increases by hundreds of studies every year, many of which have undeniably contributed to the growth of our cumulative knowledge and understanding, this claim is as valid today as when Burns wrote his book almost thirty years ago. Gary Yukl has succinctly identified the prevailing problem:

The confused state of the field can be attributed in large part to the sheer volume of publications, the disparity of approaches, the proliferation of confusing terms, the narrow focus of most researchers, the high percentage of irrelevant or trivial studies, the preference for simplistic explanations, and the lack of research designed to integrate different aspects of leadership and develop a general theory.\(^2\)

While these shortcomings have led many academics to bemoan the current state of leadership studies, those who are interested in public sector leadership face a unique, but equally compelling, challenge, namely the paucity of research actually devoted to leadership in this unique and important context.

Fortunately, this situation has improved in recent years but the public sector leadership literature still remains underdeveloped when compared with the mainstream scholarship on leadership. The topic of leadership, when studied by political scientists and public management scholars, tends to focus on the impact of political leadership on the public policy process and outcomes.\(^3\) Much less is known about how administrative or bureaucratic leadership – that is to say, the leadership exhibited by civil servants, or what Larry Terry has called “administrative conservatorship”\(^4\) – is of vital importance to our understanding of governance. For example, in his survey of the public sector leadership literature, Van Wart discovered that only 25 articles published in the Public Administration Review
over a 61 year period had leadership as an explicit focus and it was only five years ago that the first textbook dedicated to this topic was published.\textsuperscript{5}

However, despite the relative academic neglect of public sector leadership, the reality is that the Canadian government, like several of its counterparts in countries of the developed West, has started to recognize the critical importance of recruiting and retaining, as well as identifying and developing, those civil servants who will comprise the public service leadership cadre of the future. According to the Canadian government’s Policy on Learning, Training and Development, which came into effect on January 1, 2006:

\begin{quote}
Learning, training, leadership development and professional development are key to ensuring that the public service is equipped to meet the challenges of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. The acquisition of skills and knowledge and the development of managerial and leadership know-how is critical for the effective management of the public service – it is the foundation of a responsive, accountable and innovative government.\textsuperscript{6}
\end{quote}

Essentially, this policy pronouncement forms the basis of the current learning framework for the Canadian public sector, and provides a solid foundation from which to develop and maintain a high quality public service through, among other things, the development of leadership capacity.

In light of this curious combination of scholarly indifference to, and keen practitioner interest in, public sector leadership, the purpose of this article is fourfold. First, it addresses the extent to which it is even appropriate to speak of leadership in the context of the public sector. After all, the notion of bureaucratic leadership is antithetical to our historic understanding of the link between bureaucracy and democracy as exemplified in the politics-administration dichotomy. Second, having established both the legitimacy of and need for leadership in the public sector, the article will offer some reflections as to exactly how leadership might be operationalized in the context of the public sector, particularly given the ostensible desire to develop public service leaders at all levels. Although the concept of developing leaders at all levels has been widely embraced in the literature and by various state bureaucracies, no one has articulated with any degree of clarity or specificity what that exactly means. Is it truly possible for all public servants to be leaders, even those in the most junior ranks; if so, how should leadership at that level be understood? Finally, it will explore the various initiatives undertaken by the federal government in Canada to foster public sector leadership. The intent is to understand the government’s framework for realizing public sector renewal related to the development of leadership capacity.

It will be argued that while initiatives to develop public sector leaders must be generally regarded as positive, more thought must be given as to exactly what constitutes effective leadership in this realm. Public management scholars must resist perpetuating such simplistic prescriptions and begin to apply a more critical lens when investigating manifestations of leadership in the public sector.

\subsection*{2.0 Public Sector Leadership: A Misnomer?}

The fact that the public sector is palpably concerned with leadership development is not at all surprising. After all, there is fairly widespread agreement that in the private sector organizational effectiveness is a product of effective leadership, and it seems plausible \textit{prima facie} that the same would hold true in the public sector. Moreover, given the widespread ascendency of New Public Management (NPM) over the past two and a half decades, with its emphasis on the adoption of private sector management principles in the delivery of public programs and services, it is natural that public sector organizations would share their private sector counterparts’ fascination with the recruitment, retention and development of leaders.\textsuperscript{7}
Significantly, the public sector is also impacted by the very same external forces that are presenting major challenges for private sector organizations to adapt and respond quickly in a rapidly changing environment. In particular, globalization, with its concomitant pressures for enhanced productivity and competitiveness, and the ongoing evolution of information and communication technologies, have given rise to considerable organizational complexity that has served to accentuate the need for strong, innovative leadership.

But does the concept of leadership really mesh with the public sector ethos? In other words, is it legitimate to speak of public sector leadership or is the notion a misnomer? There certainly is a plausible argument to be made that the attention given to leadership in the public sector belies the fact that the concept is really an oxymoron. In many ways, both the culture and structure of the public service conspire against the practice of administrative or bureaucratic leadership.

There certainly is a plausible argument to be made that the attention given to leadership in the public sector belies the fact that the concept is really an oxymoron. In many ways, both the culture and structure of the public service conspire against the practice of administrative or bureaucratic leadership.

2.1 Weberian Bureaucratic Model  Consider, for example, the fact that the Weberian bureaucratic model, upon which the public service evolved historically, was organized around rules, procedures and constraints and the dictates of command, control and compliance associated with its traditional hierarchical form. It was also very risk averse; civil servants were held accountable for process rather than results attained and loathed making mistakes that would potentially embarrass their political masters. In short, the culture of the public service has been a culture of management, one that is generally devoted to maintaining the status quo, while the sine qua non of organizational leadership is widely recognized as the ability to affect real change.

Moreover, the public sector is infinitely more complex than the private sector. Public servants have to contend with divided loyalties and accountability structures as well as fragmented missions, which inhibit their ability to exercise leadership. In the first instance, bureaucrats cannot easily assume leadership because they serve several masters: the civil service mandarins; the all important political class; and finally, the public. To add further confusion, public servants must deal with a fragmented mission; they are supposed to serve the public, make money wherever possible, and spend all of their budgetary allocations or face the prospect of cutbacks. This environment simply does not lend itself to unambiguous manifestations of leadership.

However, perhaps the greatest impediment to public sector leadership has been the fact that it was seen to be at odds with democratic theory. Simply stated, the citizenry, through the use of periodic elections, is able to freely choose between competing political parties and the one that emerges victorious to form a government is provided with a mandate to enact the various policies it proposed during the campaign. These government policies are said to represent the will of the people and should therefore be faithfully administered by the professional bureaucrats or ‘public’ servants. According to the so-called politics-administration dichotomy, there was to be a complete separation of policy formulation, which was a political function, from the administration of those policies. One of the earliest expressions of this dichotomy was provided by Frank Goodnow, who wrote:

Either the executing authority must be subordinate to the expressing authority, or the expressing authority must be subordinate to the control of the executing authority. Only in this way will there be harmony in government…popular government requires that it is the executing authority which shall be subordinated to the expressing authority, since the latter in
the nature of things can be made much more representative of the people than can the executing authority.\textsuperscript{11}

From Goodnow’s perspective, then, politics should take precedence over administration. In common parlance, the public servants were to be ‘on tap, not on top.’ This was the most effective way to ensure that the principles of representative democracy prevailed.

2.2 Leadership & the Public Domain So while this formulation of the public sector unmistakably retained a legitimate place for exercising leadership, it resided exclusively in the political domain. Politicians could rightly be expected to demonstrate leadership in the development of public policies, but this was not something that was within the purview of the bureaucrats. If leadership is understood as a dynamic process of interaction between leaders and followers, the politicians were ascribed leader status while the public servants were relegated to a followership role. And this division of roles was exactly as many political executives wanted it; a great deal of suspicion and animosity towards public servants emerged over the years, both arising from the absolute power that they were thought to wield as well as the perception, particularly pronounced when a new party came to power, that they were too sympathetic to the policies of the previous government.\textsuperscript{12}

Notwithstanding these important limitations, it would be erroneous to suggest that ideas of leadership simply cannot thrive in the public service. While it may be possible to criticize the public sector response to the challenges posed by the need for leadership development that does not negate the fact that there is both a real and compelling need for civil servants to exude leadership. Furthermore, there are many opportunities for them to do so. As Terry noted, “…democracy is dependent on bureaucracy. We can no longer afford to ignore the leadership role of administrative officials.”\textsuperscript{13} Boase was equally convinced of the importance of public sector leadership: “Good leadership, then, is both elusive and essential for effective government. Among the senior managers in government there are many opportunities to exercise leadership skills, and an increasing need to motivate people in a positive way.”\textsuperscript{14}

Wisely, scholars have come to appreciate the arbitrariness of the politics-administration dichotomy to the point where “no reputable scholar of public administration and public policy would be prepared today to defend…[it], at least in its pristine form.”\textsuperscript{15} It is simply impractical to expect a group of amateur, often inexperienced, politicians to develop public policy on their own without benefiting from the knowledge and wisdom residing in the career public service. Instead, there is now a widespread recognition that public servants can and should demonstrate leadership in the performance of their duties, which is ultimately in pursuit of the public interest. Robert Behn has offered a spirited defence of the need for public sector leadership: “Leadership is not just a right of public managers. It is an obligation.”\textsuperscript{16} In that vein, public servants must take a leadership role in terms of providing fearless policy advice to their ministers; they have a responsibility to identify the shortcomings associated with the policy initiatives that ministers want to undertake. In other words, public servants must not hesitate to ‘speak truth to power.’ At the end of the day, public sector leadership is not an affront to the democratic process because politicians still retain the ability to choose policies regardless of their origin and, ultimately, they are the ones who remain accountable to the public.

Furthermore, even if it were the case that political leaders remain primarily responsible for articulating a compelling vision and strategic direction with respect to the organization of the public service and the delivery of programs and services to citizens, these politicians need civil servants to fulfill several important leadership functions: first, these administrative leaders are relied upon to ensure that all members of the public service accept and pursue that vision, which can often be nebulously defined; second, these individuals bring together multiple stakeholders within many diverse policy communities in fulfillment of a mission that frequently changes; and finally, they reinforce public sector values. The reality is that public sector
leaders, by aligning those within and outside the bureaucracy as well as inspiring, energizing and motivating others, serve to complement the leadership that is provided most visibly by the political class.  

2.3 Renewed Interest  Part of the reason why there has been a renewed interest in, and acceptance of, public sector leadership in recent years has been the rise of NPM, which brought about a fundamental reconceptualization of how best to organize and manage public organizations. Quite simply, over the past three decades efforts have been made to “reinvent government,” “break through bureaucracy” or move purposefully towards the “post-bureaucratic” paradigm. While the language used may differ, they all describe roughly the same types of reform efforts. Operating on the assumption that markets are inherently superior to bureaucracies, governments across the globe have been embracing market economics and business management principles as a means of enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector. Several underlying principles are characteristic of the NPM reform agenda: first, governments tend to be more concerned with policy development (steering) rather than the provision of services (rowing); second, they are driven to provide high quality service to ‘customers’ or ‘clients;’ third, employees are empowered to be flexible and innovative; fourth, public servants strive to be more responsive to citizens; fifth, these post-bureaucratic organizations endeavour to be performance-driven by emphasizing organizational missions and the achievement of results; sixth, they focus on competition and the use of collaborative partnerships in the provision of public services; and finally, public sector organizations are challenged to earn rather than spend money (primarily through the implementation of user fees).

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3.0 THE ESSENCE OF PUBLIC SECTOR LEADERSHIP

Having established that it is legitimate – indeed essential – to speak of leadership in the public sector, the next challenge is to explore how it is manifested in that particular environment. Prior to doing so, it is important to establish a working definition of the concept. This is no easy task. In his comprehensive examination of existing definitions of leadership between 1900 and 1990, Rost found 221 definitions of the term in some 587 books, chapters and journal articles. Without having a consistent definition to guide scholars and practitioners, it is not surprising that the label is routinely misapplied to a wide range of phenomena that do not constitute leadership. Perhaps the biggest shortcoming has been the widespread tendency to consider leadership good management; although the two terms are related, they are conceptually distinct. Despite the different definitions, there have been some recurring elements in many of these definitions.
– the importance of power and influence and the recognition of fact that leadership involves a dynamic process of interaction between individuals. The following definition is one that, to my mind, incorporates all of the essential elements: Leadership occurs when an individual is able to use his or her power to influence intended changes in the thoughts and actions of followers by engendering either a commitment to the leader’s goals or an internalization of his or her values. Leadership, therefore, is a dynamic process of interaction between leaders and followers; it involves producing real changes in behaviours or outcomes; and it is a product of winning the hearts and minds of followers, not simply securing their compliance through the use of sanctions and rewards, by relying primarily on the various attributes of one’s personal power – sensitivity, the ability to submerge ego, flexibility, energy and stamina, tolerance for conflict, focus, expertise, charisma, linguistic ability and track record of success.

3.1 Rationale for Public Sector Leadership

While it may be the case that the rationale for leadership in the public and private sectors is much the same, does leadership vary in any way from one sector to another? If understood as a process of influence between a leader and follower, then obviously it would not; leadership, in that sense, should be immediately and universally recognizable. But although the process of influence that underpins leadership may be constant in any given situation, there will be palpable differences between leaders in terms of which aspects of their power they are able to use to influence followers. Leadership, therefore, should be viewed as situational or contingent in nature. Generally speaking, according to the situational approach “…different behaviour patterns (or trait patterns) will be effective in different situations….” This applies to both leadership with the private sector and leadership in the public or non-profit sectors.

Admittedly, the fundamental competencies for ensuring effective leadership in both the public and private sectors do to a large extent overlap, but these similarities must not overshadow the distinctiveness of the public sector, which poses a unique set of leadership challenges. It has been written that “…public and private management are at least as different as they are similar, and the differences are more important than the similarities.” This observation rings equally true when examining public and private sector leadership. There are simply too many examples of highly successful individuals from the private sector that have been unable to provide leadership in the context of the public service to suggest that leadership in the public sector is essentially analogous to leadership in the private sector. Members of the Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management similarly believe that public-sector learning is distinct: “First, the breadth of competencies required in the public sector is different from that required in the private sector. Specifically, public servants require more than technical skills; they require a broad spectrum of knowledge, skills and abilities, plus firm grounding in public-sector values and ethics. Second, the kind of learning that applies to public servants – that is, adult learning – is distinct from youth learning.”

3.2 Leadership Traits

What, then, are the essential traits, skills and behaviours that public sector leaders need to possess? Furthermore, is there a particular style of leadership that is considered to be more relevant and effective in the public sector? In the private sector, there has been an abundance of leadership studies using the trait and behavioural or style approaches but they have been subjected to a number of criticisms, which call into question their overall utility. Nonetheless, researchers continue to employ aspects of these approaches when writing about leadership. In the
public sector, with the shift to NPM described above, leadership, which historically has been autocratic, that is to say top-down based on command and control, has become more consultative and participative in nature. Dunoon, for example, has called for a more collective, rather than charismatic, style of leadership in the Australian public service, which he calls “learning-centred leadership," while all of the well-performing public sector organizations identified in the global study by Ingstrup and Crookall were characterized by participative leadership and empowered employees. This is not unexpected given the focus on empowerment, decentralization and delegation that underpin the ‘let the managers manage’ philosophy associated with NPM. Clearly, it is impossible to deny that with the rise of NPM we have seen a movement along the continuum of leadership styles in the public sector from highly autocratic/directive to democratic/consultative to participative. But one should be careful not to make too much of this transformation. John Tait, who chaired a Canadian government task force on values and ethics in the public service, offered a refreshingly honest statement on the subject of leadership in the public service:

…it may be time for some clear talk about the constraints on public service leadership, and the limits to which leadership styles at the most senior levels of the public service can actually evolve. In particular, we would perhaps do well to acknowledge frankly that, because of the structure of political authority and accountability, there will always be a substantive element of top-down leadership in the public service. Being candid about this may be more healthy, in the end, than persisting in a vague twilight in which unavoidable management practices, including a reasonable dose of top-down direction, are seen by employees as somehow illegitimate or problematic because it is occasionally at odds with more participative and consultative processes.

At this juncture, nothing would be more welcome than to engage in a frank dialogue about the meaning of leadership in the context of the public sector. Unfortunately, naïve pronouncements continue to proliferate in official government documents and the scholarly literature.

3.3 Leadership Competencies One of the ways that trait approaches have prevailed has been the reliance, both in the public and private sectors, of trying to identify a series of leadership competencies that can be sought out or taught when making hiring or promotion decisions. For example, in 2004, the Canadian public service developed a simplified list of four required competencies (down from fourteen), each with their own specific effective behaviours across the six levels of the leadership continuum – Deputy Minister (DM), Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM), Director General (DG), Director, Manager and Supervisor. The model is described in the following terms: “From a foundation of values and ethics, public service leaders deliver results through strategic thinking, engagement and management excellence.” Considering these four competencies – values and ethics, strategic thinking, engagement and management excellence – it should not be difficult to see the points of convergence between the prerequisites for effective leadership in the public and private sectors. Specifically, leaders in both arenas need to be adept at ‘big picture,’ or strategic thinking; they are also to be skilled at aligning people, work and systems in pursuit of that strategy; and they have mastered the art of affecting real change that maximizes results.

Ultimately, leaders in both sectors are striving to achieve management excellence for their respective organizations. However, despite the fact that all leaders have a crucial role to play with respect to financial and human resources management, it would be a mistake, as Rost argues, to perpetuate what he dubbed the outmoded “industrial paradigm” of “leadership as good management.” As many contributors to the study of leadership have noted, the two terms are conceptually distinct; managers, even highly effective ones, can fulfill their organizational responsibilities.
without ever exhibiting any real leadership. But while it may be tempting to demarcate where management ends and leadership begins, in reality it is not that simple. Effective management is probably more appropriately conceived as the foundation upon which leadership emerges and grows. According to Fairholm, who unambiguously stipulated that leadership is not management, “To understand what leadership is and the nature of its development, we must first understand its management roots.” Kotter argues that the challenge for organizations is to integrate strong leadership with strong management, and cautions that to focus on the former to the neglect of the latter is potentially disastrous. In short, leadership complements good management; it is not a replacement for it. As such, it is not at all productive to perceive ‘manager’ and ‘leader’ as two completely separate constructs. The reality is such that most managers will possess some leadership skills and assume that role on occasion and leaders are often engaged in the types of functions in organizational theory (planning, organizing, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting and budgeting) that are typically attributed to managers.

Another competency shared to some extent by outstanding public and private sector leaders is their reliance on shared values and ethics as a means of building organizational commitment. However, in the public sector, values and ethics are much more encompassing than in the private sector, which add a degree of complexity. For the Canadian public service, the core public service values have been separated into four overlapping and inter-related categories: democratic values, professional values, ethical values and people values.

Democratic values refer to anonymity and accountability, due process, loyalty, the rule of law and the public interest, which are generally not part of the lexicon of private sector organizations. Even accountability, a concept that is common to both sectors, is much more intricate in the public sector than it is in the private sector. This stems from the fact that accountability in its various forms is absolutely critical to the exercise of legitimate power in any democratic government. First, accountability can be understood as the relationship between the public and the elected government. In essence, this is accountability as ensured through the democratic process and includes the rules set out in the constitution, electoral procedures, parliamentary procedures and rules of order, ministerial responsibility, the role of the opposition parties and parliamentary committees. Second, accountability can be understood in terms of an individual department and its head, the DM. The accountability of DMs has taken on renewed importance in recent years with the dilution of ministerial responsibility, but it is a very nebulous form of accountability. DMs are potentially accountable to several individuals or institutions: the prime minister who appointed them; the minister who heads the department; the Clerk of the Privy Council; and a variety of central agencies such as the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission. Third, accountability can be framed in the context of the hierarchy of the department. Officials below the level of DM clearly must be accountable for their performance.

Excellence, professional competence, continuous improvement, merit, effectiveness, economy, frankness, objectivity and impartiality in advice, and speaking truth to power were considered to be the professional values of the public service. Again, many of these values have little in common with those exhibited by professionals in the private sector. Impartiality in providing advice to ministers, regardless of party affiliation, and speaking truth to power, for example, have no equivalent in the private sector. Moreover, a complex system of ensuring that all hiring and promotion decisions are based on merit has evolved in the public sector whereas private sector companies have no comparable impediments with respect to human resources management. These values were differentiated from the new or emerging professional values (quality, innovation, initiative, creativity, resourcefulness, service to clients, partnership, and teamwork), which are heavily inspired by professional values of private sector employees. Nonetheless, these new professional values in the public sector are not completely analogous to those in the private sector.
because of the need to remain sensitive to the all-important political context that underpins the work of public servants.

3.4 Ethical Values  Under the umbrella of ethical values are, among others, the values of integrity, honesty, impartiality, probity, prudence, fairness, and equity. These ethical values are quite similar to the ones one would expect to find endorsed and promoted by any professional body. What makes these values unique in the context of the professional public service, however, is that public servants must display complete integrity to uphold the public trust that has been placed in them as part of this institution. All of the actions of the public servant must elevate the common good above that of any private interest or advantage.

The final category of values, which has not received much attention in the literature, is dubbed people values. These are values such as courage, moderation, decency, responsibility, reasonableness; they also include a host of values that should guide public servants in their interactions with others, be they co-workers, parliamentarians or citizens: respect, civility, tolerance, benevolence, courtesy, openness, collegiality, and caring. Like the ethical values, people values are not unique to the public sector. What makes them distinctive is the way in which these values intersect with democratic and professional values.

It is with respect to engagement, the fourth key Canadian public sector leadership competency, where there is perhaps the most visible divergence between public and private sector leaders. This competency is really about mobilizing people, organizations and partners to develop goals, execute plans and deliver results, and it is only relatively recently that this competency has become important for public sector leaders. As Rusaw noted, “Public sector leadership is undergoing a vast change. Instead of being centred in bureaucratic organizations, leadership is now more collaborative, involving new partnerships with business and civic groups. Public leaders are becoming more enterprising, taking on roles of entrepreneurs, innovators and team facilitators.”

The reality is that ‘horizontal management’ or ‘governing by network’ has become the norm in government,...individual departments...are being called upon to manage programs that are being delivered by more than one organization through various partnerships, alliances and contracts with other departments, levels of government, private sector firms, labour unions, organizations in other countries or not-for-profit entities.

4.0 BREAKING DOWN THE HIERARCHY: ‘LEADERSHIP AT ALL LEVELS?’

When discussing the essence of public sector leadership, another fundamental consideration is the extent to which leadership can be found throughout the bureaucracy. In recent years, it has been fashionable to speak of the need to identify and nurture leadership at all levels in private sector organizations, a perspective that has been embraced with as much zeal and conviction in the public sector. For example, in an OECD report on contemporary public sector leadership developments in six member countries it is claimed: “The idea of leadership being required at all levels is revolutionary in its potential impact, and is an important driver of the move to redefine public sector leadership.”

But this notion is taken even further, to the point where everyone is seen as being imbued with leadership ability. The view of Kouzes...
and Posner is representative of the prevailing sentiment: “For what we’ve discovered, and rediscov-
ered, is that leadership isn’t the private reserve of a few charismatic men and women. It’s a process ordi-
nary people use when they’re bringing forth the best from themselves and others. Liberate the leader in everyone and extraordinary things happen.” Leadership, therefore, is no longer perceived as the exclusive domain of middle management and senior executives; rather, it is something that is thought to pervade all ranks within the organization – even the most junior.

4.1 Organizational Leadership What is glaringly missing from such claims, however, is a more nu-
anced appreciation of the challenges associated with fostering organizational leadership. First, many or-
ganizations, regardless of the sector, are apt to de-
cry the lack of leadership at the top levels of the or-
ganization let alone at the middle and lower levels. Public and private sector organizations are replete with individuals who, by virtue of their positions in the organizational hierarchy, would be expected to practice the art of leadership but have little or no his-
tory of actually doing so. Given this lamentable situa-
tion, it seems a bit odd that the leadership net would be cast so widely in the first instance; focusing on developing or acquiring leaders at the most senior levels of the organization would seem to be a far greater priority – indeed, the reality is that this is where the public sector has been devoting most of its attention and resources. Second, no one has pro-
vided a sound articulation of what it means to foster leadership at all levels or how everyone can indeed be a leader. What is leadership when viewed from the perspective of a street level bureaucrat? Is leadership on the front lines, if it exists at all, any differ-
ent from the type of leadership exhibited amongst members of the senior executive service – or even civil service managers and supervisors for that mat-
ter? If so, what are the critical distinctions? These are key questions that have yet to be adequately ad-
dressed either in the public sector leadership litera-
ture or by the practitioners themselves.

Notably, the leadership competencies identified for the Canadian public service only begin at the level of supervisor, which seems to suggest that when the concept of leadership at all levels is discussed it should be understood in a more limited sense; in other words, leadership in the public service appears to be restricted to those who at least have some for-
mal supervisory or managerial responsibility. That interpretation appears to be reinforced in the 2005-
2006 Report on Plans and Priorities of the Public Ser-
vice Human Resources Management Agency of Can-
da (PSHRMAC), which on more than one occasion

refers to the need to “…integrate and modernize the leadership development programs into a continuum from the first-level supervisor to deputy heads.” However, that same document serves to obfuscate the meaning of public sector leadership by identifying the “leadership continuum” as flowing “…from entry level to middle managers to the executive cadre that forms the most senior levels of the public service.” Moreover, at least one former Clerk of the Privy Council unmistakably advocated the broader notion of leader-
ship at all levels: “The Public Service of Canada has always had great leaders throughout its ranks. Some of them were managers, and their leadership qualities magnified the impact of their work. Many more were professional, technical, operational, administrative or support staff.” It is inconsistent statements such as these that make the concept of leadership at all levels of the public service so abstruse. If the Canadian public service wants, and perhaps expects, street-
level bureaucrats to demonstrate leadership in the performance of their duties, it is not at all clear how that is to be achieved. This is an important limitation on our ability to fully comprehend the essence of public sector leadership.
Often scholars will merely offer platitudes that leadership at all levels is essential for the public service but then in their discussion of the phenomenon restrict their focus to leadership at the upper echelons of the public service. The following statement is representative of that inclination: “While the primary focus is on leadership at the higher levels of the organization, we shall see that leadership must be recognized and nurtured at all levels.” Statements about the need to nurture public sector leaders at all levels are commonplace; scholarly analyses of leadership at the lower levels of the public service, however, are conspicuously lacking.

If it is truly important to develop public sector leaders at all levels – and the prevalence of such rhetoric would suggest that it is – then the time has come to explore if and how the leader in all public servants can be liberated. However, it is important to keep in mind that many people have absolutely no desire to assume the responsibility of leadership and are quite content to assume the role of follower and look for leadership elsewhere in the organization. Public servants are no different from their private sector counterparts in that regard.

4.2 U.S. Government Model In the aforementioned OECD report on public service leadership, reference was made to the fact that the US government distinguishes between three different types of leadership in the organizational hierarchy – that is to say, strategic leadership (higher levels); team leadership (middle levels) and technical leadership (lower level employees) – yet it offers little more than a brief definition of each category. This is a noteworthy distinction that merits further reflection because effective models of public sector leadership must carefully examine how leadership is practiced and understood at different levels of the organization. Employees at lower levels of the public service can unquestionably exude Leadership in certain circumstances, but this will likely be manifested in very different ways from those who occupy senior executive positions and are responsible for overall strategic planning and visioning, which is the level where transformational leadership in particular will be more prevalent.

In the Canadian public service, for example, creating vision is an effective behaviour associated with the strategic thinking competency and is restricted to two levels of public service leaders: DMs, who are supposed to develop vision and policy that is aligned with the larger vision and policy of the public service; and ADMs, who both contribute to the elaboration of the collective/deputy ministerial vision and articulate a vision with respect to their own mandates.

The challenge, then, is to begin to reflect more seriously on the extent to which it is reasonable to expect public servants at all levels of the organization to be leaders. Assuming that the goal is desirable and can be realistically accomplished, it behoves academics as well as politicians and senior public servants to clearly articulate the parameters of leadership for these street level bureaucrats. In doing so, managerial behaviours must not be confused with leadership.

At least one scholar appears to have already made that mistake. Larry Terry has posited that Woodrow Wilson, who was one of the first to write about the politics-administration dichotomy, was actually amenable to “…an active administrative leadership role for public administrators” on the basis of Wilson’s statement that “…the administrator should have and does have a will of his own in the choice of means for accomplishing his work. He is not and ought not to be a mere passive instrument.” However, this is far too liberal an interpretation of the passage in question. Not only do public administrators have a will of their own, but as part of the NPM reforms they have been given greater autonomy and freedom to
make decisions using their own discretion free from the constraints of bureaucratic rules and procedures. Nonetheless, this may be no more than a question of managerial discretion and must not be automatically equated with leadership.\textsuperscript{50} Executing decisions is obviously a significant component of what leaders do, but this in itself does not comprise leadership.

The next two sections of this article examine, firstly, the roots of the human resources crisis in the Canadian public sector and, secondly, the various initiatives undertaken by the Canadian government to foster public sector leaders. As will be demonstrated, there has been an unmistakable preoccupation in Canada, particularly in the past ten years given the deleterious effect of NPM reforms on the management of human resources, with the question of public sector leadership. While strides have been made to enhance the leadership capacity of the Canadian public sector, more clearly needs to be done particularly with respect to nurturing leadership at the lower levels of the civil service.

5.0 GENESIS OF A LEADERSHIP CRISIS IN THE CANADIAN PUBLIC SERVICE

All organizations, be they public, private or non-profit in orientation, face formidable challenges when it comes to identifying and training or recruiting those who will become the leadership cadre of the future. While the need for organizational leadership is great, most organizations lack the identified talent to grow and prosper in the highly competitive, global environment. If anything, the problem is even more acute in the public sector. Many nations are actually facing a recruitment and retention crisis, which has been exacerbated by a number of common pressures, including aging civil services, strong competition from the private sector, where pay and benefits are better, for the best and brightest; a blurring of public and private as governments increasingly rely on contracting out and public sector-private sector partnerships to deliver programs and services; budgetary pressures; negative public perceptions of civil servants; and changing notions of a ‘career’ service such that guaranteed lifetime employment has been superseded by the concept of employability.\textsuperscript{51} The net result is that loyalty, which lies at the heart of what it means to be a public servant, is compromised as individuals may become more concerned with self-interest than the public interest or public good.

In the private sector, the responses to this pervasive human resource problem have been varied. Some of the larger private sector companies in Canada have created organizational development and leadership units, which are devoted to developing distinct in-house leadership competency models that are used to hire, train and promote employees who exhibit the desired leadership skills. However, most private sector companies lack the financial resources to be this proactive with respect to leadership development and rely, instead, on hiring consultants to offer training development programs or, alternatively, providing support for employees to acquire leadership skills through specialized programs offered at universities and non-degree granting institutions like the Niagara Institute. Then there are the many private sector companies that do not implement or encourage any executive development whatsoever, not because they do not value the benefits of such training but due to the fact that it is often impossible for senior executives to find the time to partake in these programs. A final category would be a smaller number of companies that simply do not believe investments in training and development are necessary; if particular competencies or skill sets are found to be lacking, these companies will simply buy the required talent through the competitive marketplace for labour.\textsuperscript{52}

Likewise, a range of approaches can be identified across a number of public services in OECD member states. Some countries have developed comprehensive strategies for leadership development; in some cases new institutions for leadership development have been established, while a third approach has been to simply expand existing management training programs to incorporate elements of leadership development.\textsuperscript{53} And, increasingly, governments are adopting market-type approaches to fill leadership positions with individuals from outside the public sector. Elements of each of these approaches are evident in the Canadian case. Historically, however, training and
development programs were viewed with great suspicion, to the point where they were “hyperbolized as witchcraft,” since they were ultimately thought to be detrimental to the merit principle. Fortunately, by the mid-1960s, the legitimacy of training and development initiatives for executives in the Canadian government had been firmly established and, over time, they became increasingly significant to the point where the government now has an integrated learning framework based on individual learning, organizational leadership and innovation in public management.

5.1 Public Sector Training & Development Public sector training and development assumed a heightened importance in the 1990s as politicians and senior civil servants finally came to the realization that the prolonged assault on the public service was having a detrimental effect on employee morale as well as recruitment and retention efforts. Brian Mulroney and his Conservative Party, heavily influenced by the neo-liberal economic and political agenda of Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the US, swept to power in 1984 on the promise to shake up the bureaucracy and to roll back the size of the state. While the reduction in the number of full-time public service employees was more a product of attrition and limitations on recruitment than dismissals, the reality is that there were more than 65,000 fewer public service employees in 1986 than there were in 1977. While it is arguable that the public service had not endured the anticipated devastation during the first Conservative mandate, there was a discernable impact on the collective morale and psyche of public servants. There was a palpable sense that public servants were neither valued nor respected and that the downsizing – or ‘rightsizing,’ as the government preferred to call it – agenda would continue apace. That proved to be the case. Although the Conservative Party was virtually decimated in the 1993 general election, the Liberal government of Jean Chrétien was, to the surprise of pundits and citizens alike, equally zealous, but altogether more successful, in its pursuit of a neo-liberal agenda. Although many of the radical reforms for the public service were developed under the Mulroney administration, it was in effect the Liberal government that followed through with the implementation strategy. Significantly, Prime Minister Chrétien decided to retain the new drastically reduced departmental structure that he inherited from the short-lived government of his predecessor, Kim Campbell. The 1993 cabinet and public service restructuring initiative resulted in the consolidation of a number of departments and agencies, along with a much smaller cabinet, and some modest reform of the central agencies. This reform was particularly noteworthy because it accentuated the tenuousness of the executive group, many of whom lost their positions in the bureaucracy because of the consolidation. A total of 9 DM and 53 ADM positions were cut, as were numerous policy and evaluation jobs. It provided another clear sign that the traditional understanding of the career public service was irrevocably damaged.

5.2 New Government...New Approach Further evidence that the Liberals intended to aggressively pursue reductions in the civil service came about with the launch of Program Review in February 1994. Designed with clear deficit reduction targets in mind, this exercise was similarly conceived to fundamentally question the appropriate role of the federal government in the economy and society. Program Review proved to be extremely successful, ultimately allowing the government to replace annual deficits with several years of successive budgetary shortfalls.
surpluses, but it did not come without cost. As a result of the aggressive pursuit of public service reforms consistent with the principles of NPM, there were some profound impacts on both the organization and values of the public service in Canada. Program Review resulted in the elimination of 50,000 public service positions and restricted the opportunities for executive promotion, transfer and development. The end result was a public service with a disproportionate number of older, predominantly knowledge-based employees. Over the years, many programs were either eliminated or contracted out to the private and non-profit sectors, and organizational hierarchies have flattened in an effort to empower employees by providing them with greater flexibility and innovation in decision-making. Combined with hiring freezes for much of that time, the public service lost many clerical and operational positions, as well as scientists, policy analysts and other technical experts who are needed to cope with the various emerging scientific and social issues.  

The shift to more highly skilled, knowledge-based employees in the public sector means that it will need to compete more intensively for the best and brightest with the private sector...the net result has been a ‘brain drain’ in the public sector

Like Bourgon before her, Fraser noted that by 2008 some 70 percent of the public service executives would be eligible to retire without penalty. Moreover, reference was made to a survey conducted in 2001, which revealed that 40 percent of this group planned to retire within 5 years with another 35 percent to follow suit in a 6-10 year time frame. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that there is a paucity of younger civil service employees ready to assume these positions, with only about half as many employees under the age of 35 in the public service as compared to the general workforce.

6.0 MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY: LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE CANADIAN PUBLIC SERVICE

It is against this backdrop that the specific leadership initiatives of the federal government will be considered. At the outset, it should be stated that the landscape for professional training and development programs in the Canadian...
public service is rather convoluted. The Canadian model of leadership development would best be placed somewhere between the two extremes of centralization and market-driven approaches to leadership development since Canada has a specific agency dedicated to supporting effective leadership across the public service, but responsibility for leadership development is delegated to individual departments and agencies.

6.1 Treasury Board of Canada  A key player in the Canadian example is the Treasury Board of Canada, a committee of cabinet, which serves as the general manager and employer of the public service. It has the overall responsibility for accountability and ethics, financial, personnel and administrative management and is assisted in its work by the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (TBS), which provides advice and support as well as oversight of the financial management functions of government. TBS also manages compensation, pension, benefits and labour relations for the government. However, many of the historic human resources functions of both the TBS and the Public Service Commission (PSC), which is an independent agency responsible to Parliament under the Public Service Employment Act for ensuring the competence, non-partisanship and representativeness of the public service, have been severed off and allocated to a new agency – PSHRMAC.

Until the end of March 2004, professional training and corporate development programs as well as language training all resided with the PSC. However, responsibility for both professional and language training now falls under the bailiwick of the Canada School of Public Service (CSPS), which was established on April 1, 2004, as a result of the new Public Service Modernization Act. While the School itself may be relatively new, many of its various learning and research activities are not, having been previously delivered by each of the three institutions – Training and Development Canada, the Canadian Centre for Management Development (CCMD) and Language Training Canada – that were amalgamated to form the CSPS. At the same time, the various corporate development programs formerly housed under the PSC, including the Accelerated Executive Development Program (AEXDP), the Career Assignment Program (CAP), Interchange Canada, the Management Trainee Program (MTP) and the Accelerated Economist Trainee Program (AETP), have migrated to PSHRMAC.

PSHRMAC, therefore, has become a key player within the Treasury Board portfolio in terms of developing public sector leaders. As clearly identified in its annual plans and priorities, PSHRMAC has three identified strategic outcome components, one of which is effective, ethical leadership and a quality work environment. Key results areas in the pursuit of that strategic outcome are, firstly, leadership development and, secondly, public service values and ethics. Ultimately, PSHRMAC’s “raison d’être is to modernize and foster continuing excellence in people management and leadership across the public service.”64 But it works with two portfolio partners – the TBS and the CSPS – in the realization of its vision to become the finest public service in the world. PSHRMAC has close working relationships with both organizations: while the Treasury Board was responsible for developing the Policy on Learning, Training and Development, PSHRMAC had a central role to play in terms of providing policy advice, and although PSHRMAC retains overarching responsibility for the administration and oversight of the various corporate development
programs, it is the CSPS that supports the common learning and development needs of the public service by developing, updating and delivering the relevant learning content.

6.2 Successes & Failures  The Canadian government has really come a long way over the past twenty years in terms of promoting its training and development agenda, especially as it relates to nurturing public sector leaders. There have been some notable failures to be sure, but many positive developments, including the most recent reorganization resulting from the Public Service Modernization Act, have materialized. First, as noted above, the CSPS is partially a product of the CCMD, created in 1989, which was one of the government’s first serious initiatives to better prepare public sector managers, leaders and future leaders. Announced by Prime Minister Mulroney in April of 1988, CCMD was designed “as an institution dedicated to excellence in teaching and research into public sector management.” CCMD was itself an outgrowth of the PSC’s Centre for Executive Development, which was thought to be too inward-looking and devoid of a suitable level of professionalism to provide effective management training for civil servants.

The CCMD’s stated strategic priorities were, firstly, to build the intellectual capital of the public service in key areas, including learning and leadership, governance and public sector management, and secondly, ensure that this knowledge is transferred to public sector managers. Since its inception, the CCMD pursued this mission through the provision of courses, executive briefings and regular publications on a variety of theoretical and practical issues related to public sector management. A common practice was to appoint esteemed academics as senior fellows as well as to participate in the Executive Interchange program. Under the terms of this latter program, senior managers in the public service could spend up to two years working with another government or private sector company.

To this day, both the MTP and the AETP continue to be offered, albeit with some modifications, for high potential entry-level candidates who are expected to become managers and future leaders within the public service. In the first instance, leadership competencies are now developed through a variety of experiences, including rotational assignments, action learning groups, self-learning and an educational component offered by the CSPS. The program is now four, rather than five, years in duration and a formal language requirement has been introduced so that those candidates without the stipulated level of proficiency in the country’s two official languages have up to two years to satisfy the competency requirements before taking up their appointment in the public service. In the case of the AETP, which now accepts up to 14 people per year, the program has little in the way of formal training and is structured to offer candidates four six-month assignments in departments with economic and public policy sector responsibilities as part of an internship with little formal training. Three of the four assignments are located within the central agencies; this reflects the emphasis of this program on the importance of the concerns these departments possess and coordinating role that they fulfill in government.

Despite the many notable changes that were made to the organization of the public service as a result of PS 2000, on the whole it must be viewed as somewhat of a failure. One civil servant involved with the process was quite critical of the undertaking, noting that the training and development recommendations had no corresponding dedication of funds or time to make them work, many of the other recommendations were extremely vague, and in several cases the recommendations were in conflict with the interests of employees or failed to adequately address their concerns. In the end, he concluded: “Public Service 2000 is an initiative created by management for management. Employees will remain on the sidelines…. “ It is not difficult to appreciate the disconnection public servants experienced with respect to PS 2000; after all, the government embarked on a renewal exercise that was designed to involve civil servants more directly in decision-making, and yet it began by excluding them from the process. A further irony is palpable: at the same time the government was touting members of the public service as its greatest asset, it was adopting measures to ensure a significant downsizing of the bureaucracy.
6.3 Clerk of the Privy Council & La Relève  The next major vision for renewing the public service was identified by the Clerk of the Privy Council in response to the so-called ‘quiet crisis’ alluded to earlier in this chapter. Bourgon stated that attention would be directed to “reinventing the way we serve” and “ensuring a modern and vibrant institution to meet the needs of Canada and Canadians now and in the future.” The language used leaves little doubt that this more recent effort was an attempt to build on the limited successes of PS 2000. Specifically, Bourgon wrote of La Relève (leadership, action, renewal, energy, learning, expertise, values, excellence), which was the term given “for our challenge, our commitment, and our duty to develop and pass on a vibrant institution staffed by highly qualified and committed professionals.” The Clerk was careful to note that this challenge was the responsibility of all public servants; commitment was required from all levels of the organization, not merely executives or ‘high flyers.’ If the government intended to avoid the pitfalls of PS 2000 it needed to ensure that there was input, commitment and buy-in at all levels of the public service.

With this challenge outlined, every federal department and central agency along with six major functional communities and several regional councils developed specific 3-year action plans for implementing La Relève in a wide range of areas, including but not limited to recruitment and staffing, learning and training, development programs, culture, values and vision, and performance measurement and accountability. A list of departmental initiatives that were either proposed or under way was identified for each area, along with a time line for implementation. For example, in terms of learning and training, the Department of National Defence had completed a policy framework and managers guide on continuous learning and was in the process of developing value-based generic competencies as well as specific management competencies. As far as development programs were concerned, the department planned to resume recruitment to both the MTP and the Career Assignment Program (CAP), which is a development program to provide managerial and leadership excellence targeted to those who aspire to secure appointments at the pre-executive and executive levels. The program comprises a defined learning curriculum (Direxion), offered through the CSPS as three two-week phases over two years, language training, relevant career assignments, career counselling and regular performance review.

In her next annual report, Bourgon noted that while the symptoms of the crisis remained, under the auspices of La Relève, public servants were taking action and promoting reform throughout the bureaucracy. Three key ongoing challenges were articulated: transforming the public service into a borderless institution; promoting a continuous learning culture within public service; and detecting, supporting and developing leadership at all levels of the organization. It was felt that a continuous learning organization would only be achieved through leadership at all levels; as such, the Clerk argued that a commitment to training and development was absolutely essential. But it is not sufficient in itself. A learning organization avoids repeating past mistakes; it generates new ideas; and it disseminates knowledge. Bourgon’s successor, Mel Cappe, noted that the public service had not
yet created this transformation; he stressed that the public service still needed to capitalize on the formal and informal learning opportunities that were available, technological advancements that could enhance learning and training, and better incorporate knowledge of best practice in the public and private sectors.\textsuperscript{75}

### 6.4 New Onus for Learning

However, progress would eventually be forthcoming. In May 2002, the government formally adopted \textit{A Policy on Continuous Learning for the Public Service of Canada}, which placed the onus for learning on all members of the public service.\textsuperscript{76} There is also some evidence that departments and agencies had responded to the challenge of developing a learning organization. A baseline report on investments in learning across the public service revealed that some 31 departments and agencies had a learning policy in place a full year before the March 2004 deadline for doing so under the government’s policy directive. More importantly, the report identified a 49 percent increase in financial investments in learning activities over a three-year period to fiscal year 2002-2003. Investments in learning across the public service in 2002-2003 represented 2.9 percent of the salary-operating budget. This figure exceeds both the 1.9 percent reported by the American Society for Training and Development and the 1.7 percent identified by the Conference Board of Canada as being spent by private sector companies.

Critics have argued that La Relève, like PS 2000 before it, was a huge disappointment.\textsuperscript{78} According to Lindquist and Paquet, “At worst, La Relève...might be viewed as more a high-profile, self-education effort for public-service executives but having little material impact on the day-to-day working environment of most public servants.”\textsuperscript{79} Their view is that the fanfare associated with this reform cannot mask the reality that there were years of neglect and inattention to the morale and needs of public servants. While it may be true that La Relève did not resonate with the average public sector employee, it did usher in other public sector reforms that must be viewed favourably.

The addition of the AEXDP in 1997 to the continuum of leadership development programs available to Canadian public servants is one such reform. AEXDP was developed for those who were identified as potential ADMs and complemented the MTP and CAP discussed earlier. Participation in this program was, and continues to be, determined on the basis of a rigorous selection process and involves two key components: 1) participants are provided with one or more ‘developmental assignments,’ in a department or central agency with each lasting about 24 months; and 2) each participant is provided with a tailor-made development program that builds on his/her respective needs and strengths, tying together various learning mechanisms and development tools to produce a cycle of action, reflection, learning and practice. These developmental assignments can either involve the participant taking on a special project...
or filling a pre-existing executive position, but in all cases these experiences are selected so as to diversify the participant’s abilities through experiential learning. The program also comprises five learning components that provide the opportunity for shared reflection and analysis. These include personalized learning plans; action learning groups, whereby 5-6 participants meet for one day every 6-8 weeks to discuss real work problems; collective learning events held a number of times over the two-to-six year period that an individual would be participating in the AEXDP, which facilitate the ongoing implementation of this renewal effort; and 3) the ADM Corporate Secretariat. This latter unit was intended to operate as a ‘single window’ to provide a variety of supports to DMs and ADMs, who had collective responsibility for ensuring that the needed renewal was achieved.

While TLN was not immune to the public sector restructuring that has occurred in recent years, it has survived as a cornerstone of the government machinery dedicated to leadership development. As of December 12, 2003, TLN was transferred to the

As of December 12, 2003, The Learning Network (TLN) was transferred to the Public Service Human Resources Management Agency of Canada (PSHRMAC); it now operates as one of that agency’s six business lines. So while PSHRMAC ultimately remains responsible for the development of public sector leaders, this is accomplished operationally through TLN with its oversight for the different corporate development programs.

together all participants to discuss and reflect on emerging public sector priorities and challenges; coaching; and finally, mentoring. 

6.5 The Leadership Network (TLN) Perhaps the most significant event that resulted from La Relève was the formation of a new agency, The Leadership Network (TLN), in June 1998. Instead of relying exclusively on bold rhetoric and good intentions, the creation of this new horizontal organization was a concrete demonstration of the federal government’s institutional commitment to ensure the continued momentum of La Relève. Reporting to the Committee of Senior Officials (the DM community), and working in close partnership with departments and agencies, regions, the PSC, TBS and CCMD, TLN was given a mandate “to promote, develop and support networks of leaders at all levels throughout the Public Service of Canada, and to assist them in the ongoing challenge of La Relève.” Initially, there were three components to TLN: 1) Leadership Network Development, charged with the responsibility of reaching out to all public servants to inform and promote dialogue; 2) La Relève Action Support Team, which was to fa-

PSHRMAC; it now operates as one of that agency’s six business lines. So while PSHRMAC ultimately remains responsible for the development of public sector leaders, this is accomplished operationally through TLN with its oversight for the different corporate development programs.

The net result of the changes that have been outlined above is that the Canadian government has been able to design a more integrated approach to learning development for employees across the public service. All of the programs that have been identified above – MTP, AETP, CAP, AEXDP – are highly specialized development programs, but the approach to training and development in the Canadian public service is now much more broadly based. Essentially, three streams of training and development are accessible to public sector employees that can be viewed as a continuum as they progress through their careers: 1) public service foundations; 2) professional development programs; and 3) leadership development programs.
In terms of public service foundations, it has long been the case that all newly-appointed public managers participate in formal government-wide training programs at three points in their career – at the supervisory, middle manager and executive levels. Also, existing managers and executives are required to complete self-assessment instruments at least every 5 years for human resources, financing, contracts and access to information; should they not successfully complete these instruments, they will be required to take training in the appropriate authority delegation. Each of these individual formal learning programs has evolved quite considerably over time. Generally there has been a move to ‘action learning,’ whereby formal classroom instruction is complemented by practical application in the workplace and a period of reflection to analyze the experience; individual learning is tied in more directly with organizational learning; and formal learning experiences are linked with informal ones. As mentioned previously, the CSPS is now responsible for providing language training for public servants, which is often a major impediment to career progression, and it also provides training for functional specialists, namely those professionals and specialists in functional areas such as finance, procurement, information management and human resources. A new innovation that has been introduced is a two-day orientation for all new public servants at any level who have been hired on an appointment in excess of six months. This orientation, which will take place in Ottawa, is designed to introduce new appointees to the culture, function, values and ethics of the public service.

6.6 Department-Specific Training Initiatives

Professional development refers to department-specific training initiatives that public servants have access to, either through their individual departments or CSPS customized courses, as well as more than 350 French and English e-learning products that are available through Campusdirect, the online campus of the CSPS. It also includes the many classroom offerings available at the CSPS on themes such as finance, government communications, human resources, policy and programs, personal development, business skills and leadership and management. These leadership courses typically run from half a day to about a week and are not to be confused with the more rigorous leadership development programs offered by the School, which are outlined below.

As far as the leadership development is concerned,

...competencies were developed in consultation both with the PSC and leaders at all levels across the nation and rely on best practices research. Departments can either choose to use the leadership competency profile as it has been developed, or they can supplement the competencies to meet their unique needs.

three elements are identifiable. First, there are the leadership competencies that have been developed for public sector employees from the level of supervisor to DM. These competencies were developed in consultation both with the PSC and leaders at all levels across the nation and rely on best practices research. Departments can either choose to use the leadership competency profile as it has been developed, or they can supplement the competencies to meet their unique needs. PSHRMAC does, however, intend to continue to refine the core competencies and learning requirements for public sector leaders. The second aspect of leadership development is what the CSPS refers to as ‘leadership foundations.’ This includes the Direxion program, which was specifically designed to serve as the educational component of the CAP but now is available more widely across the public service, and Living Leadership: The Executive Excellence Program. This latter offering is available to those at the Director, Executive Director and DG level and takes place over 40 days in an 18 month period. Leadership development revolves around a ‘stretch project’
identified by the participant and the program utilizes a variety of learning methods, from wellness coaching to action learning groups to a web-based community and alumni support. Living Leadership is focused on the themes of leadership and community, generating and sustaining organizational culture and leading policy development and service delivery, which reflect the importance of developing leadership to provide high performance, citizen-focused service delivery, integrated horizontal policy and learning organizations. Finally, a number of specialized leadership development programs are available to public servants; these include the MTP, CAP, AEXDP and a new program that is being developed called the Advanced Leadership Program (ALP). It is geared to being a capstone program amongst the existing corporate learning and development programs, designed specifically for high-performing and senior executives normally at the ADM level.

7.0 CONCLUSION

While the focus of this article has been training and leadership developments offered corporately to public servants across the system, the reality is that a great deal of learning takes place within individual departments, particularly the larger ones. Some of the more progressive public organizations that are strongly committed to learning have implemented programs whereby each civil servant’s learning needs are assessed and reviewed annually. An individualized learning plan is developed and various training courses are taken as appropriate. These may be in-house programs offered by the department itself or another public service organization or external courses developed by colleges, universities or private training centres. Solicitor General Canada, for example, provides several in-house learning opportunities, but it is also partnering with Health Canada to access the career management and learning programs that are available in this much larger department. This interdepartmental collaboration is exactly the type of development the Clerk had in mind when she spoke of a continuous learning organization and borderless institution.

Numerous other learning and training arrangements have been undertaken, but it is interesting to note that there has been no uniformity in the types of responses that have been outlined. This reflects the reality of cultural differences within the various public sector organizations and that the needs of no two departments are identical. Notwithstanding the diversity of departmental learning and training plans, there were some recurring elements. One of the most commonly cited actions by departments was the development of competency profiles for staff; this included executive or management competencies as well as those for other employees in the organization. There was also a heavy reliance on the creation of career plans and the provision of career counselling, the identification and use of mentors, and a greater reliance on rotational and interchange assignments so that employees could develop a broader knowledge base and new skills both within the department and across the public sector more generally. A few departments mentioned the desire to engage in cross training with other public sector organizations and partnership agreements with universities, while others wanted to incorporate or expand upon their use of the 360 degree feedback process.

For those interested in public sector leadership, the past decade has given enormous cause for both optimism and concern. On the one hand, there has been a significant proliferation of public management scholars who are finally turning their attention to this important area of academic inquiry. These studies have firmly established that robust leadership is not confined to the private sector; leadership can and does exist in the ranks of the civil service. Furthermore, practitioners in many, if not most, countries have been devoting a great deal of thought and resources to improving the leadership capacity of public servants, both those who already reside within the bureaucracy and high potential external recruits. Given this convergence of practitioner and scholarly interest, making progress towards developing more effective public sector leaders is inevitable. On the other hand, however, many of the academic
studies and public sector pronouncements on leadership have not been sufficiently nuanced to provide the clarity of understanding that is required to achieve the most meaningful results. Andrew Podger, the Australian Public Service Commissioner, provided an eloquent articulation of this concern: “We must go beyond the rhetoric and ensure our focus on leadership is tangible and genuinely contributes to good decision-making in government.”

Specifically, both academics and practitioners must cease their perpetuation of the facile claim that the public sector needs to develop leaders at all levels. If the intent of such assertions is merely to highlight the fact that leadership in the public service is not confined to senior executives, but rather is something that can and must be exhibited by all those who occupy the supervisory and managerial ranks of the public service, then that would not be contentious. As Halligan noted, this is really better understood as the notion that “…leadership applies at several levels.” Those at the lower managerial ranks of the public service obviously have the ability to play an influential – perhaps pivotal – role in terms of fostering loyalty and commitment to the organizational culture as well as the strategic vision articulated by the political executive and senior bureaucrats. Should that be the true intent, then a clarification should be provided immediately so as to avoid further confusion. The reality, however, is that there are some palpable indications a much more expansive interpretation is intended. It is not simply a question that public sector employees at all managerial levels can be leaders; there have been suggestions that all public servants, from a clerical assistant to a policy analyst to a street level bureaucrat, can be leaders. The veracity of this notion may ultimately be undeniable, there simply is not any tangible evidence upon which to base this claim at the present time. To credibly make such assertions, scholars and practitioners must begin to meticulously document manifestations of leadership in those instances where there is no obvious follower dynamic involved. How can those individuals truly demonstrate leadership to influence others? Once these examples have been identified, it will then be possible to begin to establish training and development programs to nurture leadership at that level.

7.1 Recommendations As has been clearly demonstrated in this article, most of the resources dedicated to the development of leadership capacity in Canada have tended to be disproportionately allocated to specialized programs that benefit relatively few people. If the Canadian government is committed to developing leaders at all levels of the public service, then more work needs to be done to broaden the reach of the various training and development initiatives, especially at the lowest levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy. However, given the dearth of effective leaders at the senior levels of the public service, the Canadian government would be better served to focus on rectifying that deficiency rather than spreading its scarce resources too thinly trying to develop every public servant into leaders, including those who may be more interested in assuming a followership role.

Notwithstanding this criticism, the Canadian public service is to be commended for the progress it has made over the past decade to recruit and retain future public service leaders. Clearly, Canada has a relatively sophisticated approach to public sector leadership development. The federal government relies on a variety of methods in the delivery of its various programs. Experiential learning, active learning and action learning have replaced traditional classroom-based instruction. These programs have been making use of the full spectrum of training and development smart practice, including the use of 360-degree feedback mechanisms, executive coaches and mentors, case studies, small group exercises and discussion to name but a few. The course content of leadership development programs has also evolved. Rather than focusing on traditional skills, like strategic planning, these programs are devoting more attention to imparting people management or 'soft' skills. Finally, public sector managers as opposed to professional teachers or trainers are increasingly delivering these programs. At the end of the day, the challenges associated with developing public sector leadership may be immense, but the consequences of failure would be profound. Nothing short of good governance is at stake.

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8.0 NOTES


3 This point comes across quite clearly in the literature review conducted by Kellerman and Webster, who adopted a broad definition of public leadership to include all studies of political leadership, including studies of the US presidency and political autobiographies/biographies. See Barbara Kellerman and Scott Webster. “The Recent Literature on Public Leadership Reviewed and Considered” in The Leadership Quarterly. 12, 2001, 485-514.


7 Ironically, however, these same administrative reforms have created problems for the public service in terms of being able to recruit and retain the best and brightest; after years of denigrating the public sector for being less efficient than the private sector and emasculating the roles and responsibilities of civil servants, particularly with respect to their policy capacity, the prospect of public sector employment has lost much of its allure. See Peter Aucoin and Herman Bakvis. “Public Service Reform and Policy Capacity: Recruiting and Retaining the Best and the Brightest” in Martin Painter and Jon Pierre, Editors. Challenges to State Policy Capacity: Global Trends and Comparative Perspectives. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 185-204.


9 Mark Entwistle, former career diplomat and Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, who spoke on the topic of learning leadership in the public service at the 2003 Learning of Leadership Conference at the University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada, June 24, 2003, has influenced my thinking on this point.


17 Jo Brosnahan. “Public Sector Reform Requires Leadership” (Paris: OECD, PUMA/SGF (99)8, 1999); Behn, 1998.


Kernaghan, Marson and Borins, 2000, p.2; Barzelay, 1992, chapter eight.


Rost, 1991, p.44. Chapters 3 and 4 provide a thorough overview of these definitions over this time period.


Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management. *In Pursuit of Excellence: Developing and Maintaining a High-Quality Public Service*. A Report on a CAPAM High-Level Seminar of Commonwealth Training and Development Institutes, October 2005, pp.5-6. Kellerman and Webster, 2001, who argue that “the differences do not generally outweigh the similarities” (p.491), provide a different view.


Rost, 1991, p.10.


In their review of the literature on public sector leadership, Kellerman and Webster, 2001, found that “…most leaders featured in the leadership literature are at the top of various hierarchies (e.g., organizational, national)” (p.487). Some tangible examples of how front-line public servants can demonstrate leadership are briefly outlined in Hartley and Allison, 2000, p.38.


Kernaghan, Marson and Borins, 2000, p.268. A similar proviso is offered in the OECD, 2001 report on public sector leadership: “...we are not assuming that leadership only comes from those in positions of formal authority. Our study pays special attention to this senior group, but it also recognizes that officials at all levels exert influence on others” (p.12).

44 In their review of the literature on public sector leadership, Kellerman and Webster, 2001, found that “...most leaders featured in the leadership literature are at the top of various hierarchies (e.g., organizational, national)” (p.487). Some tangible examples of how front-line public servants can demonstrate leadership are briefly outlined in Hartley and Allison, 2000, p.38.

45 OECD, 2001, p.15.


(New York: Academic Press), 1993, 49-80, noted that while charismatic or transformational leadership could be exuded by anyone, it was likely to be more prevalent at the highest organizational levels.


However, such discretion may result in behaviours that would unmistakably be classified as leadership. See for example, Sandford Borins. “Loose Cannons and Rule Breakers, or Enterprising Leaders? Some Evidence About Innovative Public Managers” in Public Administration Review. 60, 6, November-December 2000, 498-507.


OECD, 2001, p.337.


Lindquist and Paquet, 2000, p.88.


An October 2002 Public Service Commission survey of employees suggests that while there will be a significant percentage of executives retiring in the next decade, there should be a large enough supply of potential executives, given the strong interest in executive-level careers from members of the feeder groups, to meet demands. Nonetheless, this will require well managed succession planning and career development. See Canada. Public Service Commission. Executive Succession Reconsidered: Planning for Public Service Renewal, October 2002. Available online at www.psc-cfp.gc.ca/centres/reports-rapports/esr-rrd/index_e.htm.

73 During the La Relève planning exercise most departments specified an intention to participate more fully in the MTP, CAP and AEXDP, which suggests that earlier concerns that these programs were not living up to expectations had to some extent been addressed. See Canada. Privy Council Office. *La Relève: A Commitment to Action*, 1997.
76 This policy has been replaced by the *Policy on Learning, Training and Development*.
84 Some of the public service organizations that have chosen to implement learning plans/training plans/personal development programs include Canadian Heritage, CIDA, Environment Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and Solicitor General Canada. See Canada, *La Relève: A Commitment*, 1997.
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