# Role of Management Education in Adapting the Indian Public Sector to Market-based Economic Reforms

#### **Abstract**

**Purpose**: In 1991 India embarked on market-based economic reforms initiatives pillared on liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). The reforms exposed the public sector enterprises to competitive market forces, raising the need to identify and develop the competencies necessary for survival. Executive training programs were initiated to prepare public enterprises for the market-based reforms. Three decades later, the reforms especially privatization is witnessing renewed interest under the current administration. In this context, the article takes a closer look at the structure of management education provided to public sector officers in India. The article also identifies barriers for implementing the learnings from the management courses in the workplaces and suggests approaches for closing the gap.

**Design/methodology/approach**: The study follows a thematic approach based on unstructured interviews of senior executives of Indian public sector enterprises covering oil and gas, aeronautical, power, and transportation sectors. New Public Management (NPM) is used as a yardstick of "business-like" characteristics of public sector enterprises.

**Findings**: Despite heavy investment, trainings have had only partial success in implementing the core objective of NPM i.e., to provide quality services in a professional manner to meet citizen requirements. The study found that though concepts of NPM are introduced at multiple management training programs, the public enterprises lag in the implementation of NPM. The ingrained hierarchical and procedural culture of the enterprises was often highlighted as the challenge to its implementation.

**Practical implications**: The study will be of significance to Indian policymakers in designing management education programs to public sector employees. It brings out -(1) various models of management education provided to public servants across industries, (2) provide evidence on the extent of NPM implementation, (3) identify barriers for transitioning the learnings from the management courses to workplace, and (4) suggest changes for improving effectiveness.

**Originality/value**: The existing research on LPG in India covers the economic transformation post-implementation and the factors contributing to the success of its implementation. This study adds to the limited literature available on the management education of public servants in the country.

#### 1. Introduction

In the last three centuries, public administration has played a significant role in transitioning societies from feudal to contemporary and democratic systems (Frederickson *et al.*, 2016). In the last few decades, the public sector faced additional challenges as a result of globalisation. The public sector no longer had the luxury of operating in a sellers' market, and it had to compete with both domestic and international competitors. Even though there has been a continuing

shift away from the PSU model post industrialization, PSUs constituted nearly 25 percent of the Fortune Global 500 companies in 2019 (Fortune, 2021).

In India, the PSUs have contributed to the development of the country by creating a strong industrial base (Gupta et al., 2018). Post-independence, Government of India adopted a socialist model of development – the Feldman-Mahalanobis model (Feldman, 1928; Mahalanobis, 1953) – focusing on building a strong capital base through PSU investments in core areas such as steel, oil and transportation (Hambrock and Hauptmann-Socrates, 1999). The watershed year, 1991, heralded the liberalisation of the Indian economy. As India embarked on a new route of liberalisation and deregulation, the PSUs began to be perceived as 'anachronistic' institutions, inefficient and deficiently managed, controlled by vested interests, yielding lower return on capital invested and liable to be privatised (Ahluwalia, 2002; Oommen, 1993). In the last three decades Indian PSUs have been trying to transform themselves to competitive, fast growing economic units (Khanna, 2015). To enable this transformation, the Indian government has made a strong commitment to empower the management teams of the central PSUs (CPSUs), PSUs under the central government's direct administration. Government has recognized the need for CPSUs to be professionally managed with a keen focus on performance. One of the most significant factors to ensure the efficient and profitable operation of an organisation is the effective utilisation of its available resources. CPSUs employ a large workforce across disciplines, and the success of these organisations is dependent on the effective management of the personnel (Talukdar, 2013). Management training was identified as a requirement at all levels for preparing CPSUs for market-based reforms (Sharma, 1992).

In this context, this study tries to understand the structure of management education offered to CPSU officers in India. In addition, the study investigates the implementation of the principles of market-oriented New Public Management (NPM) within the CPSUs. An attempt was also made to understand the key impediments to its implementation. The article concludes by suggesting changes for closing the gap between training and implementation. The article is structured in six sections – the following sections cover the background of the study followed by theories of public administration, research methodology, findings and discussion, and conclusion.

## 2. Background of the Study

Historically, the public sector has been a very important provider of goods and services in India. In 1980s, the improving socio-economic conditions brought in changes in public expectations (Borins, 1995). PSUs struggled to keep up with the expectations due to inefficiency, bureaucracy, lack of accountability, and corruption across levels (Kalimullah *et al.*, 2012; Minogue *et al.*, 1998). Globalization increased competition in sectors once dominated by PSUs. Public sector organizations across the world have gone through this transition during different timeframes (HOOD, 1991; Hood, 1995; Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011). Facing similar problems in the 1980s, public sector enterprises in UK and Australia introduced New Public Management (NPM) as a new paradigm of public administration (HOOD, 1991). NPM targeted to build flexibility, market orientation, transparency and performance management to attain the 3Es – efficiency, economy and effectiveness. The key elements of NPM were (1) adoption of private sector management

practices, (2) hands-on management with set performance standards, (3) implementation distanced from policymakers, (4) focus on entrepreneurial initiatives, (5) resource and output control, (6) performance-based reward systems, and (7) optimal use of markets, competition, and contracts (Dunleavy and Hood, 1994; HOOD, 1991; Osborne, 2006). NPM focuses on empowering the customers to choose between various service providers (Dunleavy and Hood, 1994). Despite its limitations (Christensen *et al.*, 2008; Dunleavy *et al.*, 2006; Pollitt *et al.*, 2004), NPM is widely regarded as a go-to framework for developing countries hoping to transition their public sector using market-based reforms (Elias Sarker, 2006).

India has been attempting market-based reforms at its PSUs since opening its economy. After attaining independence in 1947, the Indian public sector focused on building the country as a 'welfare state'. Until the economic reforms of 1991, PSUs were the sole-provider of majority of the goods and services. With liberalization, the challenges faced by the Indian public sector also changed. The public sector responded to these challenges through various policy reforms (Heeks, 1998; Talukdar, 2013). The administration focused on slimming down the government, both in size as well as functions, initiated disinvestment to make room for private participants in providing goods and services, and removed subsidies thereby exposing public sector enterprises to open market competition. The government also reduced control in public sector enterprises to enhance transparency and efficiency in operations. The decentralization was undertaken through setting up panchayati raj (village council) institutions for each panchayat. To further transparency, India adopted the Right to Information (RTI) act in 2005, giving right to citizens to request information from public authorities. To enhance efficiency, government also initiated e-governance at both central and state levels. To ensure compliance, government reformed the appraisal system for public sector employees. Under the current political regime, market-based policy reforms have received renewed focus since 2014. During this period, NPM principles manifested through lateral entry of private sector professionals in government organizations, digital India campaigns, abolition of affidavits and promotion of selfcertification, and introducing the right to receipt for consumers.

Management training also had to respond to these evolving employee, market and customer requirements. Fig.1 presents the drivers of changes in management training in public enterprises post-1991. Understanding the need, the PSUs built internal capabilities to cater to the training requirements. Meanwhile, institutions affiliated to the government were asked to offer specialized training programs to support public service personnel.

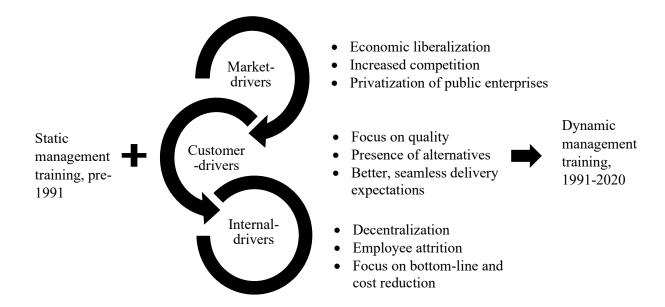


Fig 1. Drivers of management training in public sector in India 1991-2020 Source: Authors' Analysis

The personnel training was aimed at transforming public sector organizations into professional and citizen friendly entities with competent personnel dedicated to offering quality service to citizens (GoI, 2012). However, more than two decades after its implementation, citizens still associate public sector with bureaucracy, corruption, political high-handedness and cumbersome processes (Bussell, 2018; Naher *et al.*, 2020; Sinha *et al.*, 2019). Against this backdrop, this study attempts to understand the role of management education in implementing NPM principles in PSUs. The objective is to understand the challenges faced by organizations in implementing NPM principles and whether they are linked to the management education impacted. The study covers the following questions – (1) what is the structure of management education provided to PSUs?, (2) has NPM been implemented in PSUs?, (3) what are the barriers in transitioning the learnings from the management courses to workplace? and, (4) what can be done to close these gaps?

A brief review of existing literature is provided in the following section.

## 3. Literature Review

The literature covering management education and public sector transformation has been grouped under two areas: (1) need for management education during organizational changes and (2) management education and public sector reforms. The details of the existing literature under each of these areas are provided below.

## 3.1 Need for management education during organizational changes

Management education has been recognized as crucial to support employees cope with organizational changes (Samuelson, 2006). The need for management education in

transitioning public sector organization from a culture of failure and managerial ineptitude is further reinforced by findings of Kamoche (Kamoche, 1997). According to Kamoche, "the effectiveness of organisational reform will depend on the availability of staff with the requisite skills to manage the financial, technological and production resources necessary for effective product and service delivery". Business schools are considered crucial venues for management education enabling professionals cope with organizational requirements (Reynolds and Vince, 2004). Reynolds and Vince argue the role of management education in enhancing innovation within organization. According to the researchers, "innovation is inextricably tied to management education in terms of developing, capturing, sharing, distributing, and making the most existing skills and knowledge as well as in providing clues to strategic development of future skills and new or desired knowledge".

## 3.2 Management education and public sector reforms

In contrast to profit-maximizing philosophy followed by private organizations, PSUs are driven by the dual responsibilities of attaining social and financial objectives (Currie *et al.*, 2008). For transitioning PSUs from its bureaucratic to that of a performance-oriented enterprise culture, researchers advocate that "longer term change in an organisational system will not be effected or sustained, unless the underlying values and belief systems of the members shift" (Ferlie *et al.*, 1996; Lovell, 1992).

Though business schools are considered commercial successes, practitioners have raised questions regarding the practical relevance of their curriculum in an evolving business world (Ghoshal, 2005; Pfeffer and Fong, 2002). Academicians have also highlighted the need for business schools to adopt a teaching curriculum and pedagogical approach more relevant to the industry (Harrison *et al.*, 2007). In particular, researchers have raised concerns regarding the relevance of current management education in supporting public sector reforms. Literature provides ample evidence on the ineptitude of the business school curriculums in meeting the industry requirements (Ghoshal, 2005; Grey, 2004; Pfeffer and Fong, 2002). Referring to the public sector reforms in particular, researchers argue that "it is timely opportunity for the management education sector to radically rethink its underlying assumptions and the type of provision it offers, and rise to the call for a more effective public sector management" (Hagen and Liddle, 2007). Hence, literature argues that the management education has been lagging behind in bringing about a required change in public sector. This study finds evidence of whether the management education provided to officers of Indian PSUs has supported in transitioning the organizations to NPM principles.

The next section covers the research methodology used in this study.

## 4. Methodology

Indian public sector undertakings, owned by the central (CPSU) or state (SPSU) governments, together accounts for about 20 percent of national income and 20 million employees across levels. The CPSUs are primarily headquartered in New Delhi with regional branches located in major cities, state capitals or mining/port locations based on their operations. They are managed by the Department of Public Enterprises, Ministry of Finance. Based on their net

worth, the largest CPSUs are grouped as *Maharatna* (>\$1.8bn net worth), *Navratna* and *Miniratna* enterprises. This study focuses on the 12 *Maharatnas* and 12 *Navratnas*, the largest CPSUs operating in India. The companies range from a net worth of \$32 bn (Oil and Natural Gas Corporation) to \$0.9 bn (Shipping Corporation of India). Though these CPSUs have a stronger presence in the domestic markets, some do have a global presence. For instance, Indian Oil Corporation Ltd and Bharat Electronics Ltd have international presence through research collaborations and joint ventures. In the domestic market, the largest CPSUs compete with global giants such as Shell (oil and gas), Honeywell (aerospace), and Alstom (heavy electricals). For this study, the authors interviewed senior human resource personnel associated with 10 such entities, covering 42 percent of *Maharatna/Navratna* enterprises.

Academicians utilize different methodologies for validating research hypothesis covering qualitative and quantitative approaches. Due to its relevance in policymaking, quality of research in public administration should be evaluated in terms of actionable knowledge (Raadschelders, 2011). For the purpose of this study, the researchers conducted in-depth interviews of ten human resources leaders at the Deputy General Manager (DGM) level or above within the largest CPSUs (*Maharatna/Navratna*) of India. The position of DGM requires a minimum experience of 12 years. Majority of the interviewees joined at the junior level and grew within their respective organization. The interviewees had undergone management education focused on general management/HR prior to joining the organization or during their tenure. Their age ranged from 42 to 56 years. As the HR leadership is mostly based at the head office in New Delhi, interviews were conducted using the electronic medium. The profile of the ten interviewees in terms of their title, gender and industry is provided in Table 1. The experience and position of the officers interviewed justify that the candidates chosen for the study as their exposure makes them well-versed with the government functioning across the years.

Table 1. Respondent's details

Sl No	Designation	Gender	Industry
1	Deputy General Manager	Male	Oil and Gas
2	General Manager	Male	Oil and Gas
3	Chief Manager – HR	Male	Oil and Gas
4	General Manager – HR	Male	Steel
5	Executive Director – HR	Male	Oil and Gas
6	Chief Manager – HR	Female	Aerospace and Defence
7	Assistant General Manager – Training	Male	Minerals
8	Assistant General Manager – Corporate affairs	Male	Utilities
9	Executive Director - HR	Male	Mining
10	Chief Manager – HR	Female	Aerospace and Defence

Source: Authors' analysis

The researchers followed an open-ended interview format typically used in field studies (Bernard and Bernard, 2013). As shown in Table 2, an interview guide was used to streamline the interview process (Gilbert and Stoneman, 2015) as required in social research. As the

questions addressed required in-depth deliberation, a one-to-one interview approach has been used (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Considering the pandemic, interviews were conducted virtually using video conferencing platforms. The interviews were recorded using the option provided by the platform. The duration of the interviews varied from 30 minutes to an hour using the interview protocol as suggested by Cresswell. The transcription of the interviews was electronically stored.

As shown in Table 2, the interview guide investigated the following themes -(1) background of the interviewer, (2) structure of management education within the organization, (3) evolution of management education post liberalization, (4) extend to which the principles of NPM are included in the training curriculum, and (5) barriers to the implementation of NPM. The interview guide was adopted from the research conducted by Bhiwajee and Garavan (Bhiwajee and Garavan, 2016).

Table 2. Interview Guide

Theme	Question
Background	What is your designation?
	For how many years have you been working in the public sector?
	How many governments have you been through?
	Which public sector management courses did you take?
	What was the main purpose behind these courses?
	What is your job title?
Public sector	
change	past years
	What is your opinion about such changes cutting across all ministries?
	According to you, why did such changes take place?
	These changes happened by themselves or were made to happen? Why do
	you say so?
	Has the way service been delivered to external customers changed over the
	years?
Structure of	How are management courses run – inhouse or outsourced?
management	How are the candidates selected?
education	Who are the key decision makers when it comes to training?
Implementation	Can you comment on the NPM concept?
of NPM	What is it according to you?
	How far would you agree that NPM is being practiced in your ministry?
	Why would you disagree?
	How far do you agree that NPM has been adopted in the Indian public
	sector as a whole?
Barriers to	What are the challenges faced in its implementation?
implementation	

Source: Adopted from Bhiwajee and Garavan, 2016

The study utilized thematic analysis to identify, analyse and report patterns in the data collected through the interview process (Griffiths *et al.*, 2011). A theme captures "something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun and Clarke, 2006). As suggested by literature

(Kalekin-Fishman, 2001), the researchers listened to the recordings multiple times while preparing the transcripts. This helped in understanding the sequencing and wording used in the interview. Focus was on finishing the transcribing process as immediately as possible after each interview. The researchers did not make use of any software, but rather immersed deeply in the ten transcripts to make meaning out of the conversation for analysis at a later stage (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Relevant expressions, sentences and words were underlined and notes were made to guide the researchers towards the objectives of the study. Broad themes, as provided in Table 2, were coded in the transcript. The transcript was also highlighted to indicate key phrases, expressions and terms. The authors analysed the transcript to identify patterns within one transcript and commonalities between them.

In qualitative research, data analysis is the "examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing and contemplating coded data" (Bernard and Bernard, 2013). As the study used the direct interpretation method (Creswell and Poth, 2016), various segments of the transcript were categorized under relevant themes and sub-themes. The sub-themes within the primary themes of study are shown in Table 2. This process of documenting sub-themes in word format tables largely eliminates subjectivity so that the data can be analysed devoid of personal biases. Through this process of coding, the structure of management education for public sector employees and implementation of NPM principles were investigated.

## 5. Findings

## General observations

The findings indicate that irrespective of the varied enterprises they belonged to and their difference in demographics, there was consensus on different themes considered in the study. Though there were differences based on the organization, the responses of the candidates did not show any prominent variance. Majority of the interviewees were sponsored by their organization and were provided with leaves to facilitate participation in the course. None of the participants revealed that the course was taken for availing promotion or salary increments. The interviewees were unanimous in citing that there is no dearth of training budgets allotted by the government. The budget is sufficient for meeting the introductory training needs of management trainees, step-up training required post promotion, faculty remunerations, travel and accommodation expense, and a nominal living expense for the trainees. These provide evidence of the government's continuous commitment to provide training to public sector officers (GoI, 2012).

Majority of the interviewees commented that their PSUs witnessed substantial strategic realignments since the economic reforms in 1991. Following these changes, the management training programs in these organization saw drastic revamp in the last two decades. According to them the earlier programs were targeted to provide fundamental managerial skills to technical officers. However, the revamped curriculum included courses relevant to a market-based policy making such as customer centricity, market research, long-term strategy development, employee satisfaction, information systems and outsourcing.

# Training process

Increased competition and evolving market dynamics demand constant redesigning of management training programs. The process of provision of management training programs in CPSUs is as shown in Fig.2. Annual performance appraisal is used as the platform to discuss and understand the training gap. These are based on the employee's assessment of the market needs and supervisor's evaluation of the employee's capabilities and requirement for future career growth. For instance, an employee scheduled for promotion might need specific training in people management, soft skills, strategy, customer engagement or data analysis capabilities to meet the requirements of the new role. The training gap analysis conducted during the performance appraisal process is collated centrally, typically by the training and development department, and it is used to design training programs for the coming year. The assessment centres forward these requirements to the training academy which prepares a schedule for the training programs required after consultation with the trainers. Capacity assessment is conducted to decide the programs to be outsourced to MoU partners. New MoUs are entered into based on the training requirements. The training calendar once finalized is published in employee portals across the organization. The employees can nominate themselves for the training after approval from the supervisor. The supervisor's approval is dependent on the workflow allocation, alternative resource availability, and the relevance of training. The past performance and the skillset of the employee is also considered before nominating them for training.

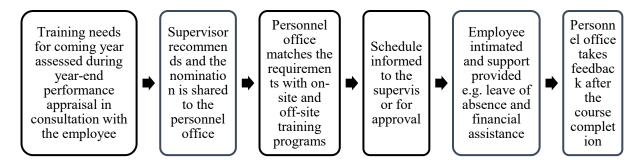


Fig 2. Process followed for personnel training Source: Authors' Analysis

Once the nomination is approved, the employee and the supervisor receive an alert post which the employee is released for training based on availability. The employees are provided financial assistance for travel, living expenses and accommodation. The training programs have evaluation processes inbuilt in the curriculum. For both onsite and offsite training, performance report of the employee is shared with the supervisor. Once the training is completed, the employee is expected to submit a report on their learnings and experiences to the supervisor who forwards it to the personnel training department. After submission of the report, formal feedback is taken from the employee to assess the quality and relevancy of the program. The feedback is aggregated and shared with the relevant departments for addressing the concerns. This usually involves redesigning the course objectives, modifications in pedagogy and

evaluation. In case the program is conducted by business schools, the feedback is shared with them for their response and corrective action. An interviewee mentioned that in case of consistent gaps in training, provisions are available within the MoU for withdrawing from the relationship. Periodic feedback is taken from the supervisor to understand whether there was any performance enhancement post training. This feedback loop ensures that the training process remains "market relevant with a keen focus on practical applications".

This next covers the following areas: (1) structure of management education in CPSUs, (2) extent of NPM implementation in CPSUs, and (3) relevance of management courses.

# (1) Structure of Management Education in CPSUs

Post liberalization, public sector personnel were encouraged to undertake customized management courses. According to the interviewees, the CPSUs follow a three-pronged management education program as shown in Fig. 3. The three approaches to offering management courses are through (1) in-house specialized academy, (2) tie-ups with tier-1 business schools in India and (3) on-the-job training. All the organizations we covered in this study followed a combination of these three approaches. However, some of the enterprises preferred in-house training over other approaches. The legacy public sector enterprises across sectors have their own training academy providing technical, inter-personnel and management training to the employees.

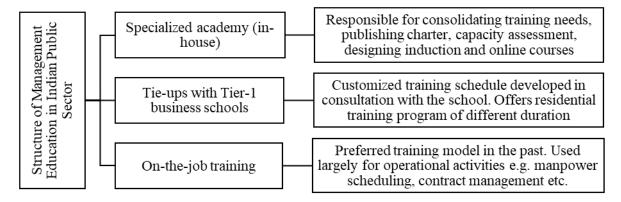


Fig 3. Structure of Management Education in CPSUs Source: Author's analysis

The introductory training for new management trainees is typically provided by the in-house academies. A few CPSUs require the management trainees to undergo a 52-week on-the-job training as part of their introductory training process. During this period the trainees are allocated to various departments to understand operations and interact with the general managers. For instance, a defence CPSU sends their management trainees on a mandatory 'India darshan' to visit the organizations' centres across the country. One of the interviewees associated with a leading oil and gas company commented,

"We expect our managerial executives to have a clear understanding of the organization and its varied departments as the decisions they take at a central level could have ramifications across the organization." (I3: page 3)

Management training required for mid-career promotions is provided through tie-ups with tier-1 business schools. Majority of the enterprises covered in this study has long-standing memorandum of understanding (MoU) with their chosen business school. For e.g., one defence major has appointed a dedicated officer in one of the premium institutions. The officer liaises with the faculty team of the business school in curating programs based on the requirements of the CPSU. Such tailored residential programs for specific CPSUs are currently running at various tier-1 business schools. The duration of these programs varies from 2 weeks to 2 years. Due to the long absence from work, the supervisors might hesitate to release employees, especially if the person is involved in critical job roles. To counter this problem, business schools offer executive and hybrid program. In hybrid model, the employees are required to undergo residential training for shorter durations, while the rest of the training is provided at the employee's jobsite or through online courses. It is particularly preferred when the employees are located at remote work locations. According to a mining sector interviewee,

"... it is difficult to release personnel especially from remote work sites as replacements might not be available. In such cases trainers from business schools visit the site to conduct weekend or evening sessions. This model provides a win-win situation for both the employee and the supervisor." (I6: page 5)

Some CPSUs invite business school faculty to provide specialized courses and for designing courses at their in-house academy. A few interviewees mentioned MoUs existing between their CPSU and international business schools. For instance, an aeronautics major sends 40 management trainees who have completed 5 years with the organization to Cranfield University UK for specialized aeronautical management training programs.

Interviewees commented that though specialization (finance, marketing, operations and human resource) specific programs are offered at onsite and business schools, the primary focus is on general management programs. According to them, this model transitions officers into "matured, independent individual who will take a holistic view of the projects they are assigned to". Majority of the programs follow a case study pedagogy and learning through experience sharing. In an interviewee's opinion, such a pedagogy "make the program more relevant the work situation, rather than making the training generic and theoretical".

CPSUs which follow on the job training require the management trainees to perform the daily operations of the function under a supervisor. Though the focus is on learning while doing, classroom-based trainings are provided when required. On the job training required trainees under probation to be under constant rotation between various departments causing disgruntlement and increased attrition.

## (2) Extent of NPM Implementation in CPSUs

Though the interviewees were vocal about the changes in the public sector and its drivers, NPM was not mentioned as a change they witnessed in their organization, until probed. Their responses indicated that all agreed on the relevance of NPM to meet the changing market demands. Phrases such as "should be implemented" (I4: page 2), "need of the hour" (I6: page 3) and "will help" (I3: page 2) were used frequently by the interviewees. However, only a few of them could highlight instances where they have observed the practice of NPM within their

organization. A minority of the interviewees agreed that NPM principles are currently practiced in their respective organization or CPSUs, in general. The understanding from the interviews was that though NPM as a concept was well accepted within the Indian CPSUs, its implementation was scanty. The responses were skewed towards future implementation, rather than highlighting the current situation. For instance, one of the HR managers explained:

"...the concepts of NPM should become a reality. It will help the government do better resource allocation and be more competitive in the marketplace. ... increasing the accountability is key to ensure CPSUs remain profitable" (I5: page 3)

The comments made by the interviewees revealed the partial adoption of NPM within public sector enterprises. A few interviewees observed that though the concept in its entirety is not practiced, many organizations have implemented parts of it. An interviewee from the steel industry commented:

"I do not think that the enterprises would have survived global competition without being market-oriented, professional, focused on output and accountable. These are elements required for the survival of any organization – be it public or private." (T8: page 5)

Executives highlighted the increase in accountability within the CPSUs, a key component of NPM-based reforms. For instance, one interviewee observed:

"The officers are now accountable for all budgetary aspects – planning, allocation, distribution and utilization. ... I think NPM has already been implemented, at least in departments which directly deal with public finances." (I2: page 4)

Though there were positive responses regarding adoption of NPM within departments, the general agreement was that CPSUs are not practicing NPM in its entirety. The comments made by the interviewees highlighted the lack of adoption of NPM across CPSUs. The phrases used during the interview such as "we need to ramp up" (I6: page 3), "not sure what it (NPM) is called but we need to adopt it" (I9: page 5) and "it looks good on paper, but will it work in practice" (I1: page 8) clearly shows non-existence of NPM in majority of the Indian CPSUs. Table 3 lists the comments made by the interviewees which convinced the researchers about the scanty adoption of NPM

Table 3: Adoption of NPM

Transcript	Comment	
reference		
I1: page 8	NPM looks good on paper, but will it work in practice? I am not sure. We	
	still follow the rule-based structure passed on from the central leadership.	
	But NPM would be good to have	
I2: page 4	I think NPM has already been implemented, at least in departments which	
	directly deal with public finances	
I3: page 2	Our departments are run based on rules existing since the colonial era. NPM	
	has definitely not found its way to PSUs. Customer engagement, quality	

	assurance, streamlining operations are definitely not the key. It will help to	
	practice NPM.	
I4: page 2	PSUs have already been exposed to market competition. Market-based	
	reforms should be implemented to better equip the departments to external	
	competition	
I5: page 3	the concepts of NPM should become a reality	
I6: page 3	NPM has limited acceptance across organizations. We need to ramp up and	
	ensure that all department follow the framework. It is the need of the hour	
I7: page 3	I am sure NPM has not been adopted across public sector organizations,	
	definitely not in its entirety	
I9: page 5	5 I understand the reforms required for market-based organizations and it wi	
	be useful to have. I am not sure what it is called but we need to adopt it.	
I10: page 2	It sounds good but it has found limited takers among leaders	

Source: Authors' analysis of interview transcripts

In investigating the reasons for the meagre implementation of NPM, bureaucratic culture was often highlighted as a reason. The detailed observations from the interviews regarding practice of bureaucracy is provided in the following section.

## Bureaucratic culture

During the investigations, the interviewees revealed the practice of bureaucracy and how it has been accepted as the accepted form of governance across organizations. A few officers even expressed their preference for bureaucratic practices. For instance, a few interviewees mentioned the importance of "following due process" (I7: page 7, I10: page 6) before taking strategic decisions. They detailed the rules and procedures required for even minor approvals which makes the system rigid. Officers also highlighted the need for "documenting everything" (I2: page 5) to ensure they are not held responsible for future problems. The comments of the executives on bureaucracy during the interview process were very straightforward. These details are provided in Table 4.

One of the primary principles of NPM i.e., decentralization is yet to be implemented in majority of the organizations covered. The interviewees used phrases such as "it comes from the central office" (I6: page 4), "we do not decide" (I9: page 9), "there is a central department which looks into it" (I5: page 7) and "we wait for the approval from the head office" (I3: page 9). When asked to elaborate on the functionalities needing central approval, the consensus was that the regional managers had the autonomy to decide on manpower management, but the market- and customer-oriented decisions are taken centrally.

Table 4: Existence of bureaucratic practices

Transcript	Comment
reference	

I2: page 5	documenting everything is the key. Sometimes there is more time	
	spent in documenting than real work.	
I3: page 9	The rules are set by the leadership. We wait for the approval from the	
	head office before taking any decision. It is expected.	
I5: page 7	Personnel management comes under human resource department. But	
	we do not take strategic decisions at our department level. There is a	
	central department which looks into it.	
I6: page 4	We still follow old procedureswe implement rules set by the	
	political leaders. The rules it comes from the central office.	
I7: page 7	As public servants we are expected to be following due process. It is	
	essential to ensure that the government policies are implemented and	
	followed.	

Source: Authors' analysis of interview transcripts

Though the researchers could sense frustration in the bureaucratic process, the interviewees were vocal about the need to follow the rules and procedures. Some even clearly advocated following bureaucratic procedures to "retain control and traceability" (I1, page 4) and positioned it as a "necessary evil for smooth functioning" (I5, page 7). These comments (summarized in Table 5) indicate that the officers would rather work in an environment of rules and regulations, rather than in a more liberal, empowered approach. In the words of one officer,

"... rules and processes exist to ensure there is accountability. It does slow down the response of the organization but there is no other way to ensure such large organizations with varied departments work in harmony." (I4: page 8)

Table 5: Acceptance of bureaucratic practices

Transcript	Comment	
I1: page 4	Everyone has to follow set procedure while doing any activity. It is a long	
	process but this structure is essential to retain control and traceability.	
I4: page 8	rules and processes exist to ensure there is accountability. It does slow down	
	the response of the organization but there is no other way to ensure such large	
	organizations with varied departments work in harmony	
I5: page 7	Bureaucracy is a necessary evil for smooth functioning of the government.	
	Everyone follows the same set of rules approved by the parliament which	
	ensures consistency in decisions	
I6: page 9	The rules are set by higher ups, mostly politicians. As a public servant, we	
	follow the rules and processes; there is no scope for changing the procedure. It	
	is well defined and followed.	
I7: page 5	The rule is clear do whatever but stay within the limits. Just follow the	
	process, everything else is okay.	
I8: page 7	Audits scare everyone; the only way to stay safe is to follow the process. If you	
	do not follow the process and something goes wrong, you are held accountable.	
	To be on the safer side, it is better that you blindly follow processes.	

Source: Authors' analysis of interview transcripts

These comments clearly indicate the existence of bureaucratic practices in CPSUs and its general acceptance by the executives. The interviews convinced the researchers the rigidity of existing rules and processes, as perceived by the executives. The references to "rules",

"regulations", "process" and "procedures" are clear indications of the prevalence of bureaucracy within the CPSUs covered in this study. The study also found relevant evidence on the acceptance of bureaucracy as the preferred mode of operation by the CPSU personnel.

# (3) Relevance of management courses

When asked about the management courses offered by their organization, the executives responded positively, with comments citing the experience as "interesting" (I3: page 5, I7: page 7), "learning" (I4: page 6) and "useful" (I1: page 6). Considering that the interviews covered HR leaders responsible for formulating the management courses, this positive reaction was expected by the researchers. The interviewees claimed that the courses helped teach the executives theoretical aspects, along with its applications in the workplace (I9: page 7). Some officers observed that the focus on theoretical aspects is heavier in the current curriculum and that there is a need to make the course more practical (I7: page 10). The consensus was that they found the courses relevant and useful in broadening the understanding of the trainees. All the interviewees had undertaken the training program at various levels of their career. From their personal experience, they commented that the management training provided "a fresh perspective" (I2: page 8), "broader understanding" (I6: page 5) and "new knowledge" (I10: page 8). The interviewees also found the course very relevant to their stream of work. The detailed comments of the executives during the interview are provided in Table 6.

Table 6: Relevancy of management training programs

Transcript	Comment
I1: page 6	Well, to tell you the truth, I found the courses very interesting. They were very relevant to human resource management, my stream of work. Case studies, especially, were very relatable. I still think about those discussions when I am faced with similar situations at work.
I2: page 8	For people coming from a technical background, these courses provide a fresh perspective. Learning even the theoretical aspects changes the way one approaches problems at work.
I3: page 5	Oh yes, the trainers made the sessions interesting. They were aware of our work experience and tried to bring in practical examples while teaching concepts
I4: page 6	The courses were customized for our department and hence, the learnings were definitely relevant to my job.
I6: page 5	The modules created a broader understanding of common business situations. Though I work in the HR department, these courses helped me think of the problems from legal, strategic and financial viewpoints. I actually felt quite knowledgeable at the end of the program.
I7: page 7	Yes, the courses were interesting and relevant
I7: page 9	The programs covered many theories but I wish there were more practical, hands-on modules. This would have helped gain confidence in applying the theories to real situations. Frankly, no one sits and thinks of relevant theories while solving real problems.
I9: page 7	There was a good combination of theory and practice. The courses made me capable of critically analysing any information that came my way. Now I feel confident and capable of taking informed decisions.

I10: page 8	I do not come from a human resource background; the training program for me
	was all about gaining new knowledge. During those two weeks I was exposed
	to new concepts, models and approaches which I found quite enlightening.

Source: Authors' analysis of interview transcripts

The general understanding the researchers got from the interviews is that the management training had an impact on the knowledge level of the executives and brought changes in the way they approached the work. These factors brought improvements at a personal working level. Phrases such as "felt knowledgeable" (I4: page 6), "capable of critically analysing" (I9: page 7), and "capable of taking informed decisions" (I9: page 7) clearly indicate that the officers perceived the course to have had an impact on their work.

#### 6. Discussion

This study attempted to understand the impact of management training in adopting NPM practices in CPSUs using qualitative techniques. This section discusses the findings in the context of existing literature.

Despite agreeing that the public sector organizations have undergone tremendous changes in the last three decades, the interviewees were open about the absence of NPM practices in their organization. Though majority of the interviewees showed an acceptance to NPM principle, a few were vocal about their disregard for NPM calling it "good on paper" (I5: page 2) and "not feasible" (I7: page 2). These findings indicate that the public sector organizations in India are facing struggles quite similar to other countries which went through transitions in the past (Bhiwajee and Garavan, 2016; Ferlie *et al.*, 1996; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992).

The findings of the study also indicate a positive attitude towards the management training provided to CPSU officers. They were vocal about the changes the courses brought into their knowledge level, analytical skills, and work management. Though many interviewees indicated scope for improvement in the existing curriculum, majority were satisfied with the current format. The positive impact of the courses on the officer's work shows the relevancy of the training modules. These findings are in stark contrast to existing literature on the non-relevance of management courses to business operations (Grey, 2004; Harrison *et al.*, 2007; Pfeffer and Fong, 2002). The consolidated comments from the interviews (Table 5) shows the perceived relevancy of the training. The findings also contradict the existing literature showing the failure of business learning to improve industry practices (Donaldson, 2002). The findings also show that the management courses offered to CPSUs were highly theoretical with limited coverage of the practice aspects of the theory. This is in line with the existing literature showing management education as being theory-oriented which might not have practical relevance (Pfeffer and Fong, 2002).

The above findings are interesting as despite having a consensus on the benefits of the management education and how it is tuned to the reformed public sector, there is very limited adoption of NPM principles in the work environment. The primary reason highlighted by the interviewees was the ingrained culture of the Indian CPSUs. During the interview process, the participants opened about the prevailing culture within their organization. The comments

(provided in Table 7) clearly shows that the participants viewed the culture as *ingrained* and *difficult to change*.

Table 7: Existing culture of CPSUs

Transcript	Comment	
reference		
I1: page 7	Government commitment is lacking; without commitment from leadership,	
	any change is impossible.	
I2: page 9	Public sector, in general, is slow to change. We are used to predictability;	
	the rules help build this into our daily work. This is the culture we are used	
	to. Public servants are not used to market uncertainties.	
I4: page 7	Creating an organizational culture takes decadesthe current bureaucratic	
	structure has been in practice since colonial times. Even minute changes to	
	this system might take ages as the culture is deep-rooted.	
I5: page 6	PSUs are not a single entity; they operate under different ministries. Until	
	there is a shared vision across ministries, following a standardized	
	framework and process are not possible.	
I7: page 8	every department has its own process flow; same goes with PSUs working	
	under the same ministry. Even the culture is very different.	
I8: page 7	Some cultural elements are inherent to the entire public sector. There might	
	be differences between PSUs but some elements remain the same.	
I9: page 5	Nobody working in the public sector understands deadlines. The concern is	
	to follow due process, if it takes time it takes time. That is acceptable.	

Source: Authors' analysis of interview transcripts

The responses indicate a strong presence of bureaucratic rules, regulations, and policies within the existing system. In addition to its presence, the findings also indicate the preference of executives to the bureaucratic structure. In the case of Indian CPSUs, the culture of bureaucracy is ingrained that makes changes difficult. Further, majority of the interviewees preferred the culture of bureaucracy making it further cumbersome to change the extant culture. The researchers realized that the decades of colonialism and 75 years of following bureaucracy as the standard has made it deeply ingrained within enterprises. The more ingrained the culture, the more difficult it is to change (Lovell, 1992). These findings show that though the executives gained knowledge and insights through the management training programs, it was insufficient to change the working culture within the organizations. Hence, the difficulty in implementing NPM principle without a holistic change in the culture of the public sector organization (Vigoda-Gadot and Meiri, 2008). The processes are set top-down and hence, the executives might not be in a position to bring organizational cultural change. These findings are in consensus with the existing literature which highlight the need to change public sector culture for successful implementation of reforms (Ferlie et al., 1996; Mascarenhas, 1993). The rules and regulations also create boundaries within which the executives are expected to operate. This creates impediments to implementing innovation and market-focused strategies within the public sector. Trainings can help improve individual work efficiency and effectiveness but not change the overall system.

The interviewees confirm that the current management training programs cover the skills required for increased marketisation, privatisation, accountability, and efficiency as envisaged by NPM guidelines. However, the implementation of these new learnings is hindered because of the bureaucratic culture of the public sector organizations. Hence, in addition to imparting technical skills the course curriculum could also focus on soft skills such as negotiation, and communication skills (especially during difficult conversations). As the degree of adoption of NPM differs across CPSUs, it would be more beneficial to conduct group sessions covering candidates from multiple organizations. The peer interaction will ensure that learnings get transferred across organizations. Organizational culture moves from the top-down and hence, in addition to management trainings to middle-management, the institutions should also conduct workshops for senior leadership sensitizing them to changes required in the bureaucratic culture. These workshops could also train the senior management on reducing the processes and improving efficiency.

Though the article is based on interviews conducted with a limited set of CPSU leaders, the authors confirmed the internal validity of the study by cross-checking the emerging themes with the interviewees. This was conducted after completing the analysis so that the findings are in line with the experiences of the interviewees and there is no bias from the authors' side. The external validity of the study was checked by cross-verifying the findings with the available literature and reports published by the government. The primary limitation of the study is that the scope covers only the perspectives of HR leaders within the CPSUs. Future studies can focus on involving multiple stakeholders such as customers, employees across levels and regulators. While extending this study to other developing countries, it is also essential to ensure the validity of the research through selection of interviewees capable of providing relevant inputs, a thorough literature review to understand the dynamics of the country under study, and triangulating the results through interacting with multiple stakeholders.

#### 7. Conclusion

The emphasis on top-down, hierarchical control over the decades has made the public administration synonymous with bureaucracy and corruption. The Indian government has been allocating budgets to prepare its personnel working with CPSUs to a dynamic market post liberalization. Despite heavy investment, these trainings have had only partial success in implementing the core objective of NPM i.e., to provide quality services in a professional manner to meet citizen requirements. The paper tried to understand the structure of management education and elucidate the extent to which NPM principles are introduced during the training process. The study found that though concepts of NPM are introduced at multiple management training programs, the public enterprises lag behind in the implementation of NPM. The ingrained hierarchical and procedural culture of the enterprises was often highlighted as the challenge to its implementation. Future research can focus on the perspectives of employees and leaders across departments of CPSUs.

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