New Public Services – New Public Servants?
Managing Cultures and Identities in Transformation

Anne Marie Berg

The Work Research Institute
Oslo, Norway
P.B. 6954 St. Olavs Plass, 0130 Oslo

This paper investigates the interdependence between organizational forms and the identities of managers and front line personnel of government services. We present a model we call "cultural alternatives of action" of four different identity types and how these comply with four organizational types (forms of bureaucracy). We elaborate on what kind of identity is best suited to the culture of the emerging "new" forms of bureaucracy and we indicate the possibility of a fifth type of bureaucracy. This is an organizational form that combines innovation, participation and professional pride.

Raktažodžiai: *viešojo sektoriaus kaita, kultūros, identiškumas, vadovaujantis personalas, vadybininkai.*
Keywords: *public sector transformation, cultures, identities, frontline personnel, managers.*

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the interdependence between organizational forms and the identities of managers and front line personnel of government services. A transformation of government services towards more market based forms and private sector models of management form a set of challenges to the traditional cultures and identities of the service providers. How do managers and frontline personnel receive new public management initiatives? What type of employee is likely to be attracted to the new forms of service organizations?

In a recent study of major government services in Norway (Berg, Heen & Hovde, 2002), we found many remaining traits of the traditional procedural hierarchical bureaucracy. However, more striking were the wide spread presence of elements of independence and discretion for professional services. A basic experience of the front line personnel was that they considered themselves as acting professionals, not rule operators and decision machines. The most important factor for their work satisfaction was the possibility to apply

their skills and competencies to do a professionally good job towards the users of the service. There was also an explicit loyalty towards the principal goals and tasks of the operations. The services studied were under pressure, the workload increasing, the resources decreasing, and subject to managerial as well as structural changes. It was our conclusion that important factors towards keeping these organizations going was the possibility of the staff do their job well and according to professional standards. New managerial systems tended to decrease discretion for many, and increase the various forms of internal regulations and controls. Some of these initiatives were seen as decreasing the possibility to do a good job, thus putting the main driving force and motivational factor under pressure. Front line personnel and top-level managers had different perceptions of organizational reforms. This may (in line with Douglas, 1996) be interpreted as two contradictory or adversary cultures being part of a set of identity constructing interpretations and preferences of the individuals.

The theory of four distinct cultural types presented by Mary Douglas (1996) is used to describe preferences and positions of the service employees. Douglas describes different cultural environments of action and communities of meaning that the individual is part of. We use Douglas` model to elaborate on the link between different identities or preferences and what kind of organization these

_____

Anne Marie Berg – Oslo darbo tyrimo instituto (Norvegija) vyriausioji mokslinė bendradarbė ir Viešojo sektoriaus, politikos, organizacijų ir mokymo departamento direktorė.
El. paštas: *amb@afi-wri.no*

various identities comply with, or are adjusted to. However, in order to do so, we combine Douglas` model of cultural types, a model that after all, are suited to describe choices made by the individual, and a typology of different governance models (types of bureaucracy) (Considine & Lewis, 1999). We present a model we call "cultural alternatives of action" of four different identity types and how these correspond or comply with four organizational types (forms of bureaucracy). We elaborate on what kind of identity is best suited to the culture of the emerging "new" forms of bureaucracy.

The first part of the paper outlines this theoretical model. In the second part of the paper, assumptions of employee behaviour are discussed in light of results from an empirical study of three major government services in Norway. Changes in structure and management styles and how these changes are received and perceived by the service providers are presented. The final section of the paper briefly suggests a possible fifth, alternative form of bureaucracy implicating not only a new bureaucratic structure, but also a new form of bureaucratic culture.

2. Cultural typologies and governance models

A main perspective in organization theory is how one can implement organizational change, realize goals and use strategies and means chosen and defined by managers. Despite relatively widespread participatory implementation strategies, organizational form and organizational goals are usually "forced on" those who work in the organization (Berg, 1997). The question of how professionals and managers consider and react to New Public Management reforms are raised in the literature (e.g. Ferlie et. al., 1996; Exworthy & Halford, 1999; Sehested, 2002; Meyers & Vorsanger, 2003). Some contend that the roles of the professionals are not only changed, but threatened. Some even predict the end of the professions (Broadbent et al., 1997, Dent et al., 1999). Implementation problems are often attributed to bureaucratic incompetence or conflict of interests between policy makers and bureaucratic agents and thus deficiencies in bureaucratic control. However, implementation problems may as well be attributed to ambiguities in the policy making process (Baier, March & Sætren, 1994). In an organizational culture perspective ambiguities in cultures may explain resistance or reluctance to organizational change (Meyerson, 1991). Ambiguity can arise from a lack of clarity or from multiple meanings

and beliefs. Different individual identities and how the changing content of work may affect employees personally in terms of their identities are treated for instance by Halford & Leonard (1999). They also raise the question of how individual identities may shape or determine the way work is carried out. They point out that the interesting question is how the process of *restructuring* consolidates into the *restructured* (op. cit. p. 120). Our point here is that how changes are received, implemented, and their effects, are influenced by the preferences and choices made by the individual of the organization, and that these preferences and choices are contextual and part of collective frames of mind. Task-groups or positions in the work place may constitute such collectives.

2.1. Individual preferences or communities of meaning and action?

For instance, front line personnel and top-level managers often have different perceptions of organizational reforms. In line with institutional theory the front line personnel of public service organizations are influenced by established norms, rules and perceptions of what is good professional behaviour and performance. We could say that the front line is driven by a rationality of hands on operations. The managers of service organizations on the other hand, are driven by what we may call a rationality of governance. The perspective of top-level managers is not so much the needs and requirements of the hands on operations of the service, but the needs and requirements of their superior levels, the government and political level. This may (in line with Douglas, 1996) be interpreted as two contradictory or adversary cultures being part of a set of identity constructing interpretations and preferences of the individuals. In line with other theories on identity, this could be seen as opposing organizational and social identities (Dutton et al., 1994; Kärreman & Alvesson, 20004).

Preferences and choices are often considered as purely individual phenomena: *"A choice is treated as an individual matter, arising out of needs inside the individual psyche, and made to satisfy individual needs"* (Douglas, 1996, p.43). This kind of individualizing approach is quite common in organization theories where much focus is on information and communication to motivate the employees, to make them become "part of the team". There is a whole school of literature on job satisfaction and attitudes in organizations (Brief, 1998). Other organization theories, for instance action theories (Silverman, 1970), emphasize the

ability of the individual to create and recreate its surroundings. However, the main stream of organization theory after Silverman is rather unaffected by this "actors point of view".

A more interpretive perspective on what goes on in organizations implies a change of focus: change processes will not only appear as system changes led and organized from the top and implemented downwards. They will be implemented, modified or sabotaged by the operators among other things according to their cultural maps[1]. They will also be interpreted, understood and translated from the perspective of management to the perspective of everyday life for the "footmen" of the organization.

This process is also the focus of theories of behavioural change within new institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). In this perspective, institutionalized norms and routines "receive" the reforms and initiatives and transform them. An empirical opposition to this perspective could be based on findings from studies of how employees adapt to the work situation of public bureaucracies. A study conducted on Norwegian civil servants found that recruits to a surprisingly large degree, adapted to the dominating values and work styles (Laegreid & Olsen, 1978). Among those who did not adapt, a large number chose to quit the job. In the terms of Hirschman (1971), the conclusion could be that "loyalty" was dominating, there were examples of "exit", while lasting and strong "voice" (protest) was scarce. Does not this indicate that the constitution-forming capacity of the systems by far surpass the individual? At least it would not be out of place to argue that those who inhabit the professional bureaucracies are those who are loyal to the system, and enjoy or thrive in that kind of organization. Adding the force of necessity for many, no wonder we see that support or adaptation is widespread. On the other hand, if this is the case, expressions of discontent and protest are even more important and must be taken even more seriously.

An important point is that the strategies or choices made by the individual are part of a collective frame of mind (Douglas, 1996). These collective mind-sets belong to different cultural environments of action that the individual is part of. The environments of action mediate between the system and the individual. Mary Douglas (1996) distinguishes between four main types of environments of action. Her model is not directed particularly towards work life or organizational contexts. We want to use these types to distinguish between different settings or groups within organizations. Therefore, we have to some degree adapted Douglas` types to fit our purpose (see fig. 1). The figure shows two different kinds of isolated individuals on the left, those who by choice or fate have ended up in some kind of backwater or deadlock isolation and those who actively choose not to engage much in the collective, for instance competition oriented individualism. On the other side are the traditional, strongly incorporated conservative hierarchies we frequently find in large, complex organizations, and strongly incorporated special or peculiar groups of the kind one can find within weak organizational structures.

Intuitive recognition of groups we know from work life settings, gives this typology and appeal. It seems reasonable to suppose that such groups of cultural environments exist even though they may have a rather anonymous and low-keyed character. This perspective also counterbalances any variant of system perspective as it emphasizes the importance of the frames of understanding and values of the actors. But it also counterbalances the individualistic perceptions of organizations, as the frames of understanding of the individual are seen as being part of groups or under-categories of the organization. Within these groups, communities of meaning and action may develop even in opposition to other parts of the larger organizational unit.

This implies that the choices made by the individual are not private choices or roles played according to his or her whims. They are *contextual* choices – they are ways to manoeuvre in an existing structure of opportunities, and they are *political* choices – as the individual accept or reject values tied to perceptions of what is a good organization and a good society. Douglas' perspective shows the importance/significance of what we may give the contradictory term *collective individualism*? People manage their identities in a subjective way, but within meaning-creating contexts that are structured and over-individual. This is particularly evident in work-organizations where the employees manage material and cultural values more or less in line with or against personal values and identities.

---

[1] An objection to the culture/actor perspective could be that the adaptation by the individual to the main norms and routines of the work place is laid down in the work contract signed by the employee. In a wisely modelled work life the individual would not only find his or her "proper shelf" when it comes to interests, talents and skills, but also end up in organizations corresponding to his/her values and preferences.

2.2. Alternatives of action

The purpose of this paper is to reflect on the transformation of public service organizations and the reactions of the employees to the change processes, to new work forms and organizational structures. We believe that Douglas' model may be useful in this as her types describe possible positions and thus alternatives of action of the employees or potential employees.

In Douglas' model there are two main types of support, one based on obedient adaptation to a set of rules, another on opportunistic pursuit of self-interests. A third form completely different from the two, but also a form of adaptation, is linked to the orientation towards the tasks, the management of the professional values and the defence of the integrity of the employees. This is different from opportunism by the focal point being outside the individual (loyalty to the task, not individual utility) and from conformism by emphasizing professional discretion and the individual choice linked to this. If we apply Douglas' approach freely to reflect on different ways to adapt in modern public service organizations, we may draw up a model like the one shown on fig. 2.
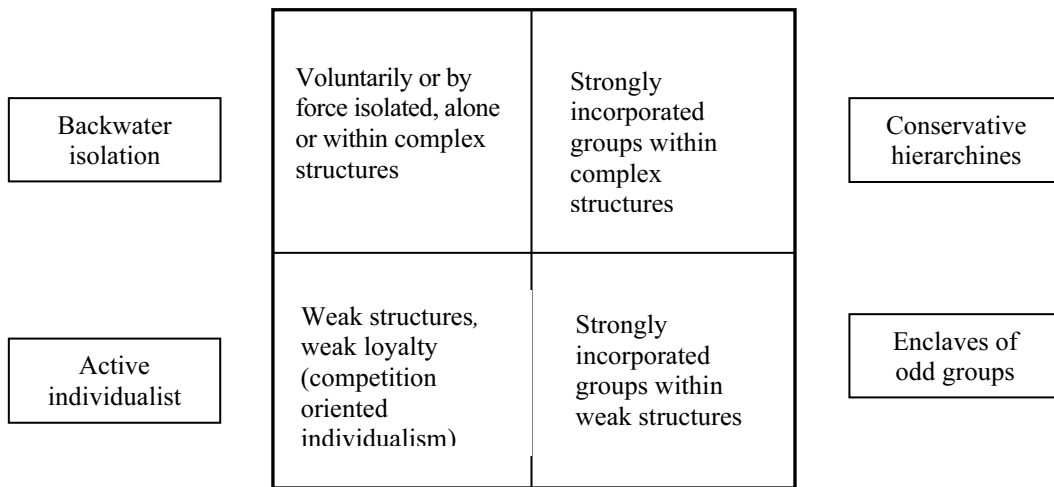
Backwater isolation	Voluntarily or by force isolated, alone or within complex structures	Strongly incorporated groups within complex structures	Conservative hierarchines
Active individualist	Weak structures, weak loyalty (competition oriented individualism)	Strongly incorporated groups within weak structures	Enclaves of odd groups

Fig. 1. Cultural environments of action and communities of meaning

The isolationist (the free player) The one who withdraws physically and socially, but continues to produce within the context of an organization from a "home office", flexible work contract, etc.	**The traditionalist** The one who adapts to the system, is loyal and accepts the existing rules and values. Defends traditional systems and virtues.
The individualist The one who is competition oriented and sees the organization as a playing field for own interests and ambitions. Strong support for modern HRM and individual incentives.	**The innovator** The one who wants to dispel with boundaries and move across systems in order to form contacts, start projects link persons and institutions, etc. Depends on an open mandate.

Fig. 2. Cultural alternatives of action

This is not a precise placement of types. There are for instance certainly examples of professional employees who cut out their roles as competition oriented individuals within a traditional hierarchical organization. In the more clear cut cases though, the professional capacity of the individual may be a valuable resource in his or her struggle for positions, or it is an important element in an individual reward system. Professional competence may as well be converted to a whole-hearted adaptation of the practices rules and procedures of the organization.

2.3. Bureaucratic forms and cultural alternatives of action

Separately, typologies and theories of different governance and organizational models (the system level) and different cultural orientations (the individual level) are incomplete. A perspective of cultural pluralism: the mix between different basic orientations for the members of the organization (like in Douglas' model) must be linked to a concept of pluralism of governance: a mix of bureaucratic forms.

We have constructed a typology of governance and organizational forms after a model presented by Considine & Lewis (1999). The model implies that public bureaucracies develop along a continuum from traditional procedural bureaucracy via an MBO and a market based to a network based form of bureaucracy (see *Table 1*).

The study by Considine & Lewis (1999) looked at the impact of these different images of bureaucracy upon services, clients and organizations. They investigated the extent to which these different images and norms concerning administrative work and orientation to ordinary work tasks were evident in practice. They did find distinctive patterns of service delivery, role of trust, norms of cooperation, supervisory styles, degree of formalization, etc. However, Considine & Lewis study did not apply these findings to a model of corresponding properties of the civil servants, values and identities.

It is when we combine this model and Douglas' typology we may address the question of what kind of motivational systems and personnel management regimes are developed within each one of the governance forms. In the traditional bureaucracy, individualism was tied to the career system. The positional changes of the individual were tied to achievements, but in a formalized and slow way. In the market bureaucracy, the link between performance and reward is potentially much more direct and faster.

It is also possible to infer which kind of bureaucratic form will appeal to which kind of character or cultural type. A corporate bureaucracy that has not developed personal incentives tied to individual performances, will, for example, less likely appeal to the individualist. If we apply the cultural alternatives in figure 2, to the governance models of *table 1*, we may set up the following assumptions:

- the traditionalist will prefer a procedural bureaucracy,
- the individualist will prefer a market based bureaucracy,
- the innovator will prefer a network bureaucracy and
- the isolationist will prefer any form that allows for autonomy.

This is of course, not a clear-cut model. There will be mixes and variations. For instance, the corporate or MBO model has traits that attract the

Table 1: **Governance forms and forms of bureaucracies**

	Source of rationality	Form of control and coordination	Primary principle	Focus (goal) of the service
Procedural Bureaucracy	Law	Rules/procedures Line management	Trustworthiness/ Justice	Equal treatment (universality)
Corporate Bureaucracy (MBO)	Management	Plans and MBO	Goal-driven	Target groups
Market Bureaucracy	Competition	Contracts/ audits inspecttions	Cost-driven	Price
Network Bureaucracy	Culture/ dependencies	Agreements/ trust	Flexibility	Clients

Source: Considine, M. and Lewis J.M. Governance at the Ground Level: The Front-line Bureaucrat in the Age of Markets and Networks. *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 59, No. 6, 1999, p.468 (slightly adjusted).

traditionalist (systems, formalism, standards) but also the individualist (performance orientation, result-indicators).

Efforts to find ways to match people and jobs have a long tradition in organizational psychology and are also found in parts of the organizational culture tradition (Physey, 1993). We are here only indicating how collective identities may be linked to organizational preferences.

2.4. Implications for the transformation processes of services

A transformation from a procedural bureaucracy to a market bureaucracy implies a transformation of the ties between the organization and its member (the bureaucrat). This may not be reduced to a question of "getting people to think new" or to develop a taste for new reward systems. For the members of the organization, the employees, new values and demands require a new mind-set.

Hypothetically, therefore, public sector employees will, according to his or her cultural identity react differently in the process of transformation. Some will meet this with scepticism and frustration, and maybe actively oppose it. Others will react with passive acceptance. Others will look positively on these changes and consider them sensible and necessary, and they will actively adapt. They may see new opportunities in the new organization. This corresponds well with the typology put forth by Halford & Leonard (1999, p.119) referring to Newman & Clark (1994) when discussing the relationship between new managerial discourse and individual identity: it may be met with ambivalence, resistance or adoption. *Individuals may retain continued commitment to professionalism or to non-market notions of public service; or they may be highly sceptical of the relevance of private managerial paradigms for public sector management (op. cit. p. 119)*. Our point draws this further. We ask what this might imply for the constitution of the public sector work force. We may assume that the public sector will:

1. Attract a different type of employee than before;
2. Ward off a previously natural recruitment segment of the work force;
3. Provoke resistance and scepticism from those who do not perceive the new forms as being satisfactory;
4. Start processes of resocialization where old and potential sceptic employees adapt to a new reality.

Now this paper is mainly theoretical. The assumptions are, however, developed through findings from a study of the implementation of reforms in public sector services. We shall therefore briefly present some of these findings. Our data were not collected with the ambition to test models or theories. They do give indications of how managerialist reforms and initiatives are received by employees, and what kind of values and professional identities these initiatives encounter and challenge.

Further research is necessary to explore the link between professional and individual identities and organizational and management forms.

3. Field of study and empirical background

We conducted a study of three major public services in Norway (The National Employment Service, The National Social Security Service, and the Tax Administration (Internal Revenue) in 1999-2002 (Berg, Heen & Hovde, 2002). These are multileveled, nationwide public services. They had at the time of the data collection local offices in most local municipalities, 19 regional offices and a central directorate.

The main focus of the study was on management reforms and quality initiatives. We wanted to explore how effects were perceived by managers and front-line personnel. There are variations in form of initiatives between the services. However, the services are similar in many respects, large, nationwide, multileveled and under the same main personnel policy and governance regime. There are great complexity and important variations within the public sector. We will usually, in line with Meyers & Vorsanger (2003) profess that public sector studies should be context sensitive. For the purpose of this paper, the variations are less important than the similarities, but we shall indicate differences between services where these differences seem important.

A total of 100 managers on all levels and employees on the two local levels were interviewed. Written documents of systems and operations were analyzed. A randomized survey (the same questionnaire, N = 2677 with a response rate of 66%) was administered to managers and staff at the two lower levels in all three services. All kinds of task operators (with a few exceptions) were included[2]. The study was financed by the Norwegian Research Council.

In comparative studies of public management reforms in western industrialized countries variations between countries are described (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000, Christensen & Laegreid, 2001). For instance, Norway is considered to be a reluctant and incremental New Public Management reformer (Olsen & Peters 1996, Christensen & Laegreid 2001). Yet, the NPM transformation have over the

---

[2] The employees of these public services are mainly semi-professionals. Although an increasing large number of employees have university or college degrees, skills and competencies are to a large extent still acquired through in-house training and years of practice in the service.

years been substantial and we believe Norway may be a good example of a public sector in transition (between traditional service provision and organizational forms and market or network bureaucracies). We believe that the similarities in politics and policies also described in comparative studies are so prevalent that experiences from our study are relevant for other countries going through similar reforms and management initiatives.

4. Public bureaucracies in transition

The NPM changes of the new public bureaucracy affect all levels of organization; the institutional level (with competitive tendering principles, etc.), the organizational level (with emphasis on efficiency and performance measurements, new rules of management), the individual level of the employee (reward systems reflecting individual performance, individual work contracts), the level of the users, (service declarations, contracts, marketing of services and customerization). The changes are a modification of what is considered the organizational arrangements of the welfare bureaucracies, and replacing these with principles of the market.

4.1. Changes in structure and management styles

What was the dominant organizational structure and management model of the government services in our study? We found many traits of the traditional procedural hierarchical bureaucracy. However, more striking was the wide spread presence of elements of independence and discretion of the professional service provision. The services had also undergone managerial changes, and principles of the market had been or were introduced. "New Public Management" initiatives challenged the professional independence as well as traditional concepts of public service provision. This indicates that what new management initiatives or public sector reforms challenge is not so much a classical weberian bureaucracy but a more modern professional organization.

The "old" bureaucracy was not completely different from this. The relationship toward the users, clients etc. has always been important, what is new is the customerization of the user or client. The bureaucracy has always emphasized performance, but controlled by the supervisor and rewarded through seniority principles. The changes represent mainly a change in means, not of ends. At least, officially, and in principle, the policy statements of goals and purpose of the welfare service provision remains the same.

4.2. Changes for the service providers

The changes and reshaping of the public services also formed new roles and expectations for the service providers. New tasks are to be performed and in new ways. This is not solely to be attributed to managerial or other reforms, it must also be attributed to new turns in welfare policies, demographic and other changes in the population and new technology.

What characterized the employees of these public services? What were the professional identities and motivational factors? A basic experience of the front line personnel was that they considered themselves as acting professionals, not rule operators and decision machines. The most important factor for their work satisfaction was the possibility to apply their skills and competencies to do a professionally good job towards the users of the service. This corresponds well with the cultural type being loyal to the task, more than the system.

The services studied were under pressure, the workload increasing and the resources decreasing. It was our conclusion that important factors towards keeping these organizations going was the possibility of the staff do their job well and according to professional standards. There was also an explicit loyalty towards the principal goals and tasks of the operations. Even though discretion in decision making was widespread, new systems and organizational initiatives tended to decrease discretion for some groups, and increase the various forms of internal regulations and controls. Some of these initiatives were seen as decreasing the possibility to do a good job, thus putting the main driving force and motivational factor under pressure.

4.3. How did they respond to NPM initiatives?

The management initiatives we studied were implementation or use of management by objectives and results and different forms of quality assurance schemes. Front line personnel and top-level managers had different perceptions of their necessity and success. The top-level managers are directly responsible for decisions about some of the changes, or, they are responsible for the implementation of policy decisions handed down from superior levels (Ministries and politicians). Front-line personnel expressed great concern with the effects of management initiatives on their possibility to do their jobs efficiently and with good quality. Middle or lower level managers shared to a large extent the opinions of the front-line personnel. However, they tended to have a more positive view of changes and not least, their own efforts and involvement as leaders. This is well in line with the assumption of

divergent mind-sets, cultures or values of different layers of employees.

Did these reactions lead to higher turnover? In our data, there were no indications of high turnover. However, employees said they believed their jobs were less secure than before and many thought they might not have the job in the near future. One consistent finding was, though, that the large majority of employees were not happy with the management initiatives. On the other hand, the majority also came out as quite content with the *general* state of affairs in the service. This may well be interpreted along the lines of cultural and individual ambiguities, as described by Meyerson (1991), and how employees are caught up in multiple and competing discourses (Halford & Leonard, 1999).

The Employment service stands out as the service with most discretion, and the most "business like" of the three. This service recruited during the 1990ies employees with higher education and/or with experience from private sector businesses (mainly men). This was done very much under the guise of a new image of a modernized public service. Here, we found a group of particularly dissatisfied employees; middle aged males who had not risen to managerial positions. Some of our informants told us how disappointed they were when they discovered that despite the modern image, the service was hierarchical and bureaucratic. For these employees, the service did not seem modern enough. Other dissatisfied employees, were unhappy with the way their professional skills and competencies were challenged. Their professional pride was hurt. What they expressed was that preconditions for doing a good job for the users and clients were threatened, and that traditional good public service work was no longer appreciated. The more recently recruited managers on the other hand, expressed more enthusiasm towards the new possibilities and challenges of reforms and initiatives.

Now, we know nothing of the identity constituting effect of these attitudes and opinions. As pointed out by Halford & Leonard (1999, p.119), employees may portray managerialist identities while maintaining a quite different sense of self. An adoption of new managerialist *positions* does not necessarily imply a managerialist *identity*. *Adoption* is one thing, it is even more likely that employees may *adapt* to new conditions and organizational forms without developing a corresponding identity. We believe the important question is what happens to those who do not adopt or adapt, but resist or are broken down by the new systems?

5. Conclusions

We concluded that the three public services to a large extent were professional bureaucracies, but under pressure. New roles were shaped for the service professionals. The crucial question is whether or not these roles comply with or promote good professional service quality. Our study gave grounds for serious doubts about this. Important positive properties of the public service employee; professional pride, work ethics, loyalty, user and quality orientation are threatened. Future challenges therefore, will lie in the possibility to create a fifth form of bureaucracy where new roles for the professionals are based on qualities from the "old" regime and even developed further. With reference to Considine and Lewis (1999) typology we may indicate a bureaucracy where: *the main source of rationality* is knowledge and knowledge development, *the form of control* is professional discussions/discourse, independent evaluations and agencies for complaints, *the primary principle is* professionnal pride and quality orientation and *the focus of the service* is professionally dependable/adequate and well-founded decisions and solutions. Is it possible to envisage such a development of not only a new bureaucratic structure, but also a new form of bureaucratic culture?

References

1. Baier, V.E., March, J.G. & Sætren, H. Implementation and Ambiguity. In McKevitt, D. & Lawton, A. (Eds.). *Public Sector Management, Theory, Critique and Practice.* London: Sage, 1994, 160-170.

2. Berg, A.M. Participatory Strategies in Quality Improvement Programs, *Public Productivity and Management Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1997, 30-43.

3. Berg, A.M., Heen. H. & Hovde, S. *Kvalitetsbyråkratiet – mellom autonomi og kontroll.* No. 11, Oslø: The Work Research Institute, 2002.

4. Brief, A.P. *Attitudes In and Around Organizations.* London: Sage, 1998.

5. Broadbent, J., Dietrich, M. & Roberts, J. The End of the Professions? The Restructuring of Professional Work. London: Routledge, 1997.

6. Christensen, T. & Laegreid, P. New Public Management. The transformation of ideas and practice. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.

7. Considine, M. & Lewis, J.M. Governance at the Ground Level: The Front-line Bureaucrat in the Age of Markets and Netweorks. *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 59, No. 6, 1999, 467-480.

8. Dent, M., O`Neill, M., & Bagley, C. (Eds.). Professions, New Public Management and the European Welfare State. Staffordshire: Staffordshire University Press, 1999.

9. DiMaggio, P. & Powell, W. (Eds.) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

10. Douglas, M. *Thought Styles, Critical Essays on Good Taste.* London: Sage, 1996.

11. Dutton, J., Dukerich, & Harquail, C. Organizational Images and Member Identification. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 39, 1994, 239-63.

12. Exworthy, M. & Halford, S. (Eds.). *Professionals and the New Managerialism in the Public Sector.* Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999.

13. Ferlie, E. et al. *The New Public Management in Action.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

14. Halford, S. & Leonard, P. New Identities? Professionalism, managerialism and the construction of self. In Exworthy, M. & Halford, S. (Eds) *Professionals and the New Managerialism in the Public Sector.* Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999.

15. Hirschman, C. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

16. Kärreman, D. & Alvesson, MCages in Tandem: Management Control, Social Identity, and Identification in a Knowledge-Intensive Firm, *Organization*, Vol. 11 (1), 2004, 149-175.

17. Laegreid, P. & Olsen, J. P. *Byråkrati og beslutninger*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1978.

18. Meyerson, D.E. Acknowledging and Uncovering Ambi-guities in Cultures. In Frost, P. J. et. al. (Eds.) *Reframing Organizational Culture*. London: Sage, 1991, 254-270.

19. Meyers, M. K. & Vorsanger, S. Street-Level Bureaucrats and the Implementation of Public Policy in: Peters, G. B. & Pierre, J. (Eds.): *Handbook of Public Administration*, London: Sage, 2003, 245-255.

20. Newman, J. & Clark, J. Going about business? In Clark, J, Cochrane, A. & McLoughlin, E. (Eds.) *Managing Social Policy*. London: Sage, 1994.

21. Olsen, J. P. & Peters, G. *Lessons from Experience*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996.

22. Pheysey, D.C. *Organizational Cultures. Types and Transformations.* London: Routledge, 1993.

23. Pollitt, C. & Bouckaert, G. *Public Management Reform. A Comparative Analysis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

24. Sehested, K. How New Public Management Reforms Challenge the Roles of Professionals, *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 25, No. 12, 2003, 1513-1537.

25. Silverman, D. *The Theory of Organisations.* London: Heinemann, 1970.

Anne Marie Berg

Naujoji viešoji tarnyba – naujieji valstybės tarnautojai?
Kultūros ir asmenybės kaitos vadyba viešosios tarnybos transformacijos laikotarpiu

Reziumė

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamos sąsajos tarp organizacinių formų ir valstybės tarnybos vadybininkų asmenybės bruožų. Akcentuojant, kad, vis plačiau valstybės tarnyboje taikant rinka grindžiamas privataus sektoriaus vadybos formas ir modelius, susiduriama su naujais iššūkiais tradicinei vadybos kultūrai ir šioje srityje dirbančių asmenybės bruožų kaitai, pateikiamas veiklos kultūrinių alternatyvų modelis, kuriuo remiantis analizuojama, kaip keturi asmenybės tipai derinasi su keturiais organizaciniais (biurokratijos) tipais. Išryškinta, kurie asmenybės bruožai geriausiai tinka formuojant naujųjų biurokratijos formų kultūrą. Pagrindžiama penktosios biurokratijos formos, kurioje susipintų inovacijos, dalyvavimas ir savigarba, galimybė. Teoriniai apibendrinimai grindžiami tyrimų, atliktų trijose didžiausiose Norvegijos valstybės tarnybos institucijose (Nacionalinė įdarbinimo tarnyba, Nacionalinė socialinės apsaugos tarnyba ir Mokesčių administracija) rezultatais.