

Skills and attributes required for NPM: The case of Sri Lanka

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Lynne Bennington and Ramanie Samaratunge

Abstract

The concept of new public management (NPM) requires a different mindset, and possibly different skills, on both the part of politicians and other contributors to the policy process, such as senior civil servants. The data reported in this paper were collected as part of a larger study which examined the extent of implementation of NPM in Sri Lanka, influences on the policy making process, and factors which would improve the effectiveness of the public policy making process. Two components of this study will be reported here: a quantitative element which tested the usefulness of the Value-Creating Policy Services Model (Behm, Bennington and Cummane, 2000) and a qualitative component obtained through interviews with current Ministers, ex-Ministers and senior civil servants in Sri Lanka. Some elements of the model were found in Sri Lanka. However, to implement such a model private sector experience, international exposure, change management experience, academic qualifications and information technology knowledge were also cited as important. Therefore, there is an argument that these attributes should be incorporated into the Model if it is to be used in respect to the skills and attributes required by senior civil servants in developing countries.

Introduction

Arising as a common response to economic, institutional and ideological changes (Jensen, 1998), public sector reform has been an important agenda item for governments of various complexions and differing levels of economic development for the last two decades (Common, 1998). Despite

the fact that these reforms have been variously labelled as managerialism (Pollitt, 1993), market-based public administration (Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992), entrepreneurial government (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993) and new public management (Hood, 1991; Kearney and Hays, 1998), the direction of these reforms is remarkably similar. This new paradigm has been popularised under the term "New Public Management" (NPM). The reforms have been far-reaching and have been heralded as some of the most important developments in western governmental systems (Farnham, Horton, Barlow and Hondeghem, 1996). Such reforms are also being introduced into developing and emerging economies such as Ghana (Larbi, 1998), Sri Lanka (Samaratunge, 1999), Malaysia (Common, 1999) and Hong Kong (Cheung, 1996); the extent and type of reform varying from country to country.

The rationale behind NPM varies, too. Although it has been suggested that NPM is a politically neutral movement concerned with improving efficiency, effectiveness and accountability (Hood, 1991), at least in the case of Australia, the impetus for reform was to enhance the capacity of governments to implement their agendas (Dawkins, 1995) - and thus improve their chances of re-election. It was thought that this would achieve an improvement in "the internal processes and external relations of a public sector suffering from a number of widely acknowledged scleroses and related energy deficiencies" (Painter, 1998, p. 45). Presumably, this would be a relatively true reflection of the motivation of many other governments, although this is not to detract from the impact of diminishing economic resources with which to provide services, increasing demands for services, and general public dissatisfaction (albeit at least partially generated by politicians) with the "bureaucracy" (Morley and Vilkinas, 1997).

In developing countries, the primary motivation for introducing NPM may be somewhat different in that there may be demands for change from funding agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Turner and Hulme, 1997), notwithstanding the fact that many governments in developing countries have also been searching for new ways of improving public sector efficiency in order to adapt to the new economic and political environment.

In general, public sector reforms have included the separation of policy and service delivery, privatisation, or at least commercialisation, of some functions (Bennington and Cummane, 1997); the development of more business-like practices and attitudes; a focus on outputs and outcomes, rather than inputs; the abolition of monopolies, increased competition and a stronger focus on efficiency; and the application of user-pays principles (Hughes, 1998). In discussing the civil service reforms in Africa, Wescott states that these programs of reform usually “seek to improve both core functions (e.g. revenue generation, financial management, personnel management, policy formulation, etc.), as well as sector specific policy, management and organisation” (1999, p. 146).

The reform processes have required public managers to do more with less (Boston, Martin, Pallot and Walsh, 1996) and in the context of lesser conditions of employment: loss of tenure for departmental secretaries (Maor, 1999; Weller and Wanna, 1997; Zimmerman, 1997), longer hours, less control over their lives and lower morale (Maddock and Morgan, 1998). Moreover, public managers have become subject to increasing criticism (Seidle, 1995; Weller and Wood, 1999). There is skepticism about their capacity to deliver services efficiently and effectively (Boyne, 1996), and, according to Behn (1995), in reference to the American context, and to

Polidano (1998), in reference to the British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand contexts, there is distrust in the relationship between politicians and civil servants. One possible reason for this may possibly be due to a gap between the new requirements and the perceived skills and attributes of those in senior civil service positions. Alternatively, the problem may be more systemic - one which involves not only the senior civil servants and their staff but the skills and attributes of their political masters and their opposition in government, together with the higher expectations of the members of the societies within which they operate. Even though little has been reported about the people, the civil service managers, who have to make the transitions to new public management work (Barlow, Farnham, Horton and Ridley, 1996), as changing the skills and attributes of civil servants is possibly easier to achieve than changing other parts of the public system, this paper will only address the skills and attributes required of senior civil servants. The focus will be the developing country of Sri Lanka.

Skills of new public managers

Hughes has stated that the new model of public management “will totally change the way the public sector operates” (1994, p. 22). It has been argued that new public sector managers need to see their roles differently (Maor and Jones, 1999) and that they need to acquire new skills and knowledge to be effective (Savoie, 1992). In response to the paradigm shifts in British local government, Smith (1996a) found that managers had to develop new concepts and values and new mindsets about the public service; they required new skills that she referred to as the “social practice of management”, and they needed to develop their staff and to engage them in the change processes.

Alternatively, if one accepts the argument that it is the systems and not the people that are the problem (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993), benchmarking might be seen to be part of the answer, but it has only been adopted in a limited manner (Kouzmin, Loffler, Klages and Korac-Kakabadse, 1999).

Perhaps more popular has been the introduction of private sector managers into the public sector (Barlow et al, 1996). This is not surprising because, amongst other things, NPM is characterized by the adoption of private sector management practices (e.g. Doig and Wilson, 1998; Glynn and Murphy, 1996). Also, it has been widely assumed that both private sector management is superior (Savoie, 1992) and private sector service delivery is better (Poister and Henry, 1994). Moreover, by 1994, in the United Kingdom, for example, slightly more than half of the chief executive and chief executive designate positions were secured by external candidates (Maor, 1999). This is despite acknowledgement at some level that at least components of public sector management are more complex (Depre, Hondeghe and Bodiguel, 1996; Farnham and Horton, 1996). Indeed, when some public sectors managers have become managers of privatised facilities the change for managers has reportedly resulted in dramatic ideological shifts (Talbot, 1993), which tends to reinforce the view that public and private sector management are so different that different forms of management education might be needed.

However, other comparisons between private sector and public sector managers have shown that many of the requisite qualities are common but that public sector executives also need to be able to develop a relationship with the public, to handle the complexity of the public system, be able to understand and deal with politics, to handle the accountability mechanisms and to be

competent in public policy development and implementation (Morley and Vilkinas, 1997). This does not mean that senior civil servants have all the qualities of private sector executives, nor that the executives are shining examples of these qualities, but what it does mean is that both sectors have defined similar competencies apart from those additional competencies required for the public sector.

The picture for developing countries may be different, although Analoui (1998) has reported on work in Zimbabwe, India, Romania and Ghana that indicates an awareness of the need for more effective public managers. In the developing country of Ghana, Analoui's (1998) research with senior public managers was more specific and indicates that good planning skills, effective communication, good human relations skills, organizing ability and supervisory skills were needed to be effective. However, changes of attitudes and values were seen to be difficult to achieve due to the time, commitment and investment required. Virtanen (1996) has listed the instrumental competencies that new public managers need: ethical competence, political competence, professional competence - in both subject area and in administration, and task competence.

Behm, Bennington and Cummane (2000) have argued that the skills of the public bureaucrats together with the confidence placed in them by politicians will ultimately influence the quality of government. The Behm et al (2000) study focussed on the characteristics of quality service provision by public policy service providers (i.e. senior civil servants). A four-level hierarchy was developed to show different levels of effectiveness with two lower levels representing core competency factors and then the upper two levels representing "value-creating" factors (see Table

1). The characteristics, or values, were also categorised as follows: personal attributes of the service providers; the processes used; the form of the final advice (the product); and assessment of impact. It is interesting to note that personal attributes and not just skills were included in this model as there has been the suggestion that, in New Zealand, Ministers were not totally supportive of performance agreements with senior civil servants because the qualitative dimensions of the relationship may fail to be captured (Boston, 1992).

Australia is well down the path to NPM, so the question arises as to whether the policy services model developed in Australia is applicable or transferable to developing countries that are adopting some or all of the elements of NPM? Samaratunge (1999) has argued that bureaucrats in developing countries such as Sri Lanka have operated with a minimum of political guidance and in fact have resisted public sector reforms that have challenged their bureaucratic power. Similarly, Smith (1996b) has argued that the continuity of tenure of senior civil servants, the prestige accorded, and the dependency of politicians on officialdom in developing countries present real obstacles for change. Whilst there has been little work done on the skills and attributes required of civil servants in these environments, Kumssa and Jones (1999) have suggested that transitional economies need to develop active partnerships between the private and public sectors, which immediately suggests some skills and attributes that might be necessary pre-conditions for a successful transition to improved economic performance of public sectors.

Even where the public sector has been a barrier to change and to lack fit with the new management paradigm, it must be kept in mind that any bureaucratic reorganisation will be initiated and controlled by political and administrative leaders (Maor and Jones, 1999), so the

Table 1: A Value Creating Model of Policy Services

RESPONSIVE TRANS- ACTIONAL STATIC	I	FOUNDATION VALUES	CORE COMPETENCY FACTORS
	↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timeliness • Achievability • Factual correctness • Honesty and integrity of advice • Creditability of adviser • Non partisan loyalty to Government • Fearlessness of adviser 	
STRATEGIC TRANS- FORMATIONAL PROACTIVE	II	CRITICAL VALUES	CORE COMPETENCY FACTORS
	↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding of government’s policies and priorities • Consultation across the functional program • Sensitivity to the customer’s priorities • Responsiveness • Relevance • Practicality and focus • Clarity and comprehensiveness • Exercisable options • Accessibility of the server provider • Dedication – “someone who cares” • Speed in error recovery 	
	III	TRANSFORMING VALUES	VALUE CREATING FACTORS
	↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political awareness • Consultation across entire organisation • Risk sensitivity • Iterative dialogue through “feedback loops” • Responsibility (stand up and be counted) • Timing • Proactive • “All sources” • Consistency • Concise, succinct and simple • Alert to best thinking 	
	IV	DEFINING VALUES	
	↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whole of government • Creative and innovative • Political instinct • Vision • Partnership between customer and service provider • Pride in sharing the outcome • Willingness to market government policies 	

Source: Behm, Bennington and Cummane (2000, p. 171)

temptation to “throw the baby out with the bath water” needs to be avoided. Civil service reforms have to be brought about by existing civil servants (Borins and Warrington, 1996). Due to the paradigmatic organisational change required by NPM there will be new demands on management education (Koch, 1999). Therefore, attention to their service and developmental needs is important. Identifying and “correcting” skill deficits and problem behaviours is a complex task because the behaviours have been reinforced for many decades by strong systemic (and bureaucratic) forces.

However, before describing the current study that aimed to identify some of the gaps, the context will be provided.

The context: Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka (known as Ceylon until 1972) is a tropical island of about 65,600 square kilometers off the southeast tip of India. Sri Lanka is a sovereign republic that gained its independence from the British in 1948 (De Silva, 1987). British rulers established a highly organised plantation economy in the nineteenth century, which developed alongside a traditional indigenous economy. As Athukorala and Jayasuriya (1994) argue, colonial rule transformed the feudal village-based traditional subsistence economy into a highly trade-dependent economy exporting plantation crops and importing consumer goods. Hence, Sri Lanka became a classic example of a dual economy (Snodgrass, 1966).

It has a population roughly the same as Australia, about 19 million (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 1997). In the literature of policy development, Sri Lanka is portrayed as an exceptional case with

remarkable achievements in health and education compared to its neighbouring countries. For instance, the literacy rates were above 80 per cent in 1995 while the life expectancy at birth in Sri Lanka in 1996 was above 70 years compared to neighbouring Bangladesh where the figures were less than 50 percent and less than 60 years respectively (World Bank, 1998, p. 192-193). These indicators of quality of life are much higher than average figures in developing countries or even in developed countries (Anand and Kanbur, 1995, p. 298). Despite these achievements in education and health, the World Bank in its World Development Report in 1998/99 categorised Sri Lanka as a low-income country with a GNP per capita income of \$800, compared to the United States of America (\$28,740) and Australia (\$20,540) (World Bank, 1998, pp. 190-191). Unfortunately, to most of the world Sri Lanka is known currently for the presence of ethnic tensions and violence.

This study

The literature has done little to inform top civil servants about the skills and attributes needed to add the most value to the process of government policy services and administration, nor how they might improve their services (Bennington, Behm and Cummane, 1998). Therefore, this paper examines the usefulness of the Behm et al (2000) for Sri Lanka and examines the skills that civil servants need to add greater value to government. The data reported here were collected as part of a larger study in Sri Lanka which examined the extent of implementation of NPM, perceptions of relationships between politicians and civil servants, influences on the policy making process, and factors which would improve the effectiveness of the public policy making process.

Along the lines of the Behm et al study (2000), a quality services paradigm was adopted which included not only the top civil servants but their current masters (or “customers”) and opposition members (who were all ex-Ministers). This type of sample was selected because there appears to be evidence for the existence of divergence of expectations between civil servants and politicians (see Korac-Kakabadse and Korac-Kakabadse, 1997). Moreover, Harris (1997), in his criticism of an Australian book on the evaluation of policy advice, points out that the views of politicians are often conspicuous by their absence. Thus, not only the inclusion but the emphasis on politician’s views is addressed by this sampling approach. However, due to the acknowledged difficulties in accessing such senior and busy people (Zimmerman, 1997), only twenty-two interviews were conducted with a convenience sample of 5 current Ministers, 6 Ex-Ministers, and 11 Top Civil Servants. It is important to note, though, that the Ministers in the sample had responsibility for the major portfolios in the Sri Lankan Government. The experience levels of the politicians in the sample varied from 6 to more than 20 years. The civil servants had all been long term civil servants and secretaries (heads of departments) for a minimum of 3 years.

Due to both cultural factors and the sensitivity of the material covered, the qualitative data were collected through in-depth structured face-to-face interviews in Sri Lanka in the period June-July 1999. The interviews were conducted in English and Sinhala, and took an average of 90 minutes. During these interviews the participants also provided responses on rating scales (1 to 9 scales) to questions on the importance of various skills and attributes required by civil servants to facilitate the best performance by Ministers. Ratings on the current levels of performance were also obtained (again, using a 1 to 9 scale). The quantitative data were provided directly by the interviewees in the presence of the interviewer.

Although there have been a few attempts to describe the competencies needed for the new public manager (see Armstrong, 1998; Dann, 1996 and Virtanen, 1996) the literature has not produced detailed behavioural level descriptors or much in the way of specific attributes. Therefore, the basis for the quantitative component of this study was the Behm et al (2000) policy services study which has recently addressed some of these criticisms in respect to the Australian context. Although this study did not address the full role of senior civil servants, it is of particular relevance here due to the changes to public management involving increased policy roles for civil servants (Marshall, 1998).

Findings and Discussion

No significant differences were found between groups (Ministers, ex-ministers and civil servants) on ratings of the attributes. Therefore, the data have been collapsed into one category and Table 2 provides the means and standard deviations on each of the skills and attributes across the sample. It can be seen that, although there is little difference between the mean ratings, all attributes were perceived to be very important. Honesty and integrity of advice received the highest rating but was closely followed by many other attributes. Performance ratings, however, indicated somewhat lower ratings – the highest performance was perceived to be on “achievability” of advice and the lowest rating was on “fearlessness of advisor”. However, given the slight differences it is questionable whether any real weight should be attached to these differences.

Table 2: Perceived importance and performance of attributes of top civil servants work

Attributes	Importance		Performance	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Timeliness	8.23	1.77	6.73	1.28
Achievability	8.05	1.73	6.81	1.12
Factual correctness	8.24	1.38	5.57	1.08
Honesty and integrity of advice	8.46	0.86	6.73	1.32
Credibility of advisor	8.26	0.93	6.05	1.22
Non partisan loyalty to Government	7.95	1.32	6.00	1.48
Fearlessness of advisor	6.90	1.41	5.15	1.46
Understanding of Govt's policies and priorities	7.96	0.72	5.19	1.15
Consultation across the department	7.42	1.02	5.58	1.07
Sensitivity to the Minister's priorities	8.19	1.03	6.40	1.39
Responsiveness	7.16	0.78	5.94	0.73
Relevant	7.47	1.13	5.57	0.98
Practical and focused	7.50	0.86	5.86	0.94
Clear and comprehensive	7.36	1.01	5.77	0.90
Exercisable options	7.25	1.48	5.65	0.93
Personal accessibility	8.00	0.80	5.84	1.26
Dedication – some one who cares	7.47	0.99	5.47	1.06
Recover errors quickly	7.67	1.16	5.67	1.28
Political awareness	7.79	0.92	5.47	1.02
Whole of organisation/department	7.33	0.90	5.73	1.28
Risk sensitivity	7.25	1.00	5.38	1.03
Feedback loops	7.42	1.17	5.21	1.03
Take responsibility (stand up and counted)	7.30	1.21	6.00	1.32
Timing	7.78	0.81	5.56	1.15
Proactive	7.56	1.20	5.24	1.30
All resources	7.40	1.24	5.47	0.92
Consistency	7.52	1.40	5.62	1.24
Concise, succinct and simple	7.67	1.05	5.80	1.32
Alert to best thinking	7.78	1.00	5.72	0.90
Whole of government	7.19	1.17	5.38	0.96
Creative and innovative	8.05	0.92	5.38	0.92
Political instinct	7.38	1.20	5.50	1.03
Partnership between customer and services provider	8.15	1.46	5.80	1.00
Pride in sharing the outcome	8.40	0.96	6.64	0.73
Helps all government policies	8.06	1.35	5.83	0.99
Vision	8.18	1.40	6.14	1.08

Scale of importance – 1 : not at all ... to ... 9: most important attribute

Scale for performance – 1: very poor ... to ... 9: best possible performance

Given the number of attributes and the inability to reduce these through a multi-variate statistical process, such as factor analysis (due to the sample size), the variables were categorised on the basis suggested by Bennington, Behm and Cummane (1998), i.e. they were grouped collaboratively by two researchers into “personal attributes”, “process characteristics”, “form of final advice” and “impact of advice”. (Although this seemed as if it should have been a simple exercise, some of the attributes were difficult to classify as they could be categorised in more than one way.) Table 3 provides a summary of these data.

Table 3: Mean ratings of politicians and civil servants in respect to the skills and attributes required under NPM

Assessment by	Politicians	Civil Servants	Mean
I: Personal attributes	7.95 (0.32)	7.80 (0.34)	7.97 (0.52)
I: Process	7.80 (0.33)	7.40 (1.07)	7.59 (0.81)
I: Form of advice	7.69 (0.28)	7.52 (1.07)	7.60 (0.77)
I: Impact	8.36 (0.40)	7.61 (1.76)	8.03 (1.21)
P: Personal attributes	5.41 (0.48)	6.56 (0.27)	5.94 (0.71)
P: Process	5.00 (0.28)	6.09 (0.26)	5.59 (0.73)
P: Form of advice	5.33 (0.39)	6.31 (1.04)	5.84 (0.73)
P: Impact	6.28 (0.52)	6.36 (1.04)	6.31 (0.76)

I: Importance, P: Performance

It can be seen that the importance ratings were higher than the performance ratings for both politicians and civil servants. In each case civil servants rated their performance more highly than

that reported by the politicians, but as this finding is consistent with much of the self- appraisal literature - see Harris and Schaubroeck, 1988) – this is not seen to be a real problem.

When the top civil servants were asked what additional skills and experience they would need in a NPM environment all twelve said that they thought some private sector experience was necessary, and some of these added that international exposure (4 mentions), academic qualifications (4 mentions) and change management (3 mentions) would also be useful.

Illustrative comments included:

"Working in different sectors, good experience in new managerial practices, more formal education (preferably MBA)"

"Professionally qualified people, international exposure, must have some experience in the private sector, good English knowledge with good interpersonal skills"

"Mixture of public and private sector capabilities, a good knowledge of public service requirements, understanding of service quality"

"Certain specialised knowledge of the private sector, technically qualified people with IT knowledge"

"Some experience in the private sector through training and development, generalist with new outlook"

It is noteworthy that all politicians interviewed thought that top civil servants should have experience in both the private and the public sector.

In respect to any new skills that might be required in a NPM environment by top civil servants, 10 mentioned “interpersonal skills”, 6 mentioned “information technology knowledge”, 4 mentioned “adaptability” and 4 mentioned “report writing skills”. The illustrative comments by civil servants provide further examples of new skills thought to be needed included:

“Understanding of the changing role of the state, people as customers, changing attitudes, sensitivity to demands of the people, transparency in government activities, IT knowledge, adaptability and flexibility”

“Interpersonal skills, more professional/formal qualifications, international exposure, must have some experience in the private sector, a good English knowledge and more challenging experience, IT training, project report writing, more activities between universities and the public sector”

“Conceptual skills, presentation skills, negotiation skills, interpersonal skills, networking skills and a sense of marketing (to look at public as consumers/stakeholders)”

“IT knowledge, managing change skills (interpersonal/communication skills). Adaptability to new environments”

Politicians views on the skills required for civil servants in a NPM environment were not markedly different to those of the civil servants. Seven indicated that “adaptability” was needed, 6 suggested “improved interpersonal skills”, and 3 suggested that “strategic thinking skills” were needed. The illustrative comments provide some further ideas:

“They need to change their attitudes, different working culture, different strategies and understanding of new changes.”

“They need good knowledge of English, presentation and negotiation skills, different strategies to convince foreign donors from time to time and report writing skills.”

“Need strategic thinking, solution to different problems, ability to convince ministers with facts, good understanding of rules and regulations and how this rigid process can be changed for the betterment of the people, and other negotiation skills.”

“They need interpersonal skills, how to look after people's aspirations by meeting their needs and wants, understanding of how to provide customised service.”

“They need to know how to find solutions to problems. Therefore they need strategic thinking, flexibility and proper working culture (changing attitudes).”

“They definitely need more interpersonal skills, new ideas, to be well read about changes in the world, and more flexibility.”

Comparisons with Australian data

It is of interest to note that the list of skills and attributes developed through individual interviews with a similar sample from Australia were confirmed as being important by this Sri Lankan sample. This provides added validity to the list of components in the Behm et al (2000) model which might be used to both develop and assess the performance of civil servants in senior roles.

However, the skills and attributes needed for senior civil servants in a NPM environment in Sri Lanka seemed somewhat different to that expected in a western environment. It is possible that this was due to the fact that they interviewees had already been asked to rate the importance and performance levels of a wide range of attributes and that this had influenced their thinking. It is also possible that the civil servants in Sri Lanka have more of an administrative rather than a policy development role which would have affected the responses. Notwithstanding that both countries operate a Westminster model, Polidano (1998) has pointed out that there are wide and

growing divergencies among countries that operate this model. In this case, though, the concerns appear to be quite different. The discourse was different. This tends to suggest that very tailored approaches to the development of senior civil servants is necessary and that simply enrolling them in western MBA or public management programs probably would not be effective. Their perceived emphasis on private sector experience was interesting although it is unclear as to the type of impact this would have.

Conclusion

Whether or not NPM becomes a major focus of change in Sri Lanka, this study has identified many of the skills, attributes and experience thought to be needed by top civil servants if they are to add value to the government of Sri Lanka. These attributes were identified through interviews and completion of rating scales by both current and ex-Ministers and by top civil servants, so even though the sample size was limited, the seniority and extent of responsibility held by these interviewees still makes the results useful. This study provides support for the importance of the attributes elicited in the Behm et al (2000) study. Moreover, the importance of the “honesty and integrity” attribute is consistent with research on leadership which indicates that honesty and integrity are immutable attributes (Scarnati, 1997).

The attributes and skills required of senior civil servants both in a developing country such as Sri Lanka and in a more developed country such as Australia appear to be very similar, but there are indications that both groups are starting from different points and therefore their training and development needs are different.

In Sri Lanka there was extraordinary consensus between Ministers, ex-Ministers and civil servants on the issue of the type of experience needed for the NPM environment - all thought that private sector experience was necessary. This obviously has implications for the career path and succession planning as well as for the recruitment and selection of senior civil servants. The questions arising from this that need further exploration include the amount, type and level of private sector experience deemed to be necessary, and whether this might be substituted by or supplemented by training or educational programs such as MBA's or perhaps through "shadowing" senior private sector managers over a period of time. However, the Value Creating Model of Policy Services was supported and there are indications that by a few additions to the model (e.g. private sector experience, international exposure, change management experience, academic qualifications) that the model could be generalised for use beyond simply the policy services role of public sector management.

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