

The legacy of New Public Management (NPM) on workers, management capabilities, and organisations

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Abstract

Public servants want to work in good organisations, and management and organisational capability has been a long standing concern of public sector unions. This study explores the long run impacts of new public management (NPM) through worker experiences. Although NPM was introduced to improve organisational performance, it may have been bad for workers and there is limited evidence that organisational performance is high. Survey results of 15,762 members of the New Zealand Public Service Association (PSA) found that public servants were committed and motivated, but do not rate their managers or organisations highly. Results are discussed in terms of the long run legacy of NPM in which the right to manage has not been matched by the responsibility to manage. This has led to organisations poorly equipped to deal with emerging challenges.

Key words

New public management, worker experiences, management capability, organisational performance

Introduction

The performance of public sector agencies, as well as the wellbeing of workers, is of long standing concern to public sector unions and the wider field of industrial relations (Colley, Mccourt & Waterhouse, 2012; Haworth & Pilott, 2014)

New Zealand was an early and enthusiastic exponent of new public management (NPM), and eagerly embraced the disaggregation of agencies, contractualism and performance measurement that it entailed (Pollitt, 2007; Hood & Peters, 2004). It primarily introduced NPM with the State Sector Act 1988, which amongst other things formalised and strengthened Ministerial influence over the appointment of chief executives, and introduced contractual and market-based principles between the principal

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(usually Ministers) and agents (departments and their CEOs). NPM is a loose term but, as well as objectifying the relationships outlined above, it also commonly includes a grab basket of other ideas, such as a stronger focus on management and managerialism, customer focus and private sector provision and style of management (Terry, 1998). It has resulted for many countries in the decentralisation of public sector employment issues, from central personnel agencies and the devolvement of operational human resource management (HRM) and employment relations (ER) accountability to line management of public sector agencies (Colley et al., 2012). In this paper, New Zealand represents an interesting microcosm of how NPM has played out in terms of its effects on workers and overall public sector capability.

NPM has gone through several iterations since it was introduced in New Zealand in the late 1980s. These multiple changes, however, tend to be layered on top of, and tinker with, existing models rather than be based on first principles or address underlying problems (Haworth & Pilott, 2014). A post-NPM environment is emerging that includes demands for heightened responsiveness, accountability and performance. Complexity arising from multi-actor governance and implementation is also increasing (e.g. Fossetøl, Breit, Andreassen & Klemsdal, 2015). Despite widespread public sector reforms, the effectiveness of many reforms is contested. The case that they have improved worker experiences, management capability and organisational performance is not strong (Schick, 2001; Haworth & Pilott, 2014).

This paper explores public sector worker experiences and capability roughly 25 years since the passing of the State Sector Act 1988. Drawing on large-scale survey data collected in 2013, workers' experiences, managerial capacity and organisational capability are explored. The paper begins with a review of the legacies of New Zealand's model of public management from the adoption of NPM, highlighting the outcomes that led to more recent public sector reforms. The paper presents findings from a survey of 15,762 public servants, demonstrating that while not entirely bleak, several significant flaws exist in the organisation and conduct of work across public entities.

Background - The New Zealand Model of New Public Management (NPM)

NPM has evolved into various hybrid forms within different jurisdictions (Terry, 1998). Within New Zealand it has been through several stages of reform (see Boston, Martin, Pallot & Walsh, 1996; Bryson & Anderson, 2007). The first phase, heralded by the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986, separated various government and quasi-government organisations from central government functions. The next and arguably most important phase removed the notion of a unified public sector and introduced a new vision of state sector employment focused on individual departments and their management. The State Sector Act 1988 implemented this vision. Following this, a new centre right government in the early 1990s introduced the Employment Contracts Act 1991 which sought to weaken worker voice and collective bargaining in both the private sector and public sector. In the early 2000s, a centre left government sought to address emerging problems in the public sector, such as low organisational capability, poor co-operation between agencies, and a short-term outlook based on meeting output targets rather than longer term outcomes. However, reforms of that era were piecemeal and unconvincing (Halligan, 2007).

The Better Public Services programme, started with an advisory group set up in May 2011, recognised that public sector managers had a short-term focus and heightened responsiveness to ministers

(Wevers, 2011). They also did not maintain organisational and system capacity, or deal with the management of long-term strategic issues. There were subsequent commitments to improve matters (e.g. Rennie, 2013) and some important amendments in 2013 to the State Sector Act and the Public Finance Act.

Two major events in New Zealand encapsulated failures in the New Zealand model of public sector reform (a mine explosion and a flawed software payroll project)¹. Separate inquiries into these events both concluded that senior public servants had misrepresented the true (shabby) state of affairs to ministers (Ministerial Inquiry into the Novopay Project, 2013; Royal Commission on the Pike River Coal Mine Tragedy, 2012). As well as pointing to poor organisational performance, they also pointed to generally low management capability and poor worker experiences – including a limited ability of staff to speak up about concerns.

Commentators have recently called for a more radical agenda for change than the incremental steps that the Better Public Services initiative entails. In particular, Haworth and Pilott (2014) argue for a first principles state sector reform, including new structural and legislative change that will better address the problems of a “state sector that is fragmented, unable to solve intractable problems, slow to innovate, and performing poorly in terms of leadership and response to change” (ibid: 74). Of more relevance to this paper they also call for the state to be an exemplar employer with clearer expectations of human capability and organisational performance. This is to particularly address:

“Command and control” management styles, a “right to manage” mentality, and a cult of (senior) leadership are rife across the sector. Lost in this package are the positive workplace arrangements that promote improved organisational performance and productivity, better workplace cultures, and high-trust relationships (ibid: 75).

This paper discusses the gap between current workplace arrangements, and the positive workplace arrangements described above. It does this in sections that briefly cover worker outcomes, management capability and organisational performance. Each of these sections summarises pertinent international and local literature around the importance, consequences and dynamics of these topics.

Worker Outcomes

Worker experiences have become increasingly central to understanding the relationships between HRM practices, organisational performance and worker wellbeing (Boxall & Macky, 2009), and the purported command and control, and right to manage mentality mentioned above do not bode well for employee experiences. Workers who have little autonomy, are not informed of organisational goals or rewarded for good performance, and who receive inadequate development are more likely to be unmotivated, uncommitted, and dissatisfied (Boxall & Macky, 2009). Poor HR practices and organisational climates result in higher stress, lower motivation and greater likelihood of turnover. Similar findings apply in government, where it has been found that organisational factors, such as procedural constraints and organisational goal conflict undermine worker motivation, commitment, and job satisfaction (Wright, 2004). Teamwork, employee involvement and trust in line management have a positive impact on worker motivation, and HR practices and outcomes are reliable predictors of public sector performance levels (Gould-Williams, 2007). Flexibility and voice also help employee experiences, and in turn often help organisations (Landy, 1989).

A report by the State Services Commission (SSC) (2012) in New Zealand notes that public sector staff engagement remains lower than comparable private sector organisations. In sum, although good worker experiences are important to organisational performance, poor worker experiences are expected in public services. They are likely to be reflected in low levels of: motivation, commitment, job satisfaction, autonomy, information, rewards and training, security, flexibility, influence, and increasing job pace and work overload.

Management Capability

The need for managers to have technical, human and conceptual skills has been known since Katz's seminal work in 1955 (Peterson & Van Fleet, 2004). While many managers are hired and promoted for their technical skills – it is the human and conceptual skills that are needed for effective management performance. Technical skills are crucial, but human skills, such as conflict resolution are needed to effectively apply technical skills at a senior level. Conceptual skills, in particular the ability to see the organisation as a whole, or to take a systems view of the job, team, organisation and context are necessary to manage work outcomes (ibid).

While NPM has reinforced management's prerogative to manage, it has not been associated with the responsibility to manage well, instead it is linked with an over-reliance on restructuring as the prime tool for change, a lack of innovation and poor leadership skills (Norman & Gill, 2011; Plimmer, Norman & Gill, 2011). Within New Zealand, the consequences of this lack of responsibility include leadership teams focused on individual components of the business at the expense of government issues, or those who are good at managing up but do not know the business (English, 2012). Alongside this, management teams appear to be unable to provide robust strategic advice; fail to work effectively across organisational boundaries; struggle to manage people and change elements of their role; fail to use information effectively to drive their business, and lack the metrics to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of their business model and operations (Wevers, 2011). Defensive and rules-based cultures are also said to prevail (McCarthy, 2009). In sum, low levels of managerial capability are signalled by centralised, hierarchical authority, weak goals, weak work processes and low trust and responsiveness toward staff.

Organisational and Sector Capability

Poor worker experiences and poor management capability limits organisational capability (Gould-Williams, 2007). According to Diefenbach (2009), while efficiency gains have been found in a few concentrated areas as a result of NPM, the overriding search for efficiency has damaged organisational capacity – with associated long term costs. Despite the decentralisation rhetoric of loosening the administrative framework, and enabling managers to manage, practice has actually led to greater centralisation, re-bureaucratisation and compliance behaviour. Hood and Peters (2004) argue that these unintended organisational outcomes are widespread across a number of jurisdictions. In New Zealand, identified public sector weaknesses include being poor at sustaining capability and performance in the medium term, and low allocative efficiency (Te Kawa & Guerin, 2012). Agencies are also poor at working together to achieve outcomes and also often have a weak sense of purpose, or goal clarity.

In addition to prevailing concerns about long-term organisational capability, emerging problems are becoming harder to solve; public expectations are rising, policy designs are becoming more complex,

and require full-scale collaboration (Bourgon, 2011). Budgets are tight. These challenges essentially concern dilemmas between doing more with less, and being both innovative and efficient.

Empirical research on organisational ambidexterity provides a useful alternative frame to look at the dilemma facing public administration of how to be both efficient, and also adaptable to stakeholders. Ambidexterity seeks both i) adaptability, or rather exploration and innovation, and ii) alignment – requiring both efficiency and effective resource utilisation (Jansen, Tempelaar, Van Den Bosch, & Volberda, 2009). Traditionally, these two management goals have been seen to be mutually exclusive. However, more recent research regards them as compatible and even mutually reinforcing. In effect, organisations can be innovative and then use efficient processes to deploy them, and efficient processes can free resources for innovation (Raisch, Birkinshaw, Probst, & Tushman, 2009). Ambidexterity requires management skill and when embedded in individual jobs, worker experiences are important.

Organisations can be ambidextrous yet still maintain silos through effective co-ordination and integration at the executive level (Jansen et al., 2009). However, for this to work, management teams must also be competent and well integrated, and work group tasks must be naturally discrete. In government, however, much of the work is inherently co-produced with clients, and in collaboration with other work groups and agencies (O’Leary & Vij, 2012). Integrated health, education and social services for hard to reach clients are examples where cross unit co-operation is important. In sum, low levels of organisational capability are signalled by low incidence of: cross-unit co-operation, change and innovation, adaptability, alignment, ambidexterity and performance.

Research Design

An online survey was distributed to the full 49,611 membership of the PSA (Plimmer et al., 2013). To ensure the fullest representation of this group, two follow-up reminder emails were sent to members and further invitations to voluntarily participate were included in union newsletters and other communications. Members without email access were offered alternative ways to participate. In total, 15,762 complete responses were received, representing a response rate of 32 per cent. Respondents were in the core public service, crown agencies, district health boards, and local government.

Participants

All those who responded were both employed in public services and members of the PSA. Two-thirds of those who responded were female (68.5 per cent), reflecting the rise of female participation rates across New Zealand during the early 1990s, a trend that has continued over the past two decades (State Services Commission, 2012). The respondent group were found, on average, to be older. Most respondents were aged 45-54 years, with an average age of 48 years (Table 1). This compares to 28 per cent of similarly aged public service workers, with an average age of 45 years in 2012 (ibid). Alongside the decreasing number of workers in the 25-34 and 35-44 year age groups, these results indicates an ageing workforce in New Zealand’s public service.

The majority of respondents identified as New Zealand European Pākehā (65.2 per cent) with just over 30 per cent of respondents identifying with at least another ethnic group, broadly matching that of the

New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The vast majority (>70 per cent) of respondents have a post-high school certificate or higher, and 43.22 per cent have a Bachelor's degree or higher.

Job and employer demographics

Public service agencies employed 44.8 per cent of respondents. Others worked for state sector agencies, district health boards, local government, and other types of organisations.

The majority (96.9 per cent) of PSA members surveyed were employed in permanent work. 90 per cent of respondents worked full-time and the remaining 10 per cent worked part-time.

Over half of those who responded have worked in their organisation for five years or more (66 per cent), with 35.4 per cent indicating that they had worked with the same employer for at least 11 years. This reflects general public sector employment tenure trends in which the average length of service for public service employees was 9.2 years (State Services Commission, 2012). Respondents represented a range of occupations, the biggest group being clerical and administrative workers. See table 1.

Table 1. Occupational types

ANZSCO occupational category	n	%
Level 1: Manager	1,306	8.5
Level 2: Professional	2,574	16.7
Level 2: Registered Social Professional	2,513	16.3
Level 2: Scientist	526	3.4
Level 3: Technician/Trader Worker	646	4.2
Level 4: Unregistered Service Worker	1,870	12.2
Level 5: Clerical/Administration	4,028	26.2
Level 5: Contact/Call Centre	853	5.5
Level 5: Inspection/Regulation Worker	827	5.4
Level 6: Sales Worker	64	0.4
Level 7: Machinery Operator/Driver	30	0.2
Level 8: Labourer	139	0.9

Most of those who responded defined their jobs as non-managerial (80.9 per cent), with just over 1 per cent identifying themselves as an executive or senior-level manager. This was reflected in participants' earnings. The majority (43 per cent) earned a gross annual salary of between \$40,000 and \$60,000. The median salary range was between \$50,000 and \$60,000.

Research Instrument

Based on national and international work, this survey explored workers' experiences; management practices and capabilities; work processes; and organisational capability and performance. Most survey

questions were quantitative and closed-ended using five-point Likert scales (from 1 for strongly disagree to 5 for strongly agree).

Organisational goal specificity was measured using Wright's (2004) scale. An example item is "This organisation has objectives that are specific and well defined". Both *cross unit cooperation* and *organisational processes* were measured using scales from Langford (2009). Example cooperation item: "There is cooperation between different sections in this organisation". Example *organisational process* item: "There are clear policies and procedures".

Trust and support was measured using the Gibson and Birkinshaw (2004) scale. Sample item: "Managers in this organisation give ready access to information that others need". *Employees' perceptions of HR practices* were measured using a measure of autonomy (power), information, rewards, and knowledge (Vandenberg, Richardson, & Eastman, 1999). Example items: "I have sufficient authority to fulfil my job responsibilities" and "Management takes time to explain to employees the reasoning behind critical decisions that are made". Example *Change and innovation* item is: "Change is handled well in this organisation" (Langford, 2009).

A *Working time flexibility* example item was "My hours are fixed by the organisation with no possibility for change" (EWCS, 2010). *Job pace* and *Job influence* was measured in a similar way using EWC survey items.

General commitment was measured with a scale comprised of items concerning the target of commitment: to current job, team, organisation, or society. Example *Organisational commitment* item: "I am willing to put in extra effort for this organisation" (Langford, 2009). Example *job satisfaction* item was: "I like the kind of work I do" (ibid). Example *Job security* item was "I might lose my job in the next six months." (EWCS, 2010). Example *work overload* item: "There is too much work to do everything well" (Macky & Boxall, 2008).

Bullying was measured using a question by (O'Driscoll et al., 2011)². Respondents then responded on an ordinal scale ranging from "No, never" to "Yes, almost daily".

Adaptability (Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004) concerns whether the organisation responds to changing circumstances or new opportunities. Example item: "The management systems in this organisation are flexible enough to respond quickly to changes". *Alignment* (ibid) involves how efficient organisational systems are, or whether organisations are wasteful and working at cross-purposes with each other. Example item: "My organisation wastes resources on unproductive activities".

Ambidextrous organisations are those that "are capable of simultaneously exploiting existing competencies and new opportunities" (Raisch et al., 2009: 685). *Ambidexterity* was, therefore, calculated by multiplying the means of the alignment and adaptability scales. *Work motivation* was calculated by using the same scale as Wright (2004) used to measure public sector work motivation.

Organisational performance was measured using four items from Gibson and Birkinshaw (2004). Example item: 'This organisation is achieving its full potential.' This scale's validity was confirmed by correlating, where data was available, organisational performance with ratings of organisational management as rated by the State Services Commission's Performance Improvement Framework (Spearman's correlation = .65, p=.038).

Managerial trust and responsiveness was measured using a scale from the British Workplace Employment Relations (WERS) Survey (Chaplin, Mangla, Purdon, & Airey, 2005). Respondents were presented with the proposition '*Managers at this organisation...*' related to statements such as 'Can be relied upon to keep to their promises'.

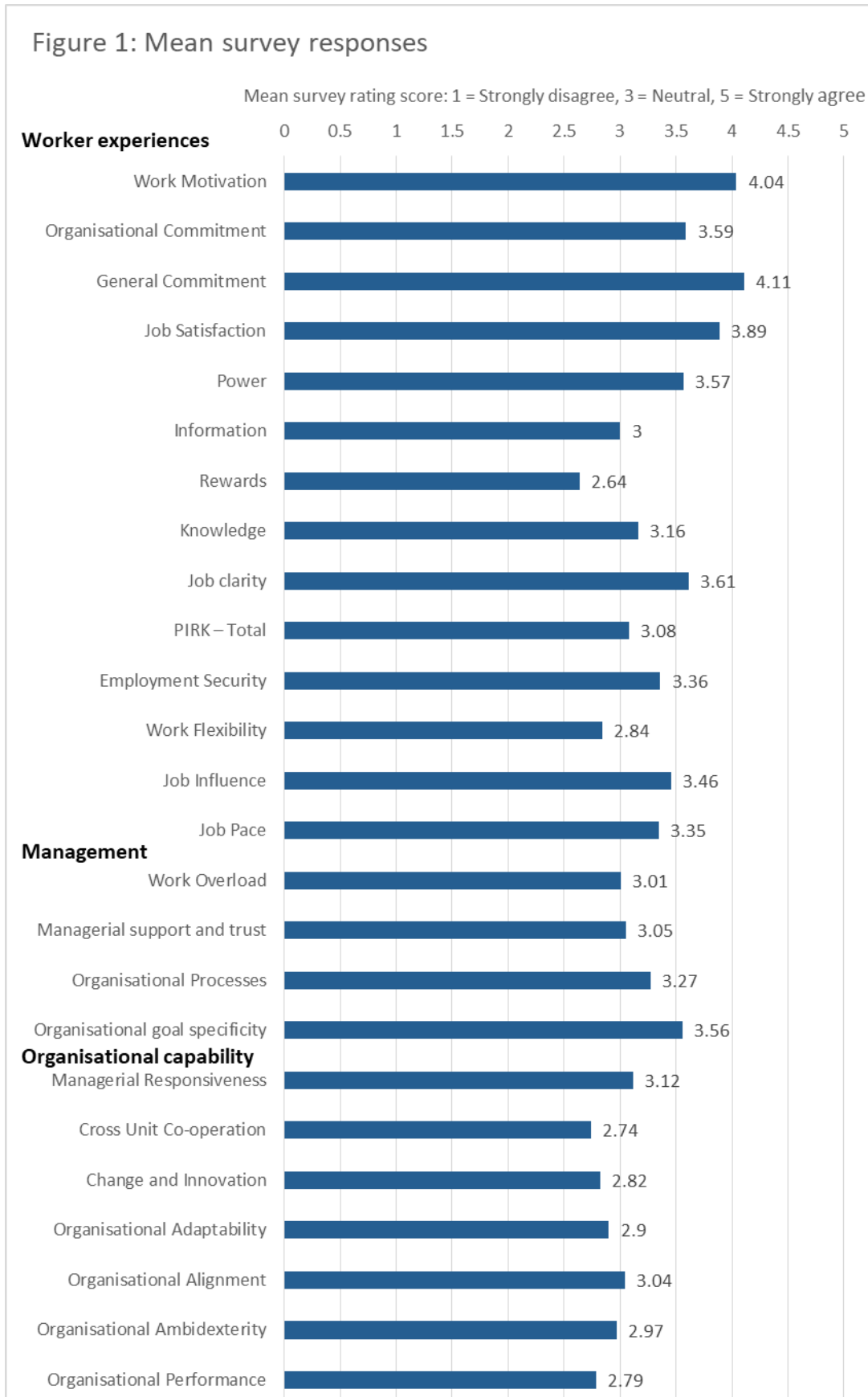
Results

Overall, results indicated high levels of scale reliability with alphas above .7 apart from work motivation (.68), employment security (.36), and organisational alignment (.67).

Table 2. Standard deviations and alphas

Scale	Standard deviation	Cronbach's alpha
Worker experiences		
Work Motivation	0.54	0.68
Organisational Commitment	0.88	0.88
Job Satisfaction	0.785	0.83
Power	0.79	0.92
Information	0.79	0.92
Rewards	0.9	0.91
Knowledge	0.91	0.95
Job clarity	0.7	0.75
PIRK – Total	0.7	0.96
Employment Security	0.65	0.36
Work Flexibility	0.83	0.74
Job Influence	0.9	0.83
Job Pace	0.66	0.84
Work Overload	0.78	0.84
Management capability		
Organisational goal specificity	0.81	0.85
Management support and trust	0.83	0.93
Organisational Processes	0.871	0.82
Managerial Responsiveness	0.941	0.93
Organisational capability		
Cross Unit Co-operation	0.92	0.85
Change and Innovation	0.86	0.85
Organisational Adaptability	0.89	0.82
Organisational Alignment	0.79	0.67
Organisational Ambidexterity	0.74	0.81
Organisational Performance	0.81	0.83

Mean results indicate a motivated, committed and satisfied workforce (see figure 1 worker experiences items), but working for managers, and organisations, of limited capability (see figure 1 management capability and organisational capability items). The rate of reported bullying experiences was high (32 per cent).



* All scales except bullying were measured on a standard 5 point Likert scale. Responses above 3 indicate agreement, below 3 indicate disagreement.

Bullying was measured using a different scale type and so is reported separately. 26 per cent reported being bullied now and then, 1.6 per cent monthly, 2.4 per cent weekly and 2.2 per cent almost daily.

An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted to better understand the underlying relationship between the many variables in this study. EFA allows researchers to understand how variables correlate together, in patterns or 'factors', that reveal underlying processes. Using principal axis factoring, two factors were identified. The first factor contained 13 strongly loaded variables that were primarily concerned with organisational and management characteristics (42 per cent of the variance). The second factor contained four variables that were primarily concerned with workers' subjective experiences of their job including motivation and commitment (8 per cent of the variance). Five scales did not load strongly on any of the two factors: work overload, employment security, workplace flexibility, job influence, and job pace. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.945 and the p-value of Bartlett's test of sphericity was below 0.001, indicating the data was suitable for factor analysis.

Discussion

These results paint an ambivalent picture of the public sector. Overall, the results indicate that New Zealand public service workers are motivated and satisfied, but do not rate their managers' and their organisations' performance well, as shown in figure 1. The two highest means concerned work motivation ($M=4.04$) and general commitment (4.11). The two lowest concerned cross unit co-operation (2.73) and organisational performance (2.79). The NPM reforms and its subsequent iterations do not seem to have led to organisations being particularly well run, despite the emphasis on private sector management practices and decentralisation rhetoric that accompanied the introduction of NPM (Haworth & Pilott, 2014).

Although comparisons across studies are difficult and controversial, a look at comparable means where identical items and rating scales have been used corroborates the generally dismal picture of the current results. Several of the scales were borrowed from Langford (2009) and used the same rating scales as that study. Grand means in the Langford study of Australian workers in over 1000 organisations are generally higher than the means reported here, apart from job satisfaction. Public servants generally rate their employers, workplaces and work experiences worse than their private sector counterparts and this may explain the differences (Wright & Davis, 2003). Regardless, it corroborates the mediocrity in public service management that has been reported globally (de Waal, 2010).

The factor analysis identified that the organisational and management capabilities go together and that they are inter-related. It points to a single factor of organisational health, rather than organisations that might be, say, good at processes and managerial responsiveness but poor at cross unit co-operation for instance.

Results for worker job conditions were mixed. Although workers have reasonable autonomy in their jobs, a more detailed item level analysis showed that items concerning upward flow of information scored lower than items concerning downward flow, indicating a lack of worker voice, even on matters of benefit to the organisation. This is consistent with the prevailing command and control style in New

Zealand's public sector criticized by Haworth and Pilott (2014). Rewards were another area of weakness. Items concerning 'knowledge' covered training and development which, although rated as sufficient in terms of amount of training, analysis revealed perceptions that the quality could be improved. Workers also reported an above-neutral level of autonomy, including the ability to choose the methods and pace of their work. Conversely, the ability of workers to choose their working time arrangements was given a below-neutral rating. This matches previous research indicating low levels of work flexibility despite the 'right' to request it (Donnelly, Proctor-Thomson, & Plimmer, 2012). The bullying measure was subjective, so may have under or over reported the true rate. However, negative workplace interactions are not infrequent. The rate reported in this study (32 per cent) roughly tallies with other data sources such as the State Services Commission's Integrity and Conduct Survey (2013) which reported that 25 per cent of State servants had personally experienced bullying or harassment in the last 12 months, and 11 per cent experienced it in the last 6 months.

The overall impression of public service workers under NPM is of motivated workers getting on with their jobs, despite limited recognition, voice and flexibility. It may be that the altruistic nature of many public servants acts as a buffer against weak managers (Bakker, 2015). The results provide barely moderate support for management capability, and provide support for Haworth and Pilott's (2014) argument that management skills are controlling but not necessarily high. Ratings for management of trust and support, and managerial responsiveness are only just above the neutral point. The clarity of organisational goals are rated higher, as are the quality of processes. Overall, these findings indicate that managers are slightly better at the task and process aspects of their jobs than the softer behaviours around trust and climate for performance.

These results indicate support for earlier criticisms that the public service is poorly equipped to deal with emerging challenges, and is impeded by many challenges including an inability to collaborate across units (Te Kawa & Guerin, 2012). These latter responses also point to weak skills at the executive level, because it is at this level where the tone and organisational capability is developed (or not). Results indicate a stronger focus on efficiency (alignment) rather than effectiveness (adaptability) and weak skills at integrating them (ambidexterity).

Conclusions

The picture that emerges here is one where public service workers are motivated and committed despite the limitations of their managers and organisations. Criticisms of organisations being unable to address more complex, emerging problems seem valid (Te Kawa & Guerin, 2012). This problem does not seem unique to New Zealand (Pollitt, 2007). Possibly some answers lie in the fit between HRM, NPM and the nature of public sector work.

Despite the uptake of market models and private sector management techniques, public sector work differs from private sector work in profound but often immeasurable ways (Colley et al., 2012), that makes HRM more difficult. Just as NPM type market-based systems have become both entrenched, and had new layers added, public sector HRM has had a similar journey. The 'traditional career service model' of personnel management has had a variety of hybrid HR models layered over pre-existing practices (ibid). These lead to inherent contradictions and tensions across a range of practices and accountabilities (Truss, 2008). Examples of these contradictions and tensions includes the devolving of HRM without adequate training, monitoring or auditing, and the fragmentation of HRM delivery

coupled with ‘fad following’ and institutional isomorphism rather than useful innovation. These can possibly be discerned from the results which show high levels of organisational goal clarity (an NPM condition) but weak rewards, and unsupportive and untrusted managers. The ‘right to manage’ has not always been supported by the responsibility to manage.

Findings here support the case for the first principles approach sought by Haworth and Pilott (2014). As well as carrying out legislative change, the state could be an “exemplar employer” (p. 75). It could include less command and control, more upward worker voice, and higher trust relationships.

After over two decades of piecemeal reform, these problems are increasingly recognised. In fact, legislation – in the form of the State Sector Amendment Act 2013 – makes CEOs accountable for long-term organisational capacity, allows designated CEOs to become sector leaders and for budget allocations (and accountabilities) to be made on a sector, rather than agency basis (English & Coleman, 2014). Successfully implementing the legislation will require collaboration, leadership and efficient processes. It will also require dealing with a mature workforce that might be somewhat jaded by earlier reform attempts.

A limitation in this research is that it is confined to union members, and may not be reflective of the wider public service. The results, however, are broadly comparable with other studies (e.g. McCarthy, 2009; State Services Commission, 2012).

This survey identified that public servants are generally motivated and satisfied, despite having mediocre managers and organisations. This paper hopefully provides a benchmark for tracking future improvements in public sector worker experience and performance.

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Notes

¹ For an overview of these issues see <http://pikeriver.royalcommission.govt.nz/Volume-Two---Contents> and <http://www.minedu.govt.nz/theMinistry/NovopayProject/~media/MinEdu/Files/TheMinistry/NovopayProject/MinisterialInquiry/MIN130501InquiryReport.pdf>

² The text of the question is: Workplace bullying refers to situations where a person is (a) repeatedly and over a period of time exposed to negative acts or mistreatment from colleagues, superiors or subordinates, and (b) has difficulty defending themselves against this mistreatment. With this definition in mind, do you feel you have experienced bullying in your workplace within the last six months?