

MORALE IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE OF CANADA:  
SOCIETAL, STRUCTURAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES

by

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### ABSTRACT

This thesis examines morale in the federal public service of Canada. Three areas of analysis are considered: the relationship between morale and societal perceptions of the federal bureaucracy, the structural and organizational context of the federal public service, and the restraint policies of the present Conservative government. They are seen as a hierarchy - with the broad societal influences on top, narrower structural considerations in the middle, and the most narrow political influences on the bottom. A funnel metaphor is used to describe this hierarchy.


Morale is an often used, yet somewhat vague concept. This thesis seeks to eliminate the confusion surrounding the general nature of the term and draws on work-psychologist Saul Gellerman's interpretation of morale in terms of needs-satisfactions.

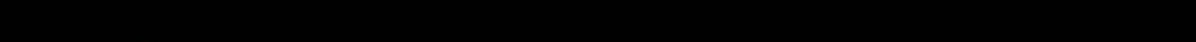
"Off the job" satisfactions form the base of this hierarchy, and deal with issues such as income, security, and stature. "On the job" satisfactions make up the middle part of the hierarchy, and deal with issues such as job interest, prestige, and career advancement. The top part of the hierarchy is formed by personal satisfactions, which deals with issues of personal growth and power, achievement, and job mastery. The basic premise is that those needs on the lower levels of the hierarchy must be satisfied before those higher on the structure become important. A pyramid metaphor is used to describe this hierarchy.

The relationships between the funnel of influences and the pyramid of needs are examined to develop a structured model of individual employee morale. Generally, societal influences are seen to correspond most closely to personal satisfactions, structural influences to on the job satisfactions, and political influences to off the job satisfactions. Political influences, however, impact on both of the two lower levels of the needs pyramid. A model outlining the collective dimensions of morale was also developed.

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### Dedication

I would like to dedicate this paper to the members of the Public Service of Canada. Their hard work and devotion are very much appreciated, and help to make this country the great place that it is. I sincerely hope that this thesis may be of use to the students, the bureaucrats, and the people of Canada so that we may all try to understand each other just a little bit better.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis to educators everywhere, from all levels and all disciplines. They cultivate our desire to learn, and help us to see that anything is possible!

## INTRODUCTION:

This thesis examines employee morale within the federal public service of Canada. In doing so, three areas of analysis are considered: the relationship between morale and societal perceptions of the federal bureaucracy, the structural and organizational context of the federal public service, and the restraint policies of the present Conservative government. The approach proceeds along a narrowing path: starting from broad societal influences, proceeding to more specific structural problems, then to the most specific governmental policy influences. It is based upon the premise that morale is a complex sentiment determined by a variety of causes.

The boundaries within which I have chosen to conduct my research (i.e. societal, structural, and political) are useful, if somewhat arbitrary, organizing tools. I have tried, as much as possible, to keep the scope of the research within these boundaries. As this was not a laboratory experiment with controlled conditions, however, some overlapping of the boundaries was bound to occur. This was most noticeable in the latter chapters of the thesis, where the structural and political determinants were found to affect more than one aspect of employee morale.

Over the course of this project, two important observations emerged. The first noted that despite the large body of literature within the discipline of political science on the subject of morale, an adequate, working definition of the term had not been developed. The second highlighted

individual employee morale as a function of a variety of forces - including a complex interaction between a "funnel" of influences and a "pyramid" of satisfactions.

The aims of this thesis, therefore, are twofold. One goal is to provide the discipline of political science with a working definition of morale. Although many academics and the media discuss morale, they often do so loosely and without properly defining it. This thesis seeks to eliminate some of the confusion surrounding the vague and general nature of the term by importing research from the field of work psychology to develop a clear-cut understanding of the forces which determine morale.

A second aim stems from the observation of the complex interaction between influences and satisfactions. This observation culminates in the development of a structured model of morale from the impact of influences on need-satisfactions. Models outlining collective dimensions of morale, and the direct relationship between influences and satisfactions are also developed.

The structure of this thesis follows the narrowing approach outlined above. Chapter 1 provides a review of the basic literature which helps to set out the definitions for the two major terms (bureaucracy and morale) used in the paper. Chapter 2 sets the study within the Canadian context by outlining the growth and structure of the federal public service, and how the process of bureaucratic reform has been

instrumental in laying the foundations for many of the current problems faced by public servants today. Chapter 3 introduces the first, and the broadest, of the three areas of analysis mentioned above; that is, the relationship between the societal perceptions and employee morale. Examinations of the origins of these societal perceptions, and various ways they may influence morale are included. Chapter 4 looks at the more narrow structural influences and their relationship to employee morale. Issues such as regional/headquarters imbalances, career plateauing, gender inequities, and collective bargaining are considered here. The most specific of the areas examined (i.e., the effects of the restraint policies of the post-1984 Conservative government) comprises Chapter 5. Issues discussed include downsizing, contracting-out, workforce adjustment, privatization and constitutional reform.

The morale of federal public service employees should be of concern to all Canadians. First, common sense dictates that the whole premise behind a public service is to provide service to the public. The morale of the people employed to provide such service will directly affect the quality of the service rendered. Anyone interested in efficiency will recognize the obvious tie between employee morale and performance.

Second, the current process of reform within the federal public service has itself noted the importance of morale. Initiated in December of 1989 by Prime Minister Mulroney, PS2000 (or "PS2K") was mandated to "recommend changes in policy and legislation that would renew the public service by streamlining operations and bringing administrative procedures up to date."<sup>1</sup> This was to be the first major reform of the public service since the 1960's.

I will make two major assumptions as I begin this study. The first is to agree with Max Weber and his view that there is no escape from "bureaucracy".<sup>2</sup> A modern industrialized society simply would not be able to function without such a structure. The federal public service has been in existence since confederation and has grown throughout most of this century. There have been numerous calls for reform of the public service, but few calls for its replacement. The federal public service in Canada is here to stay - at least for the foreseeable future.

The second is that there is currently a serious (negative) morale problem within the Canadian public service. Many prominent academics writing on the federal bureaucracy (including David Zussman, Jak Jabes, and Donald Savoie) have reached this conclusion. This thesis builds upon their work. The analysis is supported by personal interviews with 12 federal public service employees held in Victoria, B.C. between September 26 and November 22, 1991. Although this was

a period of considerable unrest due to a work stoppage, these interviews aid the interpretation of the influences on morale which follows.

## CHAPTER 1: Bureaucracy and Morale

### Introduction:

The thrust of this thesis is to examine morale in a bureaucratic context. The three general areas of analysis (*i.e.*, societal, structural, and political) provide the basis for an in-depth examination of morale within the organization under consideration. The narrowing approach mentioned previously allows the three to be placed in a hierarchy. The top portion of the hierarchy is encompassed by societal perceptions towards the public service. The middle portion of the hierarchy is determined by the more narrow structural influences generated from within the organization. The bottom portion of the hierarchy is comprised of the narrowest of the areas considered - specific governmental policies. This hierarchy can be viewed as an inverted pyramid, or a funnel, and is a useful tool for analyzing how these general influences affect an organization. Figure I at the end of this chapter outlines this funnel of influences.

While this funnel metaphor serves to highlight our discussion of the bureaucracy, a second metaphor needs development: one that emphasizes the individual within the bureaucracy and his or her specific needs and satisfactions. This development is both useful and necessary; useful in that this second metaphor (that of a pyramid) provides a contrast for the funnel, and necessary in that it develops out of the requirement within the discipline of political science for a

working definition of morale. Although many political scientists have analyzed morale, the term has not been adequately defined. Canadian writers on the subject, including David Zussman, Jak Jabes, and Donald Savoie, use morale in a very general sense<sup>3</sup> - one that does not provide for a structured interpretation of the concept. The concept of morale that is used throughout this thesis is derived from the research of Saul Gellerman and is based upon a hierarchy of needs-satisfactions. An individual must satisfy the basic needs at the bottom of the hierarchy before those on the next level become important. This three-tiered hierarchy of needs lends itself to the pyramid metaphor illustrated in Figure II at the end of this chapter.

### PART I: Bureaucracy

To embark upon a study of organizational theory and its relevance to public administration is analogous to undertaking Homer's Odyssey: like Ulysses one is never quite sure if the journey has begun, where one is located at any point of time, or when the whole nightmarish experience will eventually end.<sup>4</sup>

Before beginning an examination of the Canadian public service in particular, I would like to first discuss the term "bureaucracy" in general. Although an in-depth examination of organizational theory is beyond the scope of this paper, some general points must nonetheless be addressed. The objective is to outline the major characteristics of a typical, large-scale organization in order to see how these characteristics will

react when influenced by specific forces.

### Ways of Seeing: The Mechanists

There are numerous ways to view any organization, but one of the most prominent of these has come to be known as the "mechanistic organization" - or seeing the organization as a machine. Although Frederick the Great of Prussia was one of the earliest proponents of this type of thinking (especially in terms of how mechanistic approaches could be utilized for military purposes), the most important contributor to our modern understanding of this view of organization has undoubtedly been Max Weber.<sup>5</sup>

Weber analyzed the various bases upon which the legitimate authority of organization has been historically founded. He concluded there were three such bases: rational grounds, traditional grounds, and charismatic grounds.<sup>6</sup>

- I. Rational grounds - resting on a belief in the legality of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority).
- II. Traditional grounds - resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority); or finally,
- III. Charismatic grounds - resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority).<sup>7</sup>

Elements from the latter two classifications have been important influences on the development of organization up

until the rise of the nation state - especially in regards to the influence historically exercised by various religious orders and certain military leaders. In the modern age, however, the first category (i.e., the rational basis) has had the most significant impact on the development of the modern public service.

Weber sets out various factors which constitute the rational model. These include: 1) a continuous organization of official functions bound by rules; 2) designated spheres of influence; 3) the organization of offices along hierarchical lines; 4) the tendency of rules of conduct to be technical in nature; 5) a separation of ownership (management) from administrative staff (labour); 6) a complete absence of "appropriation of his [sic] official position by the incumbent", and 7) all decisions, acts, and rules are to be recorded in writing.<sup>8</sup> Organizations which encompass all or most of these attributes, Weber termed bureaucracies - as the basic element of organization was the bureau or office. This is the terminology used in this thesis.

Except for the uppermost management positions, all members of the bureaucracy are appointed. Candidates are selected on the basis of technical qualifications (in the Canadian context, this is known as the Merit Principle), and fulfil their obligations according to set criteria. The office constitutes a "career", with promotion based upon seniority or achievement - or both. Strict, systematic discipline and

control form the cornerstones of this system. As Weber has noted, the justification for this type of organizational structure should be quite obvious:

Experience tends universally to show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization - that is, the monocratic variety of bureaucracy - is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability. It thus makes possible a particularly high degree of calculability of results for the heads of the organization and for those working in relation to it. It is finally superior both in intensive efficiency and in the scope of its operations, and is formally capable of application to all kinds of administrative tasks.<sup>9</sup>

Weber also outlined the various societal consequences which will result from the use of this rational model of bureaucratic control. The first two of these (a "levelling" of the broad base for recruitment, and the development of longer periods of technical training) have had an important and wide-ranging impact on society in general. The third such consequence applies more particularly to this thesis: in noting the dominance of the spirit of formalistic impersonality (about which more will be said later on in this chapter).<sup>10</sup>

### Classical and Scientific Theories:

As Gareth Morgan explains, the basic thrust of the classical theorists of organization was the "idea that management is a process of planning, organization, command, coordination and control" (emphasis my own).<sup>11</sup> This viewpoint was best embodied in the work of F.W. Mooney, Lyndall Urwick and Luther Gulick, and especially Henri Fayol. Contrary to the prevailing practices of the time, Fayol treated administration as a process. He argued against specialists in individual fields (e.g., mining, the military, or the government) and instead advocated the development of specialists in the "general science" of management. There would be little difference between managing a mine, an army, or a government department - as the general principles of administering all three were the same. The general principles that Fayol advocated were: 1) the unity of command (where one employee received orders from one superior); 2) the scalar principle (where the chain of command is organized along hierarchical lines); 3) a specified span of control (which limited the number of subordinates a supervisor could oversee to a reasonable limit); 4) inherent centralization (where the organization is administered from the top down); and 5) large degrees of responsibility (where both authority and responsibility were delegated from executives to administrators).<sup>12</sup>

Urwick and Gulick expanded upon the work done by Fayol, and were instrumental in having these theories of administration implemented in the United States (under President Franklin D. Roosevelt). Gulick is best known for the "POSDCORB" acronym - where the duties of an administrator can be reduced to the functions he or she performs (i.e., planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting).<sup>13</sup> Other principles of administration attributed to the "classical school" of thought include the differentiation between "staff" and "line" units, the goal of stability of tenure of personnel, and the subordination of individual interests to that of the organization.<sup>14</sup>

The scientific approach to administration is usually associated with Frederick Taylor. This was because he used a "stopwatch" in his time and motion studies of worker's tasks. In doing so, Taylor was able to determine the most efficient way of performing any task - no matter how complicated or how simple. Taylor advocated five principles which he claimed would make any organization more productive. These principles were:

- 1) Shift all responsibility for the organization of work from the worker to the manager; managers should do all the thinking relating to the planning and design of work, leaving the workers with the task of implementation.
- 2) Use scientific methods to determine the most efficient way of doing work; design the worker's task accordingly, specifying the precise way in which the work is to be done.
- 3) Select the best person to perform the job thus

designed.

4) Train the worker to do the work efficiently.

5) Monitor worker performance to ensure that appropriate work procedures are followed and that appropriate results are achieved.<sup>15</sup>

The impact of Max Weber and of the scientific and classical theorists on the conduct of administration in the western world in the 20th century has been profound. Many of their principles continue to be used in the present day. However, there are problems with the mechanistic approach and critiques of its usefulness.

#### Other Ways of Seeing:

With the advent of modern technology and business methods, the need for a specialized bureaucracy has become all too apparent. Yet there is little notice paid in the mechanistic-type organizational literature to the one underlying feature of any rational model of personal behaviour - the "human" element. These models of behaviour often neglect the fact that while the structures themselves can be neatly compartmentalized and ordered, the "units or officials" which make up these structures are human. The considerations of human factors on issues such as motivation, rewards, job satisfaction, and morale become very important elements which must be factored into the bureaucratic process.

Other writers have noted the limitations of the rational model of bureaucracy. J.G. March and H.A. Simon point out that "in general, Weber perceives bureaucracy as an adaptive device

for using specialized skills, and he is not exceptionally attentive to the character of the human organism."<sup>16</sup> These two authors review various models of bureaucratic behaviour which suggest certain dysfunctional characteristics inherent in any rational-type model. While there are differences between the models analyzed, there are enough similarities to warrant consideration. Generally, these models emphasize such factors as the preponderance of rules and the need for delegation of authority, while at the same time noting the dysfunctions which arise from these procedures - especially the "unanticipated consequences" of workers to control systems.<sup>17</sup>

The Merton Model outlined an increase in the rigidity of the behaviour of members of the organization and a rise in the predictability of their actions. This was due to three forces: a reduction in personalized relationships, increased internalization of rules, and a decrease in the search for alternative approaches to problem solving. Merton saw organizational rules as the major proponent of rigidity, which in turn maintained the status-quo.<sup>18</sup>

Selznick took a slightly different approach, in that he emphasized that delegation of authority as the control system within an organization had a dehumanizing effect on employees. The intended consequences of efficiency and specialization were offset by the unintended consequences of internal competitiveness (between various sub-groups) and

departmentalization.<sup>19</sup>

Gouldner, like Merton, focused on rules within an organization. The intended consequences of "work rules" (which enhance the efficiency of the organization) also have the unanticipated effect of promoting knowledge about minimum levels of acceptable behaviour. In the long run, this unanticipated effect can work against the efficiency desired by the organization.<sup>20</sup>

In addition, writers such as T. Burns and M. Crozier<sup>21</sup> critique Weber for focusing too much on structure and power, and not enough on the various interpersonal relationships (or "games") that people play as part of any organization. Burns takes a more "organismic" approach to bureaucracy than does Weber. He did not consider bureaucracy as a machine, but instead viewed it as a living entity which was capable of adapting to changing circumstances. Lateral interaction between employees (with less defined roles and less specialization) was as common as vertical interaction between employees and superiors when it came to problem solving. Burns' studies on the electronics industry in Britain showed that this type of structure was even adaptable to manufacturing industries.<sup>22</sup>

Crozier likewise veers away from the mechanistic approach and views organization as "a set of games, more or less explicitly defined, between groups of partners who have to play with each other".<sup>23</sup> These games are played according to

"informal" rules which lay outside the formalistic structure of the organization. His examples of analyzing power games in hospitals (between doctors and nurses) and in bureaucratic departments (between officials) show a different side to any large scale organization.

The various models of bureaucratic behaviour put forward by these theorists may be understood as a debate between the "organizationalists" and the "behaviouralists". The former favour strong methods of control and centralization, citing the advantages of specialization, standard routines, and clear lines of authority. The latter theorists suggest that rigidity increases apathy and decreases performance and efficiency. My underlying assumption is that some element of both perspectives is necessary for an efficient, functioning bureaucracy. The question to consider, however, is where to draw the line between the two views.

### Prevailing Ideas:

Mechanistic approaches to administration (especially as how they apply to managerial control) are as dominant in the latter part of the 20th century as they were in the early 1900's. Although "human" considerations are often brought up, they sometimes turn out to be nothing more than "verbal dress" for managers or, worse still, another tool for organizational control.<sup>24</sup> The dominance of the mechanistic approach can be seen in other areas, most notably in the following definition

of bureaucracy, contained in an introductory reference text on Canadian politics:

BUREAUCRACY. For social scientists, an administrative system associated with large scale organizations and involving the tenured careers of individuals characterized by hierarchy and status, specialized training, clear lines of supervision and accountability, objective judgemental criteria for career advancement, and the maintenance of records. In popular usage, bureaucracy is a pejorative word, often used with reference to the public service and signifying excessive size, formality and inflexibility, jurisdictional concerns, specialized vocabulary or jargon, and a tendency to self-perpetuation - traits described collectively as involving "red tape".<sup>25</sup>

The research by David Zussman supports the mechanistic approach. In his article "The image of the public service in Canada"<sup>26</sup>, Zussman concluded that Canadians have a negative attitude towards the public service in their country. Reasons cited for this belief included: the rigid characteristics of a hierarchically organized institution, the formal and inflexible nature of public servants, and the intimidating features associated with a large-scale organization. All are reasons consistent with a mechanistic view of bureaucracy.

As we are adopting a mechanistic approach to organization for the purposes of this thesis, the next step is to examine how this organization reacts when confronted by specific forces. The funnel of influences mentioned above provides the structure within which this examination will take place. This funnel metaphor captures the manner in which these influences interact with each other and together upon the organization and its employees. The broadest of the three areas examined

(societal perceptions towards the federal bureaucracy) impacts upon and flows into, or adds to, the more narrow structural considerations of the public service. In turn, these structural considerations impact upon, add to, and flow into the narrower political influences. The result is a funnel of influences exerting considerable pressures upon the organization.

As noted above, one of the major limitations to the mechanistic approach to bureaucracy is that it can have a "dehumanizing" effect upon workers - especially upon those on the lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy.<sup>27</sup> This dehumanizing consideration is important because it ties into our exploration of the concept of morale by providing for a link between organizational and individual concerns.

## PART II: MORALE

While there has been a considerable amount of research done on the federal public service, a completely adequate (i.e., working) definition of morale and how it applies to the federal bureaucracy has not been developed. For the purposes of this thesis, we will rely on research from the field of "work psychology" to develop a definition. It should be noted that these studies pertain to employees in various organizational structures, and are not solely concerned with the federal public service. However, there are sufficient similarities between the organizations studied by the work

psychologists and the federal public service in Canada to allow for their transposition.

### **Motivation, Commitment, and Job Satisfaction:**

The nature of the concept of morale is nebulous at best, thus posing a problem of clarification. There are almost as many competing definitions of morale as there are authors writing on the subject. Before beginning to define morale, we must first examine the related concepts of motivation, commitment, and job satisfaction.

We begin with employee motivation, and in doing this rely on the research of George Litwin and Robert Stringer.<sup>28</sup> These authors conclude that: first, leadership style plays a vital role in the development of any organizational climate, and second, once created, these climates can have a direct influence on motivation, job satisfaction, and performance.<sup>29</sup> In common-sense type usage, motivation implies "energetic behaviour directed towards some goal."<sup>30</sup> The person acts in such a way so as to satisfy certain personal needs, wants, or desires which form the underlying motives for the behaviour. In a business sense, the term motivation is used to describe "the behaviour and productivity of employees and managers."<sup>31</sup>

A further definition evolved from the McClelland-Atkinson Motivation Theory. This model is described as the first truly scientific theory of motivation, and states that "a person's

aroused motivation to behave in a particular way is said to depend on the strength or readiness of his [sic] motives and two kinds of perceptions: his expectancies of goal attainment and the incentive values he attaches to the goals presented."<sup>32</sup> One should note the important distinction between "motive" (usually a stable personality characteristic) and "aroused motivation" (a situationally influenced action tendency).<sup>33</sup> Litwin and Stringer also examine three intrinsic motives that have been shown to be important influences on work-related behaviour: the need for achievement, the need for power, and the need for affiliation.<sup>34</sup>

The concept of commitment poses a problem of definition no less serious than the one posed by the concept of motivation.<sup>35</sup> Although there are numerous ways to approach motivation, this thesis follows the research done by Etzioni<sup>36</sup> who breaks employee commitment (or involvement) into three facets: moral, calculative, and alienative. Moral commitment stems from "a positive and intense orientation toward the organization that is based on the internalization of the organization's goals, values and norms and on an identification with authority."<sup>37</sup> Calculative involvement evolves from the "exchange relationship" between the organization and its members (i.e., work performed for money and rewards). Alienative involvement represents the negative aspects associated with an organization when individual

behaviour is severely constrained.<sup>38</sup>

Defining the concept of job satisfaction is as problematic as defining the previous two concepts, but for this thesis we will rely on the research of Michael Argyle.<sup>39</sup> Job satisfaction may be defined as "the extent of positive rather than negative emotions experienced, in this case at work, or as a reflective cognitive state of satisfaction with the work, the pay, and other aspects of the job."<sup>40</sup> Related to this definition are the concepts of the absence of anxiety and depression, and the extent of organizational commitment. In the Canadian context, Zussman and Jabes use the term job satisfaction to express the degrees of personal satisfaction shown towards one's job.<sup>41</sup>

### Morale:

The research done by Litwin and Stringer on motivation, Etzioni on commitment, and Argyle on job satisfaction also provide a starting point for a discussion of the "often used but essentially undefined concept of morale."<sup>42</sup> These three concepts are often grouped together to discuss theories of Needs-Satisfaction.

Perhaps the most influential theory has been that of Maslow, whose research in the early 1940's provided social scientists with the "Hierarchy of Needs". This hierarchy consisted, "in ascending order, of physiological needs for air, food and water, safety needs, social needs, self-esteem

or ego needs, and self-actualization needs... Maslow postulated that all human activity is an attempt to work upwards in the hierarchy towards the top need of self-actualization, the need of the individual to fulfill his [sic] potential."<sup>43</sup> This model attempts to provide a scientific explanation for what motivates human behaviour. There have been both positive and negative reactions to this research.<sup>44</sup>

A second theorist to follow this line of enquiry was Herzberg, who developed the Two-Factor Theory. This theory states that "(positive) satisfaction is due to good experiences, and these are due to motivators - achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility and advancement. Dissatisfaction is due to bad experiences caused by hygiene factors - supervisors, fellow workers, company policy, working conditions and personal life."<sup>45</sup>

Need-Satisfaction Theories have been both supported and rejected by various scholars. Those criticizing the approach do so on numerous grounds: that there is no set list of needs; that it is very difficult to assess when needs are actually satisfied; and that tests of the approach have not been very successful.<sup>46</sup> Yet other studies have found that the correlation between needs and rewards is a valuable indicator of job satisfaction.<sup>47</sup>

The definition of morale used for this thesis relies on the need-satisfaction models, and in particular on the

research of Saul Gellerman. Gellerman looks at three factors which help to outline a definition (or model) of morale. The first considers the motivating "environment" - or the various kinds of pressures and rewards within which people operate at work. The second considers motivation from the viewpoint of the individual, i.e., personal needs and purposes and how they are acquired. The third combines the first two areas by examining "how the environment and the individual interact and, more than that, how most of the studies [on morale]... can be integrated by a set of linked ideas that accommodates most of what is presently understood about work motivation."<sup>48</sup> Gellerman continues by noting that:

morale is subjective, consisting in feelings that people have about their work, and therefore it is hard to measure and easy to ignore. We ordinarily think of morale only at its extremes, when it has obvious outward manifestations. Thus, when people are charged with enthusiasm, we say that their morale is high, and when they are dispirited, we say their morale is low. When, as is more commonly the case, their outward behavior gives little evidence of how they feel, we are not likely to think in terms of morale at all, but morale of some kind is always present.<sup>49</sup>

The foregoing should serve to illustrate one important point: due to the complex nature of morale, and the overlap between it and the concepts of motivation, commitment and satisfaction, arriving at one true definition of morale is an unlikely task. While truth may be beyond us, utility is in our grasp. The following definition of morale by Gellerman takes into account the preceding complexity, and provides a definition which is useful. In outlining this term, the author

follows Maslow and arranges the components in a hierarchy - a hierarchy of needs-satisfactions.

The content of morale - that is, the specific issues that operate as pressures or supports - varies greatly, but in general it falls into three broad groups. The first concerns off-the-job satisfactions that are expected from work, such as income, security, and stature in the community. The second concerns on-the-job satisfactions - for example, job interest, opportunity for advancement, and prestige within the organization. The third concerns highly personal satisfactions derived from the job: growth, achievement, power, job mastery, or the like. These factors are arranged in a sort of hierarchy; that is, when there is dissatisfaction with the first group of experiences, nothing in the other two is likely to matter very much, and dissatisfaction in the second group can prevent the third from becoming significant.<sup>50</sup>

Gellerman's definition of morale is useful in that incorporates the concepts of motivation, commitment, and job satisfaction into a structured model. The arrangement of the components into a hierarchy is especially useful for the purposes of this thesis for two reasons. First, the hierarchy (or pyramid) is used as a contrast to the funnel of influences on the organization. Second, the individual considerations which combine to form the three components of the pyramid are used throughout the rest of the thesis as a means to examine morale within the public service.

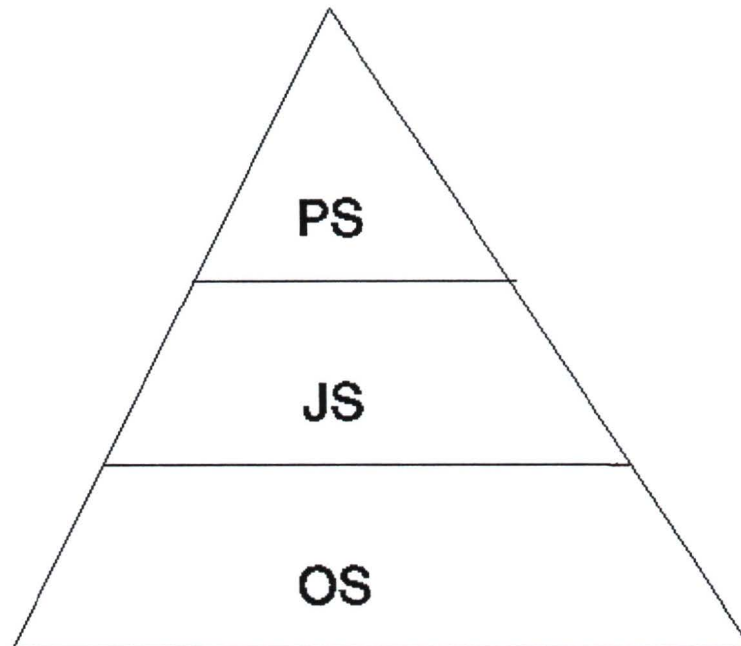
### Conclusion:

The interaction between the needs pyramid and the influences funnel forms the basis for our discussion of morale in the federal public service, and comprises chapters 3

through 5. The following chapter sets the study within the Canadian context. Before we proceed, however, two different dimensions of morale must be noted: individual employee morale and collective organizational morale.

This thesis will be examining (to some extent) both dimensions of morale. In regards to individual considerations, we must note that morale is often determined by where one is in the organizational hierarchy. The higher one is in the structure, the more likely it is that all three aspects of the needs pyramid are being met. The lower one is in the structure, the less likely this is to happen. Individual employee morale is the function of a complex interaction between the funnel of influences and the needs-satisfaction pyramid. Collective organizational morale, on the other hand, is more a function of the funnel of influences combined with the interaction between the organization and its clients (the Canadian public). A more thorough discussion of these two dimensions of morale, and models outlining their elements, follows in chapter 6.

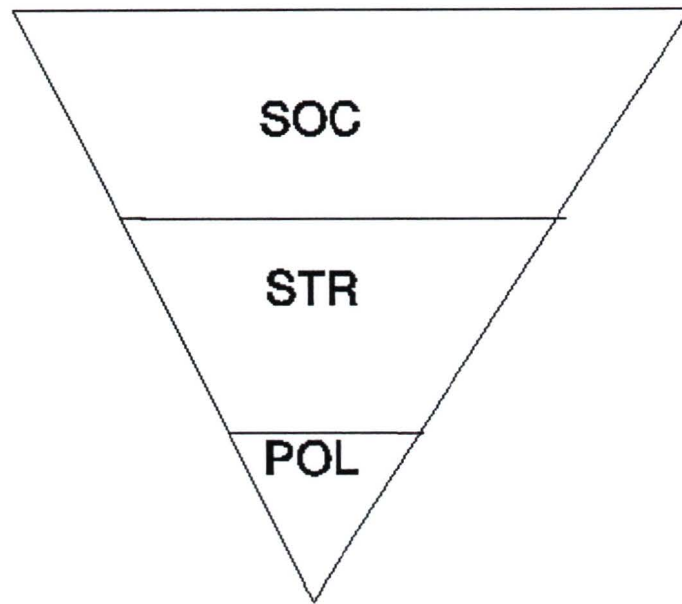
Figure I: The Needs-Satisfaction Pyramid



Of the job satisfactions (OS) are comprised of issues regarding income levels and job security. On the job satisfactions (JS) deal with issues of job interest, career advancement, and prestige levels. Personal satisfactions (PS) encompass issues relating to personal growth and achievement, job mastery, and individual empowerment. Needs on the lower levels must be satisfied before those higher up become important.

Source: Saul Gellerman, Motivation and Productivity (Vail-Ballou Press U.S.A. Inc., 1963), p. 255.

Figure II: The Funnel Of Influences On An Organization



Societal influences (SOC) deal with the negative perceptions of many Canadians towards the federal public service. Structural influences (STR) considered include: regional/headquarters imbalances, career plateauing, gender inequities, collective bargaining, and other assorted factors. Political influences (POL) considered include: downsizing, contracting-out, workforce adjustment, privatization and the process of constitutional reform. The wider components add to the narrower ones, so that the result is a funnel which exerts a considerable influence on an organization.

## CHAPTER 2: Bureaucratic Growth, Structure and Reform

### Introduction:

An examination of morale within a bureaucracy cannot take place in a vacuum - but instead must take place in the real world of the Canadian political setting. Therefore, some attention must be paid to contextual issues which serve to provide the underlying connections between morale and bureaucracy. This chapter will address two such contextual influences: the growth and structure of the federal public service in Canada, and the more recent process of reform.

### Part I: The Growth of the Federal Public Service in Canada

Contrary to a great deal of public opinion, the federal "public service" is not a monolithic entity. Well over half of a million people are employed on a full-time basis by the federal government. This number is distributed among such diverse groupings as the R.C.M.P., the military, numerous crown corporations, as well as the more narrowly defined "public service". This study will examine only those persons found in the last group.

Roughly 225,000 people fall into this category - employed by the Treasury Board and regulated by the Public Service Commission of Canada. Approximately one-third of these are situated in the National Capital District (NCD) of Ottawa-Hull, while the remaining two-thirds are scattered throughout

the rest of the country.<sup>51</sup>

Even this smaller grouping of employees is by no means homogeneous. In 1984, these employees were divided into six major categories: management, scientific and professional, administrative and foreign service, technical, administrative support, and operational.<sup>52</sup> Faced with such diversity, sweeping generalizations need to be avoided. For the purposes of this paper, however, these employees may roughly be divided into three components: executive, management, and labour. The interlock between the components necessitates that some attention be paid to all three areas. This thesis, however, focuses on the latter two groups.

The federal civil service in Canada was born in 1867 with Confederation, and its growth and development are interwoven with the history of the nation itself. From a former colony to a fully independent country, the changes over the past 125 years have been numerous - and the federal bureaucracy has had to adapt to these changes.

There is little reliable information on the federal public service in the early years after Confederation. Statistics were first compiled in 1912, and indicated that 22,000 employees worked for the federal civil service.<sup>53</sup> The two World Wars and the depression had important impacts on the federal public service, but it was not until after 1945 that major changes were implemented.

The growth of the federal public service in this century is well documented. While the population of Canada tripled from 1910 to 1984, the size of the public service increased ten-fold from 20,000 employees to a quarter of a million.<sup>54</sup> Until the 1970's, however, the continued growth of the federal bureaucracy was not a controversial issue.

There is a tendency to forget that up to the early 1970's the growth of the public sector was just one aspect of a broader trend, that it was perceived at that time as an investment in a prosperous future, and that this phenomenon was common to all industrialized societies. Canadians then had very high expectations from a government which was lavish with its largesse. It's true that the public debt swelled from \$12 billion in 1960 to \$17 billion in 1970 without unduly alarming the population, which, in any case, was heavily committed to consumer credit. The word was that repayment could always be postponed to some later date. This attitude was totally in keeping with the extremely young population: in 1970 one Canadian out of two was under thirty.<sup>55</sup>

This growth was neither continuous nor gradual. An uneven distribution of the new employees among the various sections of the bureaucracy has had a profound influence on the public service of today. Two "waves" of expansion explain the majority of this growth. The first wave occurred between 1940 and 1952, and dealt mostly with Canadian Veterans. The second occurred between 1965 and 1975, and focused on the "baby-boomers". Each of these expansions brought changes which significantly affected the civil service at that time.

During the first expansion, the civil service almost tripled in size as the troops returned from overseas to find peace-time employment. When these veterans joined the federal

bureaucracy at this time, the average age of civil service employees increased. Most were non-university graduates who found administrative positions in such departments as Veteran's Affairs, Canada Post and the civilian side of the Department of National Defence. The organizational structure in the 1950's was that of the classical pyramid - "bottom heavy" in administration and support with fewer positions available for management and planning.<sup>56</sup>

The second expansion was quite different. The baby-boomers were "university graduates whose mentality had been shaped by the social, economic, and administrative sciences, as well as their participation in consumer society."<sup>57</sup> They found positions primarily within the management level, thereby altering the organizational pyramid. The issue of public service growth relates particularly to the present day call for downsizing - an issue which is explored in greater depth in chapter 5 of this thesis. Other problems associated with this growth, however, should be outlined now.

• The structural imbalances created by the two periods of rapid growth, especially by the latter, have had a direct influence on many of the structural forces which shape the morale of employees in the 1990's. These include: 1) an over-representation of the NCD at the expense of regional offices; 2) an "hierarchical" imbalance, resulting from a top-heavy authority structure and an overabundance of middle management; 3) an over-representation of the male population at the

expense of the female population; and 4) an "age" imbalance, in that the average age of members of the public service continued to rise as younger prospective members were excluded.<sup>58</sup> All of these imbalances will be discussed in greater detail later in this thesis (i.e., chapter 4).

The end result of this growth is an organizational structure which is large and cumbersome, and slow to change. This structure can lead to administrative chaos - which in turn puts increased pressure on employees at all levels, and affects worker morale on many levels. To note the problems inherent within the administrative process of the federal public service, consider the following:

Three agencies are responsible for its administration: the Privy Council Office, the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission. As in any triumvirate worthy of the name, they are more or less always in conflict. In fact, the 1979 reports of both the Royal Commission on Financial Management and Accountability (Lambert) and the Special Committee on the Review of Personnel Management and the Merit Principle (D'Avignon) strongly emphasized the need for personnel management to operate under a single roof. But nothing has ever been done, and the data originating from these three agencies are fragmentary and sometimes contradictory.<sup>59</sup>

This growth, however, has not gone unchecked. There have been continued calls for reforms to the federal bureaucracy - reforms which have gone a long way in shaping the present-day public service in Canada.

## Part II: Reform - the Early Years

The legislative scheme governing the bureaucracy does little to simplify an already complex decision-making process. This legislation ties into the development of the "Merit Principle"<sup>60</sup>, where appointments to the bureaucracy are to be based on specific credentials (such as education or experience) rather than other criteria (such as membership in a particular political party).<sup>61</sup> There had been numerous calls for the reform of the public service since Confederation, but it was not until 1908 that any major changes were made. Our present day form of the bureaucracy began to take shape with the passage of the Civil Service Act in that year, an act based on the recommendations contained in the Courtney Commission of 1907. The Act established an independent Civil Service Commission (CSC) - which enjoyed the power of appointment and the protection from influence from elected politicians. Most appointments were to be made through open, competitive, job-related examinations.<sup>62</sup> Public servants were restricted from participating in partisan activities pertaining to federal or provincial elections<sup>63</sup>, and were to remain anonymous. The Act was to have been a "hybrid" between the British and American attempts at reform of the public service, embodying the best of the two while eliminating the weaknesses.<sup>64</sup>

The 1908 legislation had two goals: first, increase centralized control over the bureaucracy through the CSC, and

second, restrict the power of the individual ministers in order to reduce patronage appointments.<sup>65</sup> Until that time, patronage had been the accepted basis for appointment to the Civil Service. Canada's elimination of the "spoils system" mirrored the same occurrences in Great Britain in 1870 and the U.S. in 1873, a process which was thought to move the federal bureaucracy into the twentieth century.<sup>66</sup>

Canadian history has shown that while many inside government supported the intention of reform, political pressures remained. Only three years after the passage of the legislation, the newly elected Conservative government undertook massive firings in the "Outside Service" (those federal public servants employed outside of the Ottawa area) and replaced those employees with politically motivated appointments.<sup>67</sup> Many of these political appointees moved into high-paying positions within the bureaucracy, thereby frustrating those employees who had been chosen for their positions on the basis of competitive examinations.<sup>68</sup> The thrust towards reform, however, remained alive - as can be seen in subsequent historical developments.

In 1918 another Civil Service Act was passed. It extended the CSC's authority to cover the "Outside Service", and not just the "Inside Service" (or employees working in the NCD) as had previously been the case. The CSC no longer required cabinet approval for the majority of appointments and promotions and it was given a mandate to reorganize the public

service by introducing new job classifications. These last developments, coupled with the implementation of a more stringent examination process, showed a definite move away from the British model of administration and a move towards a more efficient (U.S.) system.<sup>69</sup>

The Civil Service Commission's Annual Report for 1917- 18, states that the main purpose of the 1918 Act was the promotion of economy and efficiency in the non-political public service. It referred to two elements of the merit system: selection and appointment without regard to politics, religion or influence; and the application of methods of scientific employment to maintain the efficiency of selected employees after they enter the service.<sup>70</sup>

While the aim of the establishment of the merit system was commendable, practical implementation remained a problem. In 1918 a newly re-structured CSC had a meagre staff of 12, and was obviously ill-equipped to handle the tasks assigned to it. Combined with this was the imminent return of Veteran's from overseas, many of whom would seek employment with the federal public service. The CSC sought "outside" help, and hired a firm of management consultants to undertake the important task of reclassification of the service. This event had major consequences for the future shape of the federal bureaucracy, as the new classification system remained in place until well into the 1960's.<sup>71</sup>

The 1918 legislation, however, was still not expansive enough to cover all possible problems created by a rapidly expanding public service. At the same time, bureaucrats struggled with the issue of "reconciling the need for

departmental autonomy with the still relevant merit principle and central control."<sup>72</sup> The views of many senior bureaucrats of the day that the new central agency had far too much power was the source of this struggle.<sup>73</sup>

Most of the early implementations of the merit principle were negative in origin, in that the CSC became primarily concerned with protection of the selection and promotion processes from political interference.<sup>74</sup> Pro-active influences, such as the University Grade IV Program designed to attract highly qualified university graduates to the public service, were few in number.<sup>75</sup>

The early history of the CSC did little to inspire confidence in its ability to administer effectively its assigned legislative tasks. The Act itself specifically included a "loophole" which allowed the Commission to designate certain classes of employees as outside the provisions of the legislation. This loophole (commonly referred to as the Spinney Amendment) was used as a last-gasp attempt by elected officials to retain some of the powers they had enjoyed under the patronage system.<sup>76</sup> Statistics indicate that by 1930, nearly one-third of all public service employees fell outside the jurisdiction of the Commission.<sup>77</sup>

Opponents of the CSC attempted to have the entire reform system scrapped and the patronage model re-instituted, a process which continually undermined the Commission's authority. Alleged inefficiencies by the Commissioners, the

"rubber stamping" of appointments requested by permanent officials, and charges of fraud during examinations supported these critics.<sup>78</sup>

The Commission survived these challenges in the late 1920's and the early 1930's only to be met with a new obstacle: the emergence of the Treasury Board as a major force in the administrative process. The traditional battle between the departments and the Commission became a three-sided struggle as issues of financial control became important during the Depression. This constant quest for authority by the parties involved continued during the inter-war years, and did not begin to be settled until the end of World War Two.<sup>79</sup>

The 1945 Royal Commission on Administrative Classifications in the Public Service (i.e., the Gordon Commission) brought into clear focus two important revelations: the need for a more positive approach to personnel administration, and the need for a clear delineation of authority between the CSC and the Treasury Board.<sup>80</sup> This second issue would not be resolved until well into the mid-1960's.

Two later studies also picked up on these themes and helped institute reforms which have continued through to the present public service. The first was the Heeney Report (chaired by A.D.P. Heeney), which was published in 1958. Officially entitled "Personnel Administration in the Public

Service", the report wanted greater managerial authority in the departments and a more "service-oriented" central agency structure. The conflicting roles and authorities of the two central agencies, the Civil Service Commission and the Treasury Board needed to be sorted out.<sup>81</sup>

The report proposed the formation of a single civil service, with a single agency in control of its administration. Obviously this concept was met with considerable opposition by the more influential departments (such as National Defense and Transport) and the Treasury Board, who wanted to retain the already considerable powers they exercised over the administrative process. While most of Heeney's recommendations were never implemented, the report is still considered successful in that it helped institute a second Royal Commission - one whose findings have had important implications on the structure of the current public service.<sup>82</sup>

The Royal Commission on Government Organization (*i.e.*, the Glassco Commission) published its findings in 1962, but it was not until five years later that the recommendations became law. The Public Service Employment Act of 1967 clearly delineated authority between the two central agencies.<sup>83</sup> As well as changing the name of the Civil Service Commission to the Public Service Commission (PSC), the act ensured that the Treasury Board

became the employer for the vast majority of federal public servants and, as such, assumed

responsibility for negotiating collective agreements and for maintaining the classification system. The authority to develop personnel policy was also vested in the more powerful Treasury Board. On the other hand, the Public Service Commission, having been stripped of many of its responsibilities, was left with recruitment and selection, common training and appeals related to staffing and dismissals. The long ambiguous reign of the commission as the supreme personnel management body was over.<sup>84</sup>

The Public Service Staff Relations Act was also passed in 1967. This act created the Public Service Staff Relations Board and a separate Arbitration Board - both with the designed intent of ensuring that the PSC would not be interposed between employer and employee. Amendments to the Financial Administration Act of the same year also reinforced this new authority structure.<sup>85</sup>

One area that the Glassco report remained silent on was the issue of collective bargaining between unionized employees and the government employer. Collective bargaining was introduced to the federal public service as late as 1967, although certain groups of employees (such as the Railway Mail Clerks in the 1890's and the Canadian Postal Employees in the early 1900's) began organizing much earlier.<sup>86</sup> These separate employee associations first started to exercise a greater influence on issues such as fringe benefits with the formation of the National Joint Council (NJC) in 1944. Formed along the lines of the Whitley councils operating in the United Kingdom, the NJC laid the foundations for the first employer-employee negotiations.

The Preparatory Committee on Collective Bargaining was formed in 1963, and was designed to study an expanded list of issues which were to be settled under negotiated agreements. The first legal recognitions of collective bargaining principles were granted in the Civil Service Act of 1961, but the scheme proved unworkable. It was not until the passage of the Public Service Employment Act of 1967 that these principles were fully implemented, thus providing for the structure of the present day federal bureaucracy.<sup>87</sup>

#### Reform - the Later Years

Recent events have shown the emergence of a new ideal to be factored into the merit equation - that of "representative bureaucracy". Equal employment and affirmative action programs were designed with the intent to raise the numbers of certain groups within the public service to more accurately correspond to their percentage of the general population. The groups under consideration included three important sections of society: Francophones, Women, and Natives.

Amendments to the Public Service Employment Act and the passage of an Official Languages Act in 1969 were designed to correct imbalances in a recruitment system which heavily favoured English-speaking Canadians over non-English speaking Canadians. As Prime Minister Trudeau declared when this process was implemented "Canadians whose mother tongue is French should be adequately represented in the public service

- both in terms of numbers and in levels of responsibility."<sup>88</sup> Despite a great deal of internal resistance (and external criticism), this program has proved to be successful in correcting the previous imbalances.

The programs to increase the numbers of women and natives in the public service have also been wrought with controversy, but have proven to be somewhat successful. Although women make up between 1/3 and 1/2 of the total public sector workforce, they are under-represented in middle and senior management levels. Native peoples suffer from even less representation at all levels of the bureaucracy. The Public Service Employment Act of 1967 attempted to address this by prohibiting discrimination in hiring and promotion based upon sex or race; full employment equity programs were instituted in the mid-1980's.<sup>89</sup> Although changes have been slow to materialize, some progress has been made. Chapter 4 of this thesis provides a more in-depth examination of gender inequities within the federal public service.

This process of reform has continued right through to the present. Major structural problems with the system have necessitated this movement. Stories of bureaucratic redundancy and endless red tape have become widespread.<sup>90</sup> The system of job classifications has become so complex that, often, outside consultants are needed to write job descriptions. Even simple government decisions must filter through nine levels of upper and middle management before being approved. Unionized

personnel currently fall under 88 separate job classifications - which has created a system that makes it difficult to get contracts approved or to move employees between departments.<sup>91</sup>

The momentum for reform eventually paid off, because in December of 1989 the Prime Minister announced "Public Service 2000" - a reform package which would produce a leaner and meaner public service, and one which would be able to cope with life in the 21st century.<sup>92</sup> The "bureaucrat bashers" of the mid-1980s have come to realize the necessity of an efficient public service.<sup>93</sup>

John Edwards was placed in charge of the ten task forces which were scheduled to report to Paul Tellier (the Clerk of the Privy Council) by the spring of 1991. Over 120 Deputy and Assistant Deputy Ministers and other senior officials prepared the reports in consultation with the public service unions and the general populace.<sup>94</sup> The last of these task forces, on "service to the public", was written by Bruce Rawson, Deputy Minister of Fisheries and Oceans (and the second longest serving DM in Ottawa). His view was that the image of the public service by Canadians needed to be altered. In his words: "We've got to change the culture. We've got to stop being a mutual, self-interested, desk-bound bureaucracy, which won't admit mistakes, and become an open, responsive organization which makes Canadians feel welcome at our counters."<sup>95</sup> Less centralization, more authority for "front-

line" troops, and less red tape were to be a few of the measures implemented. The public's perception of the bureaucracy would no doubt be improved if clients found that line staff could do more for them, instead of being constrained by endless rules and regulations. As another example of streamlining the bureaucratic process, the number of job types would be reduced from 80 plus to just twenty three - thus enabling managers to shuffle people between jobs without having to wait for endless reclassification procedures.<sup>96</sup>

One of the major recommendations of PS2000 is the creation of a "client-oriented" public service<sup>97</sup>, a major reform from previous systems of administration where the public service has not generally regarded Canadians as clients. In order to accomplish this, the White Paper recommended that Deputy Ministers establish "clear standards of service, and that they be accountable both for the reasonableness of those standards and for the quality of the service provided to the public."<sup>98</sup> Information regarding client satisfaction and suggestions for improving service are to be sought on a regular basis from both employees and clients. Procedures for responding to complaints are to be simplified as well.

This proposed process of reform (currently under consideration in the House of Commons) will not solve all of the problems presently facing the federal bureaucracy. It is,

however, an attempt at solutions - even though the PS 2000 report is quick to note that these solutions will not come easily. "The renewal of the public service will not be achieved simply through legislative and administrative action. It requires fundamental changes in attitudes by Public Servants, by Ministers, by Parliamentarians and ultimately by the public."<sup>99</sup>

The reforms encompassed in the PS2000 report have not gone unchallenged. From the start of the process, labour has consistently insisted that the reform process was flawed in that it was too strongly driven by management, with little or no regard paid to the concerns of labour. If morale is seen to be a problem within the management layers of the public service, it is a greater problem as one proceeds down the organizational structure (and towards the front-line employees who deal with the public on a daily basis). The debate over the best methods to reform the federal public service has continued through to the present, and will continue to exist even if PS2000 becomes law.

This review of the growth and structure of the federal public service sets the stage for a more focused examination of morale. The next step in this analysis is to examine, in-depth, specific influences on employee morale - a process which begins with influences external to the federal public service (i.e., societal perceptions towards the federal public service).

### Chapter 3: Societal Influences

#### Introduction:

Of the three areas under examination in this thesis, this chapter will examine the broadest: societal perceptions of the bureaucracy and how these perceptions affect employee morale. Society's negative image of the "bureaucracy" has been a major influence on the morale of members of the federal public service. Anti-bureaucratic sentiments are not uncommon to most western industrialized countries. The "sport" of bureaucrat bashing has existed from the time the term "bureaucracy" was first coined in 18th century France (relating to a bureau - meaning an office, or a place of work). These roots can be traced as far back as the unpopularity of the first tax collectors of the Roman Empire.

#### Part I: Origins of Negative Sentiment

This anti-bureaucratic tradition has been evident in Canada long before the first homesteaders showed up on the prairies, where public servants (i.e., land surveyors) were mapping out the country in neat little quarter-mile sections in order to pave the way for the orderly settlement of the next century. The public sector has been important throughout Canadian history (with a Crown owned railroad, airline, and radio and t.v. networks). Yet at the same time, our "bloodlust" for civil servants has not diminished. "Bureaucrat

bashing has all the trappings of a national sport that makes our style of ice hockey look like touch football. Since about 1980, we've consistently told our major opinion polling company that we have less confidence in the public service than in any other institution, save for the trade union movement, politicians and, more recently, the tobacco industry."<sup>100</sup>

The stereotypical image of the "in by 10, out by 2" laggard is widespread. This negative image has been cultivated by many sources. Foremost among these is the media - ranging from leading newspapers and magazines, to television and radio journalism shows, to popular fiction. The list of examples of the above-mentioned sources is impressive: Canadian Business Magazine, CBC's "The Fifth Estate" and "The Ombudsman", and the highly popular British t.v. series "Yes, Minister" (and its successor, "Yes, Prime Minister") regularly highlight the ineptitude of the civil service.<sup>101</sup> Politicians also enjoy heaping abuse upon the public service. Opposition MP's love to criticize government policy and administration - with the result that mistakes rarely go un-noticed.<sup>102</sup> Even portions of the government apparatus (i.e., the Office of the Auditor General) make a point of highlighting bureaucratic inefficiency. Past holders of this office, including J.J. Macdonell and Ken Dye, have been particularly critical.<sup>103</sup>

The traditional parliamentary principle of anonymity tended to shelter the bureaucracy from this criticism, but at

the same time impaired its ability to defend itself. This principle has become less dominant in the 1980's, with the tendency that more public servants are willing to defend their actions to the general public. However, these words often fall on deaf ears.<sup>104</sup>

One author who has written extensively on the federal public service in Canada is David Zussman. His 1982 article, "The image of the public service in Canada" examined Canadian's perceptions of our federal bureaucracy. This study was aimed at understanding negative attitudes towards the federal public service, not just describing their existence. The foundations for this line of enquiry can be seen in the 1969 report of the Task Force on Government Information entitled To Know and Be Known. The major conclusion of this report "suggested that [up to that time] the federal government had not had much success in creating favourable perceptions of its activities."<sup>105</sup> One reason for this was the revelation that most Canadian's are, generally, poorly informed on the responsibilities and functions of both the federal and provincial governments. Knowledge of government responsibilities was highest among the better educated, employed males in the country, and lowest among the less educated (including students, housewives, the elderly, and the unemployed). It became apparent that those sectors of society who rely very much on government information and services are often the least informed on where to obtain such information

and assistance.<sup>106</sup>

The task force also found that "a sizeable percentage of Canadians [were] totally unaware of the division of responsibilities between the Federal and provincial governments, even on relatively straight forward matters such as Foreign Affairs."<sup>107</sup> Collected data indicated that between 8% and 11% of the Canadian population fell within this category, while another 43% interviewed had "very limited knowledge" of government business. Increased exposure to government programs through advertising and publicity would correct this trend, but researchers were sceptical whether this increased knowledge would make Canadian's attitudes towards government more favourable.<sup>108</sup>

The sceptics proved correct in their assumptions. Government attempts at advertising to enhance the image of the public service in the early 1970's were considered failures. Even the inception of Information Canada (a federal department designed to provide information and access to the public on government programs) did little to remove this negative perception.

Society's negative attitude towards the federal bureaucracy did not improve throughout the rest of the 1970's. As a result, a new commission was instituted to address this continuing problem. The Task Force on Service to the Public made its recommendations to Cabinet in January of 1978 - and the results of this study provided the basis for Zussman's

work.

His study analyzed data from a ten-year interval between 1968 and 1978 and surveyed more than two thousand people who had had personal contact with the federal public service. The subjects were questioned on their perceptions of both the calibre of the public servants and the adequacy of the service received. The striking conclusion reached by the study is that the federal government suffers from a wide credibility gap which in the long term may undermine its ability to provide services. More specifically, Zussman notes four areas of concern:

- 1) that over the last ten years the perception of Canadians regarding the fairness and promptness of government has improved although the public service is still viewed as less able than the private sector to carry out its responsibilities;
- 2) contact with the public service, even favourable, overall only marginally enhanced respondents' impressions of the public service and the public servants who provide this service;
- 3) linking levels of service and perceptions of public servants with one another yielded a substantial correlation between satisfaction and assessments of public servants, although there were notable exceptions; and
- 4) general attitudes about the public service were based on personal experiences.<sup>109</sup>

His major recommendation is to emphasize both:

- 1) training programs which would make public servants aware of the need for adequate service, and
  - 2) evaluation systems which would provide feedback on the public's perception of this service.<sup>110</sup>
- He does not follow the traditional line of attempting to make the public service more efficient and competitive in relation to the private sector in its delivery

of services.<sup>111</sup>

This research highlighted the apparently contradictory perceptions held by Canadians in their attitudes towards government, and the relative inflexibility of these attitudes. The public's reliance on the media (and acceptance of the often negative message that "the government is inefficient") overshadowed personal experiences with government which had proven positive. These negative attitudes seem to be rooted in cultural beliefs that the public sector is less able than the private sector to perform efficiently. The task of turning these negative generalizations into positive attitudes towards government is not an easy one.<sup>112</sup>

One reason for the difficulty of promoting a positive attitude towards government is what Victor Thompson refers to as "bureausis". Bureausis can be used to generally summarize the feelings of many people in society "who have not been able to adapt to bureaucracy and who, therefore, find it a constant and complete frustration."<sup>113</sup> This is not an organizational phenomenon, but is instead the result of individual personality characteristics (such as insecurity and immaturity). People who harbour these frustrations find the hierarchy, impartiality and impersonality of modern bureaucracies intolerable and they often seek personalized responses to their individual problems. If personalized solutions fail to materialize (which can often happen), even greater levels of frustration are fostered.

Gallup poll statistics dating back to 1977 confirm this continued negative attitude towards government. The polling company has been asking Canadians what they feel is the biggest threat to Canada - "big" government, "big" business or "big labour". There has been a marked shift in responses over the past decade. When the question was first posed, 38% of the respondents felt labour was the biggest threat to Canada, with only 32% and 19% responding against government and business respectively. In September of 1990, 51% of the respondents felt government was the biggest threat to Canada, with only 21% responding against business and 17% indicating labour.<sup>114</sup> This shift began in 1981 when responses indicated a 15% rise over the previous year in the belief that big government was the most serious threat to Canada. This attitude has stayed constant (in the 40% plus range) throughout most of the 1980's, dropping into the 35% range only twice (in 1984 and 1988). The poll results do not indicate any difference between the various levels of government in the country, although it would not be too outrageous to suggest that the federal government would be the leader in the "big government" category.<sup>115</sup>

Even senior bureaucrats are not immune from these societal influences. "I never spelt it out on paper" says Gordon Robertson, who was Clerk of the Privy Council between 1963 and 1975, "but my colleagues and I shared a strong feeling that the public service was an important institution

for Canada. We were nationalists, and saw the public service as an agency to give and serve that sense of unity."<sup>116</sup> This nationalistic viewpoint seems to be lacking today, as many senior bureaucrats seem to be concerned more with "serving my minister" than anything else. What starts at the top will certainly "trickle downwards" to influence the views of people on the lower rungs of the bureaucratic structure.<sup>117</sup>

However, there are many Canadians who do not hold a negative perception of the federal public service. Sheldon Ehrenworth, a former bureaucrat, has championed public service reform (and especially the goal of improving the image of the public service). According to Ehrenworth, "it seemed we spent more time doing business with ourselves and with other departments... then we did with our customers."<sup>118</sup> So in 1987, he and Geoff Poapst formed the Public Policy Forum - a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization which had the aim of enlisting the private sector in the struggle for better, not less, government.

Many former "bureaucrat bashers" soon had a more enlightened perspective on the actual workings of the federal public service. Earl Joudrie (president of Encor Energy Corp. in Calgary) and Mickey Cohen (president of the Molson companies) are two former "bashers" who now sit on the board of directors of the Public Policy Forum. According to Joudrie, "what the Forum champions is excellence in the public service

and a more open dialogue between government and the private sector. Our government officials do a very important job, and for the most part, do it very well. But too often their effectiveness is constrained by a management system which has simply not kept up with the times."<sup>119</sup> The forum's board of directors, a mixture of academics and people from business, labour and government, also includes: Allan Blakeney, former premier of Saskatchewan; Margaret Catley-Carlson, president of C.I.D.A.; Arthur Kroeger, deputy Minister of Employment and Immigration; and Jack Munro, past-president of the International Woodworkers of America-Canada. The broad range of viewpoints represented by the directors may ultimately allow the Forum to reach its goal of fostering a better image of the public service among Canadians.

The Institute of Public Administration of Canada (a group of public administrators and academics) has followed a similar approach and created a special award for innovative public sector management. One federal agency nominated for excellence in 1990 was the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA). Instead of trying to solve the problem of regional development in the traditional way (i.e., by financing often disastrous mega-projects in the area), the agency took an alternative approach. ACOA planned its programs by consulting widely within the region, attempted to decentralize the decision-making process, and in the process reduce "red tape". As a result, service to the public was better, and costs were

down.<sup>120</sup>

Despite these inroads, however, overall sentiment towards the federal public service remains negative. The next question to consider is how does this negative perception of the federal public service affect employee morale?

## Part II: Influences on Morale

Societal perceptions of the bureaucracy affect employee morale in a very general sense, and relate most closely to the top levels of the needs-satisfactions pyramid outlined in chapter 1 (*i.e.*, personal satisfaction). More specifically, these perceptions affect all four aspects of the personal satisfaction element of morale: personal growth, achievement, job mastery, and empowerment. While the two lower levels of the needs hierarchy ("off the job" and "on the job" satisfactions) tend to dominate the overall morale discussion, the influence of the top level must not be discounted.

As outlined in the previous part of this chapter, the media has played an important role in the development of the negative attitude of the public towards the bureaucracy. Media coverage of the PSAC strike of September/October of 1991 helped to confirm this negative attitude when scenes of violence on the picket lines portrayed union members as "the bad guys". The personal satisfaction levels of federal employees towards their jobs suffers as a result of this negative coverage. Frustration levels also tend to rise as

fragmentary media coverage examined primarily negative situations, while failing to give adequate coverage to the positive aspects of federal workers and the benefits they provide to society. The result is the portrayal of an incomplete picture, one that leaves federal employees feeling that the general public fails to understand their side of the story.<sup>121</sup>

A survey conducted by Decima Research during the September portion of the strike is an example of this type of situation. According to the poll results, most Canadians were in favour of the government-ordered wage freeze on public service salaries. Three-quarters of those surveyed felt that the government should "hold the line on spending even if it resulted in a strike by federal employees, and 55% said they would tolerate interruptions in service caused by the strike for two weeks or longer."<sup>122</sup> Federal public service employees can become disheartened by results such as these, which seem to indicate that they are not being appreciated by the general public.<sup>123</sup>

According to the public servants interviewed for this study, the influence of societal perceptions on employee morale works on a sort of "sliding scale" - going up or down depending on the surrounding circumstances. During normal or "non-strike" situations, the generally held negative attitude of Canadians towards federal government workers is not that important. Especially since this attitude is usually negative,

federal employees can at least adapt to it over time. During abnormal work situations, however, such as those encountered during strikes, society's perceptions become very important. The development of an "us versus them" mentality by public servants towards both the employer and their clients can result in "insular" thinking and lead to reduced personal satisfaction exhibited towards one's job (especially in regards to one's personal growth and achievement).<sup>124</sup>

A decline in the public's perception of the federal bureaucracy (from the "Golden Years" of the 1950's and 1960's to the present) can also affect employees on a more personal level. In bygone days employees would answer the question of "where do you work?" with a very emphatic "for the government" and expect a positive response. Presently, federal public servants can often expect a sigh and a derogatory remark about being "pensioned for life".<sup>125</sup> Some federal government employees now lie about their place of work in order to reduce the chances of being the source of bad jokes.<sup>126</sup> Obviously, levels of personal satisfaction with one's job will decline when this situation develops.

Many federal employees feel as though they are caught in a "no win" situation. Faced with the movement towards restraint amid a growing client base and an ever rising demand for services, federal employees must often work in situations where they know they will not be able to provide the levels of service that they would like to. This results in increased

personal frustration levels and reduced personal satisfaction levels among federal employees (especially in regards to job mastery and personal empowerment).<sup>127</sup>

The "trickle down" effect noted earlier in this chapter has certainly been felt throughout all levels of the federal bureaucracy, as society's negative perceptions travel downwards within the hierarchy. As an example, Daryl Bean, President of PSAC, points to clients venting their frustrations on unemployment insurance clerks in various centres across the country. Not only must the clerks suffer from verbal abuse, but they must also endure threats of physical violence as well. Clients have sometimes thrown telephones and staplers at federal public servants in various Canada Employment Centre (CEC) offices. Last year, a male receptionist at a CEC office in Vancouver was stabbed in the shoulder by an irate client, while in Windsor, Ontario, an angry woman drove her car through the wall of a federal employment centre in protest.<sup>128</sup>

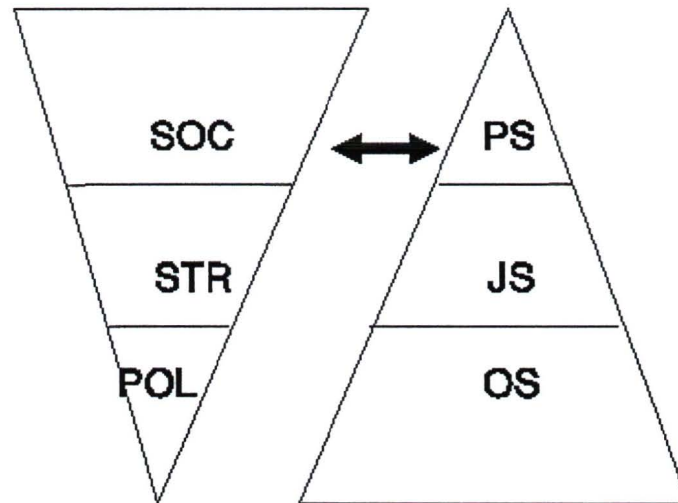
Possibly as attempts to cope with the difficult working environment and the continued negative perception by society towards the bureaucracy, there have been increases in both alcohol and drug abuse among public service employees.<sup>129</sup> Extreme examples of workers succumbing to job related stress have been reported at all levels of the public sector - federal, provincial, and municipal.<sup>130</sup> Workers' perceptions of their jobs, and the personal satisfaction resulting from

the desire to work will not be very high in instances such as these.

**Conclusion:**

The major observation to be noted is the strong correlation between the top component of the funnel (i.e., societal perceptions of bureaucracy) and the top portion of the needs pyramid (i.e., personal satisfactions). Issues such as personal growth and power, achievement, and job mastery are most likely to be influenced by these societal perceptions. Figure IV at the end of this chapter provides an outline of this relationship. In general, however, these issues are less influential on overall morale than the more narrow structural considerations which are examined in chapter 4.

Figure III: Societal Influences and Personal Satisfactions



Funnel of Influences

Pyramid of Needs

Societal influences (SOC), or the negative perceptions of the bureaucracy held by the general public, impact upon all four elements of the personal satisfaction (PS) component of morale: personal growth, achievement, job mastery, and empowerment.

## Chapter 4: Structural Determinants of Morale

### Introduction:

The definition of morale used for this thesis outlines a pyramid of needs and satisfactions. Off the job considerations (i.e., income and security) must be satisfied before on the job needs (i.e., job interest, prestige and advancement) or personal needs (i.e., growth, power, and achievement) become important. The preceding chapter has dealt with the relationship between societal influences and the top portion of the pyramid. This chapter will focus on the relationship between structural considerations (or the middle part of the funnel) and on the job satisfaction (or the middle part of the pyramid).

The structural constraints and considerations of any organization will play an important role in influencing the morale of its members. The results of the two periods of rapid growth as discussed in chapter 2 (and most particularly the 1965-75 period) have had a direct influence on employee morale in the 1990's. This chapter will examine these results, which include issues relating to: 1) regional/headquarters imbalances; 2) career plateauing and age; 3) gender inequities; 4) collective bargaining; and 5) an assortment of smaller forces which also shape employee morale. As these assorted influences reflect the current literature of public administration in Canada, they will be examined first to set

the stage for a discussion of the other influences.

### Assorted Influences:

As noted in chapter 1 of this thesis, many of the authors writing on public administration in Canada conclude that a serious morale problem now exists within the federal public service. While the four major factors outlined in this chapter go a long way in attempting to explain this phenomenon, they are by no means all-inclusive. Many other issues must also be noted.

Jak Jabes and David Zussman have argued that there is a serious morale problem within the public service. In the authors' words:

theories of work motivation attempt to understand the arousal, direction and persistence of work related behaviours while taking into consideration the characteristics of workers and the organizations in which they work. All theories suggest that people go to work at least in part in response to psychological and social needs and persist in this type of behaviour because of the rewards they receive. These rewards lead to satisfaction, which is the key for maintenance of the process.<sup>131</sup>

They used survey research methods to compare the attitudes of both private and public sector managers in Canada on motivational issues. Their findings confirm the belief that public sector managers were (and are) less satisfied in comparison to their private sector counterparts (findings which also suggest that there are reduced job interest and prestige levels among many managers). Management techniques in

the public sector which rely primarily on the "goodwill" of employees and a commitment to the "public interest", practices which held true in the past, no longer measure up to the benefits provided by the private sector. New management practices are needed to address this situation.

Similarly, works by Donald Savoie and Doern, Maslove and Prince<sup>132</sup> also conclude that morale has declined to a point where it has become an issue which can no longer be ignored.

As Savoie has noted:

the morale<sup>133</sup> problem among managers and elsewhere in the federal public service is caused by a number of factors. The perceived lack of strong, stable and committed leadership at the top is one thing. Others have pointed to management layering as a fundamental problem. Many, including senior officials inside government, recognize that there are excessive layers of management... Layering, it has been suggested, contributes to low morale, clogs up decision making, inhibits communication, discourages productivity, limits initiative, diffuses accountability, and increases operating costs. It is certainly intimidating for a junior employee who may well have a good idea to look up and see what he or she will have to go through to sell the idea to the department.<sup>134</sup>

The organizational process itself can lead to administrative chaos by putting increased pressure on employees at all levels. Staffing delays between the individual departments and the PSC (where it routinely takes 4-6 months to staff existing positions and can even run as long as 2 years for new positions) are a prime example of this last issue. The frustration resulting from this very complex process reduces job interest and job satisfaction levels even

further.<sup>135</sup>

The doctrine of "ministerial responsibility" (a doctrine which tends to lay the responsibilities for departmental mistakes upon the minister) further aggravates an already confusing situation. Risk-taking and innovation are discouraged, especially among employees in the middle and lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy.<sup>136</sup> This rigidity leads to increased job frustration and decreased job satisfaction levels among these employees.<sup>137</sup>

There are other influences which must be considered when examining issues relating to on the job satisfaction. These include: 1) departmental reorganizations - which seriously alter the existing working conditions of many federal employees, thus increasing job related stress; 2) the actual "physical environment" that the work is carried out in - where positive physical environments boost job interest and negative physical environments reduce it; 3) the "cyclical" nature of the reform process of the public service - where long term employees have seen years of intended revisions, but very little in the way of substantive results <sup>138</sup>; 4) the prevailing system of recruitment and promotion in the public service, which affects a manager's ability to carry out departmental responsibilities (when attracting and retaining talented staff) in light of raids from other departments which have been given free reign to offer appointments at higher levels <sup>139</sup>; and 5) technological changes within the

bureaucratic environment, which affect the way public servants do their jobs.<sup>140</sup> All of these assorted influences affect, to varying degrees, employee considerations of job interest and personal prestige. The four major factors outlined at the beginning of this chapter, however, play an even more important role in the determination of on the job satisfaction levels.

#### REGIONAL/HEADQUARTERS IMBALANCES:

The first of these factors considers the imbalances between the NCD and the regional branches of the federal public service, an imbalance directly related to the periods of rapid growth examined in chapter 2. This imbalance has seriously affected the job interest, prestige, and career advancement aspects of morale. Between 1960 and 1968, the total federal public service increased by 54% from 130,000 to almost 200,000 employees.<sup>141</sup> Many important social and economic programs were implemented during this period: medicare in 1966, collective bargaining for federal employees in 1967, and the manpower allowances program in 1968.

Generally, government during that time period was committed to a large degree of centralization, thus the overabundance of representation in the Ottawa-Hull region. New departments were created (Forests in 1960, Industry in 1963 and Consumer Affairs in 1966) while others were expanded in both mandate and size. In Ottawa alone, the number of public

servants rose from 38,000 to 48,700 between 1965 and 1969. This total, however, did not include the numerous "temporary" (or contract) employees.<sup>142</sup> As Nicole Morgan has noted about the changing face of the capitol:

the old downtown buildings could no longer house all the troops. External Affairs left the old Langevin Block in 1973 for the Pearson Building on Sussex Drive. National Health and Welfare moved to Tunney's Pasture, the windiest strip in Ottawa. The staff of the Communications Department had better luck: they were relocated downtown. Everywhere offices were new, with open spaces, and - how symbolic! - sealed from any contact with the outside world.<sup>143</sup>

Statistics indicate that during the 1980's this trend has not been altered to any significant degree. At the early part of the decade, employees in the NCD comprised 31.5% of the total federal public service, or roughly 65,000 of the entire 208,000 workforce. This percentage increased to 32.5% in 1983 and further rose to 32.9% in 1989.<sup>144</sup> What is startling about these figures is that the ratio's were as low as 24.9% in 1970 and 27.2% in 1975. For a complete year by year analysis during the 1980's, see Table I at the end of this chapter.

The balance between the NCD and the regions is a very sensitive issue: too small a staff at headquarters can reduce the ability to govern effectively, while too large a staff can alienate the regional branches. Numbers alone do not determine job satisfaction levels, but staffing practices can go a long way in influencing employees views on job interest and advancement opportunities.<sup>145</sup>

The history of the Canadian federal public service shows that this balance is often in a state of flux, moving along on a continuum between the extremes of total centralization on one side and total regionalization on the other. The political influences of the governing party will, to some degree, determine where this balance falls. Issues of efficiency and accountability, however, are also important. The opening quotation from the 1962 Glassco Royal Commission on Government Organization summarizes the problems faced within the Canadian federal public service:

the most obvious feature of the Canadian setting is the size and regional diversity of the country. The effect of this diversity on the political process in Canada has long been recognized, but its relevance to the machinery of administration seems to have been largely overlooked. While the centre of federal administration is in Ottawa, most action, as distinct from decision, takes place in the field, often thousands of miles away... However, the organization and administrative process of the entire public service have been shaped almost exclusively by the needs of the central apparatus for decision making.<sup>146</sup>

The statistics indicate that the balance between the NCD and the regions has been shifted in favour of the former over the past 15 years. The centralization tendencies of the Trudeau government, coupled with bureaucratic expansion or "empire building" can explain much of this shift.<sup>147</sup> The issue to consider, however, is what effect has this shift had on morale?

One important result has been an increase in job related stress due to the push to "do more with less", a common theme

in many federal regional departments. This phenomenon has not been localized to labour (or the front line staff), but has also spread to the management levels as well. The alienation mentioned earlier also plays a role here - one that significantly reduces employee job interest, rather than one which boosts it. As an example of this, a recent cabinet document released in Ottawa announced a new program to be implemented for the B.C. region of a federal department. The program was to have a budget of five million dollars, and press coverage was favourable. However, Ottawa intended to infuse only one million dollars worth of new capital for the program - the remaining 4 million dollars was to be found from the existing regional budget. To implement this program effectively for the Canadian public, serious cuts in other regional services would have to take place. Employees and managers trying to provide an adequate level of service to the Canadian public become disheartened when situations like this arise.<sup>148</sup>

Geographical implications also play a role in this NCD-regional split. The closer a region is located geographically to Ottawa, the more effective the region seems to be in obtaining funding and representation in the decision-making process. Conversely, the farther one moves away from the capital, the greater the difficulty in having input or receiving funding. Common sense dictates that regional managers from Montreal or Toronto will incur lower travel

costs and spend less time away from their offices when travelling to Ottawa for important meetings than will managers from St. John's or Victoria. The result is that the distant regions often feel left-out of the decision making process and no better than second-class when compared to their counterparts in Ottawa. This development of an "us versus them" mentality highlights the lower levels of prestige experienced by many regional employees.<sup>149</sup>

The lack of input from the regions into decision-making can be seen by the following example. When discussing computer spread-sheet programs, one of the generally accepted standards is Lotus 3.1. Headquarters, however, have determined that Lotus 2.2 (two versions previous to the current program) is to be the government standard. While the issue of upgrading technology may be debated back and forth (as either completely necessary or a waste of resources), it serves to illustrate the belief by many regional employees that their input on how best to do their jobs is not valued.<sup>150</sup> It is very difficult to maintain a positive outlook on one's job when confronted by these tensions.

### Career Plateauing and Age

A top-heavy management structure and an aging public service workforce (which excludes the young) are two structural problems which are intertwined around the themes of career plateauing and career blockage. These themes relate

directly to the career advancement and job interest aspects of morale, and are the results of the rapid growth experienced by the public service as discussed in chapter 2. The size, composition and age structure of the Canadian public service have been significantly altered in recent years. As the 1988 Annual Report of the Public Service Commission of Canada has noted:

the low level of recruitment, especially of young people, and strong competition from the private sector for talented employees may lead to future succession problems in several occupational categories in the Public Service. A static, aging Public Service with fewer promotional opportunities challenges managers to maintain the morale of the workforce by developing new avenues to enrich employee's careers.<sup>151</sup>

Data indicates that the average age of public servants will continue to rise over the next decade. As an illustration, the average age was just under 40 in 1978. Yet, this average rose to 41.5 in 1988, and is expected to reach 43 by 1998.<sup>152</sup>

Career "plateauing" within the federal public service has had a negative effect on the morale of its employees, especially in regards to career advancement considerations. The extent of plateauing can be empirically determined by three general measures: (1) the overall appointment activity, (2) the average time spent in the same position, and (3) the average time spent within the same classification. Overall appointment activity has decreased by 35.1% between 1978 and 1988, and promotional activity has declined by 20.5% over the

same time period. The average time spent in the same position has increased by 27.5% between 1983 and 1988, rising from 4 years to 5.1 years. Similarly, the average time spent in the same classification has increased by 28% during the same time-frame, rising from 5 years to 6.4 years.<sup>153</sup>

The tendencies towards "levelling off" after the rapid periods of advancement during the late sixties and early seventies came as a shock to many in the public service. When one has been promoted at phenomenal rates (e.g., sometimes one promotion per 2 years of service for university trained employees), the slow-down in the upward rise along the hierarchy can cause disappointment and even frustration.<sup>154</sup> Other considerations (such as a refusal to transfer to Ottawa, or the inability to speak French) also hinder career advancement, and can lead to further frustration and reduced levels of job interest.<sup>155</sup>

The influences of these forces on the career advancement and job interest aspects of morale are staggering. As Nicole Morgan has noted of the 1980's:

the current job stagnation will either encourage cut-throat aggression among those who want to move up the job ladder at any cost, or will strengthen an attitude of disinterest in their work. The sour-grapes feeling will be stimulated by the knowledge that no matter how well a public servant does his [sic] job, it will not necessarily mean career advancement...These new attitudes by managers, locked into jobs from which they see no escape, will filter throughout the whole public service. To soothe their frustrations, job-stagnated bureaucrats will become

increasingly demanding of petty compensations in place of the promotions that are unavailable.<sup>156</sup>

Career blockages on the management side of the federal public service are well documented.<sup>157</sup> While these problems for unionized employees are less popularized, they are nonetheless still important. The low number of training courses available to the average employee, which would promote career advancement within occupational groups and between occupational groups, does little to improve workers' career perceptions or satisfaction. The program designed to address "spousal relocation" within the public service has caused frustration as well. This program provides that top priority for vacant positions be given to employees relocating as a result of a spouse being transferred within the federal bureaucracy. The program is important in that it facilitates employee transfers across the country, but the down-side to it is that personal career advancement can be slowed when qualified candidates are passed over in favour of "outsiders".<sup>158</sup>

#### **GENDER INEQUITIES:**

Traditionally, the federal public service had always represented men much better than women. Recent events, however, have brought some changes to this pattern. In 1987, women made up 42.4% of the permanent employee population of the federal public service. Projections have been made that by

the year 2000, this will rise to 50%.<sup>159</sup> Statistics indicate that since 1976, the only growth in the public service has been in the number of female employees (up 10.3%, while the number of male employees has been cut by 14.9% over the same period).<sup>160</sup>

Many problems, however, still exist. Despite the numbers of women hired, serious imbalances remain between male and female employees within the federal bureaucracy. These imbalances are the result of the rapid growth of the federal public service (as discussed in chapter 2) and relate most specifically to the career advancement and prestige aspects of morale. As of 1987, women made up only 8.7% of the Executive category, and only 13.2% of Senior Management.<sup>161</sup> The tradition of hiring women for the lowest paying jobs has not been altered, as women constitute 82.8% of the Administrative Support category. In the process, 83.9% of all female public service employees have a salary lower than \$35,000 per year, while only 54.7% of men fall into the same category.<sup>162</sup>

The development of "pink ghetto's" has had a significant influence on the morale of female public service employees - especially in terms of keeping job stature and interest low, and at the same time helping to reduce female prospects for prestige and advancement. The major issue to be examined when analyzing this development is employment equity.

Since 1967, three major reports on female employment in the public service have been published. The Royal Commission

on the Status of Women was organized in 1967 and chaired by Florence Bird, the first female to chair a royal commission in Canada. The Commission was mandated to "investigate and report on matters pertaining to the status of women in those areas which fall within the jurisdiction of the federal government" and made its report to Parliament in 1970.<sup>163</sup> Kathleen Archibald was appointed by the Public Service Commission in 1969 to "investigate all issues related to the federal government's role as employer of women."<sup>164</sup> In 1984, Rosalie Abella was appointed to chair the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment.

These three reports went a long way in "levelling the playing field" for women in the public service. Other notable events which had the same effect included: the establishment of the portfolio of Minister Responsible for the Status of Women (in 1971)<sup>165</sup>; the implementation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (which entrenched the equality of the sexes in 1982); and the introduction of the Affirmative Action program (in 1983).<sup>166</sup>

Yet while the problem of representation has been partially addressed in terms of overall numbers, the issues of concentration and compression have not. Concentration refers to the "extent to which women appear to be predominantly employed in certain specific occupational areas" while compression refers to the "extent to which women in any given group are largely to be found at the lower classification

levels of the group."<sup>167</sup>

The Royal Commission appointed in 1984 developed effective statistical models to measure both. The "Equity Index" was used to measure the degree to which women in a group were equitably represented at all levels of the group (regardless of the total number of women in the group or the overall proportion of women in the group). An equitably balanced group produced an index of 100. The lower the number from 100, the greater the degree of compression within the lower levels of the job groupings. The higher the number from 100, the greater the representation of women in that particular group.<sup>168</sup>

While this index is at best rough, tracking the numbers over a period of time can indicate the amount (or lack thereof) of progress in addressing imbalances. The task force collected data from the 1982-87 period and found that there was little easing of the compression problem in the groups studied. In some groups, the problem actually worsened over this period. The major point to be taken from this research is that all of the groups under consideration showed some degree of compression.<sup>169</sup>

The task force also developed a similar model to measure concentration by substituting salary levels for job groups. Again, statistics indicated that the extent of the concentration remained very high. Two occupational groups, secretarial and clerical, were found to represent almost 60%

of the total female public service workforce. The research indicated that female public service employees were clustered in the lower paying jobs. In 1988, female employees made up almost 50% of all public servants making less than \$40,000 per year, yet only 17% of those making over \$40,000 per year.<sup>170</sup> This research of both compression and concentration levels highlights the lack of career advancement opportunities for women in the federal public service.

As mentioned previously, there have been some changes. Apparent barriers inhibiting the advancement or hiring of women (such as the regulation requiring women to resign from the public service upon marriage) have been revoked. More subtle barriers, however, still remain. These may be classified into the following three groups: attitudinal barriers, corporate-cultural barriers, and balancing (career/family) barriers.<sup>171</sup>

While recent governments have promoted the "equality" of the sexes in the public service through various measures, they have not been able to alter the attitudes of the employees of the public service. One common attitude held by many males is that "a woman's place" in the public service is in the administrative and clerical fields - and certainly not management. Likewise, corporate cultural barriers (where the "rules" of the government have largely been written by men without regard to a female perspective) and "concessions" to females (in the areas of child-care and maternity leave) do

little to alter these perceptions.<sup>172</sup> Nicole Morgan puts it even more succinctly:

statistics indicate that the power within the public service has been male. The interviews confirmed that, like most vested interest groups, the power brokers in the public service used all the resources at their disposal to protect themselves. It was also indicated that this real power is many-headed and moves from department to department, agency to agency, group to group, and individual to individual. Access to and knowledge of this power are the keys that open the door to a career; these keys were often beyond women's reach.<sup>173</sup>

Interviews with female managers within the public service confirmed these stereotypical perceptions. One manager recalled the "window dressing" phase of her career -where, as the sole female manager in a male dominated occupational group, she was constantly paraded from conference to conference by her superiors to show how "progressive" the department was. This process tended to negate her own feelings of self worth and reduce the prestige level that should have been associated with a management position.<sup>174</sup>

Another female manager recounted a similar story of inequity regarding the "rules" of government. Most senior management meetings are male dominated. Those female managers who make it to the upper-echelons of the decision-making process must act like males at these meetings in order to be taken seriously. Informal "dress codes" and speech patterns go a long way in determining if the woman will be a success at this, or merely "written off as the token female."<sup>175</sup> This process also affects individual perceptions towards job

satisfaction (and most specifically, prestige levels).

The consequences of this inequity are alarming, especially in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. Examples of the lack of efficiency are easy to enumerate: women being consistently employed in jobs below their capabilities; women lacking the access to training and work experience that develops their potential; and women losing confidence and motivation because their capacities are ignored or undervalued.<sup>176</sup> This inefficiency is compounded when one also considers the loss of women at the intermediate levels of the public service (i.e., those who have left because of poor career advancement opportunities). This loss of a "feeder" system to the upper levels of senior management curtails the advance towards full equality. The end result is often a sense of hopelessness among even the brightest female public service prospects.<sup>177</sup>

### Collective Bargaining Issues:

The process of collective bargaining was outlined in the latter part of chapter 2, and is one of the most complex of the structural issues under consideration. Because of the nature of the employer-employee relationship (where the employer is the Treasury Board, an agency which is controlled to a great degree by the governing political party), there is some over-lap between structural and political considerations. Certain elements of the collective bargaining process relate

to the job interest and career advancement aspects of morale. Other elements of collective bargaining relate to the income and security aspects of morale. All of these aspects will be examined in this section.

The Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) represents the majority (approximately 170,000) of the federal public service employees in this country. In 1989, the union commissioned a detailed survey of its membership. While the poll identified job security as the number one concern of employees, morale rated a close second. According to the report:

there is a serious morale problem amongst public sector workers. Many respondents expressed concern over such morale related issues as job satisfaction, lack of promotion, privatization, poor management, a poor perception of the public service, stress, working conditions, workload and reclassification.<sup>178</sup>

The need to address this problem is apparent, but the plans for reform outlined in PS2000 were not acceptable to the union. So the union sponsored its own commission on reform - the PSAC Commission on Federal Public Service Morale.

One of the major conclusions reached by the Commission has been a call for the repeal of both the Public Service Staff Relations Act and the Public Service Employment Act and the placement of all federal workers under one piece of legislation, the Canada Labour Code.<sup>179</sup> As successive governments have declined to follow this path, the union has come up with their own plans to reform what they see as

hopelessly outdated legislation. At the very least they want input into the drafting of a new legislative scheme - and this input would go a long way towards addressing present day problems.

The inner workings of any large scale organization can be analyzed according to various models. The inter-action between PSAC and its employer (the Treasury Board) can be summarized by using the Harbison and Coleman models of interaction. These authors contend that union-management interaction is defined by the process of accommodation between the two organizations. This process of accommodation is seen as a continuum, with the three main spheres along the continuum being: armed truce, working-harmony, and co-operation.<sup>180</sup>

The armed truce sphere refers to the orderly but continuous struggle for power between union and management, where both sides are convinced that their major objectives are in conflict and that their common interests are quite narrow. Union-management co-operation is the most rare of the three types of relationship, and is characterized by a willingness on both sides to increase efficiency and reduce costs. The working harmony sphere lies midway between the other two extremes on the continuum, and is characterized by "union and management awareness that in spite of conflicting objectives, compromises which allow each side to advance its interests are possible."<sup>181</sup>

In the private sector, most issues (such as the status of the parties, job control, economic and communication related issues, and grievance handling) are all subject to collective bargaining procedures. As pointed out in Chapter 2, this is not the case in the federal public service. The legislation governing PSAC clearly delineates certain areas to management and prohibits bargaining on those issues.

The "status of parties" issues are those issues which are related to management prerogative clauses and union security. Union security was guaranteed at the beginning of the process due to the government view that the union would be mostly conservative when its security and stability were assured.<sup>182</sup> Gains by the union in the area of "management prerogatives", however, were less easily accomplished. The major issues of classification, promotions, appointments and pensions still lie strictly within the management domain, and are thus not within the scope of negotiation. These are the issues which relate most directly to the career advancement and job interest aspects of morale.<sup>183</sup>

Other issues affected by the collective bargaining process reflect the more political side to the process. Important issues such as income and job security for PSAC members gained prominence in light of the Conservative government's austerity program. The 1991 budget speech introduced by then Finance Minister Michael Wilson set the tone by calling for a wage freeze and then modest increases in

the salaries of public servants (i.e., the Zero, Three and Three Program). This program was also designed to reduce the size of the public service by an additional 6,000 employees.<sup>184</sup>

The austerity program cuts at the first rung of the needs-satisfactions pyramid, effectively shutting off all other positive influences to the pyramid. Predictions of the dire consequences created by the budget have come true. Timothy Plumptre, an Ottawa based consultant noted in March "that there's going to be an awful lot of bad blood over this."<sup>185</sup> Irene Ip, a senior policy analyst with the C.D. Howe Institute, concurred, noting that:

the reality is that federal civil servants received the lowest pay increases of any group in the 1980's. But if you treat everybody the same, the really good people are just going to get demoralized and quit. Overall efficiency will just get worse.<sup>186</sup>

The year 1991 saw the emergence of a much more militant PSAC union in its dealings with the Treasury Board as a direct result of these government initiatives. The announcement of the Zero, Three and Three program left the union little room to manoeuvre, as it viewed the federal government as refusing to bargain in good faith. The general PSAC strike of September, 1991, was followed by a return to the bargaining table in mid-month by both parties. When the Treasury Board again refused to budge on the wage increase issue, a second call to the picket lines was issued, which in turn resulted in the government's back to work legislation (Bill C-29) being

passed by Parliament.<sup>187</sup> As PSAC President Daryl Bean noted after the Senate had assented to the bill: "The Mulroney government has legislated our members back to work. However, it cannot legislate how they will work, nor the morale of the workers when they return to work."<sup>188</sup>

Just how the strike has affected employee morale seems to be dependent upon whom one talks to. Interviews with federal public service employees (from both the labour and management sides) have produced a wide range in opinions. Generally, most employees interviewed were sympathetic to at least some of the union objectives. All were sympathetic to the union's refusal to accept the imposition of a "zero" per cent wage increase in public service salaries for the current year. The view that the public service is not appreciated by its employer (the Treasury Board) is widespread among public service employees at the current time - a feeling which reduces worker morale on both labour and management sides.<sup>189</sup>

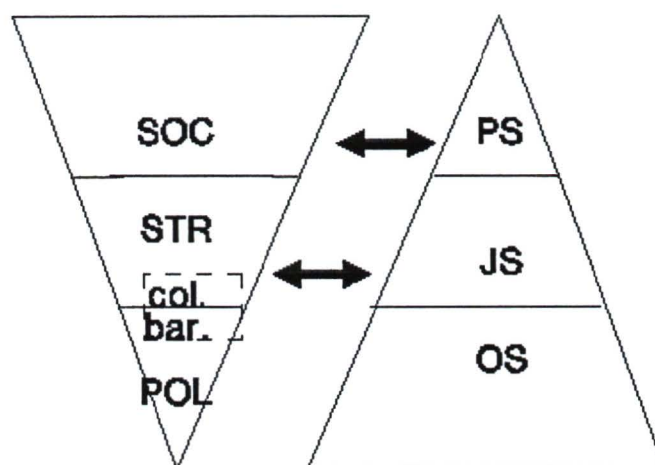
### **Conclusion:**

While most of this chapter has painted a negative picture of the morale situation within the federal public service, certain areas could be addressed to emphasize the positive. Included among these are: first, the promotion process, which at one time was based upon "longevity" within a department or branch, and is now based upon competitive procedures. Although still not perfect, it is by far a better system than the

previous one used. Second, training programs, which greatly increase worker interest and advancement opportunities. The scarcity of resources, however, dictates that demand still outruns supply within the public service. Third, incentive plans, where managers must be innovative enough to find some types of rewards for outstanding employees instead of monetary compensations.<sup>190</sup> All of these factors can be used to offset (although only slightly) the pervasive negative sentiments presently existing among many public servants.

The major observation to be noted is the strong correlation between the middle rung (i.e., on the job satisfactions) of the needs pyramid with the middle component (i.e., structural considerations) of the influences funnel. The exception to this is the influence exerted by collective bargaining issues, which affect both on and off the job satisfactions. Figure IV at the end of this chapter provides an outline of this relationship. The complex nature of collective bargaining (which considers both structural and political implications) is important as it leads into a more in-depth examination of specific governmental policies and their impact on morale. This examination will be carried out in the next chapter of this thesis.

Figure IV:  
Structural Influences and On The Job Satisfactions



Funnel of Influences      Pyramid of Needs

The different elements of the structural influences (STR) affected different aspects of the "on the job satisfaction" (JS) component of morale. The assorted factors affected job interest and prestige. Regional/headquarters imbalances influenced job interest, prestige, and career advancement. Career plateauing affected job interest and career advancement. Gender inequities influenced prestige and career advancement. Collective bargaining affected job interest and career advancement. Note that collective bargaining issues overlapped into political considerations.

TABLE I:Federal Employees in National Capitol District 1980-1989

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL # EMPLOYEES</u>	<u># EMPLOYEES - NCD</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL *</u>
1980	208,299	65,716	31.5
1981	215,643	68,563	31.7
1982	222,582	72,042	31.9
1983	222,044	72,150	32.5
1984	224,026	72,089	32.2
1985	223,173	72,082	32.3
1986	217,223	70,350	32.3
1987	214,930	69,631	32.4
1988	211,993	69,631	32.8
1989	214,494	70,719	32.9

\* Percentages calculated by the author using statistics from the Public Service Commission of Canada, Annual Reports, 1980-89 inclusive. For the years 1980-83, these statistics were contained in Table II of the Appendix of each report. For the 1984-89 period, the statistics were contained in Table V of the Appendix of each report.

## CHAPTER 5: Political Influences

### Introduction:

The preceding chapters have focused on long standing determinants of morale within the federal public service. This chapter narrows its attention to contemporary governmental policy and its specific effects. In this instance, the policy under consideration is the restraint package of Prime Minister Mulroney's Conservative government, 1984-91.

Restraint politics is the term this author uses to encompass a series of measures aimed at reducing the role of the state in Canadian society.<sup>191</sup> Often referred to as "neo-conservatism", this term includes policies aimed at expenditure restraint, privatization, streamlining government, and balancing the budget. The basic thrust of these policies is to increase societal reliance on market mechanisms and private enterprise, and reduce our dependence on "big" (i.e., interventionist) government.<sup>192</sup>

This chapter will address five issues associated with the restraint package implemented since 1984 within the federal public service: 1) overall downsizing, 2) contract- ing-out, 3) work force adjustment, 4) privatization, and 5) the process of constitutional reform.

**OVERALL DOWNSIZING:**

The reduction of the size of the federal public service<sup>193</sup> has seriously affected the morale of its employees. Generally, this decision has impacted upon the bottom two components of the needs pyramid. More specifically, it has influenced the career advancement and job security aspects of morale.

One of the major goals of the 1985 federal government's budget was to cut back the overall size of the federal public service. To do this, the federal government planned for a reduction of 15,000 person years by the end of the 1990-91 fiscal year. As then Finance Minister Michael Wilson announced in the 1985 Budget Speech:

the Public Service was expected to increase by 15,000 over the next six years. Instead, action will be taken to bring about a decrease of 15,000 by the end of this period. These measures will require difficult decisions by Public Service managers. But we are confident that they will adjust to achieve greater productivity and efficiency with a minimum amount of disruption in service to the public.<sup>194</sup>

With this objective in mind, various policies were designed which: 1) trained management in personnel reduction implementation, 2) formed "placement clubs" to help employees whose jobs had been cut to find work, 3) revamped and simplified hiring procedures within the PSC, and 4) saw an increase in the authority of the individual departments in regards to hiring, especially when dealing with specified "term" appointments.<sup>195</sup>

One of the major results of this has been a shift in focus within the placement process of the CSC. As Carol Simard has noted, "placement now primarily involves finding posts for employees who have priority rating, whereas previously this branch of activity was largely concerned with recruitment."<sup>196</sup> This shift in focus has hindered the CSC's attempt to attract the "best and the brightest"<sup>197</sup> candidates to the Canadian federal bureaucracy. Another major result has been a change in the proportions of the various occupational categories, with a decrease in the support and administrative categories and a rise in the officer categories.

According to Public Service Commission statistics, roughly 13,500 employees have been affected since the inception of the reduction policy in May of 1985. Over the same time period, there has also been a significant reduction in general personnel training, continuing education, and language training. With all of these major changes taking place in such a short time span, it is no wonder that many public service employees have begun to wonder about the security of their jobs. The complaint by members of the Canadian public that federal bureaucrats had "pensions for life" could no longer be so convincingly levelled.<sup>198</sup>

The Mulroney-led Conservatives have played a very significant role in this downsizing process. Although there had been many calls for reform and a reduction in total

employment levels during the Trudeau years, no major steps were taken in this direction. A gradual trend towards downsizing was begun under the Liberals after the size of the public service had reached 266,733 in 1979, but it was not until the Conservative victory in 1984 that a co-ordinated effort was made to address the size issue.<sup>199</sup>

Following in the lead of governing neo-conservative regimes in other jurisdictions (most notably Great Britain and the United States), the trends towards the contraction of "state" power began in Canada. Carrying through on his election promise of providing "pink slips and running shoes"<sup>200</sup> to many federal public servants, the restraint policies were implemented. As well as providing one visible way of reducing the role of the federal government in Canadian society, this program also had the added political benefit of working towards a balanced budget.<sup>201</sup>

On February 20, 1990 Finance Minister Wilson announced the end of the person-year reduction program by proclaiming that "we have reduced the size of the public service by 12,000. The public service today is the same size as in 1973, despite the fact that Canada's population has increased by about one-fifth."<sup>202</sup> When one examines these numbers, it is apparent that something had to give in a system where 5% fewer employees were providing services to a client base which was 20% larger. That something was employee morale - which was characterized by a declining ability to provide services to

the public, increased workloads, increased stress, and the threat of having one's job classed as redundant (and therefore scheduled for elimination).

The unevenness of these cuts contributed to the problem. Management levels actually increased by 5% during the 1985-90 period while other categories, such as those of Administrative Support and Operational, suffered massive cutbacks - 4.9% and 12.9% respectively. Over the same time frame, full-time indeterminate employment fell among the latter two categories. With declines of 11.5% and 16.1% respectively for the two categories listed above, workloads continued to increase.<sup>203</sup>

To compensate for the smaller workforce handling larger workloads, the authorization of paid overtime has increased. In 1985, the government spent \$265.7 million on overtime. By 1989, however, this had increased to \$365.7 million - or a rise of 37.6%. Over a sustained period, this procedure can lead to a fall in the productivity of workers and eventual "burnout". As evidence of this, the number of disability insurance claims relating to mental or emotional disorders (due to overworked employees) filed by PSAC members has increased by 74% over this same period.<sup>204</sup>

The particular style of government implemented by the Conservatives has also had a great deal to do with the overall objectives of restraint. The theme of "productive management" had been espoused by Prime Minister Mulroney before coming to

office in 1984. Based largely upon the 1983 report of the Auditor General (especially the chapter entitled "Constraints to Productive Management in the Public Sector"), this theme became, in practical terms, the basis for the new initiatives called Increased Ministerial Authority and Accountability (IMAA).<sup>205</sup> With the objective of providing increased authority for departmental managers in regards to the use of personnel and financial resources (and in the process "letting the managers manage"), IMAA also had a "decentralizing" effect on the conduct of government business.

This was quite a change from the centralized approach of the Trudeau years, and was facilitated (or possibly even required) by the downsizing process. As Peter Aucoin has noted, "it has forced Ministers and departments to try to find from within their own approved budgetary resources the monies to fund new or expanding programs."<sup>206</sup> This system has also highlighted the limitations of the budgetary system used previously, the Policy and Expenditure Management System (PEMS). Although PEMS was initially heralded as a breakthrough in rational decision making at its inception, it did not solve the problem of incremental budget making - a problem which had existed during the days of its predecessor, the Planning, Programming, and Budgeting System (PPBS). In an era of restraint, the "collegial" atmosphere of PEMS decision making (where sectoral cabinet committees were expected to allocate budgetary envelopes amongst themselves) proved to be

unworkable. Ministers were just not willing to give up resources, and instead would look to the Priorities and Planning Committee for new funds. This incrementalism was not acceptable to the Conservatives.<sup>207</sup>

IMAA was not the only example of the new style exhibited by Mulroney's administration. This government had a clear agenda in mind when it came to office, one that included no doubts about who would be in control of policy formulation. Mulroney and his senior advisors insisted that the initiatives for policy development be the responsibility of the government, and not the public service. As David Zussman has noted, "Mulroney promised that in a Tory government the Minister will run his department. And any Deputy Minister who doesn't understand that will have a career notable for it's brevity."<sup>208</sup> The practice of creating strong working ties between the deputy ministers and the Privy Council Office (instituted under Trudeau and fostered by Michael Pitfield as Clerk of the Privy Council) would not be encouraged under the Conservatives. The result of this has been a loss of power at the senior levels of the federal bureaucracy, a loss which has proven important as these same bureaucrats have been unable to defend the public service against the overall downsizing initiatives.

How has the foregoing influenced the morale of public service employees? One practical result is that job security has become of major concern to many federal employees. A

second result is that through the decreased numbers, career advancement opportunities have become limited. As well, many federal public servants have been "doing more with less"<sup>209</sup>, a process which further reduces job related satisfaction and increases job related stress.

As an example, person year cutbacks and the resulting increased workloads make for longer line-ups and longer processing periods of both citizenship applications and unemployment insurance benefits. The process of applying for Canadian citizenship has gone from approximately 6 months (including pre-application interviews, etc.) to over 8 months during the past five years. The processing period for unemployment insurance benefits has also increased from roughly six weeks to just over eight weeks during the same time span.<sup>210</sup> In an age of downsizing, individual employees soon become disheartened upon realizing that a reduced workload is not in the foreseeable future.

#### Contracting-out:

As was the case with overall downsizing, contracting out also cuts across the bottom two components of the needs pyramid, and in the process impacts upon the job security and job interest aspects of morale. The issue of the contracting-out of government services to private firms has been a major part of the Conservative's downsizing project, but one which is nevertheless controversial. The major issues of complaint

concern the reduced "value-per-dollar" of the plan and the negative impact on human resources. The seventh report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Accounts noted that:

a clear connection has been drawn between contracting-out and the government's program to reduce the size of the public service over the last five years. Officials of the Treasury Board referred your Committee to Part I of the 1990-91 Main Estimates, where contracting-out was cited as one of the measures used to meet person-year reduction targets.<sup>211</sup>

Departmental managers, in a "lose-lose" situation posed by the downsizing process, can either: a) cut the person-years and let the work go undone, or b) cut the person-years and get the work done through private contracts. The latter choice has become the preferred route.

One major problem with contracting-out has been a lack of accurate financial accountability over the process. Despite concerns raised by the Public Accounts Committee, there are presently no formal records kept by either the Treasury Board Secretariat or the individual departments on the amount of work now done under contract which was previously done by public servants.<sup>212</sup> The system is therefore open to a great deal of discretionary use.

The statistics that are available indicate that there has been a significant rise in the overall total of work contracted-out. Using the item entitled "Standard Object, Professional and Special Services" within the Main Estimates as a conservative estimate, the value of contracted-out work

has increased by over \$630 million from 1984 to 1990 (from \$2.6 billion to \$3.2 billion). A more liberal estimate places the value of this work at between 4 and 5 billion per year, when additional contracts not included under the above listed item in the Main Estimates are factored in.<sup>213</sup>

Current reform proposals encompassed within PS2000 encourage the use of this measure even further. This will be done through the implementation of a 30% "transfer price", where a department can increase its operating budget by \$1.30 for every dollar that it removes from its salary budget. Conversely, a department must cut \$1.30 from its operating budget for every dollar increase in its salary budget.<sup>214</sup> The trend towards contracting-out is quite obvious.

What have been the results of this trend, and how has it affected employee morale? First, contracting-out has had a serious, negative effect on job security. Federal public service employees are never sure whether their jobs will be sacrificed (through contracting-out) to meet the goal of person-year reduction. An employee may have escaped the overall downsizing program by not having his or her job declared redundant, only to face an uncertain future created by the rise in contracting-out. A second effect relates to the important question of efficiency. Often, private contractors need a great deal of "in-house" supervision to meet the levels of service previously provided by members of the public service. Providing this supervision can result in resentment

and lowered job interest levels among public servants.<sup>215</sup> When fixed costs and private profit margins are factored into the contracting-out issue, serious doubts about its efficiency are raised. Related to this is the rise in job related stress amongst federal employees as service to the public is sometimes compromised.<sup>216</sup>

The effect of contracting-out can best be summarized by the Report tabled by the Public Accounts Committee. The Committee noted:

the connection between contracting-out and morale. In the absence of reliable data, the Committee can only consider impressions conveyed in the testimony. However, it would appear that government should only use outside contractors to replace public servants where cost-effectiveness has been clearly demonstrated, taking into account the negative effects on public servants' morale.<sup>217</sup>

#### **Workforce Adjustment:**

The term workforce adjustment can be used to encompass a wide range of programs aimed at restructuring the size and composition of the federal public service. These programs included everything from retraining and redeployment to "early retirement". Generally, these policies impact upon the bottom two components of the needs pyramid. More specifically, they influence the income, career advancement, and prestige aspects of morale.

The PSC administers the majority of these programs and is "responsible for referring surplus and laid-off employees to

departments and for ensuring that qualified indeterminate employees affected by the Workforce Adjustment Program are considered for either placement or retraining resulting in placement. Only when the Commission is satisfied that there are no qualified priority candidates, can a position be filled from other sources and through other processes."<sup>218</sup> The Commission also provides counselling services for laid-off employees, and offers three training courses to managers ("Job Search Assistance Techniques", "Management of Workforce Reductions" and "Informing Employees of Their Surplus Status"), who then assist all employees affected by the adjustments. According to 1990 PSC statistics, 23,432 indeterminate employees have been affected since this program began. Roughly 70% of the employees were placed in other positions, while almost 30% have declined assistance (in planning to leave the public service).<sup>219</sup>

The Workforce Adjustment policy was significantly altered in June of 1989 to include guarantees for "all surplus employees, subject to their willingness to relocate, up to one year of retraining to qualify them for reappointment to another position identified by their employer."<sup>220</sup> Additional changes were made after the conclusion of the workstoppage in the fall of 1991. The deputy head of each department is responsible for ensuring that this policy is followed. In the long term, these changes should further reduce the impact of the adjustments on those affected.

The objective of the early retirement initiative is to induce as many long-serving public employees as possible to voluntarily leave their jobs, and in the process free up valuable budgetary resources. In the context of the restraint policies of the Conservative government, as many redundant positions as possible were to be targeted for the "golden handshake".

As outlined by section 24 of the Public Service Employment Act, public service employees serve "at the pleasure of Her Majesty" for an indeterminate period. Up until July of 1986, this indeterminate period ceased when the employee reached the mandatory retirement age of 65. Since no such legal constraint presently exists, the federal government has tried numerous innovative measures aimed at reducing the size of its workforce. One such measure was the Voluntary Early Retirement Program, or VERIP.<sup>221</sup>

To be entitled to the benefits provided under the VERIP package, employees had to be 55 and have at least 30 years of service within the federal bureaucracy. This package offered employees financial entitlements in addition to the severance pay and accumulated vacation leave incentives that they would already have possessed. This package was first introduced by the Conservatives in 1985 in an attempt at vacating 400 administrative positions (200 of which were to be abolished, and 200 which were to be given to younger managers). The program was eventually expanded to include: a) employees

between the ages of 50 and 54 (with at least 20 years of service), and b) employees in the 55 to 59 age range (who had between 20 and 30 years of service). The program proved to be such a success that 533 persons opted for it - slightly better than the 400 that had been projected.<sup>222</sup>

The effects of the early retirement initiatives on employee morale have been negligible, except in the cases where the positions not eliminated were filled by younger employees. This process has resulted in increased prestige, better career advancement, and greater income levels for those younger employees. The effects of the Workforce Adjustment policy have not been so negligible. This has included both positive and negative effects. On the positive side, those employees who moved into vacated positions have experienced the same positive feelings described of those who benefited from the VERIP incentives. The drawback to this, however, has been that a high level of job related stress has accompanied these changes. <sup>223</sup>

### Privatization:

Privatization refers to the gradual withdrawal of the government from areas of previous responsibility through the "selling off" of these areas to the private sector. This process has impacted upon the bottom two components of the needs pyramid, and has influenced the job security and career advancement aspects of morale.

The Mulroney government has used privatization as one means of completing the downsizing of the state apparatus (as in the privatization of Petro-Can in 1986). The clear role of the Conservative government in this process can be seen in the development and the implementation of the Office of Privatization and Regulatory Affairs (OPRA).<sup>224</sup>

Under the Trudeau government, privatization concerns fell to those ministers responsible for crown corporations which had been targeted for eventual sale on the free market. The Conservatives created OPRA in late 1986 to put the government impetus for "reform through privatization" under the rubric of a single ministry. As Peter Aucoin has noted about this development, "among other things, the regulatory process is now fully integrated into the central decision-making process of cabinet with the responsible minister and cabinet committee served by a central agency."<sup>225</sup> This ministry has served as the focal point for the privatization campaign.

How have these developments affected employee morale? Again, the major issue which arises is that of job security. As the move towards privatization becomes stronger and stronger, more and more federal employees must wonder about the future of their jobs - thus increasing uncertainty and affecting work performance over the long term. As the ultimate objective of OPRA is to effectively work itself out of a job, one must consider that the human repercussions in this process will be significant.<sup>226</sup> Although employees in newly

privatized (or former government agencies) will have ample opportunities to obtain jobs on the free market, there are never any guarantees for the long-term. The reduced size of the federal public service brought about by privatization also has the secondary effect of reducing career advancement opportunities. Uncertainty about job security and reduced career advancement prospects have resulted in higher stress levels among public service employees.<sup>227</sup>

#### Constitutional Reform:

The ongoing process of constitutional change and a possible devolution of powers from the federal government to provincial jurisdictions has also had an unsettling effect on federal public service employee morale. Most notably, this process has had a considerable effect on both job security and career advancement. While the process of constitutional reform has been a fact of life in Canada almost since the date of Confederation, it has become a still more serious issue since the failure of the Meech Lake Accord.

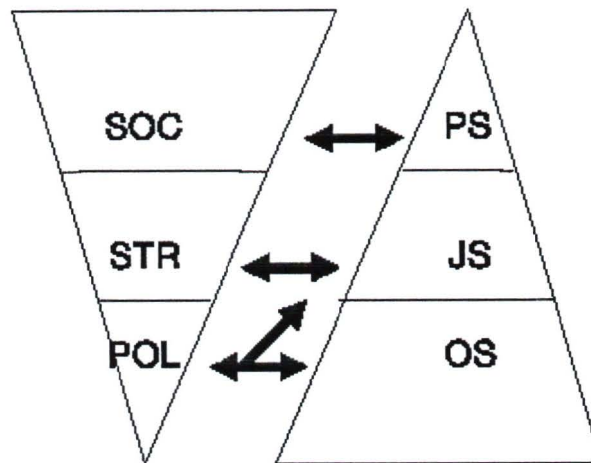
There are specific departments within the federal public service (e.g., Health, and Forestry), where there is already a considerable overlap of responsibilities between Ottawa and the provinces. Federal employees are not being too farsighted when they envision a day when these responsibilities will fall solely under provincial jurisdiction. The incentive for long-range career planning within these departments thus becomes

suspect.<sup>228</sup> The job security issue is even more severe within these departments, especially among non-management and non-professional employees. While the constitutional issue may be more of a factor within specific departments, its influence on the morale of the public service as a whole should not be under-estimated.

**Conclusion:**

The major observation to be noted is that there is a strong correlation between the bottom component of the influences funnel (i.e., political considerations) and the bottom portion of the needs pyramid (i.e., off the job satisfactions). Issues such as income and security are most likely to be influenced by these political considerations. The exception to this is that political influences also affect the middle component of the needs pyramid, or the "on the job" considerations of career advancement, job interest and prestige. Figure V at the end of this chapter outlines this correlation, and highlights the relationship between the needs pyramid and the funnel of influences (a relationship which is explored in greater depth in chapter 6).

**Figure V:**  
Political Influences and Off The Job Satisfactions



Funnel of Influences      Pyramid of Needs

Political considerations (POL) influenced both the on the job component (JS) and the off the job component (OS) of morale. Downsizing affected job security and career advancement. Contracting-out influenced job security and job interest. Workforce adjustment affected income, prestige, and career advancement. Privatization initiatives and the process of constitutional reform influenced the same two elements - job security and career advancement.

## CHAPTER 6: Morale - the Relationship Between the Funnel and the Pyramid

Throughout the course of this thesis, two phenomena were observed. The most important of these noted that morale among public service employees was determined by the relationship between a complex set of individually experienced influences and needs-satisfactions. This phenomena highlighted the individual dimensions of public service morale.

The relationship between the three components of the funnel of influences and the three components of the needs pyramid was very complex. Generally, the wide end of the funnel corresponded to the peak of the pyramid, and vice-versa. The middle part of the funnel corresponded to the middle part of the pyramid, and vice-versa. The narrowest part of the funnel corresponded to the base of the pyramid, and vice versa.

In more specific terms, societal influences (i.e., negative perceptions towards the public service) affected all four aspects of the personal satisfaction element of morale: personal growth, job mastery, individual achievement, and empowerment.

As the influences which made up the structural component of the funnel were more complex than those considered in the societal component, they were broken into various elements. Each element influenced different aspects of the "on the job" satisfaction component of morale. A variety of assorted

influences affected the job interest and prestige aspects of morale. Regional/headquarters imbalances influenced job interest, prestige levels, and career advancement opportunities. Career plateauing problems affected both job interest and career advancement prospects. Gender inequity imbalances influenced prestige levels and career advancement opportunities. Collective bargaining issues affected job interest levels and career advancement opportunities, and also affected the income and security aspects of morale - aspects associated with the "off the job" satisfactions component of the needs pyramid. This overlapping relationship existed due to the nature of the collective bargaining process, which encompassed elements from both the structural and political components of the funnel.

The political influences considered in the funnel were also broken into various elements. Each element affected different aspects of the "off the job" satisfaction component of morale. As the major exception to the direct relationship between the funnel and the pyramid, these elements also affected the "on the job" satisfactions component of morale. Downsizing issues influenced the job security and career advancement aspects of morale. The issue of contracting-out affected both job security and job interest. Workforces adjustment programs influenced personal income, prestige levels, and career advancement prospects. Privatization initiatives and the process of constitutional reform were

similar in that they affected both the job security and career advancement aspects of morale.

Individual public servant morale is a function of the relationship between the funnel of influences and the needs pyramid. That is, the complex structure of influences can be directly related to the structure of needs. The current existence of a poor (i.e., negative) morale situation within the federal public service would lead one to believe that the funnel of influences provides a negative impact upon the needs-satisfaction pyramid. Conversely, if these individual needs are to be satisfied in the future (which would result in positive public servant morale), policy makers must focus on an adjustment to the structure of influences. Figure VI at the end of this chapter provides an outline of the structural relations of public servant morale.

A second phenomena highlighted the collective dimensions of public service morale. These dimensions were determined by the relationship between the funnel of influences and the organization, and the subsequent interactions between the organization and the Canadian public. This interaction can be viewed as a sort of "feed-back loop", a view confirmed by interviews with federal public service employees in Victoria.

From such interviews it became clear that the three factors used in this thesis to explain morale mutually reinforce each other in such a way that they feed a continuing, self-perpetuating spiral. As an illustration,

consider the employees working in direct contact with the public (CEC offices, for example). Due to an increased client base, increased workloads, and reduced staff, the line-ups for service at these offices are usually very long. Clients often become frustrated, which reinforces their negative perception towards the public service as a whole - and has a negative impact upon the organization.

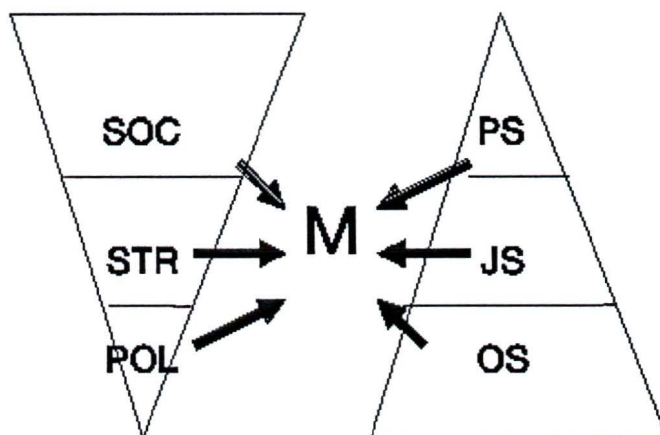
Adding to this situation are the numerous structural influences which contribute to reduced organizational morale. Regional-headquarters tensions, career plateauing, age and gender imbalances, and management-labour problems all impact negatively upon the organization and add to the spiral.

Political influences also contribute to reduced organizational morale. Downsizing, contracting-out, privatization, workforce adjustment, and the process of constitutional reform all affect the organization in a negative manner. The "spin-off" effect of reduced service to the client-base results in even longer line-ups and processing periods, and creates greater levels of frustration among members of the public towards the public service. This, in turn, promotes more anti-bureaucratic sentiment and starts the spiralling process all over. Figure VII at the end of this chapter outlines this funnelling effect.

While the current situation describes a spiral which contributes to negative organizational morale, an argument could be made for a process which promotes positive

organizational morale. Positive societal influences could lessen the impact of structural constraints, which in turn could influence policy changes which would promote this improving morale situation. Feedback from the public would be positive, and the spiral would repeat itself.

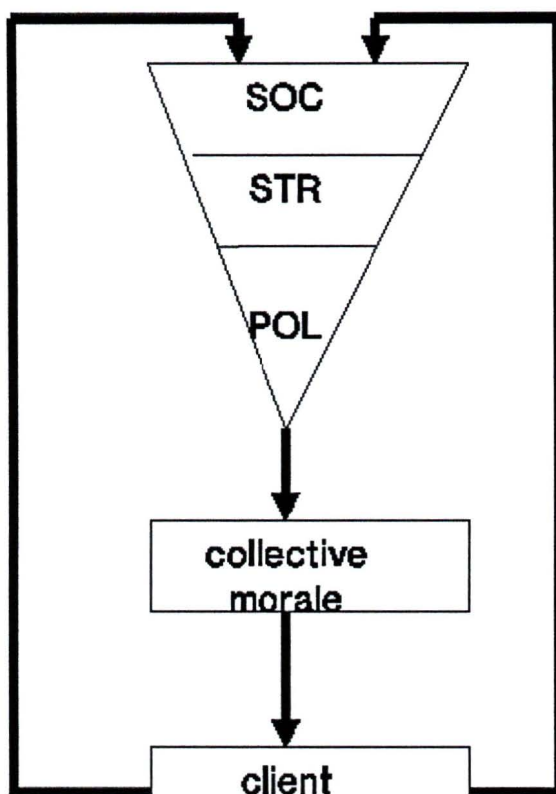
Although the majority of this study was concerned with the individual dimensions of morale, the collective dimensions noted above must not be discounted. The interviews confirmed that both dimensions are currently operating within the Canadian context simultaneously. While the models outlined in figures VI and VII may not in themselves provide the complete picture of morale within the federal public service, the two taken together go a long way to further our understanding of this complex subject.

Figure VI: Individual Public Servant MoraleFunnel of InfluencesPyramid of Needs

$$M = F (\text{Soc.} + \text{Str.} + \text{Pol}) + P (\text{P.S.} + \text{J.S.} + \text{O.S.})$$

Individual public servant morale (M) is a function of the relationship between the three components of the funnel of influences (F) and the three elements of the needs pyramid (P).

Figure VII: Collective Morale



Collective organizational morale (CM) is a function of the funnel of influences acting upon the organization, combined with the interactions between the organization and the Canadian public. Note the "feed-back loop", which helps to perpetuate the spiral process.

ENDNOTES

1. PSAC 2000: A Working Alternative. Report prepared by the Public Service Alliance of Canada in response to PS2000, January, 1991, p. 2.
2. Robert Adie and Paul Thomas, Canadian Public Administration: Problematical Perspectives (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1987), p. 106.
3. See David Zussman and Jak Jabes, "Motivation, rewards, and satisfaction in the Canadian federal public service," Canadian Public Administration, 31, 2 (Summer 1988), pp. 204-225 and The Vertical Solitude: Managing in the Public Sector (Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1989). In both the article and text, the authors conclude that there is a negative morale problem within the management sector of the federal public service - yet fail to adequately define what they mean by morale. See also Donald Savoie, The Politics of Public Spending in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) where the author reaches the same conclusion but does no better than Zussman and Jabes in defining morale. For a discussion of morale in a comparative context, see B. Guy Peters, "Morale in the public service: a comparative enquiry," International Review of Administrative Sciences, 57, (1991), pp. 421-440. The author discusses morale within the public services of the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and various other western European countries - but in the process does not provide a definition of what morale is.
4. V. Seymour Wilson, "The influence of organizational theory in Canadian public administration," Canadian Public Administration, 25, 4, (Winter 1982), p. 545.
5. Gareth Morgan, Images of Organization (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1986), p. 24.
6. Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947), p. 328.
7. Weber, Theory, p. 328.
8. Weber, Theory, p. 333.
9. Weber, Theory, p. 337.
10. Weber, Theory, p. 340.
11. G. Morgan, Images, p. 25.

12. R.C. Chandler and J.C. Plano, The Public Administration Dictionary (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 1988), p. 19.
13. Chandler, Public, p. 24.
14. G. Morgan, Images, p. 26.
15. G. Morgan, Images, p. 30.
16. J.G. March and H.A. Simon, "The Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy". In D.S. Pugh, (ed.), Organization Theory: Selected Readings (Markham: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1984), p. 28.
17. Pugh, Organization, p. 32.
18. Pugh, Organization, p. 33.
19. Pugh, Organization, p. 33.
20. Pugh, Organization, p. 36.
21. See "Mechanistic and Organismic Structures" by Burns and "Comparing Structures and Comparing Games" by Crozier. In D.S. Pugh, (ed.), Organization Theory: Selected Readings, chapters 4 and 7, respectively.
22. Pugh, Organization, p. 44.
23. Pugh, Organization, p. 109.
24. Robin Finchman and Peter Rhodes, The Individual, Work, and Organization: Behavioural Studies for Business and Management Students (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1988), p. 132.
25. John McMenemy, The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts (Toronto: John Wiley and Son's Canada, 1980), p. 27.
26. See Canadian Public Administration, 25, 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 63-80.
27. G. Morgan, Images, p. 35.
28. See Motivation and Organizational Climate (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1968).
29. D.R. Davies and V.J. Shackleton, Psychology and Work (New York: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1975), p. 20.
30. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 7.

31. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 7.
32. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, from the abstract.
33. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 25.
34. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 8.
35. See Mowday, Porter, and Steers Employee-Organization Linkages: The Psychology of Commitment, Absenteeism, and Turnover (New York: Academic Press, 1982). The authors point out ten different reviews of organizational commitment and subsequently find ten rival interpretations.
36. See Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations: On Power, Involvement and Their Correlatives (New York: Free Press, 1961).
37. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 21.
38. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 23.
39. See Michael Argyle, The Social Psychology of Work (London: The Penguin Group, 1989).
40. Argyle, Social, p. 233.
41. Zussman and Jabes, Vertical, p. 24.
42. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 20.
43. Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 98.
44. Other theories regarding employee motivation highlight a different approach. Two such theories are the "Equity Theory" and the "Expectancy Theory". Equity theory states that "individuals employed by an organization want an equitable return for the contributions they make." Expectancy theory evolved from the work of Victor H. Vroom in the mid-1960's. The three key variables in Vroom's model are valence (or attitudes towards a desired outcome), expectations, and outcomes (or results). Expectancy is defined as a "belief concerning the likelihood that a particular act will be followed by a particular outcome. An individual's motivation to carry out a particular act is a function of his expectancy and the strength of his valence." See Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, p. 100.
45. Argyle, Social, p. 248.

46. Subsequent researchers have concluded that the Two Factor Theory has failed. When workers were asked the same interview questions in an informal setting, the results obtained by Herzberg were not confirmed. Likewise, the Social Information Processing Model was put forward as a critique of the Need-Satisfaction approaches. This approach argued that job satisfaction was a socially constructed interpretation of the work situation, and noted that there was much conformity to group norms and organizational climate in reporting job satisfaction. Previously, the Hawthorne studies of the 1930's had emphasized the importance of social factors at work and the influence of informal groups norms on satisfaction and productivity. See Argyle, Social, pp. 248-49 and Davies and Shackleton, Psychology, pp. 97-98.

47. Argyle, Social, p. 248.

48. Saul Gellerman, Motivation and Productivity (Vail-Ballou Press U.S.A. Inc., 1963), p. 8.

49. Gellerman, Motivation, p. 247.

50. Gellerman, Motivation, p. 255.

51. Adie, Problematical, p. 42.

52. Adie, Problematical, p. 42.

53. Report of the Special Committee on the Review of Personnel Management and the Merit Principle (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1979), p. 14.

54. Nicole Morgan, Implosion: An Analysis of the Growth of The Federal Public Service in Canada (1945-1985) (Halifax: Institute For Research on Public Policy, 1986), p. 1.

55. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 2.

56. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 11.

57. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 11.

58. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 11.

59. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 6.

60. This was done through the establishment of the merit principle and the merit system. As Kenneth Kernaghan and P.K. Kuruvilla have noted, one must distinguish between these two concepts. The merit "principle" refers to selections to the public service that are based upon the fitness to do a job and the merit "system" refers to an

administrative mechanism used to achieve specified goals. See "Merit and motivation: public personnel management in Canada", Canadian Public Administration 25, 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 696-712.

61. J.E. Hodgetts, "Implicit values in the administration of public affairs", Canadian Public Administration 25, 4 (Summer 1982), p. 472.

62. J.E. Hodgetts, et al., The Biography of an Institution: The Civil Service Commission of Canada 1908-1967 (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972), p. 26.

63. Public servants were forbidden from most political activities until the passage of the Public Service Employment Act in 1967. This legislation allowed the majority of public servants (with the exception of a few senior bureaucrats) to be members of political parties, attend political meetings, and run for political office (after obtaining a leave of absence). For a discussion on the problems faced by public servants due to the erosion of the "Doctrine of Political Neutrality", see Thomas d'Aquino, "The public service of Canada: the case for political neutrality", Canadian Public Administration 27, 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 14-23.

64. Hodgetts, Biography, p. 28.

65. J.E. Hodgetts, The Canadian Public Service: A Physiology of Government (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 265.

66. Personnel Management and the Merit Principle, p. 15.

67. Adie, Problematical, p. 68.

68. Hodgetts, Biography, p. 34.

69. Hodgetts, Biography, p. 46.

70. Personnel Management and the Merit Principle, p. 16.

71. Hodgetts, Physiology, p. 267.

72. Adie, Problematical, p. 71.

73. Hodgetts, Physiology, p. 268.

74. Personnel Management and the Merit Principle, p. 17.

75. Personnel Management and the Merit Principle, p. 17.

76. Hodgetts, Biography, p. 94-95.

77. Hodgetts, Physiology, p. 270.
78. Hodgetts, Biography, p. 95.
79. Hodgetts, Physiology, p. 275.
80. Hodgetts, Physiology, p. 277.
81. Hodgetts, Biography, p. 247.
82. Personnel Management and the Merit Principle, p. 18.
83. Hodgetts, Biography, p. 325.
84. Adie, Problematical, p. 71.
85. Hodgetts, Physiology, p. 284.
86. J.P. Connell, Collective Bargaining in the Public Service ( Toronto: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1973), p. 45.
87. Connell, Collective Bargaining, p. 48.
88. Adie, Problematical, p. 72.
89. Adie, Problematical, pp. 74-77.
90. For example, Gerald Cameron, a former federal public servant and now president of a Toronto consulting firm, spells it out more clearly. "In the capital punishment phase of my career, I witnessed every conceivable method of mismanaging people, money, time and programs. And I learned that the major obstacle to effectiveness and efficiency in government is horrendously poor management." The "reward system" presently used by the bureaucracy (where raises and promotions can sometimes be based on one's ability to spend - and not performance) does not promote efficiency, productivity or competence. As Cameron also notes: "Out of the 4,537 public servants listed in the management category in 1988, not one was fired for incompetence, incapacity, or for any other reason. Twelve died on the job, which makes this the one non-military organization in which it is much more likely to die than be fired. Is it any wonder that complacency and mediocrity are the norms, and accountability and merit are exceptions?" Although these accounts may be dismissed as the biased views of a disgruntled former employee, one must wonder whether there is at least some truth to them. These accounts also serve to highlight the negative manner in which the media often portray the federal bureaucracy, a manner which is explored in greater detail in chapter 3 of this thesis. See Gerald Cameron, "Capitol Punishment: Its Time Ottawa Changed

Its Ways," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], February 5, 1990, p. A7.

91. E. Kaye Fulton, "A Master Plan: Mulroney Promises A Leaner Civil Service," MacLean's, January 8, 1990, p. 14.

92. Robert McIntosh, "Public Service 2000: the employee perspective", Canadian Public Administration 34, 3 (Fall 1991), p. 503.

93. J.L. Manion, "Career public service in Canada: reflections and predictions," International Review of Administrative Sciences, 57 (1991), p. 365.

94. Public Service 2000: The Renewal of the Public Service of Canada (Synopsis) (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1990), p. 7.

95. Charlotte Gray, "Civil Strife", Saturday Night, January/February 1991, p. 56.

96. Gray, "Civil Strife", p. 56.

97. This development of a service-oriented and quality minded organization has taken place in both the public and private sectors of Canada. For a discussion of developments in the public sector see: Bruce Rawson, "The PS2000 Task Force on Service to the Public: the Chairman's comments", Optimum 21, 4 (Winter 1990/91), pp. 14-21 and "Public Service 2000 Service to the Public Task Force: findings and implications", Canadian Public Administration 34, 3 (Fall 1991), pp. 490-500 and Timothy Plumptre, "The quality and service revolution in the public and private sectors", Optimum 21, 4 (Winter 1990/91), pp. 21-29. Both authors argue for the institution of a public service which is more sensitive to clients needs and places less emphasis on "red tape". See also: Francine Seguin, "Service to the public: A major strategic change", Canadian Public Administration 34, 3 (Fall 1991), pp. 465-473 and Jim Clemmer, "The service/ quality revolution: an opportunity for public sector renewal", Optimum 21, 4 (Winter 1990/91), pp. 40-52 where both authors note the novelty of this type of approach. For a discussion of developments in the private sector see: Remi Lacasse, "Leadership and the creation of a service culture", Canadian Public Administration 34, 3 (Fall 1991), pp. 474-489. The author uses Xerox Canada Limited as an example of how a private corporation restructured its focus from that of an internal, self-perpetuating organization into an outward looking, client oriented body.

98. Public Service 2000, p. 11.

99. Public Service 2000, p. 25

100. Sheldon Ehrenworth, "A Better Public Service Needs Freedom To Manage Its People," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], April 15, 1989, p. B2.
101. Adie, Problematical, p. 99.
102. David Zussman, "Walking the Tightrope: The Mulroney Government and the Public Service". In Michael Prince, (ed.), How Ottawa Spends 1986-87: Tracking the Tories (Toronto: Methuen, 1986), p. 251.
103. Adie, Problematical, p. 100.
104. Mary Anne Smythe, "Association's Work May Make Bureaucrat Bashing Less Popular," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], June 6, 1989, p. B30.
105. David Zussman, "The image of the public service in Canada", Canadian Public Administration, 25, 1, (Spring 1982), p. 65.
106. To Know and Be Known, Vol. 2, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 80.
107. To Know and Be Known, Vol. 2, p. 80.
108. To Know and Be Known, Vol. 2, p. 80.
109. Zussman, "Image", p. 77.
110. Zussman, "Image", p. 80.
111. This line of thought is also echoed by many others currently studying public administration in Canada. See Timothy Plumptre, "Renewing the public service", Policy Options 10, 10 (December, 1989), pp. 29-33 where the author supports Zussman's reasoning. Victor Rocine, in a recent article in Management magazine noted that many difficulties facing the public service (such as stifled employee initiative and reduced customer satisfaction) are also being experienced by numerous private sector firms. Solutions to these problems in both sectors are not easily arrived at. See Victor Rocine, "Beyond bureaucracy: the emergence of a new management paradigm", Management 1, 1 (Fall 1990), p. 22. See also Bruce Rawson, "The responsibilities of the public servant to the public: accessibility, fairness and efficiency", Canadian Public Administration 27, 4 (Winter 1984), pp. 606-607, where the author notes the problems associated with proposed changes to various government programs which would result in better service to clients (not the least of which is the public's suspicious nature towards change itself).

112. Zussman, "Image", p. 79.
113. Victor Thompson, Modern Organization (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 24.
114. Clara M. Hatton, "Majority Name Big Government As The Major Threat To Canada", The Gallup Report, September 10, 1990, p. 1.
115. Much earlier evidence indicated that Canadians felt closer to Provincial governments and alienated from the federal government. See R. Simeon and D. Elkins, Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life (Toronto: Methuen, 1980), where the authors used survey data collected from the 1960's and 1970's to support this conclusion.
116. Gray, "Civil Strife", p. 15.
117. This "trickle-down effect" has been well documented, especially during newspaper coverage of the last PSAC strike. Articles in the Toronto Globe and Mail highlighted poor morale within the upper echelons of the federal civil service, and noted further reductions in morale as one proceeded down the organizational hierarchy. See Margot Gibb-Clark, "Workplace Not Very Civil In The Government Service," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], September 16, 1991, p. B1 and B8. For coverage of this situation prior to the PSAC strike see also: Margot Gibb-Clark, "Workers Feel Uninformed, Researcher Finds," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], March 16, 1990, p. B3 and Margot Gibb-Clark, "Employees Can Comment On Boss," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], November 26, 1988, p. B4; Bill Smith, "Report An 'Organized Massacre' Of Women," The Times-Colonist [Victoria], October 17, 1990, p. D14 and "Public Servant Harassment Rampant, Says Union Official," The Times-Colonist [Victoria], October 18, 1990, p. A4; David Pugliese, "PS2000: Unions Set To Battle 'Management Driven' Public Service Report," The Citizen [Ottawa], September 17, 1990, p. A4 and David Pugliese, "MP's Report Urges Delay Of PS2000," The Citizen [Ottawa], November 9, 1990, p. A3; "Revamping Of Public Service To Worsen Employee Morale," The Chronicle-Journal [Thunder Bay], October 20, 1990, p. A2 and "Public Service Has Own Plan," The Chronicle-Journal [Thunder Bay], October 20, 1990, p. A6; and Howard Carr, "PSAC Opposes Plan To Reshape Civil Service," The Moncton Times and Transcript, October 25, 1990, p. A3.
118. Gray, "Civil Strife", p. 17.
119. Smythe, "Association's Work", p. B30.

120. Sanford Borins, "Those In Search Of Excellence Should Look In The Public Sector," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], April 27, 1990, p. A8.
121. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 15, 1991.
122. "Tory Poll Showed Canadians Ready For Long Public Strike," The Vancouver Sun, December 2, 1991, p. A3.
123. Nine of the twelve public servants interviewed for this project confirmed this feeling of a lack of appreciation.
124. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 17, 1991.
125. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 18, 1991.
126. As an example: Question - why don't government workers ever look out the window in the morning? Answer - because then they wouldn't have anything to do all afternoon.
127. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 21, 1991.
128. Cristine McLaren, "Tempers Flare At Centre For Jobless," The Globe and Mail [Toronto], February 11, 1990, p. A1.
129. "Public Servant Harassment Rampant, Says Union Official," The Times-Colonist [Victoria], October 18, 1990, p. B6.
130. One B.C. civil servant committed suicide last year, and the coroner's report listed "job related stress" as an important factor in the man's self-inflicted death. See Sid Tafler, "A Death In The Family," Monday Magazine [Victoria], February 15, 1990, p. 6.
131. Zussman and Jabes, Vertical, p. 122.
132. See Savoie, Public Spending, chapter 9 and G.B. Doern, A.M. Maslove and M.J. Prince, Public Budgeting in Canada: Politics, Economics and Management (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988), chapter 6.
133. Although Savoie uses morale in a general sense, a more specific analysis notes the relationship to "on the job satisfactions." Leadership qualities, management techniques, and the layering phenomenon influence both the levels of job interest and degrees of employee prestige within the federal bureaucracy.

134. Savoie, Public Spending, p. 235.
135. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 8, 1991.
136. Timothy Plumptre, Beyond The Bottom Line: Management In Government (Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988), p. 82.
137. The problems associated with the "rigidness" of public sector organizations have been well documented. See, for example, John Langford, "Making change happen in the public sector", Management 2, 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 7-12 and "Responsibility in the senior public service: marching to several drummers", Canadian Public Administration 27, 4 (Winter 1984), pp. 513-521 where the author discusses, respectively, the loss of personal initiative and the problems associated with accountability. See also: Peter Aucoin, "Middle managers - the crucial link", Canadian Public Administration 32, 2 (Summer 1989), pp. 187-209, for an analysis of the constraints placed upon the middle management section of the bureaucracy; and H.L. Laframboise, "The future of public administration in Canada", Canadian Public Administration 25, 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 507-519 for an account of the "two solitudes" of government administration: the "middle-manager formal system" and the "deputy-head short circuit system". This rigidity also has the spin-off effect of promoting "bureausis" within the client groups served, which in turn reinforces a negative view of the public service.
138. Interviews with federal public service employees, Victoria, B.C., October 8, 11, and 23, 1991.
139. H.L. Laframboise, "The responsibilities of a senior public servant: organization, profession and career", Canadian Public Administration 27, 4 (Winter 1984), p. 593.
140. Bruce MacDonald and C. Guruprasad, "Organizational change for better information management", Canadian Public Administration 29, 1 (Spring 1986), p. 78.
141. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 53.
142. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 59.
143. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 59.
144. Public Service Commission of Canada, Annual Reports: 1980-89, inclusive.
145. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 11, 1991.

146. Peter Aucoin and Herman Bakvis, The Centralization - Decentralization Conundrum: Organization and Management in Canadian Government (Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988), p. 9.
147. Aucoin and Bakvis, Centralization, p. 82.
148. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., September 26, 1991.
149. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 11, 1991.
150. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 11, 1991.
151. Public Service Commission of Canada, Annual Report: 1988 (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1988), p. 13.
152. Annual Report: 1988, p. 13.
153. Annual Report: 1988, p. 14.
154. N. Morgan, Implosion, p. 61.
155. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 23, 1991.
156. Nicole Morgan, Nowhere To Go: Possible Consequences of the Demographic Imbalance in Decision-Making Groups of the Federal Public Service (Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1981), p. 9.
157. For example, see Nicole Morgan, Implosion, pp. 113-131 and "Plateauing revisited," Optimum, 20, 2 (Summer 1989), pp. 19-24.
158. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 17, 1991.
159. Beneath the Veneer: The Report to the Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, Vol. 1. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1990), p. 7.
160. Nicole Morgan, The Equality Game: Women in the Federal Public Service, 1908-1987 (Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1988), p. 1.
161. N. Morgan, Equality, p. 1.
162. N. Morgan, Equality, p. 1.

163. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1, p. 11.
164. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 12.
165. Although the portfolio no longer maintains separate status, its establishment in the early 1970's was viewed as progressive.
166. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 12.
167. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 16.
168. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 29.
169. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 32.
170. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 33.
171. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 61.
172. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 63.
173. N. Morgan, Equality, p. 2.
174. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 17, 1991.
175. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., November 8, 1991.
176. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 115.
177. Beneath the Veneer, Vol. 1., p. 116.
178. Resource Document, The PSAC Commission on Federal Public Service Morale - A Workers Response to PS2000 (Ottawa, 1990), p. 1.
179. PSAC Commission, p. 34.
180. Maurice Lemelin, The Public Service Alliance of Canada: A Look at a Union in the Public Sector (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, 1978) p. 94.
181. Lemelin, Union, pp. 94-96.
182. Lemelin, Union, p. 99.
183. John Brewin, "The history of the public service in Canada". Seminar: "Labour Relations and the Federal Government: Past, Present and Future", Victoria Labour Council, Victoria, B.C., October 25, 1991.

184. Ross Laver, "A Budget Squeeze: Michael Wilson Tries To Cut The Deficit By Reigning In The Federal Public Service," MacLean's, March 11, 1991, p. 34.
185. Laver, "Budget Squeeze", p. 36.
186. Laver, "Budget Squeeze", p. 36.
187. "United PSAC Goes Back As Bill Passes," The Pacific Tribune [Vancouver], October 7, 1991, p. 12.
188. "United PSAC", p. 12.
189. Interviews with 12 federal public service employees, Victoria, B.C., September 26-November 22, 1991.
190. Interviews with federal public service employees, Victoria, B.C., October 8 and 11, 1991.
191. A more detailed definition can be found in Michael Prince, "Restraining the State: How Ottawa Shrinks". In Michael Prince, (ed.), How Ottawa Spends 1987-88: Restraining The State (Toronto: Methuen, 1987), p. 7. According to Prince, "restraint budgeting is a process for limiting and lessening the size and role of the public sector. A restraint budget attempts to keep public financial affairs under control by withholding and/or removing certain resources from government. A restraint policy is the authoritative restriction and reduction of public sector resources. The process of restraint budgeting entails dealing with fiscal stress or a fiscal crisis, managing a deficit, and aligning budgets with available resources."
192. Zussman and Jabes, Vertical, p. 2.
193. The downsizing of the federal public service was one of the major recommendations of the Task Force on Program Review, which presented its findings to the House of Commons on March 11, 1986. The Task Force was headed by then Deputy Prime Minister Eric Neilson, and was instructed to produce "a profile of government programs in each department which is simpler, more understandable and more accessible to their clientele, and where decision-making is decentralized as far as possible to those in direct contact with client groups." For a more in-depth discussion, see V. Seymour Wilson, "What Legacy? The Neilson Task Force Program Review". In Katherine Graham, (ed.), How Ottawa Spends 1988-89: The Conservatives Heading Into The Stretch (Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 1988), p. 28.

194. Resource document, PSAC 2000: A Working Alternative. Prepared by the Public Service Alliance of Canada, Ottawa, January, 1991, p. 9.
195. Carole Simard, "New Trends in Public Service Management". In A. Gollner and D. Salee, (eds.), Canada Under Mulroney: An End of Term Report (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 357.
196. Gollner and Salee, Under Mulroney, p. 360.
197. Sanford Borins, "Management of the public sector in Japan: are there lessons to be learned?", Canadian Public Administration 29, 2 (Summer 1986), p. 7.
198. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., October 18, 1991.
199. Gollner and Salee, Under Mulroney, p. 363.
200. Prince, How Ottawa Spends 1986-87, p. 255.
201. Peter Aucoin, "The Mulroney Government, 1984-1988: Priorities, Positional Policy and Power". In A. Gollner and D. Salee, (eds.), Canada Under Mulroney: An End of Term Report (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 336.
202. PSAC 2000, p. 9.
203. PSAC 2000, p. 10.
204. PSAC 2000, p. 11.
205. Gollner and Salee, Under Mulroney, p. 344.
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210. Interview with federal public service employee, Victoria, B.C., September 26, 1991.
211. PSAC 2000, p. 17.
212. PSAC 2000, p. 17.
213. PSAC 2000, p. 19.

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Morale in the Federal Public Service of Canada:  
Societal, Structural and Political Influences

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