

**The Modernized Public Servant: A Poststructuralist perspective on the
'modernization' of the Canadian Public Service.**

By

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For Katherine Mae

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Abstract

The Modernized Public Servant: A Poststructuralist perspective on the 'modernization' of the Canadian Public Service.

by Karla Doreen MacAulay

This dissertation takes a poststructuralist perspective on becoming the *Modernized Public Servant*. The term *modernized* is used as a means of distinguishing the public service after the Public Service Modernization Act (PSMA) of 2004. Using a Foucauldian influenced framework to conduct a discourse analysis, this dissertation explores the public service discourse using the experience of individuals from various federal departments across the country, documents retrieved from the Canadian Treasury Board and public administration textbooks. It constitutes an understanding of the public service discourse (excluding military personnel) post *modernization* within the context of the Canadian Federal Government.

There are three anticipated contributions that arise from the outcomes of this dissertation. First it develops an understanding of the discursive practices that constitute the public service. In light of the *modernization* of the public service, this examination helps to explain what *modernization* has meant to the public service in the Canadian context. Second, this dissertation makes a methodological contribution to discourse analysis as a method. Using Rabinow's (1984) interpretation of Foucault's three modes of objectification as a template for examining the discourse and addressing the role of agency, I introduce the modes as a framework for conducting discourse analysis in management research. These modes are used as a template for interpreting the information from the data to understand the role of knowledge and power within the discourse. Finally, this dissertation demonstrates the value of considering the impact of agency on discourse development and perpetuation. Although Foucault did not address the use of agency until later in his career (Rabinow, 1984), this dissertation shows the importance of his eventual reconsideration on the matter.

The analysis yielded ten themes or subjectivities that were categorized into one of the three modes of objectification. The first mode of objectification discussed is dividing practices. The subjectivities for this mode are entitled separate sector, accountability, pride, scope and language. The second mode discussed is scientific classification for which there were two themes: creating knowledge and the bureaucratic structure. Finally, I discuss the themes of unwritten recruitment, sense of security and employee acceptance under the subjectification mode. Each of the subjectivities is discussed by highlighting the discursive practices surrounding it and the impact, if any, that the *modernization* process has had on those practices.

March 15, 2013

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Acronyms

CCMDA	Canadian Centre for Management Development Act
CPSA	Canadian Public Service Agency
FAA	Financial Administration Act
IPAC	Institute of Public Administration of Canada
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PPA	Progressive Public Administration
PSA	Public Service Act
PSCC	Public Service Commission of Canada
PSEA	Public Service Employment Act
PSLRA	Public Service Labour Relations Act
PSMA	Public Service Modernization Act
PSR	Public Service Renewal
PMAC	Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on the Public Service
TBCS	Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Overview

The term public or civil servant is a convention that is familiar to most people living in an industrialized country. Whether one thinks of an immigration officer, a public school teacher, or a police officer, he or she would have some definition of what is meant by a member of the public service. In the Canadian context, however, according to the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (TBCS), the public service has gone through some significant changes in the past 35 years (2009b), which have effected how it is defined. Of the changes referred to by the Secretariat, the most significant has been the introduction of the Public Service Modernization Act (PSMA) in 2003. The development and implementation of the PSMA has been referred to as the *modernization* or renewal process. The objective of the PSMA was and still is to help the government, as an employer, to become more relevant and effective. “Renewal is about making sure that the federal public service preserves and strengthens its capacity to contribute to Canada’s successes through the delivery of excellent public services and policy” (TBCS, 2008, p.1).

The PSMA includes four pieces of legislation: the Public Service Employment Act (PSEA), the Public Service Labour Relations Act (PSLRA), the amended Financial Administration Act (FAA) and the Canadian Centre for Management Development

Act (CCMDA)(TBCS, 2010). At the root of these new pieces of legislation and subsequent changes in the government is New Public Management (NPM), a managerial philosophy that values “market-driven functionality (efficiency and competition), ownership and managerial autonomy” (Mingus, 2007). Both government and the academic literature discussing the changes in the Canadian context note this connection between what is happening in Canada and NPM (Pierre & Rothstein, 2008). NPM, however, is a term that lacks an agreed upon definition. Rather, it has been used to describe a variety of public sector reforms that subject the public service to market forces and private sector managerial techniques (Chandler, Barry, & Clark, 2002). As such, NPM appears to have different values than the core values that represent democracy as based in rules of law, social equity and equal participation (Mingus, 2007). In a democratic society like Canada, the implications of this can be seen as conflicting with the identities and values of those within the public service.

The purpose of this study then is to explore the discourse of the public service and how it has been affected by the adoption of NPM through the *modernization process*. From a poststructuralist perspective this dissertation uses a Foucauldian influenced framework to conduct a discourse analysis using 13 interviews with individual public servants, 15 public administration textbooks and other written material obtained through public servants or the Treasury Board of Canada website. The framework breaks the discourse analysis down into three modes of objectification:

dividing practices, scientific classification and subjectification, which are used to help understand how the discourse is formed and reaffirmed.

This dissertation makes three contributions. First, it explores the idea of the public service and the influence of the *modernization process* and NPM on the public service discourse. Second, the dissertation makes a methodological contribution to discourse analysis as a method by using Rabinow's (1984) interpretation of Foucault's three modes of objectification as a template for examining the discourse and addressing the role of agency. The three modes I use are scientific classification, dividing practices and subjectification. These modes were used as a template as a means of applying Foucault's theory of knowledge and power and the role it plays in discourse. Finally, this dissertation demonstrates the value of considering the impact of agency on discourse development and perpetuation. Although Foucault did not address the use of agency until later in his career (Rabinow, 1984), this dissertation demonstrates the importance of his eventual reconsideration of the issue.

The rest of this chapter will provide context for this dissertation project by outlining my motivation, the Foucauldian influence, the Canadian Archive and providing an introduction to the *modernization process*. The chapter will also provide a summary of the analysis and details on the organization of the dissertation.

1.2 My Motivation for the Dissertation

Inquiry into the notion of the employee is not new (Grant & Mills, 2004; Jacques, 1996). Most notable to this dissertation is the work of Jacques (1996) entitled *Manufacturing the Employee*. Jacques' work leads us through the development of the employee in the United States, arguing that the social construction of the employee has been influenced by many factors including religious, political and economic forces. His reflexive look at the constitution of the employee provides a basis for understanding the power structures that have enabled the construction and maintenance of the employee discourse in today's society. Although Jacques' (1996) work looks at the employee as one entity, my dissertation seeks to delve deeper into the social construction of one specific type of employee, the public servant.

My interest in this dissertation not only stems from Roy Jacques' (1996) *Manufacturing the Employee* but also from a personal struggle with the concept of the employee. Having started work at the age of eleven, working for someone or some organization is a notion that I have never questioned. It has always been an essential part of my existence. I first came upon Jacques' book at a time when I had actually left work to pursue studies. I had studied before, but was never in the financial position to concentrate solely on my studies without some form of employment. I was for the first time since I could remember not working for pay. I was not responsible to anyone for my actions. There were no expectations, aside

from those that I had set for myself, which governed my everyday activities. I struggled through the process; there was no sense of accountability.

During this time, while contemplating the work of Jacques (1996) I found myself mesmerized by my own sense of obligation to be someone's employee. More specifically, coming from a family that predominately worked in public service, I found myself wondering about the public servant. Some of the most influential role models I had growing up (father, grandfathers, grandmother and sister) found careers in civil service, each of whom took great pride in their positions. The majority of their working life revolved around working or serving the government. This was the start of my inquiry into the differences between public servants and any other employee.

I first explored the differences between the public and private sectors by examining academic literature on the topic (Boyne, 2002; Bozeman & Gordon, 1998; H. G. Frederickson, Rainey, Backoff, & Levine, 1976; Perry & Kraemer, 1983; Tellier, 1997; Weinberg, 1983). The literature highlighted many aspects that differentiated the public and private practice. For example, government organizations are considered by some economists to be driven more by political forces than market forces (Dahl, 1953). Funding of the public sector is largely by taxation instead of sales, which is thought to make budgets more difficult to predict (Niskanen, 1971). Ownership of the public service is thought of as less clear as it involves political communities rather than a single owner or shareholder which leaves roles and

responsibilities unclear (Rainey, 1979). Compared to many corporate organizations the structure of the public service is considered more bureaucratic, to have lower managerial autonomy and to have departmental and individual goals that are considered less clear (Bozeman & Gordon, 1998; Weinberg, 1983). As a result, I could appreciate the “dualistic way of looking at the world” (Bourgon, 2011, p. 10) in which the public and private sectors possess different characteristics and different worldviews.

I was left with two impressions after examining the literature on the differences between the public and private sector. The first impression was that the private sector is privileged over the public sector. The public sector is seen as less desirable because it is considered less efficient with its bureaucratic structure that complicates activities (Bilodeau, Laurin, & Vining, 2006). The public sector is also seen as less focused on production and the bottom line than counterparts in the private sector (Vabo, 2009).

My second impression was that public servants are similar in many ways to private sector employees. Public servants provide their services in exchange for pay, they work set hours and are rewarded either hourly or by salary. Public servants have supervisors and managers that they answer to and they have mandates that they need to achieve. There is, however, enough of a difference in context between the public and private sector to warrant an examination of the public servant as different from an employee in the private sector. Public servants work in a system

that appears to be more heavily regulated than the system in which most private sector employees work. The consequences of the public servant's actions can and often do influence the daily lives of any number of over 34 million people. Unlike a private business that is accountable to a Board or a CEO, the public service answers to political appointees, the oversight structures in which they work as well as to the public who are the same people that are most often their customer.

As a result of my impressions, I felt the exploration of the public servant as a separate employee discourse was worth exploring. I wanted to learn more about the 14% of the Canadian labour pool (StatsCan, 2012; Wouters, 2010) that work for one organization that effects every other member of that society and yet for whom there is a perception that they are unable to manage as effectively as other organizations in society (Peters, 2004).

Aside from the distinctive nature of the public and private sectors, the literature also showed that the activities and the perceived importance of a government varied from country to country depending on the accepted type and structure of government (Clark, 2002; Hood, 1995b). This was described by one author as the public service making what is politically desired a reality (Bourgon, 2011).

Considering the importance of context, I identified the need to limit the context in which I would explore the public service discourse. Therefore, the decision was made to explore only the Canadian experience.

In the Canadian context, the role of the public service is one that is celebrated each year with the National Public Service Week. Since the inaugural celebration in June of 1992, there has been a week dedicated by the federal government system to celebrate federal public servants. This event was started by the government to highlight the impact of the public service on Canadians' everyday lives. As noted on the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (TBCS) website, "The women and men of the Public Service of Canada are among some of our most precious resources, and it is important that we recognize their accomplishments and the positive role they play in Canadian society" (TBCS, 2011). Considering that more than 270,000 Canadians are employed in 200 departments and agencies (Wouters, 2010, p. 17), "no other organization is so engaged in so many areas of Canadian life" (Tellier & Mazankowski, 2008, p. 1). When one includes the Canadian Forces and non-core public servants this number increases to approximately 460,000 individuals (Toews, 2008). As quoted in one Canadian Public Service textbook when referring to Canada the size of the public service, "Government, and indeed society, could scarcely function without the legions of public servants who every day process our forms, regulate our behaviour and punish our crime and misdemeanors" (Inwood, 2004, p. 261). In the Canadian context then, there is a strong reliance by the public on the public sector. As a result of my initial examination of the public service, I was convinced that there was enough variance to set the public service apart from the private sector to warrant exploration. My next step was to decide how to explore the public service, which led me to the work of Foucault, discussed in the following section.

1.3 Foucauldian Influence

Jacques' (1992, 1996) work is heavily indebted to Foucault's notion of genealogy. This led me to choose a poststructuralist methodology and a Foucauldian influenced method for this dissertation. I chose this method, not only because it is in line with my ontological and epistemological standpoint, but because it also provides an understanding of the impact that changing values have over time and helps to illuminate the importance of the historical context, as well as current circumstances, when conducting an inquiry.

Foucault's influence on my work comes from his genealogical studies. Since Foucault's genealogy is considered by some to be an extension (Smart, 1985) or widening of the scope (Best & Kellner, 1991) of his archaeology, it is important to look at both in relation to this study. Foucault's archaeology is a method used to understand discursive formations. The rules in which the discursive operates are understood by looking at the historical context that creates the conditions for the discursive formation (Veyne, 2010). As an extension, his genealogy introduces the power networks that influence discourse. The two concepts will be considered separately for the purpose of highlighting the ideas relevant to this dissertation.

In Foucault's (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge* he acknowledges that statements and unities of those statements are fluid. There cannot be a search for a

solid, enduring understanding of a discourse. The construction and maintenance of a given discourse is complex. Take, for example, the notion of the public servant in the Canadian government system. Most people probably have an idea of whom or what the public servant represented; call it a taken-for-granted idea. The work of exploring the discourse that constructs the subject will require an examination of the historical context of its construction as well as an understanding of the subjectivities that allow for its continuation. Foucault's archaeology provides guidance on how to understand the condition of possibilities in which the practice is formed as the rational 'truth' that allow for its continued unquestioned existence. This method of understanding the historical context is rooted in Foucault's assertion that understanding human existence can only be achieved within the context of humanity's past (Fink-Eitel, 1992).

In this search to understand the development of the practice and the rational truth that perpetuate it, I also examine Foucault's notion of power/knowledge through Foucault's genealogy (Foucault, 1975). "Where archeology attempted to show that the subject is a fictitious construct, genealogy seeks to foreground the material context of subject construction, to draw out the political consequences of 'subjectification', and to help form resistances to subjectifying practices" (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 47).

Foucault's genealogy is a form of historical analysis that ignores origin and a linear understanding of the history in favour of understanding shifts and perceptual

changes of discursive meaning. Influenced by the work of the 19th century German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, Foucault looked for meanings and implications of what were considered universals (Martin, 1988). He also tried to understand “political relationships in which truth – or at least the claims of truth – is embedded” (May, 2006, p. 100) and maintained through discursive practices. In Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*, he explores how the notion of sovereign power is replaced by one of disciplinary power. The belief that societal transitions are transformations of domination is an example of Nietzsche’s influence on Foucault’s work (Prasad, 2005).

The use of discourse analysis is heavily influenced by Foucault’s notion of genealogy. As such, I feel a need to clearly articulate this to ensure that the reader can see the perspective from which I am approaching my dissertation. In the words of Foucault himself:

...what we are concerned with here is not to neutralize discourse, to make it the sign of something else, and to pierce through its density in order to reach what remains silently anterior to it, but on the contrary to maintain it in its consistency, to make it emerge in its own complexity. What, in short, we wish to do is to dispense with ‘things’. To ‘depresentify’ them. To conjure up their rich, heavy, immediate plenitude, which we usually regard as the primitive law of discourse that has become divorced from it through error, oblivion,

illusion, ignorance or the inertia of beliefs and traditions, or even the perhaps unconscious desire not to see and not to speak. (Foucault, 1972, p. 53)

The work of Michel Foucault (1965, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1980a, 1988, 2003), such as that highlighted above, has become connected with the poststructuralist tradition. Arguably, Foucault's work should be set apart from postmodern (Alvesson, 2002) work because of its focus on "language as it relates to institutions and power" (Prasad, 2005, p. 238). Although the poststructuralist tradition shares commonalities with postmodernism, namely the suspicion of grand narratives, the focus on language and emancipatory drive sets it apart. The purpose is to uncover the discourses and understand how the subjectivities are maintained.

Balancing both Foucault's archeological (i.e., focus on the cultural rules that make certain statements possible) and genealogical (i.e., a focus on how cultural rules serve to construct/shape the subjectivities of those involved) methods is a complex process. Looking at the historical conditions that form rationality (viz. archeology) and the power relations embedded within (viz. genealogy) are a requirement to understand the development of the discourse of the public servant.

The idea of the public servant is a taken-for-granted part of the government system. The search to understand this concept in the current context requires an exploration of the development of the notion and the interconnected practices that allow for its continuation. Foucault's archeological work provides guidance on how

to understand the condition of possibilities in which the practice is formed as the rational “truths” that allow for its continued unquestioned existence; how the order is developed and maintained.

To understand the development of this practice and the rational truths that perpetuate it, I also employ Foucault’s notion of power/knowledge. This will be used to understand what discourses are privileged and those that are silenced and even ignored. In the tradition of Foucault, this dissertation will look at the historical context that has lead up to the current understanding of the notion of the public servant. I try to understand the underlying assumptions that have allowed for the notion of the public servant to develop and how those assumptions have been maintained or modified in light of the *modernization process*.

1.4 The Canadian Government: An Archive

Borrowing from Foucault’s use of the archive in his genealogical work, the Canadian government will be the context of the archive for this dissertation. In Foucault’s work he describes an archive as “that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, nor are they inscribed in an unbroken linearity...it is what differentiates discourses in their multiple existence and specifies them in their own duration” (Foucault, 1972, p. 145). The Canadian Federal Government, after the Modernization Act, serves as the archive in which the public servant is explored.

To help develop a more in-depth understanding of the public servant, this dissertation will first examine the development of the Canadian public servant starting with the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 and carries through to the present day. The date is used not because it is the “beginning” of the public service in Canada, but rather as an appropriate starting point for this story. For in the words of Foucault, “beyond any apparent beginning, there is always a secret origin – so secret and so fundamental that it can never be quite grasped in itself” (Foucault, 1972, p. 27). In researching the early years of the public service, there appeared to be some important changes that occurred that continue to influence the discursive practices surrounding the public servant. In considering the transformation, I believed that starting with 1867 provided a solid foundation allowing for an understanding of the early years prior to *modernization*. This allowed me to explore all possible material in trying to understand the public service discourse.

Although the historical context will be an important part of this dissertation, this study will focus more heavily on trying to explore how the concept of the *modernized* public servant developed in the Canadian context in the past 35 years. The historical context lays the foundation for examining how the notion of the public servant has been modified by the *modernization process*. I delve into how the principles underlying *modernization* have and continue to influence the public servant. This distinction is important when working from a poststructuralist

perspective because of the fluidity a discourse as highlighted in Veyne's (2010) description of how individuals construct themselves:

In the course of their history, human beings have constantly been constructing themselves, that is to say they have continually been shifting their subjectivity, fitting themselves into an infinite and multiple series of different subjectivities that go on forever and will never bring us face to face with what man [sic] is. (p. 44)

Subjects in the social are treated like objects of science for which one can discover the truth, but unlike those objects, subjectivities can never be fixed knowledge (Knights, 1992). However, even though I conducted my research from the poststructuralist perspective and I have not attempted to find truth, I still influence the constitution of what is meant by the public service and impact the subjectivities that define what Foucault would call the "game of truth" (Foucault, 1990).

1.5 Modernization in Canada

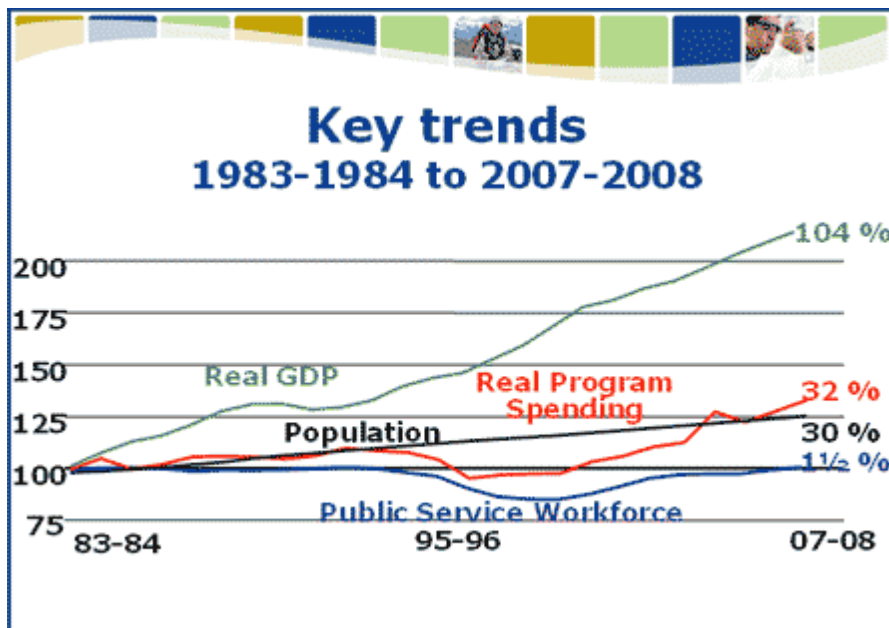
The *modernization process* is the term used to describe the change process occurring within the Canadian government. This change process that was thought to have started formally in 1989 when the Prime Minister Brian Mulroney "launched an initiative of public service reform and renewal called 'Public Service 2000'" (Tellier, 1997). The initiative was "designed to equip the public service of Canada to meet the challenges of an increasingly demanding national and international

environment” (Ibid, p. 123). The foundation of the initiative was that “the key to management is the motivation of people” (Ibid, p.123) and that the public service had to change how government managed and conducted work. Although considered by some the first formal program that expressed the values of NPM, the influence of NPM was evident much earlier. As early as 1990, there were initiatives, like the IPAC Award for Innovation Management, which were used to encourage members of the public service to embrace change (Galimberti, 2002). The government at the time saw that the over two hundred thousand people who served as members of the public service conducted activities that “touched virtually every aspect of the daily lives of Canadians” (Tellier, 1997, p. 123). As a result, leaders felt it was paramount that the members of the public service conduct these activities more effectively and efficiently. It was also important that the public service be able to undertake all that would be required of them from both elected government officials and individual Canadians (OPM, 1989).

In the early 1990’s, the government’s adoption of NPM principles led to downsizing within the federal government (Armstrong-Stassen, 1998). Then in the mid-1990’s, the public service experienced trouble attracting personnel as apparent in the decrease in new employee growth in the mid-1990’s shown in Figure 1.1 (TBCS, 2009a). This figure shows a decrease in the public service workforce at a time when the population was increasing. Generational differences, a changing marketplace and the onset of globalization that appeared to open doors to greater employment opportunities coupled with an aging public service are cited as increased challenges

for the government (Ingraham, Selden, & Moynehan, 2000). The government of Canada recognized the need to change its organizational structure to aid in the recruitment and selection of individuals into the service, from which emerged the renewal plan (TBCS, 2009b). As a result, in 1997 the changes undertaken by the Canadian government became known as the renewal or *modernization process*. These changes were also the catalyst for the Public Service Modernization Act introduced in 2003.

Figure 1.1 – Public Service Renewal Update Presentation, 2008 (TBCS, 2009a)



1.6 Discourse Analysis Summary

The analysis of the interview transcripts yielded ten themes or subjectivities that were used as the basis of the discourse analysis. Each of them was classified as one of three of the modes of objectification; dividing practices, scientific classification or

subjectification as illustrated in Figure 1.2. The dividing practices were those discursive practices that served to separate the public service from other types of employees, such as those who worked in the private sector and those who had political appointments within the government. Some of these practices are shown to hinder the *modernization* process and its desire to have the government work like a market-driven organization. The discursive practices underlying the mode of scientific classification had aspects that mirrored the dividing practices, but also appeared to have the greatest positive impact on the adoption of *modernization* through the acceptance of the NPM as a positive change for the government. Finally, the subjectification mode yielded three themes that help to demonstrate the public servant’s role in the public service discourse. The public servant is seen to have influence on the adoption of the *modernization* process and more specifically to continue practices that serve to undermine or resist *modernization*.

Figure 1.2 – Subjectivities Classified into Modes of Objectification

Mode of Objectification	Subjectivities
Dividing Practices	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The Separate Sector 2) Accountability 3) Pride 4) Scope of Service 5) Language
Scientific Classification	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Creating Knowledge 2) Bureaucratic Structure
Subjectification	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Unwritten Recruitment 2) Sense of Security

It is my contention that the ten subjectivities have helped influence, develop and maintain the discourse of the public service throughout the *modernization* process. These subjectivities can be categorized into the three modes of objectification that people use to help understand the world around them. Discourse is formed through these modes as a means of understanding and controlling the world and information around us. In this study, I found a set of discursive practices for each of the modes that serve to either help or hinder the *modernization* process, as well as help to explain the 'why' behind the long implementation cycle of this process.

1.7 Organization of Dissertation

The next chapter will explain my choice of methodology and method. I will outline the methodological choices made, the details of how the research was conducted as well as why specific methods were chosen for this study.

The third chapter will explore the literature on Public Service Reform in order to provide an understanding of the context in which changes to the public service have been made. I review literature from various countries that have undergone similar change processes to that experienced by the Canadian Government public service. This review will help provide an foundation to support the discussions in chapters four, five and six.

The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters will discuss the discourse analysis. Each chapter is dedicated to discussing one of the three modes of objectification. The fourth will look at the dividing practices, the fifth the scientific classification and finally chapter six will look at subjectification. In each chapter, I discuss how each mode surfaced through the discourse analysis as well as look at what that mode tells us about the changes in the Canadian Public Service.

The final chapter will be the conclusion. This chapter will provide a summary of the discourse analysis and the contributions of this dissertation. This chapter will also discuss the limitations of this dissertation and future research that will be developed from this dissertation.

Chapter 2 – Methodology and Methods

2.1 Introduction

When I started to explore how I would investigate the impact of the *modernization process* on the identity of the public servant, I first looked at Foucault's work (1972, 1973, 1975, 1980a, 1988, 2003) and materials that were written about Foucault's work (May, 2006; Rabinow, 1984; Veyne, 2010). Drawing on Jacques' (1992, 1996) work, I developed an understanding of Foucault's genealogical method. It was evident that I would not have access to enough material to adequately use such a method; however, I still wanted to be consistent with Foucault's work. As a result, I chose to use discourse analysis using material from three accessible sources: interviews with federal public servants, public administration textbooks and the Government of Canada website; and a Foucauldian inspired framework to guide the analysis. The framework I used derives from Paul Rabinow's (1984) interpretation of Foucault's three modes of objectification of the subject: dividing practices, scientific classification and subjectification, which he used as a means of categorizing Foucault's work.

The remainder of this chapter will elaborate on the methodology, the methods, and the framework I used for this dissertation. To explain the process, I have broken the chapter into three separate sections that highlight important aspects to my research

process. The first will address the methodology and the methods used. The methodological underpinnings of my dissertation are expressed to provide an understanding of the foundation that guided the research as well as the process used in my analysis. This section of the chapter covers poststructuralism, as the philosophical underpinnings of the dissertation, and discourse analysis, as the method, Foucault's modes, as a means of interrogating the discourse and finally subjectivities, which serve to help the individual understand their position in the discourse. The second part of the chapter explains the data collection process, including where and how the data were collected. It covers how access was granted, how the interviews were conducted and what documents were used in the study. The third section, consistent with the poststructuralist philosophy, addresses reflexivity and my role as the researcher in this dissertation.

2.2 Methodology and Methods

2.2.1 Poststructuralism

Since my dissertation is heavily influenced by the work of Foucault, it is important to have an appreciation of poststructuralism, which is the tradition most closely associated with Foucault's work (Gane, 1986; Poster, 1984). Even though Foucault never identified with poststructuralism because of his aversion to categorizations, academic literature considers Foucault to be a premier figure in this area (Prasad, 2005).

The poststructuralist tradition is concerned with discursive practices in society and specific to Foucault's work, the role of power and knowledge in discursive practices. Similar to other 'post' traditions, poststructuralism is suspicious of 'grand' narratives especially as they pertain to Western philosophy and science. The tradition has been called an extension of postmodernism (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Culler, 1982) or merely a form of postmodernism that looks at reinterpreting classics and using discourse to modify our notions of knowledge (Prasad, 2005).

To cognize poststructuralism one must note that the 'post' is not simply a signifier of the aftermath but should be seen more as a rupture with structuralism (Best & Kellner, 1991). To comprehend this rupture, we first must look at the context of structuralism (Weatherbee, Dye, & Mills, 2008). Structuralism can be described as the study of the human culture by means of understanding the construction of different phenomena. The structure produces the reality, which differs from the real or imaginary and is evident through, among other mediums, language (Deleuze, 1995). Structuralism is heavily influenced by linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and anthropologist Claude Levis-Strauss (Murfin & Ray, 1998). Roland Barthes was also a noted structuralist before adopting poststructuralism. In Barthes' Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives (1996), he sought to break down language into function, action and narrative to understand to what degree the language reflected reality.

Poststructuralism, as more than the aftermath of structuralism, or anti-structuralist methodology, (Peters & Humes, 2003), examines not only the “rules, codes and patterns” but is also concerned with context and meaning (Downing, 2008, p. 7). The exploration of the context is the basis for the historical nature of Foucault’s work. Compared to the mainstream positivist traditional purpose of academia to search for truth and scientific knowledge, poststructuralism explores the concepts and language that govern that knowledge. It seeks to understand the historical context and perpetuation of knowledge. The poststructuralist philosophy adopts an anti-realist position, at least when it comes to questions of meaning and reference, by rejecting the picture of knowledge as an accurate representation of reality (Peters & Humes, 2003). The anti-realist approach of poststructuralism does not remove the subject or individual but looks to see “where it comes from and how it functions - it analyses its positionality, its discursive formations and its historical becomings” (Peters & Humes, 2003, p.111).

2.2.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse is considered all that is thought, written, vocalized, or otherwise expressed about a particular entity (Johnson & Duberly, 2000) or “an interrelated set of texts, that the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception,” that bring objects into being (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 3). Foucault’s interpretation of the term discourse, however, is more complex (Prasad, 2005). Discourse “involves the rules and processes of appropriation” as well as individuals’ “right to

speak, ability to understand, ... and the capacity to invest this discourse in decisions, institutions, or practices” (Foucault, 1972, p. 75).

The study of discourse or discursive practices then requires one to not only understand the signs or texts and their origins, but also to understand the underpinnings of how they are governed and structured. This type of inquiry requires more than simply reviewing the linear history of a discourse. The formation of the rules and how those rules are maintained are important to be able to understand the structure of the discourse. These rules work on the individual mind and consciousness as well as all those that enter into the discursive field including the discourse itself (Foucault, 1972).

The discourse analysis conducted for this dissertation explores the discursive field in an attempt to understand the development, structure and characteristics of the discourse. I used Phillips and Hardy’s (2002) eight characteristics of discourse analysis as a foundational guide for my approach to the discourse analysis. The following outlines the eight characteristics as well as how each plays a role in my analysis.

- 1) The first characteristic is the acknowledgment that language constructs rather than reveals. “Discourse analysis rests on the basic assumption that language constructs social reality rather than acting as a route to the discovery of an objective reality” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 85). This social construction is the lens from

which I choose to approach the discourse. I did not seek the objective truth about the identity of the public servant and the influence of the *modernization process*, but instead I tried to gain insight into what has helped to construct the public service discourse.

2) The second characteristic is to “ground research in historical processes” (Philips & Hardy, 2002, p.85). The consideration of a text requires interaction with broader discourses and other texts. To provide the historical context, I needed to engage other discursive practices that were influencing the public service discourse. Instead of considering a snapshot of the public service discourse at one point in time, I explored the historical and recent context in which the discourse developed and currently exists.

3) The third characteristic states that researchers should allow differing voices to be heard with consideration to those that are usually silenced. In exploring the discourse I was forced to not only search at what was apparent in the data, but I also explored what was not there as well. I had to ask: What voices were not being heard in the discursive practices?

4) The fourth characteristic calls for the researcher to understand that he or she is not able to allow for all voices to be heard. This requires the realization that some voices, even in one’s own work will be privileged over others. In my analysis I ensured that my own limitations were identified. I have tried to demonstrate my

privileging through reflexivity in my writing. The last section of this chapter will address this in more detail.

5) The fifth characteristic calls for the researcher to acknowledge that his or her interpretation is only one representation of the material and he or she should be open to other perspectives. I express this understanding through my acknowledgement of the scope of my work. I do not claim to be able to provide an objective truth about the public service discourse, but rather that the present one is one possible interpretation.

6) In the sixth characteristic asserts that the researcher should “engage in debate among and between theoretical communities because it is difficult to critique a theory on its own” (page 86). To achieve this I have presented interpretations from different bodies of research. In reviewing the literature on NPM and the Canadian Public Service, I explored work conducted from not only the critical tradition from which I would, but also from more mainstream sources. Through this exploration, I am trying to avoid a myopic approach to this dissertation.

7) The seventh characteristic acknowledges the need for the researcher to take responsibility for his or her own texts. Because of the lack of protocols and procedures involved in discourse analysis, the author has to customize his or her analysis and be sure to carefully explain his or her work both from a methodological standpoint, as well as to be reflexive. For example, the lack of protocols and

procedures have led to the development of the framework used in my discourse analysis. Further discussion of my rationale for using Rabinow's interpretation of Foucault's modes of objectification as my framework is given in the next section of the dissertation.

8) And finally, the researcher needs to be aware of the political nature and influences on the research. For example, this dissertation presents politicized objectives outside of the discourse analysis. To account for the political influences on my dissertation, I have not only presented a particular examination of my own reflexivity, but I have also tried to write in a reflexive manner as a means to temper my conclusions.

These eight characteristics provided the foundation for conducting and presenting my discourse analysis. As a result of using these characteristics as my guide, my interpretation of the public service discourse is more contextualized than it may be otherwise, which provides the reader with a clearer appreciation of my process of analysis as well as my motivations.

2.2.3 Modes of Objectification

As noted in Philips and Hardy's seventh characteristic of discourse analysis, there is no universally accepted protocol for conducting a discourse analysis. In choosing to conduct a discourse analysis, I needed to find a way to organize my approach as well

as ensure that my inquiry would provide a reasonable understanding of the discourse.

In the past, I have been discouraged by the lack of transparency provided in research papers that have used discourse analysis. As such, I decided to use a combination of techniques used in narrative and content analysis (as discussed in Section 2.3) to interrogate the data sources. These provided a more systematic means of retrieving information and are discussed in more detail in the data collection section of this dissertation. I struggled however, with how to organize the information that emerged from the data. That is when I turned to Rabinow's interpretation of Foucault's (1983) modes of objectification.

In 1983, Foucault summarized the "landscape of [his] inquiries" (Madigan, 1992, p. 269) in an afterward he wrote for Dreyfus and Rabinow's book *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*:

I would like to say, first of all, what has been the goal of my work during the last twenty years. It has not been to analyze the phenomena of power, nor to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis.

My objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects. My work has dealt with three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects.

The first is the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of science...the objectivizing the sheer fact of being alive in natural history or biology...In the second part of my work, I have studied the objectivizing of the subject in what I shall call 'dividing practices'. The subject is either divided within himself or divided from others. This process objectifies him. ...Finally, I have sought to study – it is my current work – the way a human being turns him – or herself into a subject. For example, I have chosen the domain of sexuality – how men have learned to recognize themselves as subjects of 'sexuality'. (p. 208)

This self-defined summary of Foucault's work came shortly before his death and as such was not expanded beyond the several paragraphs in the text noted above (Schneck, 1987). This framework, however, has been used by several writers over the past three decades (e.g. Besley, 2002; Curtis & Harrison, 2001; Knights, 1992; Madigan, 1992; Rabinow, 1984; Schneck, 1987; Wilson, 1999). Foucault's summary has been used in different fields and for different purposes. For example in the literature on counseling therapy, two studies evaluated the influence of Foucault's work on Michael White's (1991) therapy technique known as externalizing internalized problem discourse. One (Madigan, 1992) used the modes as a means of explaining how the therapy helps "locate a person's problem experience within the sociopolitical language context in which they live" (p. 269). The other (Besley, 2010)

used the modes to categorize her argument that defended the use and value of the therapy.

Foucault's modes of objectification have also been used in the education literature. Wilson (2010) delivers a conceptual piece that examined "how adult education as a profession uses certain stocks of knowledge and procedures to create discipline subjectivities of dependence" (p. 86). This article uses the categorical apparatus loosely but is more focused on the knowledge and power struggle highlighted in Foucault's work.

The fourth article I found that used Foucault's summary of the modes of objectification was in the management literature. In his article, Knights (1992) calls for management literature to explore how Foucault's modes can be used as a means of problematizing "conventional approaches to the study of management and organizations that have been thought of as informed by a positive epistemology" (Knights, 1992, p. 514). Knights forwards this idea by using the modes of objectification to interrogate Porter's Model of Strategy. He refers to them as not only modes of objectification but as modes of analysis and entitles them 1) representation, 2) dividing practices and 3) subjectification. He calls for the management researchers to consider the modes as means of inquiry.

The final use of Foucault's modes I found that is relevant to this dissertation comes from the nursing literature. The work of Curtis and Harrison (2001) used Foucault's

modes of objectification to conduct a discourse analysis in drug and alcohol treatment centers. Curtis and Harrison (2001) use what they call “a Foucauldian analysis of discourse” and “Foucault’s theory of subjectification” in their study, even though it is important to note that Foucault was very suspicious of “the very word ‘theory’, seeing it as but a covert attempt to stamp the constitution of knowledge with repression by power” (Schneck, 1987, p. 21). He most likely would not have approved of the use of such terminology. However, in their study Curtis and Harrison interviewed both patients and nurses involved in drug and treatment centers and then used a thematic content analysis to derive themes from the transcripts. The themes were then organized using a matrix borrowed from Corbin & Strauss’s (1996) earlier work. The findings from the matrix were then classified based on the three modes. So although this study closely mirrored the approach I had taken, my primary contribution lies in the introduction of this approach to the management literature.

Having encountered the various interpretations of Foucault’s summary, I choose to use Rabinow’s (1984) summary for a couple of reasons. The first is that Rabinow’s description of the modes was the most accessible as far as understanding the meaning and importance of each to the exploration of discourse. The second reason is because of the close relationship between Foucault and Rabinow at the time of these writings. Their close ties, evident in Rabinow’s publication record, provide a sense that Rabinow had a good understanding of what Foucault was trying to accomplish by summarizing his work in such a way.

Rabinow's interpretation of Foucault's three modes of objectification, then, provides not only a means to organize the inquiry into the discourse, but also allowed me to highlight the influence of Foucault's poststructuralist approach to discourse. The three modes of objectification are dividing practices, scientific classification and subjectification. Rabinow (1984) used Foucault's summary of his work as a means of organizing and describing the essence of Foucault's body of work. He used each of the stages or modes that Foucault originally discussed and expanded on how they were each represented in his work.

For my dissertation, I used the three modes as a framework for interrogating my data, my inquiry was directed in such a way that highlighted not only how the discourse was developed but also the power relations that influence and maintain it. Using the modes to frame the discourse analysis provided a tool that allowed me to apply Foucault's theory of power and knowledge to the rupture of the modernization process. The significance of each mode will be discussed in the following three sections. Each section explains how Rabinow connects the mode to Foucault's work and the relevance of each mode to my dissertation.

2.2.3.1 Dividing Practices

Rabinow (1984) describes the dividing practices as "modes of manipulation that combine the mediation of a science (or pseudo-science) and the practice of exclusion – usually in a spatial sense, but always in a social sense" (p. 8). Dividing

practices occur when “the subject is objectified by a process of division either within himself or from others” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 208). Rabinow (1984) notes that this process is most notably found in *Foucault's Madness and Civilization*, *The Birth of the Clinic*, and *Discipline and Punish*.

Starting with *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault, 1965), the notion of separation is distinct. Foucault begins with work on how certain subgroups (lepers, the poor and the insane) were segregated from the population, and follows through with the rise of psychiatry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In each case, there is a separation of categories of people that is highlighted in the discourse of the time. The next piece of Foucault's work in which Rabinow highlights the dividing practices is *The Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault, 1973). There are several divisions highlighted in this work. Through exploring the medical system, there is not only the distinction between the healthy and the sick, but we also see the development of a body of science that is separated and more knowledgeable than the general population. “The domain of its experience and structure of its rationality” (Foucault, 1973, p. xv) separate the medical system from public at large. Finally, in *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1975) we see the same development of separation in his examination of the penal system. Dividing practices are used to shed light on the ‘us and them’ concept through Foucault's notion of the panopticon, which demonstrated the distinction not only in having prisoners physically separated but also in that there is a different set of rights afforded to this group of people.

In the examples of Foucault's work mentioned above, the dividing practices demonstrate how we come to understand and treat different groups of people. They highlight "the objectification of individuals drawn first from a rather undifferentiated mass (e.g., the vagabond populations in Paris in the seventeenth century)," or "from more highly preselected populations (delinquents from working-class quarters)" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 8). Foucault's work also demonstrates "the interconnections of dividing practices with the formation and increasingly sophisticated elaboration of the social sciences" and how "the increasingly efficient and diverse applications of these combined procedures of power and knowledge mainly, although not exclusively, to dominated groups or to groups formed" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 8) create identities for such segments of the population.

Of the three modes of objectification, this first one was what caught my attention. The idea of discursive practices that helped to segregate people into specific groups appeared quite relevant to my desire to understand the public servant as a separate type of employee. Before even starting to investigate the public servant, I was aware of the perceived differences between the public sector and the private sector. To focus on such dividing practices in the discourse would help to explore the identity of the public servant. Additionally, with the neoliberal view endorsed by NPM being focused on reducing the differences between the public and private sectors, it would be of interest to see if the dividing practices had been reduced.

2.2.3.2 Scientific Classification

The next of Foucault's mode described by Rabinow (1984) is scientific classification. The scientific classification in discourse is highlighted by its use in Foucault's *The Order of Things* (2003) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972). "Foucault shows how the discourses of life, labor, and language were structured into disciplines" and how the disciplines progress logically by refining themselves over time (Rabinow, 1984, p. 9). In *The Order of Things*, Foucault stated that his "attention was concentrated mainly on the networks of concepts and their rules of formation as they could be located in General Grammar, Natural History, and Analysis of Wealth" (Foucault, 1972, p. 72). And in *Archaeology of Knowledge* he explored the "history of the conditions necessary for given things, phenomena or people to occur" (Downing, 2008, p. 10) and become privileged.

The networks and rules can be seen as the means of creating legitimacy around the knowledge employed. Although division of fields of study or knowledge is often the result of scientific classification, it is different from dividing practices through the goal of achieving scientific fact or truth. This also appealed to me as a valuable approach to interrogating the discourse. By understanding what networks and rules are privileged in the public service discourse, I gain a further understanding of the public servant as well as the effect of changes to that knowledge base on the identity of the public servant.

2.2.3.3 Subjectification

The third mode is subjectification. Rabinow (1984) credits it as Foucault's "most original contribution...It concerns the way a human being turns him or herself into a subject" (p. 11). In the Howison Lectures, Foucault speaks of the self-formation and how it takes place through "operations on [people's] own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct" (as cited in Rabinow 1984, p. 11).

This last mode highlights Foucault's struggle with the role of agency, a topic that Foucault often discussed in interviews (Kritzman, 1990; Rabinow, 1984) because of how his interpretation and stance on the issue changed over the course of his writing career. Foucault's interpretation of agency can be understood by acknowledging what May (2006) called Foucault's intellectual shifts. These shifts are broken down into three phases (Burrell, 1988; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; May, 2006): the archaeological phase (1961-1969), the genealogical phase (1968/69-1978) and the ethics phase (1978-1984). Foucault rejected the idea that the subject contributed to the formation of knowledge during the first two phases. He expressed the belief that knowledge could not be influenced by the subject but rather by forces outside the individual (May, 2006). Foucault rejects phenomenology's claim that a person's own experience was an important object of investigation (May, 2006). In the final phase, however, the interpretation of the individual has a different role. The individual's ability to interact with or against the discourse is discussed. The individual can, "thanks to thought", make a concerted

effort to work against the traditional expectations of the discourse, but this is thought to take practice and commitment (Veyne, 2010, p. 103).

Foucault's shifting interpretation of the subject over time is well explained by Strozier (2002):

In his archaeological study on knowledge the subject was the individual who was qualified to speak – that is, able to inhabit the slot constituted by the discourse ...; in the genealogical study of powers, it was the individual which was subjected to and constituted by disciplines and practices; the difference The Use of Pleasure introduces is the choice by the individual to constitute itself within an area of freedom beyond the rather rudimentary cultural morality and political ethics,... Foucault also introduces a self-reflexivity which cannot be separated from an inside/outside. (p. 72)

The subject is according to Foucault “an ensemble of complex, staggered elements where you find that institutional game-playing, class relations, professional conflicts, modalities of reason are involved. That is what I have tried to piece back together” (Kritzman, 1990, p. 30).

This final mode also fit with my goals of understanding the public service discourse. I wanted to look at how the individual influenced the discourse as well as how the discourse influenced his or her identity. By using subjectification as a means of

interrogating the discourse I would be able to marry both the historically determined perspective with the individual action that shapes discursive practices. To explore this agency-history intersection, the interviews with the public servants would provide access to the individual public servant narratives and the enrollment in the discourse while the textbook and written materials (complete description of written material is provided in Section 2.3.3) would provide the historical foundations of the discourse. Together, the data sources allow for an understanding of the interplay between the historically determined and the individual will.

2.2.4 Subjectivities

Throughout the literature that either uses or explains Foucault's work, the discussion of subjectivities is presented in a variety of ways. The interpretations could be deemed similar. However, to avoid any misunderstanding of my point of view, I feel it is important to outline my understanding of the concept and how I have used the concept for this dissertation.

In Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1990), he describes the term as a means by which the subject experiences him- or herself in the game of truth to which he or she is involved. The subjectivities define how the individual encounters the discourse. A more concise definition in my view is given by Weedon (1987). She defines the term as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her (his) sense of herself (himself), and her (his) ways of understanding her (his) relation to the world" (Weedon, 1987, p. 19).

Relying on this interpretation of the concept, I use the discourse analysis as a means of surfacing the subjectivities that are used by individuals within the public service to understand their 'game of truth', i.e. their role as a public servant. The themes surfaced throughout my analysis are the subjectivities through which the public servant understands their context.

2.2.5 Summary of Methodology and Methods

This dissertation is a poststructuralist discourse analysis that explores the constitution of the identity of the public servant and the influence of NPM on the public service discourse. The discourse analysis is employed to understand the subjectivities that structure the discursive field. The discourse analysis uses three modes of inquiry based on the work of Foucault. First is the dividing practices used to separate the public servant or public service in general. This analysis will examine how the public service is portrayed as different from the larger population of employed Canadians that would be working in the private or non-profit sectors. I seek to understand 'what have been the premises under which this separation has been created?'

The second is the scientific classification or knowledge that has been created. This highlights the certainties and language that have been created around the idea of the public servant. The ways in which the public service has been enveloped into a separate discipline with its own universals are discussed.

The third and final mode is entitled subjectification. This analysis examines the influence of the individual on the socially constructed discourse. It shows how the individual chooses to perpetuate the public service discourse in spite of changes forwarded by the process of *modernization*.

2.3 Data Collection

The following section outlines the data collection process used for this dissertation. It is my hope that this section will help to overcome the ambiguity that is sometimes associated with critical qualitative research. This section is used to provide transparency to the reader to ensure a complete understanding of the processes involved in developing the dissertation. I will discuss how I gained access to the public servants, how the interviews were conducted, and finally what written materials used in this analysis.

2.3.1 Access to Public Servants

I prepared a proposal and submitted it to the Deputy General of Human Resource Management for Department of National Defense Civilian Division (DNDCiv). Once the proposal was received by this individual, it was passed on to the public relations officers and Treasury Office for consideration. The Treasury Office is connected with all areas of Human Resources within the government, of which DNDCiv is only one department. This is relevant because once the proposal was received; I was in turn asked if I would like to have access to individuals from a variety of departments, not

just those within the DNDCiv department. I accepted this offer and the Treasury Office agreed to provide me with access to people from various aspects of government, including finance, DNDCiv, Treasury Board and Transportation. The generous nature of the individuals involved was an excellent opportunity. I was given access to 13 individuals, documentation used in the implementation of NPM, and employee orientation materials, as well as the opportunity to ask for any other documentation was made available. The individuals were chosen based on a snowball sample. The individual that brought the proposal to the Deputy General recommended someone who would be willing to be interviewed. From that point, I used referrals to find people to volunteer. Individuals were provided with a copy of the consent form (Appendix A) as a means of providing detail of the dissertation. Once the individuals agreed to participate each was asked to fill out the form and send it back to me.

2.3.2 The Interviews

Interviews were conducted with 13 members of the public service from various departments and levels within the structure. The interviews were semi-structured lasting approximately one hour each. Unlike the McCracken long-interview (McCracken, 1988) which is based in a works from a positivist epistemological position, the semi-structured interviews I conducted were done from an anti-positivist position and as such did not follow the guideline forwarded by McCracken (1988). The goal of the interviews was to have them tell their story about what it means to be a public servant, the influences on them as a public servant and their

interpretation of the impact of the *modernization process* on them as public servants. Although most of the conversations flowed quite easily, the following questions were used, on an as needed base, to prompt the discussion (Appendix B).

The interviews were recorded and then transcribed. The transcription noted not only the words chosen, but the pauses, partial words and other sounds. To ensure detail was captured, the transcription was first completed by a professional, and then edited by myself to ensure nothing was lost. Interviewees were also given the opportunity to review the transcript. Interviewees were not coded by name. Each interview transcribe was assigned a code. The code and the individual's information was match together on a separate list so that I could match for demographic information.

The interviews were analyzed using narrative analysis. Narrative analysis was chosen as a first step to bring out the individual or personal narratives of the public servants (Mishler, 1986, as cited in Bryman & Bell, 2007, p.541). Similar to Miller (2000, as cited in Bryman & Bell, 2007, p.543) interviewees were asked to discuss life stories to help elicit their perspective. The narratives were used to "Connect 'microevents' to broader discourses as a way to show how narratives ...construct social experience" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 9) and organizational phenomena (Czarniawska, 1999).

The narrative themes were then subjected to a content analysis to aid in the understanding of the overall context. As elaborated by Phillips & Hardy (2002), content analysis “not in terms of a mechanistic counting but in a more interpretive form, can be used to connect textual content to broader discursive contexts”(p. 9). This method can be useful in the analysis of semi-structured interviews (Bryman, Bell, Mills, & Yue, 2011) because “this systematic and replicable technique allows for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding in order to allow researchers to make inferences about the author (individuals, groups, organizations, or institutions), the audience, their culture and time” (Stan, 2010, p. 227).

After interrogating the interviews for themes, a list of key words related to the themes was compiled. The interviews were then coded into sections based on the presence of specific words and phrases. This helped me to see the extent to which the themes were present in the narrative and if they could be considered subjectivities. The content analysis was added to the overall method to help provide a fuller understanding of what was and was not present in the narratives.

Once the narrative themes were supplemented with the content analysis, I used the modes of objectification to interpret the themes. The modes helped me to apply Foucault’s theory of how power and knowledge work through discourse to the themes that were surfaced through my analysis. The result was ten subjectivities that highlighted the role of power in the discourse of the public servant.

2.3.3 Textbooks and other written materials

In addition to the interview materials, there were a variety of texts that were used in this study. The materials included 15 public administration textbooks (Appendix C), the Public Service Employment Act (PSEA), the Public Service Labour Relations Act (PSLRA), the amended Financial Administration Act (FAA), the Canadian Centre for Management Development Act (CCMDA), reports on the commencement, development and review of the Public Service Renewal Process (PSRP), and websites pertaining to the PSRP and employment orientation with the government.

Using content analysis the texts were used to explain the discursive practices highlighted by the narrative analysis conducted on the interviews. The other texts provide the historical context for the discourse analysis.

2.4 Reflexivity

The epistemological foundation of this dissertation calls for a review and understanding of the role of reflexivity. The research and my influence on it is not something that can be separated (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). It is imperative that I demonstrate an understanding that a thinker's "time and his [sic] time's ideas" influence research outcomes (Kazantzakis, 2007, p. 1). I have tried to achieve this in two ways: 1) I allow my voice to come through in the analysis so that one may

understand my influence and 2) in the following section I provide a general overview of my perspective and influence on the entire dissertation.

My initial interest in this dissertation was focused on looking at the notion of the public servant and the differences in discourse between the public service and the private sector. I had look to further Jacques work (1996) be introducing a separate type of employee. However, after speaking with one of the employees that worked at DND Civ; I had learned that the government was currently undertaking a *modernization process*. This process had been implemented in phases and it was felt that the changes were not all positive. This change in context felt like a good opportunity to understand the public servant and perhaps foster an understanding of the impact of the *modernization*.

A significant struggle throughout the dissertation has been remaining aware of my preconceived notions of public servants. This struggle is produced by a variety of different factors. The first influencing factor is that I have a deep admiration for people that serve their country, whether it is through the delivery of mail or service as a member of the military. Of the many traditions that have encouraged this admiration, most prominent was my family's ritualistic observance of Remembrance Day. It was a time to give thanks to those that put their country first. The second influencing factor is that many of the major figures that I have valued in my life have been public servants. These two factors create a desire to speak of public servants and their work in a favourable manner because with respect comes

the desire not to offend individuals. The struggle created by these influences impacts my ability to look at the research material and allow it to speak to me, rather than find what it is that I think I should find.

In addition to my preconceived notions as a potential influence there is also the issue of my relationship to one of the Organizational Development (OD) specialists currently involved in the transformation process of the HR Civilian Division of the Department of National Defence. My sister has been involved with this process for two years now and has a strong presence throughout the country dealing with many different individuals. My sister helped provide me with access to the Treasury Board. Also, several of the public servants who I eventually interviewed either knew her or knew of her. I believe that there is both a positive and a negative aspect to this situation. The positive aspect is that I was granted access that I may not have otherwise been able to obtain while the negative aspect is the possibility that the conversations that arose out of the interview process may have been influenced by my situation.

The final issue I want to address is my perspective on the research process. Knights (1992, p. 515) noted “whether quantitative or qualitative methods are used, representational approaches to knowledge production rest on a privileging of the consciousness of the researcher who is deemed capable of discovering the ‘truth’ about the world of management and organization through a series of representations”. I find this quote appealing because it speaks to both what my

work entails and what it does not. What I produce in this dissertation privileges my consciousness. That is, for me, unavoidable. The difference however, is that I am not seeking 'truth' but acknowledge this contribution to knowledge as merely a representation. A representation, however, that I understand closes off alternatives and narrows the possibilities of how the public service is understood (Brewis, 2004).

The other distinction I would like to make about my research approach speaks to how I view the historical component of this dissertation. Foucault described his work on madness as a way of looking at the historical happenings to see how events and practices were organized into something called madness instead of looking at his research as a historical exploration of the term madness (Senellart, 2008). Adopting this nuanced difference helped me avoid universal truths while trying to understand the discourse.

2.5 Conclusion

Working from a poststructuralist perspective, I conducted a discourse analysis using a Foucauldian influenced framework of three modes of objectification; dividing practices, scientific classification and subjectification. I use Rabinow's interpretation of Foucault's modes of objectification as a means of structuring the analysis of materials from three main sources: interviews with public servants working at the Federal level of government, public administration textbooks and other written

materials including government websites and *modernization process* specific documents. The structure provided by using the modes of objectification helped to highlight the role of power and knowledge within the analysis.

Before exploring the results of my analysis, the next chapter will discuss the *modernization process* in the Canadian context. This discussion will highlight the role of NPM in the *modernization process*. This will provide a foundational knowledge to help contextualize the discourse analysis discussed in chapters four, five and six. The review will explore the development of NPM from the mid-1900s through to the 2000s, focusing on countries that are of similar in governmental structure.

Chapter 3 – New Public Management (NPM) and Modernization of the Canadian Public Service

3.1 Introduction

As stated, the goal of this dissertation is to explore how the identity of the public servant and the public service discourse has been influenced by NPM via the *modernization process*. The public servant is a subject created through a discourse of the public service that is socially constructed (Thomas & Davies, 2005). This discourse is fluid and influenced by external discursive practices that are introduced into the discourse (Acker, 1990). For example, in exploring the Canadian Public Service, the academic literature speaks of how the *modernization process* is heavily influenced by NPM (Aucoin, 1995; Bonina & Cordella, 2008; Borins, 1995; Minguo, 2007) which itself can be considered a discourse (Thomas & Davies, 2005). In order to explore the influence of the *modernization process* on the public servant, I will first derive a clear understanding of the discourse that is driving the changes. To that end, this chapter discusses the discursive practices that shape the NPM discourse and in turn the *modernization process*.

Even though this chapter will focus on how NPM influenced the *modernization process* in the Canadian context, it is important to recognize the limitation of such a view. For example, such an approach ignores other factors that have influenced change in the public service over the past thirty years, e.g., technology (Bekkers & Homburg, 2007; Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow, & Tinkler, 2005) the charter of human

rights (Morgan, 1988; Morton & Pal, 1985), immigration (Boyd & Vickers, 2000) and entrepreneurship (Glover, 1999). NPM, however, has been hailed as the most influential catalyst for the philosophical and practical changes undertaken through the *modernization process* (Mingus, 2007). Consequently, for the purpose of this dissertation, I will focus on the influence of NPM on the public service.

NPM's role in the modernization process and the significance of these changes is discussed in five sections. Section 3.2 will look at the development of the NPM discourse throughout Commonwealth Countries and the United States of America from the mid-1900s through to present day. This section will provide the philosophical ideas that led to the development of NPM as a paradigm shifting theory of public management. Section 3.3 explores the economic and social roots of the NPM based on literature from a variety of countries including the United Kingdom, New Zealand, the United States and Canada. Section 3.4 discusses the private versus public service distinction made in the literature as it pertains to NPM. Section 3.5 highlights the similarities and differences in context between Canada and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom was chosen specifically because it is credited as having had the most significant impact on the Canadian context (Clark, 2002). Section 3.6 reflects on scholarly debates that have influenced the discourse of NPM especially within the Canadian context. This shows how the literature portrays both the positive and negative aspects of the implementation of the *modernization process*. Finally, section 3.7 explores specific discussions of NPM in regard to the public servant. This section considers how changes influenced by NPM

have affected positions, procedures and working environments of the public servant.

3.2 Introduction of NPM

The concept of NPM was introduced as a managerial philosophy to promote a new professionalism in government (Aucoin, 1990; duGay, 1996; Halford & Leonard, 1999; Hood, 1991; Pollitt, 1990b; Thomas & Davies, 2005). The movement toward NPM is commonly thought to have originated in the early 1980s, with some aspects considered to have started much earlier (Aucoin, 1990; Hood, 1990; Mingus, 2007; Pollitt, 1990a). The term New Public Management, however, was not introduced until 1991 by Christopher Hood (Aucoin, 1995). Hood did not develop a single definition of NPM but rather a means of consider a variety of ideological changes that were influencing government. He summarized them into seven doctrinal components (see figure 3.1) to encompass the shift of practice within the public service (Hood, 1991). For example, the NPM doctrine supported ideas such as accountingization (Power & Laughlin, 1992), privatization (Hawksworth & Kogan, 1992), governance (Ewalt, 2001) and the New Right (Bogdnor, 1987). In stark contrast to predictions made in the late 1940s and early 1950s of the increasing importance and growth of the public sector (Burnham, 1942; Schumpeter, 1950), these shifts were introduced as a way to drastically altering the function and importance of the public sector and the public administration as a field of study (Hood, 1995b).

As NPM gained momentum in the academic literature it became viewed as more than just another management philosophy. People started to consider it a discourse that had implications for research, teaching and practice (Thomas & Davies, 2005). NPM has also been referred to as a movement (Dent, Chandler, & Barry, 2004) and a paradigm shift (Haque, 2007) in the field of public administration.

Figure 3.1 – Doctrinal Components of New Public Management

No.	Doctrine	Meaning	Typical Justification
1	“Hands-on professional management” in public sector	Active, visible, discretionary control of organizations from named persons at the top, “Free to Manage”	Accountability requires clear assignment of responsibility for action, not diffusion of power
2	Explicit standards and measures of performance	Definition of goals, targets, indicators of success, preferably expressed in quantitative terms, especially for professional services (c.f. Day and Klein 1987; Carter 1989)	Accountability requires clear statement of goals; efficiency requires ‘hard look’ at objectives
3	Greater emphasis on output controls	Resource allocation and rewards linked to measured performance; breakup of centralized bureaucracy-wide personnel management	Need to stress results rather than procedures
4	Shift to disaggregation of units in the public sector	Break up of formerly ‘monolithic’ units, unbundling of U-form management systems into corporatized units around products, operating on decentralized ‘one-line’ budgets and dealing with one another on an ‘arms-length’ basis	Need to create ‘manageable’ units, separate provision and production interests, gain efficiency advantages of use of contract or franchise arrangements inside as well as outside the public sector
5	Shift to greater competition in public sector	Move to term contracts and public tendering procedures	Rivalry as the key to lower costs and better standards
6	Stress on private sector styles of management practice	Move away from military-style ‘public service ethic’, greater flexibility in hiring and rewards; greater use of PR techniques	Need to use ‘proven’ private sector management tools in the public sector
7	Stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use	Cutting direct costs, raising labour discipline, resisting union demands, limiting ‘compliance costs’ to business	Need to check resource demands of public sector and ‘do more with less’

Source: Hood, 1991, p. 4

As an illustration of how doctrinal components of NPM were adopted, one can consider the notions of accountingization and privatization. Accountingization is a term that was used to describe the shift to public accountability in public administration (Jan, 2005). It was a means of using accounting measures, described by Ezzamel et al. (2004, p. 147) as the “provision of information about the financial position, performance and adaptability of an enterprise that is useful to a wide range of potential users in making economic decisions. In operational terms, this includes all types of financial information and budgets, as well as wider, non-financial, performance measures.”

The type of accountability fostered by accountingization differed from the Progressive Public Administration (PPA) which emerged in the late 19th and early 20th century that focused more on procedural accountability instead of financial accountability (Jan, 2005).

The procedural accountability of PPA was based on two basic tenets. The first was that the public sector needed to be distinct from the private sector “in terms of continuity, ethos, methods of doing business, organizational design, people, rewards and career structure” (Hood, 1995a, p. 94). The second was the need to have safeguards in place that were based on procedures and rules that would prevent corruption and favouritism. These two tenants formed both high-trust and low-trust relationships among departments, politician and public servants. The high-trust

agreements fostered cooperation that was considered low-cost, but never financially accounted for, while the low-trust relationships resulted in the need for elaborate records and audits. Under NPM, the two basic tenets of PPA were reversed aspiring for a different type of accountability. The basis of NPM, then, was to lessen the differences between the private and public sectors and emphasize accountability in terms of results rather than in terms of process accountability.

Another movement that has been adopted as part of the NPM doctrine was privatization. This movement advocated reducing the role of government or “transferring government enterprise or assets to the private sector” (Hawksworth & Kogan, 1992, p. 821). The rhetoric used to support privatization included a lengthy list of objectives: reduce government expenditures, raise efficiency, improve quality and responsiveness, increase government revenues, broaden ownership of economic assets, decentralize the economy, accelerate economic development, attract new investment, satisfy foreign lenders, and gain popular support (Hawksworth & Kogan, 1992, p. 829). These objectives were sought after using a variety of methods of privatization as demonstrated in Figure 3.2, each of which reduced government involvement in services provided to the public. As a movement in the United Kingdom and the United States, privatization was heavily supported respectively by the Thatcher and Reagan administrations in the late 1970s through the 1980s.

Figure 3.2 – Forms of Privatization

Type of Privatization	Transaction Type	Transactional Variations
By Divestment	Sale	A) to private buyer B) to public C) to employees D) to users or customers
	Free Transfer	A) to employees B) to users or customers C) to public D) to prior owner
	Liquidation	
By Delegation	Contract	
	Franchise	A) Public Domain (concessions) B) Public Asset (lease)
	Grant	
	Voucher	
	Mandate	
By Displacement	Default	
	Withdrawal	
	Deregulation	

Source: Savas, 1987, as cited in Hawksworth & Kogan, 1992, p. 822

During the 1980s there was some consensus among OCED country leaders about what was wrong with the civil or public service, it was the means of dealing with the issues that varied (Pollitt, 1995). Similarly, even though NPM was heralded as the new face of public administration that could address the need for change in the public sector, there was no consensus on what that new face would look like or how one would go about pursuing it (Hood & Peters, 2004; Kearney & Hays, 1998; Lane, 2000).

Regardless of the consensus on the definition, “market-driven functionality, ownership and managerial autonomy” (Mingus, 2007, p. 4) were thought to be the heart of the motivation behind the NPM discourse. Similar to corporatization the value system motivating NPM was portrayed as one that resulted in privatization of services, reduced regulation, increased accountability, increased efficiency and an

increased focus on outcome measures (Bilodeau, et al., 2006). These ideas can be traced back to Adam Smith's 1776 (2000) concept of the 'invisible hand' that discusses how a market fuelled by competition among sellers and buyers based on their own best interest will lead to the efficient allocation of goods. As a result of this way of framing the public service, some countries moved to privatize all but imperative services such as foreign affairs, judicial systems and national defense.

These changes were justified by the notion that the values of the government and the values of society needed to be aligned. In a society where individualism and the free market were valued, it was believed that the governance of a country needed to balance the values of individualism and the free market with "the essential mind-set that government ought to exist to serve the needs of society or to serve the public interest" (Mingus, 2007, p. 2). The management philosophy of NPM was introduced to help establish this balance.

The concepts at the foundation of NPM have held various titles throughout its development in the field of public administration including corporatization and *modernization*. The ideas were popular in the literature throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Then during the late 1990's, the popularity seemed to decrease but re-emerged in the early 2000s. They are thought to have resurfaced as a result of increased global competition and rapid technological advancement which placed more pressure on the governments to be in line with the public's supposed concerns and values.

The scope of the influence of NPM has been significant in that it touched all areas of government. In Canada, the trajectory of change included finance (budgets, accounts and audits), personnel (recruitment, posting, remuneration), organization (specialization, scale and (de)centralization), and performance measurement systems (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). All areas of government operations have been subject to review, restructuring and at times elimination. The objective was to reduce the costs and identify where economies could be released to make the operation more efficient by forcing governments to look to find ways to be able to mimic private industry because of its supposedly superior attributes.

The development and adoption of NPM, then, has led to changes in the discourse of the public service. Through the adoption of values, processes, and procedures the discursive practices that enforce NPM act to modify the everyday experience and identity of the public servant.

3.3 The Impetus of NPM

In the period after WWII (1939-1945), the work of British economist John Maynard Keynes became popular in Western governments (Senellart, 2008). In a time of “reconstruction, that is to say, the conversion of a war economy back into a peace economy” (Senellart, 2008, p. 79), government leaders turned to Keynesian economics in an attempt to stabilize free markets. The onset of embedded liberalism

was considered the Golden Age of prosperity (1945-1970s). The economic landscape, however, went through turbulence in the 1970s and 1980s that appeared to change socio-political opinion on the role of government influence in economic affairs and social security. Events, such as the 1973/79 oil crises, which is considered to have had the largest impact on the economies of Britain, Canada, US, Japan (Ikenberry, 1986; Johnson, 1980) since the Great Depression, brought about regulations like the Emergency Highway Energy Act in 1974 and price control on domestic oil. Other events such as the 1980s Savings and Loan Crisis, which developed in part as a result of the 1986 Tax Reform (Hung & Cebula, 1992); the Stock Market Crash of the early 70's stemming from the oil embargo of 1973 (Ikenberry, 1986); and eventually the financial crisis of Black Monday in October of 1987 (Browning, 2007) were also considered to have had a significant impact on the economic landscape and are just some of the economic events that encouraged Western countries to reconsider the role of government.

The economic crisis now known as the 'Savings and Loan crisis' or 'S&L Crisis,' is an example of an economic event that shook the confidence of many countries. It sparked an increased desire to ensure that tax dollars were being spent effectively and that the bureaucratic nature of governments was held accountable to the public. Other concerns surrounded Western social values. The values of a society are the beliefs that inform preferred behaviour or norms. The notion of professionalism encapsulated many of the values important to the public including "loyalty, neutrality, transparency, assiduity, punctuality, efficiency and impartiality" (Kamto,

1997, p. 298). It was argued however, that governments were failing to embrace these values.

As early as the 1960s the bureaucratic nature of the government was seen as problematic. A system that prides itself on features such as rules, division of labour, hierarchy, decisions made by technical and legal rules, administration based on files and an administration seen as a vocation (Gerth & Mills, 1958) was discussed as unfavourable in the academic literature. In the book *Modern Organization*, Thompson (1961) characterized the bureaucratic structure as suffering from 'bureaupathetic' activities. Large bureaucracies he claimed can be faulted for "excessive aloofness, ritualistic attachment to routines and procedures, and resistance to change; and associated with these patterns is a petty insistence upon rights of authority and status" (p. 152). Into the late 1970s and the 1980s this perception of government's operational inefficiency was gaining momentum alongside the growing popularity of neo-liberalism.

The growth of neo-liberalism spotlighted the role of government. The idea that governments needed to unshackle corporations and allow the reestablishment of the free market was seen as a positive solution to the economic and social crises of the time. In addition to reactions to the economic issues, during the early 1980s, Canada, Britain and the United States were all led by conservative leaders (Brian Mulroney – Progressive Conservative Party, Margaret Thatcher – Conservative Party, Ronald Reagan – Republican Party, respectively). The many similarities

between these leaders (Savoie, 1994), included being seen as responding to what Milton Friedman (2004, p. A8) called a trend “of galloping socialism.” Of specific relevance to the development of NPM, the philosophy and actions of the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, commonly termed Thatcherism, valued the reduction of taxes, the reduction of union power and the free market. Thatcherism is often compared to Reaganism or Reaganomics , which valued the limiting of non-defence government spending in an effort to reduce taxes and the size of the government (Friedman, 2004). Additionally terms such as ‘The New Right’ or ‘Neo Conservatism’ have been used when discussing the movements during the Reagan and Thatcher administrations.

To adjust to political philosophies of the time, the public/civil servants were required to examine the way they did business. The government of Britain, Canada and the US began to adopt the principles of NPM. The concept of NPM was seen to be a fresh approach to management that would address concerns of ineffective bureaucracies. NPM was attractive because it was “designed to inculcate new attitudes, values, priorities and self-understanding among these (public servants) professionals” (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p. 685; see also duGay, 1996).

3.4 The Private/Public Service Debate

As one of the consistent themes of different interpretations of NPM, managerialism or corporatization is put forth as a standard to which the Public Service should

strive. This section looks at how notions of free-market capitalism and privatization, along with learning to focus on the bottom line, have become seen as superior benefits offered by the private sector. I provide insight into why private practices have become a model for the public sector.

In pursuit of becoming more market-driven there were many scholars and practitioners that turned to the private sector for guidance and exemplars. As described by Perry and Kraemer (1983), "Public management is a merger of normative orientation of traditional public administration and the instrumental orientation of general management" (p. x). In both the study and practice of public administration, however, the private sector became an ideal for how the public administration should conduct itself (Hood, 1991).

An examination of the academic literature (research papers and textbooks) in the field of public administration demonstrates that researchers and publishers adopted many theories in areas such as motivation, leadership, and organizational climate and control that have been developed for the private sector. Although many such theories are deemed to be psychologically based and therefore should hold in diverse environments, the difficulty arises from ignoring the context in which, for example, leadership research takes place. For example, the diffuse power structure of government does not allow for the same type of leadership relationship with employees that would occur in the private sector (Collins, 2005). In spite of this, the popularity of business practices has become privileged in public administration

education, as evidenced by Public Administration programs being brought into many business schools because of the increasing similarities of education goals and curriculum (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000).

Aside from the study of public administration, the practice of public administration was also influenced by the introduction of the processes of 'privatization' (i.e., the selling off of government owned enterprises – known as Crown Corporations in the Canadian context – to private concerns). As an example there was deregulation of monopolistic industries that were viewed as not serving the public's best interest. The deregulation of the telephone industry in Canada is considered by some to be one of the positive transformations (Mingus, 2007). This provided customers with a wider variety of options and forced efficiencies that were not being realized. Another example of such deregulation occurred when the State of Michigan privatized the only company in the US capable of producing the Anthrax vaccine. It was thought that this was a way to reduce expenditures at the time. However, after the terror attacks of 2001, it was decided that such an arrangement was bad public policy (Johnson, 2001).

Another trend in the reform process was to investigate the inputs and outputs of each governmental department. The idea was that by understanding the inputs and outputs it would be easier to identify efficiencies. As an example, "The outputs (or work) of police officers are the radio calls answered, beats walked, tickets written, accidents investigated, and arrests made. The outcomes (or results) are the changes,

if any, in the level of safety, security, order, and amenity in the community” (Wilson, 1989, p. 158). The difficulty with such an approach is found in the objective and subjective nature of the elements being considered. The treatment of each unit as a production agent led to the need to have observable measures even when observable measures were not readily available. In some cases, this led to a blurring of management responsibilities. With the focus on production, corruption increases with the need to make the numbers look good (Gregory, 1995).

Even though processes used by the private sector were and still are considered more efficient and effective, its instrumental and functional orientation to complete work as quickly, cheaply and effectively as possible was and is still at odds with public sector values (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). The values of democracy, equity and community along with the presence of formal constraints, political influences, monopolistic activities, and public scrutiny, are thought to become issues ignored by reform (Boston, Martin, Pallot, & Walsh, 1996). These differences in context between the private and the public sector were considered, as early as the 1990s, to be a cause for sufficient concern when considering managerial practices (Tellier, 1997).

The move to ignore the hindrances and to treat both public and private sectors the same is rooted in the long standing belief by social science scholars and practitioners alike that somehow the private sector is superior to the public sector (Mingus, 2007; Yoon, 1968). The private sector value of focusing on the bottom-line

has become widely adopted. The more the organization focuses on the bottom-line the more efficient and effective the organizational structure will become. This in turn is thought to lead to the better use of taxpayers' money and resources.

The argument against an adoption of New Public Management doctrines comes from the many differences in the mandates and responsibilities of the two types (viz. private and public) of organizations. While management in business is focused on the bottom line, management in government is arguably focused on the top line, which means a focus on service provision and worrying about the costs later (Wilson, 1989). "When private sector managers are making decisions with resolutions that are black and white, the resolution for the public servant is most often grey. Decision-makers are not chief executive officers but ministers, who must balance a thousand factors that have nothing to do with a statement of profit and loss" (Tellier, 1997, p. 129). To some, exposing the public sector to market forces and "the critical scrutiny of a new breed of born-again-managers" does not benefit the government but rather creates a more stressful environment (Chandler, et al., 2002, p. 1052).

As a result of these concerns, NPM did not encounter as much success as first anticipated (Hood & Peters, 2004). The adoption of business practices has been seen to have promoted isomorphism and conformity rather than the sort of radical innovation that deviates substantially from how organizations already operate (Frederickson, 2003). These concerns influenced the adoption and strength of the

NPM as the new discourse of government. Over time, however, the NPM discourse as the driver underlying change strengthened. This can be seen, for example, in Bilodeau, Lauring and Vining's (2006) study of 11 transformations in the Canadian context, which demonstrated that cost efficiency, employee productivity and overall financial health improved once the change was in place.

The new face of NPM or what some have called the post-NPM (Kearney & Hays, 1998) literature, has sought to stop underestimating the differences in a pursuit of change. For example, popular press writers embraced the differences to help try to guide government to change (Collins, 2005). This continued path of trying to realize a new form of management has had difficult turns and struggles.

3.5 The British Influence

Although the impact of NPM has been widespread, found in many OECD countries like Australia and New Zealand (Lawton, 2004), the approach to *modernization* in the Canadian Public Service has been tightly linked to the introduction of NPM in the United Kingdom (Clark, 2002). This dissertation deals with the Canadian environment, however, because reforms in both countries have had close ties to NPM and to each other (Clark, 2002). As a result, it is important to look at the British context as it pertains to the Canadian government.

There is a large body of literature on New Public Management; however, research conducted in the Canadian context is not abundant. Considering this dissertation is conducted in the Canadian context, I believe it is important to understand the differences between Canada and the countries in which most of the NPM research has been conducted. For example, what makes the experience in the Canadian context vary from that of the British context?

The connections between the Canadian and British contexts are not surprising. As a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, the influence of the United Kingdom is still felt in many aspects of Canadian governance, not least of which is the presence of the Queen's representative, the Governor General. Although mostly considered a ceremonial role, there are still some executive powers held by the position.

The British and Canadian governments' approach to NPM has been similar in that they adopted the values of NPM and set forth to find means of reforming the current structure. The similarities lie in the neoliberal approach of "deficit reduction or elimination, managing reduced program spending, market approaches to resource allocation and service delivery" (Clark 2002, p.772). There were, however, some significant differences in the two countries' reform process that need consideration as these add to the heterogeneity of the discourse of NPM, and aid us in understanding its constitution.

The Canadian approach differs from the British approach in a number of ways (Clark, 2000). The first was the “the growth of rights-based ‘Charter politics’ following incorporation of bills of rights into the Canadian [environment]..., which lessens deference to elites and governments” (p. 790). This approach considered the democratization of constitutional politics (Aucoin, Jarvis, & Turnbull, 2011) was not as much of an issue for the government of the United Kingdom.

The second difference between the United Kingdom and Canada is the “the tension between territorial and neoliberal politics in the contemporary restructuring of the Canadian welfare state” (Clark, 2000, p. 791). Banting (2006) describes the tension as one between citizenship and federalism. For Banting (2006), the differences lie in the logic of federalism and the logic of citizenship. In explaining the Canadian context, Banting (2006) uses the example of a sick baby. The logic of citizenship is that a baby receives the same treatment anywhere in the country. The logic of federalism is that its treatment can and perhaps should be different, depending on where the baby’s parents live. Banting (2006) and others (e.g., Jeffery 2006, 2009) suggest that citizens of Canada prefer uniformity.

Among researchers, the current status and impact of NPM is debated. Some would say that NPM has peaked and is now in decline (Hughes, 2003), others claim it is in the “middle ages” (Hood and Peters 2004), while others still would consider it to be “dead” (Dunleavy et al., 2006). Nonetheless, the discourse of NPM, regardless of the

name given to the change process, is still prominent in many countries including Canada.

3.6 Implementation of NPM in Canada

Prior to the renewal or *modernization process* by the Canadian government, there were some important changes taking place in how the government conducted services that influenced the adoption of NPM. One such change occurred in the office of the Auditor General. From the beginning of the Government of Canada in 1867, there was one body that was responsible for ensuring efficiencies, the Auditor General. The office of the Auditor General was formed in 1870 as a means of holding government and its programs accountable to the public. Then in the early 1900s there was the introduction of the Public Service Commission to address the needs of public servants. The Auditor General measured programs based on traditional accounting and financial measures, and the Public Service Commission was employed to ensure the accountability of the individuals working within the public service.

As the development of both the academic disciplines of management and public administration grew, the need to understand quality as well as accountability became an issue for government. There were two things that occurred in the 1960s to encourage the review of how the public service audited its programs and

departments: the increase in government size and the outspoken nature of the Auditor General, Maxwell Henderson.

The first catalyst was the increased size of the public service, which occurred after World War II (WWII). The government played a larger role in the economy and as such there was a demand to fill professional, technical and clerical positions. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission (CSC; now Public Service Commission or PSC) declared that CSC's "basic function was to enforce economy in government spending" (PSC, 2010, p. 1).

The government's expansion meant that individuals returning from the war were given positions in a variety of departments at federal, provincial and municipal levels. Veterans were also given the opportunity to have a free university education, which increased the education level of many people entering or in the public service. Changes in immigration and citizenship were occurring at the same time. In 1947, the Canadian Citizenship Act was introduced. Under the guidance of Prime Minister MacKenzie King the government implemented policy to increase the population through deliberate immigration. Between the years of 1947-1953, more than 165,000 people entered Canada and became Canadian Citizens (Greene, 1976). These changes meant an increase in the services provided and consequently, an increase in the presence of the public service.

By the 1960s the size of the government was beginning to be questioned. The effectiveness of its dealings in the economy and in the lives of Canadians was beginning to be more seriously examined. Government figures, such as Maxwell Henderson, the Auditor General from 1960-73, were encouraging the public to seek out more accountability from the government. Unlike his predecessors, Henderson was known for being outspoken about the efficiencies of government programs and spending practices. In 1962, his office introduced new measures for auditing that went beyond efficient spending to look at quality. The outspoken nature of Henderson led Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to bring forward legislation in 1969 to try to hinder Henderson's inquiries. However, public opposition led to the legislation being shelved (Greene, 2011).

One of the activities that transpired while Henderson was in power were a Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Report) in 1962, which led to the Treasury Board directing all government agencies to begin regular monitoring and evaluation of programs. In addition, planning and programming budgeting became mandated. These changes were a means of showing that the government was accountable to the public. These measures were then formalized into the Operational Performance Measurement System that was rolled out in 1973. This broad systems approach was supposed to force agencies and departments to become more accountable and defend actions in terms of cost-benefit analysis.

A Royal Commission on Financial Management and Accountability reported in 1979 that there was still much that needed to be done. It argued that with new technologies advancements could be made to ensure proper monitoring. In 1981, of the 58 agencies only 12 were found to have adequate program evaluation measures. This conclusion echoed the findings of the 1979 Commission that called for more action.

The 1980s brought a plethora of evaluation measures and programs that could be used to ensure efficient governance. Textbooks, journals, academic courses and consulting firms all introduced program evaluation as an important notion that needed to be addressed. The evaluation process became so prevalent that this time period became known as the “golden age” of evaluation (Rossi & Wright, 1984) and led to the formation of the Canadian Evaluation Society in 1981. Former public servants were leaders in the evaluation consulting industry in Canada and the dollars spent on evaluation increased substantially as a result (Greene, 2011).

As a newly elected government, Mulroney’s Conservatives took a new approach to accountability in the government. In 1985 the Conservative Government put together the Nielsen Task Force, named for the Deputy Prime Minister in charge. The task force was assembled in order to bring together members of both the private and public sectors to discuss over 1000 government programs (Lindquist, 1997). Although the task force was not seen as making a significant difference after presenting its report in 1986, it was considered the start of a new form of

skepticism towards the provision of government programs and an early sign of the introduction of NPM values. The task group was looking for effective ways of ensuring accountability yet program evaluation was not on their list of useful tools. Ian Greene, an academic present at a meeting with the members of the task force asked how important a role the program evaluations played in their decisions to make cuts. The response he received was that they had little to do with their process. “The report of the Task Force stated blatantly that ‘many study teams reported that routine government program evaluations were generally useless and inadequate’” (Greene, 2011. para 17).

The concepts at the foundation of NPM are thought to have gone through various stages of development in many of the Commonwealth countries (Lindquist 1997, Hood & Peters 2004) but in Canada the Nielson Task Force appears to be the formal introduction of the concept. Lindquist (1997) describes the public service reforms that took place in the 1980’s at both the provincial and federal level as broadly managerialist. And then in the 1990’s, the federal government was inundated with restructuring as governments actively tried to bring deficits and debt under control. The result was program cutbacks, downsizing of the public sector employees, deregulation of certain sectors and load shedding from federal to provincial governments (Clark, 2002).

“Tensions between the retrenchment and managerialist agendas can be traced back to the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, whose election in 1984

coincided with a deepening crisis in public finance resulting from the economic recession of the early 1980s. This marked the starting point for a series of attempts at downsizing the state and its administration after 40 years of state expansion” and continued with the first government of Jean Chrétien (Clark 2002, p. 782).

Much of the literature on the introduction of NPM during the Mulroney administration claims that the reform initiatives were designed to increase resource flexibilities. For example, the creation of the Special Operating Agencies in the mid-1980s was “mandated with finding economical, efficient and effective ways to run government” (Clark 2002, p. 781).

In response to the concerns of the Nielsen Task Force, the government introduced the Public Service 2000 (PS 2000) exercise in 1990. It was introduced with the purpose of creating a more “people-, results-, and service-oriented management culture” (Clark 2002, p. 782). This was considered in the literature to be the start of the paradigm shift toward NPM for the Canadian Government.

When the government changed from Conservative to Liberal, under Jean Chretien, the exercise continued. However, by 1994, deficit concerns were given priority over what was considered the humanist agenda of the PS2000. A review of the program in 1994 “paved the way for major spending reductions involving extensive public service downsizing, large cuts in federal funding for provincial education, health and

welfare programs (in exchange for more provincial control of programs) and the information of alternative service delivery systems (ASD)” (Clark 2002, p. 783).

The budget surplus of 1998-1999 was seen by government as a success. However, it led to concern for the public service in the post-deficit mandate of the government and the “quiet crisis” within the public service (Pal, 1998), most notable of which was an increase in social policy spending. This then led to the Social Union Framework Agreement (similar to that introduced by the British Government of Tony Blair), which involved framing policy initiatives in terms of a more inclusive discourse of public service reform (Clark 2002).

The 1980s reform movements are described in the literature as demoralizing to Canadian public servants. In Thatcher’s campaign rhetoric, she discussed the need to “deprivilege the civil service” and ensure that political officials were not being “educated” by senior permanent officials (Hennessey, 1989, p. 628). The civil or public service “was accused of being bloated, expensive, a creation of routine deliberately resistant to changes and largely incapable of dealing with new challenges” (Peters & Savoie, 1994, p. 419). As for the campaign rhetoric in Canada, candidates all expressed that they would manage government in a more productive and efficient manner (Laundry, 1993). As a result, the public sector restructuring of the 1990’s was seen to have fundamentally changed the expectations and career trajectories of public servants.

The conventional understandings of 'career public service' have been torn asunder, with public servants no longer believing that steady and even exemplary performance will necessarily be rewarded with promotions or salary increases (Lindquist, 1998). Public servants now take up training, developments and promotion opportunities less with an eye towards furthering careers in a public service, and more towards maximizing career prospects in the private or non-profit sectors. (Lindquist, 1997, p. 57)

A significant amount of work has looked at the overall impact of reform on the Canadian Public Service operations (i.e. Aucoin, 1995, 2008; Mingus, 2007), especially during the 1980s and 1990s; a time known as a "period of dramatic transformation right across the public sector, with fundamental implications for structures, cultures and practices of its constituent sub-sectors and individual organizations" (Halford & Leonard, 1999, p. 3).

"Considerable public sector reform has occurred, but, beyond pointing to the bottom line, Canadian governments seem unable to convey the extent and meaning of change to date...nor has it succeeded in developing a national view on the status and impact of these reforms" (Lindquist, 1997, p. 47). NPM brought with it the introduction of practices that were much more outcomes oriented than other public management theories. Creating an environment of competition and one in which those served are considered customers and the citizens as shareholders (Aristovnik & Janko, 2009).

3.7 NPM and the Employee

Since the focus of this dissertation is on the public service employee, it is important to evaluate the NPM literature that deals specifically with the employee. In this section, I highlight two research projects as exemplars that dealt specifically with employee reaction to the influence of NPM followed by a more general discussion that addresses the topic.

The first is the Thomas and Davies' (2005) study, which is a poststructuralist account of the influence of NPM discourse on employee subjectivity and the micro-politics of change. This study not only helps to illuminate the connection between the discursive practices of NPM and the employee, but highlights the role of agency. These are important concepts used in the genealogical portion of this dissertation. The second study is Halford and Leonard's (1999) work that looks into the identity of the employee working within the organizational structure of the public service.

Before focusing on individual studies, however, more general discussions on the topic show that NPM has influenced employees by shifting public servant's work from that of processes, procedures, closed systems and hierarchies to a focus on results, service delivery, participation and open systems (Barzelay, 1992). For management this means expanded managerial discretion over the public servants in their areas of responsibility as well as more agency control over selection, reward

and punishment (Kearney & Hays, 1998). The issue, however, is that this encouragement of autonomy, entrepreneurialism and risk-taking assume that the public and politicians are willing to allow public servants greater freedom (Caiden, 1991). The tenets of the new managerialism were at odds with the demand for procedural accountability. "As has been pointed out by a number of notable public administration theorists (Rosenbloom 1993; Moe & Gilmour 1995), managerialism is not an adequate surrogate for a system of constitutional and statutory standards that guide public employee actions and behaviours" (Kearney & Hays, 1998, p. 45). This tension between new managerialism and procedural accountability created a struggle for individuals trying to adopt and work within the new philosophical setting.

This struggle is highlighted in Thomas and Davies' (2005) work on public service professionals in the police, social service and secondary education "to explore the meanings individuals ascribe to the discourse of New Public Management (NPM) and their positioning with these meanings" (p. 683). Thomas and Davies' (2005) study addressed what they felt was an insufficient amount of attention paid to the "lived experiences of public service professionals, despite a central tenet of the NPM discourse being the promotion of new professional and managerial subjectivities" (p. 683). They felt that the research into the public servant had viewed the employee as "passive recipient(s) of the discourses of change, reacting to a 'given' NPM imposed upon them" (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p. 683). They wanted to look at this situation to give voice to the influence of the public servants.

Thomas and Davies' (2005) study added to the literature in two important ways. First, they showed that there was resistance on the part of the public servant. The resistance, however, varied among different areas of responsibility as well as different individuals. The resistance, regardless of the degree, was part of individual public servants' struggle to deal with the transformation. The four subject positions that were apparent through the interviews that Thomas and Davies (2005) conducted include managerial subjectivity, competitive-masculine subjectivity, a disempowered and unquestioning subjectivity, and a feminized management subjectivity. These different subjectivities sometimes work together, but also collide "providing both the stimulus and space for political contest over meanings and identities" (p. 690).

The second contribution of Thomas and Davies' (2005) work was the illustration of micro politics at work and their role in the resistance to change. It demonstrated that macro or overarching approaches did not provide an appropriate understanding of the issues within individual government departments. In using a micro perspective the research was able to highlight the role of employee agency on the successful implementation of change.

To further understand employee agency, Halford and Leonard's (1999) work provides a relevant perspective on the development of identity; "While personal choice may play some initial role in the choice of occupation, from that point

onwards individuals develop distinctive identities as a consequence of their structural location” (Halford & Leonard, 1999, p. 103). Halford and Leonard (1999) found that once people had chosen to be part of the organization, the norms and values of that organization heavily influenced the identity of the person as it pertained to being a member. In the context of change, the choice to become part of the organization plays an important role in the adoption of NPM values. Whereas, an attempt to change the characteristics of the job after one has joined creates a feeling of disconnect for the employee.

As a result of the introduction of NPM values into the government sphere, some of the structures and sentiments that previously encouraged conformity are modified. Consider, as Merton (1957, p.199) argued, that bureaucracies depend “upon infusing group participants with appropriate structures and sentiments”. “Thus according to Merton, bureaucratic rules and regulations ensure a conformity which is internalized through the inducements offered by career structures, incremental salaries, pensions and so on” (Halford & Leonard, 1999, p. 104). The new structures and sentiments, then work in contrast to the already formed structure and in turn influence of the present identity plays an important part as well.

Freidson (1994) suggests that there are three aspects to the construction of shared identity within a profession. He argues that career prospects associated with professional qualification lead to commitment and identification on self-interested grounds. “[T]he shared experience of long and rigorous training ‘does not merely

insert' knowledge into people's heads, ... occupational identities get constructed... a professional lifetime spent doing the same tasks as a group of peers leads to 'identification' with their occupation, their occupational co-workers and their work" (Halford & Leonard, 1999, p. 105). This construction of identity is a crucial part of looking at the subjectification of the public servant. As the discursive practices of the public servant are modified so too is the identity of the public servant.

3.8 Conclusion

Understanding the concept of NPM and its impact on the public service is a complex task. As a discourse, there are some underlying practices that have been adopted in the Canadian context and are important to appreciate as we develop an understanding of the public servant. The murky picture of the meaning of NPM has allowed various researchers, governments, government agencies and public servants to have their own understanding of it and its impact. Therefore, it will be important to understand that although other countries and governments' influence will be discussed, the historical view of the public servant and the influence of NPM will be viewed as a Canadian phenomenon.

Chapter 4 – Dividing Practices and the Federal Public Service

4.1 Introduction

The first of the three modes of objectification I will discuss is dividing practices. Scientific classification and subjectification will be covered in later chapters. Dividing practices finds its theoretical foundation in Foucault's work on the insane [sic]. Foucault (1961) suggests that the incarceration of the insane through institutions of our own making "enables us to distinguish between truth and madness and the marginal and the normal" (p. xxi). The division of the mentally ill from the normal, the criminal from the law-abiding, and the poor from the rich are all divisions or distinctions made to help us understand the society in which we live. These divisions make it easy for us to compare, but also serve as powerful support mechanisms for discourse. Foucault showed that the practice of division strengthens our understanding and drives our perception of the world. By using such classification methods, assumptions are formed and the formation of knowledge becomes taken for granted. The result is a limited inquiry into knowledge formation.

There were five subjectivities that emerged from my analysis of the public service discourse that I have categorized as dividing practices. I have entitled those five as the separate sector, accountability, pride, scope and language. Each of these

subjectivities distinguishes the public service from other forms of work, specifically positions of political affiliation and positions within the private sector. These socially constructed subjectivities act through the public service discourse to influence their identity. They influence the discourse by strengthening the idea of us versus them, forcing the public servant to see themselves as unique to other types of employees.

To elaborate on the influence each subjectivity has on the discourse, the following chapter will discuss three aspects of each: 1) how each of these subjectivities are represented in the discourse, 2) the historical context in which the discursive practices that form the subjectivity have developed and 3) the impact of NPM, through the modernization process, on each.

4.2 The Separate Sector

Both the public servant interviews and the public administration textbooks presented the public service as a separate type of profession. There were two other types of employees to that public servants were compared; public servant versus from individuals working in government politics and public servants versus those working in the private sector. The discursive practices that seemed to highlight each are discussed independently. In both cases, the other appears to be privileged over the public service.

The first way in which the public service was resented as a separate sector was through the division within the government system of those that work in political positions that were elected by the public versus those that have been hired to work for a specific department or agency. As an example of this difference, consider someone elected to be a Member of Parliament versus someone that is hired as a clerk to work in the post office. Throughout the interviews and the written material, there were several examples that highlighted the separation such as analogies like the one given by Interviewee Three: “The public servants are doing the rowing, but the ministers are doing the steering, they are pointing in the right directions”. Another example was in regulations like the PSA that provides specific details that limit the political activities in which public servants are able to partake.

This separation can be traced back to the early years of the Canadian public service when it was considered to be in a development stage. This was a time that coincided with movements toward the development of the field of public administration that was happening in the United States (Inwood, 2004). In 1887, Woodrow Wilson, an academic and future President of the United States of America, wrote an article “*The Study of Administration*” that has been recognized for how it changed the face of public administration, especially in the academic community (Shafritz & Hyde, 1992). Wilson, who is considered to be the ‘father of public administration,’ wrote, “It is the object of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of

energy” (Inwood, 2004, p. 4). Wilson’s article claimed the need for public administration to be seen as a separate field of study. In addition to bringing more legitimacy to the field this moved to separate public administration from the field of political science.

In the Canadian context, as stated in Jenkins’ 1918 textbook on Civics, the result was that appointments to the public service began to shift from being the result of influence to the result of individual ability.

Formerly appointments and promotions were the direct result of the “influence” of political friends. But it was at last decided to change all this, and to have persons selected because of their ability and fitness. To this purpose the civil service has been placed under the control of a “civil service commission,” to act independently of politics (Jenkins, 1918, p. 85)

This development of the civil service commission is considered to be the first major step toward the dichotomy of administration and politics. As a result of such events, one can see how the discursive practice of being a separate body from the ruling government started to form. This change formally surfaced with the introduction of the Civil Service Act in 1908 and the Civil Service Commission. The Commission consisted of two commissioners who were responsible for appointments and promotions within the government system. People were to be hired based on merit and not on political affiliation (Hodgetts, 1973).

Even though professionalism was shaping the public service with the requirement of formal education and the advent of legislation, the boundaries between the public service and politics have not always been clearly drawn. After the revised Civil Service Act in 1918, and up until 1967, public servants were not permitted to take on political appointments. They were required to leave their public service position before taking up a political position. In 1967, the Public Service Employment Act (PSEA) and Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA) came into effect. The Public Service Employment Act states “an employee may engage in any political activity so long as it does not impair, or is not perceived as impairing, the employee’s ability to perform his or her duties in a politically impartial manner” (p. 39). As a result, public servants were then able to take leave without pay from their position in the public service to pursue political positions. This ensured that people entering the political arena would not create a conflict of interest. During this same year the Civil Service Commission was renamed the Public Service Commission. The Commission was assigned responsibility to ensure the integrity of the non-partisan public service as noted in their mission and values statement (Appendix D). It was considered the “guardian of merit” (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1995, p. 80) meaning that people were qualified for positions and not placed as a result of friendship, affiliation or influence.

This was accepted practice until 1991, when a Supreme Court ruling made it allowable for public servants to be involved in some political activities. The

allowable activities were later officially stated in the 2003 amended Public Service Employment Act. The public servant as a non-partisan professional became reified through the formalization of what the public servants are and are not allowed to be involved in with regards to political activity.

My analysis of the public service textbooks portrayed the unfolding of these events during the early 19th century to be significant part of how the public service developed as a legitimate profession. As an example, in Inwood's (2004) textbook "*Understanding Canadian Public Administration*" he makes the following statement:

The professionalization of the Canadian public service (along Weberian lines) really started with the Civil Service Acts of 1908 and 1918, which introduced the concept of merit into the recruitment, hiring and promotion practices of the public service. The Civil Service Commission was created in 1918 to implement and oversee the merit principle. (p262)

The reference to Weber in this context is interesting to note given that Weber's work did not begin to be translated into English until at least 1930 (Weber, Baehr, & Wells, 2002) and did not make any impact on public administration theory, sociology, or organizational analysis until the late 1940s and early 1950s (Durepos, Mills, & Weatherbee, 2012). Inwood (2004) highlights what is thought to be the beginnings of the professionalization process, but the purpose for mentioning the work of Weber is not clear. There is no discussion of the introduction of Weber's

work into the structure or training of public servants. This suggests that the mention of Weber may have been more a means of legitimizing a particular view of the public service and the field of public administration rather than recount of what occurred.

Although this process of professionalization, which highlights the separation of the politics of government and the operations of government, surfaced as important to the individuals interviewed. The nature and extent of that separation is portrayed differently in some of the written materials which raises questions about the true separation. In Aucoin and Davis' report on *Modernizing Government's Accountability*, and several of the textbooks, one sees that because the ministers are ultimately responsible for the actions of the public servants working in their departments the amount of autonomy is limited. This limitation on the ability of individuals within departments to act inhibits the adoption and realization of NPM values. As stated in one text "the superior position of ministers, and therefore the subordinate position of public servants, has had to be respected" (Aucoin, 1995, p. 8).

When one takes into account the perspective of the public servants along with the views portrayed in the textbooks and legislation, the separation occurs in both cases. However, the motive behind the separation is different. The public servant speaks of the need to consider the two as separate to allow for non-partisan governing of the operations of business. Whereas the interaction and placement of

responsibility shows that the separation may be around those who hold the power to make the decisions and those who do not. Through the renewal process the separation has remained evident throughout regulations, like the PSMA, however it was evident from the interviewees that the ability elected officials to 'steer the boat' has a much more immediate effect on the operations of the day to day business of the government. These changes act as a means of reducing the power of the public service.

The second aspect of the separate sector subjectivity addresses the distinction between the private sector and the public sector. This idea was represented in many different forms. To highlight the distinction between the sectors in the discourse, I have chosen a variety of quotes from the interviews as well as from the textbooks that speak to the public servant's belief in how he or she is different from people working in the private sector.

One of the ways in which the distinction was made was through the topic of remuneration. When public servants discussed the differences between their work experience and that of individual's in the private sector, they saw private sector employees as being rewarded more for their individual efforts as noted in the following example:

Because you look at executives in the private sector and you see tremendous bonuses and recognition so that is one big difference that jumps out. Also I

think too employee recognition. You know, I have some friends who work for banks and stuff like that and it is not just the monetary bonuses and stuff like that, but it is, you know, quarterly awards, a lot of recognition, putting the spotlight on a job well done. Whereas recognition for good work in the public services is very low key if it happens at all. (Interview 12)

This perspective is reiterated in the public administration textbooks that speak to the theoretical underpinnings that warrant the difference in remuneration between the public and private sectors. As one example, Dunn (2002, p. 535) identifies three characteristics that explain why basic labour market theory does not apply to the public-private sector pay differences. The three characteristics are: 1) wages paid for other aspects of employment 2) short-run demand changes and 3) non-competitive forces. The first characteristic refers to the better working conditions and benefits thought to be part of the reward system in the public sector. The second refers to premiums paid in the private sector for growing industries that would not be relevant to the public sector. The third speaks to the security of knowing that in the public sector your 'company' is not going to go out of business.

Acceptance of not being rewarded in the same way as employees in the private sector was explained as a result of using taxpayer's money or having to report to the Canadian public. These types of explanations appear to be used as a means of justifying the lower incomes therefore helping to reify the belief that the work in the public service is different.

Another way in which the distinction between the public and private sector was made was through the topic of bureaucracy and the bureaucratic nature of government. The individuals I interviewed seem to view the bureaucratic nature of their organization as a necessity because of the level of transparency and accountability required. As a result, they see their 'business' as coming from a different perspective as highlighted in the following example:

...the level of transparency that is required when you serve in an organization that has, what, 30 some million shareholders?...That is a little bit more difficult in what it requires for us, what it brings upon us is a lot of bureaucracy on contracting and I understand the reason why and I have always been hesitant in comparing private sector to public service for that. It is a very, very different mindset. (Interview 3)

The acceptance of the need for a bureaucratic structure is one that appears embedded in the public administration literature. Some of the textbooks spoke to the bureaucratic structure (i.e. Dunn, 2002; Hodgetts, 1973; Kernaghan & Siegel, 1995; Kernaghan & Willms, 1971; Leier, 1995; Matheson, 1985; Westmacott & Mellon, 1999), highlighting in some negative aspects but more often explaining the need for it. Hodgetts (1973) states, "[Bureaucracy] is intended to create a logical arrangement of offices, not of people; it is supposed to provide a coherent, stable

framework within which authority and functions are arranged in descending order of magnitude” (p.159).

The final example provided of how the idea of the separate sector surfaced was not from what the public servants thought of themselves, but through their descriptions of how other people saw them. If we look to the research on how individuals develop a concept of self, we see that Van Maanen (1979) argues that conceptions of self are learned by interpreting how others respond in situated social interactions. This is important because regardless of whether the public servant sees the private sector as superior or not, he or she is still influenced by the beliefs of those around him or her. As an example consider the following quote by one of the public servants interviewed.

I have difficulty when people go, ‘oh bureaucrat, lazy, ineffective, caught up in process’, that kind of stuff always sort of rallied against very much the antithesis of what I want to be as a public servant...And what I think I am is a public servant and what I am in, this job, is also what I am trying to promote across the general public service in terms of leadership in excellence and people management, making certain people know what it is they are supposed to be doing, are focused, have the supports that they need to do their job and can do it really well. (Interview 5)

This is a person that takes great pride in being a public servant, but still there is a negative distinction that influences the discourse through the public servant's interpretation of what others are thought to believe.

The historical development of the distinction between the public and private sector was the product of developments in the areas of accountability and education. As such, I will elaborate on those in the following section (accountability) and in the following chapter (creating knowledge).

As part of the public service discourse, the separation of sectors is in conflict with the *modernization process*. The embedded distinction of professional public servants is at odds with the desire to be more market-driven through the adoption of NPM principles. The discursive practices surrounding the NPM highlight the need for the public service to be more like the private sector. In evaluating recent textbook material, one sees the introduction of these new principles which work to alter the practices of the public servant. In the analysis of the selected written materials it is noted that the rhetoric of NPM is introduced to try to influence the identity of the public servant. And even, though in speaking with public servants that are working in the 'modernized' context. The distinction between public and private sector employee is still seen as very much part of the public servant identity even though public servants speak of working in a 'modernized' context.

4.3 Accountability

Accountability is the second dividing practice that surfaced from my analysis. Before I discuss the role of accountability in the public service discourse, I need to make some distinctions about what is meant by accountability. Throughout my examination there were three main interpretations of the word accountability used: public accountability, procedural accountability and fiscal accountability. Public accountability was the perceived need to ensure that the public's best interest is a top priority of the government. Interviewees spoke of a duty to the public and of how this sense of obligation to the greater population was part of what made them different from individuals that worked in the private sector. Procedural accountability considers the processes that are followed while conducting government business. By following standardized processes and procedures there is a perceived sense of fairness. And fiscal accountability refers to financial responsibility with respect to using public funds, highlighting the need to be efficient and effective with resources. As I discuss the role of accountability, the distinction between these three definitions of accountability will be made.

During the interviews with members of the public service, the type of accountability that was spoken of most often was public accountability. Individuals seemed acutely aware that they were accountable to the taxpayer. As examples, consider the following quotes from individuals that were interviewed.

[W]e are basically making sure that when we make decisions that we realize that there is taxpayer money involved... so that pride in what I do and the fact that I am doing it to support Canadians and that we can make sure that we are providing services to Canadians that are relevant to make this a better place for Canadians, that is why you do this. (Interview 1)

You know, stakeholder interests always come into play, but they are a consideration and the bottom line, you always ask yourself, 'will this benefit Canada, will this have an aggregate benefit'? (Interview 2)

There are just a lot of optics around that [pay scales], I mean the government can't be seen spending taxpayer's money on awards for a public servant all the time, so there is an accountability thing there. (Interview 12)

And usually it comes down to, you know, this is good for the taxpayer, this is how we should be doing business... (Interview 7)

The idea of public accountability appears in the beginning of Canada's formation as it was part of the Dominion of Canada's government to "act as an agent of the public in maintaining a close control over the affairs of the public service" (Hodgetts, 1973, p. 59). Although the spirit of the public service (then, the civil service) was to work with the interest of the public in mind, the actual meaning of public interest has

been referred to as the “Holy Grail, in that its relevance for political life may reside in the pursuit and anticipation rather than in the actual grasping of attainment” (Kernaghan & Langford, 1990, p. 36). The idea being that as long as the “intention” was in the public’s best interest, the actual results were not as big a concern. This is highlighted in a story from one of the interviews (Interview 13) where the person was responsible for the renovation (a project manager) of a building that would be used by other public servants. When the budget was set and the contractor engaged, the project manager was approved to move forward because the costs of the project seemed reasonable for the benefits that would be gained. The project cost, however, ended up being over twice as much as originally quoted to the project manager. The result, the contractor was paid and the employee was not held accountable.

This form of ambiguity around public accountability has been an issue for the government for many years. The matter was formally highlighted in 1962 with the Royal Commission on Government Organization (also known as the Glassco Report). J. Grant Glassco was a prominent chartered accountant and leader in the business community. The purpose of the report was to investigate the organization and processes of Federal Government departments and agencies (Sutherland, 2011). The report stated that “knowledge of government activities is a public right and indeed a necessity; but the growing size and diversity of the government makes the satisfaction of this need more and more difficult” (Glassco Report, 1962, p.67).

The Glassco Report was only one in a series of commissions that would directly impact the public servant's understanding of accountability. This series included commissions such as 'The Royal Commission on Financial Management and Accountability' or the Lambert Report in 1979; the 'Special Committee on the Review of Personnel Management and the Merit Principle' or the D'Avignon Report in 1979, and 'The Public Service 2000 Report' in 1989. In light of developments such as the increased size of the public service, the onset of new technology throughout the latter part of the 20th century and publicized government scandals these commissions were initiated as a means of evaluating the public service.

Each report called for more efficiency and transparency on the part of the public servant. With each report the notion of accountability was reconstituted into the public service discourse as a sense of obligation to the Canadian public. Public accountability then serves as the umbrella and underneath there is new practices to ensure procedural accuracy and that financial regulations are upheld. This transformation can be seen in the rhetoric of governmental officials even before the formal introduction of the renewal process.

The call for accountability is highlighted in the words of the Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet, R.G. Robertson in 1971. He stated that 'any civil servant above clerical or stenographic grades who has spent any substantial time in a job without contributing to some degree to the policy he administers should be fired' (Kernaghan & Willms, 1971, p. 78). The call for accountability

continued through the 1970s and into the 1980s. Inwood (2004) quotes from former finance ministers Michael Wilson's May 1985 budget speech:

Government is not only too big; it also reaches too far into almost every corner of the economy. It over-regulates some industries and over-protects others. In trying to facilitate investment, government too often distorts it. Instead of encouraging strength, many actions perpetuate inefficiency. Too often, government frustrates entrepreneurship and discourages initiative.
(p.266)

We see the focus of the term accountability had shifted from one of duty to the public to one of procedural and fiscal accountability. During the time period between the two statements (1971-1985) there were three major changes that were considered to have influenced accountability in the government. The first was technology (Danziger & Anderson, 2002; Denhardt, 1999; Northrop, Kraemer, Dunkle, & King, 1990), which required a broadening of responsibility to keep up with the regulatory requirements with the onset of new technology. The second was an increase in social movements such as women's rights, gender equity, environmentalism, gay and lesbian rights, animal rights, and senior's rights. These movements altered legislative and procedural activities. And finally, the fiscal crisis led to support for a change in thinking concerning what public servants should be doing and what the public service should look like (Inwood, 2004). All three shaped

how and what the public service should do to serve the public. They called for more efficient and cost-effective means of operations.

With the introduction of renewal measures in the 1980s the different forms of accountability were more clearly forged into a single meaning of accountability within the governmental rhetoric. In a statement from the Treasury Board of Canada, the need for fiscal accountability is highlighted as needed to meet the pressures of the Canadian public while including fiscal accountability as part of the meaning.

Canadians are demanding better value-for-money from the federal public sector. They want a more open, accountable government that manages their tax dollars well and gives careful consideration to finding the most cost-effective ways to address public policy issues while providing more integrated government services for the same tax dollar. They also expect spending to be aligned with the Federal Government's priorities, roles and responsibilities. (TBCS, 2010, p. 6)

A research project conducted on behalf of the government to examine the *modernization* of government accountability entitled *Modernizing Government Accountability* (Aucoin & Jarvis, 2005) addressed both the need for and concern with accountability in the current system. "The Public's logic is clear: accountability is meant to promote democratic control, compliance and continuous improvement

in the use of public authority and resources. Accountability is central to representative democracy” (Aucoin & Jarvis, 2005, p. 7).

Based on their analysis, Aucoin and Jarvis, “conclude that, in light of developments in the practice of governance and public administration over the past few decades, we need to better formulate the way that we understand, articulate and practice the essential elements of public accountability in governance and public administration. There is too much confusion around the subject” (Aucoin & Jarvis, 2005, p. 9).

The confusion about the subject is tied back into the separation between the politics of government and the business of government. Although the public servant appears to have a general sense of the need for accountability, evident in the rhetoric of the renewal process and from the individual public servants interviewed, there is little in the Acts that govern behaviour that requires accountability on the part of the public servant. As noted earlier, the accountability, through the legislation, still lies with the ministers. The following interview quotes show how the accountability for daily activities is not prominent:

I think we will live in an era probably 10-15 years from now where we are going to get good at accountability. I don't think we necessarily are now, I think we are going to get to being good at accountability. You are going to have people in very senior leadership level in the public service that come from those risk-taking cohort kind of things. (Interview 1)

Whereas the difference between the understanding of public and private sector accountability can be seen in the following quote:

General accountability not the same as in private sector. They are going to ask me, how much time I spent, 'well I spent about this amount of time'. The amount of time I spent researching it and, yes there is a general accountability that it provided value, it provided some service, but, not to the extent you would find, in my opinion, in private industry. There is more of an emphasis on specific accountability as opposed to general accountability and, what I mean by that, is saying yes I have to be accountable for not only arriving on time, but directly accountable to a specific contract for instance or specific time allocation towards project and there is very tangible results at the end of that whereas within the government I find that I may not see that at the end of the day, I may not see that accountability that the two hours, the six hours, "please work on this project", "well what do I charge it to", "well don't worry about it, we will take care of it at the end" type of thing as far as your time, I don't even have to worry about it, someone else does it almost to an extent...

For instance, my director comes to me and says I need information on this media request. Yes, I have five days to meet the request, but if I go over those five days, it's not like I can stop and say, well I am over my allocation that was originally agreed upon in my estimate of time, you just do it as opposed to, I

would have a little bit more of that pushback within private industry.

(Interview 10)

It appears that the notion of accountability is ineffective because of the lack of clarity around who is responsible for what actions. Consider the following quote that places the accountability for actions by public servants directly on the Ministers:

When a minister refuses to accept personal responsibility or accountability, in the sense of culpability, for something that has gone wrong in her or his department because of what her or his officials may have done without her or his instructions or knowledge, the minister is still required to “answer” questions...once the minister knows or should know of the issues in question, the minister becomes accountable for what corrective action, if any, is needed, because he or she has the authority and responsibility to do so.

(PSMA, 2003, p. 16)

The regulation places the accountability in the hands of the minister while at the same time limits are imposed on the minister’s authority.

The Canadian systems have placed three major limits on ministers’ authority and responsibility: First, ministers do not staff their departments. Second, the Treasury Board is vested with a wide range of statutory authorities and

responsibilities. Third, a range of administrative authorities and responsibilities is conferred on deputy ministers by parliamentary statute. (Aucoin & Jarvis, 2005, p. 18)

There is a vagueness that appears in day-to-day activities because of the unclear lines of accountability. Aside from politicians and public servants there are also people who are considered political staff that “formally have neither line nor functional authority over public servants, they often exercise considerable information influence, especially when they imply that they speak on behalf of their ministers and public servants do not challenge them”(Aucoin & Jarvis, 2005, p. 31).

So even though the accountability rests with the highest level of the public service and ministers there is much rhetoric around the accountability of the public service in general. The first example of this comes from The Public Service Act (2003) which states that “delegation of staffing authority should be to as low a level as possible within the public service, and should afford public service managers the flexibility necessary to staff, to manage and to lead their personnel to achieve results for Canadians” (p. 1). Another example of this can be found in the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat’s 2008-09 Report on Plans and Priorities as there is a lot of business rhetoric used such as in the President’s remarks: “we will work to ensure the efficient, transparent, and accountable delivery of federal programs...” and “reducing spending on ineffective or inefficient programs and stopping those that do not deliver results...” (p. 1).

These types of statements address the essence of accountability that is deemed desirable to the public, yet still leaves the power with the Deputy Ministers as the highest level public servants and Ministries. As a result, the influence of the politics of government is maintained.

How accountability is handled in the government appears to have several effects on the discourse of the public servant. The first is that the public servants agree that they are accountable to the public in everything that they do in their positions. Reference to the importance of being accountable to the public for action and finances surfaced in all the interviews that were conducted for this dissertation. Alternatively, as will be discussed in the section entitled security, the lack of legitimate accountability adds to the feeling of security among public servants. When people know that they are not going to be taken to task if they do not perform to the desired standard and when the accountability for that poor performance rests elsewhere, motivation for the person to perform can be compromised.

Although materials developed for the *modernization process* express the term accountability as including both fiscal and procedural accountability, the lack of consistency of practice stifles the impact of the *modernization process* on the public servant discourse. Additionally, unlike the private sector, public sector accountability is still more concerned with public accountability and the bottom-line (or fiscal accountability).

4.4 Pride

A subjectivity that was closely linked to the sense of accountability was that of pride. Each individual interviewee displayed some notion of pride in being part of the Canadian Federal Government. Whether they were providing a service directly to the public or were supporting those that had front line contact with the public, individuals spoke of being part of something that was bigger than them. This type of framing created a sense of pride in the work. The following quotes highlight this sentiment:

And you do have, I mean, I don't think that you can work in this business and not feel a sense of loyalty like you are doing something for the country.

(Interview 7)

I am a little bit of a different public servant in that most of [our division], that we don't provide direct service to Canadians like somebody who would service Canada because we don't provide those direct services, so to me it is all the pride of being part of the institution of the public service, which I am, but being part of that subset of the [department I am in] ...who provide that service to Canadians. (Interview 1)

So you do very quickly get the sense of 'oh this is a bigger thing and it is a broader purpose and it isn't just a job'. (Interview 2)

I truly believe in the role of a public service in this society and what it does and what it means to the taxpayer. (Interview 3)

The interviewees spoke of a duty to the Canadian public or taxpayer making the definition of their positions more than simply jobs that they were paid to complete. Throughout the discussion, it was as though this pride or duty was part of the remuneration of the position. They were given this sense of pride or duty because they were serving and looking out for the interests of the Canadian public. The concept of pride also serves to make a distinction between the private and public sector; it was used to understand why there needed to be differences. See the following excerpt:

Basically it is the pride in the public service and making sure that we are providing the services that are relative [important] to Canadians ... I mean, as opposed to individuals that do the job, which in reality that is what they are doing anyways, but it is because of focusing in on a task versus a higher, sort of higher goal.

(Interview 1)

In addition to the sense of pride that was created through serving the public, there was also mention of a family connection in several of the interviews. A sense that serving the public was often a family affair passed along out of respect for what someone in the family used to or currently did for a living. One interviewee in discussing her many family connections stated the following:

If you go back ... you will find that somebody's uncle or brother, that there are a huge number. (Interview 1)

Another interviewee when speaking of her own reasons for joining the public service raised the family connection:

I always wanted to work for Federal Government and [my department]... Especially, yeah, I just, for years I always thought I am going to work for Federal Government because I think I had quite a few people in my family that did. (Interview 8)

This quote was followed by a lengthy discussion of the roles of two of her uncles and the respect she had for what both of them have accomplished throughout their careers. Her respect for what they were involved in served as a motivation for her to find her own career within the public service.

Overall, the pride narratives portrayed a sense that working for the public service provided more than monetary rewards. Even though *service* is in the name used to describe someone that works for the government, this notion of pride shows that the importance of the notion to individual employees is a large part of how they define themselves. This is in line with the identity research that states that “the more distinctive, well-known and respected the organization, the more likely employees are to define themselves as belonging to it (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994)” (Alvesson, 2001, p. 879)).

As a dividing practice, we see this sense of pride works as a control mechanism that encourages commitment on the part of the public servant. Through feeling that there is more to their work than the pay, perhaps a higher calling, there are allowances made that explains why they are treated differently than other types of employees. This subjectivity also aids the NPM agenda in allowing sponsors of the idea to play on their public services pride to best serve the public. NPM is presented as a mechanism that will allow them to achieve that goal.

4.5 Scope

The third dividing practice is entitled scope and refers to the size and breadth of services provided by the public service. The public servant narratives spoke of the bureaucratic nature of the public service as if it were necessary given the complexity. This led me to explore how the scope of the government has developed

and how it is portrayed in the Canadian context. My analysis of the written material showed two ways to consider the scope of the government. The first was the importance of the services provided by government to the Canadian public. The scope of government's responsibility provides the public servant with a sense of duty and value to the entire Canadian public. The second was in explaining the complexity of the governance system. The need for a bureaucratic, rule-driven organization is accepted by the public servant because of the size of the government.

To explore the scope of government, I first examined the development of the country's government from a geographical point of view. This provides an initial understanding of the number of people, places and the range of services the government would have been responsible for at different times throughout its development. When the Dominion of Canada was first formed there were four provinces (Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick). By 1905, there were nine provinces and two territories. At this time the Dominion of Canada had the majority control of affairs within the country but turned to the Crown to sign treaties and deal with foreign affairs (Bothwell, 2006; PC, 2010). In the middle of the 20th century, the final province to enter Canada was Newfoundland (in 1949) and the final territory was Nunavut (established and entered in 1999; see Appendix E).

Aside from the geographical expansion of the country, there was also a series of events that led to Canada's independence. After the formation of the Dominion, the next formally recorded step on the path to independence from Britain (the Crown)

came with the Balfour Declaration in 1926 which stated that the Dominions were “autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations” (IIRC, 1929, p. 3), a concept that was ratified by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. It was not until 1982, however, that the power to amend the Canadian Constitution was repatriated (Bothwell, 2006; IA, 2010). With each of these events new departments were formed and the government grew. As an example of the expansion of departments in the 20th century, consider the development of what is now called the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Starting in 1909, the Department of External Affairs was developed as a means to shed dependence on the Crown. It was not until the 1930s however, that the Department of External Affairs formed diplomatic posts in London, Paris, Washington, Tokyo and Geneva (DEA, 2011). This department was then amalgamated with the Trade Commissioner Service to form the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 1982.

Similar to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, each of the more than 175 departments that are currently active were introduced as a perceived response to the needs to the Canadian public. The value of each department was also legitimized through legislation, which feeds into the sense of importance the public servant still places on his or her position. The growth of the country geographically and the gaining of control from the British, also served as a

foundation for developing the country into a single government. Bringing together citizens of Canada and gaining a sense of independence contributed to the increased role that the Federal Government played in the lives of each Canadian. And although a public servant may be working in one specific region, he or she has a sense of serving the entire country (Brown, 1942).

After considering the increase in the government's geographical size and scope of responsibility, I explored several significant events that affected the scope and influence of the government. These were events that contributed to the public service discourse in various ways.

Two large increases in the number of personnel working for the government occurred after World War I and World War II. During both of these increases, the government started to play a larger role in the management of the economy. For instance, as a result of the Depression of the 1930s, the Federal Government was required to take action to address issues of the economy, healthcare and general welfare of the Canadian people (CMCW, 2010). The government hired over 32,000 veterans between 1920-1939 (Morgan, 1988, p. 6) and then the public service tripled in size in the years immediately following World War II due to large influxes of returning military personnel (Appendix F). In addition to the general welfare of the country, there was a sense of responsibility on behalf of the government to ensure employment for those who fought for the country (Inwood, 2004) that was

formalized by the Veterans' Preference Clause under the Civil Service Employment Act (Morgan, 1988).

“The presences of veterans in large numbers and in positions of power created a military subculture” (Morgan, 1988, p. 16). This phase in the government's history influenced the bureaucratic nature of the public service structure. With the majority of new public servants having had military experience and as such they were very accepting of the hierarchical structure (Morgan, 1988).

The next large influx that occurred was between 1965 and 1975. This was a time when large numbers of baby boomers were graduating from the university system and a time that saw the public service double in size. “These highly skilled and well-trained graduates, mainly from business schools, the social sciences and economics, increasingly challenged the traditional views of civil servants, pursuing organizational objectives and career goals that greatly transformed the public service” (Inwood, 2004, p. 264). The transformed objectives and goals of the government led in part to the adoption of New Public Management principles first by means of the renewal process and then by the *modernization process*. The new wave of public servants were not trained in the military setting but rather were exposed to business practices that were developing at the time. This encouraged a new approach to the business of government.

During the early stages of the *modernization process*, concepts such as privatization were very popular. Privatizing whatever could be privatized was seen as an economically sound way to handle taxpayer's money. These changes however, did not always fulfill the desired cost savings because when dealing with projects that impact the health and safety of the public, quality has to be monitored. The following quote highlights how private sector contracting is viewed by the individuals interviewed.

You are taking the tax dollars, you are paying me tax dollars to do a job that you could do just as economically through the private sector feeding the economy, I mean, we feed the economy as well...I mean, we hire contractors...But you know . . . the thought is that the private sector can do things a lot more efficiently, they will find ways of doing it. In reality, they will cut corners and they will try to get away with what they can. That is more or less the role that I am left with now is the quality monitoring...the bottom line here is that ... it is politically desirable to put anything that can be privatized to the private sector. I mean that is it in a nutshell. We have shown that it works. It is not a bad thing. It is no more inexpensive. (Interview 7)

The *modernization* rhetoric encourages the public servant to think of reducing the scope where possible. This, however, has not been seen as an elimination of work or downsizing, but rather a change in the type of work that is required of the public servant. So just because it is being encouraged to contract out work, the

responsibility for the quality of the work remains with the public service. As one public servant noted “The legislation did not change, the way we do business has changed” (Interview 1).

This sense of responsibility has also been used by unions to deter the government from going outside the public service.

...the Government of Canada announced that we were going to contract out units. It was a big wake-up to the unions...so they basically showed that they could be as efficient or the most efficient organization to compete with the contractors, but they basically went back to this issue that when something goes South, we can't allow the contractors to [say] 'gee, I would love to come help you, but I already have another contract, I can't bring my guys in'.

(Interview 1)

Through the scope of the government, we see that the principles of NPM have begun to impact the scope and structure of the government. There are still, however, discursive practices that place importance on the scope of the government limiting the influence of the NPM discourse through the *modernization process*. To the public servant, the transformations brought on by the renewal efforts of the last thirty years have changed only some of the bureaucratic processes. Additionally, the value of serving the Canadian public has become more of a priority as evident in the narratives of the public servants themselves. The scope of services and geographical

coverage is embedded in the public service discourse. It plays a role in the constitution and understanding of the public servant's sense of duty that differentiates the work he or she does compared to that of individuals in the private sector.

4.6 Language

The final dividing practice that surfaced in the analysis was the importance of language. Language in any discourse is important for it is "based on public criteria or rules (agreements in practice), and these rules cannot be learnt explicitly, as they are the products of deep cultural agreement that forms the background against which sentences make sense" (Besley, 2010, p.132). As the following will show, the language used in the government setting entails nuanced differences that make it specific to those who are socialized into the public service.

The language used within the public service is very specific and rooted in the traditions of the military (Morgan, 1988). Additionally, terminology used by members of the public service is tied quite closely to that used in the government which is evident in things such as organizational charts and rhetoric used on departmental websites. To understand job titles, department headings and everyday words require a learning process for anyone that enters into the public service.

Terms such as assistant deputy minister and deputy minister differ from private sector, however, similar to other types of organizations the public sector uses the terms director, manager and employee. These more common terms however, have not always been in the public service vocabulary. Individuals who did not hold a management position or specific professional title were called clerks. The term clerk was used as a general term to encompass all public servants (or civil servants as they were then known). The terminology used is not that distinctive from any other large organization that may try to distinguish itself from others. The use of specific terminology, however, still serves as a mechanism to separate the public sector from other sectors of employment.

The second example of the role of language is the use of acronyms. The written materials relied heavily on the use of acronyms in referring to a variety of things including departments, forms, programs and agencies. One interviewee stated the following when discussing the use of acronyms: "It is huge. It is such, it is really significant and . . . everything is an acronym and you could write e-mails and there would be ten acronyms in there and I think if someone saw that, they would have no clue what you were talking about" (Interview 8). Aside from creating a distinction from those that know and those that do not know, the acronyms require a learning process, an investment on the part of the public servants. The usage of acronyms is seen as another ramification of the military influence on the public service.

Although acronyms are used in many professions and organizations, the difference in the public sector is the widespread use by public servants regardless of the department, trade or profession to which they practice. The specific language used creates a knowledge base that helps to separate the public service from other types of organizations. This allows for a control and the maintenance of the division between the public and the private sector.

This is highlighted by the concerted effort of the government through the *modernization process* to adopt different terminology. Several examples of the 'modernized' approach to language are found throughout the literature created surrounding the *modernization* or renewal process as well from the individual's interviews.

As an example the following excerpt from the Red Tape Reduction Commission that was brought forth in 2010 (RTRC, 2011) demonstrates some of the new approaches to language. The title of the commission alone lends support to the desire to become more efficient, however, there are two interesting points from this section that I felt highlighted the change in language (see Italics).

Identify *irritants to business* that stem from federal regulatory requirements and review how those requirements are administered in order to reduce the compliance burden on businesses, especially small businesses. The focus is

on irritants that have a clear detrimental effect on growth, competitiveness and innovation...

The Commission builds on past and ongoing Government initiatives to reduce *regulatory compliance burden on business in Canada*. It takes a *client-centered approach to reducing red tape*.

The concentration on making work easier for business rather than the public and becoming client-centered introduces new direction and terminology for the public service. The focus on *business* instead of the *public* in the Red Tape Reduction shows the government's attempt to be a more efficient and effective partner in the economy. The client-centered service demonstrates the shift in language around the service of the public. This language shift was also apparent when speaking with individual public servants. During several of the interviews individuals referred to dealing with the client as shown in the following quote.

First of all, it is kind of the modus operandi of saying to the client that is requesting the information, what time frame do you need this information, understanding that the quality of information that I provide is directly dependent on that? (Interview 10)

In distinguishing themselves from other types of employees and indeed other departments within the government itself, public servants use language that may not be familiar to those that are not working with them. The learning of this

language reinforces the differences between the sectors and has become an important part of trying to modify the role of the public servant in the 'modernized' environment.

4.7 Conclusion

There have been several discursive practices identified that serve to distinguish the public services from people working in political positions and from people working in the private sector. The separation from those working in political positions serves to highlight how the public service is unique. The discursive practices that help to reify the differences between the public and private sector, however, are problematic to the *modernization process*. The more the individual public servant believes in the distinction, the harder it is to change the ways in which the government operates. The discursive practices that encourage this separation are so strongly embedded in the discourse that even 30 years after the introduction of NPM principles into the Canadian environment, public servants are keenly aware of how they differ from their private sector counterparts.

To continue to explore the public service discourse, the following chapter will highlight how scientific classification has served as a means of legitimizing their work. It is important to understand the scientific classification are the means by which "the actions of dividing practices are tolerated and justified through the mediation of science (or pseudoscience and the power the social groups gives to

scientific claims” (Madigan, 1992, p. 266). This is achieved through the development of knowledge in the field of public administration and the focus on the importance of the bureaucratic structure.

Chapter 5 – Scientific Classification and the Federal Public Service

5.1 Introduction

The second mode used in my analysis was scientific classification. When one considers the formation of knowledge, we find that in North America there is a heavy emphasis placed on the natural sciences (Nord & Connell, 2011). We look to find facts and to have the facts verified into knowledge. In Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic* (1973), we see an example how the body is objectified and compartmentalized based on what is scientifically 'true.' Foucault spoke of this mode as the means by which the subject tries to give "themselves the status of science" (Foucault, 1983, p. 208). Consider the following which is the example Foucault uses to discuss the status of science:

Madness and Civilization was the appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth century of a psychiatric discipline...the conditions and procedures of social exclusion, the rules of jurisprudence, the norms of industrial labour and bourgeois morality, in short a whole group of relations that characterized for this discursive practice the formation of its statements; but this practice is not only manifested in a discipline possessing scientific status and scientific pretensions; it is also found in operation in legal texts, in

literature, in philosophy, in political decisions and in the statements made and the opinions expressed in daily life. (Foucault, 1972, p. 197)

Extending from this example, I forward that through the development of conditions, procedures, rules and norms a body of knowledge can seek to obtain the status of science or scientific classification even though it may not be considered a science in the more traditional sense of the word.

Therefore, although working in the public service would not be considered engaging in or conducting science, it is through the development of conditions, procedures and norms of exclusion aiming for scientific status. Using this as a definition of scientific classification, I have label two of the surfaced relevant subjectivities. These two that emerged are forwarded as a means of creating legitimacy for the public service. The first one is entitled *creating knowledge* and the second is entitled *bureaucratic structure*. The following chapter will show how each presented itself throughout my analysis, a historical look at the development of each theme and finally how each has been influenced by NPM and the *modernization process*.

5.2 Creating Knowledge

Before embarking on how the notion of creating knowledge surfaced in the discourse, I first must explain what I understand to be knowledge and the role it plays in developing a discourse. Of the many ways in which Foucault addresses the

term knowledge, there are two that stand out as important to my dissertation. The first is “the space in which the subject may take up position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse”. The second definition is “knowledge is also the field of coordination and subordination of statements in which concepts appear, and are defined, applied and transformed” (Foucault, 1972, p. 201). The creation of knowledge then helps to form the conditions, procedures and norms needed to achieve the status of science. Even though the subjectivities that I have classified under scientific classification resemble what I spoke of as dividing practices in chapter four, I note that the difference is the value-laden idea of scientific inquiry to develop knowledge in the area of public administration. The status of science used to develop knowledge influences the discourse in a different way than that of a dividing practice. The division is seen to be backed by truth rather than tradition or routine. Using the interviews with public servants and other written materials, I explored how knowledge specific to the public service has developed.

Many of the public servants interviewed spoke of how they knew before they went into higher education that they wanted to work for the public service. As a result, they choose to study public administration. The study of public administration was portrayed by those interviewed as an avenue into a career with the public service. The idea of such a young field of study separate from others that were similar in course make-up with such a direct tie to the obtainment of employment was an interesting concept to consider. Through the development of the field of academic inquiry, the public service is seen is not only as just another organization, but as a

separate branch of social science. It provides a foundation of knowledge and use of language that is unique and helps to separate the public service from other professions. This change classifies as what Foucault would call discipline technologies and “such technologies are structures of knowledge and procedures that professional disciplines use to create relations of dependency between those who have discipline knowledge and those who do not” (Wilson, 1999, p.86)

The field of public administration and required training of the public servant accentuates that there are differences between the public and private sectors. This was highlighted by the idea that a certain knowledge base is required to be part of the governmental system, especially for those aspiring for hiring level positions. The concern for formal post-secondary education, however, was introduced before the introduction of public administration as a field of study in Canada. To gain insight into the education requirements and public administration as a field of study, I began to try and understand through the textbooks and other written material the historical development of these two areas.

When the Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867, all operations of the government were conducted by civil servants (as public servants were then titled) that were appointed by the Crown or because of some political affiliation (Inwood, 2004; Jenkins, 1918). In the early years of the Dominion, several key events, however, attempted to change the way in which public servants were appointed. One such event was the appointment of the first Clerk of the Privy Council in 1867.

This position was tasked with overseeing civil servant activity and was given statutory powers in 1869 (Inwood, 2004).

Although still heavily influenced by the political arena, the civil service did try to develop performance standards even before 1867. In 1857, the introduction of the Act for Improving the Organization and Increasing the Efficiency of the Civil Service of Canada was introduced. The act was the forerunner of the establishment of the Board of Examiners that resulted from the 1882 Civil Service Act (PSCC, 2008). The role of the Board of Examiners was to ensure a level of literacy among civil servants which during the 1920's developed a system of examinations used for appointments and promotions within the system of government. This required that the members of the civil service be able to achieve a certain level of education. Even though civil servants were not required to show proof of formal education, the examinations were a step in trying to raise the standard of the civil servant (PSCC, 2010).

The view of more recent written accounts (Bourgon, 2011), supports the idea that the public servant was seen as changing during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The changes are seen as a move towards the idea of a more independent and educated body of individuals. This suggests that this early period saw the initial development of the professional civil servant and a path that would lead to the formal education for the civil service. This can be seen as the forming of the separate type of knowledge set that was needed to work in the public service. It was not sufficient to

have a certain level of education, one needed to pass a very specific exam. A process that is still followed today in many government departments.

Even though the educational requirements of the then civil servants were increasing, the onset of public administration as a field of study was not solidified until universities and institutes of higher education (in particular Dalhousie University, and Carleton College, respectively, in 1936 and 1946) started offering degrees in public administration. These early programs were dominated by the writings of R. MacGregor Dawson, considered as the leading author of public administrative academic material between 1922 and 1947 (Inwood, 2004). His first two books titled *The Principle of Official Independence* and *The Civil Service of Canada* were considered 'the' textbooks on public administration and were used at both Dalhousie University and Carleton College. Dawson (1947) then published another book entitled *Government of Canada* which "served as the main (and indeed only) text for students" for several decades (Inwood, 2004, p. 5).

The introduction of university programs was followed by the development of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada (IPAC) in 1957 and the *Journal of Canadian Public Administration* in 1958 (Hodgetts, 1973). These events led to the further separation of public administration as an independent and legitimate field of study. In 1991, further developments in educating members of the government involved the Canadian Centre for Management Development Act and the Canadian Management Development Centre. The Centre's objectives (Appendix G) were to

educate managers, conduct research and bring awareness to the general public of issues facing the government.

Then in April of 2004 the government's renewal process acted as catalyst for the development of the Canada School of Public Service. "The Canada School of Public Service (CSPS) was created by amalgamating the Canadian Centre for Management Development, and the Public Service Commission [of Canada's] Language Training Canada and Training and Development Canada" (TBCS, 2009a). This was developed to act as the training arm of the government that serves, among others, the leadership within the government system. Again, the government signaled that the public servant is different in some way.

The separation of the field of public administration, coupled with the required education and training of the public service over time plays an important role in the discourse. The result of these activities is "the forces of power have biased knowledge by interloping in the constitution of knowledge within discourse" (Schneck, 1987, p. 20). Meaning the basis of knowledge used by individuals within the public sector (which will be discussed in section 5.3) is controlled and serves to strengthen the idea that the public servant is indeed a different type of employee.

When the public servants were interviewed they spoke of a variety of ways in which the *modernization process* was changing the hiring process. This, in turn, appears to change the educational foundation of the public service. For example, some spoke of

the importance placed on industry experience in hiring, others about the use of what one individual called “management buzzwords” (Interview 13), and finally some spoke of the type of investment in training that has become prevalent. All of these were considered by the individuals as a shift in the expectation of the public service. As a specific example consider the following quote by one of the more recently hired individuals I interviewed. The individual is discussing the qualifications he had that he felt won him the appointment.

“Generally requiring a university degree of some sort, although ... it did require some industry experience, or some experiences other than just the University education and a base knowledge ..., which I had at the time because of prior work I had done within the private industry” (Interview 10). The emphasis on industry experience is the link between private and public sector activities. By hiring individuals with such experience, there is value set on the private sector skills. This privileging of experience creates a shift in the public service discourse. It sends a signal to employees and potential employees that the more desirable means of operation is that of the private sector.

The result then is a public service that has developed into a non-partisan, educated or trained, and experienced group of individuals that have started to align that education, training and experience with the private sector. This mixed base of private and public sector knowledge is used to not only educate people who take on a public administration degree, but forms the foundation for training within the public services’ various training facilities. Through these avenues of education, the

government is able to influence the knowledge obtained by members of the public service.

The influence of the education system is apparent in the introduction and influence of NPM principles on the public service. In an analysis of public administration textbooks since the renewal process began, there is a greater use and reference to organizational studies theory and practice. Additionally, individual members of the executive category have taken part in a programs like the private sector exchange program where “members of the public service executive ... go out and work in a private sector company for anywhere from 12-24 months” (Interview 1). This is a program seen by executives as a tool to help them better understand the differences between the sectors as well as a means of improving the way in which they run their departments.

This is in concert with the desire of the government to adopt more market-driven principles of operation. Such training and education also enforces the knowledge accessible within the public service and impacts the identity of the public servant. The focus on business administration theories and practice attempts to align the identity of the public servant more with an employee that would work for a private sector organization.

5.3 Bureaucratic Structure

The second subjectivity that promotes scientific classification is the bureaucratic structure of the government. The Canadian Government is a complex system of departments, agencies and controls which aids in producing a complex body of knowledge needed to understand and operate within the public service. The definition of the public service according to the PSE (2003, p. 3) is “the several positions in or under a) the departments named in Schedule I to the Financial Administration Act; b) the organizations names in Schedule IV to that Act; and c) the separate agencies named in Schedule V to that Act.” (Appendix H). The extensive list of different departments and areas of responsibility form a complex framework from which knowledge and information is created and distributed. To understand and evaluate each of the departments is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I look, instead, at the general impact of two structural aspects that have been directly influenced by the principles of NPM. The first looks at the general chain of command for the public servant and the second looks at the introduction of private sector practice into specific areas of the public service.

The complex chain of command in the government shows how knowledge and information is passed throughout the organization. As Foucault demonstrated in his genealogical work such structures and social positioning allow for power to operate through normalization (Wilson, 1977). Individuals within the public service to not

carry out tasks or follow certain regulations out of fear for their managers, it is an accepted knowledge that operations must work within the complex structure of the bureaucracy. The value of the bureaucratic structure is given a status of science in that it is accepted to be the 'right' or normalized way to conduct operations.

In speaking with the public servants there was a sense that a lot of policies and regulations that were developed outside of their departments influenced the daily operations inside their departments. Through limited access to knowledge and the development of that knowledge, certain individuals are privileged. As one interviewee stated "I mean you know what you are doing, but you get a sense of, like sometimes you forget and you are like 'why do we even have to do this'? ...There are all these people, that's what they do, and they figure that out for you and you just have to carry out [your] part of it" (Interview 3). Or another that described it in the following way "you know what you are doing, but you get a sense of ... 'why do we even have to do this'? Because you don't know directly, you can't see how it started...there are so many things going into what you do that are already finished for you" (Interview 8). This unquestioned acceptance of policies and procedures highlighted how the structure influences the information flow and in turn the discourse of the public service. This led me to inquire further to understand how the structure operates on the discourse.

To begin I looked at the structure responsible for the public service. When an individual becomes a public servant there are several bodies involved in the

process. The hiring department has some flexibility, however the Public Service Commission (PSC) is also involved as the “independent agency responsible for safeguarding the values of a professional Public Service: competence, non-partisanship and representativeness” (PSC, 2010, p. 1). The PSC is given the authority to make and approve appointments within the public service. Although each department is delegated from the PSC the ability to hire individuals, the PSC is charged with upholding the integrity and political impartiality of all public servants (PSC, 2009).

Once the individual joins the public service he or she is part of a department or agency, but he or she is employed by the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (TBCS). This body “is responsible for accountability and ethics, financial, personnel and administrative management, comptrollership, approving regulations and most Orders-in-Council” (TBCS, 2011, p. 1). As the employer of all public servants, the TBCS is responsible to ensure that legislation, regulations and procedures required by the Cabinet Ministers are being carried out by the public service in the various departments.

At this point the Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board are both tasked with ensuring that non-partisan decisions are being made and that the legislation, rules and regulations are being upheld. In addition to the PSC and TBCS the public servant’s department answers to a Minister that is given responsibility for that department. Each department of the government is under the direction of a Minister

or is considered an independent arm that answers directly to the Prime Minister. This means that the Minister becomes accountable for all activities carried out by the departments but does not have the control of the actual public servants themselves.

There are two other important groups in the work life of each public servant. The first is the Privy Council Office (PCO). The PCO is run by the Clerk of the Privy Council who is an advisor to the Prime Minister and the most senior public servant. The PCO is “the hub of non-partisan, public service support to the Prime Minister and Cabinet and its decision-making structures. Led by the Clerk of the Privy Council, PCO helps the Government implement its vision and respond effectively and quickly to issues facing the government and the country”(PCO, 2011). The final group that is relevant to the public servant is the union. Depending on the type of position, the public servant may be a member of or deal directly with one of over 15 Unions (Appendix I). The majority of public servants are members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada which has over 173,000 members (PSAC, 2011). And in addition to the specific Union of representation there is the Public Service Labour Relations Board.

The Public Service Labour Relations Board (PSLRB) is an independent quasi-judicial tribunal mandated by the Public Service Labour Relations Act (PSLRA) to administer the collective bargaining and grievance adjudication systems in the federal public service. It is also mandated by the Parliamentary Employment and Staff Relations

Act to perform the same role for the institutions of Parliament. As well, as a result of transitional provisions under section 396 of the Budget Implementation Act, 2009, the PSLRB is responsible for pay equity complaints for the public service that were, and may be filed with, the Canadian Human Rights Commission (PSLPB, 2011).

The result, for the public servant, is a complex system of five separate groups of individuals working on his or her behalf and controlling his or her behaviour in some form or another. Each creates, monitors, and enforces regulations that impact the behaviour and work of the public servant. Similar to “Bentham’s Panopticon...[it is] and apparatus of observation, recording and training” (Wilson, 1977, p.173). This complexity creates and maintains an acceptance of the bureaucratic system. During the interviews with public servants, only those that were in management or executive positions seemed to be able to speak to the reason for each of the different groups. The following is one example of a manager’s description of some of the complexity that leads to inaction.

... so explaining to employees that your employer is not the Department of _____, your employer is the Treasury Board of Canada and they go who? Treasury Board of Canada is the employer of all public services and they go ‘holy crap, that’s big’. And they are, they are big. The problem is when you get big you cannot manage individual components and the union has had that problem too as the public service alliance of Canada is one of the largest unions in Canada and they have such diversity of membership and such

diversity in issues that they can't possibly represent all those interests so it is the little flares in issues that cause them problems. So, say the Government of Canada go out and represent government servants; they go 'which ones?' You know? It is easier to just not do it. (Interview 1)

The size and complexity allow for a sense of apathy around the need to be less bureaucratic. This has, however, been an issue that has been at the forefront of the *modernization process* since its beginnings and also the second aspect of structure I would like to highlight which is the introduction of private practices, such as looking to the bottom line as the motivation and placing greater importance on cost reduction, in some areas of government.

There is an understanding by the government officials that changes toward a more market-driven organization are required. Changes have occurred in the overall government system such as deregulation of non-essential services and the reduction of duplicate processes. Most recently in the renewal process these attempts to change are highlighted in the Red Tape Reduction Commission (RTRC, 2011b). From the perspective of the individuals interviewed, however, these changes have not changed the system enough to avoid the bureaucratic nature of the organization.

During the *modernization process* the structure has been one of the most significantly affected areas. There have been many areas of deregulation within the government system (i.e. Telephone Industry, Airline Industry) and increased

interaction between departments such as the Department of Transportation with private sector contractors. The results of these changes have been either people have lost their jobs as public servants or they increasingly have to work with people in the private sector. This was evident in only some of the interviews where people spoke of working with the private sector when they were involved in tasks that could be contracted out like the construction of new office space or when consultants could be brought in for things like training seminars and redesign issues.

The adoption and introduction of private sector practices has also developed a more service oriented less rule driven workforce. Those interviewed noted that movements toward such changes were occurring but it only modified their daily operations as opposed to changing them. The following examples highlight the employee perspective on these changes.

Basically it became a shift from a rules-bound purpose to a more framework and judgment arrangement...The idea was to make it more flexible, more explainable, more human from the point of view of people being able to see how they could participate, both employees and managers and the while process in a more understandable way. Keep it away from being so much of rules and process to a little more of a process that actually looked like it was focusing on good outcomes. (Interview 2)

I am in a service-driven organization. So I have less managers and more officers, so that has flattened the structure. (Interview 3)

The bureaucratic structure of the government appears to be producing opposing discursive practices that work to limit the impact of the *modernization process*. It is the willing acceptance of the complex command structure and the processes required to run such a structure promoting practices that are not in line with the NPM principles that does appear to be making some changes in some areas of government.

5.4 Conclusion

Scientific classification, as the second mode of objectification used in my analysis, demonstrates how the status of science is used to create knowledge. This chapter demonstrates that through training and education, along with a complex structure the public service discourse is fed knowledge that has become normalized into the identity of the public servant.

Through the development of the public administration field and through training and examination processes, the public servant is exposed to specific knowledge that is deemed relevant to them. This segregation from other fields of knowledge serves to legitimize the discourse. Additionally, the complexity of the structure in which the

public servant operates allows for a control of information which has worked to both help and hinder the acceptance of the *modernization process*.

Chapter 6 – Subjectification and the Public Servant

6.1 Introduction

The third mode of objectification is subjectification. Subjectification concerns the “way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject” (Foucault, 1982, p.208). In Foucault’s early work the individual is a passive and controlled entity that is constrained in the subjectivity to which it belongs. Foucault’s approach to the subject morphed over the life of his work to where he believed that the subject was not completely passive. This transition will be discussed further later in this chapter. Subjectification as a mode of objectification looks at how the individual has been brought into and becomes part of the discourse.

Subjectification differs from the other two modes of objectification, “in which the individual takes an essentially passive, constrained position. Foucault suggests that subjectification involves those processes of self-formation or identity in which the person is active. He is primarily concerned with isolating those techniques through which people initiate their own active self-formation” (Madigan, 1992, p. 268).

Foucault’s approach to the subject has differed throughout different phases of his work. As a result, I will first spend time discussing the different views of subjectification and then explain the role of subjectification in this dissertation. This chapter will then discuss three themes that surfaced as playing a part in how public

servants enroll in the discourse. They are entitled unwritten recruitment, sense of security and employee acceptance. I will elaborate on how each surfaced in the discourse, how each has come to play a role in the enrollment process and finally look at how each has been influenced by NPM through the *modernization process*.

6.2 Foucault and Subjectification

The idea that the subject can be an active member of a discourse departs from the poststructuralist view of the “body” or individual as an “entity without social meaning” (Jacques, 1992, p. 90). The traditional poststructuralist view would purport that the individual only becomes a subject once he or she has entered into the social structure. As examples we can look to Jacques (1992), who states that “the body ... is assumed to attain meaning through subjectivities which are multiple, socially produced and contingent upon changing experience” (Jacques, 1992, p. 91) or Fairclough (1989) who states that one “assumes that in discourse, the subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing, and they are unaware of the potential social impact of what they do or utter” (Ahmadvand, 2011, p. 85).

Although the approach to the subject described above was in line with Foucault’s archeological and genealogical phases, his later work illustrates a shift in his view on the subject changed to acknowledge that there may be some control on the part of the subject to choose to join or reject the discourse. The ability to accept or reject a discourse represented the practical role the subject could play in an otherwise

socially constructed reality. Foucault did not see this as an epistemological change but rather a means of making the role of the subject as more practical. May describes the notion of practical to be “not in the sense of Kant’s moral law nor in the everyday sense of helping navigate one’s world smoothly...practical because they are both matters of practice, in two senses of that word” (May, 2006, p. 101). The first is the idea that people are not projects of thought but are living, therefore they engage in social practices. The second is that attempting to stray from what one is made to be in society takes practice. One must be vigilant if one is to not follow.

Foucault’s initial work treated the self as “a set of internalized social norms and expectations, and yet he becomes fascinated in his final works with one’s individual potential to exploit the constructed nature of the self as a project” as seen in volumes two and three of *The History of Sexuality* (Downing, 2008, p. 2). In addition to his volumes on *The History of Sexuality*, during his Howison Lectures (1980a), Foucault argues how the individual formation is conducted through a variety of notions including “operations on [peoples] own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct” (Foucault, 1980 as cited in Rabinow, 1984, p. 11). Near the end of his life, Foucault “argues that the subject’s perception of him or herself in the light of an internalized discourse of ‘truth’ about his or her desire is fundamental to the functioning of modern sexual subjectivity” (Downing, 2008, p. 7). Foucault’s struggle, in his later work, was arguably influenced by Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir who contended that political agency and free will were authentic possibilities (Levy, 2001; May, 2006).

For the purpose of this dissertation, I accept Foucault's later interpretation of agency and the possibility that the individual can impact discourse. In line with Foucault's later work, I forward that the individual influences the discourse by accepting to enroll in the discourse. Specifically, in Foucault's (1988) *Technologies of the Self* he discusses four technologies that impact practical thought. The first is technologies of production that allow us to produce things. The second is technologies of sign systems which provide significance to the symbols we use. The third is technologies of power that defines the conduct and domination of people; the "objectivizing of the subject" (p. 18). Finally, there is the technology of self "which permits individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being" (p. 18). As such, I believe that through enrollment the individual can strengthen or weaken a discourse by accepting or not accepting its discursive practices. Additionally, if the individual seeks to understand the discursive practices he or she can work to modify them. In the following sections of this chapter, I will demonstrate that the individual through choice and resistance can play an active role in the constitution of discursive practices.

6.3 Unwritten Recruitment

The role of the subjectification can be seen in what I entitled the unwritten recruitment within the public service. This appeared through the interviews in two

distinct ways. One was the rationale people gave for entering the public service. The second the stories individuals told about others willingness to “take a chance” (Interview 2) on them by either helping them join the public service or in helping them develop throughout their careers.

Many of the individuals interviewed cited a family member or close friend as their inspiration to join or connection to get into the public service. The importance of this stems from the influence of others perceptions of the occupation that convince people to join. “...[F]or years I always thought I am going to work for Federal Government because I think I had quite a few people in my family that did” (Interview 2). Others joined because of grandfathers, parents or spouses’ experience with the public service. In each case, there was someone that had firsthand knowledge of what it was like to work in the public sector that was used as the individual’s motivation. The choice to join the public service is rooted in an understanding that is not given through a marketing campaign or orientation class but rather through the values of being a public servant that were passed down through family and friends.

In addition to the influence of friends and family members, once in the public service managers or mentors appeared to have an influence on who was groomed for certain careers within the public service. Several spoke of a manager that chose to take them under their wing or who invested in them throughout their careers.

Again there were people with firsthand knowledge providing the motivation for

their positions within the service. So one may be able to escape “from a domination of truth” (the processes imposed regarding recruitment and selection), “not by playing a game that was totally different from the game of truth but by playing the same game differently” (Foucault, 1994, p. 295).

Whether it was into the public service or into another position, individuals felt indebted to others for their place in the public service. In these cases, the enrollment process deliberately maintains a sense of the public service that is passed down like a family tradition. Through this communication with people in the public service people are recruited into and promoted in the public service with a preconceived notion of the positions they are accepting. These notions are based on someone’s experience and therefore not as easily controlled through the organizationally imposed rhetoric. The result is that when change is being introduced there is a need to overcome that sense of how it was done.

6.4 Sense of Security

The next theme that relates to subjectification is the sense of security. Of all the subjectivities that surfaced throughout this dissertation, this is one that I believe is most interesting in relation to the *modernization process* and the discourse of the public servant. Foucault talked about “the practices of liberation” (Kritzman, 1990, p. 50) that are used instead of challenging who we think we are in order to find a better space (Brewis, 2004). We commit acts in order to practice liberty instead of

freeing ourselves entirely. Maintaining a sense of security, I argue is one such act. As I will demonstrate in this section, the privileging of NPM through legislation and organizational rhetoric is resisted.

The sense of security that comes with holding a job within the public service was evident in each of the interviews. As one individual described it, getting a position within the public service was like “winning the lottery” (Interview 6). I identified this as a mechanism of subjectification for two reasons. The first is because it appeared to play a role in an individual’s choice to enroll in the public service, and in turn accept the public service discourse. The second, because of this security’s strong role in the public service discourse, it is a reason individual public servants are resisting the *modernization process*.

Through the interviews the presence of security within the public service surfaced in two forms. One form was when the individuals were talking about their own reasons for choosing or staying in the public service and the other was how they talked about ineffective people with which they have worked.

The following excerpt shows how a public servant sees security as one of the motivating factors of her taking a position with the public service. In this excerpt she is talking about an uncle that was in the public service. “I knew he had a safe and secure job and he liked it and so I knew, okay, well it is probably going to be okay for me” (Interview 8).

The sense of security also came through in how people identified with being a public servant and not necessarily only the position they held. During the interviews several people mentioned being career public servants. Regardless of the position held or the expertise of the individuals, each spoke of themselves first and foremost as public servants. Even the individuals that held other professional designations, such as an engineer, acknowledged that they were public servants. They privileged their role as member of the public service as their first profession.

The sense of security that attracted people to the public service also appeared to be related to a sense of pride in the work. There was a sense that the work was essential to serving the Canadian public. Additionally, there are legislative mechanisms in place through the presence of unions and the Reverse Order of Merit Legislation that helped solidify their sense of security. The Reverse Order of Merit is legislation that states employees within the public service would be given precedence over outside hires.

As one of the changes in the new *modernization process*, the Reverse Order of Merit legislation was modified.

The concept of merit radically changes the basis for appointments in the public service. For example, relative merit is gone – it is no longer necessary that the best person selected for appointment be the best qualified. Merit

now means that the person must meet the “essential qualifications” of the position and have certain other “assets” that the department considers important for its current or future needs. The PSEA actually says that it is not inconsistent with merit to only consider one person for a position. The changes to the definition of merit also have an impact on lay-offs since reverse order of merit no longer applies. (PSEA, 2011, p.2)

The Act no longer favors “appointments from within the public service so there will likely be an increase in the use of an open (“external”) appointment process instead of a closed (“internal”) appointment process” (PSEA, 2011, p. 3).

Although the process has changed on paper, the employees interviewed still exhibited a sense of security in the job. All but one of those interviewed spoke of how someone helped them get appointed at some time during their career. Not suggesting that they were not qualified but their relations and experience with individuals involved in the process played a part. This is an interesting contradiction to what the legislation is trying to achieve. I would argue that this shows that although changes may be implemented to modify the process the discursive practices are not necessarily modified. This shows a form of resistance on the part of the individual who in turn impacts the discursive practices. As noted in the work of Thomas and Davies’ (2005), NPM “lacks a nuanced and empirically informed understanding of its daily enactment in specific organizational settings” (p. 683). One could argue that this is simply a timing issue, where the regulations and the

practices have yet to coordinate; however, it can also be viewed as employees resisting NPM and therefore impacting the change process.

The second form of security that was evident was in discussion around employees that were not productive. Of the individuals interviewed, all of them discussed someone that they currently work with or have worked with that is not competent in their position but continues to have a position within the public service. This surfaced a sense that if the people that are not good at their job or position can still have a job then I am safe. This was accentuated in a quote by one individual when he was talking about programs that were not performing as they should. "If you make a decision it is like turning an aircraft carrier around, that the program will not phase out immediately or that we are going to stop doing something...there are Canadians who are getting something" (Interview 1).

This sense of security plays a role in resistance to the *modernization process*. The *modernization process* is thought to develop a more business-like environment where people and departments need to be more fiscally accountable. This taken-for-granted sense of security for them and people they work with, makes the likelihood of negative consequences for poor performance less likely. The public servants themselves then are not embracing and in fact resisting again the tenants of the *modernization process*.

The result then is that the discourse of the public service is constituted by a feeling of security in maintaining employment within the public service. Although alleviation of this security is part of the *modernization process* in that it promotes holding people accountable for performance, the embedded nature of security within the public service discourse acts as a resistance mechanism.

6.5 The Employee Acceptance

Members of the public service who engage in the discursive practices perpetuate the discourse. There are many other discursive practices at play in choosing to accept the public service discourse that can make engaging more of necessity than of choice; however, the choice to first engage is still theirs. The individuals involved in this study all made the conscious choice to join the public service. Some knew that it was what they wanted to do from when they were a child, some believed that the time and work expectations were suited for the lifestyle they wanted, while others joined “for a job” (Interview 8) but stayed for the security that came from working with such a large organization.

In Foucault’s work he states that self-understanding is a process of internalized dialogue interacting with external cultural norms (Foucault, 1980b). Although not all of the individuals interviewed were ‘exercising acceptance’, as there were some that did not express such an understanding of the self. There were, however, some that did appear to monitor and understand their conduct as a public servant in

relation to the more privileged private sector. They appeared aware of the “many discourses” that worked upon them (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000).

The following illuminates the idea of how people actively seek to be part of the organization even when other more attractive positions are available. In this quote the individual is speaking of the first time she was contacted about a position with the public service. “[W]e have a three month term position, ... we don’t expect you to want it, but it is interim, ...it’s probably going to go longer, but... They can’t guarantee... It’s the shortest they can do...So I said, ah, I wanted it, I always wanted to work for Federal Government and [my department]” (Interview 8).

The individual was willing to take the term position even though a more permanent position with another company would have been more attractive. This individual was willing to take the risk for the opportunity to potentially work full-time for the government. Her term status continued for 3 years before she was hired full-time. One could argue that this individual’s choice was based on a broader need for employment, but the choice of entering the public service instead of another type of employment demonstrates an understanding of what it means to be a public servant and an acceptance of that meaning on the part of the individual.

Once inside the public service one can also argue that individuals can have some influence. From a speech by the Clerk of the Privy Council we see a desire to

understand the values of the employees as a means of moving the public service forward.

I recognize that it is difficult to innovate when hampered by unnecessary rules. That is why unraveling the web of rules at both the public service and departmental levels must continue...There is often reluctance to do things differently or even to suggest new ways of doing things. I believe that the best way to overcome such risk aversion is to build trust, and that dialogue is the best way to do it. We need more meaningful dialogue between managers and employees on values, expectations and our respective roles in building the public service of the future. (Wouters, 2011, p. 13)

The direction of change is something that was consciously started with the renewal and *modernization process*. The government along with the public service governing body, the Privy Council, made conscious efforts to change that influenced the discourse of the public servant. Through deliberate change in structure, language and protocol the goal of the *modernization* was to move the public service in a direction that was more market driven and efficient. These are values not normally associated with the public service and therefore a means of the people having an impact on the public service. The pressure to move toward a more capitalistic model, however, can be argued to have been socially enforced on the organization and therefore not a direct result of the members intentions.

The impact the public servant has is on the choice to accept the changes or remain with what is comfortable. In a system that is as large and complex as the Government of Canada, whether one chooses to embrace the new direction or not is something that can be disguised and therefore it is difficult for people to be held accountable.

6.6 Conclusion

The role of the subject in the public service discourse is explored from the perspective of an active participant. The individual is shown to impact the discourse through the enrollment process and through the choice to adopt or not adopt changes that are encouraged through the organization.

Three separate subjectivities are discussed in relation to the public servant's role in the discourse. The first is considered the *unwritten recruitment*, which discusses the enrollment process and how traditional views of the public service are perpetuated through this type of recruitment. The second is a *sense of security*. Through a sense of importance of what they do and the size of the organization there is a sense of security in belonging to the public service. This logic works in opposition of the more market-driven beliefs that the government structure is trying to adopt through the *modernization process*. The third one discussed in relation to the subjectification of the public servant is *employee acceptance*. Through the

acceptance of policies and procedures introduced into the structure the employee is playing a role in the perpetuation of the discourse.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This dissertation is a poststructuralist examination of the public servant. The subjectivities that construct and maintain the notion of the public service, within the context of the Canadian Federal Government, were explored through the use of discourse analysis. The discourse analysis was performed using documents, textbooks and interview transcripts. The discourse analysis was framed using Rabinow's interpretation of Foucault's three modes of objectification: dividing practices, scientific classification and subjectification. Each mode provided insight into the discourse and the impact of the *modernization process* on the discourse.

The dissertation starts by providing an introduction to NPM and its impact on the Government of Canada through what has become known as the *modernization* or renewal process. This section highlighted how the social construction and foundational values of the NPM developed. The chapter explores how NPM was adopted into the Canadian context and how it has formed the basis for the changes that have occurred in the Canadian Federal government over the past thirty years. These changes are then highlighted to provide context for the analysis of the public servant's individual narratives and the 'modernized' public service discourse.

My analysis is discussed in chapter 4, 5 and 6. Each of the three chapters deals with one of the three modes of objectification: dividing practices, scientific classification and subjectification (Rabinow, 1984). Although Paul Rabinow's use of the three modes of objectification was originally a means of summarizing Foucault's overall work, this dissertation developed them as a framework for conducting the discourse analysis.

My analysis of the public service discourse yielded ten subjectivities that act in the constitution of the public servant. These fell under one of the three modes of objectification. Each of the modes was highlighted chapters discusses how the themes presented themselves through the analysis, how they developed in the discourse and the influence the *modernization process* has had. The dividing practices consisted of accountability, professionalization, scope, language and socialization. Each was shown as a means of separating the idea of the public servant from employees of other sectors. The scientific classification section discusses the themes of creating knowledge and the bureaucratic structure. Both are seen to play a role in knowledge creation and distribution within the discourse. And finally the subjectification section involved unwritten recruitment, security and employee acceptance.

The *modernization process*, which is shown to be influenced by New Public Management, is used as a focal point of this analysis is due to the nature of the management philosophy and its seeming opposition to the bureaucratic politically

driven system of the Canadian Government. The privileging of free market ideologies through the adoptions of New Public Management has been an on-going process for the Canadian Government over the past thirty years which formalized with the introduction of the Public Service Modernization Act in 2003. This dissertation demonstrates that although there has been a legislative movement toward *modernization* the subjectivities of the public service are not, as of this study, significantly changed. The discursive practices that govern the discourse have experienced some change, but there is still a struggle between the public service discourse and the objectives of *modernization*.

7.2 The Modernized Public Servant

This dissertation reveals the strength of discourse in maintaining the identity of public servant is very strong even after the organization has tried to implement significant changes. The modernized public servants shown in this dissertation are employees that take pride in serving the general public, a pride that drives that the need to be accountable. They are a group of employees that understand the magnitude to the government's impact on society and as such take a sense of security from that. These are all subjectivities that work through the discourse to influence the identity of the public servant. Ingrained in the daily discursive practices of these members of the public service, these subjectivities prove to be obstacles for change within the organization.

The discourse of modernized public servant, however, has experienced some modification. Notions like accountability and how to achieve it in the eyes of the public are being altered. This modification is happening at the level of knowledge creation, within the educational process that will have future implications for how the business of government is conducted. Through providing the desired changes the status of science, these ideas become more powerful in the discourse and as such more likely to influence change. This suggests that over time the fundamental values of NPM will continue to be introduced and gain power in the public service discourse.

7.3 Contribution to the Literature

This dissertation makes three contributions to the literature. The first is a contribution to the understanding the discursive practices that constitute the public servant. In the Canadian context, the analysis of the public servant yields ten practices that fall into one of three modes of objectification. This analysis provides an understanding of the identity of the public servant is constituted and continually reconstituted through discursive practices. This analysis also explores the enrollment by public servants into the public service discourse.

The second contribution is to the literature on agency's role in discourse formation. Through exploring the enrollment and resistance practices within the public service,

support is provided for Foucault's later work that provided room for subjects to act upon the discourse. Instead of merely being formed through the discourse, subjects are shown to influence the discourse.

The third contribution is to discourse analysis as a method that can be used in the management literature. The three modes of objectification forwarded by Paul Rabinow (1984) as a means of summarizing the work of Foucault are used as the framework to conduct my genealogical inquiry. Through the use of the three modes of objectification a researcher is better able to organize and interrogate the data.

7.4 Limitations

In looking at the dissertation project critically, there are several things that I deem to be limitations; timing, the sample and the public service as a single entity. The following will highlight why I considered each to be a limitation and then in the following section, I address how each hold potential for future research.

The first limitation is with the time in which the data collection took place. The interviews and other materials were collected in the last three months of 2009 and throughout 2010. Since that time there have been legislation and procedural changes that highlight the New Public Management discourse in a significant way. The limited impact of *modernization* on the public service expressed in this project

may be very contextual, which supports understanding the subjectivity as continuously changing (Knights, 1992).

The second limitation has to do with how the sample criteria. There were very few of the individuals that were part of the public service before the *modernization* process. As a result, I was limited in understanding the impact of the process on the individuals. This would allow for a better understanding of how the NPM discourse has influenced the individual identity of the public servant.

Finally, management literature often portrays one fixed and stable identity of the employee (Sveninsson & Alvesson, 2003). In this work I have looked at how the constitution of the public servant has changed over time, but I have treated the public servant as one identity. By not focusing on one department or agency, I portray the public service with a single brush. As such, I do not account for the impact positional subjectivities have on the public servant.

7.5 Future Research

In regards to future research I see a three main projects resulting from this dissertation. The first project deals with addressing the limitations of this study. The second project would look to expand the archive of the study and the third would expand on the methods used within this study. I outline each in the following sections.

7.5.1 Addressing Limitations

As a means of furthering this work, I would like to concentrate on developments over the last 24 months within the Canadian context. In the recent literature published on the *modernization process*, the privileging of NPM appears to have taken a more prominent position. The rhetoric of the modernization process is starting to contribute to some structural changes and it would be of interest to see if the themes delivered by the public servants interviewed would remain unchanged.

To further focus this new work, I would also consider adjusting the sample to focus on different segments or departments of the public service. I would look for those that are most affected by the foundations of New Public Management to see if a different perspective on the discourse of the 'modernized' public servant. In this study I would also add to the sample by interviewing people from outside of the public service as well. As discussed, one's identity is influenced by the impressions of others (VanMannen, 1979). As a result, it would be interesting to interview people outside of the public sector to gain their impression of the public service. Finally, I would gather demographic information from individuals interviewed to be used to explore the cross-sectionality of the public servant identity with that of race and gender. This would be to explore differences and similarities in experience that may be present.

7.5.2 Expanded Archive: Canada and the United States of America

In addition to further research into the Canadian Government as an archive, I would also like to expand the scope of the study to include the United States of America.

Both Canada and the United States are proclaimed democracies, but are run under very different governmental systems. The question of this exploration would be to see if the discourse of the public servant is altered by the different governmental and society influences on these two countries.

7.5.3 Modes of Objectification as a Method

The final project I will pursue as a result of this dissertation is a methods piece. This project would expand on the methods used in this project to introduce the modes of objectification as a categorical apparatus to apply Foucault's theory of knowledge and power to conduct discourse analysis within management literature. Through using Foucault's modes of objectification, one is able to surface the power relations and how knowledge is created through the use of discursive practices.

One of my main frustrations while commencing this project was the limited detail provided about the process of conducting a discourse analysis. Although discourse analysis has been used as a method in the management literature (e.g. Davies & Thomas, 2002; Doolin, 2002 ; Laine & Vaara, 2007; Thomas & Davies, 2005), and has been the subject of other literature (e.g. Ahmadvand, 2011; Paltridge, 2007; Phillips & Hardy, 2002), I believe our field can benefit from having more structured approach to enable research to surface the power structures within the discourse. Through delivering a systematic way to approach the discourse while respecting the tenants of poststructuralism, more researchers may be willing to engage in understanding the relationship with power, knowledge and the discourses that govern our field.

7.6 Conclusion

This dissertation is a poststructuralist evaluation of the *modernized* public service in the Canadian context. Through exploration of the discourse we are able to see the privileging of market-driven practices within the public service and how resistance to change enforces the subjectivities that support the privileged status. This dissertation also furthers the use of Rabinow's interpretation of Foucault's modes of objectification as a theoretical framework for conducting a discourse analysis. The modes of objectification serve as a lens to conduct discourse analysis that not only allows the researcher to understand the role of knowledge and power, but helps to ensure they can capture the influence the discourse can have on the subject and that the subject can have on the discourse.

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Appendix A – Informed Consent Form

Title of Study: Becoming an Employee: A Public Service Perspective.

Researcher: K. Doreen MacAulay, PhD Student
Sobey School of Business, Department of Management
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, NS B3H 3C3
Phone: 902-475-1288 email: karla.macaulay@smu.ca

I am PhD student in the Department of Management at Saint Mary's University. As part of my PhD dissertation, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Albert Mills, and I am inviting you to participate in my study. The purpose of this study is understand the identity construction of the public servant.

The goal of this exploratory study is to understand how people understand the concept of the public servant and how they have come to see themselves as a public servant. This project will look at the notion of public servant in the Canadian Government system. The interest in this project comes from a desire to understand how changing values and beliefs within the system impact the identity of the employee. How then is the notion of employee created and maintained through this organizational structure?

I will schedule interviews at a mutually convenient time and location, and will be documented through notes and audio recordings. Interviews will take place between September and December. The information gathered will be used for my dissertation which will be made available in the fall of 2010. The final paper will be presented at my dissertation defense. The date has not been set; however, tentatively I am looking to complete the project by October of 2010.

This study will add to the discussion on the identity of the employee. The notion of the employee is a concept that has been studied in the past in the private sector. The information looking at the notion of the employee in the public sector is not so prevalent. This study will allow for a look into the concept of the public service employee or public servant in the Canadian environment. Considering the structural changes within the management of government offices, this study looks to see how those changes have impacted the identity of the public servant. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty, even after you have been interviewed. Should you choose to withdraw after you have been interviewed, all taped and transcribed materials will be destroyed and no reference will be made to anything revealed during the interview sessions.

Signing this consent signifies that you agree to share your experience as a public servant and allow us to include the tape recording and transcript of your interview in the data collection for this project. The data collection will be housed at Saint Mary's University in Sobey Building, Room SB 123. The collection will be under the care and direction of me, Karla Doreen MacAulay Mellon and Dr. Albert J. Mills. The collection is accessible to bone fide researchers by appointment only. Materials are restricted to SB 123 and cannot be removed.

The signed consent forms will be numbered and kept in a locked filing cabinet at St. Mary's University, Sobey School of Business, room SB 220. Transcripts will have identifying material excluded; all personally identifying information (including name, position, and years of service) will be kept confidential and will not appear in any communication of the results. Transcripts will be numbered, following the numbering on the consent forms. You will have the opportunity to read the final paper before it is presented.

If you have any questions, please contact the student researcher, Doreen MacAulay at 902-475-1288 or by email at karla.macaulay@smu.ca, or my supervisor Dr. Albert Mills, phone 902-420-5778 or email albert.mills@smu.ca.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions or concerns about the study, you may contact Dr. Veronica Stinson, Chair of the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board at ethics@smu.ca or 420-5728.

By signing this consent form, you are indicating that you fully understand the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Please keep one copy of this form for your own records.

Form Number: _____

Appendix B – Prompt Questions

- 1) What does it mean to you to be a public servant?
- 2) How did you become a public servant?
- 3) What influenced you to become a public servant? Have you always wanted to be a public servant?
- 4) How do you feel about the Modernization Process and/or the Public Service Renewal Process?
- 5) How has the adoption of the Modernization and/or Public Service Renewal Process values impacted you?
- 6) How has the structure of your department been altered by the adoption of the Modernization and/or Public Service Renewal Process?

Appendix C – Canadian Public Administration Textbooks in Alphabetical Order

Aucoin, P. (2008). *New Public Management and the Quality of Government Coping with the New Political Governance of Canada*.

Aucoin, P. (1995). *The New Public Management: Canada in Comparative Perspective*.

Aucoin, P. (1981). *The Politics and Management of Restraint in Government*.

Brown, G.W. (1942). *Building the Canadian Nation*.

Charter, B. (2004). *Bureaucratically Incorrect: Letters to a Young Public Servant*.

Doern, G. B. & Aucoin, P. (1979). *Public Policy in Canada: Organization Process and Management*.

Dunn, C. (Ed). (2002). *The Handbook of Canadian Public Administration*.

Hodgetts, J. E. (1973). *The Canadian Public Service: A Physiology of Government 1867-1970*.

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Kernaghan, K. (Ed). (1985). *Public Administration in Canada: Selected Readings* (5 ed.).

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Appendix D – Public Service Commission’s Mission, Vision and Values Statement

Mission and Vision

The Public Service Commission (PSC) is dedicated to building a public service that strives for excellence. We protect merit, non-partisanship, representativeness and the use of both official languages.

We safeguard the integrity of staffing in the public service and the political impartiality of public servants. We develop policies and guidance for public service managers and hold them accountable for their staffing decisions. We conduct audits and investigations to confirm the effectiveness of the staffing system and to make improvements. As an independent agency, we report our results to Parliament.

We recruit talented Canadians to the public service, drawn from across the country.

We continually renew our recruitment services to meet the needs of a modern and innovative public service.

Values to guide our actions

In serving Parliament and Canadians, we are guided by and proudly adhere to the following values: **Integrity** in our actions; **Fairness** in our decisions; **Respect** in our relationships; and **Transparency** in our communication.

Appendix E – Provinces and Territories Entrance into Canada

Province or Territory	Entered Confederation
Ontario	July 1, 1867
Quebec	July 1, 1867
Nova Scotia	July 1, 1867
New Brunswick	July 1, 1867
Manitoba	July 15, 1870
British Columbia	July 20, 1871
Prince Edward Island	July 1, 1873
Saskatchewan	September 1, 1905
Alberta	September 1, 1905
Newfoundland and Labrador	March 31st, 1949
Northwest Territories	July 15, 1870
Yukon	June 13, 1898
Nunavut	April 1, 1999

Appendix F – Number of Public Servants (1940-1950)

Year	Appointments between 1940-1950
1940	19,206
1941	31,043
1942	48,613
1943	56,206
1944	38,889
1945	41,007
1946	53,143
1947	33,338
1948	33,924
1949	32,187
1950	24,184

Appendix G - Canadian Management Development Centre Objectives

Source: (DepartmentofJustice, 2011)

The objects of the Centre are:

(a) to encourage pride and excellence in the management of the Public Service and to foster among Public Service managers a sense of the purposes, values and traditions of the Public Service;

(b) to help ensure that managers in the Public Service have the analytical, creative, advisory, administrative and other managerial skills and knowledge necessary to develop and implement policy, respond to change, including changes in the social, cultural, racial and linguistic character of Canadian society, and manage government programs, services and personnel efficiently, effectively and equitably;

(c) to help managers in the Public Service develop a successful cooperative relationship with staff members at all levels through leadership, motivation, effective internal communications and the encouragement of innovation, high-quality service to the public and skills development;

(d) to develop within the Public Service and to attract to the Public Service, through the Centre's programs and studies, persons who are of high calibre and

who reflect the diversity of Canadian society, and to support their growth and development as public sector managers committed to the service of Canada;

(e) to formulate and provide training, orientation and development programs for managers in the public sector and particularly for senior managers in the Public Service;

(f) to study and conduct research into the theory and practice of public sector management; and

(g) to encourage a greater awareness in Canada of issues related to public sector management and the role and functions of government and to involve a broad range of individuals and institutions in the Centre's pursuit of excellence in public administration.

Appendix H – Schedules of the Financial Administration Act

Financial Administration Act: Schedule I (justice.gc.ca, 2011)

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency <i>Agence de promotion économique du Canada atlantique</i>	Member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada appointed by Commission under the Great Seal to be the Minister for the purposes of the <u>Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency Act</u>
Canada Industrial Relations Board <i>Conseil canadien des relations industrielles</i>	Minister of Labour
Canadian Artists and Producers Professional Relations Tribunal <i>Tribunal canadien des relations professionnelles artistes-producteurs</i>	Minister of Labour
Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency <i>Agence canadienne d'évaluation</i>	Minister of the Environment

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>environnementale</i>	
Canadian Forces Grievance Board <i>Comité des griefs des Forces canadiennes</i>	Minister of National Defence
Canadian Grain Commission <i>Commission canadienne des grains</i>	Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food
Canadian Human Rights Commission <i>Commission canadienne des droits de la personne</i>	Minister of Justice
Canadian Human Rights Tribunal <i>Tribunal canadien des droits de la personne</i>	Minister of Justice
Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat <i>Secrétariat des conférences intergouvernementales canadiennes</i>	President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada
Canadian International Development Agency <i>Agence canadienne de développement</i>	Minister of Foreign Affairs

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>international</i>	
Canadian International Trade Tribunal <i>Tribunal canadien du commerce extérieur</i>	Minister of Finance
Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency <i>Agence canadienne de développement économique du Nord</i>	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission <i>Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
Canadian Security Intelligence Service <i>Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité</i>	Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness
Canadian Space Agency <i>Agence spatiale canadienne</i>	Minister of Industry
Canadian Transportation Agency	Minister of Transport

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>Office des transports du Canada</i>	
Copyright Board <i>Commission du droit d'auteur</i>	Minister of Industry
Correctional Service of Canada <i>Service correctionnel du Canada</i>	Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness
Courts Administration Service <i>Service administratif des tribunaux judiciaires</i>	Minister of Justice
Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Regions of Quebec <i>Agence de développement économique du Canada pour les régions du Québec</i>	Minister of the Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Regions of Quebec
Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario <i>Agence fédérale de développement économique pour le Sud de l'Ontario</i>	Minister of Industry
Financial Consumer Agency of Canada	Minister of Finance

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>Agence de la consommation en matière financière du Canada</i>	
Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada <i>Centre d'analyse des opérations et déclarations financières du Canada</i>	Minister of Finance
Hazardous Materials Information Review Commission <i>Conseil de contrôle des renseignements relatifs aux matières dangereuses</i>	Minister of Health
Immigration and Refugee Board <i>Commission de l'immigration et du statut de réfugié</i>	Minister of Citizenship and Immigration
Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission <i>Commission de vérité et de réconciliation relative aux pensionnats indiens</i>	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
Library and Archives of Canada <i>Bibliothèque et Archives du Canada</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
Military Police Complaints Commission <i>Commission d'examen des plaintes concernant la police militaire</i>	Minister of National Defence
National Energy Board <i>Office national de l'énergie</i>	Minister of Natural Resources
National Farm Products Council <i>Conseil national des produits agricoles</i>	Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food
National Film Board <i>Office national du film</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
National Parole Board <i>Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles</i>	Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness
Northern Pipeline Agency <i>Administration du pipe-line du Nord</i>	Minister of Natural Resources

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
Office of Infrastructure of Canada <i>Bureau de l'infrastructure du Canada</i>	Minister of Transport
Office of the Auditor General <i>Bureau du vérificateur général</i>	Minister of Finance
Office of the Chief Electoral Officer <i>Bureau du directeur général des élections</i>	Leader of the Government in the House of Commons
Office of the Commissioner for Federal Judicial Affairs <i>Bureau du commissaire à la magistrature fédérale</i>	Minister of Justice
Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying <i>Commissariat au lobbying</i>	President of the Treasury Board
Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages <i>Commissariat aux langues officielles</i>	President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada
Office of the Communications Security Establishment Commissioner	Minister of National Defence

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>Bureau du commissaire du Centre de la sécurité des télécommunications</i>	
Office of the Co-ordinator, Status of Women <i>Bureau de la coordonnatrice de la situation de la femme</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada <i>Bureau de l'enquêteur correctionnel du Canada</i>	Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness
Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions <i>Bureau du directeur des poursuites pénales</i>	Minister of Justice
Office of the Governor General's Secretary <i>Bureau du secrétaire du gouverneur général</i>	Prime Minister
Office of the Public Sector Integrity Commissioner <i>Commissariat à l'intégrité du secteur</i>	President of the Treasury Board

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>public</i>	
Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions <i>Bureau du surintendant des institutions financières</i>	Minister of Finance
Offices of the Information and Privacy Commissioners of Canada <i>Commissariats à l'information et à la protection de la vie privée au Canada</i>	Minister of Justice
Patented Medicine Prices Review Board <i>Conseil d'examen du prix des médicaments brevetés</i>	Minister of Health
Privy Council Office <i>Bureau du Conseil privé</i>	Prime Minister
Public Appointments Commission Secretariat <i>Secrétariat de la Commission des</i>	Prime Minister

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>nominations publiques</i>	
Public Health Agency of Canada <i>Agence de la santé publique du Canada</i>	Minister of Health
Public Service Commission <i>Commission de la fonction publique</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
Public Service Staffing Tribunal <i>Tribunal de la dotation de la fonction publique</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
Public Service Labour Relations Board <i>Commission des relations de travail dans la fonction publique</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
Registrar of the Supreme Court of Canada and that portion of the federal public administration appointed under subsection 12(2) of the Supreme Court Act <i>Registraire de la Cour suprême du Canada et le secteur de l'administration</i>	Minister of Justice

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>publique fédérale nommé en vertu du paragraphe 12(2) de la Loi sur la Cour suprême</i>	
Registry of the Competition Tribunal <i>Greffe du Tribunal de la concurrence</i>	Minister of Industry
Registry of the Public Servants Disclosure Protection Tribunal <i>Greffe du Tribunal de la protection des fonctionnaires divulgateurs d'actes répréhensibles</i>	Minister of Canadian Heritage
Registry of the Specific Claims Tribunal <i>Greffe du Tribunal des revendications particulières</i>	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Royal Canadian Mounted Police <i>Gendarmerie royale du Canada</i>	Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness
Royal Canadian Mounted Police External Review Committee	Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness

Column I	Column II
Division or Branch of the Federal Public Administration	Appropriate Minister
<i>Comité externe d'examen de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada</i>	
Royal Canadian Mounted Police Public Complaints Commission <i>Commission des plaintes du public contre la Gendarmerie royale du Canada</i>	Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness
Security Intelligence Review Committee <i>Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité</i>	Prime Minister
Statistics Canada <i>Statistique Canada</i>	Minister of Industry
Transportation Appeal Tribunal of Canada <i>Tribunal d'appel des transports du Canada</i>	Minister of Transport
Veterans Review and Appeal Board <i>Tribunal des anciens combattants (révision et appel)</i>	Minister of Veterans Affairs

Financial Administration Act: Schedule IV (**justice.gc.ca, 2011**)

(Sections 3 and 11)

PORTIONS OF THE CORE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Assisted Human Reproduction Agency of Canada

Agence canadienne de contrôle de la procréation assistée

Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

Agence de promotion économique du Canada atlantique

Canada Border Services Agency [**2005, c. 38, par. 144(4)(b)**]

Agence des services frontaliers du Canada

Canada Border Services Agency [**SOR/2005-58**]

Agence des services frontaliers du Canada

Canada Emission Reduction Incentives Agency

Agence canadienne pour l'incitation à la réduction des émissions

Canada Industrial Relations Board

Conseil canadien des relations industrielles

Canada School of Public Service

École de la fonction public du Canada

Canadian Artists and Producers Professional Relations Tribunal

Tribunal canadien des relations professionnelles artistes-producteurs

Canadian Dairy Commission

Commission canadienne du lait

Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency

Agence canadienne d'évaluation environnementale

Canadian Forces Grievance Board

Comité des griefs des Forces canadiennes

Canadian Grain Commission

Commission canadienne des grains

Canadian Human Rights Commission

Commission canadienne des droits de la personne

Canadian Human Rights Tribunal

Tribunal canadien des droits de la personne

Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat

Secrétariat des conférences intergouvernementales canadiennes

Canadian International Development Agency

Agence canadienne de développement international

Canadian International Trade Tribunal

Tribunal canadien du commerce extérieur

Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency

Agence canadienne de développement économique du Nord

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission

Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes

Canadian Space Agency

Agence spatiale canadienne

Canadian Transportation Accident Investigation and Safety Board

Bureau canadien d'enquête sur les accidents de transport et de la sécurité des transports

Canadian Transportation Agency
Office des transports du Canada

Communication Canada
Communication Canada

Competition Tribunal
Tribunal de la concurrence

Copyright Board
Commission du droit d'auteur

Correctional Service of Canada
Service correctionnel du Canada

Courts Administration Service
Service administratif des tribunaux judiciaires

Director of Soldier Settlement
Directeur de l'établissement de soldats

The Director, The Veterans' Land Act
Directeur des terres destinées aux anciens combattants

Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Regions of Quebec
Agence de développement économique du Canada pour les régions du Québec

Energy Supplies Allocation Board
Office de répartition des approvisionnements d'énergie

Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario
Agence fédérale de développement économique pour le Sud de l'Ontario

Hazardous Materials Information Review Commission
Conseil de contrôle des renseignements relatifs aux matières dangereuses

Immigration and Refugee Board
Commission de l'immigration et du statut de réfugié

Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Commission de vérité et de réconciliation relative aux pensionnats indiens

International Joint Commission (Canadian Section)
Commission mixte internationale (section canadienne)

Law Commission of Canada
Commission du droit du Canada

Library and Archives of Canada
Bibliothèque et Archives du Canada

Military Police Complaints Commission
Commission d'examen des plaintes concernant la police militaire

National Farm Products Council
Conseil national des produits agricoles

National Parole Board
Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles

Office of Infrastructure of Canada
Bureau de l'infrastructure du Canada

Office of the Chief Electoral Officer

Bureau du directeur général des élections
 Office of the Commissioner for Federal Judicial Affairs
Bureau du commissaire à la magistrature fédérale
 Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying
Commissariat au lobbying
 Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages
Commissariat aux langues officielles
 Office of the Co-ordinator, Status of Women
Bureau de la coordonnatrice de la situation de la femme
 Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions
Bureau du directeur des poursuites pénales
 Office of the Governor-General's Secretary
Secrétariat du gouverneur général
 Office of the Public Sector Integrity Commissioner
Commissariat à l'intégrité du secteur public
 Office of the Superintendent of Bankruptcy
Bureau du surintendant des faillites
 Offices of the Information and Privacy Commissioners of Canada
Commissariats à l'information et à la protection de la vie privée du Canada
 Patented Medicine Prices Review Board
Conseil d'examen du prix des médicaments brevetés
 Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration
Administration du rétablissement agricole des Prairies
 Privy Council Office
Bureau du Conseil privé
 Public Appointments Commission Secretariat
Secrétariat de la Commission des nominations publiques
 Public Health Agency of Canada
Agence de la santé publique du Canada
 Public Service Commission
Commission de la fonction publique
 Public Service Staffing Tribunal
Tribunal de la dotation de la fonction publique
 Registry of the Public Servants Disclosure Protection Tribunal
*Greffe du Tribunal de la protection des fonctionnaires divulgateurs d'actes
répréhensibles*
 Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Gendarmerie royale du Canada
 Royal Canadian Mounted Police External Review Committee
Comité externe d'examen de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada
 Royal Canadian Mounted Police Public Complaints Commission
Commission des plaintes du public contre la Gendarmerie royale du Canada
 Specific Claims Tribunal
Tribunal des revendications particulières
 Staff of the Supreme Court

Personnel de la Cour suprême
Statistics Canada
Statistique Canada
Transportation Appeal Tribunal of Canada
Tribunal d'appel des transports du Canada
Veterans Review and Appeal Board
Tribunal des anciens combattants (révision et appel)

Financial Administration Act: Schedule V (justice.gc.ca, 2011)

(Sections 3 and 11)

SEPARATE AGENCIES

Canada Investment and Savings
Placements Épargne Canada
Canada Revenue Agency
Agence du revenu du Canada
Canadian Food Inspection Agency
Agence canadienne d'inspection des aliments
Canadian Institutes of Health Research
Instituts de recherche en santé du Canada
Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission
Commission canadienne de sûreté nucléaire
Canadian Polar Commission
Commission canadienne des affaires polaires
Canadian Security Intelligence Service
Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité
Communications Security Establishment, Department of National Defence
Centre de la sécurité des télécommunications, ministère de la Défense nationale
Financial Consumer Agency of Canada
Agence de la consommation en matière financière du Canada
Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada
Centre d'analyse des opérations et déclarations financières du Canada
Indian Oil and Gas Canada
Pétrole et gaz des Indiens Canada
National Capital Commission
Commission de la capitale nationale
National Energy Board
Office national de l'énergie
National Film Board
Office national du film
National Research Council of Canada
Conseil national de recherches du Canada
National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy
Table ronde nationale sur l'environnement et l'économie

Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council
Conseil de recherches en sciences naturelles et en génie

Northern Pipeline Agency
Administration du pipe-line du Nord

Office of the Auditor General of Canada
Bureau du vérificateur général du Canada

Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada
Bureau de l'enquêteur correctionnel du Canada

Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions
Bureau du surintendant des institutions financières

Parks Canada Agency
Agence Parcs Canada

Public Service Labour Relations Board
Commission des relations de travail dans la fonction publique

Security Intelligence Review Committee
Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines

Staff of the Non-Public Funds, Canadian Forces
Personnel des fonds non publics, Forces canadiennes

Statistics Survey Operations
Opérations des enquêtes statistiques

Appendix I – Union Representation in the Canadian Government

Public Service Alliance Canada (PSAC)	Professional Institute of the Public Service (PIPSC)	Canadian Association of Professional Employees (CAPE)	Different Unions		Unrepresented Group
			Group	Union	
Program and Administrative Services (PA)	Architecture, Engineering & Land Survey (NR)	Economics and Social Science Services (EC)	Electronics (EL)	IBEW	Executive (EX)
Operational Services (SV)	Applied Science & Patent Examination (SP)	Translation (TR)	Financial Management (FI)	ACFO	Human Resource Management (HM)
Technical Services (TC)	Audit, Commerce and Purchasing (AV)		Printing Services (Non-Supervisory)-(PR Non-S)	CGAU	Leadership Programs (PL)
Education and Library Science (EB)	Computer Systems (CS)		Ships' Officers (SO)	CMSG	
Border Services (FB)	Health Services (SH)		Ship Repair (East) SRE	FGDTLC (E)	
	Research (RE)		Law (LA)	AJC	
			Air Traffic Control (AI)	CATCA	
			Aircraft Operations (AO)	CFPA	
			Correctional Services (CX)	UCCO-CSN	
			Foreign Service (FS)	PAFSO	
			Radio Operations (RO)	CAW	
			Ship Repair Charge Hands (SR C)	FGDCA	
			Ship Repair (West) (SR W)	FGDTLC(W)	
			University Teaching (UT)	CMCFA	