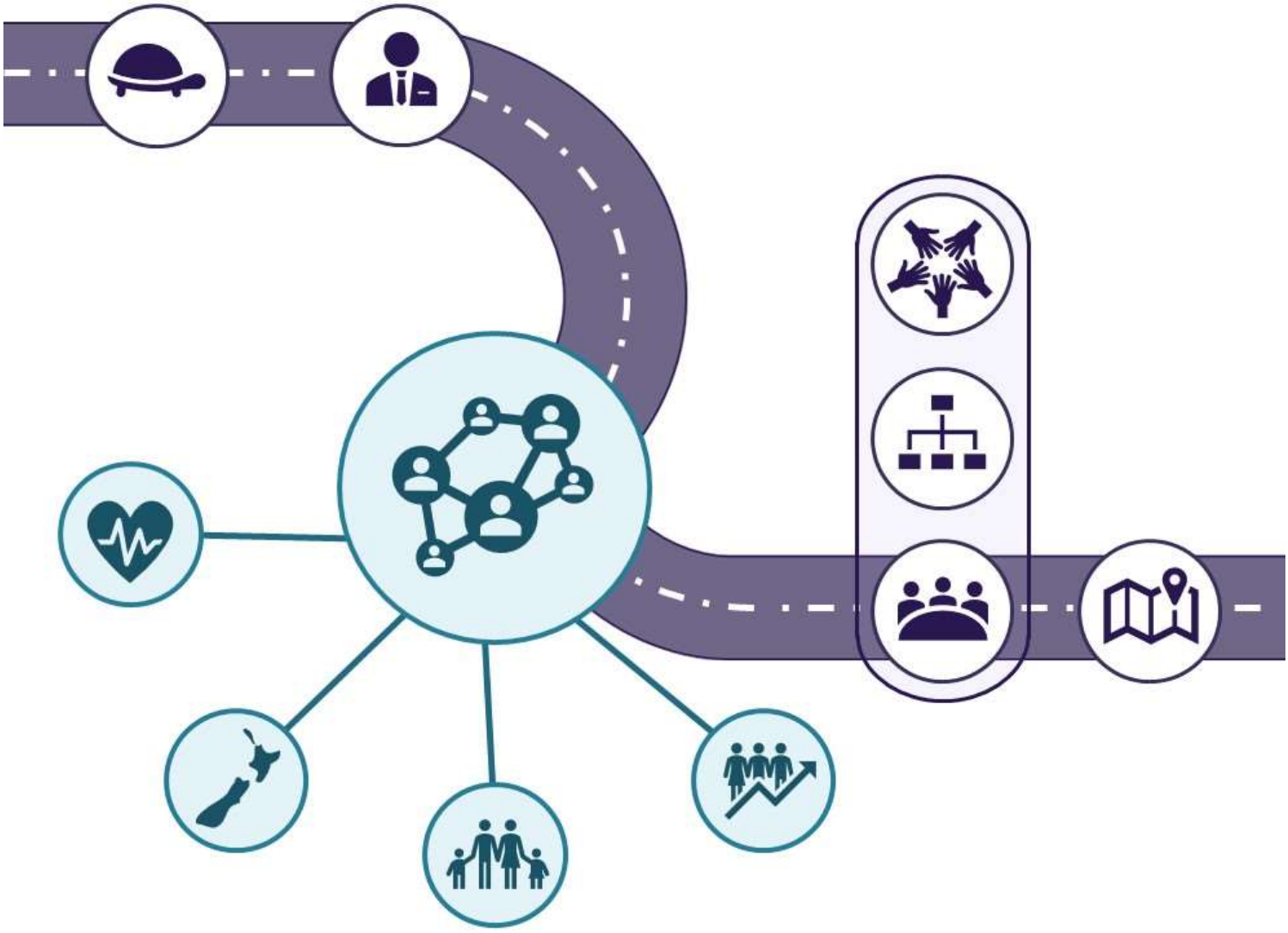
Service, citizenship, and the public interest



New Public Service and our public service reforms

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"The public service supports constitutional and democratic government, enables both the current Government and successive governments to develop and implement their policies, ***delivers high-quality and efficient public services****, supports the Government to* ***pursue the long-term public interest****, and* ***facilitates active citizenship****."*

– Public Service Legislation Bill
(as introduced into New Zealand Parliament November 2019)

SSC Discussion Paper November 2019

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This report summarises the New Public Service paradigm as it might apply to the New Zealand public service. The information in the report is intended for discussion purposes and does not propose any specific policy changes for the New Zealand public service. References to existing reforms are intended to be illustrative only. The report should not be read as being representative of the reforms as a whole or associated legislative reviews. While providing original commentary on implications for the New Zealand public service, the report also draws extensively from the works of Janet and Robert Denhardt and is not presented as an original work. Any opinions in the report do not represent those of the State Services Commission or the New Zealand government.

1. Introduction

"I really do believe that it is a noble thing to choose
to serve your country and your fellow citizens, as your career."

- Peter Hughes, Paterson Oration 2018

Key points:

- New Zealand is among the leaders in public administration and is pushing further ahead.
- While in some respects this leadership position means that we must create our own paradigm, we also try to learn from leading edge international theory and practice where possible.
- This report describes The New Public Service, a new philosophical paradigm for public administration, alongside past paradigms and alternate new paradigms.
- This is intended to provoke thought and discussion, without advocating for any particular policy. The report includes sections on the philosophy of service, citizenship, and the public interest, and concludes by discussing possible applications to the New Zealand context in areas of management, accountability, and leadership.

New Zealand is currently going through a period of significant reform, which represents a fundamental challenge to the dominant 1980s paradigm, New Public Management. We are replacing New Public Management with something new and emergent.

The history of public administration is often described as two paradigms in sequence: Traditional Public Administration, followed by New Public Management. The New Zealand public service is considered the purest example of New Public Management. New Public Management had considerable advantages over Traditional Public Administration, while also bringing new challenges. For many years, different scholars and practitioners have tried to kill New Public Management and proclaim a new king: New Public Administration, New Public Governance, Digital Era Governance, New Public Passion, New Public Service, and many others. None have been fully successful, and New Public Management remains, for now, the best description for contemporary practice around the world.

But the current public service reforms in New Zealand challenge that. A *spirit of service*, a *unified public service*, our values, and our principles, each stand in contrast to the neoliberal economic paradigm of New Public Management. In my role I am fortunate enough to be able to speak to public servants and thought leaders from other jurisdictions. Through these discussions, several themes have become apparent:

- New Zealand has, for many years, been among the leaders in public administration.
- The current reforms, both through the Public Service Act and the wider reform programme, push New Zealand further ahead.
- Much of our success cannot be explained by our structures and processes alone, and instead is related to who we are and what we believe, as a country and as a public service.
- The forefront of public service reform is paradigmatic, philosophical, ethical, and cultural.

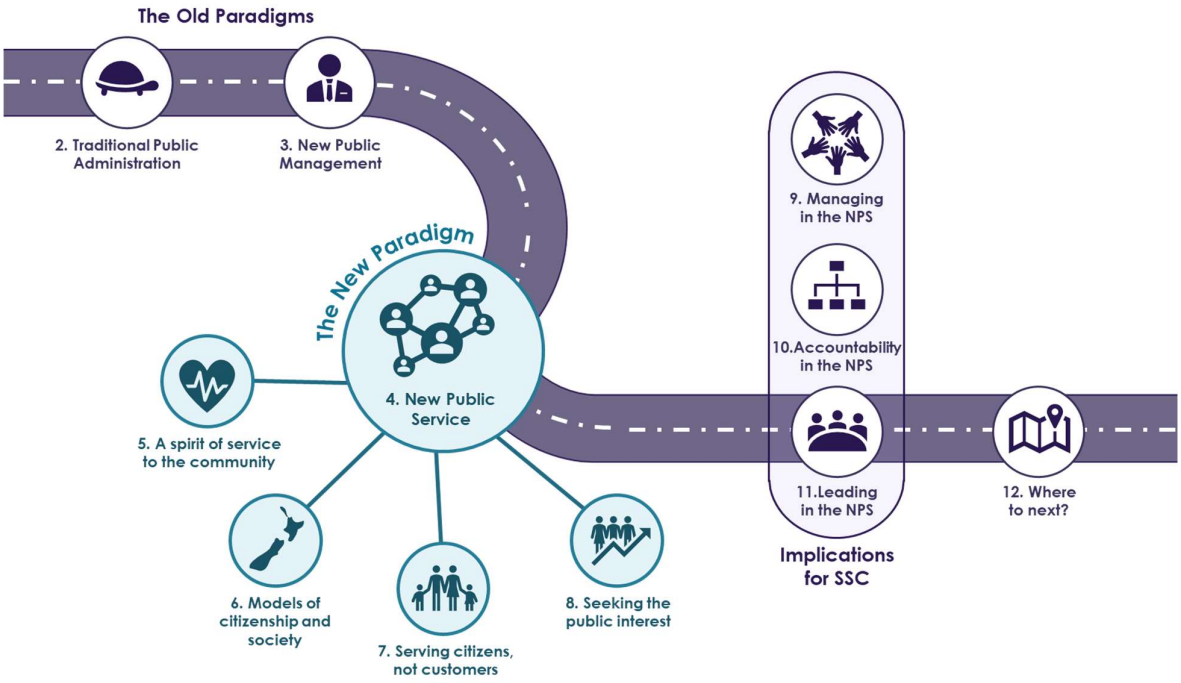
This report aims to engage in this philosophical discussion, through exploring the New Public Service paradigm and related concepts of service, citizenship, and seeking the public interest. The New Public Service is a potential alternative, successor, or complement to New Public Management, and one that bears many similarities with our current reforms while pushing further in some areas.

The New Public Service paradigm was developed by Janet and Bob Denhardt (hereafter 'the Denhardts'). I was recently able to spend time with the Denhardts in Sacramento and discussed how New Public Service could be applied to New Zealand. What follows is an exploration of the ideas of New Public Service, based upon:

- The Denhardts' various written works, as well as our conversations;
- Conversations and correspondence with other public administration scholars and thought leaders, particularly Barbara Crosby, John Bryson, Rosemary O'Leary, Bob Behn, and Jorrit DeJong;
- Other relevant literature from political philosophy and public administration.

This report summarises the New Public Service paradigm as it might apply to the New Zealand public service. The report is not intended to advocate for the New Public Service, and does not propose any specific policy changes. Instead it is intended to provoke thinking and to start a conversation about who we (the public service) are, and why we do the things that we do. The report doesn't provide a lot of practical solutions, because I thought it was important to first engage on the philosophy of New Public Service before drilling down to the practical details. In particular, the report explores ideas relating to service, citizenship, and the public interest and how they might be relevant to our current reforms.

The report is divided into twelve sections, represented in a visual guide on the following page. The first sections after this introduction (sections 2-4) describe various public administration 'paradigms', and position New Public Service as a possible successor to both Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management. Next, the report explores different areas of theory necessary for understanding New Public Service: a spirit of service to the community, models of 'citizenship' and society, serving citizens not customers, and seeking the public interest (sections 5-8). Then the report considers the application of this theory to some specific aspects of SSC's responsibility: management, accountability, and leadership (sections 9-11), before concluding with a discussion on how to take these ideas forward (section 12). A (much requested) glossary is included as an appendix.



This report is intended to be shared and discussed with a broad audience. Each section begins with key points that summarise the text that follows, and finishes with discussion questions that ask how the material might relate to our current practices. These questions are intended to support conversations within teams and across the Commission.

Discussion questions:

- Is it useful for SSC to think about what reforms might be over the horizon?
- How should SSC engage in discussions about the theory and philosophy of who we (the public service) are and what we do?
- Who else should we involve in these conversations?

2. The Old Paradigm: Traditional Public Administration

"Government shouldn't be run like a business; it should be run like a democracy."

- Janet and Robert Denhardt

Key points:

- The history of bureaucracy is divided into 'Traditional Public Administration' followed by 'New Public Management', though this is a simplification and no pure models exist in practice.
- Traditional Public Administration aimed, in the late 1800s, to make public service more like the 'scientific' management practices of contemporary manufacturing industries.
- Traditional Public Administration relies on hierarchies, controlled by centralised rules.
- Under Traditional Public Administration, public servants have limited discretion, and should aspire to neutral competence.

The Denhardts propose New Public Service as a successor to Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management. To understand this shift, it is worth briefly exploring this linear sequential view, and revisiting the relevant aspects of these earlier paradigms. Many calls for a new paradigm begin by maligning what came before – the following is intended to be a fairly neutral or even sympathetic summary of what Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management were, and what they aimed to achieve.

Bureaucracy itself is an ancient art, dating back at least 4,500 years to ancient Sumer.[1] However, as a self-conscious field of study, 'public administration' is generally traced to the late 1800s. The conventional history of bureaucracy suggests that a disorganised period (without a coherent philosophy), was followed in the late 1800s and early 1900s by Traditional (or 'Old') Public Administration, and in turn in the 1980s and 1990s by New Public Management. This linear sequential view assumes that governments are intellectually consistent and homogenous. Instead, all periods of history have likely featured a mixture of administrative models and competing ideas. While these different paradigms are presented here as sequential, this is a simplification.

In the US, public administration is traced to then college professor (later president) Woodrow Wilson, who in the late 1800s argued that public services should be run as a business, with hierarchies and the dispassionate application of administrative rules.[2] Wilson argued for a clear split between designing and setting policy, which should be a political act, and public administration, which should be politically neutral (the 'policy-administration dichotomy'). In parallel, European sociologists were reaching similar conclusions, albeit via different logic. In Max Weber's *Bureaucracy*, public servants were to be organised into hierarchies and would administer rules, but the European model lacked the strict separation of policy and administration, with policy analysis and advice conceived as an administrative task like any other.[3] In either model, the role of the administrative head ('Permanent Secretary' in New Zealand) was to determine the best division of labour, and then develop the appropriate means of coordination and control.[4]

In Europe, efforts were underway to reduce the cronyism and corruption that plagued the public service. A system of merit-based appointment and promotion was proposed to reduce political

patronage, and bureaucratic rules to limit the discretion of individual public servants. The 1854 Northcote Trevelyan report [5] recommended changes to the UK civil service, introducing merit-based appointment and the idea of 'neutral competence'. Decades later, New Zealand's 1912 Hunt Commission reached similar conclusions.[6]

At the time, these practices were known as 'Public Administration', and were used as the basis of administrative reform across North America, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand (particularly through the 1912 Public Service Act). It was only when new alternatives were proposed that these practices became known as Traditional Public Administration or Old Public Administration. The Denhardts describe the key characteristics of Traditional Public Administration as:

- "The focus of government is on the direct delivery of services through existing or newly authorised agencies of government.
- Public policy and public administration are concerned with designing and implementing policies focused on a single, politically defined objective.
- Public administrators play a limited role in policymaking and governance; rather they are charged with the implementation of public policies.
- The delivery of services should be carried out by administrators accountable to elected officials and given limited discretion in their work.
- Administrators are responsible to democratically elected political leaders.
- Public programs are best administered through hierarchical organisations, with managers largely exercising control from the top of the organisation.
- The primary values of public organisations are efficiency and rationality.
- Public organisations operate most efficiently as closed systems; thus, citizen involvement is limited.
- The role of the public administrator is largely defined as planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting."[7]

New Zealand is often characterised as having left Traditional Public Administration behind, and as being the purest example of its successor, New Public Management.[8] Nevertheless, Traditional Public Administration remains a strong influence on bureaucratic culture, and many of the bullet-points above could be used to describe New Zealand practices that are still in effect. Many agencies are still organised as strong hierarchies, and efficiency continues to be a byword for high performing agencies.

Discussion questions:

- Which of the characteristics of Traditional Public Administration still apply to the New Zealand public service?
- How important is hierarchy in the organisation of public agencies?
- How much discretion do public servants have in their work?

3. The Current Paradigm: New Public Management

"In our rush to steer, perhaps we are forgetting who owns the boat."

- Janet and Robert Denhardt

Key points:

- New Public Management aimed, in the 1980s and 1990s, to make public management more 'business-like' by emulating contemporary management techniques.
- New Public Management relies on specifying performance, and then holding public servants accountable for what they achieve.
- Under New Public Management, public servants have high discretion, but are assumed to be self-interested and to be controlled by incentives.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a range of conceptually similar public service reforms were enacted in governments across the developed world. These changes did not have a name at the time, but were retrospectively described as 'New Public Management' (in contrast to Old or Traditional Public Administration).

The calls for change echoed similar sentiments from decades earlier. Traditional public administration had begun with a call for the bureaucracy to be managed more like a business. Practices in public organisations were changed to be more in line with those in businesses of that time, in an era defined by 'scientific management':[9] the use of hierarchy, division of labour, and the standardisation of repeated administrative processes in order to optimise productive efficiency. Over time, business practices changed, and Traditional Public Administration was no longer aligned to the private sector. The second paradigm for how to organise public services was New Public Management, which once again called for bureaucracy to be managed more like businesses of that era.[10] In New Public Management, senior public servants were encouraged to be entrepreneurial, both within the public service and in how they 'steered' markets to provide services that had previously been provided directly by the State.

New Zealand was seen as a leader in New Public Management, going faster and further than other countries. It is often described as the archetypical example of New Public Management, and yet its implementation differed from other jurisdictions in several key respects (explored below). In New Zealand, New Public Management was described as having four characteristics:

1. **decentralisation**, in the sense of removing central rules and providing managerial autonomy to chief executives to run 'their' organisation as they saw fit;
2. **managerialism**, in which specialist knowledge was deemphasised in favour of general and transferable management skills;
3. **contractualism**, in which agencies would enter into quasi-contractual arrangements with ministers on what they would produce (e.g. purchase agreements); and
4. **agencification**, in which government was divided into many single-purpose agencies including arms-length bodies (e.g. Crown Entities).[11]

Within the core public service, New Public Management provided public servants with a new bargain – autonomy in exchange for accountability. Following changes to the State Sector Act (1989) and Public Finance Act (1990), the New Zealand public service achieved an unprecedented (some would

say obsessive[12]) focus on accountability for outputs. This distinction, where public servants were accountable for outputs, and ministers for outcomes, was not drawn as brightly in other jurisdictions. Centralised rules were discarded, and public servants were given significantly more autonomy. Autonomy meant, for the first time, public administrations were forced to consider the motivations of public servants.

Copying economic theories of the time, New Public Management considered public servants to be rational self-maximising individuals ('public choice theory') and our public management framework a toolkit of incentives necessary to align their behaviours with the will of Ministers ('agency theory'). This characterisation, of public servants as self-interested rather than imbued with a spirit of service to the community, may have contributed to the public service "losing its heart"[13] somewhere in the 1980s and 1990s amid enthusiasm for neoliberal economic theories.

Beyond the core public service, public servants were challenged to either find new and innovative ways to achieve results or to privatise functions previously provided by government. They were encouraged not to assume the burden of service delivery, but instead to ensure public services are delivered through contracting or other arrangements; to '**steer, not row**'. While Traditional Public Administration relied on hierarchies (a relational form of performance management), New Public Management relied more on market mechanisms (a contractual form of performance management). This included incentive structures such as competition between providers, performance bonuses, and penalties.

In New Zealand, this involved the privatisation of some government functions (usually by contracting service delivery to third-parties), and the creation of arms-length bodies where privatisation was not possible. Arms-length bodies were managed contractually through specifying performance, or through introducing customer choice. Examples of the former include State Owned Enterprises like New Zealand Post and KiwiRail, as well as Crown Entities like the Accident Compensation Corporation and New Zealand Transport Agency. Examples of customer choice include competition between State Owned Enterprises in the energy sector, and between schools in the education sector.

Other jurisdictions implemented reforms that shared some characteristics with the New Zealand reforms, and yet differed in other areas. Kettl described the various versions of New Public Management in different jurisdictions as being united by their focus on six core questions:

- "How can government find ways to squeeze more services from the same or a smaller revenue base?
- How can government use market-style incentives to root out the pathologies of bureaucracy; how can traditional bureaucratic command-and-control mechanisms be replaced with market strategies that will change the behaviour of programme managers?
- How can government use market mechanisms to give citizens (now often called 'customers') greater choices among services – or at least encourage greater attention to serving customers better?
- How can government make programmes more responsive? How can government decentralise responsibility to give front-line managers greater incentives to serve?
- How can government improve its capacity to devise and track policy? How can government separate its role as a purchaser of services (a contractor) from its role in actually delivering services?
- How can government focus on outputs and outcomes instead of processes or structures? How can it replace top-down, rule-driven systems with bottom-up, results-driven systems?"[14]

Proponents are quick to note that New Public Management achieved significant gains in terms of efficiency and responsiveness.[15] However, it has not been without critique, and many of the limitations of New Public Management led to the problems we are trying to address in our current reforms. The focus on autonomy and separation has been in tension with the need for coordination to solve cross-cutting problems (*cf* 'unified public service' in our current reforms).[16] Some have criticised the focus on rational self-interest, and raised whether this exerts a motivational crowding effect to limit the intrinsic motivation to serve the community (*cf* 'a spirit of service').[17] Others have questioned whether the focus on accountability to ministers for outputs has come at the expense of the safeguarding and maintenance of institutions (*cf* 'stewardship'), and point to a need to balance "responsiveness AND responsibility".[18] Still others have questioned the implications of privatising public services on democratic values, public interest, and accountability.[19]

The Denhardts propose a more fundamental critique of New Public Management. They ask whether, in shifting from hierarchical control (Traditional Public Administration) to entrepreneurial autonomy (New Public Management), we traded one adminicentric view for another? First, we used hierarchies, the division of labour, and standardised repeatable processes, to drive efficiencies. Then we used markets, decentralisation, privatisation, and managerial autonomy, to achieve the same. They ask, "In our rush to steer, perhaps we are forgetting who owns the boat?" By way of an answer, King, Stivers and Cox remind us that "government is us" – that one view of government is that it should belong to its citizens (as described in section 6 of this report), and accordingly public servants should focus to serve and empower citizens.[20]

Discussion questions:

- How is New Zealand's version of New Public Management the same or different to the general principles of New Public Management applied elsewhere?
- When public servants apply discretion in their work, how do they decide what to do?
- How realistic is New Public Management's assumption of public servants as rational self-maximising agents?

4. The new paradigm? New Public Service

"Serving, not steering."

- Janet and Robert Denhardt

Key points:

- There is no single agreed successor to New Public Management.
- Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management both seek to answer the question: what incentive structure is appropriate to secure the cooperation and compliance of public servants?
- New Public Service asks how the public service contributes to a more cohesive society.
- It proposes the public servant should adopt a humble and altruistic attitude of service to the community.

The New Zealand public service is currently in a period of significant reform. This reform acknowledges that New Public Management improved the efficiency and responsiveness of New Zealand's public services. Few would advocate for a return to the overly bureaucratic and rule-bound system that preceded it. But New Public Management was not without its faults. In its focus on self-interest, New Public Management de-emphasised the intrinsic motivation of public servants to make a difference. In New Public Management, we *lost our heart*. We are therefore introducing a new paradigm – that replaces New Public Management without losing its advantages.

We know some things about what this new New Zealand paradigm will involve. It will involve a more sophisticated view of human motivation, that acknowledges the desire of public servants to make a difference. It will involve a more sophisticated view of public service ethics, that explores the values that public servants should bring to their work. And it involves a more sophisticated view of organisation, combining structural divisions for specialisation and accountability, with cultural unification based around a shared identity. But our new New Zealand paradigm is not yet fully articulated, so I have looked to the international literature for parallels and inspiration.

There is no single, agreed successor to New Public Management, and several have been proposed, including New Public Administration, New Public Governance, Digital Era Governance, New Public Passion, and New Public Service. There are also numerous other theories that lack a catchy 'New Public Something' name.

New Public Administration (what was old is new again?) was first described in the 1960s, before the introduction of New Public Management. Rosemary O'Leary described it as stemming from the social and political turmoil and upheaval of that time.[21] It was largely a transitory and reactionary phenomenon that has faded in relevance. New Public Administration included anti-positivist, anti-technical, and anti-hierarchical critiques of Traditional Public Administration, but was less instructive on how the New Public Administration would operate in practice (beyond being unlike the traditional form). New Public Administration anticipated much of the open government movement (under the banner 'democratic citizenship') but without describing in practical detail how the public could be more involved in government. One notable contribution of New Public Administration scholars was its acknowledgement of organisational humanism – the principle that public servants had complex

motivations and concerns. This report returns to the topic of anti-positivism in section 9, and organisational humanism in section 11.

In the early 2000s, **New Public Governance** was explicitly positioned as a successor to New Public Management. New Public Management reforms saw non-profit or 'third sector' organisations take on much of the burden of delivery for social services. This resulted in an expansion of this sector, with increased professionalism and improvements in both technical and management capability in third sector organisations. In New Zealand, the rise of third sector organisations occurred over the same period as large Waitangi Tribunal settlements, that increased the resources and capability of many Iwi. Government was no longer the only significant player in solving social problems. New Public Governance advocated for government to see itself as an important actor, but one that had to share responsibility and governance with other large third sector organisations.[22] New Public Governance proposes a co-production model and shared leadership, that is potentially relevant for thinking about New Zealand's Māori-Crown partnership and 'the bridge', Te Arawhiti. New Public Governance is a current and emerging stream of public administration literature, that has significant relevance for New Zealand, however it is less closely tied to the themes of our current reform. This report returns to the topic of shared leadership in section 11.

New Zealand's Better Public Services reforms were closely modelled on **Digital Era Governance**. Though the ideas were first discussed in the late 1970s, the term Digital Era Governance is generally attributed to Patrick Dunleavy and Helen Margetts in the early 2000s. The main principles of Digital Era Governance are: reintegration, holism, and digitisation.[23] Reintegration is a reaction against the excesses of New Public Management; in many jurisdictions, public services that were previously privatised have been returned to government. Holism refers to reorganising public services around distinct client groups – whether through brokerage or navigator models for helping clients with complex needs (like New Zealand's Children's Teams or Whānau Ora), or federating services to improve customer experience (like New Zealand's SmartStart initiative). Finally, Digital Era Governance advocated for the digital transformation of government, such as making it possible to complete common transactions with government in an electronic format (like New Zealand's Result 10). Digital Era Governance is highly relevant to understanding recent and current reforms in New Zealand, but is best understood as an extension of New Public Management; it addresses questions of how to improve services in the current paradigm, rather than considering a different philosophical basis for service and serving.

New Public Passion is a niche concept, but it is notable for being closely connected to the New Zealand story with members of the SSC policy team contributing to its development. New Public Passion combines the concept of public service motivation (a desire to make a difference) with public value (the use of discretionary authority to seek the public interest). New Public Passion suggests that most successful reforms are achieved by determined and passionate public servants who remain faithful to their vision for reform despite obstacles or setbacks.[24] Its first author was Ryan Orange, and other advocates include are Max Everest Phillips and Arndt Husar. In combining public service motivation, public value, and goal commitment, New Public Passion shares similarities with the 'Agents of change' model developed by Jorrit de Jong, Sanderijn Cels, and Frans Nauta. The report returns to the concept of 'public value' in section 9.

Of all the popular potential 'successors' to New Public Management, the one that best explains and describes our current reform paradigm is **New Public Service**. New Public Service is very different to both Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management. While proponents of New Public Management have compared it to Traditional Public Administration in antithetical terms, the two models actually have much in common. Both share the same implicit core question: what incentive

structure is appropriate to secure the cooperation and compliance of public servants? Traditional Public Administration sought to answer this question through hierarchical control, and New Public Management through contractualism. In either case, what makes the model work is a commitment to rational choice. In contrast, New Public Service is a normative model that places a spirit of service at its centre. New Public Service is a paradigm that draws on theories of citizenship, community and civil society, organisational humanism, and postmodernism. The following paragraphs describes some key features of the New Public Service paradigm.

Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management represent archetypical forms rather than coherent historical stages. They are often described based on their differences, but there are no 'pure' examples of Traditional Public Administration or New Public Management. Even in the most extreme cases, like New Zealand's rejection of Traditional Public Administration and embrace of New Public Management in 1989, bureaucracies retain key features of other models, and there are as many similarities and continuities as differences. Similarly, New Public Service can be characterised by a set of features that make it 'different' to the archetypal Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management, but that does not suggest that all aspects of these previous paradigms should be rejected and replaced. The Denhardts identify seven features that distinguish New Public Service:

i. ***Serve citizens, not customers:*** The public interest is the result of a dialogue about shared values rather than the aggregation of self-interests. Therefore, public servants do not merely respond to the demands of 'customers' but rather focus on building relationships of trust and collaboration with and among citizens.
ii. ***Seek the public interest:*** Public administrators must contribute to building a collective shared notion of the public interest. The goal is not to find quick solutions driven by individual choices. Rather, it is the creation of shared interests and shared responsibility.
iii. ***Value citizenship over entrepreneurship****:* The public interest is better advanced by public servants and citizens committed to making meaningful contributions to society than by entrepreneurial managers acting as if public money were their own.
iv. ***Think strategically, act democratically:*** Policies and programmes meeting public needs can be most effectively and responsibly achieved through collective efforts and collaborative processes.
v. ***Recognise that accountability isn't simple****:* Public servants should be attentive to more than the market; they should also attend to statutory and constitutional law, community values, political norms, professional standards, and citizen interests.
vi. ***Serve rather than steer:*** It is increasingly important for public servants to use shared, value-based leadership in helping citizens articulate and meet their shared interests, rather than attempting to control or steer society in new directions.
vii. ***Value people, not just productivity:*** Public organisations and the networks in which they participate are more likely to be successful in the long run if they operate through processes of collaboration and shared leadership based on respect for all people.[25]

The following sections describe some key areas of theory that underpin these shifts.

Discussion questions:

- What comes after New Public Management?
- Where can we see parallels with New Public Administration, New Public Governance, Digital Era Governance, or New Public Passion, in the New Zealand public service?
- How would we describe the theory that underpins our current public service reforms?
- What are the gaps in our new theoretical model for the New Zealand public service?

5. A spirit of service to community

"We care about our country, our community, and our neighbours."

- Janet and Robert Denhardt

Key points:

- Our current reforms acknowledge a more complete view of human motivation that includes a spirit of service to the community.
- A spirit of service to the community is a boundary object – it facilitates agreement while maintaining plasticity of meaning.
- The Denhardts' New Public Service is one specific interpretation of a spirit of service, that will 'work' for some and not others; it is narrower than our reform programme, but pushes further in some areas.

New Public Management proposed a simplistic view of public service motivations – that we should assume all public servants are always acting out of rational self-interest. We have known that this is not true for hundreds of years, but it has been claimed to be a useful lie. Philosopher David Hume suggested that all should be treated as 'knaves' acting entirely with self-interest, an assertion that is "as false in fact as it is necessary in practice".[26] Our current reforms, and our current leaders, reject this sentiment: public servants should not be treated as knaves, because doing so risks diminishing their more virtuous motivations (see 'motivation crowding')[27].

In shifting our thinking toward these virtuous motivations, there is a risk of making the same mistake of simplicity, but in the opposite direction. Public servants are not always knaves, but nor are they always knights. Public servants are humans like any other, with a complex range of motivations that includes self-interest, altruism, identity, and belonging.

Nonetheless, certain values are more common and tend to be more important within the public service than elsewhere.[28] Shortly following the terrorist attach of 11 September 2001, the Denhardts wrote an essay for the American Society of Public Administration, that became widely circulated and reprinted in newspapers across the United States. They described 'the power of service', and their admiration and gratitude to emergency services workers who ran toward danger and into the burning World Trade Centre buildings:

"These people showed America, once again, that they stand apart. What makes them different is their quiet, often anonymous heroism. They are public servants. They serve their fellow citizens in a way that many people would find very difficult if not impossible to understand… In a peculiar way, this ghastly act of terrorism reminds us of why we are in the public service. We care about our country, our community, and our neighbours. Each of us, whether we wear a uniform, a suit, a jacket, coveralls, or a hard hat, plays a role in improving the lives of others. Service to the public – helping people in trouble, making the world safer and cleaner, helping children learn and prosper, literally going where others would not go – is our job and our calling."[29]

This same spirit of service to the community forms the heart of our current reforms. This is because it is also at the heart of our public service – our policies, systems, and processes work in part because public servants care about their community, want to do the right thing, and want to make a difference. Reference to 'a spirit of service' has become such an integral part of how we talk about the public service, that it is hard to remember that this is a relatively recent change in rhetoric.

The first use of the phrase 'a spirit of service to the community' seems to be by Edgar Gladden in his 1945 monograph *The Civil Service: Its problems and future*.[30] Gladden described the core requirements of the public service as that it be "impartially selected, administratively competent, politically neutral, and *imbued with a spirit of service to the community*" (emphasis added). This phrase was subsequently adopted in New Zealand's 1962 State Services Act (in the long title), and in the 1988 State Sector Act (in the purpose statement). The 1988 Act and 1989 Public Finance Act otherwise assume public servants are self-interested[31], and so this nod to altruism stands out. But for many years we continued to talk about public choice theory, agency theory, and how public servants respond to extrinsic incentives. Then, the State Services Commissioner started talking about 'a spirit of service' in his speeches, SSC promoted it through events and awards, and now every leader in every agency regularly talks about what 'a spirit of service' means to them. 'A spirit of service' even occupies a central place in the Public Service Legislation Bill currently before the House.

One peculiarity of 'a spirit of service' is, while we all agree to it and feel aligned to it at a general level, it means different things to different people. It has something to do with intrinsic motivation, or altruism, or that our work is worthwhile. Or that we act with integrity, or with empathy, or with compassion. Some people relate to helping individuals ('Samaritans'); some to helping communities ('communitarians'), others to making New Zealand a better place ('patriots'), and others still to helping all people ('humanitarians'[32]). Testimonials at the 2017 Leaders Summit revealed some common themes, but also subtle differences. This was reinforced by a 2018 ANZSOG survey[33] of 1500 New Zealand public servants; most public servants identify strongly with a spirit of service, while ascribing to it a range of meanings.

The spirit of service is perhaps best understood as a 'boundary object'[34] – a concept that has plasticity of meaning to allow different interpretations, while allowing sufficient commonality to form the basis of agreement. In his Paterson Oration, Peter Hughes described both this commonality and plasticity: "While we might each talk about it in different ways, at some level I think we're all talking about the same thing". Boundary objects benefit from their plasticity – too much definition reveals divisions and disagreement.

Like the New Zealand reforms, New Public Service is also based around a spirit of service to the community. Unlike the New Zealand reforms, the Denhardts try to locate this spirit within a detailed philosophy that links service to ideas of social contract theory, democratic theory, and what it means to be a citizen. One challenge to this approach is that, in aiming to be more precise, the Denhardts describe one possible interpretation of a spirit of service and make clear some of the differences in

interpretation that could otherwise be glossed over. That is, New Public Service will 'work' for some people and not for others. New Public Service has a lot in common with our current reforms, yet also pushes us to think beyond our current practice. It is something for us to consider as an area for future exploration.

Discussion questions:

- How consistent is our understanding of what is meant by 'a spirit of service to the community' across the New Zealand public service?
- Is it better to define a spirit of service precisely, or else provide enough plasticity for different views to be accommodated?
- How can we ensure our communications speak to Samaritans, communitarians, patriots, humanitarians, respectively? To virtuists, deontologists and consequentialists? To the most practical and the most academic or theoretical?

6. Government is us: models of citizenship and society

"Public servants are professional citizens."

- Janet and Robert Denhardt

Key points:

- There are various definitions for citizenship: some describe the rights associated with being a member of a nation; others describe citizenship as the moral responsibility to contribute to a community.
- In the New Public Service, public servants are people who choose to make (moral) citizenship their profession.
- In this paradigm, public servants are employed as a member of the community to work for the community.

The Denhardts base their concept of service on a deep reflection on citizenship and social contract theory. 'Citizenship', and particularly 'Citizen-centric', are terms that have become *en vogue* across a range of disciplines. Commentators in social and political fields have called for a "reinvigorated and more active and involved citizenship."[35] But citizenship can mean different things. Turner distinguishes between low and high citizenship:

i. **Low citizenship:** the rights and obligations of a citizen, as defined legally.
ii. **High citizenship:** the nature of one's membership in a political community, including rights and responsibilities, as defined morally.[36]

Low citizenship is associated with the Roman jurist Gaius (who defined citizenship largely in terms of property rights) and the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes. High citizenship is associated with Greek philosophy, particularly Aristotle, and enlightenment philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John

Stuart Mill. Aristotle argued that citizens engage in public service ("the work of the *polis*") because it is in this work that the citizen attains his/her fullest humanity.[37]

The word 'citizenship' is used in various ways in contemporary New Zealand all well, in both legal and moral senses. However, because the word often refers to the (low) sense of being a legal member of the nation of New Zealand, it can be problematic if used in other ways. There are many residents of New Zealand who contribute to their community and are not legal citizens, and for this reason public servants may use the term 'New Zealanders' in preference to citizens, except when referring specifically to legal citizens of New Zealand. However, in the New Public Service, citizenship is used in the moral sense (of 'high-citizenship'), and this is the sense of citizenship that will be used in this report. These are two out of many definitions of citizenship. In addition to high (moral) and low (legal) citizenship, Sandel distinguishes between self-interested and altruistic citizenship:

i. **Self-interested citizenship:** Participation in the collective is to ensure the advancement of individual interests.
ii. **Altruistic citizenship:** Participation in the collective is to ensure the advancement of public interests.[38]

Sandel traces altruistic citizenship to the founding fathers of the United States of America, particularly Thomas Jefferson who wrote: "There is a debt of service due from every man to his country, proportioned to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured him."[39] In this context, citizenship *is* a spirit of service to the community.

The Denhardts link high and altruistic citizenship to public service: "For some, the impulse to engage in public processes extends beyond voting, going to community meetings or public hearings, writing letters or e-mails, or engaging in focus groups and visioning projects. It leads to full-time commitment to engage in what we typically call *public service*".[40] It should be noted that this use of 'public service' is perhaps broader than the strict legal definition in the State Sector Act/Public Service Act. In my discussion with the Denhardts, 'public service' refers to anyone who aims to make moral citizenship into their profession. These might be part of 'the public service' as defined legally in New Zealand, like prison officers working for the Department of Corrections, social workers working for Oranga Tamarki, or public health nurses working for District Health Boards. They might be part of the broader public sector, like teachers, police officers, or defence force personnel. They might even be part of private and third sector organisations that have a public purpose. The Public Service Legislation Bill identifies a spirit of service as a "fundamental characteristic" of the public service, but that does not suggest that the spirit of service is unique to the public service and cannot be found elsewhere.

While a spirit of service (and acts of 'public service', broadly defined) may be found all over society, it is important that it is a fundamental characteristic of 'the public service'. Public servants are first citizens; individuals committed to working to serving the community. Terry Cooper argues that public servants derive their standing and legitimacy from their role as "citizens in lieu of the rest of us; the common good is, so to speak, their speciality."[41] The ethical identity of the public servant should be "the citizen who is employed *as* one of us to work *for* us; a kind of professional citizen ordained to do the work which we in a complex large-scale political community are unable to undertake ourselves." They are "to be those 'especially responsible' citizens who are fiduciaries for the citizenry as a whole".[42] (Note this view of public servants as especially responsible fiduciaries also helps embed our Public Service Legislation Bill principle of 'stewardship' in concepts of moral citizenship.)

New Public Management sees public servants not as embodying citizenship but as self-interested agents, and public service as no different to any other form of employment. In New Public

Management government should only employ as public servants those as necessary to efficiently deliver the functions that cannot be privatised. In contrast, New Public Service views citizenship as a moral calling, and a goal in its own right, that should be activated in as many people as possible. It claims that society is strengthened when more inactive citizens are enabled to be active. Further, public service is for those who feel compelled to go further and make citizenship their profession. Public service is not just a source of employment (as in New Public Management), but a moral purpose that contributes to societal cohesion. One implication of New Public Service is that we should strive to remove tangible and intangible barriers to citizens acting to contribute to their community, including as professional citizens (public servants).

Cooper's conception of public servants as 'one of us' who 'works for us' raises issues of representation and inclusion. Cooper imagines that citizens see in the public service people who are like themselves (see '**representative bureaucracy**'),[43] and that if they feel the calling to serve, that they too can become professional citizens. In this respect, New Zealand has made substantial recent progress, but further work remains. Rates of participation and leadership representation have increased for women, but further work is required to improve representation of Māori and Pasifika, in particular. Our work with rainbow communities and people with disabilities, among other underrepresented groups, is just beginning.

Earlier this report noted that the term 'citizenship' may be problematic in a New Zealand context if it is understood to exclude non-citizen residents, and perhaps the term 'New Zealander' is more appropriate. What would this conception of public service look like, substituting 'New Zealander' for 'citizen'? We might say *a New Zealander is* (in a moral sense) *someone who works to create a better New Zealand*. It is someone who wants to help their neighbour, their community, their place, and their country. That is, a New Zealander is someone who has a spirit of service to New Zealand. A public servant is someone who takes this spirit of service further – a public servant makes the responsibility of being a New Zealander their profession. A public servant is a *professional New Zealander*. In preparing this report, the language of 'professional New Zealander' was popular with some public servants, and unpopular with others; further work is required on identifying language for describing this concept that will be broadly acceptable.

Despite these challenges, the various conceptions of citizenship provide a context for the spirit of service and the decision by citizens to engage in public service. In the same year (1945) that Gladden first argued that a spirit of service to the community was an essential characteristic of the public servant, Paul Appleby argued that public servants are just citizens with a "special attitude of responsibility", imbued with the "democratic spirit".[44]

Discussion questions:

- How do we (personally) relate to the claim that citizens have a moral responsibility to serve their community where they can?
- How strong is this sense of citizenship in New Zealand culture (and the various cultures contained within it)?
- Does the framing of public servants as 'professional citizens' resonate for you?
- What are the implications of this citizen-centred view of service for diversity and inclusion?
- Does the word 'citizenship' work in a New Zealand context, or is there another word that would be more effective?

7. Serving citizens not customers

"Public servants have an ethical obligation to extend the boundaries of public participation in the political process in whatever way they can."

-Janet and Robert Denhardt

Key points:

- Successive paradigms differ in terms of who they thought public services were helping.
- Traditional Public Administration was concerned with providing 'clients' with the support that the State determined they needed.
- New Public Management was concerned with providing 'customers' with the services that they wanted.
- New Public Service is concerned with providing 'citizens' with the opportunity to contribute to their community.
- Sometimes we are each subjects, clients, customers, or citizens; sometimes we are helped and sometimes we are the helper.

The previous section described different conceptions of citizenship, because this concept is core to understanding the New Public Service paradigm. Public servants were identified as 'professional' and 'especially responsible citizens.' In this section, a further argument is presented: not only can public servants be considered professional citizens, but one of their roles is to support and enable the expression of citizenship in others. This echoes the Athenian code, which states that one duty of citizenship is to "strive increasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty."[45]

New Public Service can be seen at its most basic level as a transition from thinking of members of the community as 'clients' (Traditional Public Administration), to 'customers' (New Public Management), and finally to 'citizens' (New Public Service). Implicit in the client model of Traditional Public Administration is that the State knows best, and should aim to provide for a largely passive public. Indeed the word 'client' derives from the Latin *cliens*, often translated as 'dependent'. **Clients**, it seems, need our help. In Traditional Public Administration, the government aims to provide the help that is needed.

Under New Public Management, 'clients' became less fashionable, replaced with the 'customer'. This paralleled study in the private sector in the 1970s and 1980s on customer service and satisfaction. **Customers** (or 'consumers') are self-interested parties that want something from government. Customers know what they want, and New Public Management aimed to better satisfy these desires.

New Public Management is also influenced by economic theories of politics – political parties compete for votes, just as corporations compete for market share. Democracy becomes an expression of the *customers' satisfaction* with how their self-interests have been or will be fulfilled by different parties. Albrecht and Zemke imagine the customer "carrying around a kind of 'report-card' in his or her head, which is the basis of a grading system that leads the customers to decide whether to partake of the service again or go elsewhere."[46] This view is largely consistent with Gaius' legal perspective of citizenship as property rights, or Hobbes' perspective of (low) citizenship as an act of self-interest.

Customer-centricity creates both practical and technical difficulties. First, identifying customers for many public services is problematic. Who is the customer of a school? Is it the students? The parents? The community? Future employers? What happens when these customers have different interests? A customer-centric model does not provide a way to resolve these conflicts, nor to serve each simultaneously.

Secondly, government is inherently redistributive. While some public services function as fee-for-service, in most cases the person paying for the service is not the one directly receiving benefit. In this case, there is a conflict between the customer interest of the recipient and the taxpayer.

Thirdly, only some public services involve voluntary exchanges, such as in education and health, where the direct service recipient chooses to receive the service and receives direct value from doing so. In other cases, public services involve an involuntary or obligatory exchange, and the direct service recipient has some interests that run directly counter to the public interest. If we assume that the inmate in a correctional facility is the 'customer', then presumably what the customer wants is for the front door to be left unlocked.[47]

Finally, and perhaps most importantly in the context of this report, the government must be accountable not only to individual interests, but to the broader public interest. Fredrickson described the distinction: "Customers choose between products presented in the market; citizens decide what is so important that the government will do it at public expense."[48]

There is a tendency to describe client-centred and customer-centred views in pejorative terms: the *client* view is paternalistic, and the *customer* view assumes base self-interest. But both views have much to commend them. When we talk about wrap-around services for the most vulnerable New Zealanders, we are talking about a client-centred view. When we talk about Smart Start, one-stop-shops, and making it easier for New Zealanders to interact with government, we are talking about a customer-centred view. Improving outcomes for clients, and improving satisfaction for customers, are noble goals that will continue to be important dimensions of public service performance. But importantly clients and customers aren't the only roles that New Zealanders play – they are also *subjects* (under the legal and coercive power of the State), and *citizens* (contributing to our community), and play each of these roles at different times. A child in a public school might mostly be a *client*. Someone interacting with the Department of Internal Affairs to renew their passport could be described as a *customer*. In paying taxes and obeying the law, we are *subjects*. And when we contribute to the community, we are *citizens*.

While continuing to acknowledge these different roles, New Public Service is primarily concerned with raising the profile of one role that has received less attention, that of the citizen: "Public servants have an ethical obligation to extend the boundaries of public participation in the political process in whatever way they can."[49] Dennis Thomson argued that public servants should "not only share the values and beliefs of the ordinary citizen, not only…remain sensitive to (the citizens) needs, but also that leaders *strive to activate the inactive citizen"* (emphasis added).[50] A similar sentiment is expressed in the proposed purpose of the public service (in the Public Service Legislation Bill) as facilitating "active citizenship".

Various scholars, and now our own reforms, have commented on the need to enable altruistic/active/high citizenship. Some consideration should be given to whether citizenship is malleable, and whether there is anything that can be done, by public servants, to enable active citizenship in others. Mansbridge argues that altruistic citizenship needs to be maintained and nourished, through three factors:

i. *A sense of justice.* Altruistic citizenship is maximised when the State is perceived as a legitimate force for good at the micro/individual as well as macro/community level, and when it is seen to be fair in both process and outcomes. Such a State is likely to engender affection and involvement.
ii. *Participation.* Individuals who feel that they are involved in decisions, and can co-create public value, are more likely to express a sense of altruistic citizenship.
iii. *Deliberation.* Communities that are able to reach decisions through deliberation can help to clarify and, in some cases, ameliorate their differences, and lead to commitment to the sense of collective good of public interest.[51]

In the adminicentric view of Traditional Public Management or New Public Management, public servants see their role as "primarily a technical one focused on efficient problem solving" that is "oriented toward efficiency and productivity".[52] From such a perspective, enabling active citizenship is likely to be awkward, time consuming, and at times maddening. It is truly a paradigm shift to suggest that we (the public service) can and should enable New Zealanders to contribute to their community, and that this is an important goal in its own right. To extend the earlier formulation: *A New Zealander is someone who works to create a better New Zealand; a Public Servant is someone who has made being a New Zealander into their profession; a NEW Public servant is a public servant who believes in New Zealanders.*

To be effective in this role, public servants must learn to help citizens to identify and created shared interests and responsibilities – that is, to *seek the public interest*.

Discussion questions:

- What does it mean to say that part of the purpose of the public service (in the Public Service Legislation Bill) includes that it "facilitates active citizenship?"
- How does the public service facilitate active citizenship?
- What does this mean for how we define and measure success?

8. Seeking the public interest

"The process of establishing a vision for society is not something merely to be left to elected political leaders."

-Janet and Robert Denhardt

Key points:

- Public services exist to realise the public interest, though this can be difficult to determine.
- The goal of public engagement should not be to reconcile competing private interests, but instead to encourage citizens to seek the public interest.
- Engaging in the process of working with others to seek a shared vision of society based on shared values is itself a worthwhile outcome.

Core to the Denhardts' New Public Service is the concept of 'the public interest', a construct that prior paradigms had little use for. In Traditional Public Administration, public service was assumed to be a value-neutral technical process, and absent significant discretion or autonomy, there was little need for requiring public servants to seek the public interest. In New Public Management, the public interest was no more than the aggregate of individual self-interests.

Much like 'a spirit of service', the public interest is a concept both intuitive to understand and difficult to determine with precision. Political science and public administration scholars differ wildly on whether the public interest is useful or important. To some, articulating and realising the public interest are core functions and rationales for having government in the first place. Lippman saw the public interest the central ideal of government, what citizens would choose "if they saw clearly, thought rationally, and acted disinterestedly and benevolently."[53] Schubert, on the other hand, suggested that the concept of public interest makes "no operational sense" in that it is an abstract and idealised term that is impossible to determine or realise in practice.[54] To understand these different perspectives, and why the Denhardts consider public interest central to the New Public Service, it is necessary to look at the different ways the public interest has been conceived for different purposes, via five (categoric) models:

In **normative models**, the public interest is "an ethical standard for evaluating specific public policies."[55] Clark Cochran described it as a "standard of goodness" by which decisions can be judged. The public interest is a hypothetical option that best balances the social, economic, cultural, and physical outcomes across the many interests and groups. While some have advocated that public servants should "exercise discretionary authority to promote the public interest,"[56] others have questioned whether the public interest, as the *standard of goodness*, is knowable to public servants. That is, whether interpreting the public interest is anti-democratic.

In **abolitionist models**, the public interest is either unknowable, or else irrelevant. Public servants are not able to judge the public interest and should not try.[57] Attempts by public servants to determine the public interest and act upon this are at best paternalistic, and worse perpetuate the assumptions and biases of the dominant groups in any society. Schubert sarcastically derided public servants seeking the public interest as "benevolent bureaucrats, who are the Guardians of the democratic state."[58]

In **political process models**, it is less important what the public interest *is*, and more important how we arrive at it. Majoritarians, like Schattschneider, argued that representative democracy results in a government that represents the public interest[59]. To majoritarians, the public interest is whatever the Government says it is. Pluralists, like Madison, assume that organised special interest groups best represent the major interests in society, that can be aggregated, balanced or reconciled to reveal the public interest.[60] To pluralists then, the public interest is whatever 'stakeholders' say it is. Both groups have traditionally disregarded as impractical the possibility that citizens would directly participate in realising the public interest on any given decision.

The **shared values model**, sometimes called the 'consensualist' view, is an extension of the political process view. As above, what is important is not what the public interest is, but how we arrive at it. While majoritarian and pluralist process views suggest that the process helps identify the solution that aggregates different views, the shared values models suggests that the process may reveal and create new commonality. As citizens interact with the political community (*polis*) they too are shaped by it and move toward a (sometimes vague or fuzzy) public consensus.

In **collective models**, sometimes called the '*polis*' view, building a society in the collective interest is the aim, not the by-product. Paul Appleby defined this *polis* view: "The public interest is never merely the sum of all private interests, nor the sum remaining after cancelling out their various pluses and minuses. It is not wholly separate from private interests, and it derives from citizens with many private interests; but it is something distinctive that arises within, among, apart from, and above private interests, focusing in government some of the most elevate aspiration and deepest devotion of which human beings are capable."[61] In the *polis* view, the process of seeking the public interest is what makes a society. Societies are built by the process of individuals talking with each other to create and share in a vision for the collective. Rather than seeing citizens as self-interested, Deborah Stone suggests that sharing, caring, and maintaining relationships are at least as strong in motivating behaviour. Public policy is about communities trying to achieve something "as communities."[62] The search for the public interest is "a journey more than a destination,"[63] that aims to create and reveal altruistic citizenship.

These models are often presented as oppositional but are perhaps best understood as complementary perspectives of a complex phenomenon. The public interest is the best possible choice (normative model), but it is unknowable as a technical exercise (abolitionist model); it is best understood through deliberative process (political process model), but it is also created by that same process (shared values model), and that process strengthens society (collective model). In the Denhardts' view, the activity of "establishing a vision or direction, of defining shared values, is something in which widespread public dialogue and deliberation are central."[64]

It is tempting to say "We do this already!" – the New Zealand public service is no stranger to public consultation processes or even engagement processes. In these, we usually seek to aggregate, balance, or reconcile different private interests. What we arguably do less often is engage in a process to try to support different groups to think not as customers with private interests, but instead as citizens seeking the public interest. With some exceptions, we don't usually engage from the perspective of helping groups to understand and aspire to shared values, or to facilitate active citizenry.

The Denhardts distinguish '<u>the</u> public interest' – some ideal course of action we can identify through a sufficiently sophisticated analytical framework (like Treasury's 'Living Standards Framework'); and '<u>seeking</u> the public interest' – a process through which we encourage citizens to work together to identify the society that they want to help create. As Deborah Stone put it, "the concept of public

interest is to the *polis*, what self-interest is to the market. They are both abstractions whose specific contents we do not need to know in order to use them to explain and predict people's behaviour."[65] The Denhardts argue that not only are people capable of more than self-interest, but also government should work to nurture and develop that capacity through engaging in seeking the public interest. The Denhardts also propose some practical benefits of public participation in seeking the public interest:

- "Greater participation can help meet citizens' expectations that they are being heard and that their needs and interests are being pursued.
- Greater participation can improve the quality of public policy, as governments tap wider sources of information, creativity, and solutions.
- Greater participation in the policy process aids implementation, as participants have more of a stake in the outcome.
- Greater participation responds to calls for greater transparency and accountability in government.
- Greater participation is likely to increase public trust in government.
- Greater participation can create the possibility for new partnerships being developed.
- Greater participation can result in a better-informed public.
- In a democracy, it's simply the right thing to do."[66]

Discussion questions:

- How do we understand the goals of public services?
- When we engage with the public, do we seek to understand private interests or public interest?
- What role does the public service have in helping citizens seek the public interest?

9. Managing in the New Public Service

"Sometimes, I believe, (public servants) have an obligation to stimulate public debate about what they do."

-Robert Reich

Key points:

- Public servants have significant discretion to act within the parameters set by legislation, government policy, and instructions by Ministers.
- They can use this discretion to pursue aims that they have identified as beneficial ('client view'), are rated highly by service recipients ('customer view'), or to help citizens seek a shared vision for society ('citizen view').
- Seeing ourselves as 'the experts' may interfere with the ability of public servants to help citizens seek the public interest; we will need to become expert in listening and facilitating discourse.

Earlier sections of this paper identified New Public Service as a potential 'successor' to Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management. Then, the report described key aspects of theory relevant to understanding New Public Service: service, citizenship, clients, customers, and the public interest. The next three sections move on to how these theories can be applied to different aspects of our work:

- How to make managerial decisions in the context of discretion (this section),
- To whom and for what should public servants be accountable, and
- What leadership looks like in the context of service and citizenship.

Public servants follow the lawful instructions of Ministers, and nothing in this report should be read to suggest that this would not be the case. But there are many day-to-day decisions in which public servants have significant autonomy and discretion. It is within this discretion that public servants have the choice:

- to take a paternalistic approach to determining the public interest (the client-centred view),
- to set up choice and competition and meet the self-interest of individuals (the customer-centred view), or
- to work to enable citizens to collectively form and express the public interest (the citizen-centred view).

Mark Moore has previously argued for the first option – that, within the discretion provided by the authorising environment, public servants should themselves try to identify 'public value'.[67] The New Public Service, on the other hand, proposes instead that public servants work to enable citizens to collectively seek the public interest. The Denhardts describe this shift in emphasis as "**valuing citizenship over entrepreneurship**".

Robert Reich has made a similar observation, in suggesting public servants should use their discretion to engage with citizens: "But sometimes, I believe, higher-level public managers have an obligation to stimulate public debate about what they do. Public deliberation can help the manager clarify ambiguous mandates. More importantly, it can help the public discover latent contradictions and commonalities in what it wants to achieve. Thus, the public manager's job is not only, or simply, to make public choices and implement them. It is also to participate in a system of democratic governance in which public values are continuously rearticulated and recreated."[68]

Shifting to a New Public Service paradigm requires a new humility for public servants as an enabler of the citizenship of others. In New Public Service, there is "an explicit recognition that (public servants) are not the business owners of their agencies and programmes. Accordingly, the mindset (should be) that public programmes and resources do not belong to them. Rather, (public servants) have accepted a responsibility to serve citizens by being stewards of public resources, conservators of public organisations, facilitators of citizenship and democratic dialogue, and catalysts for community engagement."[69]

Beyond this shift from 'owner' to 'servant', public servants need to consider their status as 'experts' who know best. Both Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management are based on a positivist epistemology that assumes that knowledge is certain and value-free. Policy analysis is assumed to be the domain of experts, who are able to use logic to determine the correct course of action. In Traditional Public Administration, public servants would obediently follow hierarchical commands in accordance with these policies. In New Public Management, the experts would seek entrepreneurial solutions to steer society.

It should be no surprise that an expert-led public service would at times struggle with the idea of seeking the public interest. Sometimes it is tempting to think we know best. McSwite characterises engagement under Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management as 'monologic communication' where there is "no back-or-forth, no opportunity to engage in a verbal struggle to define a problem and decide what should be done about it." [70] When public servants think of themselves as the only experts, public engagement becomes a chore for both parties.

In this respect, New Public Service can be considered a branch of **postmodern public administration**. Postmodern public administration is concerned with the act of administering under strong uncertainty and contested ideals. Postmodernists contend that experts are presenting conclusions as *known* in areas that are not definitively knowable, and that 'logic' is a set of assumptions and one of many logics that can be used to interpret experience. Instead, postmodern public administration theorists have a commitment to the idea of 'discourse' – the notion that public problems are more likely to be resolved through the exchange and commitment to understand another's perspectives and values. The New Public Service features discourse at its core; with justice, participation, and deliberation as central to enabling citizenship in others.

The Denhardts suggest that the idea is not to become guardians of democracy by substituting our "superior vision of the public interest for the will of, for example, the legislative or judicial branches. Rather, seeking the public interest refers to the role of facilitating dialogue about the public interest and in acting to realise those values, within the larger system of political discourse and governance."[71] In such a world, accountability becomes complex and requires a public service strongly committed to its purpose and operating principles.

Discussion questions:

- How should public servants determine what to do with discretion given to them?
- What discretion do public servants have in enabling active citizenship?
- How could we encourage public servants to adopt the humility of seeking the public interest above their own expert judgement?

10.Accountability in the New Public Service

"To whom must public managers be accountable? The answer is everyone."

- Bob Behn

Key points:

- New Zealand presents itself as having a system where public servants are accountable for outputs, but the reality of accountability is much more complex.
- New Public Management is defined by accountability for 'results', a generic term than can refer to both outputs and outcomes.
- New Public Service is more interested in the legitimacy of government, as a representation of an implied social contract of citizens seeking the public interest.
- Accountability includes legal, hierarchical, professional and political systems acting together, and public servants must navigate this complexity.

New Zealand prides itself on its transparent and simple system of accountability. Might New Public Service, with its talk of citizenship and public interest, mess up that simplicity? Well, yes, but it was messed up already.

What is accountability, anyway? Unfortunately, for a word that is invoked so frequently, accountability is defined inconsistently across public administration literature, and often not defined at all. (Equally confused and confusing are the related concepts 'responsibility' and 'answerability'). At its broadest level, accountability refers to the obligation of an individual or organisation to explain their/its actions, accept responsibility for those actions, and to disclose the results in a transparent manner.[72] This doesn't necessarily imply that the individual is causally responsible for the result.

In New Zealand, on the other hand, there is a tendency to equate accountability with causal responsibility, as expressed in the adage "I cannot be accountable for things I don't control."[73] It may come as a surprise to many New Zealand public servants that our view of (New Public Management) accountability is a bit of an oddity. The simplest version of the New Zealand 'story' is as follows: since passage of the Public Finance Act in 1989, chief executives are responsible only for what they control – the production of outputs (goods and services). Ministers are therefore conceived as purchasing these outputs from departments, originally through 'purchase agreements'. These constructs come from the **production model** of public service performance,[74] which sees the public service as analogous to a factory. In the production model, inputs (money, labour, power) are converted by processes and activities into outputs (goods and services). These outputs are intended to contribute to outcomes (societal conditions), even if these relationships are often indirect and difficult to attribute.

As told in New Zealand, Traditional Public Administration was largely concerned with adherence to bureaucratic rules and has therefore been characterised as 'accountability for processes'. New Public Management then allowed process discretion in exchange for 'accountability for outputs'. It is therefore tempting, if teleological, to assume that the next developmental stage of public administration will be 'accountability for outcomes'.

There are several problems with this story. First, the distinction between outputs and outcomes is drawn far more clearly in New Zealand than in other jurisdictions, and it is not a distinction inherent to New Public Management. While it is accurate to say Traditional Public Administration typically involved less discretion, and in most jurisdictions New Public Management involved greater discretion, this discretion was typically for 'results' – a generic term that sometimes referred to outputs, but in other cases to performing processes more efficiently, or to achieving intermediate and end outcomes. It would perfectly consistent with New Public Management theory for New Zealand to shift from an accountability for outputs to an accountability for outcomes, and to provide managerial autonomy for public servants to be entrepreneurial in how they achieve those outcomes.

Secondly, this characterisation of the New Zealand model as being about accountability for outputs refers only to the type of accountability covered by planning and reporting requirements of the Public Finance Act. The reality, as always, is much more complicated, as public servants are held accountable to a wide range of institutions and standards. In addition to the accountability to ministers for pre-planned outputs as mentioned above, other sources of accountability include statutory law (e.g. principal responsibilities under section 32 of the State Sector Act 1988) and constitutional convention (e.g. the 'no surprises' principle), other agencies (e.g. SSC and Treasury), other levels of government (e.g. Parliament, OAG, the Ombudsman), the media, professional standards, community values and standards, situational factors, democratic norms, clients, customers, citizens, and (at a moral level) the public interest.

Third, accountability for outputs implicitly requires some standard for judging performance against. In the New Zealand case, it was intended that chief executives would sign purchase agreements with ministers, specifying in advance the quantity and quality of outputs by the department. One of the reasons that government kept certain functions within departments, rather than devolving them to arms-length bodies, is that these functions were often difficult to specify in advance (for example, policy advice). This meant that purchase agreements never really worked, and within a few years ministers and chief executives both stopped signing them.

Fourth, and as a result, these statutory planning and reporting requirements have been made more flexible over time. Purchase agreements are a thing of the past, and many departments no longer produce output plans. This does not mean that public servants are no longer accountable, but the idea that we would have strict accountability for outputs, and that these outputs would be perfectly foreseen, seems much fuzzier than imagined by the Treasury in the 1980s.

Finally, it is not immediately evident that progression from accountability for process, to outputs, to outcomes, would be logical, desirable, or the only possible direction of progress. Implicit in the Denhardts' critique of New Public Management is that this production model itself is limiting. If the New Zealand New Public Manager was accountable for outputs, the New Public Servant might be characterised as accountable not for outcomes but instead for legitimacy. That is, for strengthening the citizens engagement with their social contract as members of the community. The New Public Service differs from both Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management in its "emphasis on elevating the importance and centrality of citizenship and the public as the basis for accountable and responsible public action."[75]

But to shift from focusing solely on outputs to a focusing solely on enabling citizenship is to repeat the mistake of assuming that accountability can be made simple. The Denhardts caution against "oversimplify(ing) the nature of democratic accountability by focusing only on a narrow set of performance measures."[76] The question of accountability in the public service is a complex one, involving the balancing of competing norms and responsibilities with a complicated web of external

controls. Kevin Kearns suggests that "debates on accountability should be informed by its poor structure, not deterred by it. To this end, any truly meaningful dialogue should be guided by an analytical framework that embraces the many dimensions of accountability and allows contextual factors and subjective judgements to surface for informed dialogue on assumptions."[77]

Accountability literature is focused on three questions: ***to whom*** is accountability owed, ***for what*** is accountability owed, and ***how*** is accountability realised? Bob Behn, answers the first question by offering the helpful suggestion that we cannot hope to reconcile accountability as being held to a single principal: "To whom must public managers be accountable? The answer is everyone."[78]

Nor can we hope to reconcile accountability as being for a single thing. The public service is not a factory. It does not exist solely to produce outputs. We must aim to be efficient in producing outputs, be effective in achieving outcomes, act as stewards of public trust and public institutions, be democratically and constitutionally legitimate, act in accordance with our principles and our values, protect and serve individuals as well as the public interest, and try to build a stronger New Zealand, to name a few. At its broadest level, accountability can be for the action (deontological ethics), the intent behind the action (virtue ethics), or the result (consequentialist ethics). Across each of the domains above we must aim to do the right thing, for the right reason, and get the right result. It is not OK to say "We achieved the right result, but broke all the rules to get there." Nor is acceptable to slavishly follow the rules when it is known this won't produce the right result.

The mechanisms for realising accountability are just as varied. Romzek and Ingraham suggest four main categories:

1. **Hierarchical accountability** is based on the relationship between individuals with different power levels, like the relationships between ministers and chief executives, or between the Commissioner and chief executives.
2. **Legal accountability** involves substantiation against compliance with established mandate, such as statutory reporting documents, fiscal audits, and select committee hearings.
3. **Professional accountability** is based on arrangements with high autonomy based on internalised norms of appropriate practice, like a medical practitioner following a professional code.
4. **Political accountability** requires responsiveness to key external stakeholders, such as elected officials, client groups, or the general public.[79]

The New Public Service recognises that "being a public servant is a demanding, challenging, sometimes heroic endeavour involving accountability to others, adherence to the law, morality, judgment, and responsibility."[80] Navigating this complexity will likely require different leadership models when compared to our previous 'production model' that saw public services as a factory, and public servants as concerned only with efficiency and effectiveness. Rather than aim to replace one simplified model with another, New Public Service suggests that we should accept that being a public service leader requires an investment in understanding and navigating the complexity of being accountable for many things to many parties.

Discussion questions:

- Is it still accurate to say that chief executives are accountable for outputs? Was it ever accurate?
- To what do public servants feel a sense of moral duty or obligation?
- Can we hope to simplify this, or should we instead accept that accountability is complex and accordingly that public service leadership requires an investment in understanding and navigating this complexity?

11. Leading in the New Public Service

"Leadership is about…helping people to identify and actualise their values"

- Ron Heifetz

Key points:

- Traditional Public Administration relied on hierarchical executive management, and New Public management encouraged entrepreneurship.
- New Public Service takes a more organisational humanist perspective, considering public servants as complex humans with different motivations and needs.
- 'Values-based leadership' suggests leaders help people to identify and actualise their values
- 'Shared leadership' suggests leaders help a group to identify and actualise their shared interests.
- 'Serving rather than steering' involves leading citizens to seek the public interest.

This section contrasts the leadership models required in New Public Service with that of Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management, while also noting similarities with two other 'New' paradigms – New Public Administration, and New Public Governance.

Traditional public administration was originally based on a model of executive management. This leadership model was consistent with that found in businesses of the time: unity of command, hierarchical/top-down authority, and the division of labour. Public servants were controlled by policies and procedures, that at times became "so cumbersome that they restricted the capacity of the agency to meet clients' needs."[81]

New Public Management can be viewed as in part a reaction against the excesses of a rule-based system. The new leader was not a rule-creator, but instead a rule-bending innovator. But the functions of the public service were changing too. Policy and operations were frequently separated, and policy departments were to focus less on service delivery (what Osborne and Gaebler called 'rowing') and instead on creating the incentives and conditions under which services could be outsourced, either to delivery agencies (particularly Crown Agents), or to the private sector, in what Osborne and Gaebler called 'steering'. The leadership model of New Public Management can best be described as 'entrepreneurial.'[82]

Both Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management are limited by their assumption that public servants are purely rational and self-interested. As noted in an earlier section, the fleeting 'New Public Administration' differed in that it was interested in public servants not merely as subordinates to be controlled, but also as humans with complex needs and concerns (sometimes called 'organisational humanism'). Authors like Argyris[83] and Golembiewski[84] argue that employees should be given the opportunity to self-actualise: moving from passivity to activity, from dependence to independence, from a limited range of behaviours to a greater range, from shallow to deep interests, from shorter to longer time perspectives, from subordinance to equality, and from a lack of awareness to greater awareness. The transition to a more citizen-oriented public service, in both the sense of being citizens and enabling citizenship in others, can be seen as consistent with a hierarchical view of human needs. As public servants progress and grow, and are able to realise their needs for safety, belonging, and control, they are more able to commit to an altruistic sense of citizenship.

New Public Service emphasises neither the manipulation of others (through hierarchical control of Traditional Public Administration) nor the manipulation of incentives (in New Public Management), but instead accords with New Public Administration and adopts a more humanistic perspective on leadership. In particular, the Denhardts highlight values-based leadership, and shared leadership.

Values-based leadership, generally attributed to Ron Heifetz, can be viewed as an extension of Burns' 'transformational leadership'. Burns contrasts power-based leadership models with those that "arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of the follower". [85] Heifetz describes this leadership model through the lens of educative function: "leadership is about…helping people to identify and actualise their values."[86] An alternate expression would be to say that leadership is about creating an environment that preserves, protects, and nurtures the spirit of service (as drafted in the Public Service Legislation Bill). Leading for a spirit of service to the community will require our leadership framework to take more explicit notice of organisational humanist traditions and thought.

Shared leadership is a construct explored by John Bryson and Barbara Crosby.[87] Shared leadership involves working across boundaries, and is contrasted to hierarchical leadership, in which there is a single leader with decision-making authority. Shared leadership can also be contrasted with 'leading with influence', as the goal is to help the group to identify and actualise their shared interests, not to influence the group to pursue the interests of the leader. "Although shared leadership takes time, because more people and groups are involved, ironically it is often far more successful for exactly the same reason – because more people and more groups are involved." [88] The New Zealand public service has invested significant effort in recent years on solving problems that span agency boundaries, and cultivating leaders who can be effective in this environment.

Values-based leadership and shared leadership are not entirely unfamiliar to the New Zealand public service. We have become more comfortable with an organisational humanist perspective that sees public servants as having a range of motivations including a desire to serve their community. We expect our leaders to cultivate this spirit of service in their teams and their agencies. We have emerging examples of working effectively across agency boundaries, including the successes of the State Sector Leadership Team. But in both cases, these new leadership models look internally at the workings and motivations of public servants; they represent an adminicentric view of the public service. Our existing conception of public service leadership is usually about *leading the public service*, not about public servants accepting a leadership role in the community.

New Public Service is not the only model that acknowledges the shared leadership role of the public service acting in the community. New Public Governance sees government as one player among many important decision makers in society. "Public policies are the outcome of a complex set of interactions

involving multiple groups and multiple interests."[89] Government, in seeking the public interest, can play an important role in agenda setting, facilitating, negotiating or brokering solutions to public problems, where the solutions often involve a coalition of public, private and non-profit action.

New Public Governance sees engagement with these other parties as inevitable to the modern pragmatic task of public service. The Denhardts go further and see engagement with the public as desirable, and an end in and of itself. New Public Governance can be thought of as a renewal of the pluralist perspective, giving more formalised influence to large and well organised special interest groups. In my discussions with the Denhardts, they see benefit in these governance arrangements, but also see a role for individual citizens. Where a New Public Governance model might see a seat at the table for Iwi and NGOs, a New Public Service model would also see public servants engaging with (for example) community working groups and citizens' assemblies.

When engaging with community organisations, or with citizens directly, values-based leadership and shared leadership take on a slightly different connotation. The parties we are sharing leadership with are not merely leaders from other departments, but also include organisations outside of government, and New Zealanders themselves. And the values that we are helping people to identify and actualise are not merely those of public servants, but also the values of the community and the public interest. On one level, this values-based shared leadership model is educative and capability building, supporting New Zealanders to raise their sights and act as citizens rather than customers. On another, this is an example of **servant leadership**, in serving citizens to help them to build their community.[90] These descriptions of New Public Service leaders are demanding, and present challenges to our traditional view of leadership competencies. The New Public Service view of leadership can be summarised as '**serving rather than steering**'.

Discussion questions:

- What leadership competencies are required to perform values-based leadership and shared leadership within the public service?
- How prevalent are these approaches now?
- What opportunities are there for the New Zealand public service to work in partnership with large organisations? What about with concerned citizens?
- How might shared leadership be different in these contexts?
- What is our leadership role with respect to leading/serving the community?
- How well equipped is the public service to lead in this way?

12.Where to next?

"Let's continue the conversation."

- Janet and Bob Denhardt

Key points:

- The New Public Service has many similarities with our current reforms, including with our purpose, principles and values, but pushes further in some areas.
- The New Public Service may be particularly well suited to New Zealand's relatively communitarian and egalitarian culture.
- The language of New Public Service would need to be simplified to be communicated effectively with a wide range of audiences.
- Our current reforms will require us to continue to think and talk about ideas.
- This report does not conclude that we definitely should be applying the lessons of the New Public Service; instead it concludes that this is a useful collection of ideas for us to think about and discuss further.

This report summarises Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management, and presents New Public Service as a potential new paradigm for organising and thinking about public services in New Zealand. The conventional view is of succession – one paradigm followed by another – but this linear sequence is probably not the right metaphor. We should consider New Public Service not as a possible successor to Traditional Public Administration and New Public Management, but as a possible addition. There will always be clients and customers, as well as subjects and citizens. There likely is no single successor to New Public Management, but instead a world that is ever more complex and layered.

New Public Service is one possible paradigm to layer with New Public Management and Traditional Public Administration, but it is not the only possibility. New Public Administration, New Public Governance, Digital Era Governance, and New Public Passion, have each been proposed as the 'new paradigm'. There are countless other emerging practices that don't have a name or aren't associated with any of these movements. New Public Service is not the inevitable 'next big thing' but just one of many. But it is the 'next big thing' that is mostly closely aligned to our current reform journey, and that makes it worthy of our attention. This report notes significant overlaps between New Public Service and:

- a spirit of service to the community,
- a unified public service,
- our purpose (including enabling active citizenship),
- principles of public service (including open government, and stewardship), and
- public service values.

In other ways, it pushes our current thinking further. While SSC has taken an increasingly important role in fostering a culture of open government, we have not yet gone as far as the Dendhardts suggest in seeing ourselves as having an important role in helping citizens contribute to their community. Examples of good engagement exist, but at times we have emphasised efficiency and effectiveness, while placing institutional legitimacy at a lower level of importance. Engagement may sometimes be

seen as a means to supporting our production model, not an end in itself. Similarly, our methods of engaging with the public tend to treat our role as reconciling private interests, not seeking public ones.

Although it pushes further into enabling active citizenship than our current practice, the New Public Service may be particularly suited to our context. The spirit of service to the community is an important part of the New Zealand public service culture, and one that is currently championed by senior leaders. The spirit of service of the public service sits within the context of the broader New Zealand culture, which has been characterised as more collectivist and communitarian than other than other Anglo-majority countries.[91] New Public Service offers a way to not only improve our services, but to further strengthen our society – by providing a way for all New Zealanders to contribute (*proportioned to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured*). By strengthening citizenship, and activating the inactive citizen, we might even awaken in our compatriots a desire to become professional citizens and join the public service.

We will have to think carefully about how to have that discussion. While New Public Service may be particularly relevant for New Zealand, the language of New Public Service is problematic. The language of citizenship, discourse, public interest, postmodernism, and organisational humanism are useful in that these terms allow us to be very precise in our reasoning and our communication, but this language is not particularly approachable or intuitive for a non-technical audience. The language of moral citizenship (as contributing to a community) risks alienating those New Zealanders who feel less able to contribute and are most in need of support. To promulgate the ideas of New Public Service across a large audience would require much simpler and more relatable ways of telling this story. Additionally, New Public Service is an idea borrowed from American academics, rather than a New Zealand story rooted in our bicultural foundation. 'Our' reform story will need to be created together.

This report notes that some of the citizen-oriented aspects of New Public Service push further than our current practice, and yet we should also consider the opposite – how do our reforms go further than New Public Service? Some of our musings within SSC on ethics, identity, and motivation, push at the limits of scholarly thought. So too our approach to stewardship. New Public Management reigns because no one has fully implemented a successor. Other 'New Public' paradigms exist on the periphery, but haven't displaced New Public Management, such that some scholars refer to the 'Myth of Post-New Public Management'.[92] Therefore if our emerging paradigm is going to succeed and endure, it cannot simply copy theories from elsewhere. To fully implement our *spirit of service* paradigm, and usher in a new era of public administration, will require us to develop and integrate our own ideas. I hope that New Public Service is the first of several ideas we discuss and refine over the coming months as we learn our way forward and develop a new, and distinctly New Zealand, future public service.

So what next? I asked the Professors Denhardt to sign the SSC copy of *New Public Service: Serving Not Steering*, and they wrote "Let's continue to the conversation." That seems like the right sentiment – the questions of what it means to be a public servant, and what is our role v*is-à-vis* Government, society, and citizenship, are not easily resolved and should be the subject of ongoing reflection. I encourage you to have discussions about whether the framework in whole or in part is useful for your work – and I'm happy to be part of discussing this topic for as long as anyone else is willing!

Discussion questions:

- What aspects of New Public Service were most resonant as descriptions of our current reform agenda?
- What aspects of New Public Service push us furthest from our comfort zone?
- Is New Public Service, in part or in whole, useful in your work?
- If so, what are the implications for our policies and programmes?
- How would you like to continue the conversation?

APPENDIX: Glossary of terms **as used** within this report

Accountability – the obligation of an individual or organization to explain their/its actions, accept responsibility for those actions, and to disclose the results in a transparent manner.

Agencification – an element of New Public Management that advocates for the creation of semi-autonomous arms-length public organisations, e.g. Crown entities, Crown companies, etc.

Agency theory – an economic theory that the interests of an agent (an individual making decisions or taking actions on behalf of another) should be aligned to that of the principal (the person on whose behalf the action is taken).

Boundary object – a construct from sociology that refers to information that is plastic and yet maintains integrity across intersecting social worlds.

Citizenship – a contested idea that may refer to the rights and obligations of a citizen (defined legally) or the nature of one's membership in a political community (defined morally – the main meaning used in this report).

Client – a service recipient who is assumed to have low levels of personal agency.

Consensualist – a decision-making process that seeks an agreement that all participants can accept.

Consumer – see '*Customer*'.

Contractualism – an element of New Public Management that advocates for the management of performance by *a priori* agreed specification.

Customer – a service recipient who is assumed to have high levels of personal agency and rational self-interest.

Decentralisation – an element of New Public Management that advocates for the removal of centralised rules and the devolution of decision making to an individual agency level.

Digital Era Governance – a public administration paradigm described in the early 2000s based on reintegration, holism, and digitisation.

Discourse (in postmodern public administration) – the system of thoughts, beliefs and practices through which individuals construct the subjects of which they speak, and the act of communicating and seeking to understand the above.

Majoritarian – a decision-making process in which a group representing more than half of participants is able to make decisions that affect the whole.

Managerialism – an element of New Public Management that advocates for the value of professional managers, often at the expense of specialised knowledge.

Motivation crowding – a psychology theory in which certain extrinsic incentives can undermine intrinsic motivation.

Neutral competence – an element of Traditional Public Administration, in which public servants do the work of government expertly, according to explicit objective standards rather than to personal or party loyalty.

New Public Administration – a public administration paradigm described in the late 1960s based on opposition to positivist, technical and hierarchical elements of traditional public administration.

New Public Governance – a public administration paradigm described in the early 2000s based on partnership and co-creation with parties outside of government (in the private and third sectors).

New Public Management – a public administration paradigm popularised in the 1980s based on autonomy and accountability.

New Public Passion – a public administration paradigm described in the 2010s based on public service motivation, public value, and goal commitment.

New Public Service – a public administration paradigm described in the early 2000s in which public servants are seen as professional citizens, acting to enable active citizenship among their compatriots.

Old Public Administration – see '*Traditional Public Administration*'.

Organisational humanism – a management theory that considers employees' wellbeing, values, and personal growth.

Pluralist – a decision-making process in which organised special interest groups exert influence on decision-makers.

Polis – a political community, or body of citizens.

Positivism – a philosophical theory that contends that valid knowledge is *a posteriori*, empirical, and based on natural phenomena.

Postmodern public administration – a branch of public administration scholarship that rejects universalist notions of objective reality, morality, and truth, and is concerned with administration under conditions of strong uncertainty and contested ideals.

Production model – in public administration, the analogy that public organisations are like factories that convert labour, money, and power into goods and services.

Public choice theory – the subset of political science that assumes all actions are self-interested.

Public interest – a contested idea that may refer variously to the normatively ideal option for a public policy, or the public policy that is a product of a political process; its content may represent the sum and balance of all individual interests within a community, or the shared altruistic view created and held by a community.

Public value – a construct for understanding how entrepreneurial activity by public managers can contribute to the common good.

Purchase agreement – a discontinued quasi-contractual agreement between a Minister and a chief executive, which imagines the Minister as a buyer of goods and services.

Representative bureaucracy – a political science theory that suggests a public service should be reasonably demographically similar to the population it serves.

Servant leadership – a leadership theory in which the primary goal of the leader is to serve and support the highest functioning of their team and its members

Shared leadership – an emergent team property from the distribution of influence among group members, or a leadership theory in which members of a group seek to support each other to achieve their respective individual and shared goals.

Spirit of service – a construct from our current reforms that includes the motivations and ethics of public servants in endeavouring to act for the benefit of their community.

Stewardship – a construct from our current reforms in which public servants have an ethical obligation to act as responsible managers of the information, knowledge, legislation, capacity, and institutions for which they have a duty of care.

Subject – a member of a political community as defined by the duties and capacities owed as part of their allegiance.

Traditional public administration – a public administration paradigm popularised in the late 1800s based upon hierarchies and administrative rules.

Transformational leadership – a leadership theory in which a leader guides change through an inspirational vision, and then works in tandem with a committed group to execute that change.

Unified public service – a construct from our current reforms in which separate organisations achieve coordination and behavioural norms through a collective identity, despite organisational boundaries and relative autonomy.

Values based leadership – a leadership theory in which leaders draw on their own and followers' values for direction and motivation.

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