected officials and their

primary governing instrument, the career public service.

Although competitive examinations were established in China to preserve the integrity of

public servants, ensure that they had the appropriate technical qualifications and insulate them

from political pressures as early as 200 B.C, the idea of a professional public service did not

arise in the Western world until the 19th and early 20th century. Two major forces influenced the

development of a career public service, the work by Max Weber and the struggle for efficiency

and effectiveness in government administrations dominated by patronage appointments. Weber,

who wrote about bureaucracy at the turn of the 19th century, constructed his ideas within the

realm of what he saw as the modern state. Characteristics of the modern state included "… an

administrative and legal order that is subject to change by legislation; [and]…an administrative

apparatus that conducts official business is accordance with legislative regulation…" (Bendix,

1962, p.418). This administrative apparatus operates under the rule of law and has the following

attributes:

1. Official business is conducted on a continuous basis;
2. It is conducted under delimited authority in accordance with stipulated rules;
3. Officials are part of a hierarchy of authority in which higher officials supervise lower officials;
4. Officials and other administrative employees do not own the resources necessary for the performance of their functions;
5. Officials are accountable for the use of these resources;
6. Officers cannot be appropriated by incumbents as private property that can be sold and inherited;
7. Officials hold tenure for life as long as the official properly discharges the duties of the position;
8. Official business is conducted on the basis of written documents; and
9. Officials are educated persons who are appointed on the basis of special examinations

<div align="right">(Bendix, 1962; Shafritz & Hyde, 1987)</div>

True to the legal-technical nature of these characteristics Weber did not specify the concomitant

work values. However, values such as due process, merit, integrity, impartiality, accountability

and loyalty come readily to mind. Furthermore, Weber commented on the differences between

elected and appointed officials as follows: "The career of the elected official is not, or at least not

primarily, dependent upon his chief in the administration. The official… normally functions

more exactly, from a technical point of view, because…it is more likely that purely functional

points of consideration and qualities will determine his selection and career" (Shafritz & Hyde,

1987 p.53). While this indicates different objectives for elected and appointed officials, it does

not automatically imply that there is a strict separation between politics and administration (as in the American case discussed below) or that the public servant is impartial politically (as in the British case discussed below). But it does mean that appointed officials, at all times, will be driven by rational technical rather than political considerations. Samier (2001) has argued that the above usual presentation of Weber's typology as "design" understates the importance of his administrative and authority typologies in understanding and interpreting the New Public Management as a shift in authority from the "mandarinate" the top two levels of the public service to "bureaucratic" level[29].

Patronage in government refers to the practice of granting state-owned resources, support, jobs or other favours to family or friends in an affinity based system. It also rewards individuals for political loyalty or services rendered, for example during an election campaign. While patronage systems still exists in developing countries and to some extent in Western countries (e.g., the appointment of loyal supporters of the Canadian government to the Senate and diplomatic posts abroad), the practice is generally seen as a threat to a meritorious public service. Technical competence (merit), efficiency and effectiveness were the remedy for the often lacklustre performance of those occupying patronage positions. In addition, the development of the principle of ministerial responsibility in the UK and the separation of policy and administration in the U.S. created a system of public sector work values that is still seen today as "traditional" values. The next sections trace the history of traditional work values in the

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[29] While such shifts may have occurred in Anglo-American countries the BC case shows little evidence of authority transfers to lower levels.

UK and the United States and describe the effect of these combined traditions on the Canadian government and its provinces.

In Britain, the Cabinet system of government arose in the 18th century. By the end of the 19th century the principle of collective cabinet responsibility to parliament and the convention of ministerial responsibility had been established. Constitutionally, ministerial responsibility holds ministers accountable for their actions and those of their departments. The practical implication of ministerial responsibility for the public service was that its members were protected from public and parliamentary scrutiny. This 'anonymity' allowed public servants to provide advice to the Minister in confidence.

In 1853, the British government commissioned a review of government organization which was to become the cornerstone for public service values. *The Report on Government Organisation*, published in 1854 contained a section by Sir C.E. Trevelyan and Sir S.H. Northcote on the public service (Royal Commission, 1854). This 20-page section condemned the widespread practice of patronage and recommended to hire and promote meritorious permanent civil servants through competitive examinations. According to the commissioners the system of patronage allowed individual ministers to "bestow [positions] on the son or the dependant of some one having personal or political claims upon him" Royal Commission, 1854 p.338). This practice led to the undesirable situation where admission into the civil service was "eagerly sought after [by] the unambitious, and the indolent or incapable" (p.336). The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that civil servants held their position for life and could rely on a government pension if they became ill or incapacitated as a result of age. Competitive examinations would ensure that the government would be served by an

efficient body of officers, occupying a position duly subordinate to that of the Ministers who are directly responsible to the Crown and to Parliament, yet possessing sufficient independence, character, ability and experience to be able to advise, assist and, to some extent, influence, those who are from time to time set over them" (p.335).

Northcote and Trevelyan reaffirmed ministerial responsibility and articulated a number of desirable attributes that the public service should possess. Public servants were to be efficient and such efficiency could be achieved through a merit based system. Public servants were to be independent advisors and such independence would be assured by the certainty of tenure.

Subsequent Royal Commissions have been mainly concerned with public service structure, classes and remuneration. It was not until the Fulton report in 1968 that the role of public servants was seriously reconsidered. Fulton observed with some satisfaction that the outcome of the Northcote-Trevelyan report to was to create "a career service, immune from nepotism and political jobbery" (Royal Commission, 1968 p.141). He felt however, that "[o]ne of the main troubles of the Service has been that, in achieving immunity from political intervention, a system was evolved which until recently was virtually immune from outside pressures for change" (p.146). Fulton believed that part of the solution of dealing with this problem was to provide ministers with an increased ability to appoint political staff. He also recommended greater ability for Ministers to rid themselves of "Permanent Secretaries who are too rigid or tired" (p.286). These comments suggest that Fulton tried to strike a balance between flexibility (willingness to change) and political neutrality. When the Fulton report was released, government had grown exponentially and Ministers were no longer aware of everything that went on in their Department. While this did not officially change the ministerial responsibility of individual Ministers, it lost some of the doctrine's practical significance.

In the U.S. the idea of merit initially evolved as a reaction to patronage. Patronage, known as the spoils system, became a widespread custom after President Andrew Jackson replaced large numbers of incumbent officials with political supporters in 1929. When in 1881, President Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office seeker; the *Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act* was passed putting most federal employees on a merit system administered by a bipartisan Public Service Commission. American thinking about the public service however, was less concerned with articulating a particular value framework, than with the delineation of its powers and responsibilities. Indeed, the separation of politics and administration continues to be a key topic in public administration in the U.S. Originally articulated in an essay by Woodrow Wilson in 1887 (cited in Shafritz & Hyde, 1987), the distinction between politics and administration was partly intended to prevent undue influence of administrators on policy making by elected officials[30]. At the same time however, Wilson noted that "[c]ivil-service reform …is clearing the moral atmosphere of official life by establishing the sanctity of public office as a public trust, and, by making the service unpartisan…." Assuming that "unpartisan" is the same as politically neutral it is clear that a politically neutral public service was seen as desirable. Wilson also commented that having "a body of thoroughly trained officials serving during good behaviour" was simply a business necessity (Shafritz & Hyde, p.18). By implication, tenure is a matter of good performance and not necessarily subject to changes in political masters.

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[30] Wilson's ideas about Public Administration have been criticized by, among others Vincent Ostrom (1974) who argued that Politics and Administration are non-homogeneous functions that cannot be combined in one hierarchical and efficient system. While this critique may be justified, it refers to an organizational- structural issue rather than to public service values.

The adoption of a public service retirement system in 1923 was a further indication that a career civil service was valued. To be sure, the idea of a career civil service does not apply to the top levels of the public service who are routinely replaced when the government changes. Rather, it refers to the large majority of public servants who retain their posts regardless of which government is in office. Because the American system lacks the convention of ministerial responsibility the civil service does not necessarily enjoy the protection of anonymity. Direct responsibility of public servants to the public is avoided in practice by the requirement that many administrative officials be elected. Public service loyalty is seen as loyalty to the United States government and was first articulated in the *Hatch Act* in 1939. It does not concern itself with the idea that impartial public servants are expected to be loyal to the government of the day.

In Canada, as in the UK and the United States, the impetus for the creation of an independent public service was a system that rewarded party supporters with positions in government. In the early 20th century, patronage was seen as the curse of public administration (MacGregor Dawson, 1936). The 1918 *Civil Service Act,* which placed all public servants under its jurisdiction, provided for competitive examinations to enter the public service and gave great powers to the Civil Service Commission (Hodgetts, McCloskey, Whitaker, & Seymour Wilson,, 1972). Soon after an American classification system, based on task rather than the British system of rank, was adopted in the federal government and Canadian provinces (Dwivedi & Gow, 1999). For many years, Canadian governments continued to be preoccupied with classifications, barriers to entry, and remuneration. The role of the public service was not considered again until 1962 when the Glassco Commission affirmed ministerial responsibility but argued that senior public servants should show greater "sensitivity to the political aspect of their function" The Commission further recommended a new organizational structure for the central authority of

government and emphasized the need for senior public servants to master general management skills. The exercise of these skills was to be facilitated by a system of checks and balances that would guard against the "dangers of political patronage in the staffing of the public service" and would relax some of the stringent controls that stood in the way of good management (Royal Commission, 1962).

In 1979, the Lambert Commission on Financial Management and Accountability suggested to strengthen Deputy Ministers' management role of deputy ministers and holding them accountable for their actions through the Public Accounts Committee (Royal Commission, 1979). Sutherland & Doern however, felt that the basic control theory of bureaucrats in the constitutional framework is generally adequate (Sutherland & Doern, 1985). The relationship between Ministers and the bureaucracy continues to be a source of debate. For example, Judge Gomery, who headed the Commission of Inquiry into the Sponsorship Program and Advertising Activities, recommended that Deputy Ministers should be permitted to document disagreements with their Minister (Commission of Inquiry, 2004).

Traditional Public Sector Work Values

The foregoing overview shows how public sector work values are closely related to historical and political conditions. Thus, while the motivation may be slightly different in each country the concepts of public service values and behaviour are very similar. There appears to be historical evidence for a constellation of traditional work values unique to the public sector –at least for the three countries covered in this chapter. Together they form a coherent framework that has guided public servants work behaviour for many decades. The elements of this framework are:

- *Appointment and Promotion on Merit:* Merit consists of two components. 1) It expresses the desirability of engaging a public service that does not have political ties to the government in power. 2) It is seen as a better way than patronage appointments to achieve the objectives of efficiency and effectiveness; values in themselves. Appointments on merit are both an end and a means.

- *Political Neutrality:* The desirability of a politically neutral (non-partisan) public service is closely connected to the idea that public servants should be appointed on the basis of merit. It goes one step further in that the absence of patronage does not in itself guarantee a politically neutral public service. Political neutrality is desired because governments benefit from advice and activities that are not influenced by a particular political perspective held by the public service.

- *Lifelong Tenure:* Public servants are expected to hold their position for life. This has value for both the public service and the government. It compensates public servants for lower wages historically common in the public service and allows them to build a career in a merit based system where increased expertise is required at higher levels[31]. It is desirable by governments who wish to benefit from the institutional memory provided by the public service when governments change as a result of periodic elections. Lifelong tenure therefore is also related to political neutrality and appointment of merit.

- *Loyalty:* Loyalty is a complex value that serves a couple of desirable ends. First, by demanding loyalty to government as an institution, the public service has a duty to the

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[31] This is less applicable to the British system where traditionally there were sharp divisions between the top administrative class and other classes. Public servants were hired into their separate class and did not move between classes.

system as a whole and as a result is expected to be conscientious and hard working. This of course is expected to lead to a more efficient public service. Loyalty to the government of the day is desirable because it ensures that political neutrality does not result in political indifference. Democratically elected governments desire the realization of their objectives (typically defined as the public interest) through a public service that not only acknowledges the legitimacy of these objectives but also embraces them as their own.

- *Public Service Anonymity:* Public service anonymity is a derivative value which results from the desire to hold ministers responsible for their portfolio[32]. In fact, anonymity is only reflected in the practical implications of ministerial responsibility in which ministers are held to account publicly and the public service is protected from public scrutiny. A corollary value of anonymity is that public servants can provide frank advice to their ministers without fear that their advice will be known or questioned publicly. Governments value frank and open advice from a loyal, meritorious, long serving, politically neutral public service.

- *Impartiality:* Impartiality should be distinguished from political neutrality. It refers to the value of due process and is related to the public service's technical ability to apply laws, policies and administrative rules in an impartial manner. Impartiality is a means to achieve the end of fairness and equity.

This system of public sector work values served Western governments well until the pressures for reform resulted in a new managerialist set of work values. The combination of the general

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[32] Historically, ministerial responsibility and its corollary public service anonymity have been of greater significance in Westminster type governments than in other governments such as in countries that have presidential systems.

disaffection with the public service and the opportunities for structural and governance change, made it possible to break the traditional "bargain" between Canadian politicians and public servants which until then had kept the traditional values in place (Savoie, 2003).

Contemporary Public Sector Work Values

The New Public Management demanded new, managerialist work values. Managerialist precepts have been adopted by most Westminster type governments, the United States (primarily in local government), and many other OECD countries (Aucoin, 1995a; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992; Osborne & Plastrik, 1997; Peters & Savoie, 1995; Pollitt, 1995). A new contemporary work value framework was to address "a growing mismatch between the traditional values and systems governing the behaviour of public servants and the roles they are expected to fulfill in a changing public sector environment" (OECD, 1996 p.5). Contemporary public service values are often framed within the context of ethics. For example, the 1996 report of the Task Force on Public Service Values and Ethics, *A Strong Foundation*, proposed a definition of ethics that adds a moral element to public service values.

> For us, values are enduring beliefs that influence attitudes, actions, and the choices we make. In this report, public service ethics are discussed as a sub-set of public service values: they are enduring beliefs that influence our attitudes and actions as to what is right or wrong. 'Ethical values' are public service values in action, where choices have to be made between right and wrong
>
> (*A Strong Foundation*, 1996 p.4)

The distinction is subtle and may not be obvious in day-to-day practice since in the public service the connection between work values and ethics is seamless. If the government requires

that public servants are *responsible* then it expects those public servants to behave *responsibly* at all times. Behaving responsibly is not self evident however; public servants have to invoke moral decisions *about what is the responsible thing to do* compared to, *what is the convenient thing to do*. So, in the case of public service values, there is no actual difference between theory of values and ethical practice and public servants' non-routine decisions are moral choices.

The following definitions of the contemporary public service work values paper relies on *A Strong Foundation* and on *Ethics in the Public Service: Current Issues and Practice* produced by the OECD in 1996. It reported on contemporary value frameworks in nine different countries (Australia, Finland, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States).

- *Responsiveness:* There are two aspects to responsiveness, responsiveness to government and responsiveness to the public. The latter is connected to the value of client centered service and service quality. The former refers to the desire by government to have the public service do its bidding by "implement[ing] its decisions with intelligence, enthusiasm, energy, innovation and common sense" (OECD, 1996 p.54).

- *Accountability*: The modern concepts of accountability refer to public servants' accountability to others in addition to their immediate supervisor. Governments feel it is desirable that the public service be held directly accountable by the public, parliament, and public oversight bodies established by governments for this purpose.

- *Results Focused:* This value is based on the idea that the public service must be judged on the outputs and outcomes of its work rather than inputs. It is related to both effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness is determined by assessing the degree to which government objectives are achieved. Efficiency measures the relationship between

inputs and outputs. The public service is said to be efficient when inputs are minimized for a given output.

- *Innovation:* Innovation refers to the desired ability of public servants to "achieve traditional ends" by new means (*A Strong Foundation*, 1996 p.55). For example, public servants might develop a more efficient procedure by employing technology in a new way. Innovation may be related to citizens' focused service delivery as when agencies change their 9:00 to 5:00 office hours to a time more convenient to the users of the service.

- *Risk Taking*: Risk-taking is defined as "[a] decision to undertake an initiative that carries to a degree, known or unknown, the possibility of unfavourable outcomes. This decision is based on the calculation that unfavourable outcomes can be minimized or that favourable outcomes will outweigh unfavourable outcomes" (Public Policy Forum, 1998 np). Risk taking behaviour is highly valued by governments, particularly when exploring relationships with the private sector.

- *Professionalism:* Traditionally professionalism referred to people engaged in law, medicine and theology. Professions are different from occupations "because…[the] work involves making judgements in situations where even knowing all the facts does not make it clear what would be the right course of action" (Social Care Association, nd). Professionals are characterized by conforming to certain ethical standards usually set out in a Code of Ethics. *A Strong Foundation* (1996) lists the following characteristics associated with professional values: …excellence, professional competence, continuous improvement, merit, effectiveness, economy, frankness, objectivity and impartiality in advice, speaking truth the power, balancing complexity, and fidelity to the public trust".

Under emerging values the report further adds "quality, innovation, initiative, creativity, resourcefulness, service to client/citizens, horizontality, partnership, networking and teamwork". Modern governments value a public service that exhibits these professional characteristics and may implement ethics codes as well. For example, in 2003 the Canadian government adopted a *Value and Ethics Code for the Public Service* (Kernaghan, 2007).

- *Integrity:* Integrity signifies "moral soundness; honesty; freedom from corrupting influence or motive" (Merriam-Webster, 2005), as well as the "steadfast adherence to a strict moral or ethical code" (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2000). Contemporary discussions on public service ethics sometimes make a distinction between code based ethics and integrity based ethics. In an integrity based ethics system such as implemented in New Zealand the emphasis is on "promoting ethical conduct…consistent with a devolved management system, using an integrity-based approach rather than a more traditional compliance or rule-based approach" (OECD 1996, p.47).

- *Transparency:* Transparency is related to accountability in that it refers to the ability of interested publics to be informed about the activities of government. Transparency is valued because it engenders trust in government in the mind of the public. Transparency refers to providing access to information and facilitating citizens (and others) understanding of the decision making process.

- *Other new values:* There are a number of other values that do not precisely fit with any of the foregoing categories but that reflect desirable qualities in the public service. They are selflessness, objectivity, leadership, competence, flexibility (specifically with respect

to working with politically appointed officials), legality, public service, probity, high standards of conduct, reliability, sound judgement, high ethical standards, fairness, equity, understanding of the collective interest and the ability to work within the true spirit of the law.

As new values are established traditional values continue to be emphasized. Contemporary value frameworks consistently include values of impartiality, non-partisanship (political neutrality), merit (and its associated work values of efficiency and effectiveness), ministerial responsibility, and loyalty to the government of the day. A side by side presentation of traditional and contemporary values is included as Appendix M.

After reviewing new books on public service ethics, Menzel (1999) wondered whether public administrators really needed a new set of ethics. For Westminster type governments such as Canada and its provinces, the answer to Menzel's question has been a resounding yes. But the question remains what kind of new ethics? The OECD Council published an ethical framework containing eight elements including Codes of Conduct for public servants(1998). Van Wart (1996b) proposed a code of ethics for public administrators based on five role interests (public, legal, personal, organizational and professional interests). More recently, Lynch & Lynch (2002) developed a virtue based ethics system and Maesschalck (2004) made an attempt to frame an entire new theory of ethics, pulling together four different literatures of public administration ethics. Many governments have responded with new or improved Codes of Ethics or Codes of Conduct for public servants that contain large numbers of "values" to guide public servants' behaviour. The problem with any such new ethical framework is that the new work values are superimposed on the old values resulting is long lists of values, principles and virtues, making the job of the public servant even more demanding than Dwivedi stated twenty years ago.

In summary, the public service operated under a set of common work values until the New Public Management caused a radical value shift. Historically, traditional public sector work values, together with public servants' commitment to public service and their role in delivering services, were the primary ingredients of the career public servant' identity. The public service had its own clearly defined universe circumscribed by rules, hierarchy and tradition. Individuals who chose to work in the public service often entered their career with the public interest in mind. Contemporary public service values are based on managerialist principles, the erosion of the public service 'bargain' and the desire to create an exhaustive ethical framework to guide public servants' every thought and action. The challenge of implementing the New Public Management was to shift, renew, redefine, and otherwise re-engineer the very identity of career public servants.

The radical reform agenda in BC involved a huge re-engineering effort driven from the top, demanding constant attention from senior managers and occupying large numbers of staff for the better part of the government's first term of office. The government's efforts were carefully planned, noticeably supported by the Premier, very high profile, expensive and time consuming. But did it work? Did Public Service Renewal change the values of the BC public service? And did a shift occur in public servants' identities? These and other questions will be taken up in the next two chapters.

Chapter 8 After the Reforms: The Identities of Senior Managers

The BC government's value re-engineering was integral to its radical reform agenda, set out in its election platform, its strategic plan and its vision for the province. The Premier and his advisers' image of a "competent" public service was entirely consistent with the New Public Management paradigm described in the managerialist literature and pursued by other governments engaged in radical reform. Essential for the success of the New Public Management was the inculcation of private sector-type work values into the hearts and minds of the public service. Work values however, do not exist in isolation. They are part of a constellation of cognitive and psychological factors related to personal experience, learning, religion, vocational preferences and the general work environment. In addition, organizational structures, processes and systems reflect and reinforce work values.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to convey a portrait of senior managers in the BC public service. Second, it presents data outlining individual senior managers' preferences for different public service work values. The information for the chapter was obtained through conversational interviews with 32 BC senior managers, 20 of whom were employed with the BC public service at the time of the interviews. Twelve interviewees had left their jobs prior to the Liberal government coming to power. The 16 men and 16 women were well educated, long-serving senior managers mostly over the age of 40. Respondents were high-ranking officials with an average tenure of 22 years.

The chapter is organized and constructed in two sections as follows. The first section reports the result of the 32 interviews. This section is organized under the thematic headings of

career, work environment, culture, identity, Public Service Renewal and work values. Interview responses revealed no systematic differences between senior managers who had left the government and those who were still employed. In fact, analysis showed that their descriptions, experiences and viewpoints were remarkably similar. Therefore, interview results of the two groups were amalgamated and are reported under common thematic headings.

The second section shows the results of interviewees' selections and rankings of public sector values. These results are presented in figures supported by text highlighting salient results. The questions related to specific work values covered in this section required respondents to select and rank order their top five values from a list of 34 values derived from the public sector values literature. This made it possible to compare value preferences within and between groups. Consistent with the nature of open-ended, semi-structured interviews used in this study, no concept definitions were provided since they would restrict the scope within which the interviews took place.

Interview Results

A major contention in the literature on public sector reform is that the public service in Westminster-type governments has similar characteristics based on its long history and common work values framework. The following analysis of interviews with former and current BC senior public servants supports this view. Interview questions focused on soliciting senior managers' views on what it means to be a public servant, explored how they defined themselves and others in the public service, and engaged them in a discussion about public service work values and behaviours. The 32 interviews yielded a total of 212 pages (single spaced) verbatim transcripts of electronic voice recordings. After repeated readings common themes and sub-themes were

identified and recorded with the assistance of NVivo qualitative data analysis software. The themes were subsequently organized in a logical framework containing six categories pertinent to the overall research question guiding the dissertation and the specific purpose of this chapter.

The report presented below attempts to strike a balance between the respondents' expectation of complete confidentiality (22 of the 32 interviewees were either former or current Deputy Ministers or Assistant Deputy Ministers whose careers are well known in the BC public service), and the need for authenticity through individual voices. Therefore, fewer direct quotes are used than would be expected in a report of this nature. Also, in the interest of readability and parsimony interviewees' comments are paraphrased rather than precisely reflected in lengthy quotes. Finally, any personal information that might identify respondents has been excluded.

Career

Most interviewees were career public servants, i.e., they were not associated with a particular ideology and served under different administrations and different political parties. Twenty eight of the thirty two respondents had spent their entire working career in the public service, mainly in BC. Their individual careers involved many changes in positions and, with the exception of one individual, all had worked in at least two different ministries. Two had served in as many as ten different ministries and 20 had worked for two to six ministries. Their careers ranged from line positions where they were responsible for program management or program delivery, to positions in central agencies where their role involved serving either Cabinet Committees or other ministries. Central agency roles usually confer significant power and control to office holders. The 22 individuals who were in Deputy Minister and Assistant Deputy Minister positions were typically responsible for large portfolios. Twenty six of the 32

interviewed were around when the Social Credit government privatized several programs and

contracted out others in 1987, were affected by the Service Quality movement that followed

privatization and had worked through the 1997 downsizing under the New Democrats.

Work Environment

Respondents were asked to describe their work environment in general terms. Three

themes most often mentioned were related to the opportunities for interesting work afforded by

the size and complexity of government, the public's perception of the public service, the level of

public scrutiny and the frequency of structural and policy changes. In describing the complexity

of the system five interviewees compared the public sector to the private sector even though only

two of those had actually worked in the private sector. One person noted that the aims within the

private sector tended to be more narrowly defined compared to broad society-wide objectives in

government. Another observed that individuals in the private sector worked towards the single

bottom line of maximizing profit and received full support for this goal from their stakeholders.

The same person noted that "in government there are multiple bottom lines, social, political and

financial" but these existed "within political constraints". Five respondents highlighted the size

of the public service and one mentioned its characteristic "multiple lines of business and

international connections". These respondents shared the view that because the government is a

large employer it offers not only different and interesting job opportunities for someone who is

"energetic, ambitious and curious" but also opportunities to take part in special initiatives and

large projects.

Seven interviewees mentioned that working in government was a very public

undertaking. In the words of one respondent working for government was analogous to "working

in a fishbowl which is carefully scrutinized by the public in a 360 degree way even when the work itself is not a public process". Another interviewee said that what happens inside "gets blown out of proportion because of media coverage and their claim that your tax dollars are not at work". Senior managers interviewed were unanimous in their comments on how the public service is viewed by the public. They felt that the public has a negative image of the public service, primarily because the public believes that public servants are paid well, do little work, and cannot be fired. As a result they are not responsive to the legitimate needs of the public. Two respondents emphasized that politicians often contribute to such negative views because politicians tend to be the very product of this public perception. In the words of one respondent "politicians add force to the public's negative image in the way "they portray the public service in public venues". One individual noted that the private sector shares this general disdain for the public service. Private sector employees typically proclaim that public servants "don't know what they are doing and are inefficient and ineffective". The same person said that public servants, too, encourage this perception "because sometimes they actually live up to this stereotypical image", and "sometimes because they are greatly concerned with the low opinion that the public has of them but mostly because they have internalized what is being said about them and reflect this uncertainty back to the public".

Interviewees made by far the largest number of comments about the frequent changes that characterize the government environment. One person suggested that change in the public sector is exponentially greater than in the private sector "simply because government is so responsive to what is happening daily in the media" and that it responds in ways that are not conducive to long term thinking. This means that often changes made will beget other changes. Another commented that in addition, "the government always has to reinvent itself and has to be

seen to be better than the last time". As a result, creation of structural and procedural changes without a clear rationale is quite common; changes disparagingly referred to in the public service and by four of the interviewees as "the flavour of the month". Eighteen respondents highlighted the numerous and ongoing changes in public service executives and senior officials and the kind of disruption and uncertainty created by this turnover. As one respondent noted, "it is not just that you are making change in a stable environment; you are making change in an unstable environment." Another senior manager commented that the system suffers from inefficiency and waste of resources because new Ministers, new Deputies and even new ADMs "reverse decisions, change directions and leave projects unfinished". Reflecting on their experience two respondents noted that change was more and more ubiquitous as time went on.

Culture

Thirty of the individuals interviews were of the view that there was a public service culture although 25 of these stated that the culture was more ministry-specific than government-wide. The five who did provide a general description of government culture employed different definitions. For example, one person said that what characterized the public service culture was the common language that public servants spoke throughout the system when referring to such processes as "Estimates, Legislative debates, Treasury Board and Cabinet submissions and the budget cycle". Another described the public service culture as having two major characteristics, the first being the focus on "surviving the next election, the next reorganization, or the next planning cycle", and the second an" interest in the public good". The same person noted that people are drawn to the public service because they are interested in the public good and feel that "the culture is one of stewardship". A third senior manager viewed the overarching public

service culture as being conservative even though it has its ebbs and flows. Yet another framed her answer as follows: "I think there is a public service culture…I limited myself to the BC public service culture although it is interesting to contemplate the bigger, more generic public service, a community of public servants".

There was significant agreement among 25 of the interviewees that the existing ministry cultures flowed from their specific mandate. All of them made a distinction between social ministries (e.g., education, health, social services), dirt ministries (e.g., forestry, transportation and highways), and ministries with a justice mandate. In the words of one respondent, "there are two kinds of ministries; there are really dirt ministries and non-dirt ministries. I always appreciated [that] but did not really appreciate it until I got to [a social ministry]". Two senior managers noted that ministries with a justice mandate such as Solicitor General were semi-militaristic because it was staffed with former police officers, sheriffs and correctional officers. One commented that some of that culture was also present in the Attorney General's ministry with its strong ties to the Courts and the grave burden of its mandate. Ten individuals observed that the ministries of Forests and Transportation were dominated by engineering and technically skilled individuals and had their own professional culture. As one person noted, "foresters are foresters first, employees of the ministry second and public servants third." Another asked "when was the last time you talked to a Forest official who did not refer to his ministry as the "Forest Service?"

Social service type ministries are generally different because, as one interviewee said "you are dealing with individuals, sometimes disadvantaged individuals, not-for profit organizations and community organizations each with their own cultural requirements". One person suggested that some cultures in smaller ministries such as Aboriginal Affairs and

Women's Equality were very passionate because the people who worked there were more likely to have an advocacy agenda[33]. Three respondents commented that sometimes ministry culture flows directly from stakeholders as for example in the Ministry of Health which has to deal with strong professional outsiders such as physicians. As one person observed "in the Ministry of Health employees wear suits and are professional, highly organized and research based". Eight individuals commented on the Ministry of Finance as having a privileged culture based on its relative importance as a central agency, its strong Ministers and top quality Deputy Ministers and two said the Ministry of Finance was a special case. One person observed that the ministry is highly centralized with a clear mandate and is staffed with public servants "perceived to be somewhat elitist".

The Ministry of Children and Family Development was mentioned by 10 interviewees as standing out as well. This ministry had been created under the New Democratic Party in 1996 in response to the Gove report[34]. Programs were carved out of five different ministries and amalgamated in what was then called the Ministry for Children and Families. One person said that this ministry was the only one whose culture was program determined instead of ministry-based which was not surprising to this individual since the programs all came "from different ministries with their own culture and mergers take time". Another commented on the prevailing

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[33]The Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs was renamed the Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation in 2005 and the Ministry of Women's Equality was absorbed as a program in the Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Service in 2001 and removed in the later Ministry of Community Services (2005) and Ministry of Community Development (2008).

[34]Judge Thomas J. Gove investigated the death of five year old Mathew Vaudreuil at the hands of his mother and recommended that a dedicated portfolio be established for child protection staffed with qualified child protection workers (Gove, 1995).

dysfunctional culture in the ministry because of repeated reorganizations by 10 different Deputy Ministers in 10 years.

Four interviewees concurred that there tend to be different cultures between ministries with regionalized structures and ministries located only in Victoria. As one respondent noted, in "ministries like Finance, which is only in Victoria it is easier to have a more unified culture, more common elements to the culture". Another individual remarked that there were greater cultural differences between the regional offices and headquarters of the same ministry than between different ministries because "you introduce…this head office versus field type dichotomy in your organization. The values in head office and the field become just one more thing to deal with". Two of the four senior managers who commented on differences between headquarters and the region, suggested that the physical separation itself created a different culture. In the words of one respondent "the geographic, physical dispersion of the structure influences how staff interact with one another." In addition, regional offices are often located in small communities which means that "you may be curling with staff from another ministry" and create connections "on the ground" that are not replicated in headquarters. Another observed that regional staff may adopt a level of operational independence that is not possible for ministry staff working closer to the "glitter dome" in Victoria. Three respondents familiar with regionalized structures pointed to the tensions that frequently exist between headquarters and regional offices. One person expressed the tension as follows: "the people in the region are doing the real work and headquarters is just getting in the way and …regional offices are just doing what they want to do". The "disconnect between those that are doing and those that are thinking about doing" was most obvious to one other respondent who had travelled widely in the province.

All interviewees expressed overwhelming support for the idea that leadership has an effect on culture. Examples of individual responses included words like: "hugely important", had a "great effect" was "very influential", "critical", "matters quite a lot" and was the "biggest influence on culture." A couple of respondents noted that leadership trumped structure and mandate every time and one of them concluded that "in the public service particularly, people do look up to their leadership." Consequently, in the words of one interviewee, ministry leadership influenced "the interpretation of government's will". Another commented that the leadership style determined the culture in the ministry in the same way as "principals do in schools:" A third suggested that "organizations with strong leaders…aggressively pursuing the ministry's mandate…help to drive towards excellence in service delivery…[but] can be challenging because…it comes at the expense of collaboration across government." One respondent pointed to similar silo effects created by strong leaders on a ministry's culture which led him to the observation that the effect of leaders on culture can be positive as well as negative.

As they discussed the importance of leadership to the culture of ministries five interviewees again highlighted the frequent changes in Deputy Ministers who might have made some progress in changing the ministry's culture but whose departure, in the words of one individual, caused the culture "to go backwards to where it was before". Two senior managers commented that Deputies should be around at least three or four years to bring projects to a close and thereby affect the culture in the long run. "Ministries", one of them said, needed "sustained leadership" to bring stability to the organization, to mend the fences between headquarters and the region and bring a strong, unified culture to the ministry. A couple of interviewees made the point that in the absence of sustained leadership the effect of leaders on the culture of the organization is at best transitory, especially if this organization has a strong culture. Nonetheless,

these individuals did agree that there were very few ministries that would maintain their culture in the absence of leadership.

Identity

The questionnaire contained two questions that explored how senior managers saw themselves as public servants and to some extent what they valued in the public service. The first asked whether they subscribed to the notion of the quintessential public servant, the second probed their relationship with politicians. Eight respondents did not feel that there was such a thing as the quintessential public servant but then proceeded to describe good public servants in the same terms as did the 24 who said quintessential or typical public servants could be identified. The eight respondents' description of public servants can be summed up in the following few phrases. Public servants have a great deal of integrity, are trustworthy, respectful, able to successfully deal with ambiguity and complexity, and above all are conscious of their role with respect to their political masters. One person noted that public servants "understand the nature of the democratic system in terms of the role of the political arm and role of the public service." Another interviewee compared the public servant to "Sherpa's who got everything to the top of Mount Everest but never completed the ascent themselves". Instead, they would make sure that "whoever they were 'Sherparding' was able to do the best possible job and make the best possible decisions with the public interest in mind."

Four of the 24 who agreed with the concept of the quintessential public servant brought forward names of respected public servants who for them personified the quintessential public servant. As one respondent stated:

> I don't know if you recall the medal, perhaps it is no longer there, but there was at one time, the medal given to the person who we all thought was the quintessential public

servant. Frank Rhodes got one. At that moment in time it allowed people to focus, they would pick someone, usually someone of profile. That seems to suggest that you cannot be a quintessential public servant if you are not somebody who is noticed.

Twenty four respondents defined a quintessential public servant in roughly the same terms, as someone whose primary objective is to deliver public service with emphasis on service. As one of them said, service in the context of public service meant that "you would be serving the people … through the office of the Minister or the First Minister." One senior manager said that public servants were "motivated by how to serve the citizens of BC better". Yet another observed that "they care about their role and the service they provide". A fourth interviewee stated that "you will see some people that truly have a passion to serve the public of BC" and another said that, "most people in the public service are there with a commitment to serve. Public servants are there to make a difference in the lives of the people of the province and work hard to achieve this aim". One person suggested that private sector Deputies do not make good public servants because "nobody takes them aside when they are hired to say this is what it means to be a public servant". The implication of this last comment is that public servants are different from and exhibit different behaviours than private sector employees. What makes public servants' position unique is that their 'Board of Directors' consists, at least in the West, of democratically elected politicians.

To gauge interviewees' relationship with politicians, they were asked to put themselves in the following position:

Suppose you have been asked to make a speech on your Minister's behalf about a government decision that you know will be poorly received. When confronted by members in the audience would you defend the minister's decision?

Respondents were also asked to indicate what convictions or values guided their answer. With the exception of one respondent, everyone would defend the Minister's decision with two senior managers making the distinction between *defending* and *explaining*. Defending the Minister's decision one said, "…would be a political responsibility since presumably the decision belonged to Cabinet and not just to the Minister. The role of the public service is to explain, i.e., to translate the decision in terms of what it meant for the audience and where possible to provide a rationale for the decision". Another senior manager argued that it is "my job… to interpret that decision and probably provide a forum for discussion about the relative merits of that decision from a practical point of view". Yet another emphasized the right of the government to make the decision. One senior manager stated that "good or bad, it is not my job to judge the Ministers. They were elected to do that role. My job is to implement the direction that has been given by government. It is the separation between the elected and the appointed officials". Eleven of the interviewees argued that they would defend the minister's decision out of respect for hierarchy and out of loyalty to the government of the day. Five highlighted their resolve to defend or explain the decision to the best of their ability even if they had recommended something different. The most articulate example of the consistency of the answers was provided by one respondent who stated her position as follows:

> Yes, I would defend it in all the ways that I could. I would put in all the creativity
> that I have to try to explain what the basis for that decision was. I would base this on
> democratic values. Ultimately we are working for a democratically elected
> government. Whether we agree with the decision or not, it is their decision to make.

When further pressed on the topic about the possible poor quality of the decision and given the suggestion that they themselves would have serious doubts about the Minister's decision, responses were again virtually unanimous. Only one individual indicated an unwillingness to

further defend the decision. Twenty eight senior managers indicated that if they thought the Minister's decision was in some way repugnant or unethical, they would have to seriously consider resigning from the job. As one interviewee put it "My rationale … is, [that] if I can't defend the Minister's decision, then I should not be going out. It is that simple. We all have choices to make. If you can no longer work for somebody because of your values, then you should quit". Another provided this pithy statement: "if the decision is unethical, immoral or completely unjust in my view then I have an option and that is to leave". Fifteen interviewees added that they fortunately had never been in a position where they had to consider resigning from the public service. Also, none of the twelve former senior managers had quit their job because of a value conflict with the politicians.

Public Service Renewal

When the opportunity seemed to present itself during the interview, respondents were asked questions about the BC government's Public Service Renewal program (Renewal). This opportunity arose in 18 of the 20 interviews with current senior managers and in 4 of the 12 interviews with former senior managers. The four former senior managers had heard about the program but when asked to describe Renewal they talked about Core Services Review rather than Renewal. Four current senior managers also took Renewal to refer to the Core Services Review but 14 of those who responded to the question did distinguish between Renewal and Core Services Review although it became clear during the interviews that, in the minds of those senior managers, Core Services Review was inextricably connected to workforce adjustment.

One respondent explained that Renewal was a vision on leadership that "needed to be changed…because government itself was changing so dramatically". Another interviewee stated

that "it was the first initiative that I can remember where government both from a political perspective and a democratic perspective, said…there are going to be some issues that will affect the public service and the delivery of services". Six respondents indicated that Renewal was a process led by the Premier, Ken Dobell, and by the Public Service Employee Relations Commission (PSERC). One individual put Renewal within the context of past efforts to renew the public service and said he wished that "this round had been stronger". This senior manager was one of three individuals who were optimistic about Renewal and saw its benefits. He noted that "Public Service Renewal does have a ripple effect. We do things now that we would never have done historically". Another stated that "what Public Service Renewal did was to …put the value of the public service in perspective". She also observed that the message was that after the cuts were made the government would still be the largest employer in the province and that therefore "there was still a need for good management and for things like innovation". The other eight interviewees expressed misgivings about the program giving various reasons.

- Four of them felt that Renewal was too strongly associated with the centre (PSERC) and one said that it therefore did "not feel real". One senior manager remarked that the large training sessions put on by PSERC were for executives and those on the "shiny penny list", i.e., people targeted for advancement.

- Three respondents talked about the Renewal messaging and noted that the message suggesting the public service needed to be more creative, more innovative, results focused and client directed was often felt as a slight by them and their colleagues as if, in the words of one respondent, "the public service had not been any of these things before". Similarly, another observed that what was presented to the public service was a "version

of leadership from the top calling for enlightened leadership" the implicating being that until then "no enlightened leadership existed in the public service".

- But most disturbing for these eight respondents were the inconsistent messages that the public service received through Renewal rhetoric on the one hand and the real implications of Core Services review on the other. As one respondent put it, "there was the rhetoric and what actually happened." Another observed that "it looked different than the banner". Six respondents highlighted the incongruity between closing offices, laying-off employees in large numbers and the Renewal message that the public service was valued.

- Four respondents commented that whatever the effect had been of Renewal it was minimal and only in pockets. One person said that "renewal became lost because everybody was still reeling from the downsizing….This Renewal thing, I don't even see it, I don't feel it". Another noted that after 2003 Public Service Renewal was overtaken by other, new initiatives.

The four former senior managers who were still in touch with individuals in the public service and who commented on Renewal either knew very little about it or suggested that Core Services Review had been far more important than Renewal. One interviewee, who was in regular contact with a large number of public servants, stated that Renewal was only rarely mentioned because "Renewal has not been a big thing." This person also noted that the situation for BC public servants is particularly challenging "because the government they work for really doesn't like government. The ministers and Cabinet do not enjoy the business they are managing". Another respondent said that senior public servants were discouraged because they were held accountable for results over which they had no control. Two respondents highlighted the increased pressures

on the public service trying to meet the government's mandate with fewer resources; in the words of one "people complain about morale; how much more work they have and how little time to do the work."

Work Values Analysis and Comparisons

The final interview questions asked respondents to review a list of 34 words describing public servants' work values, to select the top-five values and rank them in order of importance. Individuals were asked to do this exercise twice, once for prevailing values and once for those they expected to be important in the future. The list of 34 values was based on enumerations of public sector work values in the public administration literature (Dillman, 2007; Dwivedi & Halligan, 2003a; Kernaghan, 2007; Langford, 2004; *A Strong Foundation*, 1996). Values were presented in alphabetical order without definitions to allow respondents to base their choices on their experience and intuition rather than on precise descriptions of the concept. The obvious drawback of not providing definitions was that interviewees may have slightly different interpretations of complex values. For example, accountability may mean different things to different people since the meaning of accountability varies depending on whether it is defined in terms of *to whom* one is accountable, *for what* one is accountable and *under which* specific conditions accountability arises. For purposes of the interviews however, these precise distinctions were less important than the frequency with which the concept was selected from among the 34 possible values. The list of values is shown in Table 5.

Table 5

List of values presented to former and current public servants interviewed

1. Accountability	10. Effectiveness	19. Leadership	28. Representativeness
2. Anonymity	11. Efficiency	20. Legality	29. Responsiveness
3. Benevolence	12. Entrepreneurship	21. Loyalty	30. Results focused
4. Caring	13. Excellence	22. Neutrality	31. Rule of Law
5. Compassion	14. Fairness	23. Openness	32. Service
6. Courage	15. Honesty	24. Probity	33. Tolerance
7. Creativity	16. Humanity	25. Quality	34. Transparency
8. Decency	17. Innovation	26. Respect	
9. Due Process	18. Integrity	27. Risk taking	

One former senior manager chose not to select and rank values. This meant that the number of respondents for these questions was reduced from 12 to 11. Another individual in this group chose as one of his values "communication" which was not included in the list. This reduced the total number of possible values selected for the top five from 55 to 54. In addition, four former senior managers did not specify a complete array of "future" values (one person mentioned one value, one mentioned two values, one mentioned three values, and one mentioned four values). This meant that the total number of possible "future" values for this group was reduced from 54 to 44. As a result, no between groups comparisons were carried out for "future" values. While within groups comparison of top five "present" values and top five "future" values were completed the comparison should be viewed with caution.

The analysis of responses by the two different groups considered three questions.

1. To what extent did respondents within each group distinguish between the types of values that are important now (present values) and those that they expect to prevail in the future (future values)?

2. With respect to the present, did respondents in the two groups differ in their views on the importance of the values?

3. With respect to the present, do differences exist between the groups in how they ranked the top five values?

The figures that follow are expressed in either absolute values when presenting within group comparisons (Figures 5 and 6) or in percentages when presenting between group comparisons (Figures 7 to 12). No statistical tests were carried out for these results because of the small and unequal size of the two samples. Comparisons used for this analysis merely suggest possible trends and results and were used to provide input for the survey discussed in Chapter 9.

Values Now and in the Future

Figure 5 compares the number of times present values (blue columns) and future values (red columns) were selected by former senior managers as one of their top five values. For example, 9 of the 12 former senior managers mentioned "integrity" as one of their top five present values but only 5 of the 12 senior managers mentioned "integrity" as one of the top five future values. Comparisons of note between present and future columns show that the values "responsiveness", "honesty", "respect" , "caring", "courage", and "neutrality" were mentioned by a small number of respondents as one of the top five present values but were not selected by any one respondent as one of the top five future values. Contrariwise, none of the respondents selected the values "transparency", "openness" and "representativeness" as one of their top five present values but a small number of respondents included these values in the top five future values. As mentioned above a noticeable difference was observed for "integrity" which was mentioned by nine individuals as one of their five present values but only by five individuals as one of their future values. The same absolute difference was observed for "service" which was mentioned by five senior managers as one of the top five present values but was mentioned by

one senior manager as one of the top five future values. The opposite trend was observed for "entrepreneurship" and "results focused" which former senior managers expected to grow in importance in the future. "Results focused" was mentioned by one individual as one of the top five present values and was mentioned by four individuals as one of the top five future values. "Entrepreneurship" too was mentioned by one individual as one of the top five present values but was mentioned by five individuals as one of the top five future values.

One respondent expressed the hope that the values would be the same in the future but was concerned that there would be extensive focus on effectiveness, efficiency, the rule of law, and results. This individual and several others commented on the implications of the *Federal Accountability Act* (2006) swinging the pendulum from being free to manage to "having tied hands and feet". One interviewee suggested that the federal system is already clamping down on contracts, creating "contract constipation". Another respondent felt that accountability would probably "stick in the future" but that it "was a blame piece now". A few interviewees commented on the future changing significantly by becoming much more results and delivery focused and that more and more demands would be made for transparency and openness by the public. In the words of one respondent "a new government model is developing that emphasizes entrepreneurialism and risk taking which may be moved up the scale as long as integrity is not compromised." A stronger view was expressed by another respondent who said that "future values would be completely different because…there has to be more innovation and risk taking and a more entrepreneurial attitude in government" This change was necessary to get governments out of their current "existential crisis".
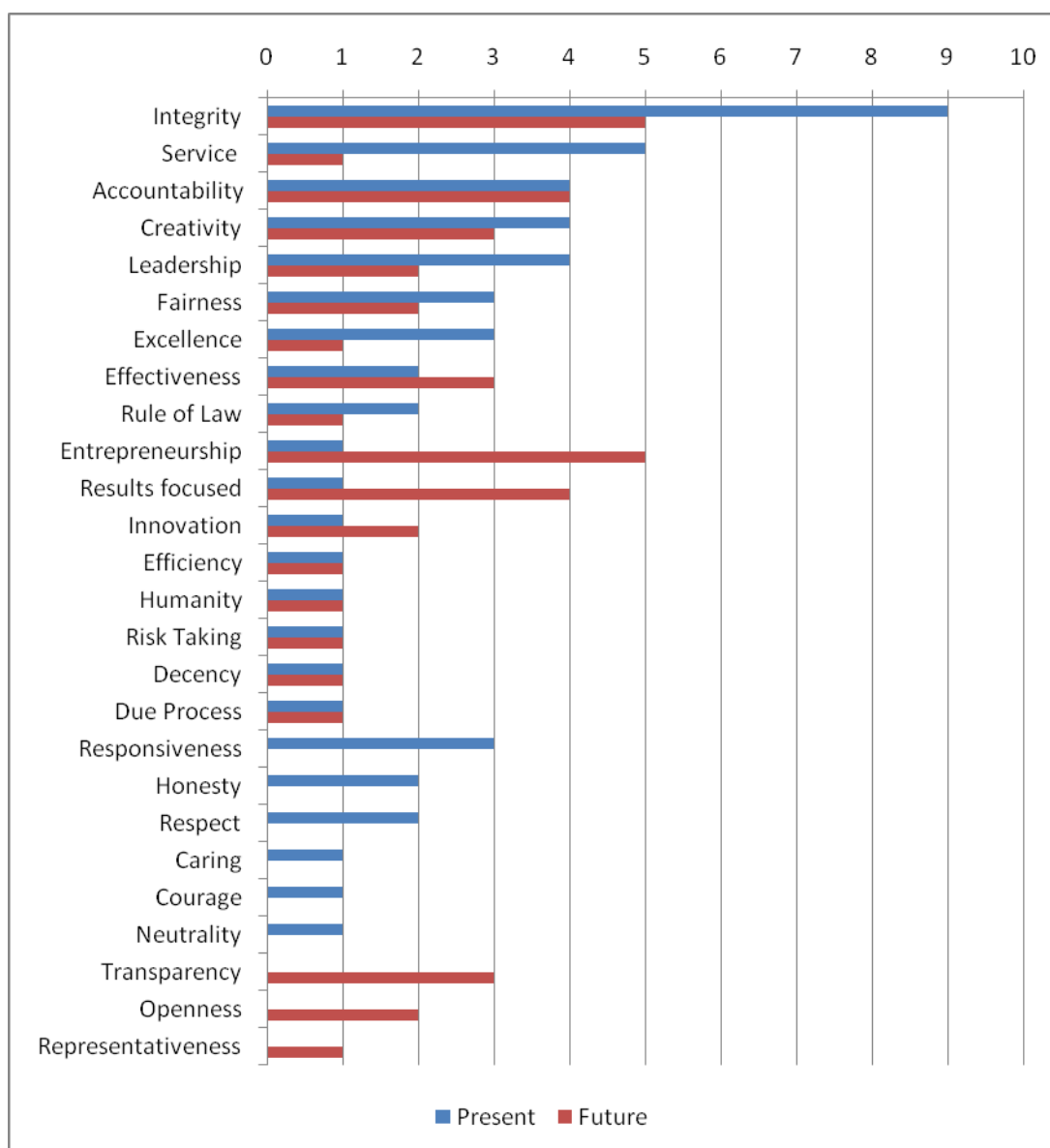
Figure 5
Comparison of the number of times present and future values were selected by former senior managers.

Figure 6 compares the number of times present values (blue columns) and future values (red columns) were selected by current senior managers as one of their top five values. A comparison of salient charateristics of Figure 6 shows that a relativdely large number of values

were included by at least one of the respondents in their top five future values but were not selected as one of the top five present values by any of the respondents. These values are "entrepreneurship","risk taking", "benevolence", "caring", "compassion", "humanity", "probity" and "tolerance". Similar to the results for former senior managers "integrity" was mentioned as one of the top five future values by fewer (9) current senior managers than were included as one of their top five present values (12). Likewise, 12 current senior managers included "accountability" in their top five present values but 9 current senior managers included "accountability" in their top five future values. Fewer respondents also included "results focused", and "innovation" in their five top future values than in their five top present values. In addition, "loyalty" and "due process" which were included by 1 of the 20 current senior managers in their top five present values were not selected by any one senior manager as on of their top five future values.

One individual suggested that in the future the public sector and the private sector would come closer together or even merge. This person also said that values would change because "we are trying to find different models...of delivering service that are more responsive [and] address accountability in different ways. Another noted that in the future governments will change and "they will have the private sector deliver most of the services or some quasi private sector". One respondent was of the opinion that government "will change fundamentally because of the change in population... as fewer public servants will be delivering services to more people." This future would require "different kinds of behaviours and elements like compassion courage, creativity, humanity and respect"
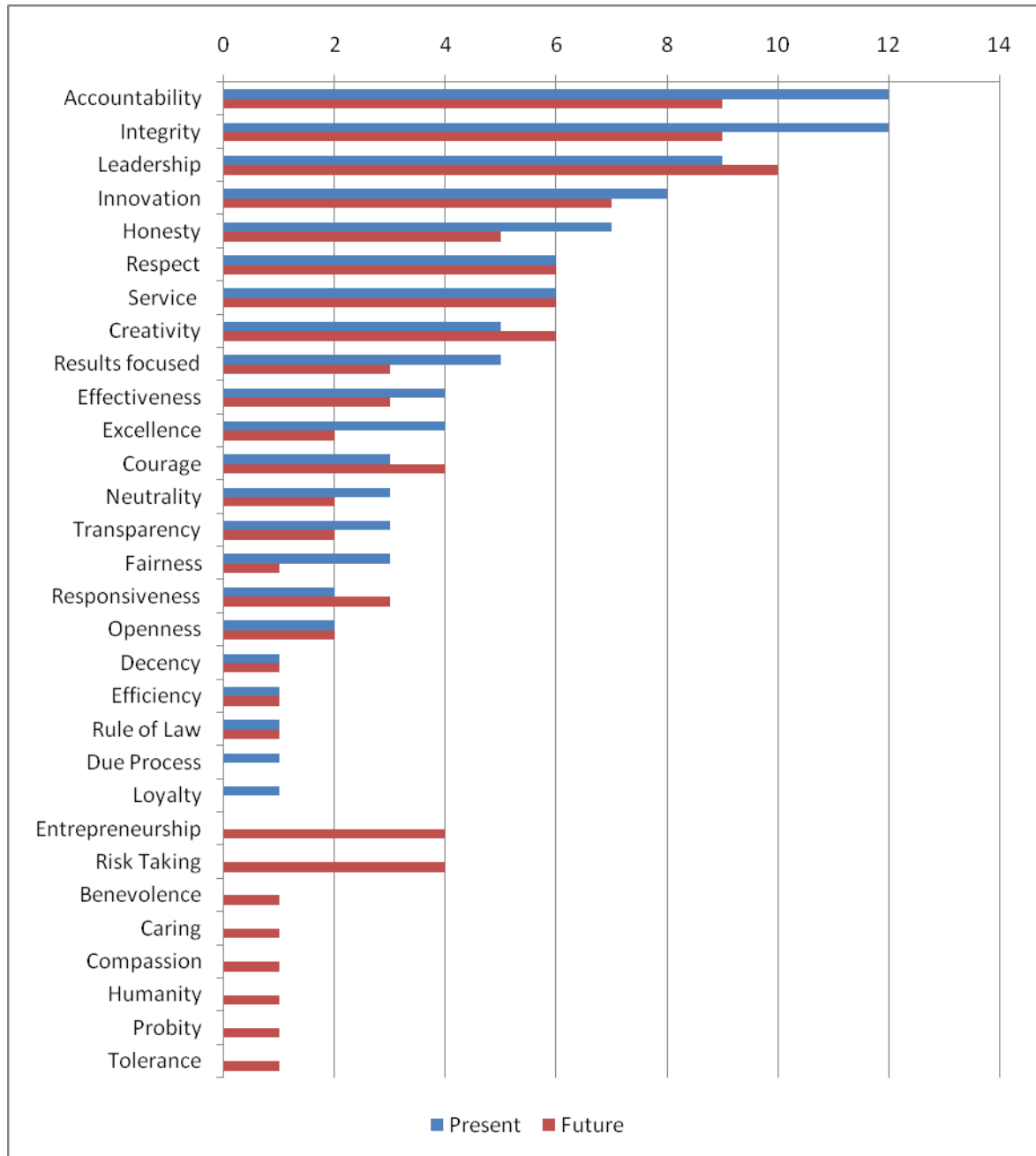
Figure 6

Comparison of the number of times present and future values were selected by current senior managers

Present Values of Current and Former Senior Managers

Figure 7 compares the number of times current senior managers (blue column) and former senior managers (red column) mention public sector value as one of their top five present values. Numbers in the figure are expressed as percentages to adjust for the unequal number of indviduals in each group. Figure 7 includes 26 different values out of a possible 34 suggesting a wide range of values among the total number of individuals interviewed for this study. Notable results shown in Figure 7 are that some values were mentioned by one group only; "transparency", "openness" and "loyalty" were mentioned by current senior managers as one of their five top present values but not by former senior managers. Similarly, "humanity", "caring", "risk taking" and "entrepreneurship" were chosen by former senior managers as one of their top five present values but not by current senior managers. Relatively large numbers of individuals in both groups included "integrity", "accountability", "leadership" and "service" as one of their top five present values with more former senior managers including "integrity" and "service" and more current senior managers including "leadership" and "accountability" in their top five present values. A comparatively higher proportion of former senior managers chose to include "creativity "in their top five values and a comparatively higher proportion of current senior managers selected "honesty" as one of their top five present values although some respondents noted that there was very little difference between honesty and integrity. Even though the actual numbers are small it is noteworthy that former rather than current senior managers mentioned contemporary values such as "entrepreneurship" and "risk taking" as one of their five top present values.
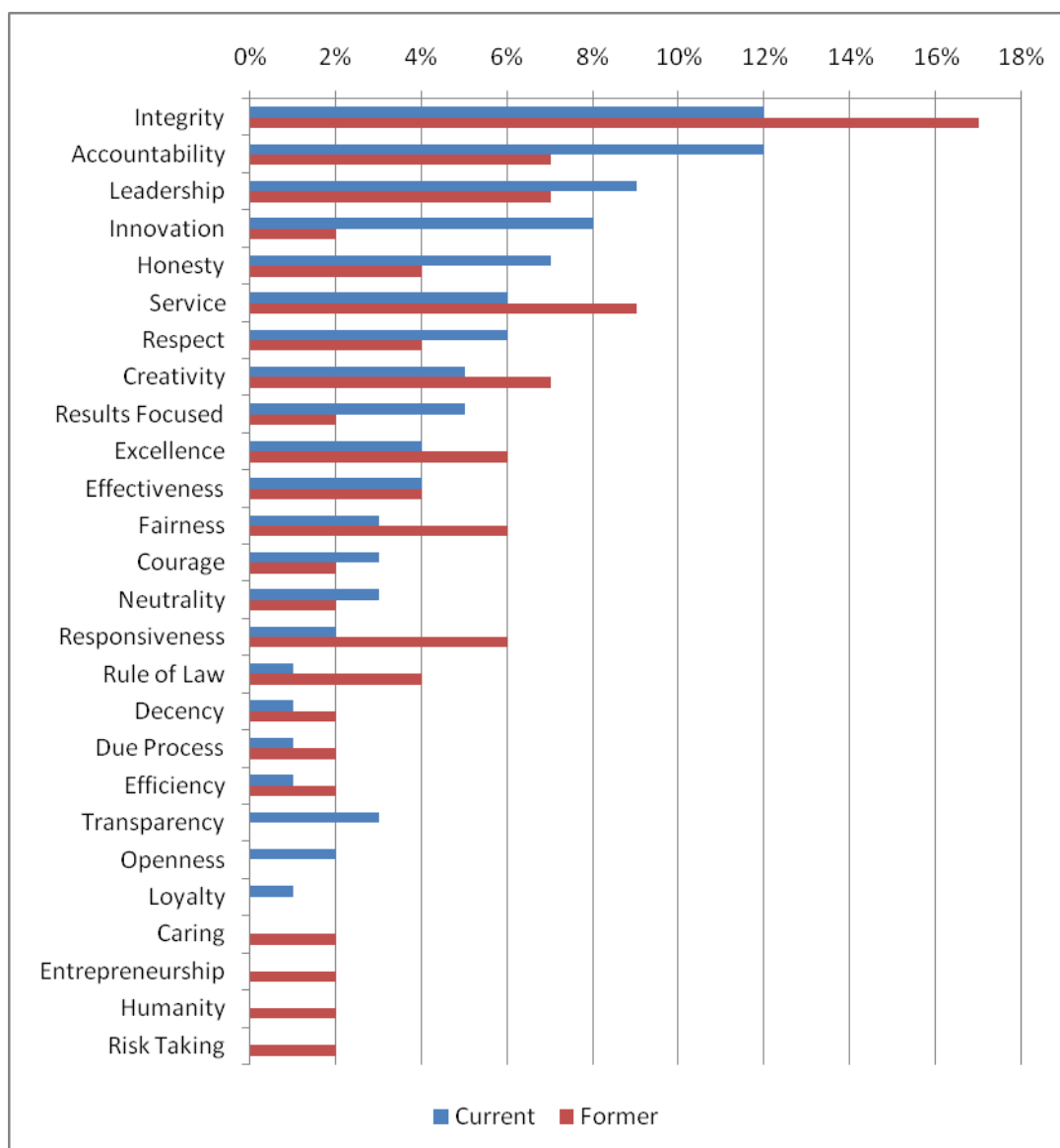
Figure 7

Comparison of five highest present values of current and former senior managers

Weighted Present Value Rankings of Current and Former Senior Managers

Figure 8 compares the weighted overall present value rankings between current senior managers (blue column) and former senior managers (red column). Present values ranked first were assigned a 5, values ranked second were assigned a 4, values ranked third were assigned a

3, values ranked fourth were assigned a 2 and values ranked fifth were assigned a 1. Using these weighted values, the three values ranked highest were, (1) "integrity", (2) "accountability" and (3) "leadership". This ranking echo the unweighted comparisons in Figure 7 showing that not only were these three values mentioned most often as one of the five highest values, they were also assigned the highest weighted value rankings and occurred in the same order. The weighted differences between former and current senior managers also reflect the results shown in Figure 7 with former senior managers ranking "integrity" higher than current senior managers and with both "accountability" and "leadership" ranked higher by current than former senior managers. "Service" was the fourth most often value mentioned by current and former senior managers as one of the five highest values shown in Figure 7 but shared the sixth ranking with "innovation" in the weighted comparisons displayed in Figure 8. These results show consistency in how the two groups rank the relative importance of public service at the higher frequencies.
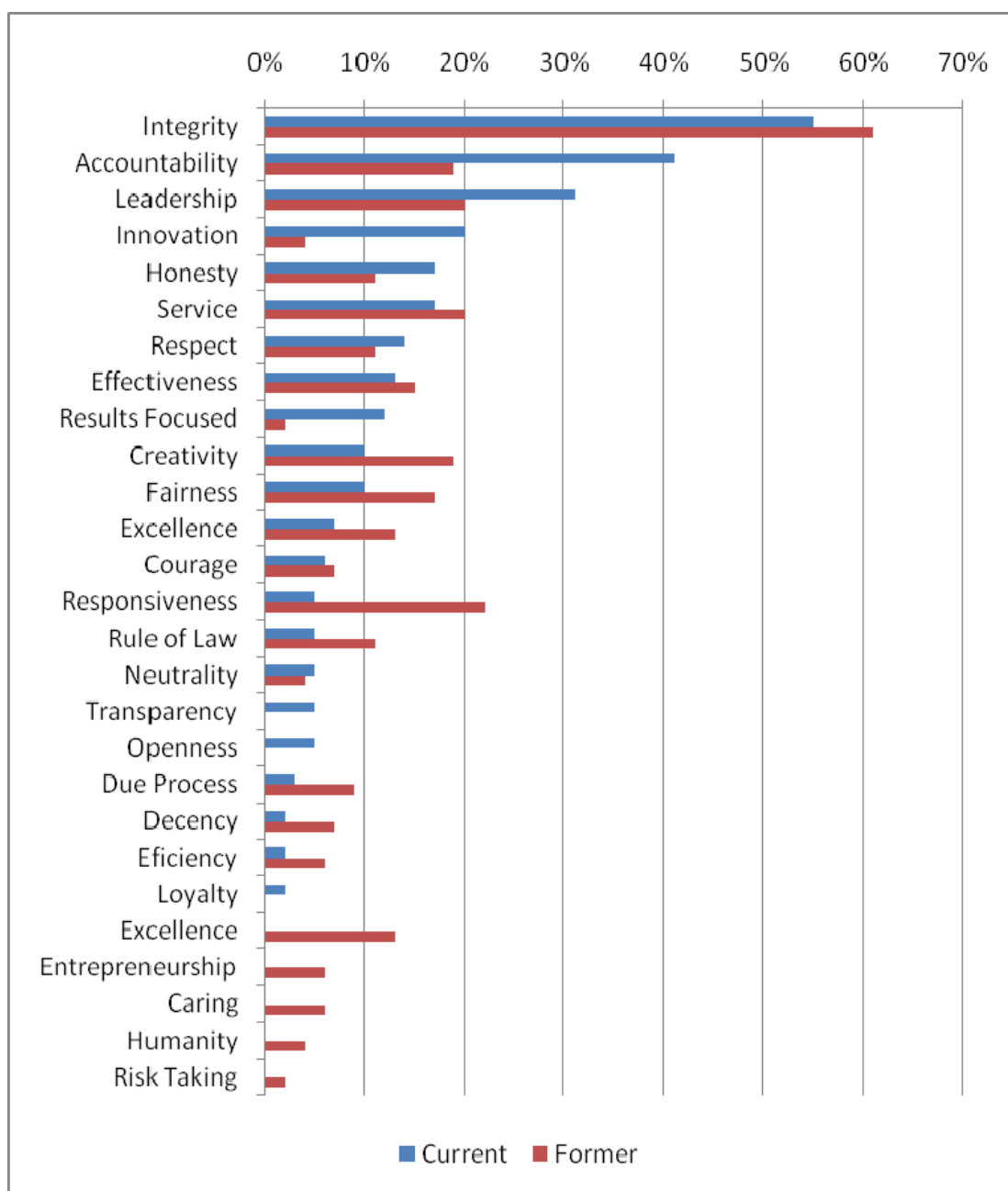
Figure 8

Comparison of weighted ranking of five highest values by current and former senior managers

Further inspection of the five rankings taken separately however, illustrates that there is a

large dispersion within the rank ordered values. Figures 9 to 13 below show these differences as

follows: Figure 9 shows the 10 values ranked first, Figure 10 shows 15 values ranked second, Figure 11 shows 18 values ranked third, Figure 12 shows 18 values ranked fourth and Figure 13 shows 12 values ranked fifth. These results indicate that there was greater agreement on the values that ranked first and last than there was on values that ranked second, third and fourth.
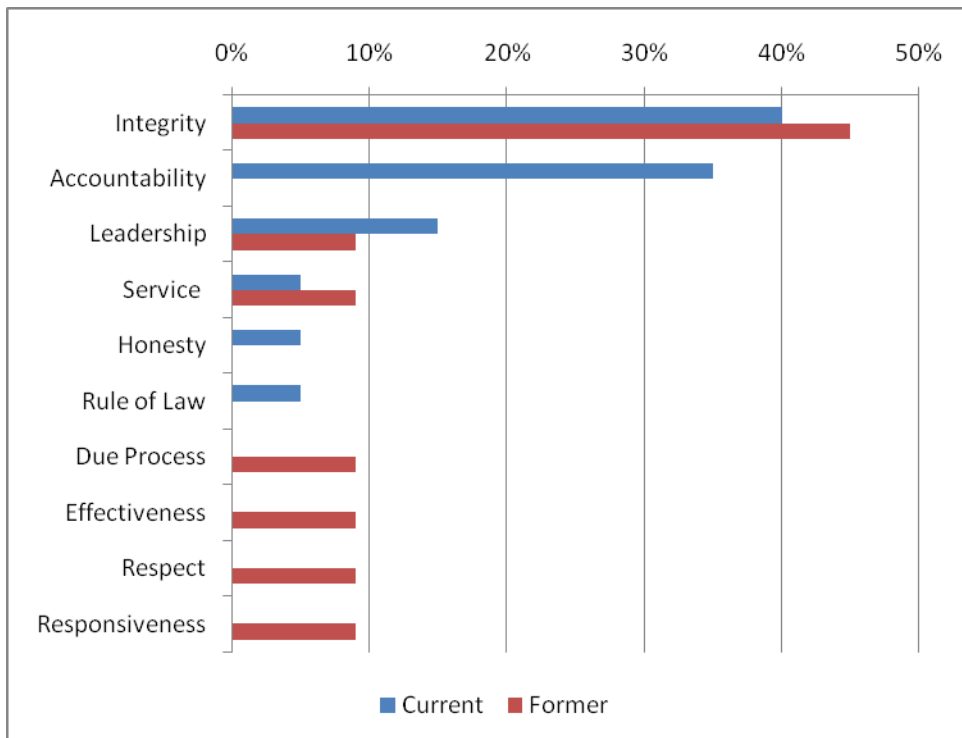
Figure 9
Comparison of values ranked first by current and former senior managers
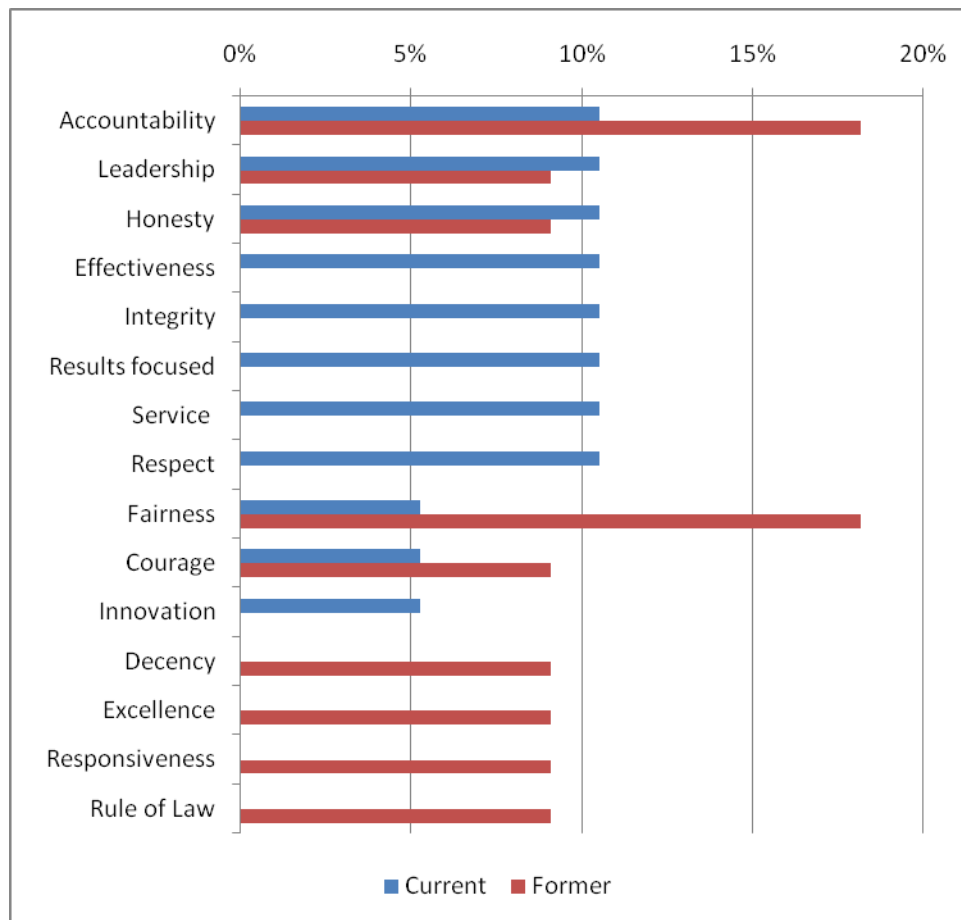
Figure 10
Comparison of values ranked second by current and former senior managers
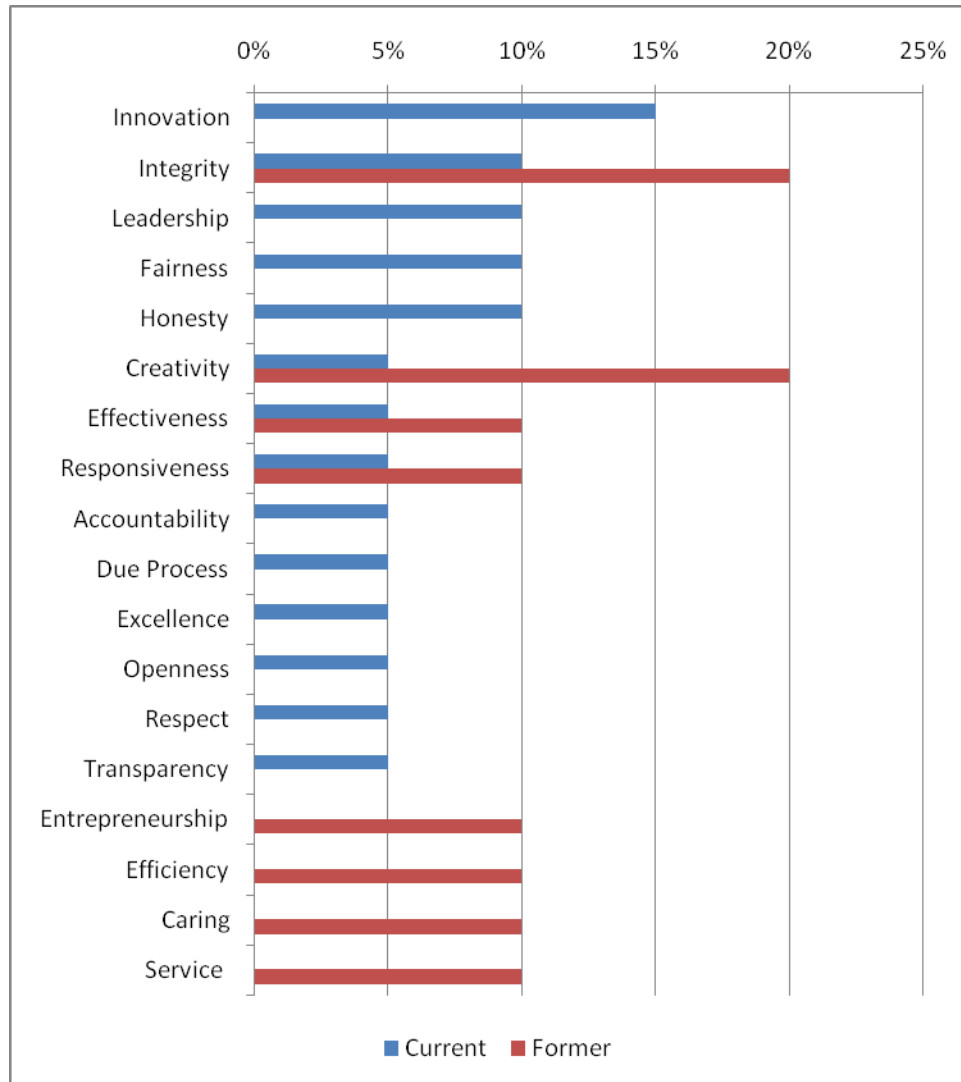
Figure 11
Comparison of values ranked third by current and former senior managers
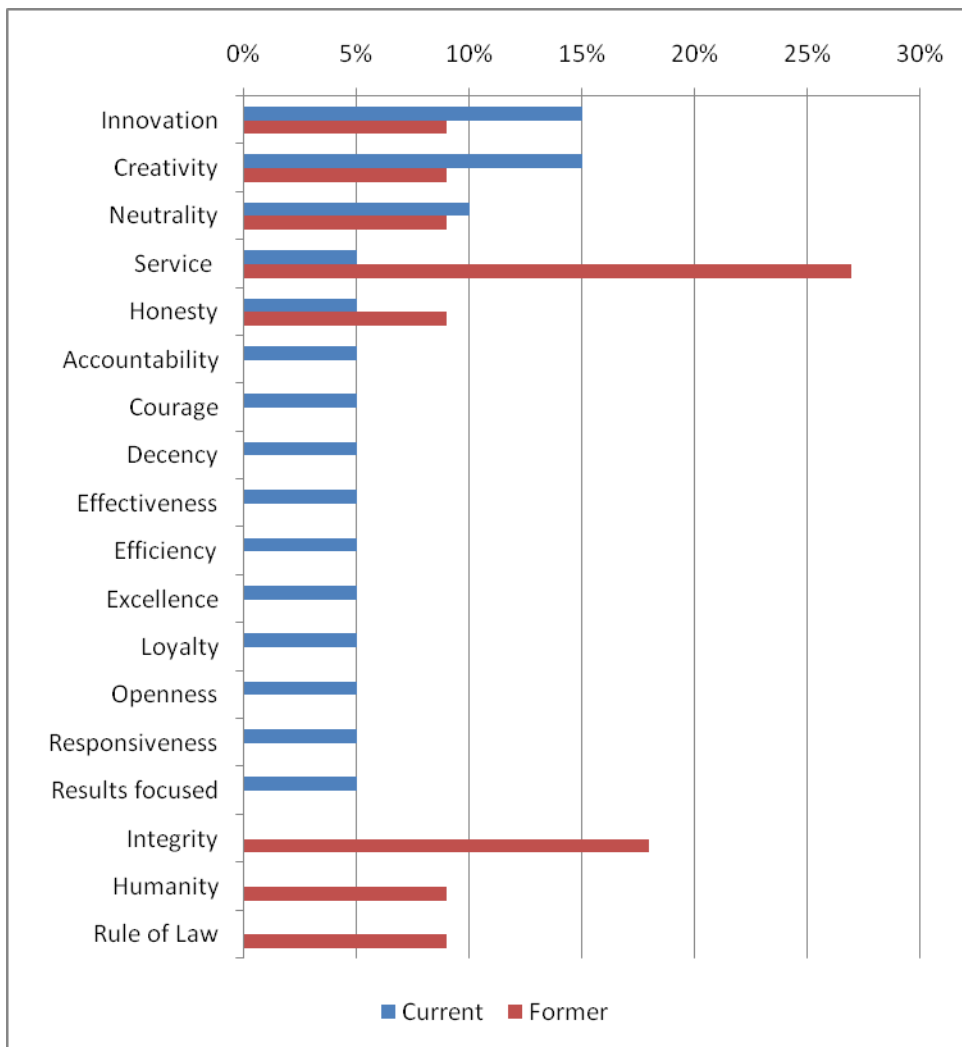
Figure 12
Comparison of values ranked fourth by current and former senior managers
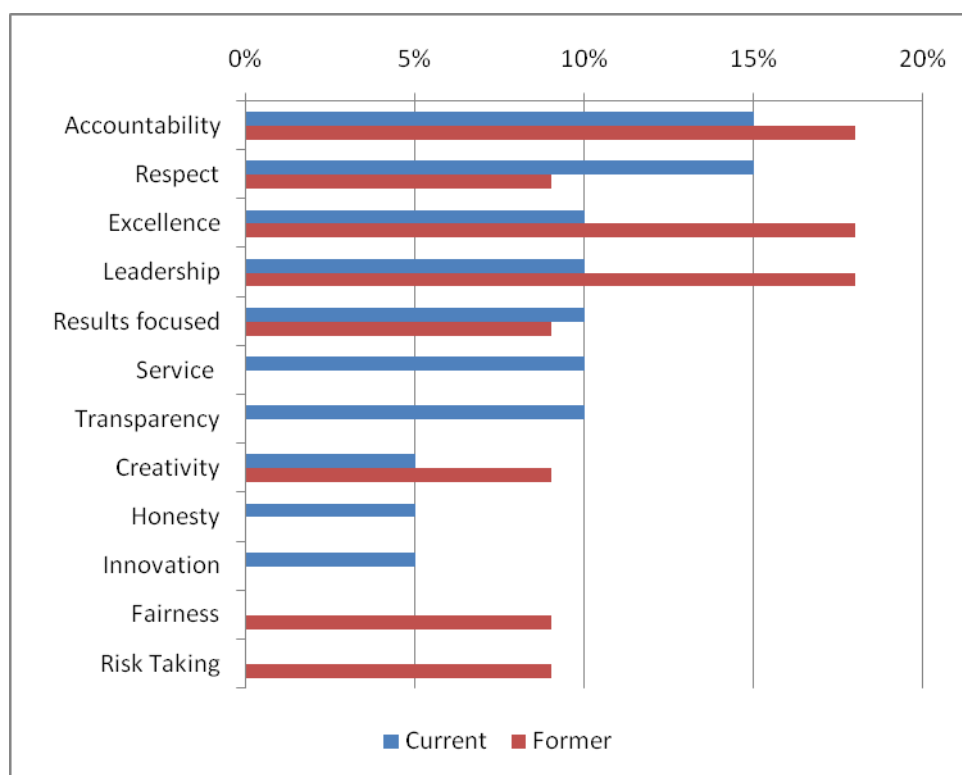
Figure 13
Comparison of values ranked fifth by current and former senior managers

To sum up the main findings of this chapter, interviewees indicated that the public service is complex and demanding with multiple bottom lines, providing interesting opportunities for ambitious individuals but also posing numerous challenges for senior managers especially as a result of frequent changes in the executive ranks and reorganizations of programs and ministries. Senior managers felt that leadership, geographic location, ministry mandate and programs largely determined the types of cultures prevailing in government ministries. Part of the essence of being a senior public servant, according to the respondents, is found in the relationship with politicians. Interviewees were clear about the nature of this relationship and

were virtually anonymous in their views on the role of the public service in democratically elected governments.

The concept of Public Service Renewal found minimal resonance among current senior public managers with several noting that Renewal was only implemented in pockets and was not embedded in all government organizations. Eight interviewees who spoke on this topic did not make a distinction between Renewal and Core Services Review.

Interviewees reported on their work values in several ways. First, they selected five top values from among a list of 34 values derived from the public sector values literature. Second, they indicated the degree to which they thought these values would be different in the future. Third, interviewees rank-ordered the five top values they selected in order of importance. While there were some noticeable differences between the groups they were less prominent than the commonalities.

Chapter 9 After the Reforms: The Values of Senior Managers

This chapter expands and deepens the examination of BC senior managers' work values by employing statistical techniques to analyze the results of a survey administered to public service managers in the summer of 2007. The survey's primary objective was to determine the degree to which senior managers' preferred work values advocated by BC's Public Service Renewal program. Furthermore, the survey was designed to explore whether socio-demographic characteristics known to affect work values, such as gender, age and tenure had an effect on public service value preferences (Elizur, 1994, Harris 1990, Thumin, Johnson Jr. & Kuehl, 1995). Finally, the survey sought to investigate the degree to which the incidence and prevalence of change affected senior managers' preferred work values. The survey, which was sent to a random sample of 800 senior managers, was completed by 498 individuals.

The survey consisted of two main sections. The first asked respondents about their change experiences in the past five years and in the past two years. These time frames were chosen to approximate the point at which Renewal came on stream (five years ago at the time of the survey) and the time the Liberal government began its second term of office (two years ago at the time of the survey).[35] The second section asked respondents to state their preferences for eleven public sector work values consisting of a combination of contemporary and traditional values as defined in the literature on government reform. Five contemporary values selected for the survey were those highlighted by the BC government in is Renewal initiative (accountability,

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[35]As discussed in Chapter 2 the BC Public Service Agency did not permit the researcher to include direct questions on Public Service Renewal in the survey.

innovation, entrepreneurship, risk taking, results focused). Three traditional values were included

as exemplars of long cherished public service work values (political neutrality, public service

anonymity, loyalty to the government of the day). Three values were included as a result of their

high ranking during the interviews (integrity, leadership, service focused). Inclusion of

leadership was especially important within this context as the BC government's Renewal effort

had shifted significantly from emphasizing contemporary work values to leadership during the

program. In the interest of maximizing survey response rates and accuracy of the data the survey

did not include questions on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. Rather, this

information was obtained later by matching individual survey responses with their personnel

records[36].

The findings of the survey discussed in this chapter are organized in terms of answers to

specific questions set out below:

1. How do current BC senior public servants rate the importance of different public sector
   values?

2. Are there statistical relationships between work value ratings and socio-demographic
   characteristics?

3. Are there statistical relationships between work value ratings and whether individuals
   experienced different kinds of workplace related changes?

4. Are there statistical relationships between work value ratings and the frequency with
   which individuals experienced change?

5. Do traditional and contemporary values cluster in multivariate factor space?

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[36] For confidentiality reasons the researcher was not permitted to work directly with the raw data. All analyses were carried out by BC Stats under the researcher's direction.

6. Can the strength of value clusters in public servants be predicted from their socio demographic characteristics?

Importance of Public Sector Values

The importance respondents attached to the eleven public sector values was measured initially by calculating means. These are presented in Table 6. Means were computed based on Likert scales for each value ranging from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important). Consistent with the interview findings "integrity" is ranked highest and the importance of "leadership" is demonstrated by its second highest ranking. "Risk taking", "entrepreneurship" and "public service anonymity" fall below 4.00 with "public service anonymity" scoring lowest at 3.22 out of 5.0.

Distributions of these variables tend to be negatively skewed (ranging from − 0.12 to − 3.10) indicating a tendency for respondents to select scale values toward the upper end of each item, and leptokurtic (ranging from 0.09 to 9.08) indicating the tendency for response distributions to cluster around the mean value more tightly than would be expected in a normal distribution. Notwithstanding these characteristics the number of cases is sufficient to ensure that the sampling distributions converge on normality (Marks & Yardley, 2003)[37].

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[37]The survey questionnaire provided respondents with the opportunity to add values they "considered important for public servants" but were not included in the survey. A surprising 104 (21%) managers chose to add a total of 59 different values. Top ranking values were Teamwork (19), Honesty (17), Respect (15), Trust (12) and Fairness (8).

Table 6
Means, Range and Standard Deviations for Public Service Values

Values	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Rank	SD
Integrity	498	3	5	4.90	1	0.31
Leadership	498	1	5	4.73	2	0.50
Accountability	498	2	5	4.72	3	0.49
Service Focused	498	2	5	4.61	4	0.55
Results Focused	498	2	5	4.37	5	0.59
Loyalty	498	1	5	4.22	6*	0.78
Innovation	498	1	5	4.22	6*	0.63
Political Neutrality	498	1	5	4.16	7	0.85
Risk Taking	498	1	5	3.79	8	0.78
Entrepreneurship	498	1	5	3.39	9	0.95
Public Service Anonymity	498	1	5	3.22	10	0.96

* There were 10 rather than 11 rank ordered values because "innovation" and "loyalty" received the same ranking.

The Impact of Socio-Demographics on Work Values

The literature on public sector reform treats government bureaucracies as largely homogeneous entities. Reform programs may differ as a result of a country's economic and political histories (Pollitt, 1990) but – with the exception of executives– public sector employees remain an undifferentiated and amorphous group defined by bureaucratic structures and processes. Similarly, change management theory makes no allowances for managing change in government, based on the apparent assumption that government and the private sector organizations are in essence the same, although their differences and similarities continue to be a topic of debate (Allison, 1987; Kettl, 1997, 2000).

Text books on organizational behaviour and organization theory underline the important role played by individual differences, culture, structure and hierarchy. A more nuanced consideration of public sector reform therefore, should take into account socio-demographic characteristics. The six socio-demographic variables selected for this study were derived in part from the organizational literature and from the themes emerging from the interviews with senior managers. These variables are presented in Table 7.

Table 7
Socio-demographic Variables[38]

Socio-Demographic Variables					
Ministry Type	Region	Gender	Age	Service Years	Management Classification
Land	Victoria	Men	<35	<7	Applied Leadership (lowest)
Social	Outside Victoria	Women	35-44	7 – 15.5	Business Leadership (intermediate)
Other			45-54	>15.5	Strategic Leadership (highest)
			≥55		

[38]Land ministries" are Agriculture & Lands, Energy, Mines & Petroleum Resources, Environment, Forest and Range and Transportation. "Social ministries" are Aboriginal Relations & Reconciliation, Advanced Education, Attorney General, Children and Family Development, Community Services, Education, Employment & Income Assistance, Health and Public Safety & Solicitor General. "Other ministries" are Office of the Premier, Finance, Public Service Agency, Economic Development, Small Business & Revenue, Tourism Sports & the Arts and Labour and Citizen Service,.

The socio-demographic variables were tested for collinearity by computing Pearson correlations among the variables. Results show low bivariate correlations among the variables with absolute values ranging from $r = .05$ to $r = .29$, ($p<.001$)

Independent group t-tests or ANOVAs were carried out for respondents' socio-demographic variables with each of the work values as the dependent variable. Post-hoc tests were conducted to evaluate pair wise differences between the ANOVA means using a Tukey HSD test[39]. For ease of reference ANOVA tables are shown separately from the tables for pair wise comparisons. Tables 8 to 18 show the results for region, gender, ministry type, classification, service years and age.

Table 8
Comparison of Value Means by Region

Region	In Victoria (n=335)	Outside Victoria (n=163)	
	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.73	4.69	n.s.
Entrepreneurship	3.35	3.48	n.s.
Innovation	4.21	4.23	n.s.
Integrity	4.91	4.88	n.s.
Leadership	4.74	4.73	n.s.
Loyalty	4.21	4.25	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.23	4.02	$p < .01$
Public Servant Anonymity	3.25	3.15	n.s.
Results Focused	4.36	4.39	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.80	3.79	n.s
Service Focused	4.59	4.65	n.s.

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[39] Although the use of non-parametric statistics is recommended for ordinal data, there is considerable debate on this issue (Howell, 2004). To assess the possible impact on this study means tests were conducted using both parametric (t-test, Analysis of Variance) and non-parametric techniques (Kruskal-Wallis, Mann Whitney). The parametric and non-parametric techniques yielded identical results.

Table 8 reports t-test results for means comparisons between regions. It shows that respondents who work outside Victoria value "political neutrality" significantly less than respondents who work in Victoria ($p < .01$). All other comparisons are not statistically significant suggesting that the influence of location on value preferences is relatively minor.

Table 9
Comparison of Value Means by Gender

Gender	Women (n=271)	Men (n=227)	
	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.76	4.66	$p < .05$
Entrepreneurship	3.35	3.45	n.s.
Innovation	4.24	4.18	n.s.
Integrity	4.92	4.88	n.s.
Leadership	4.81	4.64	$p < .001$
Loyalty	4.31	4.12	$p < .01$
Political Neutrality	4.11	4.21	n.s.
Public Servant Anonymity	3.25	3.18	n.s.
Results Focused	4.39	4.34	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.76	3.84	n.s
Service Focused	4.67	4.53	$p < .01$

Table 9 reports t-tests results for means comparison between genders. It shows four significant differences between women and men. In each case mean work value scores for women were higher than those for men. The four values are: "accountability" ($p < .05$), "leadership" ($p < .001$), "loyalty" ($p < .01$) and "service focused" ($p < .01$). Of these four results the mean value difference for leadership is highly significant indicating a strong tendency for women to rate leadership higher than men.

Table 10

Comparison of Value Means by Ministry Type (ANOVA)

Ministry Type	Land (n=127)	Social (n=185)	Other (n=186)		
	Mean	Mean	Mean	F (df)	Sig.
Accountability	4.72	4.79	4.64	4.43 (2,492)	$p <.01$
Entrepreneurship	3.61	3.29	3.36	4.54 (2,491)	$p <.01$
Innovation	4.31	4.24	4.13	3.21 (2,492)	$p <.05$
Integrity	4.89	4.92	4.89	0.47 (2,494)	n.s.
Leadership	4.76	4.82	4.63	7.13 (2,493)	$p <.0001$
Loyalty	4.28	4.26	4.15	1.34 (2,492)	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.19	4.11	4.18	0.41 (2,491)	n.s.
Public Servant Anonymity	3.10	3.30	3.22	1.74 (2,491)	n.s.
Results Focused	4.45	4.42	4.26	5.04 (2,493)	$p <.01$
Risk Taking	3.98	3.70	3.76	5.37 (2,493)	$p<0.001$
Service Focused	4.67	4.65	4.53	3.23 (2,492)	$p<0.05$

Table 10 reports One-Way ANOVA results for ministry means comparisons for each dependent variable showing statistically significant results for 7 out of 11 variables. Post-hoc Tukey HSD tests were conducted to carry out pair-wise comparisons between the three different types of ministries. Results of these tests are show in Table 11. It shows significant differences between 'land', 'social' and 'other' ministry types for six work values suggesting that ministry type as a strong effect on individual work values. Individuals in social ministries rated "accountability" and "leadership" higher than those in 'other' ministries ($p < .05$) and ($p < .001$) respectively). The "results focused" score in 'other' ministries was significantly lower than both social and land ministries ($p < .05$). "Risk taking" in land ministries was significantly higher than in social ministries ($p < .05$) and in 'other' ministries ($p <.001$). Individuals in land ministries also rated "entrepreneurship" higher than individuals in social ministries ($p < .01$)

Table 11
Comparison of Value Means by Ministry Type (Tukey HSD post-hoc test)

Ministry Type	Land (n=127)	Social (n=185)	Other (n=186)	
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.72	4.79*	4.64*	*p* <.05
Entrepreneurship	3.61*	3.29*	3.36	*p* <.01
Innovation	4.31*	4.24	4.13*	*p* <.01
Integrity	4.89	4.92	4.89	n.s.
Leadership	4.76	4.82*	4.63*	*p* <.001
Loyalty	4.28	4.26	4.15	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.19	4.11	4.18	n.s.
Public Servant Anonymity	3.10	3.30	3.22	n.s.
Results Focused	4.45*	4.42*	4.26**	*p* <.05
Risk Taking	3.98**	3.70*	–	*p* <.001
	3.98**	–	3.76*	*p* <.05
Service Focused	4.67	4.65	4.53	n.s.

* = Comparison is statistically significant between the two ministries.
** = Comparison is statistically significant between this ministry and each of the other two ministries.

and rated "innovation" higher than those in 'other' ministries (*p*< .01).

Some of these results may be partially explained by other demographic variables. Social ministries are overwhelmingly staffed by women and, as shown in Table 9, women value leadership higher than men. Other results might be explained by ministry mandate. Land ministries for example, tend to be more like businesses than do social ministries. Therefore, individuals working in these types of ministries might prefer values such as "entrepreneurship", "innovation", "risk taking" and "results focused" partly as a function of their job.

Table 12
Comparison of Value Means by Classification (ANOVA)

Classification	Applied Leadership (n=150)	Business Leadership (n=270)	Strategic Leadership (n=78)	F (df)	Sig.
	Mean	Mean	Mean	F (df)	Sig.
Accountability	4.74	4.71	4.69	0.24 (2,492)	*n.s.*
Entrepreneurship	3.32	3.39	3.54	1.36 (2,491)	n.s.
Innovation	4.17	4.23	4.27	0.79 (2,493)	*n.s.*
Integrity	4.91	4.88	4.96	2.06 (2,494)	n.s.
Leadership	4.71	4.75	4.74	0.32 (2,493	*n.s.*
Loyalty	4.34	4.17	4.19	2.28 (2,492)	n.s.
Political Neutrality	3.99	4.18	4.41	6.49 (2,491)	$p < .0001$
Public Servant Anonymity	3.24	3.21	3.21	0.05(2,491)	n.s.
Results Focused	4.33	4.36	4.47	1.64 (2,493)	*n.s.*
Risk Taking	3.61	3.84	3.97	6.80 (2,493)	$p < .0001$
Service Focused	4.58	4.61	4.64	0.35 (2,492)	n.s.

Table 12 reports One-Way ANOVA Results for job classification comparisons showing statistically significant results for 2 out of 11 variables. Post-hoc Tukey HSD tests were conducted to carry out pair-wise comparisons between the three different classifications. Results of these tests are shown in Table 13. It shows two statistically significant value differences between the classifications of applied leadership, business leadership and strategic leadership. Individuals classified in the strategic leadership band rated "political neutrality" higher than those classified in the applied leadership band ($p < .01$). These individuals also rated "risk taking" higher than individuals in both the applied leadership and business leadership bands ($p < .01$). Since the means for "political neutrality" and "risk taking" increase as classification increases, one could speculate that individuals in executive positions (although no Deputy Ministers were included in the survey), are acutely aware of the need for political neutrality

Table 13
Comparison of Value Means by Classification (Tukey HSD post-hoc test)

Classification	Applied Leadership (n=150)	Business Leadership (n=270)	Strategic Leadership (n=78)	
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.74	4.71	4.69	*n.s.*
Entrepreneurship	3.32	3.39	3.54	n.s.
Innovation	4.17	4.23	4.27	*n.s.*
Integrity	4.91	4.88	4.96	n.s.
Leadership	4.71	4.75	4.74	*n.s.*
Loyalty	4.34	4.17	4.19	n.s.
Political Neutrality	3.99*	4.18	4.41*	*p* <.01
Public Servant Anonymity	3.24	3.21	3.21	n.s.
Results Focused	4.33	4.36	4.47	*n.s.*
Risk Taking	3.61**	3.84*	3.97*	*p* <.01
Service Focused	4.58	4.61	4.64	n.s.

* = Comparison is statistically significant between two classifications.
** = Comparison is statistically significant between this classification and two other

(concerns about politicization notwithstanding) while at the same time being appreciative of the importance of taking calculated risks. Although not statistically significant, several linear relationships exist between the different classifications and values. "Service focused", "results focused", "innovation", and "entrepreneurship" increase as a function of classification level, i.e., the higher the classification the higher these values are rated. The relationship is reversed for "accountability" which decreases as classification increases.

Table 14

Comparison of Value Means by Years of Service (ANOVA)

Years of Service	<7 (n=44)	7 – 15.5 (n=174)	>15.5 (n=277)		
	Mean	Mean	Mean	F (df)	Sig.
Accountability	4.66	4.67	4.75	1.72 (2,492)	n.s.
Entrepreneurship	3.47	3.38	3.39	0.15 (2,491)	n.s.
Innovation	4.16	4.25	4.20	0.51 (2,493)	n.s.
Integrity	4.86	4.88	4.92	1.28 (2,494)	n.s.
Leadership	4.72	4.71	4.75	0.42 (2,493	n.s.
Loyalty	4.00	4.17	4.29	3.10 (2,492)	p<.005
Political Neutrality	4.30	4.06	4.20	2.03 (2,491)	n.s.
Public Servant Anonymity	3.33	3.17	3.23	0.54(2,491)	n.s.
Results Focused	4.28	4.32	4.41	1.89 (2,493)	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.95	3.69	3.84	3.06 (2,493)	p<.005
Service Focused	4.47	4.55	4.66	3.76 (2,492)	p<.005

Table 14 reports One-Way ANOVA results for means comparisons by service years, showing statistically significant results for 3 out of 11 variables. Post-hoc Tukey HSD tests were conducted to carry out pair-wise comparison between the three different groups. The results are shown in Table 15. No statistically significant differences were found for any of the dependent variables. However, linear relationships exist for "integrity", "results focused" and "service focused" where values increase as a function of years of service.

Table 15

Comparison of Value Means by Years of Service (Tukey HSD post-hoc test)

Years of Service	<7 (n=44)	7 – 15.5 (n=174)	>15.5 (n=277)	
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.66	4.67	4.75	n.s.
Entrepreneurship	3.47	3.38	3.39	n.s.
Innovation	4.16	4.25	4.20	n.s.
Integrity	4.86	4.88	4.92	n.s.
Leadership	4.72	4.71	4.75	n.s.
Loyalty	4.00	4.17	4.29	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.30	4.06	4.20	n.s.
Public Servant Anonymity	3.33	3.17	3.23	n.s.
Results Focused	4.28	4.32	4.41	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.95	3.69	3.84	n.s.
Service Focused	4.47	4.55	4.66	n.s.

Table 16 reports One-Way ANOVA Results for means comparisons by age, showing statistically significant results for 4 out of 11 variables. Post-hoc Tukey HSD tests were conducted to carry out pair-wise comparisons between the four different age groups. Table 17 shows significant differences by age groups, < 35, 35 – 44, 45 – 54 and ≥55 for "accountability", "integrity", "political neutrality" and "service focused". Individuals in the ≥ 55 group rated "accountability" higher than individuals who were between 35 and 44 years old ($p < .01$).

Individuals in the ≥ 55 age group rated "integrity" higher than those between the ages of 45 and 54 ($p < .05$) and than those between the ages of 35 and 44 ($p < .01$). Individuals in the ≥ 55 age group rated "political neutrality" higher than those between the ages of 45 and 54 ($p < .05$) and than those between the ages of 35 and 44 ($p < .01$). Individuals in the ≥ 55 age group, rated being "service focused" higher than individuals in the 35 to 44 age group ($p < .01$).

Table 16
Comparison of Mean Values by Age - Four Age Groups (ANOVA)

| | < 35 | 35- 44 | 45-54 | ≥ 55 | | |
| Age | (n=11) | (n=116) | (n=269) | (n=102 | | |
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	F (df)	Sig.
Accountability	4.55	4.62	4.72	4.82	3.54 (3,491)	*p* <.01
Entrepreneurship	3.09	3.46	3.33	3.54	1.78 (3,490)	n.s.
Innovation	4.00	4.24	4.18	4.31	1.55 (3,492)	n.s.
Integrity	4.91	4.82	4.91	4.96	4.15 (3,493)	*p* <.01
Leadership	4.82	4.77	4.70	4.77	0.81 (3,492)	n.s.
Loyalty	3.91	4.21	4.21	4.31	1.02 (3,491)	n.s.
Political Neutrality	3.91	3.94	4.21	4.32	4.46 (3,490)	*p* <.0001
Public Servant Anonymity	3.55	3.21	3.21	3.23	0.44 (3,490)	n.s.
Results Focused	4.18	4.32	4.38	4.42	0.85 (3,490)	n.s
Risk Taking	3.64	3.78	3.77	3.89	0.77 (3,492)	n.s.
Service Focused	4.45	4.50	4.62	4.71	2.86 (3,491)	*p* <.05

Table 17
Comparison of Mean Values by Age - Four Age Groups (Tukey HSD post-hoc test)

| | < 35 | 35- 44 | 45-54 | ≥ 55 | |
| Age | (n=11) | (n=116) | (n=269) | (n=102 | |
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.55	4.62	4.72*	4.82*	*p* <.01
Entrepreneurship	3.09	3.46	3.33	3.54	n.s.
Innovation	4.00	4.24	4.18	4.31	n.s.
Integrity	4.91	–	4.91*	4.96**	*p* <.05
	–	4.82*	–	4.96**	*p* <.01
Leadership	4.82	4.77	4.70	4.77	n.s.
Loyalty	3.91	4.21	4.21	4.31	n.s.
Political Neutrality	3.91	–	4.21*	4.32**	*p* <.05
	–	3.94*	–	4.32**	*p* <.01
Public Servant Anonymity	3.55	3.21	3.21	3.23	n.s.
Results Focused	4.18	4.32	4.38	4.42	n.s
Risk Taking	3.64	3.78	3.77	3.89	n.s.
Service Focused	4.45	4.50*	4.62	4.71*	*p* <.01

* = Comparison is statistically significant between two age groups.

** = Comparison is statistically significant between this age group and two other age groups.

Inspection of these results shows that whenever statistically significant results occurred between the ≥ 55 age group and other age groups, the values for < 35 were the same or almost the same as these other age groups. This suggests that the small n (11) for the < 35 age group may be the cause of these differences not reaching statistical significance levels. To avoid this effect, age groups were collapsed from four to two with the first including individuals 44 years or younger and the second including individuals 45 years or older. Independent group t-tests were conducted for these groups. The results are shown in Table 18. Comparison between the four age groups discussed above and the collapsed age groups showed that the averages for the same values were statistically significant ("accountability", p< .01, "integrity", p < .01, "political neutrality" p < .001, and "service focused" p < .01). Individuals 45 years or older rated each of these values higher than those in the 44 years or younger group.

Table 18
Comparison of Value Means by Age - Two Age Groups

Age	≤ 44 (n=127)	≥ 45 (n=371)	
	Means	Means	Sig.
Accountability	4.61	4.75	*p* <.01
Entrepreneurship	3.42	3.38	n.s.
Innovation	4.22	4.21	n.s.
Integrity	4.83	4.93	*p* <.01
Leadership	4.77	4.72	n.s.
Loyalty	4.18	4.24	n.s.
Political Neutrality	3.94	4.24	*p* <.001
Public Servant Anonymity	3.24	3.21	n.s.
Results Focused	4.31	4.39	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.77	3.80	n.s.
Service Focused	4.50	4.64	*p* <.01

Table 19 provides a summary of statistically significant differences found for socio-demographic variables and work values reported in the previous Tables 8 to 18. It shows that "ministry type" "gender", and "age" each affect multiple values, that classification affects "political neutrality" and "risk taking", and that region affects "political neutrality". These findings and the many linear relationships between socio-demographic variables and work value ratings demonstrate that government bureaucracies and public servants working within them may be highly differentiated.

Table 19
Overview of Statistically Significant Results for Socio-demographic Variables

Values	Region	Gender	Ministry Type	Classification	Service Years	Age
Accountability		✓	✓			✓
Entrepreneurship			✓			
Innovation			✓			
Integrity						✓
Leadership		✓	✓			
Loyalty		✓				
Political Neutrality	✓			✓		✓
Public Servant Anonymity						
Results Focused			✓			
Risk Taking			✓			
Service Focused		✓			✓	✓

Relationships between Values and Types and Frequency of Changes

As discussed in Part Two, public sector reform is characterized by extensive restructuring and reorganizations causing large shifts in the workforce including lay-offs and transfers. Public servants retained within the government bureaucracy take on new roles and responsibilities, populate newly created organizational units and senior managers in the newly constituted

bureaucracy learn to use private sector management principles. The change processes associated with public sector reform are radical, intensive and relentless as governments implement their new vision and continually adjust and modify reform plans.

Survey responses to questions about the incidence and prevalence of change provide an opportunity to gauge manager mobility during the period of reform, the extent of reorganization and the turnover of executive leaders. In addition, the two- and five year time frames used in the survey create an opportunity to compare the pace of change during reform and during the first two years of the Liberal government's second mandate. By subsequently linking the change data to managers' preferences for public sector work values it is possible to assess whether statistical relationships exist between change and work values.

Tables 20 and 21 report on the types of changes that survey respondents experienced and the frequency with which these changes occurred over the past two years and the past five years. Table 20 shows that among the four types of changes, appointments of new Deputy Ministers occur most frequently, both in absolute and proportional terms. In fact, over the past five years only 37 (8%) managers did not experience a change in Deputy Minister. The second highest proportional change relates to managers changing position; 362 (79%) in the past five years and 251 (52%) in the past two years. The third highest proportional change refers to reorganizations experienced by 375 (80%) of managers in the past five years and by 251(50%) in the past two years. By far the lowest number of changes relate to managers moving ministry; 135 (28%) in the past five years and 89 (19%) in the past two years.

Table 20

Types of Changes Experienced by Survey Respondents

Types of changes	In the Past 2 Years			In the Past 5 Years		
	Yes	No	Don't know	Yes	No	Don't know
Changed position	251	227	n/a	362	99	n/a
Moved ministry	89	388	n/a	135	345	n/a
Ministry reorganized	240	240	n/a	375	96	n/a
New Deputy Minister	291	173	22	403	37	37

While the frequencies of changes in the past five years (which includes the period of reform) is high, as a proportion of the total number of changes, most actually occurred during the past two years. On average, about two thirds of the total reported change occurred in the past two years (69% of total changes in position, 66% of total changes in ministry, and 64% of total reorganization). New Deputy Minister appointments were highest with 72% of total appointments occurring in the past two years[40]

Table 21 shows the frequency of changes for managers who experienced change over the past two years and the past five years. The table shows that mobility is high for managers changing position but not as high for managers changing ministries suggesting that individuals tend to move positions within ministries. As noted earlier there is high turnover at the executive ranks.

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[40]An independent check by the researcher showed that between 2001 and 2008 the Liberal government engaged 59 different individuals to serve as Deputy Ministers in about 20 ministries and that the total number of portfolios held by Deputy Ministers was 64. The average tenure in any one portfolio was two years and two months with the shortest tenure being 2 months and the longest being 80 months with most Deputy Ministers serving between 24 and 36 months. A detailed overview of Deputy Minister appointments is included in Appendix N.

Table 21

Frequency of Changes Experienced by Survey Respondents

Frequency of Changes	In the Past 2 Years				In the Past 5 Years			
	Once	2 or 3 Times	More than 3 Times	Don't Know	Once	2 or 3 Times	More than 3 Times	Don't Know
Changed position	155	84	12	n/a	114	185	61	n/a
Moved Ministry	77	12	n/a	n/a	69	59	6	1
Ministry Reorganized	117	78	24	20	138	128	68	40
New Deputy Minister	163	109	19	n/a	72	285	45	n/a

Values and Types of Change

Table 22 shows the overall results of mean value comparisons conducted for managers who experienced change in the past two and five years and those who did not. Independent groups t-tests were calculated for each type of change: (1) change of position, (2) change of ministry, (3) ministry reorganization and (4) new Deputy Minister appointed. (Tables showing detailed results are included in Appendix O). With respect to change of position, no statistically significant mean value differences were observed between managers who changed position in the past two years between managers who did not change position. Statistically significant differences between mean values for "accountability" ($p = <.05$) and "anonymity" ($p = <.05$) were found with higher ratings for those who did not change position in the past five years. This may suggest that managers who stay in the same position for a long time tend to more cautious than those who move position.

With respect to change of ministry, no significant mean value differences were found between managers who changed ministries in the past two years and managers who did not change ministries. Significant differences between mean values for "accountability" ($p = <.05$)

were found with higher ratings for those who did not change ministries in the past five years.

With respect to ministry reorganization, no significant value differences were found between

managers whose ministry was reorganized and those whose ministry was not reorganized. This

finding may also indicate caution by managers who are relatively less mobile.

With respect to Deputy Minister appointments, managers who experienced the

appointment of a new Deputy Minister in the past two years valued "leadership" ($p = <.05$)

significantly less than managers who did not experience the appointment of a new Deputy

Minister. In addition, managers who experienced the appointment of a new Deputy Minister in

the past five years valued "innovation" ($p = <.05$) and "risk taking" ($p =<.05$) significantly less

than managers who did not experience the appointment of a new Deputy Minister. These lower

results may indicate that managers sense a leadership gap and perhaps greater control as a new

Deputy Minister takes charge.

Table 22
Summary of Statistically Significant Results for Types of Changes and Values

Types of Changes	Position		Ministry		Reorganization		Deputy Minister	
	2 yrs	5yrs	2 yrs	5 yrs	2yrs	5yrs	2yrs	5yrs
Accountability		✓		✓				
Entrepreneurship								
Innovation								✓
Integrity								
Leadership							✓	
Loyalty								
Political Neutrality								
Public Servant Anonymity		✓						
Results Focused								
Risk Taking								✓
Service Focused								

Values and Frequency of Change

Table 23 shows the overall results of cross tabulations of public sector work values with the frequency of change. Tau-c tests for ordinal data were calculated for frequency sets for each type of change: (1) change of position, (2) change of ministry, (3) ministry reorganization and, (4) new Deputy Minister appointed. (Detailed tables of statistically significant results are included in Appendix P). The Tau-c statistic is directional and indicates whether a statistical relationship exists between variables as well the ordinal direction of that relationship.

With respect to change of position no statistically significant value differences were found between managers who experienced low change frequency and those who experienced high change frequency. With respect to change of ministry, significant differences were found between managers who experienced low change frequency and those who experienced high change frequency over the past two years for the values "entrepreneurship" ($p = < .001$), "results focused" ($p = < .01$) and "risk taking" ($p = < .01$). These associations are negative indicating that as change frequency increases managers rate these values lower. This finding is surprising as it could be expected that highly mobile managers would attach higher scores to these values. It should be noted though that these changes occurred in the past two years and took place between ministries. Since mobility between ministries is generally low it is possible that managers felt acutely restricted in their career opportunities.

With respect to reorganization, significant differences were found between managers who experienced low change frequency and those who experienced high change frequency over the past two years for "loyalty" ($p = < .01$). This association is again negative and indicates that loyalty decreases as the ministry is organized more often. There were no significant differences

between the values of managers who experienced low and high frequency of new Deputy

Minister appointments.

Table 23
Summary of Statistically Significant Results for Change Frequency and Values

	Position		Ministry		Reorganization		Deputy Minister	
	2 yrs	5yrs	2 yrs	5 yrs	2yrs	5yrs	2yrs	5yrs
Accountability								
Entrepreneurship			✓					
Innovation								
Integrity								
Leadership								
Loyalty					✓			
Political Neutrality								
Public Servant Anonymity								
Results Focused			✓					
Risk Taking			✓					
Service Focused								

Do Traditional and Contemporary Values Cluster?

To investigate if the values cluster together, principal component analysis was conducted

with the values results. Principal component analysis was used because the primary purpose was

to identify underlying dimensions that would account for most of the variance and then compute

index scores for regression analyses where the values indices were the dependent variables.

Initially, the factorability of the 11 value items was examined. Several generally accepted criteria

for the factorability of a correlation matrix were used (Neill, 2008). First, 7 of the 11 items

correlated at least .3 with at least one other item, suggesting reasonable factorability. Second, the

Kaiser Myer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .8, above the recommended value of .6

indicating that the correlations are compact. Third, Bartlett's test of sphericity for sampling adequacy was significant (χ^2 (498) = 840.10, *p* <.001). Fourth, the diagonals of the anti-image correlation matrix were all over .5 supporting the inclusion of each item in the factor analysis. Finally, the communalities were all above .4.

The principal component analysis was conducted on the 11 items, using varimax rotation, resulting in three factors explaining 51% of the variance. The first factor explained 19% of the variance (Eigenvalue = 2.1), the second factor explained 19% of the variance (Eigenvalue = 2.1) and the third factor explained 13% of the variance (Eigenvalue = 1.4). No complex items were identified with cross loadings higher than .4. The factor loadings for this solution are presented in Table 24. The first factor, provisionally labelled *contemporary values*, contained four items: "entrepreneurship", "risk taking", "innovation" and "results focused". The second factor, provisionally labelled *traditional values*, contained five items, "integrity, "accountability", "loyalty", "leadership" and "service focused". The third cluster, provisionally labelled *transitional values*, contained two items, "public servant anonymity" and "political neutrality".

Table 24

Factor Loadings and Communalities Based on Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation for 11 Value Items (N=494)

	Contemporary Values	Traditional Values	Transitional Values	Communality
Entrepreneurship	.79			.63
Risk Taking	.75			.61
Innovation	.69			.55
Results Focused	.47			.43
Integrity		.73		.54
Accountability		.63		.41
Loyalty		.58		.42
Leadership		.56		.40
Service focused		.54		.40
Public Servant Anonymity			.83	.70
Political Neutrality			.69	.51

Note: Factor loadings <.4 were suppressed

Descriptive statistics for the new work value variables are presented in Table 25. These index variables are weighted sums of the variables in each component and weights are factor score coefficients. Distributions for each of the new variables are arranged with a mean zero and a standard deviation of one. (Histograms for each variable are included in Appendix Q). Distributions tend to be negatively skewed and leptokurtic. However, the number of cases is sufficient to approach normality suggesting that the use of parametric techniques for further analysis is appropriate. The Cronbach's alpha values, based on the zero-order correlations, indicate that the variables are moderately internally consistent.

Table 25
Descriptive Statistics for Index Variables (N = 498)

	No. of items	Skewness	Kurtosis	Cronbach's Alpha
Contemporary Values	4	-0.41	0.71	.67
Traditional Values	5	-1.50	2.65	.61
Transitional Values	2	-0.14	0.35	.43

As set out in the beginning of this chapter the items included in the principal component analysis consisted of a combination of contemporary and traditional values as defined in the literature on the New Public Management. Five values were selected from the long list of contemporary values contained in Appendix M because they appeared most prominent in the literature and were the focus of the BC government's Renewal initiative (accountability, innovation, entrepreneurship, risk taking, results focused). Three values were included as exemplars of long-standing traditional public service work values (political neutrality, public service anonymity, loyalty to the government of the day). Finally, three values, not specifically related to either contemporary or traditional work values in the reform literature were included because these values were ranked high during the interviews and seemed to be generally reflective of senior public servants' self image (integrity, leadership and service focused).

The results of the principal component analysis are to some extent consistent with these predetermined categories but are quite surprising in other respects. Four of the five identified contemporary values loaded on the first factor (entrepreneurship, risk taking, innovation and results focused) yet accountability loaded on the second factor. The three long-standing values of political neutrality, public service anonymity and loyalty did not converge into one factor as expected. In fact, public service anonymity and political neutrality clustered in a separate third

factor. Loyalty, together with accountability, integrity, leadership and service focused converge into one cluster. Since the principal component analysis was exploratory only provisional labels are assigned to the clusters based on face validity.

Can Value Clusters be predicted from Socio-Demographic Variables?

The component score coefficient matrix shown in Table 24 above was used to calculate weighted indices for the three clusters of variables. These indices are used as criterion variables in subsequent multiple regression analyses. Linear regression was employed to determine whether socio-demographic variables could be used to predict the strength of the three value clusters. Because the independent variables are categorical variables, dummy variables were created for each variable value. A total of 11 dummy variables representing the six independent variables were entered in the regression equations for each of the new index variables. The R^2 values are shown in Table 26. The percentage variance explained by the overall regression is statistically significant for traditional values $F(11,475) = 4.39$, $p < .001$ and for contemporary values $F(11,475) = 2.58$, $p < .01$). The regression predicting transitional values did not reach statistical significance and was dropped from further analysis.

Table 26
Regression Model Results for New Index Variables

	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Standard Error
Traditional Values	.092	.071	.96
Contemporary Values	.056	.035	.98
Transitional Values	.019	.003	1.00

Each of the six socio-demographic variables were entered into separate regressions to test which of the socio-demographics variables are predictive of traditional and contemporary work values. Results for these regressions are as follows:

Traditional Values

- One way ANOVAs indicate statistically significant results for gender $F(1, 485) = 16.26$, $p< .001$; ministry type $F(2,484) = 5.91$, $p<.01$; years of service $F(2,484) = 4.24$, $p<.01$; and age $F(1,485) = 9.79$, $p<.01$. No statistically significant results were obtained for region or for classification level.

- To identify the relative contribution to the overall R^2 of each of these statistically significant independent variables, R^2 changes were calculated by using the incremental F test, a method for simultaneously examining all the categories of nominal dummy-coded variables. Contributions to the total .092 R^2 are .032 ($p< .001$) for gender, .019 ($p<.01$) for ministry type, .020 ($p<.01$) for years of service and .019 ($p<.05$) for age.

- All independent variables were entered into one regression to obtain predictor values. Table 27 shows the coefficients for each statistically significant independent variable. As a result of dummy coding mean values of the reference groups are returned as constants and B coefficients can be interpreted in the standard way. With respect to traditional values, the coefficients show that, women score significantly higher than men, managers in social ministries score significantly higher than managers in 'other' ministries, managers with 15.5 years or less seniority score significantly lower than managers with more than 15.5 years seniority, and managers 45 years or older score significantly higher than those younger than 45 years of age. While the coefficient for managers in social ministries is higher than the coefficient for managers in land ministries this difference was not statistically significant.

Table 27
Coefficients of Statistically Significant Regression Results for Traditional Values

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	St.Error	Beta	t	Sig.
Gender					
Constant	-0.197	0.066			
Women	0.361	0.090	0.180	4.033	*p*<0.001
Ministry Type					
Constant	-0.177	0.074			
Land	0.169	0.115	0.074	1.469	n.s.
Social	0.358	0.104	0.173	3.438	*p*<0.01
Years of Service					
Constant	0.105	0.060			
< 7 years	-0.407	0.163	-0.116	-2.497	*p*<0.05
7 to 15.5 years	-0.196	0.097	-0.094	-2.028	*p*<0.05
Age					
Constant	-0.239	0.089			
< 45 years	0.322	0.103	0.141	3.128	*p*<0.01

Contemporary Values

- One way ANOVAs indicate statistically significant results for ministry type $F(2,484) = 7.01$, $p<.001$; and classification $F(2,484) = 4.33$, $p<.05$.

- To identify the relative contribution to the overall R^2 of each of these statistically significant variables, R^2 changes were calculated by using the incremental F test, a method for nominal dummy coded variables. Contributions to the total .056 R^2 are .027 ($p<.001$) for ministry type and .014 ($p< .01$) for classification. The contribution of age to overall R^2 is .10 but this result is not statistically significant.

- All independent variables were entered into one regression to obtain predictor values. Table 28 shows the coefficients for the two statistically significant independent variables. As a result of dummy coding mean values of the reference groups are returned as

constants and B coefficients can be interpreted in the standard way. With respect to contemporary values, the coefficients show that managers in land ministries score significantly higher on contemporary values than managers in 'other' ministries. While they also score higher than managers in social ministries this difference is not statistically significant. Managers in the applied (lowest) leadership classification score contemporary values significantly lower than managers in the strategic (highest) leadership classification. While managers in the business (middle) leadership classification also scored lower than managers in the strategic leadership classification this difference was not statistically significant.

Table 28
Coefficients of Significant Regression Results for Contemporary Values

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	St.Error	Beta	t	Sig.
Ministry Type					
Constant	-0.112	0.074			
Land	0.397	0.115	0.173	3.449	$p<0.001$
Social	0.028	0.104	0.013	0.266	n.s
Classification					
Constant	0.178	0.112			
Applied Leadership	-0.368	0.139	-0,169	-2.644	$p<0.01$
Business Leadership	-0.125	0.128	-0.062	-0.973	n.s

Summary

This chapter extended the discussion begun in Chapter 8 by sketching a profile of work values held by BC's senior managers using the results of a survey of 498 BC government managers. Similar to the interview findings respondents rated "integrity" and "leadership" first and second in importance and entrepreneurship and public service anonymity at the bottom of the scale (public service anonymity was one of the eight values that did not make it to the top

five values for any of the interviewees). Other similarities were "accountability" and "service" ranked third and fourth respectively in the survey and ranked second and sixth by interviewees in the list weighted list of top values.

The chapter also explored questions about relationships between work values and socio-demographic variables Strong relationship were found between women and "leadership" and between managers working in land ministries and "entrepreneurship" and "risk taking". Managers at higher levels of the hierarchy value risk more than those at lower levels. Older individuals tend to score "political neutrality" significantly higher than younger senior managers.

Although the researcher was not permitted to include direct questions in the survey on Public Service Renewal, Core Services Review and Workforce Adjustment, questions on changes during specific time frames provided a reasonable proxy for the effect of the shift to New Public Management on senior managers. The survey asked respondents to indicate change frequencies in position or ministry assuming these changes were initiated by the individual although it is possible that some individuals were "placed" in different positions as a result of workforce adjustment[41]. Looking only at the past two years when there was no labour adjustment, it is clear that there was a great deal of voluntary movement between positions with more than half the respondents reporting a change in position and almost 40% of those reporting changing positions more than once. Changes between ministries are less frequent. Based on the past two years, about one-fifth of respondents moved ministries with about 13% of those moving more than once. A second set of questions referred to matters beyond the control of respondents,

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[41]Public servants in management categories are not protected by bumping provisions contained in collective agreements.

reorganization and appointment of new Deputy Ministers. Eighty percent of respondents indicated the ministry had been reorganized in the past five years. Of those about half said the ministry had been reorganized more than once. Eighty-five percent of respondents answered that a new Deputy Minister was appointed in the past five years. Of those 80% said that the Deputy Minister had changed more than once with about 12% indicating that their Deputy Minister had changed more than three times. These results confirm similar statements by interviewees on leadership turnover. The effect of change frequency on senior managers' work values however was minimal but consistent with "accountability", "loyalty", "entrepreneurship" and, "risk taking" being lower at higher change frequencies.

A principal component analysis exploring possible clustering of public service work values into traditional and contemporary constructs found some support for the existence of different groups although the total amount of variance explained was just over 50%. A third, construct was identified for "public service anonymity" and "political neutrality". This component was called "transitional values" in recognition of the tendency of governments to identify decision makers at senior management levels and the growing practice, at least in BC, of appointing executives on the basis of their support for the government's ideology rather than other considerations.

 Multiple regressions were used to determine whether socio-demographic characteristics are predictive of work value preferences. Four variables (gender, ministry type, years of service and age) were predictive of traditional work values and two variables (ministry type and classification) were predictive of contemporary work values.

PART FIVE – FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 10 Findings in Perspective

When the BC Liberals came to power in 2001they set out to implement an ambitious political, fiscal, structural and organizational agenda which would bring a "New Era of Restoring Hope and Prosperity" to the province of British Columbia. New ministries were established, old ones terminated and others reorganized. MLAs, government officials and outside advisers were appointed to various committees charged with a fundamental review of regulations and ministry and Crown agency programs. The NDP government's financial projections were subjected to scrutiny by a government-appointed Fiscal Review Panel and budget legislation was passed requiring tight reporting timelines, service plans and a balanced budget by 2004. This complete overhaul of the system had significant implications for the BC public service charged with implementing the government's agenda while facing lay-offs of one third of the total workforce. In addition, the new government's plans included a radical change agenda for the BC public service involving a realignment of their professional work values.

This study aimed to assess the government's efforts at change articulated in the Public Service Renewal program. Five research questions were designed to provide insights into the objectives, process and success of public service reform. These questions were systematically addressed in the dissertation and are set out below:

1. What strategies did the BC government select to bring about its version of New Public Management?
2. What change management process did the BC government use to implement public service reform?
3. What rhetoric did the BC government use to persuade public servants to accept its reform doctrines and a new work value framework?

4. To what degree do values currently held by public servants reflect new public service work values promoted by the BC government?

5. To what extent does the value framework currently held by public servants reflect socio-demographic differences?

This chapter provides a consolidation of the study's findings as presented in the foregoing chapters. It is supplemented by the results of retrospective, informal one-hour interviews with seven top executives chiefly responsible for Public Sector Renewal who were interviewed in 2005 as the first term of the Liberal government came to a close.

The chapter consists of three main sections. The first section reflects on the BC government's interpretation of government reform (New Public Management). It discusses the broad structural and organizational changes, and the reorientation contemplated for the public service. The second focuses on the implementation process of the BC public service reform which involved a shift from traditional public sector work values to business-type work values. The third section assesses the impact of BC's reform program on the professional values of public service managers.

Public Sector Reform and the BC Public Service

The strong socio-economic forces that pushed Anglo-American countries towards fundamental reform in the early 1990s had largely abated by the time the BC Liberals came to power. However, the Canadian economy and Canadian and provincial governments' fiscal conditions continued to be of concern (Dodge, 2001). With the exception of Alberta, provincial governments continued to run deficit budgets and, while BC's tax payer- supported debt was the lowest in the country, it had increased from $18.1 billion in 1995 to $25.7 billion in 2000. The fiscally conservative ideology of the BC Liberals, who promised "fiscal responsibility" to the

electorate, and their doubts about the veracity of the previous government's fiscal projections, meant that the new government was looking for strategies to reduce government expenditures while stimulating the economy. Solutions offered by the New Public Management and examples of likeminded regimes in Ontario and Alberta provided attractive models for the BC government.

The interviews with executives revealed that the BC Liberals saw great promise in the New Public Management implemented in the UK and New Zealand and admired the Harris regime in Ontario and the Klein regime in Alberta. Members of the Liberal transition team were well read in the area of public sector reform and sought advice from individuals involved with reform in New Zealand. Prior to the election, BC Liberals leader Gordon Campbell travelled extensively and met with the Premiers of Ontario and Alberta to discuss fiscal strategies, restructuring ideas and reforming the public service. The subsequent reconfiguration of BC's governing structures, reorganization of government ministries and reorientation of government employees exhibited the classic characteristics of the New Public Management.

A large number of programs were eliminated, contracted out, privatized or devolved to community agencies with concomitant lay-offs of public servants. The Ministry of Health was split into two ministries to separate policy making and service delivery (Ministry of Health Planning and Ministry of Health Services) and the Ministry of Environment was dismantled and replaced by a business-oriented Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management and a regulatory Ministry of Water, Land and Air Protection. Shared services units were created to increase the efficiency of revenue collection and information technology. Human resource management was centralized within PSERC to increase efficiency but also to exert greater control over the workforce. Public service reform was integral to the government's vision and, in the words of one of the interviewees, "was based in a new political philosophy and a new public

administration" in a world where the role of "government had become more focused" as a result of outsourcing and contracting out; a world which "demanded more public service skills of innovation, entrepreneurship and risk-taking".

The BC government's reform vision for the public service was complicated by a number of factors. First, in the Canadian adversary system politicians are suspicious of public servants – especially of "mandarins". Political parties typically come to power after defeating rivals in hard-fought election campaigns. New governments inherit a bureaucracy that for at least four years has loyally served a government led by a rival party and politicians often wonder how this same public service could be loyal to new political masters (Savoie, 1993a). Relations between political parties in BC tend to be particularly acrimonious and successive governments have been wary and suspicious of the public service. However, as one interviewee observed, the wariness exhibited by the Liberal government was "more blatant and much harder edged". Several executives noted that ministers did not "care much" for public servants, were wary of their deputy minister, and did not seem to value the public service as a whole.

Second, the incoming Liberal government was of the view that the previous NDP government, which had governed the province for ten years, had politicized the public service. This view was supported by the executives interviewed in 2005 as well as by the senior managers interviewed in 2007. Third, the incoming government felt that the public service had been neglected, that morale was at an all-time low, and that the public service had lost its professionalism. That the public service had a morale problem, especially after the 1997 cut-backs by the NDP, was well known and had been reported on extensively by the Auditor General of BC in 2000 and by Malatest & Associates in 2001. There was nothing to support the perception however, that the public service lacked professionalism.

In short, the Liberal government's goals for the public service were anchored in prevailing reform ideas of entrepreneurial government, private sector management principles and a reduction of bureaucratic monopoly power (Richards, 2003; Hood, 1991; Pollitt 1990). The misgivings about government bureaucracy characteristic of the New Public Management were especially prominent among government ministers who also lacked confidence in the public servants' ability to meet the government's agenda. This perspective, together with the reality of a neglected, demoralized and politicized public provided the platform for Public Service Renewal.

The Change Process: Reality and Rhetoric

The Challenge

The ambitious restructuring and reorganization plans of the Liberal government initiated in its first mandate were not entirely successful. For example, the new Ministry of Health Planning was disestablished after two years of operation and the Ministries of Sustainable Resource Management and Water, Land and Air protection lasted until 2005 when they were merged under a new Environment ministry. Privatization of the Coquihalla Highway was abandoned in the face of wide-spread protests in 2003 and corruption allegations over the sale of BC Rail were still before the Courts at the end of 2008. The outsourced administration of the Medical Services Plan and Fair Pharmacare was plagued by persistent non-performance of the contractor. Finally, some of the devolution initiatives were delayed indefinitely, leading to the realization of 64% of projected staff reductions. (A detailed break-down of projected and realized FTE savings is attached as Appendix J).

Successful implementation of government-wide restructuring and multiple internal reorganizations involves significant effort and will typically take two to five years to complete. Persuading the public service to adopt new work values however, is a radical cultural shift that takes much longer to accomplish since values occupy a central place in the cognitive make-up and personality of individuals (Dose, 1997). Work values are an important factor in occupational choice and are directly related to work commitment, motivation and satisfaction (Furnham, 1990; Lewis & Frank, 2002). Executives interviewed agreed that changing public service values would take at least a decade to accomplish since these values "had been basically unchanged since the 17th century". While public service values did not quite hail from the 17th century, they have been in place for a long time and were clearly set out by Trevelyan and Northcote, Weber and Wilson in the mid and late 19th century (Royal Commission, 1854; Shafritz & Hyde, 1987). The public administration literature leaves little doubt about the key characteristics of these traditional values. They are: appointment on merit, political neutrality, loyalty to the government of the day, public servant anonymity, and impartiality. (A detailed description of traditional values is included in Appendix M).

Findings from the 2007 interviews with 12 former senior managers (those who had left the public service by 2001) and 20 current senior managers (those who were still employed in the public service) indicate that their identities are steeped in traditional public service values. The image of senior public servants emerging from the interviews is remarkably consistent. Senior managers are uniformly proud of their profession, feel that their primary responsibility is to serve the public –often expressed as the public good, are acutely aware of the need to be loyal to the government of the day (within the limits of their personal integrity), and see themselves as politically neutral. No specific references were made to upholding the merit principle but several

interviewees expressed their dismay with the politicization of the public service under the NDP government. It seems fair to suggest that based on these interviews, the collection of traditional public service values represent an integrated gestalt, collectively understood and cherished by BC's senior public service and that changing these values would be a considerable challenge.

The Change Attempt

Public service reform was led by top executives who brought their considerable intellect, knowledge, experience and organizational sophistication to a daunting task which they knew would be received with mixed feelings since Public Service Renewal was to coincide with wide-spread lay-offs. Executives interviewed acknowledged that it "was counter-intuitive to reconcile the public service-affirming language used in Renewal with the relentless cutting of resources and people." Nonetheless, the Liberal government's strong faith in the New Public Management, its lack of confidence in public servants' capacity to implement the Liberal agenda and the serious morale issues in the public service, compelled the leadership to move forward with an elaborate change management plan to be carried out in three phases over a two-year time frame.

At first glance the change management program design and execution were consistent with approaches and techniques recommended in the change management literature (e.g., Fiol 2002; Kanter, Stein & Jick; 1992; Kotter 1996; Robbins, Coulter & Langton, 2006). Employees were shaken out of complacency with the current situation by the establishment of an urgent need for change which was created organizationally through executive workshops, presentations to ministries, correspondence and focus group, and was created rhetorically by language that defined the "problem" as urgent, the situation as untenable and the need to serve the public better. Renewal was highly visible and was guided and supported by enthusiastic leadership

from the top of the organization including the Premier himself. The new vision was widely

communicated and strategies for realizing the vision were developed. Short term wins and long

term implementation plans were initiated and the overall reaction of the bureaucracy was at least

in the beginning, positive (BC Stats & PSERC 2002, 2003).

On closer examination however, the process was flawed at several levels. First, the

apparent consistency with change management literature principles was not sustained in later

stages of the project. Employees were not empowered to create the quick wins, nor were they

meaningfully involved in the design and execution of the long term implementation plans.

Therefore, the changes so ardently pursued in Renewal were sparsely and inadequately

implemented. Of the senior managers interviewed in 2007, several noted that Renewal was too

strongly associated with the centre (PSERC) and that it therefore "did not feel real". Executives

interviewed were aware of large variations in ministries' response to Renewal some of which

they felt may have been due to the mandate of the ministry. For instance large, relatively secure

ministries were thought to be more welcoming of Renewal than small ministries and central

agencies. They also said that some deputy ministers seemed enthusiastic but that this did not

necessarily translate into enthusiastic implementation.

Second, the rhetorical strategy was poorly conceived because it did not take into account

the discrepancy between words spoken and actions taken. As one of the executives put it "I'm

valued as they fire me". Another suggested that Renewal "was a kind of smoke screen for

downsizing" and that as a result, messages about valuing the public service were seen as

insincere and cynical. But workforce adjustment was only one source of contradiction; the Core

Services Review was another. Public servants, who were told they were responsible for repairing

the social contract with the province's citizens, were part of aggressive program cut-backs for

these same citizens, a process that was experienced by some of the senior public servants interviewed as "very painful". The rhetoric about the lack of public service professionalism most clearly expressed in the Renewal mandate "to rebuild and sustain a professional public service capable of providing quality services that meet the needs of British Columbians" was felt by many senior public servants as an insult. The approach, language and exercises used in the New Era and Leadership Management workshops, according to one executive, assumed that "the IQ of the public service was in their shoes". While communication staff in PSERC were aware of the many shortcomings of the rhetoric, their alternative communication strategy which was more sympathetic to the public service was ignored.

Third, Public Service Renewal was not a unified change management program but consisted of two ultimately incompatible conceptual streams. On the one hand, Renewal was intended to realize the New Public Management-based drive to shift professional public service values away from traditional public-sector values and towards business-type values. On the other hand, Renewal was meant to address problems of neglect, politicization and low morale in the public service. The former (potentially destructive goal) required firm, assertive direction and instructions to replace old values with new ones; the latter (potentially constructive goal) required careful, supportive strategies to restore dignity, commitment and job satisfaction.

An opportunity for solving this contradiction and overcoming the dilemma was perhaps unwittingly provided by the Auditor General of BC whose April 2002 report on employee job satisfaction painted a negative picture of BC's public service leadership.

> I was disappointed to discover that employees in the British Columbia public service do not trust or have confidence in their leaders. This issue permeated all of our findings and stood out overwhelmingly. Our findings also indicated that addressing leadership

concerns provides the best opportunity for government to improve employee engagement[42] and create a culture that is truly citizen-centred.

(Auditor General, 2002, p.5)

In the second year of the program the focus of Public Service Renewal shifted to public service leadership and the rhetoric followed suit with new language on the Website and in Deputy Minister speaking notes such as "Renewal is about all of us. We are the leaders in the New Era. We are the clients of Renewal as well as its champions". The agenda for a two day *Leadership in Action* workshop, organized in December 2002 for Deputy Ministers, Assistant Deputy Ministers and other senior public servants, was exclusively dedicated to leadership. Over time, it became less and less clear what Renewal actually stood for which may have been the reason why several of the current senior managers interviewed in 2007, either could not remember Public Service Renewal or confused it with Core Services Review. To some extent the rhetoric *was* the change management program

To sum up, the BC government's attempt at reorienting the public service in accordance with New Public Management ideology was fraught with difficulties. As a change management project it strayed from several of the key precepts set out in the literature by failing to empower the managers in the implementation stage. As a rhetorical undertaking the project did not take into account the wisdom of theoretical perspectives on value change, nor did it benefit from the lessons offered in the literature about sense making and using language effectively to persuade. Finally, the parallel but incompatible objectives of the change management program and their

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[42] The notion of "engagement" became central to the BC government's own set of employee satisfaction surveys carried out in 2006, 2007 and 2008 which continued to present unacceptably low results for leadership. While comparatively higher results were reported in 2008, 89% of this improvement was attributable to individuals hired since 2007.

transformation into a new direction diluted the original purpose of inculcating new values into the public service.

The Results: Did Values Change?

Executives interviewed in 2005 and senior managers interviewed in 2007 indicated that Public Service Renewal was implemented in pockets. Some Deputy Ministers were strong supporters and set up developmental processes in their ministry to ensure implementation. Other Deputy Ministers were initially supportive but were soon overtaken by the issues of the day and lost interest and some Deputies "kept their head down hoping that it would go away" which it eventually did. Judging from the difficulties identified in the change management implementation process it is doubtful that Public Service Renewal had a deep and uniform effect on the values of the senior public service. Two empirical strategies were used to determine the degree to which new, contemporary (business-like) work values were adopted: 32 interviews with senior public servants and a survey of 498 public service managers, both conducted in 2007.

As indicated in the previous section, 20 of the senior managers interviewed were still employed by the BC government; the other 12 had left prior to Public Service Renewal in 2001. One of the reasons for interviewing current and former public servants was to ascertain whether the New Public Management would likely have an effect on public servants past and present regardless of BC's reorientation program. If this were the case former and current senior managers would show similar preferences for contemporary values and survey findings could be potentially invalidated by history.

The results of weighted rankings of preferred values selected from a list of 34 values by each group are inconclusive. "Accountability" ranks second and "innovation" ranks fourth on the

overall list of preferred values but proportionally more current senior managers rank these values high. "Results focused" ranks ninth overall, with current senior managers again showing a greater preference for this value. The results for these three values indicate that senior managers still employed with the BC government rank them higher than those no longer employed suggesting that current senior managers rate contemporary values higher than they do traditional values. However, "Entrepreneurship" and "risk taking", which rank at the lower end of the list of values, were preferred only by former senior managers, i.e., they were not included in current senior managers' preferences[43]. Current senior managers did indicate that they expect the importance of "entrepreneurship" and "risk taking" to increase in the future. Since these interviews were conducted six years after Public Service Renewal began, it is possible that current senior managers were aware of "entrepreneurship" and "risk taking" but had not yet seen concrete evidence of their importance on a day-to-day basis. Hence, there is a general awareness about New Public Management work values among all public servants interviewed but some work values are seen as more important for those still employed in the public service.

Comparisons of interview findings with survey results show similar patterns for managers employed in the public service in 2007. On a scale of one to five with five being the highest value, the mean value for "accountability" is relatively high at 4.72 (ranking third). The mean value for "results focused" is 4.37 (ranking fifth). The score for "innovation" is 4.22 (ranking sixth together with loyalty). The mean value for "risk taking" is 3.79 (ranking eighth) and for "entrepreneurship" the mean is 3.39 (ranking ninth). Only "public service anonymity"

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[43]These results, also found in the survey, show an unexplained inconsistency between the high ranking of innovation and the low ranking of risk taking. Presumably innovative behaviour involves a certain amount of risk and it is not clear why this discrepancy exists.

scores lower at 3.22). "Leadership" which took on such a high profile during Public Service

Renewal is valued second highest with a mean of 4.73[44]. Thus, it appears reasonable to conclude

that based on survey results senior managers in the BC public service favoured some

contemporary work values but not others and that "entrepreneurship" and "risk taking, which

were particularly high on the BC government's agenda, were valued least within the set of

contemporary values.

Work Values: Socio-demographic Effects

The literature on public sector reform treats government bureaucracies as largely

homogeneous entities. Reform programs may differ as a result of a country's economic and

political histories (Pollitt, 1990) but, with the exception of executives, public sector employees

remain an undifferentiated and amorphous group defined by bureaucratic structures and

processes. Yet text books of organizational behaviour and organization theory emphasize the

important role played by individual differences, culture, structure and hierarchy in motivation

and satisfaction; factors closely related to work values (e.g., Robbins, Coulter and Langton,

2006). Occupational preference and job satisfaction studies have shown consistent work value

differences between men and women, with women being more traditional (Haviland, 2004;

Lewis & Frank, 2002). In addition, recent discussions in the practitioners press on the inter-

generational workplace highlight the importance of employee age differences. Finally,

interviews with BC executives and senior managers indicate that ministry mandates may have an

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[44] Although the survey contained 11 work vales the means for "loyalty" and "innovation" were identical producing 10 possible rankings.

effect on work values. Therefore, unpacking the overall work value preferences among socio-demographic variables promised to provide important additional information.

Means comparisons among six socio-demographic variables confirm that age, gender and ministry type do indeed have a strong effect on respondents' work values but that regions (location), classifications (rank) and service years (seniority) do not or do so only weakly[45]. Results for contemporary values were most dramatic for ministry types. Individuals in land-based ministries (Agriculture & Land, Energy, Mines & Petroleum Resource, Environment, Forest and Range, and Transportation) show higher scores for "accountability", "entrepreneurship"," innovation", "results focused" and "risk taking". These values represent the entire spectrum laid out by the BC government in the early days of Public Service Renewal. The differences between land ministries and other types of ministries are not systematic but it is noteworthy that land-ministry employees rate "results focused" and "risk taking" higher than both social ministries and "other" ministries, and that "other" ministries score lowest on "results focused". Based on these findings it is likely that individuals who work in ministries with business-like mandates have a greater affinity for business-type work values and would be more readily prepared to adopt contemporary work values. Although there were differences between men and women on four values, only one of these values was associated with contemporary values. Women score higher on "accountability" than do men. Similarly, managers aged 45 and over score higher on "accountability" than those younger than 45. Interpretation of these results is somewhat speculative since most effects for women and older individuals point to traditional

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[45] Unless otherwise noted, all reported differences are statistically significant

rather than contemporary values. One possible explanation is that "accountability" is an ambiguous concept which may be understood in more than one way.

It is worth noting at this point that with respect to "leadership" individuals in social ministries score higher than respondents from 'other' ministries. Social ministry managers also score higher on leadership than do those in land ministries although this difference is not statistically significant. In addition, "leadership" scores for women are higher than for men.

Work Values: Change Effects

The restructuring and reorganizations association with government reform caused large shifts in employment patterns, especially at the managerial ranks. Public servants take on new roles and responsibilities and may be assigned to newly-constructed organizational units. To empirically confirm this phenomenon and to explore their relative effect on public service work values, four types of changes were investigated: change of employee position, change in ministry, ministry reorganization and appointment of a new Deputy Minister. Survey responses provide insight into manager mobility, and make it possible to compare mean work values between individuals who experienced change and those who did not. The two- and five year time frames used in the survey create the opportunity to compare the pace of change during reform and after reform, and to gauge whether change makes any difference in terms of adoption of contemporary values. In addition, data collected on the number of changes individuals experienced allow an assessment of the effect of change frequency on contemporary values. Each set of changes and their findings are reviewed below.

As expected, the different types of changes are high for the majority of survey respondents, although it is surprising that change is proportionally higher in the two years after

Public Service Renewal ended than during its implementation. Two types of changes stand out. First, 403 (81%) of the 498 respondents saw the appointment of a new Deputy Minister and in 285 (71%) of these cases new Deputies were appointed two or three times in the past five years. Second, 345 (69%) of 498 respondents did *not* change ministry in the past five years. This means that ministry membership is relatively stable but that executive turnover is very high.

Comparisons of mean work values between individuals who changed position and those who did not change position, show that "accountability" is valued higher by managers who did not change position in the past five years. The same results were obtained for individuals who did not change ministry in the past five years. Managers who did not experience the appointment of a new Deputy Minister over the past five years scored higher on "innovation" and "risk taking". One possible interpretation of this last finding is that managers who work under the same executive leadership for a long time are interested in exploring different ways of operating and may therefore value contemporary values more. The results for "accountability" are ambiguous since, as noted above, they may be interpreted in more than one way.

Further frequency analysis of the different types of changes shows that high frequency of ministry changes in the past two years is associated with changes in values for "entrepreneurship"," results focused" and "risk taking". These findings however, should be considered with caution as no other effects are observed for frequency change.

Determining Value Constructs

As discussed, the survey asked respondents to indicate the relative importance of 11 different public service work values. The list of values was derived from two main sources. Three values (integrity, leadership and service focused) were selected on the basis of the

interviews with senior public servants. The balance was derived from traditional and New Public Management literature on professional public sector values. This normative literature was utilized as there is limited empirical evidence on public sector values and value changes (Hansen & Lauridsen, 2004;Van der Wal, de Graaf & Lasthuizen, 2006). To begin contributing to a potential body of empirical work and to assess whether the values associated with the New Public Management pursued by the BC government (accountability, innovation, results focused, entrepreneurship and risk taking) represent a common construct, a principal component analysis was carried out on the survey data.

The principal component analysis returned three possible underlying common factors: the work values "entrepreneurship, risk taking, innovation and results focused" loaded on the first factor, the work values "integrity, accountability, loyalty, leadership and service focused" loaded on the second factor and, the work values "public servant anonymity and political neutrality" loaded on the third factor. These findings confirm (in an exploratory sense) that with the exception of accountability, contemporary public service work values share a common underlying dimension.

The second dimension may not be as easily defined. First, it includes "accountability" which has been front and centre in government reform. One could speculate that public servants traditionally interpreted accountability to mean that the public service is held accountable to their political masters whereas accountability within the context of the New Public Management refers to accountability to the public. Second, this dimension includes integrity and leadership which are part of public servants' identity but are not typically associated with the description of the professional public service in the literature. Nevertheless, for ease of reference this dimension is called traditional public service work values.

The separation of public service anonymity and political neutrality into a third factor is surprising since these values are traditionally characteristic of an independent and professional public service. One possible explanation of this finding is that as a result of public sector reform, responsibilities (and consequently accountabilities) are shifting from politicians to public servants, exposing public servants to public scrutiny as individuals rather than as part of an anonymous public service. Additionally, politicization of the public service may be putting pressure on the traditional value of political neutrality. This factor is called transitional values to indicate the possibility of the shift away from traditional values.

Exploring the predictive ability of socio-demographics

The emerging pattern of value preferences as a function of socio-demographic characteristics became evident when comparing mean values in an earlier analysis of the findings. Subsequent multiple regressions explored the degree to which these preferences may be predictive for contemporary or traditional public sector values. The results are mostly consistent: women managers, managers working in social ministries, managers who have worked for the BC government for more than 15.5 years and managers older than 45 are likely to prefer traditional work values. Managers who work in land ministries and managers who are classified at the strategic leadership level are likely to favour contemporary work values. While in the case of contemporary values, age did not reach statistically significant levels it did make a relatively large contribution to the total variance. It is therefore possible that managers younger than 45 are likely to favour contemporary work values. The common sense expectation though that young managers (those under 35 years of age) or new managers (those who were hired after the BC

government started Public Service Renewal) would prefer contemporary values was not borne out by this analysis.

Summary

The Liberal agenda for BC included the design and implementation of a BC version of the New Public Management. This involved the reorientation of the BC public service whose professional public service values were to be changed from traditional to contemporary values. The conditions for successfully implementing this reorientation were not favourable. Some of these conditions were historical, i.e., the politicization and the low morale of the public service. Notwithstanding the large investment of time and resources in the reorientation program its implementation was flawed. Executives and senior managers were not empowered to participate in creating quick wins and long term changes and the government's rhetoric proved incapable of overcoming the contradictions between program cuts and mass-lay offs, and the ostensible concern and new vision for the public service. Most fundamental to the imperfect implementation of the reorientation was the inherent paradox of the original program objectives, their subsequent fragmentation and final dissolution in favour of one overarching new objective.

Analysis of interview and survey results showed that with the exception of "accountability" and "results focused", contemporary public sector work values encouraged by the BC government are not valued highly by current public service managers. Detailed consideration of these results revealed that within these overall findings socio-demographic characteristics had significant effects on the types of values favoured by BC public service managers. Key differences related to gender, age and type of ministry. The first two are consistent with the literature on individual differences and the third one is consistent with the

business literature on differences in objectives between organizational units such as marketing and production.

Analysis of types of changes and frequency of these changes demonstrated that there is relatively low mobility of public service managers between ministries and relatively high mobility of executives between ministries. These findings may encourage strong clan type sentiments within ministries and a sense of leadership deprivation among public service managers. There are some surprising effects of change in that managers who indicated preferences for contemporary values did *not* experience change, and that those managers who experienced high frequency of change also expressed a preference for contemporary value suggesting a possible effect of extreme conditions.

Principal component analysis supports the existence of an underlying common construct for four of the five work values defined as contemporary values throughout this study. The work value "accountability" was not included in this construct but clustered with a more traditional second construct putting some of the findings in a different light. A new category, consisting of "political neutrality" and "public service anonymity" suggests that there may be some shift in the set of public sector values. Multiple regressions underscored the importance of socio-demographic variables in predicting work value preferences, especially gender, type of ministry and age.

Several conclusions may be drawn from these findings. First, notwithstanding the extensive effort, the BC government was not successful in instilling contemporary work values in its management ranks. Second, there is empirical support for the existence of a construct of contemporary public service values which can be distinguished from traditional public service

work values. Third, differences in value preferences are mainly predicated on and may be

predicted from socio-demographic characteristics.

Chapter 11: Values and Implications for Change

The idea for this dissertation originated soon after I had left the BC public service in the fall of 2001. My application for the doctoral program the following year contained a thesis proposal which sketched in broad strokes the research I ultimately conducted. Reflecting back on my early motivation to undertake this study I realize that my six months experience working for the new Liberal government had left me with mixed feelings. As the Executive Financial Officer for my ministry I had been responsible for producing the financial projections which would form part of the Fiscal Review commissioned by the government. With my colleagues, I had attended several meetings with the Deputy to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring, on the Core Services Review. I had received instructions to prepare budget packages at 80%, 65% and 50% of the current budget as a first step towards a balanced budget projected in 2004/05. While these deep budget cuts did not apply to health and education, it was clear that the first Liberal budget would have serious consequences for social programs. Or, as one of my colleagues so aptly noted "the next four years will be a bad time to be poor in BC".

But it was not the reductions in funding for social services that made me uncomfortable. I value our democratic system of government and acknowledge the right of duly elected governments to implement their political platform, even when the resulting policies appear unfair, harsh and unreasonable to some groups in society. Nor was I particularly perturbed by the radical organizational changes that were implemented in those first six months. I believe that governments have the right to formulate and structure whatever governing instruments they see fit to realize their political agenda, even when reorganizations lead to configurations that appear illogical, inefficient or ineffective. Rather, my mixed feelings arose from the patterns of

communication, the tenor of spoken and written instructions, the frequent high level meetings intended to press the government's agenda, the ideological overtones of the Core Services Review and the impression that the government approached the public service with some distrust. I also realized that although this was never overtly stated, the new BC government was in the process of implementing changes typical of the New Public Management with which I was familiar and of which I was moderately critical. The knowledge of the New Public Management literature I had gained during my part-time university teaching years and what I observed in the early days of the new Liberal regime, combined to peak my interest in the research reported in this thesis.

In this chapter I will briefly review the study's major findings. I will then discuss the implications of the findings of the study for value-based change programs, for mainstream change management theories and for alternative understandings of change management. I will also consider the implications the study may have for those who wish to undertake radical reform in the public sector, be they politicians, administrative leaders, or management consultants. I will then reflect on the possibility that the emphasis on changing values so much at the centre of radical reform and the New Public Management may be misplaced. In addition, I suggest that large, high profile change management processes may be counterproductive to achieving lasting change.

Recapitulation of Findings

This dissertation set out to study public service reform in the BC government during the first term of office of the BC Liberals from 2001 to 2005. Public service reform is integral to the New Public Management and involves reorientation of public servants' work values. This reorientation is based on the idea that governments function better if career public servants operate on the basis of private-sector type work values rather than traditional public sector work values. Like governments in many OECD countries, the BC government urged the public service to adopt private sector work values. But unlike other governments the adoption of private sector management principles was integral to the BC government's determination to change the very culture of the public service. To accomplish this goal, government top advisers designed a change management program for senior managers known as Public Service Renewal.

The study explored the relationship between the politicians and the public service when the Liberals came to power and explains how politicians' lack of respect for the public service was reflected in the government's change rhetoric and had an adverse effect on Public Service Renewal. The study also determined that the reorientation effort was hampered by inconsistent goals that interfered with the successful implementation of Renewal. In addition, the change management techniques employed by PSERC did not meet the rigorous requirements for accomplishing radical change.

The study found that BC's senior public servants have a strong identity steeped in the more than a century-long history of professional public service in Westminster-type governments. It further demonstrated that this identity is based on a set of shared values concerning public servants' commitment to serve the public good, be respectful of the

government of the day, behave responsibly and be willing to be held accountable and above all, take pride in public service integrity. During the research it became clear that BC's public servants are aware of the New Public Management and are knowledgeable about the alternative work values associated with this view of the public service. Faced with choices among values however, public servants consistently but not exclusively prefer traditional public service work values over contemporary business-type work values.

 The study showed that socio-demographic variables play an important role in determining public servants' orientation towards their work values. There were significant value differences between men and women, between managers who worked in social and land ministries and between managers older and younger than 45 years of age. Other value differences were found between managers engaged at the (senior) strategic level in the organization and those who rank lower in the hierarchy, and between managers who have been with the government for more than 15.5 years and those who have lesser seniority.

The research established empirical support for the construct of contemporary values, an underlying assumption of New Public Management work values, and suggested that the construct of traditional values may be weakening, presumably as the result of the latest wave of public sector reform.

Based on these key findings this study concludes that the BC government's effort to encourage the public service to adopt contemporary work values did not succeed. Several factors contributed to this lack of success including the normative perspective of the New Public Management which holds the unproven view that private sector management principles create a more effective and efficient public service. Other contributing factors included incoming politicians wary of the public service, inconsistencies between rhetoric and reality, fragmentation

and ultimate demise of the original vision of Public Service Renewal (although attempts at changing the public service culture continued), shortcomings of the implementation process, persistence of traditional public sector work values and strong influence of socio-demographic factors.

Consideration of Implications

In the next four sections I draw on the insights gained from the study to describe the possible implications of my findings for managing value-based change in the public sector. In putting forward a set of implications I will return as needed to the literatures consulted as part of this study. In the first section, I argue that organizational values and work values are an extension of deep-seated personal values held by individuals in general and by professional public servants in particular, and that such values cannot be changed by external forces in relatively short periods of time. In the second section, I make the case that the nature of attempting to change public sector values rather than changing public sector practices may to some degree diminish the usefulness of mainstream change management theories. In the third section, I suggest that interpretive change management theories may offer a constructive alternative view on implementing new public service values by employing discourse-based strategies. In the fourth and last section I propose a different perspective on changing public sector values and on change management initiatives that may offer partial solutions to problems identified in the different sets of implications.

Value Change and the Persistence of Time

In a managerialist interpretation of the New Public Management realignment of public service work values is inextricably linked to radical reform of governance and structure. A

leaner, financially responsible, citizens (or customers) focused, efficient and effective government depends for its success on an equally lean, responsible, responsive and efficient public service. Because reformed governments are intent on bringing about market-oriented approaches to governance and market mechanisms to service delivery, introducing private sector management styles into the bureaucracy seems a natural consequence. Just as there were some difficulties in maintaining the necessary separation between the public and the private spheres (e.g., the successful opposition to the privatization of the Coquihalla highway in BC), one would expect there to be some difficulties in reorienting the management style of the public service. Except that in the public sector "management style" is not a value free concept, instead it is infused with tradition, identity and professional pride. In the public service management style is the very embodiment of public sector values and, as a result, private sector management principles so central to market oriented governments, are perceived as fundamentally different from traditional values held and practiced by public servants in their day-to-day activities. As this study has shown work values in the BC public service did not noticeably change despite considerable effort by the leadership. And, while the study points to shortcomings in the change management process, the question remains whether it would have been possible to change public sector work values and if so, what specific requirements would have to be met to be successful.

There is general agreement in the values literature that individual values develop slowly over time, are partly innate, culturally determined, flow from a combination of education and life experience, and vary with individual circumstances (e.g., Hodgkinson, 1996; Agle & Caldwell, 1999; Rokeach, 1973). The formation of personal values is the result of a socialization process that takes many years to complete and once they have become a key part of individual identities, values are very hard to change. Organizational values are most commonly expressed in terms of

the organization's culture (Pettigrew, 1979). Broms and Gahmberg (1983) defined the "culture of

a domain [organization] as the collection of central values hidden in the shared myths and

symbols of that domain" (p.482). While it is true that organizations are comprised of individuals

and cannot in themselves hold values, organizational values may develop naturally to become the

crucible of the collective identity of its members or may persist over time as the legacy of its

leadership, often its founder. The Avis company slogan, "we are number two, so we try harder"

is an example of such an enduring organizational value. Other examples in the private sector are

the blue suit culture in IBM and the service culture of Southwest Airlines. This study leaves little

doubt that culture exists in the BC public service, both at a level of ministries and at the level of

the larger organization. It seems reasonable to assume therefore that other governments have

cultures as well and that, at least in Westminster-type governments these cultures are similar. To

the extent that the collectivity of individual employee values is constitutive of the organization's

culture, public sector organizations can be said to "have" public service values.

Traditional Anglo-American public service values have been in place for more than a

century and are grounded in such concepts as the principles of ministerial responsibility, the

separation of policy from administration, a meritocratic bureaucracy, and non-partisanship of the

public service. The Westminster style of government in particular, is the source of traditional

public service values and reinforces these values through policy and management framework and

clear demands on public servants. Not only are these long-standing values deeply ingrained in

government organizations, politicians continue to demand adherence to them (especially in

stressful times) and regardless of the politicians' avowed support for the adoption of new,

business-like values (referred to as contemporary values in this study). If personal values are

enduring and if organizational – cultural values are enduring as well (see for example a recent

article by David Dillman (2007) on the British Public Service), it stands to reason that changing

public service values will be extremely difficult, especially in the short term.

Those who contemplate radical public sector reform by means of aligning public sector

work values need to be aware that such attempts must straddle more than one administration and

perhaps more than two administrations in order to have a chance of success. To the extent that

new governments (new administrations led by a different political party) present themselves as

desirable alternatives to the governing party, it is uncommon for them to pursue internal reform

initiatives started by the previous government. But even when the same party forms the next

administration, as was the case in BC in 2005, a sustained effort of aligning values is unlikely.

Indeed, in the second Liberal mandate the BC Deputy Minister to the Premier and Cabinet

Secretary introduced an entire new set of "shared professional values" (Courage, Passion,

Service, Teamwork, Accountability and Curiosity), intended to create "a stronger, more unified

culture."[46] This is not to suggest that individual values are immutable or that social values or

organizational cultures do not change over time. They do. In fact, in today's globalized and

electronically connected world values are changing faster than ever. This study has shown that

some long-standing public sector values, notably public service anonymity and political

neutrality are becoming less important than they were in the past. Yet, the time frames involved

in these changes are much longer than the average tenure of governments and any short term

endeavour to change public service values is unlikely to succeed.

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[46] Quoted from a government pamphlet *What We Value* sent to all public servants in the fall of 2008. The values contained in this document form the basis for a performance evaluation framework for BC public servants.

Value Change and Mainstream Change Management Models

Having just concluded that public sector value change requires longer time frames than are typically available to elected governments and their administrations, I am "bracketing" this discussion in order to explore the question whether mainstream change models, such as the one by John Kotter used as template in this thesis, are the most appropriate vehicles for effecting change in public sector work values. The majority of mainstream change theories are based on force field analysis theory developed by Kurt Lewin (1951) and a related change management model, also developed by Lewin (1947). Force field analysis explains factors in (social) situations in terms of forces moving towards a goal and forces moving against that goal. Change of collective beliefs occurs in three phases, the unfreezing phase, the moving phase and the refreezing phase. These phases are fuelled by forces, a driving force (to move toward a change goal) and a countervailing force (to prevent the goal from being reached). The opportunity to refreeze (putting and holding the change in place), depends on the relative strengths of the driving and countervailing forces. In Lewin's change management theory, the driving force is the leadership force for change and the countervailing force is employee resistance. The important underlying assumption of this model is that employee resistance is by definition the countervailing force and needs to be overcome either by reducing its strength or by increasing the strength of the driving force.

A formula developed in the 1960s, provided greater definition to Lewin's analysis by stipulating that for meaningful change to take place, $D \times V \times F > R$ where D refers to the dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs, V refers to a vision of what is possible, F refers to the concrete steps that can be taken towards the vision, and R represents resistance (Beckhard, 1969). We need to look to another formula, or rather rule of thumb for a further definition of

resistance. The formula divides employees into three groups: 20% who are positive towards the change and should be supported, 60% who are "on the fence" who need to be encouraged, and 20% who are negative towards the change and should be ignored. Kelman (2005) has demonstrated that successful public sector change and to some degree change in attitude can be achieved by activating both the discontented and the enthusiastic rather than by focusing on overcoming resistance. Nonetheless, mainstream change management theory remains preoccupied with overcoming resistance and each "step" in the change management process is part of a concerted effort to eliminate or reduce employee resistance.

In addition, mainstream change management models are chiefly directed toward changing concrete situations such as increasing productivity, decreasing risk, enhancing quality, improving relations with suppliers, customers and regulators. The models either take structural change for granted or suggests how employees might be guided to accept (and preferably support) such change. Business process reengineering for example, demands an open, enthusiastic, innovate and flexible response from employees whose organizations are completely overhauled (Davenport, 1998; Hammer & Champy, 1993). Mainstream change management models are based in a functional paradigm, are directed instrumentally and employee attitudes, beliefs and values are seen as either an obstruction or as means to an end. The New Public Management, however, requires a change in public sector values themselves, admittedly for the purpose of ultimately changing behaviours but still concentrates on shifting work values from one domain to another. Instrumentally focused change management models contain few if any tools or processes able to directly address value change.

It is possible however, that the premise of value change is entirely misguided in the sense that the change management problem may not be properly specified. A vexing issue in the

execution of Public Service Renewal was the vagueness of the concepts used throughout the process. It was never clear for example how the values to be adopted by BC public servants were related to concrete behaviours and, when the emphasis shifted from values to leadership, it was never clear how leadership related to concrete behaviours either irrespective of the "tool kits" provided to managers. The problems flowing from this lack of specificity are two fold. First, the values traditionally held by public servants tend to be tightly coupled to reality. This direct link between the value "loyalty to the government of the day" and public servant behaviour was illustrated in this study by the almost unanimous interview responses on how to do deal publicly with an unpopular ministerial decision. The contemporary values public servants are expected to adopt such as entrepreneurship and risk taking have no such connections with reality, nor did the change leaders I interviewed in 2005 have common definitions of these concepts. Second, there is no guidance in the public sector reform literature on how to resolve contradictions between the growing list of traditional and contemporary values (Langford, 2004) since there seems to be the tacit expectation that most traditional values will be replaced with contemporary ones and that as a result conflict will not arise.

Those intending to design and implement changes to public sector values using mainstream change management models need to pay particular attention to two issues. First, it is more useful to direct change management efforts to those who are enthusiastic about change or dissatisfied with the status quo, rather than to focus on assertive or even aggressive strategies to overcome real or perceived resistance (Kelman, 2005). This will soften the tone of the rhetoric and be less threatening to employees than otherwise would be the case. Second, unless the new values are directly tied to concrete realities of policy, programs and procedures and unless guidance is provided to resolve paradoxes or contradictions between traditional and

contemporary values, instrumental change management programs will be of little assistance to change values and, as this study has shown, may have unintended negative consequences.

Value Change and Alternative Change Management Models

The problem of specification described above may be analogues to the problem of time lines which I bracketed earlier in this discussion. It may be impossible to fully specify the model given the nature of values, their complexity, their intersection with our identity and, in the case of public sector values their intersection with the professional identity of public servants. The task of fully mapping traditional and contemporary values against concrete behaviours, and simultaneously resolving value conflicts, may be a practical impossibility. It would be useful therefore to explore alternative avenues for dealing with value change less demanding of problem specification. One promising path is offered by interpretative models of change. I will now turn to a discussion of their characteristics and speculate on their potential ability to address value change.

The central thesis and underlying logic of interpretive approaches is that reality as we experience it is largely socially constructed (Berger & Luckman, 1966). This is not to say there are no tangible structures or physical realities, but to explicitly acknowledge that the significance and meaning of such physical structures are socially constructed. The meaning of poverty for example is quite different in Western societies than it is in developing countries. Likewise, organizational reality is socially constructed and the very definition of organizational culture is predicated on the existence of meaning creation through collective processes and shared values.

There is a large body of literature which takes at its point of departure that reality, including organizational reality is primarily socially constructed. Regardless of how often

organizations are reified in common and academic discourse they remain abstractions that have

no existence beyond the individuals who populate them, or in the extreme case, control them

from a distance. In a socially constructed world discourse, symbols, stories, myths and legends

are constitutive of a reality to which individual meanings can be attached and within this context,

communicative action "is constructive of social and organizational reality" (Heracleous and

Barrett, 2001 p.756).

While acknowledging the instrumental purpose of a change management strategy,

interpretive researchers emphasize the importance of discovering how employees as the objects

of the change effort understand their organization and their positions in it. Karl Weick for

example, proposed that individuals create mental schemata of the organization, its hierarchy,

roles and responsibilities and argued that these frames assist them in making sense of the

organization (Weick, 1995). Weick also argued that frames are continually adjusted in response

to changes in the organizational environment. Individuals invoke sense making strategies during

planned organizational change and "enact" their new reality. Moreover, such sense making

occurs in the form of cognitive shifts after the fact (Weick & Daft, 1983). If interpretation and

reinterpretation of reality is the central process by which cognitive shifts occur then a focus on

language and rhetoric becomes imperative for successful organizational change since language is

the way by which we interpret reality.

Interpretive approaches to change are commonly focused on the use of language as a

crucial component but unlike mainstream change management models, the methods by which

organizational change is accomplished vary widely. Boyce (1996), for example, suggests that

stories in organizations are natural and appropriate entry points in cultural interventions. Ford

and Ford (1995) conceive of change management programs as a series of conversations in four

stages: initiative, understanding, performance and closure. Isabella (1990) also identified four stages of change but characterized these stages as anticipation, confirmation, culmination and aftermath. Others have focused on analyzing discursive practices, using literary tropes for diagnostic purposes, creating archetypes or other rhetorical devices to understand and manage organizational change (e.g. Carter & Mueller, 2002; Feldman, 2004; Fiol, 2002; Heracleous & Barrett, 2001). The promise of these still mostly descriptive approaches however, lies in the link between language and the creation of organizational reality as it may be possible to avoid the need for concrete specifications of values. New values could be constituted by means of ongoing organizational discourse, interpretations of events within the cognitive frameworks employed by individuals and a common understanding of their meaning through sense making and reinterpretations over time. In this way language, not concretization, becomes constitutive of values and their meaning.

The implications for those who intend to design and implement changes to public sector values are that language tools such as rhetoric, stories and metaphors should be conceived as central to the effort instead of external (or even extraneous) to it. Rather than being one of the many steps required in implementing change under the rubric of "communication" language tools become the primary means by which change is effected. Focus groups, consultations and other information gathering events should be focused on understanding how employees define themselves, see their place in the organization and how they frame their organizational identity. Change management implementation processes should focus on the sense making process as change proceeds and periodically check the degree to which schemata are adjusted over time.

One episode in BC's Public Service Renewal process may provide a simple illustration of the use of language as change management instrument. The consultations with 150 rank and file

government employees described in Chapter 6 were predicated on problems as defined by PSERC. Focus groups were provided with a "General Description of HR Issues" highlighting the findings of the Auditor General (2000) and Malatest & Associates (2001) in the areas of leadership and management, career advancement and opportunity, individual recognition, recruitment, attraction and retention, and communications. Focus group participants were then asked to"*describe how each of these issues has presented themselves in your area.*"[47] The predictable results, reported by BC Stats (2001), were a confirmation of the findings of the Auditor General and Malatest & Associates and strengthened PSERC's case that the public service suffered from a serious morale problem; an important step in articulating the urgency for change. But the focus groups and the following publication of these and other consultations delivered strong messages to the public service about its own apparent deep dissatisfaction and unhappiness with working conditions rendering the task of achieving change more difficult.

By employing a sense making frame, the focus groups could have been approached using different language. They could have been invited to highlight which areas of leadership, career advancement, recognition, recruitment, retention and communication they felt "*were well done in your area*" or "*to provide stories about excellent practices*". Employees could also have been asked "*what values they believe are fundamental to these excellent practices* ". The benefit of this approach is that public servants are more likely to adjust their schemata in a positive rather than a negative direction, i.e., they will reinterpret their working conditions differently after they have completed the exercise; putting Public Service Renewal on a positive trajectory. In addition, information could be garnered on the value framework public servants use to

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[47] Quoted from PSERC PowerPoint presentation to government-wide focus groups, 2001

understand and interpret organizational actions. These value frameworks could subsequently be tied to recruitment practices "where selection of employees must take account of more than technical qualifications" (Selznick, 1957 p.57). Selective hiring for value characteristics could be an important tool in changing dominant public sector value frameworks in the long term.

Values and Change: An Alternative Perspective

In the foregoing discussion I identified barriers to the implementation of contemporary public sector values. I suggested that the lack of time and the nature of democratic political systems almost certainly prevented the sustained, long term effort needed to accomplish value change. I also raised the issue of the inherent problem of changing personal and organizational values and recommended two possible strategies for resolving – or at least decreasing the severity – of the problem. One strategy would create specific behavioural links between values and practice and the other would support a socially constructed set of contemporary values through discursive techniques and sensemaking. Yet, after more than 30 years of New Public Management, the shift in traditional values is minimal and politicians and some top bureaucrats alike appear to have accepted this reality, albeit reluctantly. Perhaps it is time to offer a new perspective on both value change and change management.

As this study has documented, working conditions in the BC public service are largely defined by continuous and ongoing change. To the extent that other public sector organizations are similar, they too are characterized by persistent and constant structural change, often accompanied by changes in policies and procedures, new information management systems and different service delivery methods. In response to political or media pressures governments may adopt new internal control systems, different budgeting strategies, initiate program reviews, or

redefine the relationship of the public service with legislators. These changes may be designed and guided by central agencies or may be conceptualized and facilitated by outside consultants.

Using Weick's and others' proposition that individuals make cognitive adjustments ex-post instead of ex-ante, i.e., they make sense of events after they have occurred, it might be possible to create structural and process changes that *in their consequences* demonstrate the benefits of say, innovative action. The growing practice of governments providing goods and services through Alternative Service Delivery (ASD) systems may serve as an illustration of this idea. ASD mechanisms have become an accepted way of thinking about services in public sector organizations as more and more ASD mechanisms are implemented. This acceptance is perhaps more the result of ex-post sense-making of the practice than of the ex-ante inculcation of the values of innovation or the importance of private sector management principles. Rather than adopting values a priori, reality has the effect of creating the practical expression of contemporary values after the fact.

This formulation may be simplistic, but it could offer a more reasonable approach to implementing managerialist precepts which continue to play such an important role in the New Public Management, especially given the difficulties seen in the BC case of implementing new values. Moreover, given that connections between values and consequent activities are not defined or are only very loosely coupled, the benefits of adopting contemporary public sector work values remain obscure. The palpable anxiety in the BC public service created by the recent introduction of such elusive values as courage, passion and curiosity is a case in point[48]. As long as there are no concrete definitions of what constitute behaviours associated with these values,

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[48] Published in the internal BC government pamphlet "What we Value"

they will remain a source of uncertainty and any change management programs geared towards "implementing" these values will have little chance of success. The more pragmatic approach suggested here will reduce the level of anxiety, avoid the somewhat labour intensive methods of interpretive practice and offer more direct results.

The organizational studies literature is rife with examples of failed change management programs. The reasons for these failures tend to be attributed to shortcomings in the design, process, or implementation of the program. There was not enough senior management support, there was too much resistance, there was too little buy-in at the lower levels, there was poor understanding of the financial implications etc. This is not unlike my own findings which attribute the lack of success of Public Service Renewal to the government's imperfect execution of prescribed steps for implementing organizational change, its poor communication strategy, the divergence of two parallel but independent streams of reform, and the ultimate loss of interest in the project. There also exists a very large and ever growing management consulting industry whose major business is implementing change management programs, selling new solutions to change management problems, advising on different approaches (although most consulting companies adopt one "proven" method) and coaching executives on how to accomplish planned change. Finally, there are the public sector employees who suffer from change fatigue, who are cynical about the next "flavour of the month", whose resistance to yet another change program becomes more effective over time and who often simply "wait this one out" like they did the previous ones. The phenomenon of employees keeping their head down during change management programs is common in the public sector where large change initiatives typically do not survive the next election or the next Deputy Minister.

This raises the question whether there are other, more effective ways to bring about change. First, as suggested by the previous section employees may more readily accept change after the fact as they interpret, make sense of and rationalize their new situation. Second, employees may be more willing to support change if the rhetoric accompanying the process were to refrain from directly or indirectly suggesting that they change their values, personalities, or professional identity. It may be more acceptable for example to show how different ways of operating may lead to better results than to urge employees to be more open and innovative. For example, integrated case management is a common practice of front line employees who routinely cross organizational boundaries in the interest of their clients. Their innovative "on the ground" practices could serve as a model to effectively address the persistent organizational silos at the level of policy making. It may also be more acceptable to solicit employee ideas for improving service than to declare that service needs to be improved. A public service equivalent of quality programs (e.g. Juran, 1992) could be considered on the important understanding that quality circles or policy communities be actively encouraged and their recommendations be seriously considered by the leadership. Change may be more acceptable if it were presented as low profile, concrete improvements to programs or services locally rather than as high profile, diffuse undertakings that appear unconnected to concrete, problematic situations. A recent Government Service Commitments and Corporate Service Standards[49] initiative for instance, provides general guidelines for improving service to the public on day-to-day interactions but is silent on how citizen focused service delivery is defined for families whose children are seized by child protection social workers. Finally, change may be more acceptable and more successful

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[49] Internal BC Government Document

if it were predicated on the inclination of employees to "do a good job". This study has shown

that public servants have a strong identity and subscribe to a set of traditional values that have

served governments well for more than a hundred years. Rhetorical appeals to existing values are

likely to be more productive regardless of the actual structural change being implemented.

Summary

In this chapter I briefly reviewed the findings of the study of the BC government's

unsuccessful attempt to shift the public service value framework away from traditional values

and towards new, contemporary values. I then put forward three considerations and their possible

implications for politicians and top public servants planning to undertake similar initiatives. The

first consideration concerned the nature of values and the difficulty of changing personal values

acquired over a life time and Westminster-type values defined, accreted and practiced for more

than a century. It is therefore unrealistic to expect value change to occur over one or even a few

electoral cycles. The second consideration put in doubt the ability of mainstream change

management strategies to successfully implement value change as they are designed for

overcoming resistance to change. In addition, these models do not forge explicit connections

between structural or process change and the values that underlie such processes and structures.

The third consideration referred to interpretive theories as possible alternative models for values

change because the conception of organizations as socially constructed reality permits a focus on

language as constitutive of change rather than as a means to convey messages about change.

In the final section I speculated on strategies that may be more realistic for creating value

change while remaining respectful of the current public service value framework. Such strategies

explicitly accept sense-making as the process by which individuals explain and justify their

intentions and behaviours retrospectively. Implementation of practices that personify contemporary values may over time cause adjustments to the traditional work values framework even in the absence of explicit connections between values and actions. I also suggested that refraining from instructing public servants what values they ought to hold and setting up conditions illustrating and supporting the types of values the government wishes the public service to adopt, may prove to be conducive to the desired change.

Chapter 12: Conclusion

This dissertation is a case study of the process of radical public sector reform which took place in the BC public service during the Liberal government's first term of office. The study described, analyzed and discussed the Public Service Renewal program which spanned the first two years of the new government's regime. Its specific focus was the Liberal government's ultimately unsuccessful attempt to change the prevailing public service values through the inculcation of private sector based management principles.

The period covered by the dissertation has captured but a moment on the continuum of the BC government's ongoing and persistent efforts at changing public servants' values, attitudes and behaviours. In its second term of office, the Liberal government expanded its attempts at improving leadership in the public service by investing heavily in leadership programs aimed at senior, mid and junior management levels. In 2006, BC Stats began to administer annual employee engagement surveys and ministry executives were held to account for their results. During the second term, the Deputy Minister to the Premier presented several strategic human resource planning documents encouraging the public service to "Being the Best" and setting out goals for innovation, managing for results and citizen-centred service delivery. Also during the course of the second government term, key responsibilities of the BC Public Service Agency shifted to the Premier's office and a new set of public service values was introduced in the fall of 2008. This persistent endeavour to reform the culture of the public service is unique and unparalleled in the New Public Management movement.

The government's continued and systematic efforts over the past eight years to change the values and culture of the public service however raise the question whether the BC Liberals

missed a window of opportunity in 2001 to use its monopoly power in the Legislature and overwhelming electoral mandate to force the cultural change it so obviously desires. The writings of Greenwood & Hinings (1996) and Klein (2007) show how fundamental changes can and have been achieved under conditions of transformation or crisis. To the degree that conditions in the BC public service constituted a crisis (at least in the eyes of the government's transition team), the Liberals could have interpreted the situation as a "clean slate" and could have imposed it vision with much greater force than it did. It is possible that the reasons for the government's apparent reluctance to assert its vision lie in the duality inherent in Public Service Renewal which sought to change public service values while maintaining a supportive environment.

This study on Public Service Renewal draws conclusions about the relative success of the government's change management process without the benefit of baseline data; a deficiency that to some extent diminishes the overall value of the study. Nonetheless, I believe the research findings make several contributions to the areas of public administration and organization studies on the important topics of change management and public sector work values or perhaps more importantly, on the topic of managing the change of public sector values. More work could have been done. However, I will have to leave it to future students of public administration to explore various lines of further research suggested by the study.

First, a theoretical model could be developed of the internal component of the New Public Management which is neither limited to describing what happened nor bound by normative ideas on what ought to happen. Such a model would build on the work done by Pollitt, & Bouckaert (2000), Barzelay, (2001) and Lindquist (2006). Such a theory could provide an anchor for the innumerable publications on public sector change and the benefits or drawbacks of

the New Public Management. It would also provide a theoretical basis for important current (and no doubt future) comparative cross government studies on public sector change. In addition, it would provide significant conceptual support to doctoral students interested in exploring developments in public sector reform. Finally, such a model could complement and enrich current private-sector based theoretical models with insights from the public sector.

Second, and as a modest contribution to a new public administration theory, empirically constructed value profiles of public servants could be created for government organizations outside BC based on the principal component analysis presented in this study. These profiles could be used to establish base lines for longitudinal comparative studies documenting public sector value change over time. For this research to proceed it would be necessary to develop and validate measurement instruments which could in part be based on the extensive scale development undertaken in the area of work ethics (e.g. Ali & Falcone, 1996; Murray & Scott, 2003; Stanford 1989) and adjusted for reform based values.

Third, the findings on the effect of socio-demographic characteristics on public servants' values suggest a particularly promising avenue for further research. Such research could result in significant implications for human resource management strategies in the public sector as it could directly inform hiring, promotion, retention strategies. In addition, the results of these studies could potentially enhance and deepen our knowledge about managing radical change in the public service.

As a final comment, it is certain that organizations, including government organizations will continue to change as a result of economic, financial and political developments. The implications for instance, of climate change will have immeasurable effects on governments at all levels and in all countries. Change management programs needed to respond to such effects

will be designed and implemented, sometimes successfully but mostly imperfectly. This study

has explored some of these imperfections in Public Service Renewal in the hope that future

radical changes will better serve the politicians, the public service and the public interest.

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Appendix A

List of BC Government Documents

Public Service Renewal

Planning

Vince Collins draft proposal to incoming government June 19, 2001
Renewal of the BC Public Service: A proposal for "The Next Generation"
Action plans for consultation (Phase 1), Fall, 2001
PSERC Draft HR Master Plan November 2001
PSERC April 2002: Public Service Renewal Communication Plan.
Leadership Change Management Project Charter for the New Era Workshops, dated August 11, 2001
Survey - a joint project of BC Stats and the Public Service Employee Relations Commission, May, 2002
Excellence in Public Service: A Corporate Human Resources Plan for the Public Service of British Columbia 2002/03 – 2004/05
Request for Proposals, July 9, 2001

Communication

BC Public Service Renewal: Creative Brief nd
PSERC "Public Service Renewal Communication Plan", April 2002
E-Letter Terms of Reference, July 2003
Ten Things you can do to communicate Public Service Renewal
Communication Evaluation document, September 2002
Workforce Adjustment and Public Service Renewal: Key Points, October 2002
Communication Toolkit (PowerPoint slides), December 12, 2002
British Columbia Public Service: Vision and Values – Communication Reference, April 2002

Stage One – September to December 2001

Consultations

PowerPoint slides presented in November 2001 to:
- Minister of Government Services
- Government Executive Financial Officers
- Government Senior Financial Officers
- Employee focus groups across the province (150 employees)
  - Invitation letter to staff, October 11, 2001
  - Description of HR issues for focus groups
  - Speaking notes for focus groups
  - Focus groups feedback sheets eight locations
- Ministry Executives

- o Expert Panel
  - Larry Bell (Panel Chair), CEO, BC Hydro
  - Judy Rogers, City Manager, City of Vancouver
  - Kyle Mitchell, Partner, Ray Berndtson & Associates
  - Mary Bruce, Vice President of Human Resources, BC Gas Paul McElligott, President and CEO, TimberWest
  - Don Sherritt, Partner, Western Management Consulting (ex-officio member)
- o BC Government Unions (BCGEU declined)
- o New Professionals
- o Human Resource Directors
- o Royal Roads University Executive Programs Participants
- o Directors of Human Resources

PSERC staff presentation on consultation outcomes, November 2001
The Public Service Renewal Project: Report on Stage One, December 2001
Presentation to Minister on Stage One, March 2002

Presentations to Deputy Ministers

Proposal for the Next Generation, June 2001
Renewal of the Public Service, September, 2001
Building the BC Public Service for the Future, November, 2001
Consultation Feedback and Proposed Next Steps, November 16, 2001
Stage 1 Final Report, December 2001

Presentations to Deputy Ministers Government Operations Committee

Renewal initiative, August 1, 2001
Status Report, August 29, 2001
Project Plan and Processes, September, 2001
Update, October 18, 2001
Consultation Feedback and Proposed Next Steps, November 15, 2001
Stage 1Final Report, December 13, 2001

Stage Two – January to June 2002

Planning and Workshops

Presentation to Expert Panel on Stage Two, January 21, 2002
Expert Panel Meeting Notes January 21, 2002
PSERC Staff Update, March 11, 2002
Corporate Learning Strategy, March 19, 2002
Instructions for Pre-work, March 2002
Pre-work submissions by individual ministries April 2 – 4, 2002
Pre-work consolidations of ministry submissions April 11, 2002

<u>Leadership in the New Era: April 11 & 12, 2002 Workshop</u>

- o *Participant binder for two day workshop*
- o *Opening Speech by Premier Gordon Campbell (video clip and speaking notes)*
- o *Speech by Ken Dobell, DM to the Premier and Cabinet Secretary (video clip and speaking notes)*
- o *"Leadership in the New Era: the Ongoing Journey" Presentation by Ken Dobell, DM to the Premier and Cabinet Secretary*
- o *Leadership in the BC Public Service, Presentation by Brenda Eaton, Deputy Ministery to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring*
- o *"Human Resources Strategy 1998 – 2002" Presentation by Alison McPhail, Deputy Minister Ministry of Attorney General and Solicitor General and Public Safety.*
- o *"Making the Case for Public Service Renewal in British Columbia: An Environmental Scan" Presentation by Daniel Savas, Senior Vice-President and Kyle Braid, Vice-President Ipsos-Reid*
- o *"Leadership: Leading Change in Ontario's Public Service", Presentation by Linda Stevens, Deputy Minister and Associate Secretary of Cabinet, Centre for Leadership, Cabinet Office, Ontario*
- o *"Leadership and Planning" Presentation by Brenda Eaton, Deputy Minister to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring*
- o *"Public Service Change: Perspectives from the Federal Government" Speech by Jean-Guy Fleury, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Management Priorities and Senior Personnel, Government of Canada*
- o *Expert panel video clips:*
  - ▪ *Larry Bell, Chair and CEO of BC Hydro*
  - ▪ *Judy Rogers, City Manager for the City of Vancouver*
  - ▪ *Martha Piper, President and Vice Chancellor of UBC*
- o *"Public Service Renewal: Building the BC Public Service for the Future" Presentation by Vince Collins, Commissioner and DM, PSERC*
- o *Staff notes on Vision and Values Exercise*
- o *The story of Carla (also published on the Government Website)*

Example of thank you letter to a line ministry ADM for participating in the April 11 & 12 work shop. Includes a follow up time table
Ministry of Management Services: the Leadership in the New Era, Workshop Feedback
Report to Deputy Minster Council on Work Shop "Leadership in the New Era, Next Steps" April 30, 2002
Thank you Letter to Participants, from DM to Premier, April 26, 2002
Report to DM Committee of Shared Services on Workshop results, April 17, 2002
Presentation to Expert Panel, May 1, 2002
Expert Panel Meeting Notes, May 1, 2002
Plans and Priorities (Planning Document) June, 2002
New Era progress report, June 11, 2002
Project Prioritization (Detailed planning for all projects), June 25, 2002

Presentation to Minister on Stage Two, June 2002

Leadership in the New Era – Building Excellence: One day workshops (June – October 2002)
- o *Email to Deputy Ministers announcing workshops and inviting them to participate, April 2002*
- o *Attendee allocations by Ministry for 3400 employees in total (2400 attended), April 2002*
- o *Planning documents for workshop locations (seven) and dates (29)*
- o *Participant Workbook:*
  - *Presentations by Ken Dobell, Deputy Minister to the Premier and Cabinet Secretary or by Brenda Eaton, Deputy Minister to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring*
  - *Scripts and slides for, DMs to the Premier, host DM*
  - *Scripts and slides for three facilitators*
  - *Video clips Premier's speech Leadership in the New Era*
  - *Video clips Expert Panel:*
    - *Judy Rogers, City Manager, City of Vancouver*
    - *Larry Bell, Chair and CEO, BC Hydro*
    - *Martha Piper, President and Vice Chancellor, UBC*

Thank you letters to DMs and Volunteers
Presentation to Deputy Minister Council, July 2002
Presentations to Deputy Minister Committee on Shared Services, July and August, 2002
List of additional participants comments on Workshops (June – October, 2002)
BC Stats and PSERC, "The Leadership in a New Era Workshop Feedback Survey (Interim), August 2002
BC Stats and PSERC, "The Leadership in a New Era Workshop Feedback Survey" (final), March 2003

Leadership Action Workshop: December 9 & 10, 2002
Presentation to Deputy Ministers Committee on Shared Services, October 25, 2002
Numerous planning documents for workshop, October-November 2002
- o *Participant binder for two day workshop*
  - *Presentation by Ken Dobell, Deputy Minister to the Premier and Secretary to Cabinet (slides and video)*
  - *Premier's speaking notes*
  - *Speech by Brenda Eaton, Deputy Minister to the Premier, Corporate Planning and Restructuring (video)*
  - *Presentation by Iona Campagnolo, Lieutenant Governor of BC (slides and video)*

- *Presentation by Vince Collins, Commissioner and Deputy Minister PSERC (slides and video)*
- *Speech by Paul Tellier, President and CEO Canadian National Railway Company (video)*
- *Speech by Bob Chartier, National Managers Community, Government of Canada (video)*
- *Speech by Hugh Culver, Principal, Marathon Communications Inc.(video)*
- *Speech by Lloyd Craig, President and CEO of Coast Capital (video)*
- *Speech by Liz Gilliland, Service Delivery Advisor, Office of the Premier*
- *Speech by Lynda Cranston, President and CEO of Provincial Health Authority (video)*

BC Stats and PSERC, "The Leadership Action Workshop: Report of Feedback Survey Results, (Draft) January 2003

Leadership Action Workshops May 2003 (Legacy project 21 workshops, 4000 participants)
- *Participant binder, one day workshop. Includes videos of Ken and Brenda and others who spoke at the December workshop. Binder includes:*
  - *"Tools for Leadership and Learning: Building a Learning Organization" published by the National Managers' Community*
  - *"Tools for Leadership and Learning: Building a Learning" published by The Leadership Network, Government of Canada*
- *Scripted slides for Host Deputy Minister*
- *Scripted slides for internal and external facilitators*
- *Video clips December 9/10 Workshop, (Premier, Ken Dobell, Brenda Eaton)*
- *Executive Change Management: Factors for Success*
- *PSERC Executive Change Management Program*

Government Website Publications

Intranet slide presentation introducing Renewal Initiative, November 2001
Renewal E-letters: August, 2002; October, 2002; November, 2002; December 2002; January, 2003
Public Service Renewal – an Overview. Not clear when put on the Web but probably after the December 2002 workshop
Public Service Renewal: Frequently Asked Questions (retrieved December 27, 2004) No longer available on the Web

Core Services Review

Government news release announcing core review, July 31, 2001
Guidelines for the Core Services Review, August 2001
Guidelines cover note to Deputy Ministers including appendices August 7, 2001
Regulatory Reduction Project Charter 21 October, 2002
Ministry Service Plans and Service Plan summaries reflecting Core Review February, 2002

PSERC Annual Service Plan Report 2002/2003
HANSARD debate on Core Review August 27, 2001
Core Services Review Timeline
Minister responsible for PSERC TB presentation on Strategic Shifts, September 21, 2001
Deputy Minister responsible for PSERC, TB follow up presentation on Strategic Shifts, October 10, 2001

Workforce Adjustment

Workforce adjustment announcement, November 2001,
Press release announcing restructuring (black Thursday) January 17, 2002
Information packages excluded employees, BCGEU and PEA nd
Budget and Fiscal Plan 2002/03 to 2004/05
Early Retirement Incentive Plan (Website, nd)
Voluntary Departure Program (Website, nd)
BC Stats "The Need for Succession Planning in the British Columbia Government" , January 2002
BC Stats and PSERC "The Voluntary Department Program, Employee Exit Survey, May 2002

Restructuring Human Resource Management Organization (PSERC)

HR Organization Project Charter, October 23, 2001
DM Client Committee on Shared Services (DMCSS)
o "Building the B.C. Public Service for the Future" Integrating Human Resource Management Projects, February 8, 2002
o Toward a Corporate Human Resource Plan
o Performance Management Proposal, March 1, 2002
o Performance Management 2002/03 Supporting Tools, March 22, 2002
o Becoming The "The Best Public Service in Canada" A Corporate Human Resource Plan For the Public Service of British Columbia, March 22, 2002
o Research Study Results HR Organization Project, April 5, 2002
o Report on Leadership in the New Era Workshop, April 17, 2002
o Employee Recognition Review, April 19, 2002
o Meeting Notes: March 15, 22, April 5, April 19, May 3, May 31, 2007
o Shared Services Presentation, May 2002
o Options to Introduce Broadbanding, August 9, 2002
o Meeting Minutes November 15, 2002
Presentation to Transitional Leadership Team on Human Resources Plan, March 19, 2002

Other Relevant Government Documents

BC Government Strategic Plan 2002/03 – 2004/05
BC Government Annual Report 2001/02

Service Delivery Project 2003/04 Charter
Estimates 2001/02, 2002/03, 2003/04, 2004/05
Report of the BC Fiscal Review Panel: British Columbia Fiscal Forecast and Issues
2001/02 to 2003/04. July 23, 2001
The Future of the HR organization in the BC Public Service, May 27, 2002
Building the Public Service of the Future, Presentation to the Canadian Public Service
Commissioners Conference, September 9, 2002
Presentation Human Resources and Labour Relations Outlook Conference "Building the
Public Service for the Future, November 26, 2002
PSERC (PSA) Annual Service Plan Reports. 2001/2002,2002/03, 2003/04, 2004/05

Appendix B

2005 Interview Questions

1. What was your vision for Public Service Renewal when it was launched in 2001?

2. At the time, how long did you feel it would take for the renewal program to be established?

3. What are your views about the level of the public service's attachment to a traditional bureaucratic culture?

4. To what extent do you think Public Service Renewal has been able to shift that attachment to a new culture?

5. What were your expectations about resistance by public servants to the renewal program? Were you disappointed or pleasantly surprised?

6. Given a specific level of acceptance of renewal, to what degree do you think this is evenly spread throughout the public service? If so, what would you attribute this to? If not, what factors do you think contributed to uneven adoption?

7. Do you think the amount of change in public servants' behaviour has dissipated over time or instead has been embedded in the organization?

8. On a scale of 1 to 10 how would you rank the importance of communication in implementing Public Service Renewal?

9. If you could express the objectives of Public Service Renewal in two or three messages to the public service what would they be?

Appendix C

2007 Interview Questions Former Employees

1. Can you tell me about your career with the public service?

2. Have you kept in touch with your former colleagues in the public service?

Possible probes:
   a. To what extent do you notice any change in how they talk about their role in the public service?
   b. To what extent are you familiar with the changes that have taken place in the public service since you left?

3. Can you generally describe what it means to work in a government environment?

4. Is there were such a thing as a public service culture, how would you describe this culture?

5. How would you describe the quintessential public servant?

6. From your perspective, what principles or values should guide public servant behaviour? Let me give you a scenario to consider:

   a. Suppose you have been asked to make a speech on the minister's behalf about a government decision that you know will be poorly received by the audience? When confronted by some members in the audience will you defend the minister's decision?

7. Below is a list of words that describe public servant behaviour and/or values. From your perspective, could you identify the five that were most important when you were working for the public service? Could you rank order them starting with the most important?

Accountability	Effectiveness	Leadership	Representativeness
Anonymity	Efficiency	Legality	Responsiveness
Benevolence	Entrepreneurship	Loyalty	Results focused
Caring	Excellence	Neutrality	Rule of Law
Compassion	Fairness	Openness	Service
Courage	Honesty	Probity	Tolerance
Creativity	Humanity	Quality	Transparency
Decency	Innovation	Respect	
Due Process	Integrity	Risk taking	

8. Could you look at this list again and tell me which of these public servant behaviours will be most important in the future?

2007 Interview Questions Current Employees

1. Can you tell me about your career with the public service?

2. Can you generally describe what it means to work in a government environment?

   a. Are you familiar with public service renewal?
   b. What about the core services review?

3. Is there were such a thing as a public service culture, how would you describe this culture?

4. How would you describe the quintessential public servant?

5. From your perspective, what principles or values should guide public servant behaviour? Let me give you a scenario to consider:

   a. Suppose you have been asked to make a speech on the minister's behalf about a government decision that you know will be poorly received by the audience? When confronted by some members in the audience will you defend the minister's decision?

6. Below is a list of words that describe public servant behaviour and/or values. From your perspective, could you identify the five that are most important today? Could you rank order them starting with the most important one?

Accountability	Effectiveness	Leadership	Representativeness
Anonymity	Efficiency	Legality	Responsiveness
Benevolence	Entrepreneurship	Loyalty	Results focused
Caring	Excellence	Neutrality	Rule of Law
Compassion	Fairness	Openness	Service
Courage	Honesty	Probity	Tolerance
Creativity	Humanity	Quality	Transparency
Decency	Innovation	Respect	
Due Process	Integrity	Risk taking	

7. Could you look at this list again and tell me which of these public servant behaviours and/or values will be most important in the future?

Appendix D

Survey Instrument

SECTION A
In this section you are asked to indicate the degree of change that you have experienced over the past two (2) and five (5) years respectively, either directly or indirectly as a result of changes in your ministry.

1. HAVE YOU CHANGED POSITIONS?
   (Promotion, temporary assignment, different job, reorganization, other reasons)

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (Including the past two years)
o Yes	o Yes
o No	o No

2. HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU CHANGED POSITIONS?

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (Including the past two years)
o Once	o Once
o Two or three times	o Two or three times
o More than three times	o More than three times
o Don't remember	o Don't remember

3. DID YOU MOVE TO A DIFFERENT MINISTRY?
   (Not including reorganizations)

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (Including the past two years)
o Yes	o Yes
o No	o No

4. HOW OFTEN HAVE YOU CHANGED MINISTRIES?

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS

	(Including the past two years)
o Once	o Once
o Two or three times	o Two or three times
o More than three times	o More than three times
o Don't remember	o Don't remember

5. HAS YOUR CURRENT MINISTRY BEEN REORGANIZED?
(Amalgamation of branches or divisions within the ministry or with other ministries; separation of branches or divisions into different units; other organizational changes)

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (Including the past two years)
o Yes	o Yes
o No	o No
o Don't know	o Don't know

6. HOW OFTEN HAS YOUR MINISTRY BEEN REORGANIZED?

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (Including the past two years)
o Once	o Once
o Two or three times	o Two or three times
o More than three times	o More than three times
o Don't know	o Don't know

7. HAS A NEW DEPUTY MINISTER BEEN APPOINTED IN YOUR MINISTRY?

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (Including the past two years)
o Yes	o Yes
o No	o No
o Don't know	o Don't know

8. HOW MANY DIFFERENT DEPUTY MINISTERS HAVE BEEN APPOINTED IN YOUR MINISTRY?

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS	IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS (Including the past two years)
o One	o One
o Two	o Two
o Three	o Three
o More than three	o More than three
o Don't know	o Don't know

SECTION B
This section seeks your personal observations about the importance of public service values.

9. Below are a number of values generally thought to be of greater or lesser importance to public servants. The values are organized in alphabetical order. Please indicate for each value the level of importance it holds for you as a member of the public service.

	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT	NEITHER IMPORTANT NOR UNIMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT
ACCOUNTABILITY					
ENTREPRENEURSHIP					
INNOVATION					
INTEGRITY					
LEADERSHIP					
LOYALTY					
POLITICAL NEUTRALITY					
PUBLIC SERVANT ANONYMITY					
RESULTS FOCUSED					
RISK TAKING					
SERVICE FOCUSED					

10. If this list does not include values you also consider important for public servants would you please list them below?

Appendix E

2005 Invitations Executives

Dear Executive,

As you may recall I left the BC government in 2001 to pursue a teaching career at the University of Victoria. Since then I have entered a PhD program and am working on a doctorate in Public Administration. I have almost finished my course work and have submitted a research proposal.

My research is focused on government reform and public sector renewal and the significant change management efforts such reform demands. The British Columbia government's Public Service Renewal initiative is one of the most prominent examples of a large and coordinated public service renewal program in Canada today.

My literature review to date and the documented experience of reform programs in other jurisdictions including the U.K. and New Zealand have convincingly shown that public service renewal is a major cultural shift away from traditional bureaucratic perspectives. Any change that significantly affects the prevailing organizational culture requires a clear vision, firm resolve, and a persuasive change management process. It is this change management process that is central to my dissertation.

In order to develop a sound research design and a series of realistic working hypotheses, I need to clearly understand the context within which the British Columbia renewal program was developed. To this end I hope to meet with a small number of public service leaders and ask them about their original vision on the Public Service Renewal program as well as their perspective on the change management process carried out in the past four years. Since are in an excellent position to comment on this project, I wonder if you would be willing to meet with me for a short informal interview of about 40 to 50 minutes to share your views about Public Service Renewal.

I will follow up with your office in a few days to see if you are willing to be interviewed and to send you my questions before the meeting.

Thank you very much in advance for sharing your insights and observations.

Kind regards,
Thea Vakil

2007 Invitations Former Senior Managers

As you may recall I left the BC government in 2001 to pursue a teaching career at the University of Victoria. Since then I have entered a PhD program and am working on a doctorate in Public Administration. I have finished my course work, completed my comprehensive examinations and recently received approval of my research proposal.

My research is focused on government reform and the significant change management efforts such reform demands. Government reform has been widespread in Western democratic governments since the 1980s changes initiated by the Thatcher government in the UK. The Public Service Renewal initiative undertaken by the BC Liberal government during 2001-2005 is a Canadian example such a public service reform program.

The specific purpose of my research is to study the possible relationship between these renewal efforts and the way in which public servants perceive their role within the government organization. I am particularly interested in how public servants define their individual and collective identity, describe the values and principles that guide their work and characterize the culture of the public service.

In order to develop a sound research design and a series of realistic research questions, I need to understand clearly the history and context within which the British Columbia renewal program was developed. To this end, I hope to meet with a small number of former senior public servants who left the BC government prior to the implementation of Public Service Renewal, and ask them a number of questions about their perspective on the role of public servants within the government organization.

Based on your extensive experience with the BC public service you are in an excellent position to help me with establishing the context and background for my research. I wonder therefore if you would be willing to meet with me for a short informal interview of about 40 to 50 minutes to share your views about the public service culture, values and identity in the BC government.

Thank you very much in advance for sharing your insights and observations.

Kind regards,
Thea

2007 Invitation Current Senior Managers

As you may recall I left the BC government in 2001 to pursue a teaching career at the University of Victoria. Since then I have entered a PhD program and am working on a doctorate in Public Administration. I have finished my course work, completed my comprehensive examinations, and recently received formal approval for my proposal.

My research is focused on government reform and the significant change management efforts such reform demands. Government reform has been widespread in Western democratic governments since the 1980s changes initiated by the Thatcher government in the UK. The Public Service Renewal initiative undertaken by the BC Liberal government during 2001-2005 is a Canadian example such a public service reform program.

The specific purpose of my research is to study the possible relationship between these renewal efforts and the way in which public servants perceive their role within the government organization. I am particularly interested in how public servants define their individual and collective identity, describe the values and principles that guide their work and characterize the culture of the public service.

Based on your extensive experience with the BC public service you are in an excellent position to help me help me learn more about the ideas underlying Public Sector Renewal, its implementation and your observations about the project. I wonder therefore if you would be willing to meet with me for a short informal interview of about 40 to 50 minutes to share your views about the public service culture, values and identity in the BC government.

Thank you very much in advance for sharing your insights and observations.

Kind Regards,
Thea

Appendix F

Survey Invitation

Dear (name)

I am seeking your participation in a research project on *Public Service Values and Change in the BC Public Service.* The purpose of this project, which is a doctoral study conducted by Thea Vakil at the University of Victoria, is to examine the extent of organizational change and how, over time, change is related to public service values held in the management and executive ranks of the BC Public Service.

You are being invited to participate in this survey because you are employed with the BC government at the management and executive level. The survey, which has been approved by the BC Public Service Agency, seeks your assessment of the relative importance of different public sector values for you personally. It consists of two parts. Section A asks you about changes in your job and changes in your ministry during the past two and five years. Section B invites you to assess the relative importance of a selection of public service values. The survey should take you about 10 to 15 minutes to complete.

Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary and confidential. If you elect to complete the survey, you are free to withdraw at any time with no prejudice. The data collected will be aggregated for analysis, no personally identifiable information will be published, and confidentiality will be maintained at all times.

You may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have by contacting the Associate Vice-President of Research at the University of Victoria (phone 250-472-4362). If you have any questions about the survey please feel free to contact Thea Vakil at the School of Public Administration (phone: 250-721-6442; email: tvakil@uvic.ca).

Thank you for your willingness to respond to this questionnaire.

Thea Vakil
PhD Candidate

Appendix G

First Reminder

To: <EMAIL>
From: BC STATS<BCStats.SurveyMail1@gov.bc.ca>
Subject: Public Service Values Survey

Dear <NAME>,

Last week you were sent an invitation to participate in the *Public Service Values and Change in the BC Public Service* survey. This is a friendly reminder that responses to this survey are due by 4:30 pm, **Friday, August 10**. If you have already completed this survey, thank you and please disregard this email.

Conducted by BC STATS, this survey is seeking your participation in a research project on *Public Service Values and Change in the BC Public Service*. The purpose of this project, which is a doctoral study conducted by Thea Vakil at the University of Victoria, is to examine the extent of organizational change and how, over time, change is related to public service values held in the management and executive ranks of the BC Public Service.

To access the survey, please click here.

Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary and confidential. If you elect to complete the survey, you are free to withdraw at any time with no prejudice. The data collected will be aggregated for analysis, no personally identifiable information will be published, and confidentially will be maintained at all times.

You may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have by contacting the Associate Vice-President of Research at the University of Victoria (phone 250-472-4362). If you have any questions about the survey please feel free to contact Thea Vakil at the School of Public Administration (phone: 250-721-6442; email: tvakil@uvic.ca).

If you have any questions about this survey or concerns about confidentiality, please contact me at BCStats.SurveyMail1@gov.bc.ca or by calling (250) 952-6821. If you would prefer not to receive reminders or not to participate in this survey, please let me know.

Thank you for your willingness to respond to this questionnaire.

Sabrina Cordeiro, BC Stats

Second Reminder

To: <EMAIL>
From: BC STATS<BCStats.SurveyMail1@gov.bc.ca>
Subject: Public Service Values Survey

Dear <NAME>,

Two weeks ago you were sent an invitation to participate in the *Public Service Values and Change in the BC Public Service* survey. This is a friendly reminder that responses to this survey are due by 4:30 pm, **Friday, August 10**. If you have already completed this survey, thank you and please disregard this email.

Conducted by BC STATS, this survey is seeking your participation in a research project on *Public Service Values and Change in the BC Public Service*. The purpose of this project, which is a doctoral study conducted by Thea Vakil at the University of Victoria, is to examine the extent of organizational change and how, over time, change is related to public service values held in the management and executive ranks of the BC Public Service.

To access the survey, please click here.

Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary and confidential. If you elect to complete the survey, you are free to withdraw at any time with no prejudice. The data collected will be aggregated for analysis, no personally identifiable information will be published, and confidentially will be maintained at all times.

You may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have by contacting the Associate Vice-President of Research at the University of Victoria (phone 250-472-4362). If you have any questions about the survey please feel free to contact Thea Vakil at the School of Public Administration (phone: 250-721-6442; email: tvakil@uvic.ca).

If you have any questions about this survey or concerns about confidentiality, please contact me at BCStats.SurveyMail1@gov.bc.ca or by calling (250) 952-6821. If you would prefer not to receive reminders or not to participate in this survey, please let me know.

Thank you for your willingness to respond to this questionnaire.

Sabrina Cordeiro
BC STATS

Appendix H

List of Groups Consulted

- o Minister of Government Services
- o Government Executive Financial Officers
- o Government Senior Financial Officers
- o Employee focus groups across the province (150 employees)
    - Invitation letter to staff, October 11, 2001
    - Description of HR issues for focus groups
    - Speaking notes for focus groups
    - Focus groups feedback sheets eight locations
- o Ministry Executives
- o Expert Panel
    - Larry Bell (Panel Chair), CEO, BC Hydro
    - Judy Rogers, City Manager, City of Vancouver
    - Kyle Mitchell, Partner, Ray Berndtson & Associates
    - Mary Bruce, Vice President of Human Resources, BC Gas Paul McElligott, President and CEO, TimberWest
    - Don Sherritt, Partner, Western Management Consulting (ex-officio member)
- o BC Government Unions (BCGEU declined)
- o New Professionals
- o Human Resource Directors
- o Royal Roads University Executive Programs Participants
- o Directors of Human Resources

Appendix I

Ministry 3-Year Service Plans

Ministry	Elimination/Reduction	Contract Out	Privatization	Devolution	Projected FTE reduction 2002-2005
Advanced Education	Student Summer Works and Youth Community Action Industry, Training and Apprenticeship Commission.				137 (39.7%)
Agriculture, Food & Fisheries	Grazing Enhancement Fund Net Income Stabilization Account Provincial Participation in Whole Farm Insurance Program Rural Development Office		Marketing of Crop Insurance		54 (14.2%)
Attorney General and Minister Responsible for Treaty Negotiations	Crown Witness Victim Services Legal Aid for Families and Poverty Family Advocate Debtor Assistance				481 (12.6%)
Children and Family Development	Youth Custody Capacity Individualized funding for some services	Children Group Homes		Adult Community Services Early Childhood Development and Special Needs Children and Youth Child Protection and Family Development	3,913 (77.1%)
Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services	Community Enterprise, Cooperative and Volunteers Audio book Centre for Workplace Excellence Multicultural Language Program			Heritage Properties Heritage Trust Community Charter	742 (37.0%)
Competition, Science and Enterprise	Northern Development Commission				183 (64.0%)
Education	Organizational Efficiencies				38 (10.5%)
Energy & Mines	Prospector Assistant Program		Geo-science (Partnership)		106 (38.0%)

Ministry	Elimination/Reduction	Contract Out	Privatization	Devolution	Projected FTE reduction 2002-2005
Finance	Unspecified Efficiencies	Unclaimed Property			159 (26.0%)
Forests	New Fire Protection Model Non-Industrial Forest Service Roads Recreation sites and trails		Shift Responsibilities to Private Tenure holders Forest Service Nurseries and Seed Orchards		1,433 (35.0%)
Health Planning	Unspecified Efficiencies				101 (43.3%)
Health Services	Transfer Fleet Non-Emergency Patients Routine Eye Examinations Drug Delisting BC Hearing Aid Program			Reduce Health Authorities from 52 to 6 (efficiency measure) Home Oxygen Program Clinical Services Disabilities	753 (22.6%)
Human Resources	Office closures Organizational efficiencies				459 (15.3%)
Management Services	Equal Opportunity Secretariat Information Technology Career Access Office				218 (18.0%)
Provincial Revenue					Ministry receives 117 additional FTEs (14.3%) based on the business case that more tax auditors will create incremental revenues by $35 million and reduce ministry expenditures by $6 million
Public Safety & Solicitor General	Close Eight Open and Medium Correctional Centres Increase Double Bunking Close Five Probation Offices Alternative Measures Reduction				610 (21.0%) (Net reduction. Ministry receives 25 FTEs from program transfer Workers Compensation)
Skills, Development & Labour	Skills Development				113 (21.0%)
Sustainable Resource Management	Reduce Land Title Offices		Standardized Land Information (PPP)	Water Regulation to Local Governments	548 (36%)

Ministry	Elimination/Reduction	Contract Out	Privatization	Devolution	Projected FTE reduction 2002-2005
			Land Surveys		
Transportation	Transportation Grants Consolidation Regions and Districts			Plans for significant privatization projects	1,446 (61.0%)
Water, Land & Air Protection	Environmental Youth Team Lower Use Camping and Recreational Facilities Response to Low-Risk Environmental Spills			Park Management	401 (31.0%)
Other					29 (Included for purposes of consistency only)
Total Projected Number of FTE Savings					**11,807**

Appendix J

Savings Results

Ministry	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	Savings Forecast	Savings after three years	Savings Shortfall (Surplus)	Transfer to Management Services 2002/03	Savings net of centralization	Percent of savings achieved	Net shortfall (surplus)
Advanced Education	346	278	236	217	137	129	8	0	129	94%	8
Agriculture, Food and Fisheries	381	351	329	326	54	55	-1	9	46	85%	8
Attorney General	3815	3514	3486	3468	481	347	134	122	225	47%	256
Children and Family Development	5076	4869	4421	4131	3913	945	2968	39	906	23%	3007
Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services	1162	967	761	341	742	821	-79	27	794	107%	-52
Competition, Science and Enterprise (Renamed Small Business and Economic Development 03/04)	284	177	200	157	183	127	56	17	110	60%	73
Education	366	326	316	313	38	53	-15	27	26	68%	12
Energy and Mines	280	244	213	242	106	38	68	0	38	36%	68
Finance	600	602	553	723	159	-123	282	1	-124	addition	283
Forests	4183	3470	3069	2942	1433	1241	192	101	1140	80%	293
Health Planning	233	215		0	101	233	-132	0	233	231%	-132
Health Services	3331	2616	2736	2785	753	546	207	55	491	65%	262
Human Resources	3006	2599	2310	1986	459	1020	-561	61	959	209%	-500
Management Services	1462	2202	2047	2021	218	-559	777	-614	55	25%	163
Provincial Revenue	817	937	988	1054	-117	-237	120	7	-244	addition	127
Public Safety and Solicitor General	2903	2814	2830	2638	610	265	345	6	259	42%	351
Skills Development and Labour	536	476	451	443	113	93	20	0	93	82%	20
Sustainable Resource Management	1520	1292	931	755	548	765	-217	90	675	123%	-127
Transportation	2371	1583	1385	998	1446	1373	73	52	1321	91%	125
Water, Land and Air Protection	1298	1140	1003	924	401	374	27	0	374	93%	27
Other Appropriations	136	121	111	107	29	29	0	0	29	100%	0

Ministry	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	Savings Forecast	Savings after three years	Savings Shortfall (Surplus)	Transfer to Management Services 2002/03	Savings net of centralization	Percent of savings achieved	Net shortfall (surplus)
Estimates subtotal	**34106**	**30793**	**28376**	**26571**	**11807**	**7535**	**4272**	**0**	**7535**	**64%**	**4272**
Total Estimates	34106	30793	28376	26571							

Please Note: For purposes of this presentation only Ministry appropriations have been included. Savings from the Premier's Office were achieved by transferring FTEs to ministries. Other Appropriations have been included to ensure the numbers add to projected savings of 11,807 FTEs. No further information is available on this category. (Source: Provincial Estimates)

Appendix K

Strategies for Public Service Renewal[50]

PROACTIVE AND VISIONARY LEADERSHIP			
Executive and Management Services Office • Develop and implement an organization plan and structure	**Executive Recruitment, Selection and Orientation** • Design recruitment & selection process & office (QW) • Refine executive orientation program (QW)	**Executive Development Program** • Evaluate executive development program model • Redesign high potential executive development program • Pilot & implement management development program	**Leadership and Change Management** • Design & implement leadership change management program (P) • Develop vision, values & leadership philosophy (P)
PERFORMANCE FOCUSED WORKFORCE			
Competency Framework • Purchase management & core dictionary (QW) • Validate dictionary • Develop training for utilization	**Performance Management Framework** • Design framework for executive and excluded managers including performance objectives, 360, career planning & succession planning (P) • Identify, purchase & configure tools to support process (P) • Pilot 360 with DMs (P) • Pilot performance framework	**Recruitment & Staffing Simplification** • Implement stage one simplification to support workforce adjustment (QW) • Design long term simplification	

[50]Some strategies were identified as Quick Wins (QW) or Priorities (P)

	with selected excluded managers (P) • Pilot performance framework with excluded managers (P)		
FLEXIBLE AND MOTIVATING WORK ENVIRONMENT			
Enhanced & Simplified, Flexible Workplace Policies & Practices • Review telework, jobshare, secondment & flexible work hour practices (QW) • Develop enhanced recognition tools and programs	**Job Evaluation & Classification Practices Simplification** • Identify opportunities for delegation of classification to support workforce adjustment (QW) • Develop & implement e-classification tool for HR • Design & implement e-classification tool for managers • Develop e-organizational design tool • Prepare and implement proposal to simplify classification system to pro prepare for collective agreement renegotiation	**Management Compensation** • Seek approval to implement broadbanding of management classification (QW) • Solicit approval for and implement broadbanding • Examine pay for performance options	
LEARNING AND INNOVATIVE ORGANIZATION			
Corporate Training Strategy • Develop Strategy (P)	**Enhanced Employee Development Opportunities** • Review access to learning fund for developmental opportunities and travel for training (QW) • Develop employee development and career planning tools (QW) • Identify quick win training and developmental opportunities (QW) • Review & revise current mentoring programs		

EFFECTIVE PEOPLE STRATEGIES			
Corporate Human Resources Plan (P) • Develop and publish corporate strategy • Integrate ministry HR plans	**HR Legislation & Policy Framework & Simplification** • Develop a 3 year deregulation plan (QW) • Identify short term or immediate simplification or deletions to regulations/policies with emphasis on service to ministry (QW) • Deregulate & simplify HR policies	**HR Information Strategy** • Develop and implement employee self service for access to benefit and personal information	**HR Performance Measures** • Develop and implement a performance measurement framework
PROGRESSIVE EMPLOYEE/EMPLOYER RELATIONS			
Collective Agreement Administration • Analyze collective agreement for barriers to flexible workplace practices • Analyze alternative dispute resolution methods			

Source: Report on Stage One

Appendix L

Quick Wins Completion Results

Quick Wins from Stage One Report January 2002	Results Reported in Annual Service Plan Reports
Executive Recruitment, Selection and Orientation • Design recruitment & selection process & office (QW) • Refine executive orientation program (QW)	• Management Services Office established in June 2001. Known as the Executive Liaison function, it recruited 12 Executives. • Established Executive Orientation program implemented through management forums (2001/02)
Competency Framework • *Purchase management & core dictionary (Q*W)	• Purchased the Hay Group competency framework (2001/02)
Recruitment & Staffing Simplification • Implement stage one simplification to support workforce adjustment (QW)	• Provided guidelines and policies for workforce adjustment (2001/02)
Enhanced & Simplified, Flexible Workplace Policies & Practices • Review telework, jobshare, secondment & flexible work hour practices (QW)	• Not evidenced in Service Plan Reports
Job Evaluation & Classification Practices Simplification • Identify opportunities for delegation of classification to support workforce adjustment (QW)	• Not evidenced in Service Plan Reports
Management Compensation • Seek approval to implement broadbanding of management classification (QW)	• Implemented in 2007
Enhanced Employee Development Opportunities • Review access to learning fund for developmental opportunities and travel for training (QW) • Develop employee development and career	• Learning fund established • Employee development and career planning tools developed

Quick Wins from Stage One Report January 2002	Results Reported in Annual Service Plan Reports
planning tools (QW) • Identify quick win training and developmental opportunities (QW)	• Training and developmental opportunities identified (2002/03)
HR Legislation & Policy Framework & Simplification • Develop a 3 year deregulation plan (QW) • Identify short term or immediate simplification or deletions to regulations/policies with emphasis on service to ministry (QW)	• Progress reported (2003/04) • Not evidenced in Service Plan Reports. Policy simplification announced on May 1, 2008

Appendix M

Traditional versus Contemporary Values

Description and Comparison between Traditional Work Values and

Contemporary Work Values

Traditional Work Values	Contemporary Work Values
Appointment and promotion on merit	Appointment and promotion on merit
Merit consists of two components. 1) It expresses the desirability of engaging a public service that does not have political ties to the government in power. 2) It is seen as a better way than patronage appointments to achieve the objectives of efficiency and effectiveness. Appointments on merit are both an end and a means.	The merit principle continues to exist but as more political appointees take positions in government departments, the principle is becoming seriously diluted. Public servants are expected to have a sense for politics. They are also working more closely with political staff than anytime in the past (Wicks, 2003)
Political neutrality	Political neutrality
The desirability of a politically neutral (non-partisan) public service is closely connected to the idea that public servants should be appointed on the basis of merit. Political neutrality is desired because governments benefit from advice and activities that are not influenced by a particular political perspective held by the public service.	2003 Amendments to the Canadian *Public Service Employment Act* established a more flexible regime governing public servant political activities while maintaining the principle of non-partisanship
Lifelong tenure	No tenure guarantee
Public servants are expected to hold their position for life. It compensates public servants at lower wages and allows them to build a career in a merit	During and since government reform public servants, especially at the senior levels are routinely removed with every change of administration and as

Traditional Work Values	Contemporary Work Values
based system where increased expertise is required at higher levels. It is desirable by governments who wish to benefit from the institutional memory provided by the public service when governments change as a result of periodic elections.	a result of continual restructuring. In some countries executives are hired on five-year renewable contracts.

Loyalty

Loyalty to the government of the day is desirable because it is consistent with non-partisanship. Democratically elected governments want to realize their vision through a public service that not only acknowledges the legitimacy of these objectives but also embraces them as its own.

Loyalty

Continues to be expected. However, Gomery observed that the sponsorship scandal resulted at least to some degree from "excessive deference to the political arm of government within the public service" (2006)

Anonymity

Public service anonymity is a derivative value which results from the desire to hold Ministers responsible for their portfolio. Anonymity is only reflected in the practical implications of ministerial responsibility in which ministers are held to account publicly and the public service is protected from public scrutiny. Public servants can provide frank advice to their ministers without fear that their advice will be known or questioned publicly. Governments expect frank and open advice from a loyal, meritorious, long serving, non-partisan public service.

Anonymity

Public service anonymity is no longer considered desirable in the interest of greater accountability and transparency

Accountability

The modern conception of accountability refers to public servants' accountability to others in addition to their immediate supervisor which, at the senior levels tends to be the Minister. Governments emphasize that public servants be held directly accountable to the public, parliament, and public oversight bodies established by governments for this purpose.

Transparency

Transparency is related to accountability in that it refers to the ability of interested publics to be informed about the activities of government. Transparency is valued because it engenders trust in government in the mind of the public.

Impartiality

Focus on results

Traditional Work Values	Contemporary Work Values
Impartiality should be distinguished from political neutrality. It refers to the value of due process and is related to public servants ability to apply laws, policies and administrative rules in an impartial manner. Impartiality is a means to achieve the end of fairness and equity. According to Weber the presence of rules and procedures also ensures highest standards of efficiency and effectiveness.	This value is based on the idea that the public service must be judged on the outputs and outcomes of its work rather than inputs and process. It is related to both effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness is determined by assessing the degree to which government objectives are achieved. Efficiency measures the relationship between inputs and outputs.

Responsiveness

There are two aspects to responsiveness, responsiveness to government and responsiveness to the public. The latter is connected to the value of client centered service. The former refers to the desire by government to have the public service do its bidding enthusiastically and energetically.

Innovation

Innovation refers to the desired ability of public servants to "achieve traditional ends" by new means (*A Strong Foundation*, 1996)

Risk taking

Risk-taking is defined as "[a] decision to undertake an initiative that carries to a degree, known or unknown, the possibility of unfavourable outcomes. This decision is based on the calculation that unfavourable outcomes can be minimized or that favourable outcomes will outweigh unfavourable outcomes" (Public Policy Forum, 1998) Risk taking behaviour is highly valued by governments, particularly when exploring relationships with the private sector.

Integrity

Integrity signifies moral soundness; honesty; freedom from corrupting influence or motive and the adherence to a strict ethical code.

Traditional Work Values	Contemporary Work Values
	<u>Other new values</u> selflessness, objectivity, leadership, competence, flexibility legality, public service, probity, high standards of conduct, reliability, sound judgement, high ethical standards, fairness, equity, understanding of the collective interest and the ability to work within "the true spirit of the law".

Appendix N

Deputy Minister Appointments
June 2001 and August 2007[51]

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Annette Antoniak	September 8, 2003	March 1, 2004	March 1, 2004	May 15, 2006	President and CEO Winter Games Secretariat	
Gerry Armstrong	June 5, 2001 (1) June 5, 2001 (2)	August 1, 2003(1) January 23, 2004 (2)	January 23, 2004	June 16, 2005 (Left the Public Service)		
Marg Arthur	June 5, 2001	April 3, 2002 (Left the Public Service)				
Penny Ballem	August 27, 2001	June 23, 2006 (Left the Public Service)				
Lorne Brownsey	November 3, 2003 *Continues*					
Irene Chanin	July 2, 2001	Sept 6, 2005 (Left the Public Service)				
Robin Ciceri	June 5, 2001	June 16, 2005	June 16, 2005 *Continues*			

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[51] The 2005 reorganization moved the statutory responsibilities for a few organizations headed by a deputy minister to other ministries. As a result, their title changed to Associate Deputy Minister but their responsibilities remained the same. They have been deemed to be deputy minister positions for purposes of this overview.

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Vince Collins	June 5, 2001	May 26, 2004 (Left the Public Service)				
Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Rick Connolly	January 18, 2002	May 1, 2004	May 1, 2004	June 16, 2005 (Asssociate Dep uty New Portfolio)	April 19,2007 (Special Adviser)	
Bob de Faye	June 5, 2001	January 23, 2004	January 23, 2004	June 16, 2005 (Associate Deputy Same Portfolio)	December 11, 2006 (Associate Deputy New Portfolio)	
Lee Denny	June 5, 2001	February 16, 2002 (Left the Public Service)				
Ken Dobell	June 5, 2001	June 1, 2005 (Left the Public Service)				
Lee Doney	June 5, 2001	May 1, 2004 (Left the Public Service)				
Emery Dosdall	June 5, 2001	*January 2, 2008*	*January 2, 2008 Appointed BC Trade Commissioner*			
Dan Doyle	June 5, 2001	June 16, 2005 (Left the Public Service)				

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Lesley duToit	April 18, 2006		*Continues*			
John Dyble	June 16, 2005		*Continues*			
Brenda Eaton	June 5, 2001	June 1, 2005 (Chair of the BC Housing Manag2ment Commisison)				
Jack Ebbels	June 5, 2001	January 15, 2003	January 15, 2003 (Appointed to the BC Oil and Gas Commission)			
James Gorman	June 16, 2005	January 2, 2008	January 2, 2008 *Continues*			

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Virginia Greene	August 26, 2005	April 21, 2006	April 21, 2006	June 30, 2007 (Left the Public Service)		
Dana Hayden	February 20, 2003	June 1, 2005	June 1, 2005 *Continues*			
Chris Haynes	June 5, 2001	January 23, 2004 (Left the Public Service)				
Tony Heemskerk	January 23,2004	June 16, 2005 (Left the Public Service)				
Joan Hesketh	June 2003	(Assoc. Dep)	June 16, 2005	July 7, 2007	July 7, 2007 *Continues*	

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Leah Hollins	June 5, 2001	August 27, 2001 (Left the Public Service)				
Joy Illington	June 5, 2001	June 16, 2005	2006[52]			
Doug Konkin	June 30, 2003 *Continues*					
Rob Lapper	June 30, 2007	(Assoc.Dep)				
Donald Leitch	June 5, 2001	April 7, 2003 (Left the Public Service)				
Cairine MacDonald	August 1, 2003	June 16, 2005	June 16, 2005 *Continues*			
Rory McAlpine	April 2003	June 16, 2005 (Left the Public Service)				
Jessica McDonald	November 2, 2003	June 1, 2005	June 1, 2005 (DM to Premier; shift in responsibilities) *Continues*			
Alison McPhail	June 5, 2001	January 23, 2004	January 23, 2004	February 6, 2006 (Appointed to Social and Justice Integration Project)		

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[52]Appointed Associate Deputy Minister Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation June 16, 2005 and was appointed Merit Commissioner 2006 which became an Officer of the Legislature position in 2006. Since 2001, the position of Merit Commissioner had been held by the Deputy Minister for PSERC now the BC Public Service Agency.

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Gordon Macatee	November, 2001	January 17, 2003	January 27, 2003	June 16, 2005	June 16, 2005	June 23, 2006
	June 23, 2006 *Continues*					
Athana Mentzelopoulos	April 7, 2003	June 16, 2005	June 16, 2005	April 21, 2006 (Appointed BC Progress Board)		
David Morhart	June 16, 2005 *Continues*					
Linda Morris	September 6, 2005 *Continues*					
John O'Riordan	June 5, 2001	July 5, 2004 (Left the Public Service)				
Larry Pedersen	June 16, 2005 *Continues*					
Moura Quayle	June 16, 2005 *Continues*					
Diane Rabbani	April 7, 2003	May 26,2004	May 26, 2004	June 16, 2005 (Left the Public Service)		
Catherine Read	June 5, 2001	November, 2001	November 2001	July 2002 (Left the Public Service)		
Greg Reimer	June 16, 2005 *Continues*					
Allan Seckel	April 17, 2003 *Continues*					

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Philip Steenkamp	June 5, 2001	October 16, 2003	October 16,2003	June 16, 2005 (Appointed Special Advisor Office of the Premier.)		
Paul Taylor	June 5, 2001	September 30, 2004 (President ICBC)				
John Tegenfeldt	June 5, 2001	November , 2001 (Returned to the Health Sector)				
Derek Thompson	June 5, 2001	January 17, 2003 (Left the Public Service)				
Chris Trumpy	June 5, 2001	March 8, 2002	March 8, 2002	July 5, 2004	July 5, 2004	June 16, 2005
	June 16, 2005	July 7,2007	July 7, 2007 *Continues*			
Tamara Vrooman	August 1, 2002	August 3, 2004	August 3, 2004	July 9, 2007 (Appointed CEO Vancouver Credit Union)		
Gillian Wallace	June 5, 2001	April 2, 2003 (Left the Public Service)				
Lori Wanamaker	June 23, 2006 *Continues*					

Name	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded	Appointed	Rescinded
Andrew Wilkinson	June 5, 2001	April 7, 2003	April 7, 2003	April 21, 2006 (Left the Public Service)		
Dale Wall	January 2, 2008 *Continues*					
Dave Woodward	August 3, 2004	Assoc. Dep.	June 16, 2005			
Don Wright	June 5, 2001	June 30, 2003 (Left the Public Service)				
Sheila Wynn	June 5, 2001	April 22, 2003	April 22, 2003	June 16, 2005	June 16, 2005	January 2, 2008 *(Retired)*

Appendix O

Effects on Mean Values of Different Types of Change

Differences between mean values of individuals who changed position in the past two and five years and those who did not change position

	Changed Position					
	In the past 2 years			In the past 5 years		
	Yes (n=251)	No (n=227)		Yes (n=362)	No (n=99)	
Values	Mean	Mean	Sig.	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.68	4.75	n.s.	4.68	4.79	*p<.05*
Entrepreneurship	3.33	3.48	n.s.	3.36	3.44	n.s.
Innovation	4.18	4.26	n.s	4.20	4.23	n.s.
Integrity	4.90	4.91	n.s.	4.89	4.91	n.s.
Leadership	4.73	4.74	n.s.	4.74	4.70	n.s.
Loyalty	4.21	4.23	n.s.	4.19	4.31	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.14	4.16	n.s.	4.14	4.19	n.s.
Anonymity	3.27	3.16	n.s.	3.16	3.39	*p<.05*
Results Focused	4.37	4.35	n.s.	4.36	4.36	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.75	3.85	n.s.	3.78	3.77	n.s.
Service Focused	4.61	4.61	n.s.	4.60	4.60	n.s.

Differences between mean values of individuals in the past two and five years who changed ministry and those who did change ministry

	Changed Ministry					
	In the past 2 years			In the past 5 years		
	Yes (n=89)	No (n=388)		Yes (n=135)	No (n=345)	
Values	Mean	Mean	Sig.	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.62	4.73	n.s.	4.63	4.74	*p*<.05
Entrepreneurship	3.39	3.39	n.s.	3.40	3.39	n.s.
Innovation	4.23	4.20	n.s	4.18	4.23	n.s.
Integrity	4.91	4.90	n.s.	4.90	4.90	n.s.
Leadership	4.69	4.74	n.s.	4.70	4.76	n.s.
Loyalty	4.10	4.24	n.s.	4.17	4.23	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.22	4.15	n.s.	4.22	4.12	n.s.
Anonymity	3.34	3.20	n.s.	3.16	3.23	n.s
Results Focused	4.33	4.37	n.s.	4.36	4.37	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.84	3.78	n.s.	3.81	3.78	n.s.
Service Focused	4.53	4.62	n.s.	4.54	4.63	n.s.

Differences between mean values of individuals in the past two and five years whose ministry was reorganization and those whose ministry was not reorganized

	Ministry Reorganized					
	In the past 2 years			In the past 5 years		
	Yes (n=89)	No (n=388)		Yes (n=135)	No (n=345)	
Values	Mean	Mean	Sig.	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.62	4.73	n.s.	4.63	4.74	*p*<.05
Entrepreneurship	3.39	3.39	n.s.	3.40	3.39	n.s.
Innovation	4.23	4.20	n.s	4.18	4.23	n.s.
Integrity	4.91	4.90	n.s.	4.90	4.90	n.s.
Leadership	4.69	4.74	n.s.	4.70	4.76	n.s.
Loyalty	4.10	4.24	n.s.	4.17	4.23	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.22	4.15	n.s.	4.22	4.12	n.s.
Anonymity	3.34	3.20	n.s.	3.16	3.23	n.s
Results Focused	4.33	4.37	n.s.	4.36	4.37	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.84	3.78	n.s.	3.81	3.78	n.s.
Service Focused	4.53	4.62	n.s.	4.54	4.63	n.s.

Differences between mean values of individuals who experienced new Deputy Minister appointment(s) past five and two years, and those and those who did not experienced a new Deputy minister appointment.

	New Deputy Minister Appointed					
	In the past 2 years			In the past 5 years		
	Yes (n=291)	No (n=173)		Yes (n=403)	No (n=37)	
Values	Mean	Mean	Sig.	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Accountability	4.71	4.75	n.s.	4.72	4.81	n.s.
Entrepreneurship	3.44	3.35	n.s.	3.38	3.35	n.s.
Innovation	4.21	4.24	n.s	4.19	4.43	*p*<.05
Integrity	4.90	4.91	n.s.	4.90	4.92	n.s.
Leadership	4.70	4.80	*p*<.05	4.73	4.76	n.s.
Loyalty	4.24	4.18	n.s.	4.20	4.22	n.s.
Political Neutrality	4.19	4.13	n.s.	4.16	4.11	n.s.
Anonymity	3.23	3.21	n.s.	3.23	2.97	n.s
Results Focused	4.36	4.42	n.s.	4.37	4.49	n.s.
Risk Taking	3.76	3.86	n.s.	3.76	4.05	*p*<.05
Service Focused	4.58	4.66	n.s.	4.60	4.70	n.s.

Appendix P

Effects on Mean Values of Change Frequency

Relationship between the Frequency of Changing Ministries and Values

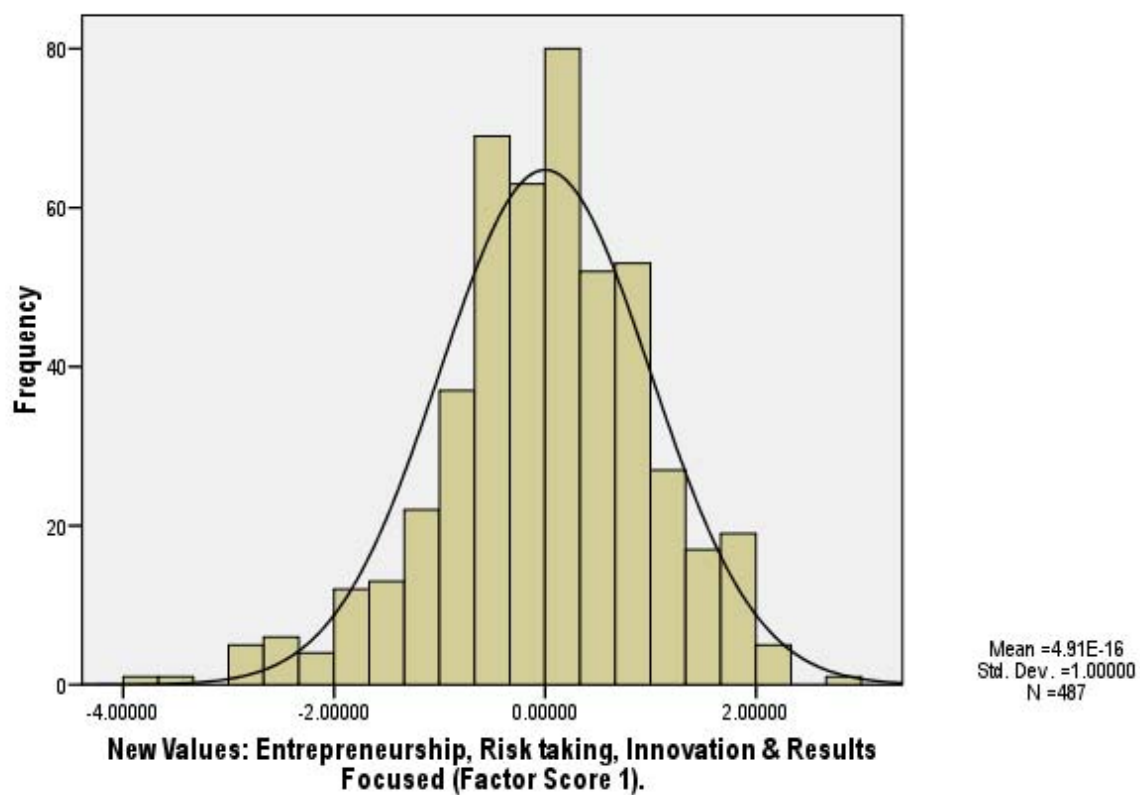|	Ministry Change			
	In the past 2 years n=89		In the past 5 years n=34	
Values	Tau-c	Sig.	Tau-c	Sig.
Accountability	-0.064	n.s.	-0.003	n.s.
Entrepreneurship	-0.249	p<.001	-0.030	n.s.
Innovation	-0.065	n.s.	-0.047	n.s.
Integrity	-0.046	n.s.	-0.054	n.s.
Leadership	-0.100	n.s.	-0.029	n.s.
Loyalty	-0.016	n.s.	-0.037	n.s.
Political Neutrality	-0.010	n.s.	-0.010	n.s.
Anonymity	-0.020	n.s.	0.011	n.s.
Results Focused	-0.195	p<.01	-0.088	n.s.
Risk Taking	-0.259	p<.01	-0.103	n.s.
Service Focused	-0.019	n.s.	-0.067	n.s.

Relationship between Frequency of Ministry Reorganization and Values

| | Ministry Reorganized | | | |
| | In the past 2 years n=219 | | In the past 5 years n=334 | |
Values	Tau-c	Sig.	Tau-c	Sig.
Accountability	0.063	n.s.	0.002	n.s.
Entrepreneurship	-0.027	n.s	0.000	n.s.
Innovation	-0.024	n.s.	0.058	n.s.
Integrity	0.031	n.s.	0.020	n.s.
Leadership	0.027	n.s.	0.046	n.s.
Loyalty	-0.133	p<.01	0.039	n.s.
Political Neutrality	0.058	n.s.	0.007	n.s.
Anonymity	-0.020	n.s.	-0.027	n.s.
Results Focused	-0.014	n.s	-0.021	n.s.
Risk Taking	-0.063	n.s	-0.020	n.s.
Service Focused	-0.008	n.s.	0.004	n.s.

Appendix Q

Index Variables - Histograms

New Values: Entrepreneurship, Risk taking, Innovation & Results Focused (Factor Score 1).

New Values: Entrepreneurship, Risk taking, Innovation & Results Focused (Factor Score 1).

Mean =4.91E-16
Std. Dev. =1.00000
N =487

Old Values: Integrity, Accountability, Loyalty, Leadership & Service Focussed (Factor Score 2)

Mean =-2.30E-17
Std. Dev. =1.00000
N =487

Old Values: Integrity, Accountability, Loyalty, Leadership & Service
Focussed (Factor Score 2)

Transition Values: Public Servant Anonymity & Political Neutrality (Factor Score 3)

Mean =-3.08E-16
Std. Dev. =1.00000
N =487

Transition Values: Public Servant Anonymity & Political Neutrality (Factor Score 3)