

University of Stirling

**Developing Commitment towards Change in
Bureaucracies**

The Case Study of the Egyptian Civil Service Sector

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the management of change in bureaucracies, with a study focus on the Egyptian civil service sector. The main research aims are to identify what are the main problems of the Egyptian civil service sector, identify the main barriers against the current change programmes undertaken by the Government of Egypt (GOE) and suggest ways to develop civil servants' commitment towards those changes.

Interview data was triangulated with archival documents and non-participant observation and were drawn from a sample of 33 civil servants working in the Egyptian Ministry of State for Administrative Development (MSAD) which is the civil service entity acting as the change agent responsible for managing the government administrative reforms plan in the civil service sector. All study participants were actually working in one of the change projects/programmes and had a minimum of 12 months of service in the civil service. Interviews were digitally-recorded and transcribed in the form of MS-Word documents, and data transcripts were analysed manually using MS-Excel worksheets and main research themes were developed and statistics drawn using those Excel worksheets.

The main research findings suggested that the main problems of the Egyptian civil service sector are (1) the absence of a Reward and Punishment system, (2) the absence of a firm system of governance and control and (3) the current negative civil service culture.

The research findings suggested that developing civil servants' commitment towards change may be achieved by employee involvement and participation in the change process and the careful selection of inspirational change agents. The findings also suggested that change agents play an important role in inspiring civil servants to support change and that middle management is another crucial factor in the change move as it should act as liaison between change agents and employees.

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Chapter 1 Introduction to the Thesis

1.1 Introduction

Although bureaucracy would seem to be a constant administrative concept that should be applied in the same manner in developed and developing countries using fairly similar rules, purposes and methods, the actual case is that bureaucracy has different implications depending on how it is actually applied in a certain country.

Bureaucracy had long been one of the important administration concepts adopted in Egypt where its routes actually started more than 7000 years ago during the Pharaonic era of 'Ancient Egypt'. Ever since, bureaucracy had modernized and developed throughout many historical eras until contemporary modern bureaucracy in Egypt became an important research topic for public administration scholars. This was because its associated challenges and distinguishing characteristics had made the Egyptian bureaucracy to be perceived by Egyptians as a 'an administrative illness' rather than an 'effective administration tool'. Needless to say, previous research initiatives have attempted to identify the main problems of the Egyptian bureaucracy and the reasons behind those problems, none of which was able to achieve actual administrative reforms into the Egyptian Bureaucracy.

1.2 Aims of the Thesis

This thesis aims to make a unique contribution to the area of research of 'change management in bureaucracies'. Although previous research has attempted to suggest the main areas of administrative reforms in the Egyptian civil service sector, no suggestions on how to actually address and manage those administrative reforms have been given in research findings.

1.2.1 Primary Research Aims

The first primary research aim is to identify the main problems of the Egyptian civil service sector that were deemed responsible for its current poor performance and inefficiency.

In addition, the research aims to identify the best way(s) to manage change in the Egyptian civil service sector in terms of (1) introducing change and (2) implementing change that is currently taking form as the administrative reform plans undertaken by the Government of Egypt.

A final research aim is to identify how to develop civil servants' commitment towards those change initiatives.

1.2.2 Steps in Meeting Research Aims

The first task is to identify the multiple problems of the Egyptian bureaucracy and try to condense them into 'major' problems which the study should focus

on. The anticipated advantage of reducing those problems into a more manageable level is that this should allow a better correlation between those problems on one hand, and how they can be solved on another hand.

In order to do that, the research study aims to design a conceptual framework that provides insights into the main research topic, identify how the research topic is to be examined and state the main research findings. Moreover, the study shall pursue a particular theoretical approach that would reflect the main research aims discussed in the previous section. For example, what should be considered a wise decision in terms of implementing change: unilateral or participative implementation (Beer and Nohria, 2000 Chapman, 2002).

The final task is to design a suitable research methodology that is compatible with the theoretical approach used in this thesis as well as being appropriate in relation to the subject matter on hand. Asking about opinions, perceptions and attitudes require the careful selection of research instruments used to ensure the highest levels of validity and reliability of findings.

1.3 Operational Framework

The research focuses on the Egyptian civil service sector and examines the research questions using the case-study method. The case-study used in this research is the Egyptian Ministry of State for Administrative Development (MSAD) as it represents the official change agent organization responsible for

leading and managing change in the Egyptian civil service sector as a whole; and to activate different administrative reform projects thought of as part of the overall civil service change move.

1.3.1 Key Research Questions

There are seven key research questions which the research study covers:

- (1) What is the meaning of 'bureaucracy' as perceived by Egyptian bureaucrats?
- (2) How do civil servants perceive the Egyptian civil service sector both as an 'employer' and as a 'service provider'?
- (3) What are the perceived main current problems of the Egyptian civil service sector?
- (4) What are the perceived reasons behind the current problems of the Egyptian Civil Service?
- (5) How can the Egyptian civil service improve its performance?
- (6) What is the best way to manage change in the Egyptian civil service, namely in terms of introduction and implementation?
- (7) How can we develop civil servants' commitment towards that change?

1.4 Thesis Structure

Chapter two 'Bureaucracy' provides a historical background about the Egyptian bureaucracy and how it started in Ancient Egypt 7000 years B.C during the Pharaonic era, going through the significant historical eras of Egypt during which bureaucracy has been massively adopted and exploring how Egypt inherited modern bureaucracy origins from France and Great Britain.

Previous research on the Egyptian bureaucracy is introduced, explaining the main reasons behind the current bureaucratic behaviour, identifying the main areas of inefficiency within Egyptian bureaucracies and presenting the main research conclusions and recommendations of previous research scholars.

Chapter three 'The Egyptian Civil Service Sector' provides insight into the current setup of the Egyptian civil service sector as the official governmental sector applying bureaucracy as an administrative tool, and explains how bureaucratic rules, policies and procedures have been actually carried out and where the main rules of governance have been initiated and thought of. Civil service structure is explained to identify the placement, wages and promotion, and staff evaluation and appraisal systems to clarify how and where the current inefficiencies in the administrative body have started.

Chapter four 'Managing Change in modern bureaucracies' discusses organizational change in general terms, with emphasis on change in modern bureaucracies and the problems of managing change that are more likely to

arise in the case of the Egyptian civil service sector, bearing into consideration the current setup of the Egyptian civil service and conditions of the Egyptian bureaucracy as previously explained in chapters two and three. The chapter introduces types of change, employee attitudes towards change, and change implementation techniques. At the end, the chapter develops a theoretical model for managing change in the Egyptian civil service and explores different scenarios for addressing change in terms of introduction and implementation.

Chapter five 'Developing Commitment towards Change' addresses organizational commitment and the different types of employee commitment towards the organization, a consideration of main work ethics are also introduced with a comparison between the Protestant Work Ethic and the Islamic Work Ethic as determinants of organizational commitment. The levels of organizational commitment in the Egyptian civil service are also discussed and a theoretical framework is presented at the end of the chapter to suggest how to develop civil servants' commitment towards change in a modern bureaucracy setup.

Chapter six identifies the research methodology applied in this study and explains the rationale behind choosing certain research methods and instruments over other ones. The chapter also introduces the research theoretical framework and explains how research would be undergone in details in terms of data collection, data analysis and reporting of findings.

Chapter seven states research findings and discusses the study respondents' views on the main major problems of the Egyptian civil service sector, and the perceived opinions about bureaucracy as an administrative concept and managerial tool.

Chapter eight states the research findings concerning the responses on how to solve the problems of the Egyptian civil service, how to improve its overall performance, how to manage change to guarantee its success, and how to develop civil servants' commitment towards that change in a certain way as to maximize the change move effectiveness.

Finally, Chapter nine restates the main research findings and draws out the thesis' contribution to knowledge; states the main research implications and study limitations.

Chapter 2 Egyptian Bureaucracy

2.1 Introduction

In order to answer the main research question, an introduction to both the analytical concept and to Egyptian bureaucracy is needed. Part one discusses the origins of bureaucratic theory and the concept of 'rational bureaucracy', discusses comments and critiques made by other scholars and presents the main advantages and disadvantages of the Weberian concept.

The first part of this chapter discusses the analytical concept of bureaucracy whereas the second part discusses the origins of bureaucracy in Egypt, and how bureaucracy emerged from the British and French bureaucracies. The chapter also provides a background about the Egyptian modern bureaucracy structure, culture, main characteristics and main contemporary problems.

At the end of the chapter, a sample of previous research done in the area of Egyptian bureaucracy is presented and the suggested model of reform and recommendations are also discussed.

Part One – The Concept of Bureaucracy

2.2 Weber's Original Model of Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy is a generic characterisation of all large-scale, complex organizations and is not an exclusive property of governmental units (Gawthrop, 1969). The classical model of bureaucracy originated with the German sociologist Max Weber (1864 – 1920). As seen by Weber, the principle characteristics of bureaucracy can be reduced to the following specific functions: (1) bureaucratic jurisdiction is precisely fixed by operating rules and regulations, (2) bureaucratic structures are hierarchically organized on the basis of a firmly established pattern of superior-subordinate relationships, (3) the formal internal operation, or management, of the bureaucracy is accomplished through the transmission of intra-organizational communications, decisions, directives, and so on, in the form of written documents, which are preserved as permanent records of the organization, and (4) bureaucratic officials must reflect a high degree of administrative specialization and expertise, not only concerning the operating rules, regulations, and procedures of the bureaucratic organization itself (Gawthrop, 1969 p. 2).

2.2.1 Rational, Ideal-Type Bureaucracy

Today many people regard *bureaucracy* as a dirty word, suggesting red tape, inefficiency, and officiousness; bureaucracies can develop these features,

especially if authority is highly centralized (Stark; 2006). Weber's purpose, however, was to define the essential features of new organizations and to indicate why these organizations worked so much better than traditional ones.

Weber did take care to specify the features of what he considered the most 'rational' of all organizations: the 'pure type' of bureaucracy (Ayubi, 1980 p. 11). In what was meant to be a conceptual construction of certain empirical elements into a logically precise and consistent form, Weber produced his ideal-type. This is a form which, in its ideal purity, is never to be found in reality: 'it is not a description of reality but it aims to give unambiguous means of expression to such a description (Workers' Educational Association, 1970).

2.2.2 Advantages of Bureaucracy

A basic prerequisite for a realistic understanding of the government sector is an objective recognition that bureaucracy itself is a neutral administrative device that can be employed to accomplish an effective means-ends relationship; the behaviour of a certain bureaucratic organization does not stem from its bureaucratic structure but rather from how this organization applies and uses bureaucratic principles into the administration of organizational work.

The advantages of bureaucracy include the simplification of complex tasks. As a result of human physical and mental limitations, solutions to complex problems can only be found if the problems are successively subdivided into a

series of related simple problems. A bureaucratic organization satisfies this requirement by segmenting the overall organization into a set of highly specialized subunits, each assigned responsibility for a single phase of the overall operation (Gawthrop, 1969 p. 8). A second major advantage logically follows from the first. Since tasks must be simplified, functional specialization results, and it is the process of specialization which produces what Weber referred to as the "technical superiority" of bureaucracy (ibid p. 8). Thus, every complex problem, having been broken down into small, manageable proportions, is then examined, analyzed, and solved by a group of trained specialists who are capable of responding with precision, speed, and maximum efficiency.

A third advantage of bureaucracy also follows logically from the previously stated propositions. If the simplification of complex tasks yields a set of subunit specializations and a correspondingly high degree of individual expertise in each area, then expertise should encourage an increase in objective, impersonal decision-making at the subunit level. For example, the decision-making process in a non-bureaucratic, small-group setting may be conducted on the basis of very informal and even personal consideration. Under these circumstances, all members of the organization either participate in, or perceive that they are capable of participating in the actual decision-making process. Consequently, subjective values can be applied to operating procedures

without necessarily diminishing the overall efficiency of the organization. In this type of organizational setting the 'human' or personal factor of administration becomes the most distinguishing characteristic of the non-bureaucratic model. Consequently, it seems reasonable to conclude that subjective-type decisions, based on personal considerations, need not necessarily be "bad" or disruptive if this personal bias can be standardized throughout the entire organization. But within large, complex organizations, where the interpersonal, informal, face-to-face relationships cannot be maintained, the standardization of personal bias can no longer be assured. Under these circumstances, as Weber noted, the continued application of an individual's own subjective values to policy or operating decisions can seriously disrupt the operating effectiveness of the organization (Gawthrop, 1969 p. 9).

To avoid dysfunctions associated with the utilization of personal biases by organizational members, bureaucracies generally have two alternative devices which can be employed - specialization and socialization. In the first instance, the subjective values of the individual are *eliminated* by the thoroughly routinized work tasks. In the second instance, personal biases are *replaced* by a set of subjective values and attitudes approved by the organization. In both instances, the techniques of bureaucracy have been employed to minimize the internal personal conflict which may develop between organizational

procedures and individual values. In the executive levels of the modern corporation, a standardized set of organizational values is superimposed on one's personal values. In both instances, the end result to be achieved is the same - individual ambiguity is minimized and organizationally approved behaviour is standardized.

2.2.3 Criticism of the Weberian Bureaucratic Theory

One of the best-known critiques of the idea of rational bureaucracy is that article by Robert Merton (1940). Merton (1940) argues that emphasis on precision and reliability in administration may well have self-defeating consequences. Rules, designed as means to ends, may well become ends in themselves. The graded career structure of the bureaucrat may encourage him to an excess of the virtues he is supposed to embody: prudence, discipline, and method. Governed by similar work conditions, officials develop a group of solidarity which may result in opposition to necessary change. Where officials are supposed to serve the public, the norms of impersonality which govern their behaviour may cause conflict with individual citizens (Merton, 1940).

The hierarchical authority structure of bureaucratic organizations also seems to be questionable, as some authors like Berger (1957) use the term 'hierarchy' in general as a feature of bureaucratic organization, without specifying in what sense a hierarchy constitutes a bureaucratic characteristic (Mouzelis, 1967). The

argument now is whether to attribute the bureaucratic behaviour to the existence of a hierarchical authority in general, or the shape of the hierarchy, or the officials representing the hierarchy (i.e. employees and managers). Bureaucratic organizational hierarchies are 'Pyramid' shaped, but does this mean that all pyramid-shaped hierarchies have to be bureaucratic? A centralized authority does not necessarily mean a bureaucratic organization. In the private sector for example, some organizational hierarchies are 'pyramid-shaped' with the power and authority centralized in top management; however, this does not by default make them bureaucratic organizations. It is not the hierarchical authority, shape and number of levels of authority that make an organization bureaucratic; it is the type of communication used between those levels of authority. The downward only communication from supervisor to subordinate hierarchical levels, impersonal relations and loyalty to the bureaucrat hierarchical position are the real characteristics that distinguish a bureaucratic organization from a non-bureaucratic one. Nonetheless, the nature of the relationship between the supervisor and the subordinates is remarkably different where lower level subordinates are working like machines, doing the same repetitive work everyday, receiving instructions and commands from upper hierarchical levels, while having minimal chances to exchange opinions with supervisory levels.

Another point for comment on Weber's bureaucratic characteristics is the problem of discretion: the relationship between initiative and discipline

(Mouzelis, 1967). Berger (1957) used as one of his analytical criteria of bureaucracy the high degree of discretion that a civil servant has in the performance of his duties, discretion being defined as an emphasis upon personal judgment and initiative, acceptance of responsibility and full use of discretionary powers within the rules (Mouzelis, 1967). In a country of 8000 years of bureaucratic heritage like Egypt, initiative and discipline are in conflict because the trend towards increasing bureaucratization is very closely linked with a decrease in individual freedom and innovation. Inside the Egyptian bureaucracy, discipline means the strict obedience of procedural rules or in other words 'risk aversion by always maintaining the safe action'. On the other hand, initiative means personal freedom and individual innovation; or in other words 'giving room to individual opinions and thus breaking the rules'. The disciplinary system of a risk-averse bureaucracy makes it more resistant to modernization and innovation under the false assumption that creativity-oriented initiatives are prematurely judged as being rule breakers.

The above point seems to be in harmony with Gawthrop (1969) view about the basic problems of bureaucracy, where Gawthrop (1969) stated that the internal problems within every bureaucratic organization are (1) the manner in which organizational behaviour is controlled and (2) the effectiveness of the internal decision-making process. In both instances, the greater the size, scope and complexity of the bureaucratic structure, the more serious both problems become. (ibid, p. 10)

2.2.4 Attacking and Defending Bureaucracy

Thompson and Alvesson (2005 p. 90) argue that most academics writing about bureaucracy have operated within either or both of two sets of assumptions. First, that while bureaucratic rationalization is the dominant organizing logic of modernity, it produces degrees of inefficiency, dehumanization, and ritualism. Case studies (Merton, 1949; Blau, 1955) questioned whether the bureaucratic ideal type was fully rational and efficient, or developed typologies that emphasized different forms of bureaucracy appropriate to organizational content and type of work. Examples include the distinction between workflow and personnel bureaucracies in the Aston Studies (Pugh et al., 1969), and machine and professional bureaucracies (Mintzberg, 1983). Second, that while bureaucracy may be appropriate and indeed functional to particular economic or political environments, it does not fit others, notably where there is a high degree of unpredictability and instability and innovation and situational adaptiveness are vital parts of work.

The rationale of Thompson and Alvesson (2005) is that the focus of critique has changed from principle to contingency. In other words, from the limits and dysfunctions of a permanent logic of structure and action, to a claim of systematic dysfunctionality –that bureaucracy simply no longer works in contemporary economy and society. It is now argued that a broad set of powerful economic, social, and technological changes have meant that the days of stable structures and fine-tuning of bureaucratic models are over.

On the other hand, Jacques (1976, 1990) argues that criticisms of bureaucracy fail to understand imperatives of both hierarchy and human nature. Bureaucracy is the best way of getting work done because it is the only form of organization that deals with size, complexity, and the need for accountability. Setting aside the issue of human nature, such views are vulnerable to post-bureaucratic claims that changes in the organizational environment mean that such arrangements are no longer functional or efficient.

Organizational studies are long familiar with critiques of bureaucracy from critical sociological and liberal managerial perspectives. But despite much discussion and promotion of organizational change and bureaucratic reform in recent decades, the reforms have resulted in an intensification of modern organizational rationalities rather than their transformation (Casey, 2004). Weber's theory of bureaucracy developed out of a general theory of power and domination (Casey, 2004 p. 62). Domination is a special type of power relation in which the ruler believes he has the right to exercise the power of his own will, and the ruled believe that it is their unquestioning duty to obey the demands of the rulers and their administrative class. Out of Weber's typology of three ideal types of domination -charismatic, traditional and rational-legal- Weber emphasized the rational-legal type as the legitimate authority within bureaucratic organizations. The rational-legal rules structure the hierarchy of the organization and impersonally separate the rules from the person administering them. Both sides of the ruling relationship recognize the

legitimacy of the procedures of conduct established within a rational-legal framework. Legitimate action is strictly defined by the rational-legal framework, and neither rulers, administrators nor clients can exercise legitimate power outside it.

For Weber, the modern organization differed from previous and other forms of organization precisely because of its rationalization of authority and legality. The rational-legal bureaucrat was similarly characterized by technical and professional expertise, and by a non-partisan cosmopolitanism. Impersonality, strict adherence to the rational-legal rules, and even-handed treatment of staff and clients are fundamental features of bureaucratic human behaviour. For Weber, this is the 'spirit in which the ideal official conducts his office' (Weber, [1922] 1978: 225).

Bureaucracy has been identified as the 'primary institutional characteristic of highly complex and differentiated societies' (Landau, 1972:167 as cited in Courpasson and Clegg, 2006), epitomizing the 'modern era' (Blau and Meyer, 1971:10). Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy was one aspect of his overall attempt to understand the features of Western civilization through the process of rationalization. For Weber, rationalization simply signifies that individuals are increasingly likely to use calculation to master phenomena and things through the domination of rules and instrumental systems (Courpasson and Clegg, 2006). Weber's insight was that, in a social context such as an

organization, the process of bureaucratization entailed by the rationalization process results in a diminution of freedom, initiative and individual power. People would be expected to become machine-like obedient objects, trapped in the 'iron cage' which is a metaphorical instrument of dominant authority within which bureaucracy appears as a system of legitimate power 'over' its members, neutralizing all potential sources of countervailing power.

In situations of bureaucratic rule, the domination of bureaucratic leaders is fundamentally based on knowledge, which makes the 'professionalization of leadership thesis' (Michels, 1915) an unexpected bridge between democratic regimes and bureaucratic structures: 'Bureaucratic domination means fundamentally domination through ... technical knowledge ... [and] ... knowledge growing out of experience in the service' (Weber, 1968:225).

2.3 Reinventing Bureaucracy

According to Mouzelis (1967), what makes an organization bureaucratic is not the existence of rules, but the quality of these rules. An organizational structure must have a system that is governed by rules and procedures, what makes an organization more bureaucratic than another organization is how flexible these rules are, the criteria upon which they have been generated, and the ways in which they are used (i.e. whether rules are present to serve the tasks, or the tasks are present to serve rules). What distinguishes a civil service

organization from a private sector organization is a civil servant saying: “I would have loved to help you, but the rules, you know” as opposed to an employee working in the private sector saying: “I will see with my supervisor whether we can make you an exception”. Rules are never meant to be an obstacle, but in bureaucratic organizations rules are often used as walls forbidding the smooth running of the work rather than tools to organize work and maximize efficiency (ibid.).

Courpasson and Clegg (2006) argue that bureaucracy, constructed as an ideal type, has been seen as the source of much of what is wrong in the contemporary world. Recent history has been replete with rallying cries against fundamental errors said to emanate from the bacillus of bureaucracy. It is a culture that must be terminated with extreme prejudice. Bureaucracy must be banished (Osborne and Plastrik, 1997), government must be reinvented (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992) because bureaucracy is inefficient. As du Gay (2000) or Pugh (1966) point out, bureaucracy is synonymous with inefficient business administration, pettifogging legalism, and red tape. For critics, demolition of bureaucratic systems will further efficiency: ‘Employee empowerment does not mean every decision in the organization must be made democratically or through consensus’ (Osborne and Plastrik, 1997:227). Empowerment fosters effectiveness not more egalitarian and democratic settings.

On the other hand, there are critics more enamoured of democracy than efficiency because the attributes of bureaucracy are maladaptive when massive change, environmental dynamism and considerable uncertainty are the norm and there is a growing asymmetry of power between the managerial agents in charge of them and most other groups in the society, including consumers, employees, and members of the local communities in which the firms' operations are located (Child and McGrath, 2001:1136, 1140).

The traditional bureaucratic commitment 'we will take care of you if you do what we have asked', once premised on the celebrated balance of inducements and contributions (March and Simon, 1958), seems to be a dead letter (Heckscher and Applegate, 1994: 7). Democracy and the question of morality are relevant to the post-bureaucratic trends they describe. The ideal type of post-bureaucratic organization has very significant similarities to that of democracy. Its ruling concept is that 'everyone takes responsibility for the success of the whole' (Heckscher, 1994: 24). Therefore, such organizations must develop informed consensus amongst their members, rather than relying on authority and hierarchical supervision. The development of agreement has to be situated in interactive settings where the gathering of information increases collective power. Trust is a crucial resource in such settings because everyone must believe that the others are seeking mutual benefit rather than maximizing personal gain (Heckscher, 1994: 25). Leadership is not exercised through complex systems of rules but via guidelines for action, which take the form of

principles, 'expressing the reasons behind the rules' (Heckscher, 1994: 26). A deliberative and interactive structure is supposed to come from the necessary fluidity of internal relationships. But post-bureaucracies are not communities of friendship, but 'networks relationships based on specific performances and abilities, and people one can work with on particular projects rather than live with' (Heckscher, 1994: 55).

2.4 Understanding Bureaucratic Hybridization

Courpasson and Clegg (2006) also argue that the key bureaucratic characteristic of the new hybrid organizations is that they retain a need for the iron fist of strong and centralized control mechanisms, wrapped up in the velvet glove of consent. More intrusive and intensive control techniques are replaced with legitimated general guidelines (du Gay, 1994), which softly and progressively erode the autonomy of individuals, while securing their consent to new forms of governmentality by which they increasingly regulate themselves (Pitsis et al., 2003). As Reed puts it, 'the delicate balance between trust and control has moved very definitely in favour of the latter' (Reed, 2001: 221), giving way to new forms of bureaucratic power concentrations (Courpasson, 2006).

In contemporary hybrids, the promotion of socio-economic cooperation is achieved through the manipulation of specific trust/control mechanisms (Castells, 1996). These hybrids evoke some types of technologies of trust, which make politically viable a fuzzy but active system of concentrated power.

The Organizational hybridization analysed by Ferlie et al. (1996) in the British health-care sector, demonstrates the political aspects of the dynamics implied. Classical administrative (bureaucratic) power is maintained because these hybrids have the technical and ideological capacity to combine and re-combine selected elements of managerialism with pre-existing structures of political, administrative and professional power (Reed, 2001: 200 as cited in Courpasson and Clegg, 2006).

Part Two –Bureaucracy in Egypt

2.5 Origins of Egyptian Bureaucracy

The Nile River has played a crucial role in the Egyptian history, politics and culture. Throughout its history, Egypt has been a highly centralized state. Ancient Egypt was a 'hydraulic society'¹ (a society relying on water resources for economic, social and political growth) and the Nile provided the basis for agriculture, industry, trade and services (Wittfogel, 1957). This called for cooperation and coordination among people (Ayubi, 1980). As in a hydraulic society like Egypt, it was necessary to control the supply of water which led to the existence of a centralized government (Hopwood, 1993).

¹ The 'hydraulic society' describes the agricultural society that has historically relied on river irrigation and depended on a central authority that manages to control the river resources by constructing water ducts, dams and irrigation channels, and is able to distribute water resources among the farmers. Such central authorities usually have the power to allocate resources, extract taxes and use a sophisticated bureaucracy in the management of such resources.

2.5.1 The French Invasion (1798 - 1801)

Egyptian history from the early 1500s to the late 1700s was dominated by Ottoman and Mamluk rule (Mayfield, 1996 p. 52). Much of this period was characterized by a severe form of alien political domination bent more on maximizing tax-collections than in improving the quality of life or increasing economic development (ibid.).

On July 1, 1798, a French invasion force under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte disembarked in Egypt when General Bonaparte wanted to rule Egypt for its strategic importance and political potential due to its unique geographical location in the centre of three continents (Europe, Africa and Asia). General Bonaparte brought a number of experts in agriculture, law, industry, science, etc to conduct a thorough country study and had appointed French officials into seven geographically distributed bureaus throughout Egypt to ensure full control of the state. Each bureau was in charge of a geographical territory and was responsible for controlling the work flow, revenues, expenses and resource allocation in the given territory. Inside each bureau, French labour was highly divided and tasks were highly specialized. A system of local councils was first introduced to Egypt during the French conquest, when Napoleon decreed that each of Egypt's fourteen largest provinces was to have a 'Bureau' of seven members whose duty was to look after security and administration of these local areas (Mayfield, 1996 p. 53).

2.5.2 Muhammad Ali (1805-1848)

Muhammad Ali, who has been called the "Father of Modern Egypt", was an Albanian army officer who had been able to attain control of Egypt because of his own leadership abilities and political shrewdness but also because the country seemed to be slipping into anarchy. Muhammad Ali's development strategy was based on agriculture. He expanded the area under cultivation and planted crops specifically for export, such as long-staple cotton, rice, indigo, and sugarcane. The surplus income from agricultural production was used for public works, such as irrigation, canals, dams, and barrages, and to finance industrial development and the military. Muhammad Ali also confiscated much of the land into a highly 'centralized system' devoted to maximizing agricultural and commercial production.

Hundreds of Western-trained bureaucrats were given the responsibility of creating a European-style administrative and economic system (Mayfield, 2003 p. 53). As early as 1820, Muhammad Ali also divided the rural areas into some fourteen provinces, each organized with a provincial council. Lacking any powers of local representation or autonomous funds of their own, these early local councils were clearly administrative units of the central government more than independent local councils. These councils generally met in an advisory capacity, holding their meetings annually according to a decree of the provincial governor (Mayfield, 2003 p. 53).

Despite all the achievements Muhammad Ali did for the Egyptian government, he used to follow a purely autocratic management style, where he was the dictator representing the centralized government power. Instead of organizing work in 'bureaus', Muhammad Ali divided the work among specialized offices he called 'Diwans' which means 'Ministry offices'. Each Diwan was in charge of an activity sector of the government i.e. education, agriculture, industry, etc. and was headed by a Head of Diwan. All heads of Diwan reported directly to Muhammad Ali who had the upper hand in all major decisions and had ruled all Diwans on a centralized decision-making basis.

2.5.3 Social Changes - Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century, the socioeconomic and political foundations of the modern Egyptian state were laid. The transformation of Egypt began with the integration of the economy into the world capitalist system with the result that by the end of the century Egypt had become an exporter of raw materials to Europe and an importer of European manufactured goods (<http://www.country-studies.com/egypt/social-change-in-the-nineteenth-century.html>). The transformation of Egypt led to the emergence of a ruling elite composed of large landowners of Turco-Circassian origin and the creation of a class of medium-sized landowners of Egyptian origin who played an increasingly important role in the political and economic life of the country (ibid.). In the countryside, peasants were dispossessed because of debt, and many landless peasants migrated to the cities where they joined the swelling

ranks of the unemployed. In the cities, a professional middle class emerged composed of civil servants, lawyers, teachers, and technicians. Of the 10 million people in Egypt at the turn of the century, approximately 2 million lived in towns and cities, and of those, 500,000 lived in cities with a population of more than 20,000.

By the turn of the century, a working class had emerged and was composed mainly of transport and building workers and of workers in the few industries that had been established--sugar refineries, ginning mills, and cigarette factories. However, a large proportion of the new urban lower class consisted of a fluctuating mass of people without any fixed employment. The old, or traditional, middle class also declined in status and wealth. The middle class at that era included the *Ulama* (senior men of knowledge and experience), religiously educated elite who staffed the religious institutions and courts, and the merchants. The decline of the *Ulama* had begun during the reign of Muhammad Ali who considered the *Ulama* an intolerable alternative power centre. He abolished tax farms, which were a major source of *Ulama* wealth, thus weakening their position.

The decline of the *Ulama* and the merchants was accelerated by the socioeconomic transformation of Egypt that led to the emergence of secular education, to secularly trained civil servants staffing the government

bureaucracy, and to the reorientation of Egyptian trade. Secular education and the establishment of schools influenced by Western ideas and methods occurred throughout the century but were particularly widespread during the reign of Khedive Ismail. Secular education became identified with entrance into government employment. Moreover, once government employment was opened to Egyptians, it became the goal of the educated because of the power and social status it conferred. Between 1882 and 1907, the number of persons employed in public administration grew by 83.7 percent.

The rise of this new urban middle class, called the *affendiyah* (lower-middle level bureaucrat), paralleled the rise of the rural notables or *Umada*. In fact, during the nineteenth century, the *affendiyah* tended to be first-generation urbanites from rural notable families who took advantage of expanded education and employment opportunities in the cities.

2.5.4 The French - British Bureaucratic Heritage

The Egyptian bureaucracy has inherited all the classical bureaucracy characteristics, but the way these characteristics have been implemented has been always changing from one historical era to another. French influence was a significant factor in the development of local administration in Egypt (Mayfield, 2003:54). Even after Napoleon's departure, Muhammad Ali (1805-1848) and his successors [Khedive Abbas Helmy (1848-1854), Khedive Said

1854-1863 and Khedive Ismail 1864-1875 who were originally brought-up in France and raised by British nannies] appealed to the French to help build a Modern European-style administrative and economic system.

The British occupation (1882-1952) gradually found the need to produce clerks for the civil service towards which the education system was reoriented (Valsan, 1997). Higher echelons of government mostly excluded Egyptians who were to be content with the lower level government positions. For instance in 1898, of the 10,600 Egyptians in the civil service only 45 received a monthly salary of 70 Egyptian Pounds or more whereas 47 out of 455 Britons received that much (Berger, 1957,p.31). Berger (1957) noted two important aspects of the British policy concerning civil service: 1) the emphasis upon school certificate as an entitlement to a government post and 2) the reserving of the higher posts for the Englishman. Thus Cromer in 1885 noticed the beginning of 'the formation of a civil service (ibid, p.28). Later, educational qualifications were further specified for various levels of administration. By the time of independence in 1922 Egyptians had qualified themselves to serve in higher levels. Egypt was in full control of most of public employment and the educational system was geared towards producing civil servants for the State. There were conscious efforts to improve the recruitment system which culminated in inviting A.P. Sinker who was the chairman of the British Civil Service Commission to study the Egyptian system of governance. As a result of his report a civil service commission was established in October, 1951 (Valsan,

1990; Farid, 1982) with a mandate to regulate personnel administration. The first report of the commission listed its tasks as:

"1) Elimination of unnecessary posts and bureaus; 2) classification of posts with job descriptions and appropriate grades and salaries; 3) assignment of personnel to posts for which they are qualified; 4) proper distribution of work around the agencies of the government; 5) establishment of a training programme for the service; and 6) strengthening of the commission's position in the government and enlargement of its jurisdiction" (Berger, 1957 p.34).

In 1954, Berger found the impact of the reforms quite impressive and the regulations governing the civil service of Egypt "much like those of Western countries with certain exceptions" (ibid.). Appointments based on written and oral examinations, fixed published salary scales with the schedule of increments, promotion by merit and seniority according to fixed propositions, well defined steps of disciplinary action, ban on any political or business activity while in service, the obligation to reside in the area of work, and a ban on holding another job after working hours except by special permission were all there in the statutes. For today's observer however, most of those regulations stand flouted or forgotten because very soon in the late 1950s and 1960s new populist and revolutionary concepts had their sway over the government policies on civil service. Thus, a short period of the first and the only civil service commission remains a watershed in the long history of

Egyptian bureaucracy. Though the commission was given prestigious status working directly under the President and entrusted with considerable responsibilities, it was 'poorly staffed', lacked long-term organizational policy, and failed to establish links with units involved in organizational matters in the ministries (Ayubi, 1980 p.304). Also, reportedly, despite preparing a position classification plan in 1960, due to a continuing feud with the Ministry of Finance and Economy which was against the creation of the commission itself, it could not be implemented (Farid, 1982 p.61).

2.5.5 Nasser Socialism Era (1952 - 1970)

Another remarkable historical era that had strongly contributed into defining the shape of the modern bureaucracy was the Nasser era (1952-1970), when an army officer called Jamal Abdul Nasser lead a group of army officers known as the 'Free Officers' and announced the revolution on the Monarchy system in 1952 to start the new political Republic system. This era is deemed responsible for some of the current problems of the administrative body as suggested by the data findings and supported by scholars like Valsan (1997) and Palmer et al. (1988).

Among the many reforms that the Nasser regime brought to the government, new laws about social equity and equal opportunity employment sought to provide more job opportunities for lower and middle-class civilians to join the civil service sector that was sought of as the cr me of all employment sectors.

This had resulted in a massive social redistribution of power; lower and middle-class civilians became top-level appointees in the civil service, and higher education was granted for free so that lower-income people received an equal opportunity for a higher education and employment in the civil service upon graduation (Valsan, 1997).

2.6 Characteristics of the Egyptian Bureaucracy

Despite the fact that bureaucracy had been first introduced by the French Invasion (1898-1801), some bureaucracy characteristics seem to have already existed in Egypt since the Pharaohs. Some of these characteristics were remarkably important and emphasized in one historical era while used only as a cliché and never emphasized in another era. The decision to retain certain bureaucracy characteristics while neglecting other characteristics had been solely taken by the ruler of the country; who acted as the sole decision-maker who needs need not to justify the rationale behind decision(s) to anyone.

The most obvious characteristic of Egyptian bureaucracy is its immense size and its tremendous growth over the past four decades. On the eve of the 1952 Revolution there were roughly a quarter of a million civil employees among all the ministries and agencies of the Egyptian government. By 1972 the number had jumped to 1.2 million, by 1980 slightly over 3 million, and today it is 8,500,000 employees. The percentage of the total population employed by the government jumps from 1.2% in 1952 to 3.6% in 1970, 5.1% in 1980, and nearly

7% in 1990 (Mr. Alaa Kotb, Legal Advisor, MSAD, Personal Interview on May 10, 2006).

There are three main traditions that affect organizational behaviour in the Egyptian system: a tradition of centralized decision-making; a tradition that power is dependent on relations with those in the higher echelons; and a tradition that proper procedure and conformity to rules, rather than goal-achievement or risk-taking, is the key to effectiveness and promotion (Mayfield, 2003). Scholars of the Egyptian bureaucratic system suggest that these qualities encourage rigidity in applying rules and regulations in order to avoid questioning later on the agency's staff, even if it results in losses. Such behaviour has been a crucial factor in the ineffectiveness of both governmental agencies and public sector companies.

The social norms of deference and dependence all reinforce the centralizing and authoritarian tendencies in decision-making process. These norms are evident throughout Egyptian society between father and son, head of the family who happens to be the oldest man in the family, citizen and bureaucrat, supervisor and subordinate where a subordinate can never call his/her supervisor and/or top manager with his/her first name, and a younger person should respect older person. The common complaint among lower-level administrators is their frustration in having to obtain approval for every little thing they do. A counter-complaint often voiced by top-level managers is that

their subordinates will not take any initiative and are continually seeking approval and authorization to complete some task. Regardless of who is to blame for this bureaucratic malaise, its manifestations are common throughout the system: a legion of administrative clerks continually interrupting the governor, the chief of the district, or head of the village unit to obtain a signature for some minor administrative request. A subordinate's position is dependent on the relationship with the superior. A successful subordinate is one who shows proper deference at all times, demonstrates total loyalty, never questions or challenges a request from a superior, makes no decision without conferring with the superior, and always follows the correct procedures, rules and regulations until told to do otherwise. A subordinate's whole life often revolves around the time schedule, the demands, the convenience, and the needs of the superior.

While these characteristics are true in many societies and organizations, the dysfunctional dimensions of these relationships are especially critical in Egypt. Ayubi (1980, p. 10) argued that the main difficulty with bureaucracy lies in defining its meaning. To the public, "bureaucracy" means "bad administration with all its ills" (Zartman, 1964). Harold Laski, in an often quoted passage, adopted many features of the popular concept as characteristic of the bureaucratic phenomenon which, according, to him, basically derives from 'rule by officials'.

“Bureaucracy is the term usually applied to a system of government the control of which is so completely in the hands of officials, that their power jeopardizes the liberties of ordinary citizens. The characteristics of such a regime are a passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decision, and a refusal to embark upon experiment. In extreme cases, the members of a bureaucracy may become a hereditary caste manipulating government to their own advantage”.

(Auda, 1969 in Ayubi, 1980 p. 10)

2.7 The Exclusivity of the Egyptian Bureaucracy

Building on the literature reviewed in the above section, it can be concluded that the Egyptian historical heritage combined with the national culture have provided the Egyptian bureaucracy with a remarkable degree of uniqueness and exclusivity in terms of how bureaucracy has been applied and manoeuvred. Though Egypt is an Arab Islamic country, it is significantly different and unique from other Arab and/or Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia, Lybia or Lebanon because the early seeds of bureaucracy have been growing 7000 years ago until today. Nevertheless, it is a general trend in Egypt to deal with Islam as a religious belief rather than a lifestyle, unlike other Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia for instance.

2.8 Conclusion

The chapter showed the Egyptian rich history and how the bureaucratic heritage of Egypt had emerged from the two most powerful European bureaucracies of United Kingdom and France.

The first conclusion from the literature is that despite the criticism of some scholars to Weber's ideal-type bureaucracy (Du Gay (2000) and Gawthrop (1969), some other scholars, like Jacques (1976, 1990), argue that bureaucracy is the best way of getting work done because it is the only form of organization that deals with size, complexity, and the need for accountability.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the Egyptian bureaucracy has developed some unique problems related to the structure, culture and employees of the bureaucratic sectors. These problems have accumulated and aggravated over the years since 1950 which had lead to scholars concluding that the Egyptian bureaucracy is a hopeless case, i.e. there is no hope in improving its administration.

Therefore, it is concluded that what the Egyptian bureaucracy really needs is a comprehensive radical administrative reform (change) plan that should work on making structural, cultural, and behavioural reforms simultaneously. Nevertheless, the bureaucratic behaviour in the Egyptian civil sector mirrors the organizational culture of the sector, which is part of the whole national Egyptian culture, which may necessitate including to 'adapt new cultural aspects' in the agenda for change that contributes in changing the organizational bureaucratic culture.

The next chapter discusses the Egyptian civil service sector and provides a realistic model of how bureaucracy as a management concept is actually applied and how bureaucrats really experience bureaucratic rules in their work.

Chapter 3 The Egyptian Civil Service

Structure and Management

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two was an introduction to bureaucracy; representing how bureaucracy had started and grown in Egypt over the decades and what previous research projects have found as the contemporary issues and problems facing the Egyptian bureaucracy. This chapter represents how bureaucracy has been applied as an administrative concept in the Egyptian civil service sector and examines the characteristics of the civil service sector; with some light shed on previous administrative reform initiatives.

3.2 Egyptian Civil Service

As discussed in the previous chapter, the legacy of a mixture of experiences and experiments conducted through the centuries by the plethora of successive regimes both native and alien made the Egyptian civil service provide a unique pattern of bureaucratic system (Mayfield, 2003). Egypt's civil service is an enormous establishment encompassing at least thirty ministries and hundreds of public agencies and companies. There were ministries devoted to the traditional tasks of governance, such as the Ministry of Interior, charged with the maintenance of internal order, and the ministries of defence, finance, foreign affairs, and justice. There was also a multitude of ministries charged with managing the economy and promoting development, such as the

ministries of economy and foreign trade, industry, international investment and cooperation, irrigation, petroleum, planning, power, and reconstruction. Others provided public services, such as the ministries of culture, education, health, and manpower and training. There was also a vast public sector. Under the Nasser regime (1952-1970), there were already 62 public authorities and public service organizations responsible to various ministries presided over about 600 public companies. Public authorities were holding companies coordinating profit-oriented public sector firms of similar function, whereas public service organizations were non-profit in orientation (ibid.).

Below the politically appointed ministers and deputy ministers was the civil service. It was ranked in six grades, the most senior ranks being first undersecretary, undersecretary, and general manager. Under the Nasser regime, efforts to reform and modernize the traditional civil service raised the professional qualifications of senior civil servants and opened the service to wider recruitment from the educated middle class. But to curb favouritism, seniority rather than performance was made the main criterion for advancement.

In addition, Nasser used the bureaucracy to provide employment for university graduates. The reform of the bureaucracy soon fell behind its expansion in size and functions, making Egypt an over-administered society.

On the other hand, President Anwar Al-Sadat (1970-1981) pared back the state's control over the economy but failed to restrain the growth of the state bureaucracy and allowed its standards and efficiency to decline. The bureaucracy mushroomed from 1.2 million at the end of the Nasser era to 2 million at the end of Sadat's rule (20 percent of the work force) and 2.6 million in 1986 (Valsan, 1997).

The bureaucracy had a number of outstanding achievements to its credit. The special ministries and agencies set up under Nasser to build the Aswan High Dam, to carry out agrarian reform, and to operate the Suez Canal had the budgets to recruit quality personnel and carried out their missions with distinction. As indicated in chapter two, during the Sadat era, the bureaucracy and the public sector were afflicted with a multitude of pathologies that made them more of a burden on, rather than an instrument of, development. The Council of Ministers generally failed to provide the strong administrative leadership needed to coordinate the sprawling state apparatus, and therefore its various parts often worked at cross-purposes. Many middle-rank bureaucrats were standing at odds with the liberalization initiatives from the top. There was a general breakdown in performance and discipline in the public service; employees generally could not be dismissed, pay was dismal except at the highest levels, and most officials moonlighted after putting in only a few hours each day at work. The excessive number of employees charged with the same job made it impossible to distinguish conscientious

officials from timeservers. Under these conditions, little responsibility could be delegated to lower bureaucrats, and little initiative was expected of them.

3.2.1 Infitah (open door policy)

The early enthusiasm for public sector initiative followed in the seventies with the Open Door Policy (inviting private sector participation from within and outside for national economic development). The second Five Year Plan included for the first time specific allocation of a role for the private sector. However, no major reform has taken place in the civil service since the Sixties despite eloquent articulation of the need for decentralization and administrative revolutions during the Sadat era (Valsan, 1997). Perhaps the only tangible area of recent reform though with considerable caution and delay has been that of privatization of a few public sector companies and in drastically reducing the role of various ministries in the management of the companies under their jurisdiction policies also enervated government planning and control of the public sector.

Abolishing the public authorities created under Nasser as layers between the ministries and public sector firms was supposed to give the latter greater freedom of management, but instead it brought a decline in financial accountability without really allowing managers to respond to a free market.

Government investments in joint ventures with the private or foreign sector often escaped the control of government auditors and ended up in the pockets of the officials, ex-officials, and private business partners who ran the companies. The civil service sector was afflicted with corruption. At senior levels there were periodic scandals over embezzlement and acceptance of commissions; at lower levels, petty graft was rampant. This propensity toward corruption damaged the regime's effort to manage its most crucial and costly welfare program. The theft of subsidized commodities was facilitated by official collusion, from the clerks of government retail outlets to the high officials of the Ministry of Supply. The decline of the civil service also had deleterious economic consequences; the public sector suffered from erosion in management, while bureaucratic red tape remained an obstruction to the private and foreign sectors. The latter often had to pay off officials to negotiate the complex webs of administrative requirements (Valsan, 1997).

3.3 Egyptian Civil Service Structure

3.3.1 Political Structure

Egypt is a presidential state with a unicameral legislative authority represented by the "Peoples' Assembly" which is, like the British Parliament in UK, composed of 444 directly elected members and 10 members appointed by the president of republic (Sayed, 2004). The other advisory council is composed of

264 members (176 directly elected by popular vote and 88 appointed by the president) and has only a consultative and not a legislative authority. The Peoples' Assembly nominates the President of the republic whose appointment is then confirmed/rejected according to the results of a national referendum. The executive and bureaucracy have significant sway over the parliament, especially as over one-third of the members of the Peoples' Assembly are civil service or public sector employees (Springborg; 1989). The ascendancy of the executive over the legislature explains the limited criticism, participation, or opposition parliament can mobilize in relation to state-proposed policies and operation.

3.3.2 The Legislative Authority

Egypt's legal system is based on the 1971 constitution and is derived from British common law, Islamic law and Napoleonic codes and its judicial branch is represented by the Supreme Constitutional Court. The government, headed by the president of the republic, is the supreme executive authority and administrative organ of the state and consists of the prime minister, who supervises the work of the government, deputies to the prime minister, ministers and their deputies. The council of ministers is composed of 28 ministers and 5 ministers of state (sis.gov.eg, 2007). The council of ministers is responsible for formulating, implementing and monitoring the general policy and overall plan of the state in compliance with presidential laws and decrees; Supervising, coordinating and following up on the functioning of state

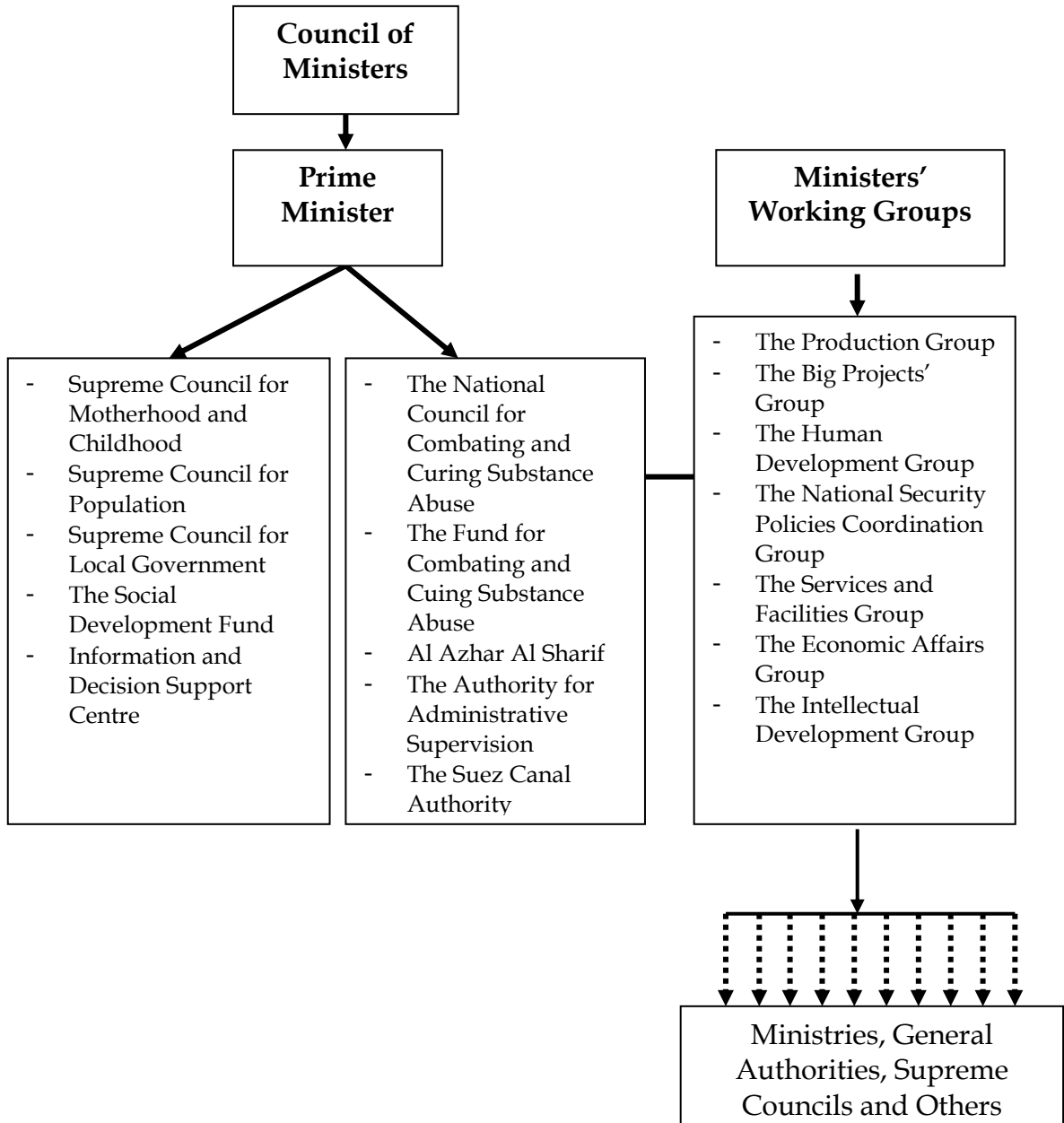
institutions; Issuing administrative and executive decisions and supervising their implementation; Drafting laws and decrees; Drafting the general state budget; and Supervising the implementation of laws, maintaining state security and protecting citizens' individual rights and the interests of the state (Sayed, 2004).

Faithful to its legacy as a hydraulic society, the Egyptian state is centralized and hierarchical in structure and culture. Egypt is geographically and administratively divided into 26 governorates headed by governors directly appointed by the president of republic. The organizational structure of the state is composed of the administrative organ, local administrations, the service sector, and the production sector. Both the administrative organ and local administrations represent 80% of the state apparatus.

The organizational chart of the Egyptian executive authority (fig. 3.1 below) demonstrates the mechanistic organizational structure² and indicates a centralized decision authority, a high horizontal differentiation among levels of authority, rigid hierarchical relationships and high degree of formalization of communication channels typical of public institutions and enterprises (Sayed, 2004).

² Mechanistic organizational structures are rigid and rely on authority and well-defined hierarchy to facilitate their coordination. On the other hand, organic structures are flexible, adaptive and achieve coordination through participatory communication (Robbins; 1994). *(These terms were first used by Burns and Stalker (1961) The Management of Innovation).*

Figure (3.1) Organizational Chart: Executive Branch, Government of Egypt.



Source: [Information and Decision Support Centre (2004) as cited in Sayed (2004; p. 7)].

The organizational structure revolves around the Prime Minister, and the various administrative organs, committees, supreme councils, governorates and others are not organizationally linked among themselves, reflecting a poor level of horizontal communication and coordination. All organizational

communication is originated centrally from the prime minister's office and grows vertically downwards. The same mechanistic and hierarchical structure applies to the organizational charts of all state institutions.

3.3.3 The Executive Authority

The executive authority is massive and intricate in structure and disproportionate in volume when compared to other countries. It has 28 ministries and 5 ministries of state, in addition to more than 100 general authorities (out of which 44% operate in the economic sector and 56% in the services' sector) (Hassan, 2001).

Many ministries and state authorities overlap in their functions and redundantly conduct similar tasks and operate in the same fields. Examples of structural overlap can be found in the cases of the Ministry of Irrigation and Water Resources criss-crossing with the ministry of Agriculture and Land Reclamation (Farrag, 2001). The presence of several supervisory agencies and supreme authorities that lower levels of administration have to respond to reinforce the hierarchical nature of state institutions based on top-down communication lines, and weakens coordination and inter-organizational horizontal communication (Palmer et al., 1988). In fact, many of these general agencies have only supervisory roles and are not directly involved in implementation, which is carried out by other lower level agencies that often respond to more than one higher authority. This structural overlapping often

leads to procedural stalling, red tape, institutionalized bottlenecks and the blurring of administrative accountability.

The 52,000 civil service laws that stipulate hierarchical control of one level of bureaucracy over the other were devised over time to systemize procedures, prevent corruption and favouritism (Valsan, 1997). The fear of accusations of corruption and reprimand leads state officials to push back responsibility and delay the course of work, until they receive clear orders from their supervisors. Besides restricting corruption, those ministerial decrees, statutes and regulations, often contradicting each other, result in an institutional rigidity. This is likely to hinder any initiative towards innovation in public administration.

3.3.4 Social Setting

As discussed in chapter 2, a few years before and after the 1952 revolution, the civil servants used to enjoy great prestige in society, where they were perceived to be the 'elites of the working people'. The revolution raised the expectations of the masses and an expanded civil service was considered the instrument to solve the problems of the people, and especially the 'poor labour workers' (Valsan, 1997). There were more jobs in the government and the policy of guaranteeing jobs to all university graduates and those of the higher institutions created many avenues for employment in the early 1960s. This in turn kept the image of bureaucracy high. However, this was only a short-lived

utopia as the bureaucracy expanded all over the century causing overstaffing in all departments and local government units. The salaries of the civil servants did not increase proportionately to the cost of living, which led to great frustration and demoralization (Palmer et al., 1988; Ayubi, 1980). With the '*Infitah*' or 'Open Door Policy' of late president Sadat which let in both a considerable amount of luxury goods and also multinationals into the country, it led to visible difference in the lifestyles of the newly rich classes and private sector employee on the one hand; and the bulk of the civil servants who became socially a backward category of population. Of course, a small minority of those at the highest echelons of the bureaucracy still enjoy prestige that goes with authority and power (Valsan, 1997).

The administrative background of those at the highest echelons of the bureaucracy today is largely that of more than twenty five years of experience in their respective agencies having been recruited on the basis of university graduation without any other criterion for recruitment. Their promotions in the hierarchy were largely based on 'seniority' rather than merit despite policy guidelines for scientific performance appraisals. At present, they are in charge of 5.9 million men and women who joined the government on similar basis. At the same time, Egypt has had, for the last two decades and more, cabinets with highly educated ministers who are mostly PhD graduates from foreign countries like USA, Canada, and UK and who fall into an age bracket of 45 - 55

year old which shows that the GOE is currently adopting a newer policy of getting younger, highly educated blood into the civil service (Bedeir, 2008).

3.4 Egyptian Civil Service Administrative Structure

As previously stated in chapter two, the Egyptian modern bureaucracy started during the French Invasion (1798-1801). From 1798 till present, the Egyptian civil service has maintained the same characteristics of the French modern bureaucracy, except that the civil servants are now Egyptian nationals instead of foreigners. Senior directors of the central administration - called state ministers - are in charge of functionally specific state tasks such as education, agriculture, industry etc. Policy-making is highly centralized at the presidential level at the state where cabinet ministers responsible for implementing policies which have been already dictated by the prime-ministry and approved by the president of state. Should any policy amendment take place in a certain ministry, it has to be presented to the prime-minister for discussion, amendment and approval; then the prime-minister presents it to the president of state for approval and consent. Yet decision-making in government organizations and public authorities under a given ministry is centralized only on a macro level, i.e. when major decisions are involved such as requesting change in policy items, or salary schemes changes.

Functions between agencies overlap and coordination between civil service units is problematic, at best (Palmer et al., 1988). Few structural problems are as debilitating to the overall performance of the Egyptian bureaucracy as the problem of red tape, a concept referred to in Egypt as “the routine”. Little in Egypt is achieved without a multitude of clearances, signatures, permits, and stamps (Palmer et al., 1988).

3.4.1 Characteristics of the Egyptian Civil Service Sector

Other than being institutionalized in the organizational structure of state apparatus, authoritarianism and centralization are reinforced by the organizational culture of public administration and reflect the general culture of the Egyptian society as a whole (Sayed, 2004). Authoritarian patterns of behaviour are bred, sustained and perpetuated by paternalistic family structures, religious and educational institutions, and the political system in general (Tuma, 1988).

The Egyptian civil service structure is characterized by:- (i) Laws and regulations are complex, vague, and often contradictory; (ii) authority is heavily centralized in the hands of senior officials, causing delays and bottlenecks as issues easily resolved by subordinates await consideration by the supervisor; (iii) the routine and red tape often render even the most simple acts complex; (iv) a strict chain of command, highly centralized decision-making and high formalization invites ‘emotional withdrawal’ attitudes among

employees; lead by their low-self esteem and lack of self-liking since they are unable to express their opinions about work-related decisions, nor invited to participate in the planning and decision-making processes even if they have the necessary technical expertise; (v) 'job and age' seniority is an important culture concern: Junior employees cannot and should not disagree with their senior supervisor or even an older colleague on the same hierarchy level because this is often misinterpreted as an impolite and improper behaviour. Egyptian classic bureaucrats often judge an employee's improvement suggestion or comment on the basis of 'Who Said it' rather than 'What has been said'; and (vi) conflict is more likely to occur between senior managers and junior staff or older civil servants and younger ones, making senior civil servants (whether by age or job) disregard useful comments because they determinately refuse to listen to junior employees whom they consider 'have crossed the lines' by giving suggestions to senior levels. This mode of thinking can be expressed as 'After all, we - seniors - are the people with authority and strength over these juniors, and we should not allow them to interfere with the organizational policies, rules and work methodologies' (Palmer et al., 1988 p. 22).

3.5 Egyptian Civil Service Human Resources Structure

3.5.1 Internal Labour Market

Having around one-third of the Egyptian labour force on board in addition to military and police workforces, the Egyptian government is the largest

employer in Egypt and its expenditures on salaries and remunerations sustain around 35% of the Egyptian population (Palmer et al., 1988). The Egyptian civil service has expanded from 250,000 employees in 1952 to 5,500,000 in 2001 (Sayed, 2004). The 1961 'Graduate Policy' of the interventionist socialist state took upon itself to employ all university graduates to match the enlarged role of the state, assuring university graduates that they were guaranteed a place in government upon graduation, this was a golden opportunity as government employment was known to offer job security and employment stability (Valsan, 1997). This was especially true after the expulsion of expatriates from key positions conducting economic activities, thus raising the need for the expansion of national bureaucracy to fill those posts. University graduates were registered in the records of the 'Ministry of Labour Force' which assigned them to the various state ministries and agencies randomly on quantitative rather than qualitative criteria. In effect, the basic requirement for higher and intermediary level jobs in Egypt has been a university degree. Technical ministries prescribe the qualifications required for technical jobs in each ministry. Administrative and clerical positions are based upon graduation, irrespective of specialization. This has been the prevalent arrangement since early 1960s (Valsan, 1977).

As previously mentioned in chapter two, one of the recommendations of the civil service commission was the creation of a position classification system. However, the system created by it was replaced by that introduced by the

Central Agency for Organization and Administration (CAOA). Law 64/1964 established the basic hierarchical structure of Egyptian civil service. According to this, there were eleven grades of employees with two highest level positions of Undersecretary and the Deputy Minister. The first seven grades below the undersecretary are the possible levels through which a university graduate would rise up. Employees with high school, technical or commerce diplomas would begin their career from grade 9 and could go up till grade 2. Employees with lower educational qualifications – drivers, office boys, etc. would begin their career at grade 11 and could go up to grade 8 (Abdin, 1989; p. 72).

According to Law 47/1978 of Public Employment, the top administrative core would thus include the Deputy Minister, First Undersecretary, Undersecretary and the Director General. At the middle level heading the department would be First Grade and the next level would be the Second Grade civil servants heading the sections. In 1984, the grades below the Undersecretary were reduced to seven with the Excellent Group on the top above that of the Undersecretary.

The typical state employees are the product of a poor educational system, assigned haphazardly to their posts, promoted by seniority rather than merit, and receiving salaries that bring them among the poorer categories of the Egyptian society (Sayed, 2004).

The suspension of the 'graduate policy' in 1984 did not curb the massive employment in the civil service which overshoot the actual work requirements. In the absence of an active and strong industrial and investment sector, the state assumed direct responsibility for reducing unemployment among young people, which reached up to 12% in 2003 (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2003). Taking into consideration that 500,000 young man and woman who enter the labour market every year, in addition to the 200,000 pending from past years, the government offers 170,000 jobs per year, while the private sector provides 150,000 employment opportunities annually (Al-Ahram Newspaper, Feb. 16 2004).

3.5.2 The Staffing Process

Most staffing issues in the Egyptian bureaucracy relate to how people report to each other, who is responsible for what, and how work assignments are determined (Valsan, 1997). In general, individuals have virtually nothing to say about employment opportunities for which they will be considered. They cannot even choose not to be considered since the government has until 1984 been committed to providing a job for all university graduates – not necessarily on basis of a student's background, but dependent on the needs of specific ministries. In this type of system people find their career paths confined to the ministry to which they have been assigned, rather than to be promoted from one ministry to another. Many employees must continually compete with each other for the better jobs available.

3.5.3 Staff Evaluation Process

Superiors often hold power over their subordinates by virtue of their positions as supervisors and their responsibility for making evaluative decisions about the employees' performance. The performance evaluation is generally highly subjective, based principally on the attitude of the boss toward the subordinate. Too often the employee's performance feedback is not directed to the individual performing the job, but rather to his immediate supervisor or a higher authority. The supervisor then interprets this information, and gives out only what he wishes to give directly to the subordinate (Mayfield, 1993). One problem with this type of feedback is that it tends to be highly authoritarian in nature and, in most instances is critical and negative rather than constructive or helpful. It tends to be personality-oriented, in that the identification of poor performance is apt to be associated with those things the superior believes are negative qualities, such as bad attitude, lack of initiative, poor relationships with others, etc (Personal Interviews with Mayfield, 1989-1990).

3.5.4 Promotion System

Criteria for placement in the upper level jobs were, for a long time based on 'seniority' and 'performance appraisals'. An excellent grade in appraisal was essential for promotions to highest level managerial positions (Valsan, 1997). However, most people managed to get an excellent grade with the result that often new positions were created to accommodate them all. Inter-departmental

mobility is rare and each ministry and department is jealous of keeping and enhancing the size of its bureaucracy. Though there was a provision for lateral entry in the early days of the civil service, it was rarely adopted (Abdin, 1989). As a result of the egalitarian policies of the government and an unusual stipulation by Law 46/1964, the labourer and employee classes were amalgamated into one unified cadre. This defined a civil servant as someone who works for the government in return for a payment, irrespective of being a labourer or employee (Abdin, 1989). Seniority was given more importance and an employee who joined the government without a university degree and later obtained one, could get a promotion taking into account his overall length of service. This did not necessarily involve supervisory responsibilities for the promotee, but higher salary than those who were performing higher level duties (Abdin, 1989). A study conducted by Abdin (1989) on the effect of this policy concluded that it affected the morale of civil servant and the general atmosphere in the government offices causing some of the affected managers become apathetic or even aggressive in their behaviour.

Farid (1982, p. 227) argued that the main interest of the higher level bureaucracy in the early 70s was said to be in self-protection as exemplified by their continuous efforts to create higher posts so as to expand their opportunities for promotion which would enhance their income and prestige in the society. This makes a case where performance appraisals become just a routine procedure to perform as a pre-requisite step before promotion, whereas

the core purpose of appraisal seems missing, since both subordinates and supervisors know the appraisal mark they get beforehand. Nevertheless, promotion loses its core importance of acting as a motivational tool to empower civil servants to work harder, innovate and generate newer ideas but rather it is also used as some routine repetitive procedure that are necessary to complete the bureaucratic framework with no end to achieve

While the law 5/1991 was an important innovation in the recruitment and promotion system of the highest civil service, in practice, the general impression is that seniority within the departments plays a major role in getting the job; which makes competence and technical work experience valueless as they are not counted as promotion criteria.

3.5.5 Job Security

Despite the flows in government employment such as the low salary, modest prestige and minimum skills development opportunities, one reason for the demand for government jobs is the job security they offer. Except for very special reasons, a job in the government is considered a secure source of income as well as a way to spend time (Valsan, 1997 p. 20). The government has been considerate enough to compensate for inflation through yearly bonuses and several allowances which are often higher than the basic salary of an employee. Retirement plans and benefits are not adequate but they add to the income they receive from social security in the old age. One advantage has

been that every time the government announced an increase in salary, pensions also were given a proportionate raise. Contributory pensions scheme with variations from agency to agency and between levels have been introduced though there is considerable dissatisfaction on this score even among employees of the Central Agency for Organization and Administration (CAOA) who find pensions inadequate to lead a decent retired life (Abdel-Latif, 1991). This setup is in the civil servant's favour; however, it's not in the government's favour as this creates an opportunity for the 'free-rider effect', and 'social loafing'. Civil servants are fully aware of the fact that 'they will never be fired' for weak performance or low job commitment; which gives them more space to act as free riders, not working hard while at the same time enjoying the same benefits which other hard-working; committed employees get; without exerting any effort.

Strikes are forbidden in the Egyptian civil service and put down with force. The organized way of representing the civil servants' interest and convey complaint has for some time been through membership in professional syndicates. Though ideally meant for increasing professional standards also, some of these syndicates have considerable clout in the government and the society.

3.5.6 Women in the Egyptian Civil Service

According to Assaad (1995) 70% of government employees are graduates and among the females, 95% are graduates and female employment in government grew at a rate of 8.7% per year during 1976-86. 76% of the female employment growth was in the government sector and women constituted half the growth of government employment in the period (Assaad, 1995). At the same time, vocational secondary school graduates of whom two thirds are women find it difficult to find jobs or are offered discriminatory salaries by the private sector and they in turn look towards government as the employer of the last resort (Assaad, 1995). According to the Central Organization for Statistics (1996) number of women in government employment including public sector increased from 951,000 in 1990 to 1,290,000 in 1995 whereas men's number at the same time increased from 2,287,000 to 2,811,000.

Exact figures of current male-female proportion at different levels of government could not be obtained but it is safe to say that the graduate employment policy and promotion based on seniority have given equal opportunity at all levels which in reality has led in many cases more representation for women because of male migration looking for better prospects in the private sector and in the Gulf. There are over one hundred female officers in the Egyptian diplomatic service of whom six are ambassadors (U.S. Department of State, 1996).

3.6 Egyptian Civil Service Financial Structure

Wage setting in the Egyptian government has been driven by non-market consideration since well before the institution of graduate employment guarantee. The Law of "Price List of Education Certificate" of 1951 stipulated a fixed initial salary for each educational certificate and a system of period increments according to seniority and level of education, regardless of the position occupied. Basic wages in government are still being set in this manner (Assaad, 1995, p.12). The above statement takes into account the Civil Servants Laws of 1978 and 1983. The annual increments and various allowances, accommodation and other incentives that are given by each agency uniformly within its own structure and can vary from agency to another (see table 3.1 for salary schedule for 1990).

Table (3.1) - Salary Schedule for 1990 (LE/Year)

Grades	Range	Average
First Undersecretary		2175
Undersecretary	1560-2115	1800
Director General	1380-1992	1600
Grade One	1020-1800	1400
Grade Two	720-162	1100
Grade Three	456-1344	900
Grade Four	356-996	600
Grade Five	312-720	500
Grade Six	300-540	400

Source: Egyptian Central Agency for Organization & Administration (August, 1990)
(N.B.) The above table represents data of about 18 years ago, and therefore represents the most-updated yet accessible data that the research could find.

3.7 Past Reform Initiatives

Several scholars have made studies to analyze the 1960's reforms and a number of committees and reports were made among which the most prominent one was headed by Luther Gulick and James Pollock [Report, 1962, cited in Valsan (1997, p. 8)]. Two major observations of the report were the prevalence of 1) administrative confusion, lack of clear responsibilities, bureaucratic rigidities, and unfair load placed upon top administrators and 2) inadequacy of the personnel system with regard to remunerations. Its recommendations included among several, that the personnel agency should be given a place in the top echelon of the government on the same level as the Ministry of Treasury and that a new civil service law should be drafted and enacted (Farid, 1982).

The drawbacks of the Nasser era and the administrative reform initiatives in the 1960's were also studied at a conference in November 1963 on administrative development (Valsan, 1997 p. 8) and a major remark made by the conference was:

"Nothing was so criminal as to employ the rising generation in the government machinery and give them nothing worthwhile to do: a practice which taught the newcomers nothing but the art of sitting on the payroll and loafing" (Farid, 1982).

3.7.1 Civil Service Reform Initiatives

Civil service reform is not a novel initiative in Egypt, it has been proclaimed to be on the agenda of the government for the past twenty years. The Information and Decision Support Centre was established in 1985 as part of the Council of Ministries in order to provide information, know how and expertise for reform initiatives in government (Sayed, 2004). By the beginning of the 1990s, the Ministry of State of Administrative Development formed an inter-ministerial committee for administrative reform, supported by the UNDP and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) embarked on a national civil service reform programme. The programme aimed at improving the efficiency of the state administrative machinery in order to enhance the delivery of services to the public and support ongoing economic and social reforms. Formulas for administrative development include slimming state structures, downsizing bureaucracy, improving service delivery, simplifying procedures, improving working conditions and status of civil servants, spreading and upgrading use of information technology in state machinery and specifying clear standards for service performance with clear lines of accountability (Mubarak, 2004). Those reforms required the cancellation of redundant and overlapping institutional structures conducting supervisory functions, dismissal of unnecessary labour in the state machinery, and the devolution of authority and competence to lower layers of administration. This would threaten the institutionalized privileges of a large percentage of the state supporting elite and reduce the capacity of the state in the distribution of its

patronage among its allies and disproportionately increase unemployment. If carried out, such reforms would have required economic and political costs that may be beyond the means of the state. Therefore it is important to examine state initiatives in administrative reform, identify the potential internal/external change agents of the civil service, and look at the causes and effects of political and organizational resistance to reforms.

The government re-launched its administrative reform programme in 1997 with the objective to increase the state capacity to plan and implement social and economic development plans as well as ameliorating government services offered to citizens. According to Abu Amer (2004), the reform programme is to achieve the following targets: (1) Rationalize the size of civil service employment; (2) Absorb a new and productive labour force; (3) Attain equality and fair opportunities; (4) Improve status of civil servants; (5); Improve public service; (6) Simplify administrative procedures; (7) Improve administrative training; (8) Prepare and select top management; and (9) Improve the managerial database.

In order to achieve the first four objectives, the ministry of state of administrative development maintains that it revised all existing positions and job descriptions on the national scale to assess actual needs of each administrative area and region. The ministry stated that it aimed to a) fill present vacant positions according to objective assessment of needs with top

graduates of Egyptian universities; b) redistribute labour on the various regions according to concentrate needs and size of local administrations; c) ensure transparency and equal opportunities (with special attention to workers with special needs) in the selection and recruitment process; d) recover vacant positions to reevaluate others and guarantee an annual increase of 10% of basic salaries of civil servants in order to improve their status; and e) facilitating job mobility, promotions and possibilities of part-time jobs for women (Ministry of Administrative Development, 2004). As for simplifying the administrative procedures and improving public services, the ministry reviewed all public services (728) and modified the most frequently requested ones (450). Reform initiatives stipulated the following: a) unify the decrees governing service delivery and invalidate obsolete ones, b) minimize required procedures and documents, c) specify time limits for service delivery, d) clarify conditions, procedures, costs and time limits of services' delivery to citizens, e) improve physical work environment (Ministry of Administrative Development, 2004).

The other major innovation approached by the government in public service is the online provision of services via Internet, telephone services centres and one-stop shops. People now can renew their driving license, shop, pay bills and make enquiries online. The final three objectives related to the selection and preparation of top management, as well as providing them with adequate skills and means of communication and information technology to support their decision-making capacity, are also addressed by the administrative

reform programme launched in 1997. This intention is reinforced by the considerable increase in the training budget allocation amounting to LE 9.08M in 2001/2002 (Al-Ahram; 11/2/2004). The ministry is also working on the compilation of several databases to support its planning and decision-making capacity in addition to facilitating the eventual implementation of e-government in inter-ministerial cooperation. Now that the government has applied two-shift working hours in offices delivering public services and Information Technology has penetrated the work cycle quite effectively and quickly, citizens dealing with public offices have reported an improvement in the system and a faster work flow (Barghash, 2006). Moreover, public service offices hold an updated track-record for all citizens on their local databases.

Despite of all these remarkably strong efforts of the government, political figures, international development agencies and international aid potentials, press campaigns and individual citizens continue to criticize the Egyptian civil service for being inefficient and ineffective. Bureaucracy is still pointed at as the main obstacle facing economic growth and social development (Delawer, *Al Ahram* Newspaper; Feb. 21, 2004).

3.8 Early Research Work

According to Nazih Ayubi and Samir Youssef, two of the Egyptian bureaucracy's most widely-known critics, the Egyptian bureaucracy suffers from a multitude of other structural defects as well (Ayubi, 1980 as cited in

Palmer et al., 1988 p. 22). Offices are overstaffed and the match between skill and functions is said to be random at best; coordination between units is poor; functions overlap, resulting in both conflict between units and a tendency for important tasks to get lost in the shuffle; the quality of information available to officials is not always high. The Egyptian bureaucracy is also condemned for the low skill level of its workers, a circumstance aggravated by low salary levels and recruitment policies designed to provide employment for the graduates of Egypt's many universities (Palmer et al., 1988). Evaluation procedures are rigid and fail to distinguish between productive and non-productive workers (Ayubi, 1980 pp. 295-96 as cited in Palmer et al., 1988 p. 22). Finally, the developmental capacity of the Egyptian bureaucracy is hampered by its physical structure. Offices tend to be scattered, aggravating an already difficult communication process. Working conditions tend to be poor and overcrowded.

Structural problems in the Egyptian bureaucracy, needless to say, do influence the behaviour of Egyptian officials and workers. Low salary levels depress workers' morale and force most government employees to seek second or even third jobs (Palmer et al., 1988 p. 23). Hierarchical authority patterns reinforce the concentration of authority by supervisor officials and discourage the assumption of responsibility by their subordinates (ibid.).

3.8.1 Al-Ahram Study Project, 1983

In fall 1983, Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies had taken the initiative to conduct a major study of the Egyptian Bureaucracy. The project was designed to provide an empirical assessment of the capacity of the Egyptian bureaucracy to play a forceful role in Egypt's economic and social development during the 21st Century and has been analyzed by Palmer et al. (1988).

Building upon historical and organizational studies of the Egyptian bureaucracy, the Al-Ahram study project placed particular emphasis on the behavioural dimensions of the bureaucratic performance. The main question the study was attempting to answer was 'Why didn't Egyptian bureaucrats work as hard as they should? And how could this situation be redressed?

A sample of 836 Egyptian Civil Servants was selected in relatively equal proportions from three government sector agencies: the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Industry, and the Aluminium Corporation. Collectively, the three administrative agencies represent (1) a service-delivery bureaucracy, (2) a product-delivery bureaucracy, and (3) an on-line public sector bureaucracy. The Aluminium Corporation was selected because of its reputation as one of the most productive of Egypt's public sector companies at that time, thereby providing an opportunity to examine the bureaucratic process in a productive organization (Palmer et al., 1988).

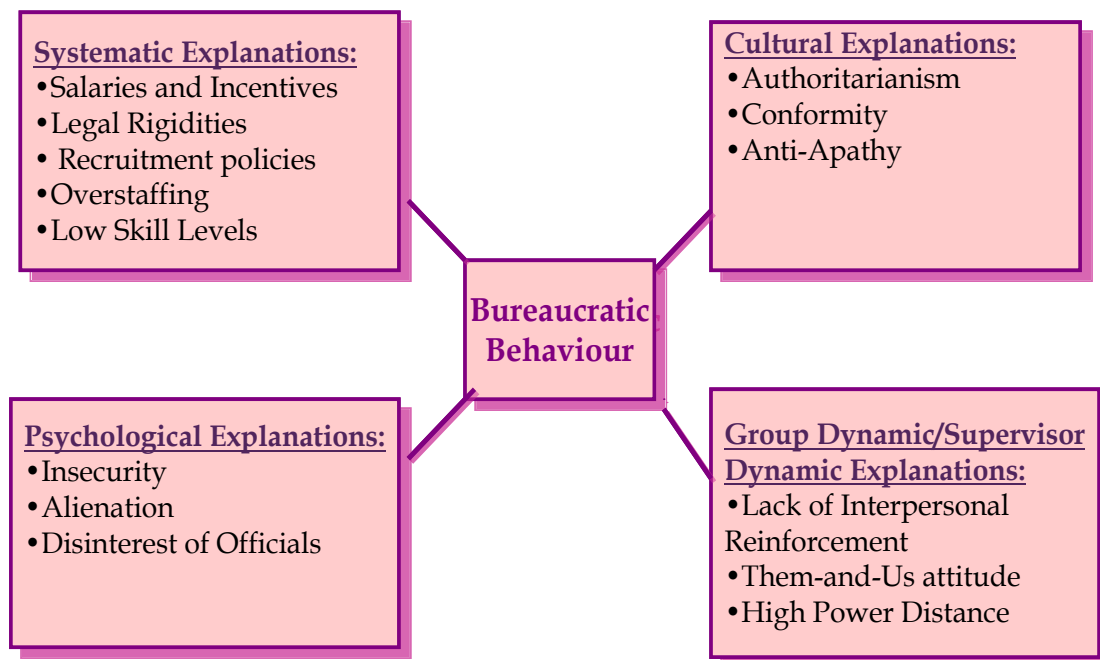
The second basic objective of the Al-Ahram project was to examine the underlying roots of bureaucratic behaviour in Egypt (Palmer et al., 1988). Why is the Egyptian civil service lethargic, inflexible, non-innovative, and lacking rapport with the public? An answer to this question would provide the basis for effective implementation of civil service reforms and thus for a radical paradigm shift to happen in terms of how the public conceive the Egyptian civil service.

Efforts exerted by the Al-Ahram project to examine the roots of the bureaucratic behaviour in Egypt included (1) scholarly analysis, press reports, and dissertations relating to the Egyptian civil service, Egyptian government, Egyptian society and national culture; (2) informal interviews with scholars and officials concerning the causes of Egypt's bureaucratic behaviour woes, (3) questionnaire items requesting senior respondents to evaluate the relevance of explanations of bureaucratic behaviour offered by scholars and others, and (4) the analysis of the survey data (Palmer et al., p. 151).

3.8.2 Al-Ahram Project Findings

Explanations of bureaucratic behaviour found in the secondary sources and interviews fell into five categories: systematic explanations, psychological explanations, cultural explanations, group dynamic explanations, and supervisor dynamic explanations (as shown in fig. 2.1 below).

Fig. (3.2) Explanations of Bureaucratic Behaviour in Egypt



Source: Palmer et al. (1988)

The systematic explanations focused on salaries, incentives, legal rigidities, recruitment policies, overstaffing, low skill levels, and other structural problems reviewed in the literature. The psychological explanations stressed the insecurity, alienation, and disinterest of Egyptian officials. Cultural explanations, in turn, stressed the authoritarian nature of the Egyptian family, the traditional emphasis on conformity rather than innovation, and the historically rooted antipathy between the rulers and the ruled. Both the group dynamic and the supervisor explanations focused on the lack of interpersonal reinforcement for productive behaviour within the civil service and on the 'them--and-us' attitudes.

3.8.1.1 Systematic Explanations

Systematic variables influenced bureaucratic behaviour in two specific areas. First, officials who perceived their job skills to be adequate tended to be more productive, flexible, and mass oriented than officials finding their skills to be inadequate. The link between job skill and productivity was also reflected in the link between education level and bureaucratic capacity reviewed above. Second, individuals holding second jobs were less productive than individuals not diluting their energies with secondary positions. If salary levels do force civil servants to take secondary positions, and they do, then the low remuneration of Egyptian civil servants does depress productivity. It is difficult to see how the Egyptian government can enforce its prohibition against secondary positions until such time as it affords its servants an adequate wage. This finding is consistent with previous analysis suggesting that wage levels are unlikely to increase productivity once they attain adequate levels.

3.8.1.2 Psychological Explanations

Psychological variables of the bureaucratic behaviour stressed three themes: alienation, insecurity and motivation. The evaluation of bureaucratic behaviour of senior civil servants suggested that insecurity was a greater source of low behavioural capacity than alienation.

Peer evaluations suggested that Egyptian civil servants were more timid than lazy. They also suggested that few civil servants are clearly passive, if not

alienated. Individuals motivated by prestige and money were clearly more productive than individuals motivated by a desire for security, an urban environment, or an easy job. Prestige emerged as the dominant motivating factor among respondents at all levels.

3.8.1.3 Cultural Explanations

Cultural variables of the bureaucratic behaviour suggested that the authoritarian and deference patterns which characterize Egyptian bureaucratic behaviour represent a direct extension of the authoritarian and deference patterns found in the traditional Egyptian family.

While cultural influences were not examined by specific questionnaire items, most dimensions of the analysis indirectly reinforced the view that cultural variables were a major determinant of bureaucratic behaviour. The point was manifested in the finding that productivity and innovation - the two dimensions of bureaucratic behaviour most directly influenced by education and other external forces - were minimally tied to traditional cultural norms. Flexibility and social innovation, by contrast, tended to be culture bound and were minimally influenced by education and training.

3.8.1.4 Group Dynamic Explanations (ibid., p. 156)

Group dynamic and group cultural variables suggest that group norms within the Egyptian bureaucracy mitigate against performance by stressing low productivity and by reinforcing bureaucratic solidarity in confronting the

demands of both the government and the masses. Group norms were addressed by the group dynamic scale. Correlations between the group dynamic scale and the indicators of bureaucratic capacity were noteworthy on three counts. First, peer evaluations were generally positive, reinforcing the suggestion of a high level of solidarity within Egyptian bureaucratic culture. Second, variations in peer evaluations among age, sex, and job-level categories were virtually nil, a finding also suggesting the uniformity of Egyptian bureaucratic culture. Third, positive peer evaluations tended to be inversely correlated with innovative decision-making and flexibility. Innovative individuals and individuals inclined toward mass regarding seemed to run against the group norm. Group norms, as measured by the group dynamic scale, were unrelated to productivity.

3.8.1.5 Supervisory Dynamic Explanations

The supervisory dynamic variables focused on the interplay between superiors and subordinates. Particular concern was directed toward the openness of the supervisor-subordinate relationship and the levels of positive reinforcement accorded subordinates by their superiors.

Senior civil servants concentrate authority, are reluctant to delegate, and do manifest distrust of their subordinates. Level of informal interaction between superiors and subordinates were minimal. Indeed, the main topic of informal interaction between subordinates and superiors centred on gaining the

intercession of superiors in dealing with governmental problems (Wasta). Wasta is a very common practice in the Egyptian civil service, where senior civil servants with high power and authority interfere on a friendly basis to make a personal favour for a friend or an acquaintance of a friend; resolving a problem, or making an exception, or recommending an individual, or extending a deadline, etc.

3.8.3 The Al-Ahram Project Conclusions

The fundamental conclusion to be derived from The Al-Ahram study is that the Egyptian civil service lacks the developmental capacity to provide basic economic and social services for an immense population with large growth rates. A further deterioration of the current level of services will have dire political, economic, and social consequences (Palmer et al., 1988).

If Egypt is to survive the economic and social challenges of the coming decade, it must either strengthen the developmental capacity of its bureaucracy or provide incentives for the private sector to play a dominant role in the developmental process. The Egyptian bureaucracy's abdication of its developmental responsibilities would represent a dramatic break with Egypt's revolutionary goals and traditions.

A second fundamental conclusion drawn by Palmer and his colleagues is that the deficiencies of the Egyptian bureaucracy find their roots in the broader

configuration of Egyptian political and social life. Bureaucratic reform independent of environmental considerations will be of limited utility, a fact amply demonstrated by the reform efforts of the past three decades. Moreover, political leaders must not delude themselves into believing that verbal attacks on the bureaucracy will compensate for their own confusion. The authors pointed out that using the bureaucracy as a whipping boy does not constitute bureaucratic reform: political leaders must provide the bureaucracy with goals that are clear, ordered in priority, and sustained over time. They must provide the political and financial support necessary for the achievement of those goals, and above all, political leaders must decide if the bureaucracy is to be an instrument of development or an extension of the welfare system (Palmer et al., 1988).

Structural changes in bureaucracy, while a necessary element of bureaucratic reform, will be of minimal utility unless they are matched by concomitant changes in bureaucratic behaviour. Improving formal channels of communication, for example, will do little to improve the flexibility of the bureaucracy as long as senior officials are predisposed to concentrate authority in their own hands and subordinate officials are reluctant to assume responsibility. If senior bureaucrats want to consolidate their personal authority, they will do so in spite of the rules. The mere provision of the structural requisites of performance then does not guarantee that they will be put to productive ends.

The Al-Ahram data similarly suggest that changes in the structure of the civil service may be of limited utility in altering the behaviour of Egyptian civil servants. It was not at all clear that salary raises will result in marked improvements in production, innovation, flexibility, or mass regarding.

3.8.4 Al-Ahram Project Recommendations

The objective of Al Ahram study of the Egyptian civil service was to provide an overall assessment of the influence of bureaucratic behaviour on the various dimensions of bureaucratic capacity. The results are indicative rather than conclusive, and were the starting point of the research required to ensure that future reforms of the Egyptian civil service are based upon a sound empirical foundation (Palmer et al., 1988).

The recommendations address seven areas of reform: wages and incentives, education and training, recruitment, job assignments, maximizing the use of high-performance individuals, the timing of bureaucratic reform, and the delineation of needed research.

3.9 Later Research Work

Since bureaucracy is rule-driven, making change in the bureaucratic system is interpreted as changing the rules, which makes it less appealing because civil servants will feel reluctant to make changes in the rules and procedures,

especially where, in a country like Egypt, bureaucracy is strongly attached to politics, which makes it a sensitive inflexible area, should policy-makers attempt to implement any changes. However, the Egyptian bureaucracy has been faced by a number of problems that need further analysis (Mayfield, 2003), some of the problems are:-

3.9.1 Goal Displacement

Rules are meant to be milestones to operate the system efficiently and effectively. However, paradigm shift occurs, making civil servants work to serve the bureaucracy and strictly abide by rules instead of using the rules and procedures as tools to render the service and get the tasks done promptly. This problem is more emphasized in service-delivery organizations because civil servants strictly abide by the rules and procedures in such an inflexible way that the public feels they are serving bureaucracy, rather than having bureaucracy serve them.

3.9.2 Work Alienation

When employees encounter rules, regulations, or procedures that reduce their discretion and seem pointless yet burdensome, these encounters may simultaneously trigger the key psychological determinants of alienation: feelings of powerlessness and meaninglessness. These feelings in turn are

expected to reduce organizational commitment, job satisfaction, job involvement and employee's sense of ownership; which are used in this study as indicators of work alienation.

3.9.3 Increased Power of Civil Servants

In an authoritarian centralized system of centralized decision-making and a one-man-show management style, civil servants feel more powerful and authoritative, which negatively influences their sense of responsibility and accountability with the public. Nevertheless, the job security in government makes the civil servants aware that no matter how bad they perform in their jobs, they will never be punished nor fired; this even gives them more power and a reluctance to exert more efforts to improve their performance. This results in a common perception that the rules and regulations are serving the civil servant who enjoys the power and authority granted to him/her by his/her job in government rather than using authority and power to achieve organizational targets.

3.9.4 Unresponsiveness to the Public Needs

Used as an end rather than a means, bureaucracy has become more and more unresponsive to the public needs because the rules are followed for the sake of serving bureaucracy rather than serving the public or achieving an

organizational objective. Bureaucracy rules make it hard to implement any change initiatives because making changes equals breaking the rules and not ignoring procedures. Whichever is the reason behind not responding to people's requests and enquiries, it is always attributed to bureaucracy as it is always deemed responsible for having unbreakable inflexible rules (reason 1) and being implemented by inflexible powerful officials who are using these rules and regulations as their safety valve against public critique and/or objection with the system (reason 2).

3.9.5 Losing Faith in Bureaucracy

A very common statement often said by Egyptians is "Bureaucracy is a Hopeless Case". Both civil servants and the public have lost faith in bureaucracy many years ago because of the environmental factors surrounding it such as the crowds of people asking for the same service, the excessive red tape, the unfriendly conduct of service-delivery employees, the inflexible system and the old obsolete procedures of performing tasks.

3.9.6 Reduced Organizational Commitment and Job Satisfaction

As pointed out by DeHart-Davis and Pandey (2003), the centralized decision-making mechanisms of bureaucracy have been proven to reduce organizational commitment and hence job satisfaction. This intensifies the above-mentioned

point of losing faith in bureaucracy as it is associated with low employee morale and job dissatisfaction. Although decentralization may sound like a good idea to improve the bureaucratic performance, the extent and the manner of decentralization can still have significant consequences for the legitimacy and effectiveness of the civil service organizations.

3.9.7 Lack of Feedback/Control

For any system to improve performance, continuous feedback is needed. Work flows in the Egyptian civil service lack performance measurement and control tools. Processes are followed in a systematic way that allows no room for employee and/or customer feedback. For example, employee performance is not measured because performance criteria have not been set in the first place. In such a case, an employee does not know the most effective way of doing his job, even though he might have all intentions of performing well. Some civil servants actually want to do a better job, but often, they simply don't know how. Moreover, the public expectations are not given enough attention due to the lack of effective communication channels to receive constructive feedback from the people actually receiving the service and dealing with service-delivery officials. Most service-delivery organizations do not have a 'customer enquiry' hotline or call centre for the public to report enquiries and/or complaints. This even exaggerates the problem of bureaucracy as it gives the civil servants

unlimited freedom to perform their jobs according to their personal preferences without being subject to performance control.

3.10 The Ministry of State for Administrative Development Survey (MSAD), 2006

A more recent survey conducted by MSAD in April 2006 surveyed a sample of 3000 Egyptian citizens (Television Interview: Channel 1, Egyptian TV, Dr. Ahmed Darwish, Minister of State for Administrative Development, May 13th, 2006). Sample citizens were asked the following question: “What is the Problem with the Egyptian Bureaucracy?” 45% of the respondents said the problem was the ‘civil servants’ who do not render the service to members of the public the way they would expect it, 45% said it was the red tape, and 10% said it was the long queues of people waiting to get the service.

3.10.1 The Civil Servant

The UN Mission which studied Egyptian administration found that there was widespread resentment among the public regarding the image of public administration which was largely due to the attitude of the civil servants towards the public. The bureaucracy still did not seem to be serving the public but governing them as under the colonial rule with a traditional authoritarian mentality (UNDP Draft Report, June 2002 p.29).

Due to the historic recruitment patterns discussed above, untrained civil servants are lacking the customer-service concept of servicing people with a smile. Civil servants join the government for job security purposes more than for career development purposes. A civil servant is well-established in his/her job knowing that the end result would be the same no matter how good or bad s/he performs on the job. This makes civil servants less sensible to the mass needs and expectations, as the values of customer satisfaction and enquiry handling were not communicated to them by their top management in the first place. Moreover, this encourages more corruption, unreliability, incompetence, laziness and uncontrollable behaviour.

3.10.2 Red Tape

This generally includes the filling out of unnecessary paperwork, having multiple people or committees approve a decision, and various low-level rules that make conducting affairs slower and/or more difficult. Although civil servants are fully aware that most of the paperwork needed is unnecessary, they have no power of lessening the paperwork or ease-up work procedures as they do not have enough autonomy to change the routine.

3.10.3 Long Queues of People

A minority of respondents in the April 2006 survey attributed the bureaucracy problem to the crowds of people requesting the same service at the same time, which creates an organizational mess. This suggests that the public will still be happy with the existing rules and regulations as the problem detected is the overloaded queue of people wanting the service, and not how this service is being introduced or the work flow runs.

3.11 Attitudes toward the Egyptian Bureaucracy

The word "bureaucratiya" used in Arabic immediately conveys a pejorative connotation of the subject. The bureaucracy would imply among other things that it is sluggish, rigid, non-innovative, riddled with favouritism and lacking concern for the public (Palmer et al., 1988). Such expressions of dissatisfaction would go with the negative perceptions suggested by the protocol of Palmer et al. study (Raadschelders and Perry, 1994) like wasteful, ineffective, non-responsive, unfair, not accountable, cautious, unhelpful, lazy, corrupt, underpaid, overstaffed, unreliable and unfair depending upon the situation.

Political cynicism is common in the comments about the bureaucracy. Ideological ambivalence experienced by the society during the last twenty years has added to the negative attitude of the public. It is difficult to calculate

a correct position of people's support to specific political parties. A certain amount of national attachment developed through years of war and revolution is reflected in the public comments about the civil service and during times of crisis the people have responded to the call of the civil service to cooperate (ibid.).

3.12 Obstacles to Administrative Development in the Egyptian Civil Service

Based on a set of interviews conducted with 120 Egyptian civil servants in 1989-1990, Mayfield usefully summarized the ten major issues which are serious obstacles to administrative effectiveness in Egypt. This is a useful round up of all the previous discussions (Mayfield, 2003):-

The government has been committed to placing all college graduates in some type of government position regardless of background, interest, or need. This results in a waste of time, resources and money as some employees' qualifications do not match the job they are actually doing, nor the workload needs these jobs in the first place.

This problem has led to overcrowded government offices, lack of office space, desks and supplies, senseless make-work projects, and idleness. Low salaries and ineffective incentives systems make high productivity, increased commitment, and innovation extremely unlikely.

The promotion system is almost totally based on seniority and personal relationships rather than competence, achievement or merit. There is no consistent system of job specifications or performance-assessment indicators which would rationalize job placement and promotion.

The system tends to reward “keeping the boss happy” rather than the achievement of organizational goals – people are more concerned with following the rules than with determining if programmes are having the desired impact.

There is an emphasis on obedience to directives rather than involvement in making decisions. The superiority-inferiority complex is quite apparent in the Egyptian bureaucracy where subordinates have to blindly do what their management decides, without having a say in how and why these decisions have been taken.

There are few opportunities and little encouragement among lower-level personnel to develop the management skills needed to succeed at higher levels in the organization. People tend to give complete deference and loyalty to their superiors and expect similar behaviour from their subordinates.

Information is considered to be a precious commodity –a key ingredient of power- and something to hoard, not to disburse. Senior managers are reluctant

to teach their subordinates and coach them, as they fear that subordinates will be powerful if they become knowledgeable, and thus will become a threat to their supervisors.

3.13 Egyptian Civil Service Today: One Bureaucracy - Two Generations

Although, as indicated above, the administrative reform plans were initiated in the mid 1980's, the real initiatives have started to be put into real action since the new state cabinet was appointed in 2002 and Dr. Ahmad Nazif was appointed as the Prime Minister in July 2004. Dr. Nazif's e-Government, as Egyptians so called it, was well-received by the public as it initiated new areas of reforms that were planned for immediate implementation and the reform ideas seemed sound to the public (personal observation, 2006). Since Dr. Nazif was the former minister of Communications and Information Technology in the former cabinet in 2002, where his achievements were built on the success he made in the IT and automation field, Nazif made sure to transfer the same culture to other cabinet ministries and thus he made sure to appoint cabinet ministers with the same change mentality and attitude (Bassit, 2006). It was the first time in the political history of Egypt that three cabinet ministers had been appointed under the age of 45 and with a prime-minister under the age of 55.

The Nazif cabinet was characterized with its young spirit, proactivity and change initiative; and all cabinet ministries were working under a common

theme of technological enhancement, service enhancement and civil service reforms (Bassit, 2006). Nazif was committed to support the administrative reform plans and provide necessary resources for all the reform projects and a new calibre of expertise was introduced to the civil service including junior staff, senior staff, programme advisors and project consultants. Bringing new ideas, new services, and new workforce has brought into the civil service a new category of civil servants who acted as change agents bringing a new culture to the civil service (ibid.). This generation of change agents has divided the Egyptian civil service into two categories of old and new civil servants: 'tenured civil servants' and 'temporary or contractual civil servants'.

3.14 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the main characteristics of the Egyptian civil service. Descending from a bureaucracy that had started decades ago, the Egyptian civil service sector had developed its distinguishing characteristics in terms of structure, culture and socio-political setup. For instance, the 'graduate policy' adopted by Nasser (1952 - 1970) has had a great share of blame and was regarded as a major cause behind the civil service sector problems and imperfections that are aggravating and currently making the civil service reforms more challenging, yet indispensable.

The chapter presented earlier research attempts on the subject of Egyptian bureaucracy, such as the Al-Ahram study project whose research findings defined main explanations of the bureaucratic behaviour; and the main project conclusions included that the deficiencies of the Egyptian bureaucracy stem in the broader configuration of Egypt's political and social life; and that such changes needed as structural and/or cultural changes will be of minimal utility unless matched by affiliated changes in bureaucratic behaviour.

The next chapter discusses organizational change and explores the multiple ways to introduce, implement and manage organizational change in bureaucratic organizations in general, with more emphasis given on how to manage change in the Egyptian civil service sector given into consideration its distinguished nature and the Egyptian rich cultural environment as previously mentioned in chapters two and three.

Chapter 4

Managing Change in the Egyptian Civil Service

4.1 Introduction

Chapters two and three surveyed the literature on the Egyptian bureaucracy and the Egyptian civil service sector respectively and research evidence showed that the Egyptian civil service sector has been experiencing some difficulties that had started during the Nasser era and had aggravated until the present.

Past change initiatives have not yielded the desired outcomes; with a huge sector of 8,500,000 civil servants, it may be needed to design a well-organized comprehensive reform plan that involves introducing, implementing and managing change in the civil service.

This chapter surveys the literature about organizational change, types of organizational change, and change management techniques. It will also examine different ways to introduce and implement change and the ways to manage civil servants attitudes of resistance, or withdrawal towards change.

The chapter is divided into two parts- part one discusses managing change in the workplace in general terms; and part two focuses on the case of the Egyptian civil service.

Part One - Managing Change in the Workplace

4.2 Organizational Change Defined

Organizational change is defined as an attempt or series of attempts to modify an organization's structure, goals, technology or work tasks (Carnall, 1986). Other elements of change may also be included in this definition, such as culture, mission and vision. Kanter et al. (1992) defined change as the process of analyzing the past to elicit the present actions required for the future. Cao et al. (2000) believed that organizational change showed a diversity of the organization in its environment, and also the interaction of the technical and human activities that had interrelated dimensions in the organization. Organizational change is not only measured by measurable quantitative items like goals, technology, etc., but also involves intangible items like culture, vision, and mission which can be both directly and indirectly attained whenever organizational change takes place.

4.3 Types of Change

Organizational change varies on a number of key dimensions, which may affect the choice of implementation methods. Waldersee and Griffiths (2004)

classified organizational change according to time (short-term or long-term), nature (unilateral or participative, adopted or dictated, planned or emergent) and intensity (major or minor). In particular, Change has long been typed according to the way it's being implemented as either *technical-structural* or *behavioural-social* (Leavitt, 1965; Powell and Posner, 1980). Waldersee and Griffiths (2004) argued that technical and structural changes can often be implemented without the prior support of the workplace and the changed behaviour will pull along support later. However, behavioural and social changes such as culture change cannot be implemented by top-down edict to an unsupportive workforce. For behavioural and social changes, participative implementation methods that develop employee support are most appropriate.

Based on small cases, Lawrence (1954) concluded that the technical aspect of change involves making measurable modifications to the physical routines of jobs (Lawrence, 1954) whereas social change refers to the modification of established relationships in the organization. Lawrence (1954) noted that technical change could be introduced without social change if the social relationships were accustomed to change. However, in other cases, a change may be primarily technical, but can create social effects that may impact on the outcome of change. Although Lawrence (1954) observed the basic distinction between technical and social change, he felt that social relationships based on "give-and-take" were essential for any change. The "give-and-take" relationship between an organization and its employees may also shape the

degree and type of employees commitment towards that change. The following chapter examines employee commitment towards change in more details.

4.4 Implementing Change

Despite decades of research into organizational change, the results frequently fall short of expectations (Beer and Nohria, 2000; March, 1981; Tushman and O'Reilly, 1996). The weakness of many change results is often attributed to failures in the implementation process rather than the strategy itself (Beer et al., 1990; Dunphy, 1996; Weick and Quinn, 1999).

Armenakis and Bedeian (1999) considered stress as an obstacle to change planning and implementation and they argued that:

“Receptivity, resistance, commitment, cynicism, stress, and related personal reactions are clearly relevant criterion variables to be considered in the framework of planning and implementing an organizational change. Change can obviously cause cynicism and stress, thereby inhibiting success”.

Armenakis and Bedeian (1999, p. 307)

Among the many change implementation approaches, most were falling into the two broad categories of '*participative*' or '*unilateral*' implementation (Beer and Nohria, 2000; Chapman, 2002).

4.4.1 Participative versus Unilateral Implementation

Participative approaches include sensitivity training, organizational development, participation, teams and job redesign, while unilateral implementation is often achieved through technological solutions such as measurement and automation, system and process redesign, and the restructuring of communication, authority, work rules (Carey, 1967; Deming, 1982; Emery and Emery, 1993; Hammer, 1990; Lawler et al., 1995; Mirvis, 1990; Trist, 1981; Porras and Silvers, 1994). Two opposing assumptions about the relationship between attitude and behaviour underlie the participative and unilateral approaches. The participative approach assumes that changed attitudes play a causal role in changing behaviour. A key mechanism of attitude change in the participative methods is the generation of support for the change among the workplace. Without prior support change is viewed as unlikely to succeed (Lawler, 1992; Mirvis, 1990). It is believed that the attitude of the workplace determines their performance in the changing organization. The opposite causal assumption underlies the unilateral approach assuming that forced changes to behaviour are assumed to cause a shift in attitudes about the change. The success experienced by the workforce from forced changes will ultimately lead to workforce satisfaction and support (Hammer and Champy, 1993). Yet, research has not identified one approach to be superior to the other.

4.4.2 Making the Right Decision: Unilateral or Participative

With such different groupings of implementation methods, the absence of clear research findings may indicate the presence of critical contingencies that interact with the implementation methods to determine outcomes (Powell and Posner, 1980).

Waldersee and Griffiths (2004) argued that technical and structural changes can often be implemented without the prior support of the workplace and the changed behaviour will pull along support later. However, behavioural and social changes such as culture change cannot be implemented by top-down edict to an unsupportive workforce. For behavioural and social changes, participative implementation methods that develop employee support are most appropriate; which has been confirmed by Stanleigh (2007) who thinks that things that change agents do that create a crisis in the management of change are not engaging employees; these include managing change only at the executive level, telling people they have to change, we're in crisis, sending staff on a change programme and expecting change to occur, not honouring the past, and not giving time for staff to ventilate first and then change.

Unilateral methods are prescriptive, control and authority based techniques, which modify objective or formal aspects of the workplace. They tend to be top down, procedural, focused on resource allocation and follow formal authority lines. Because objective and formal aspects of the organization can be

modified with these methods, the prior support of the workforce is not necessary. Advocates of the unilateral approach argue that successful change efforts focus on the work itself, not on abstractions like participation or culture (Beer et al., 1990, p. 159). Social, relationship, attitude and behavioural changes will be pulled along, over time, by the irreversible structural-technical changes. Beer et al. (1990) argue that attitudes and behaviour are primarily a function of job roles and demands. By unilaterally changing the workplace, attitudes and behaviour will adjust accordingly.

In contrast, shared methods are participative, consultative techniques that directly target the values, attitudes and skills of organizational members. These methods include participation, redesign teams and consultation committees. The primary goal of these implementation methods is to develop employee support for the change. Because employees are involved, they develop an ownership of the change (Dunphy and Griffiths, 2002; Emery and Emery, 1993). This ownership ultimately translates into a commitment and motivation to make the change work. It has long been considered simplistic to attempt unilateral change without considering support of employees first (Coch and French, 1948). Although the relative efficacy of unilateral versus shared methods remains unresolved, advocates of the two approaches rarely view their prescriptions as contingent on the type of change to be implemented. Rather each is typically promoted as universally applicable (Hammer and Champy, 1993; Lawler, 1992), regardless of the enormous

variations in the characteristics of the type of change being implemented. This will require change leaders to do some ground-testing in terms of organizational overall working environment, workforce abilities, attitudes, and resources available before deciding on which implementation approach to use; which will still not guarantee that the chosen approach will succeed as this ground-testing can be sometimes misleading. For example, employees may show willingness to support change and get involved in planning and implementation, however, they may withdraw during the implementation phase for reasons like fear of failure, and lack of trust in their own capabilities.

4.4.3 Change Implementation Techniques

Armenakis et al. (1999) suggested seven specific influence strategies that can be used by leaders to implement changes and cited where these strategies have been applied in practice. The strategies include (1) *persuasive communication*, (2) *participation by those affected*, (3) *alignment of human resource management practices*, (4) *symbolic actions*, (5) *diffusion programmes*, (6) *management of internal and external communication*, and (7) *formalization practices*. Armenakis et al. (1993) suggested that leaders should send messages that stress the need for the proposed change (discrepancy) and highlight the organizational members' ability to make the change (efficacy). Later, Armenakis et al. (1999) expanded their discussions of the content of change messages when they recommended that leaders also stress the appropriateness of the change, support for the change, and value of the change (valence). Applying Armenakis et al

(1993/1999) strategies should be easy in organizations with an open culture; i.e. employees listen to their management first, and then make judgments afterwards, and mutual organizational trust is present.

Holt et al. (2003) assessed the influence that specific messages regarding change appropriateness, principal support and valence has on organizational members' perceptions. Moreover, Holt et al. (2003) tested whether two specific change facilitation strategies (participation and training) influence perceptions of change in the expected ways.

4.4.3.1 *The Three-Stage Change Model*

Armenakis et al. (1999) outlined a comprehensive theory-based model of organizational change that incorporates the change process, change message, and reinforcement strategies. This model is centred on a three-stage change process that proceeds linearly from *readiness* to *adoption* to *institutionalization*. Readiness is defined as a cognitive state that occurs when organizational members have positive attitudes, beliefs and intentions toward the change (Armenakis et al. 1993). When the appropriate cognitive state is attained through the development of the relevant attitudes, beliefs, and intentions, the organizational members will begin to adopt the change such that they behave in a way that is consistent with the change initiative. After some time, the final stage of the change process is completed and the change is integrated

completely into the organizational fabric or, simply stated, the change is institutionalized.

4.4.3.2 Model Implications

While the stages of change outlined in Armenakis et al.'s (1999) model specify the temporal dimensions that organizations pass through as they implement change, their model of organizational change describes the specific messages that leaders should convey so that the organization and its members can proceed smoothly through the temporal stages of change.

Termed the change message factors, the messages include - in addition to discrepancy and efficacy - beliefs of appropriateness, valence, and principal support. While appropriateness refers to the extent to which one perceives that the change will address salient organizational needs, valence refers to the extent to which one perceives the change will be beneficial personally, and principal support refers to the extent to which one perceives formal/informal leaders in the organization support the change. The underlying assumption is that organizations will move through the stages of readiness, adoption, and institutionalization of change when organizational members recognize that the change is appropriate, beneficial, and supported. Another major dimension of the Armenakis et al. (1999) model describes how organizations can actually convey and reinforce the specific attitudes and beliefs that comprise the change message. One of the strategies that can be used by leaders to convey the

change message is participation. This change facilitation strategy has been widely advocated since Coch and French's (1948) seminal study where work group performance during a time of change was related to levels of participation. Presumably, employees are more cooperative and receptive of change when they are players in the team of change. Indeed, research has concluded that employees involved in defining a change effort, gathering information on the change, and guiding the implementation process viewed the overall change process positively (Bartunek et al., 1999); which is consistent with an old Egyptian proverb saying 'those whom you cannot handle as enemies, make them your best friends' and another proverb saying 'instead of fighting a known enemy; get him to be your friend, so that you two fight the unknown enemy'.

While participation can take many forms (e.g. participative decision-making or quality circles), participation through actual experience is one method that has proven to be effective; it revolves around the notion that intellectual insight, understanding, skill acquisition, and change motivation can occur in the context of active, engaging, challenging, and emotional learning experiences (Weaver, 1999). Another common lever used by organizational leaders to facilitate change is more traditional training and education, where training was proved to enhance the members' perceptions of the quality of change information in a research conducted by Holt et al. (2003). Holt et al. (2003) found results that fitted reasonably with the theory-based change model that

has been posited. The strongest, most consistent aspects of the change message, in terms of their relationships with the benefits of the change, were appropriateness and extrinsic valence.

By contrast, the members' assessment of the quality of the information regarding the change was most influenced by supervisor support and extrinsic valence components of the change message. Results further indicated that participation was related to perceptions of the information quality in an unexpected way; as this participation proved to give room to more resistance to appear on the surface of discussion. As Armenakis et al. (1999) pointed out; the first question in the minds of organizational members is 'is this change necessary?' A perception that it is not seen necessary can create a wall of resistance that careful following of the remaining elements of the change message may not be able to overcome. In an Egyptian context, a government employee would probably ask "I don't know whether change is necessary or not because I don't know much about what "they" are trying to do; I care more about the gain I am getting at the end?"

4.5 Resistance to Change

"There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more powerless to conduct or more uncertain in its success than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things because the innovators have for enemies all those who would have done well under the old conditions and lukewarm defenders in those who may do well".
In The Prince, Ch. 5, Machiavelli (rep. 1993)

Resistance to change emanates from many sources like fear of the unknown, lack of information, threats to status, fear of failure, and lack of perceived benefits. Another reason is that people resist being treated as pawns – particularly where an organizational reshuffle is involved. People like to feel that they are in control of what is happening to them and the more change is imposed from the outside by others the more they will see it as something to feel threatened about and the more they will resist it (Proctor and Doukakis, 2003). People resort to using their last remaining power base – their will to cooperate.

Resistance to change is not the sole factor to blame for change movements failure. Kotter et al. (1986) comment that there is a tendency amongst managers to approach change with a simple set of beliefs that end up exacerbating the problems that arise because they fail to understand them in a systematic manner. One such simple belief is that a change process that occurs with only minimal resistance must have been a good change that was well-managed. However, research findings have indicated that this assumption is somewhat naïve and belies a common perspective that casts resistance in a negative light. For managers, resistance is often viewed as the enemy of change, or the foe which must be overcome if a change effort is to be successful (Schein, 1988: p. 243).

4.5.1 Managing Resistance to Change

Managing resistance to change is one of the critical stages in the organizational change process. Management is not only expected to implement change and make it a successful experience, but also it should reverse the employees' negative attitudes towards change into positive material support for it. Introducing change is a big move that needs proper organizational preparation and managerial support.

Generally speaking, organizational members do not support change unless compelling reasons to persuade them to do so (Cummings and Worley, 1993). A key issue in planning for change is how to motivate commitment to organizational change. This requires attention to (1) creating readiness for change, and (2) overcoming resistance to change. Creating readiness for change depends on the perceived need for change. This involves making people so dissatisfied with the status quo that they are motivated to try new things and ways of behaviour and overcome resistance to change. Dealing with resistance to change includes at least three major processes: 1. *communication*, 2. *support*, and 3. *participation* (Cummings and Worley, 1993).

Effective communication can take away at least part of the feeling of uncertainty and lack of information about the change, reducing speculation and unfounded fears (Covin & Kilmann, 1990; Bronson, 1991; Covin, 1993; Young & Post, 1993). When interest is shown in their feelings and perceptions

(support), employees are more likely to be less defensive and more willing to share their concerns and affairs (Covin and Kilman, 1990; Shaw et al., 1993). By involving organizational members in the planning and implementation process of change, one cannot only overcome resistance, but also make high-quality changes and take the needs of individual members into account in the changes (Bronson, 1991; Cummings and Worley, 1993; Darcy and Kleiner, 1991). When employees are well-prepared to accept the change, it is more likely that they will digest the whole process, and feel ready to move from their comfort zone towards a new zone. Preparation for change should start with communicating new concepts and beliefs before introducing the change. Once the new concept has been introduced and accepted by everyone, it will become easy to apply on a real case.

Part Two - Managing Change in the Egyptian Civil Service

4.6 Change in the Egyptian Civil Service

Sayed (2004) concluded that Egyptian national experts and consultants both inside and outside the state apparatus do not lack in know-how and technical experience in administrative reform. Most of them have a clear vision of the situation, a methodological assessment of the main issues, concrete ideas about how to deal with the technical and organizational aspects of reform and an open attitude towards innovation and change. Nevertheless, administrative

reform entails high economic, social and political costs that may be beyond the means of political system. The large size of bureaucracy, incompetence and apathy of a large part of junior staff is a main obstacle facing innovation in public administration (Sayed, 2004). On the other hand, several national training consultants collaborating with the public sector on several training programmes maintain that they came across several hard working and qualified individuals in the civil service, whose potentials were undermined by the poor working environment and negative organizational culture (Sayed, 2004). Low-pay scales, which undermine the social status of civil servants and force them to seek second employment, is indicated as a major cause of the demoralization and unproductivity in civil service. Despite all the government efforts to raise basic salaries, salary increases are swallowed by the increasing inflation rates and fast devaluation of the Egyptian currency.

4.7 Resistance to Change in the Egyptian Civil Service

Sayed (2004) argued that the negative attitudes of civil servants are the main problem facing administrative reforms and change programmes which the literature in chapters two and three strongly support. Sayed (2004) argued that Egyptian civil servants resist administrative reforms because of their lack of ownership towards these reform decisions. A large number of mid-level and junior bureaucrats are either unresponsive to innovation and change, or resist it on the basis that most of the reform policies laid down by top management are

cosmetic changes rather than genuine intentions. Long years of authoritarianism and centralized decision-making have resulted into a climate of suspicion, scepticism, and lack of trust towards the senior management and politicians among middle managers and junior staff. Alienating lower levels of bureaucracy from the decision-making process prevents consensus over the main issues of reform, thus failing to attain support for the new values and administrative cultures adopted by reforms, combined with a shared feeling by employees that their 'psychological contract' is not well considered by their organizations, nor managers (ibid.).

4.8 Overcoming Obstacles to change - a Theoretical Model

The Armenakis et al. (1999) model possesses good techniques to manage resistance to change. The question of how applicable this model is to the case of the Egyptian civil service sector needs further analysis of the nature, culture and structure of the sector to gain more insight into the process of handling civil servants' resistance.

The following points may be useful to consider when addressing the case of the Egyptian civil service.

4.8.1 Analysing Civil Servants' Attitudes

Resistance to change is more likely to be perceived as an obstacle to organizational change if it appears at the very beginning of the process, when

employees start experiencing negative attitudes toward change before getting enough information about the type, context, reason and methodology of change. Yet, after communicating the whole idea of change to employees via inter-organizational communication, orientation sessions and meetings; employees might still resist change for the sake of supporting a substitute concept and/or idea that may be of help to the organization. In this case, resistance to change is not attributed to common reasons like fear of the unknown, maintaining the status quo, etc. thus, resistance the change is a way of exploring new ideas and multiple plans to get to the same objective of change. It is like trying new directions to get to the same place. Since the Egyptian government sector is a huge heterogeneous sector, managing resistance to change will be a challenge since the management has to deal with many types of resistance. For example, young fresh-graduate employees are expected to be more open to change and new practices than older employees; senior employees will be more change-resistant than junior employees; and among senior employees, some will be supporting the change, some will resist change in order to maintain the current status quo, some will resist change in order to defend a substitute plan of change, some will resist change for reasons like fear of the unknown or psychological threats, and some will be neither supporting nor resisting change.

4.8.2 Identifying Sources of Resistance

It is very important in change management to identify the sources of resistance in order to design the appropriate strategy to manage resistance. Identifying whether resistance is coming from the subordinate level or the middle management level has a strong influence on the success of this change.

Beer (1977) suggested that middle-managers are the 'vital fulcrum' between the day-to-day operation of lower level activities and the top management, making them more eligible to support change in terms of employee education, training and emotional support when implementing change. Employees will feel more comfortable displaying their feelings of discomfort to their supervisors than to top management, making middle managers work as 'coaches' offering the leadership, motivation, instruction, guidance, advice, encouragement and supportive climate to help subordinates move from their comfort zone into a new zone with minimum anxiety or fear.

Middle managers enjoy some organizational status and authority which makes them stronger and less threatened by change than employees. Thus, their attitudes and reaction(s) towards change will differ from those of employees. In the Egyptian civil service, if change leaders within a certain organization choose to dictate change, it is more likely that middle managers will react differently than lower-level employees. For instance, a male middle manager may feel anxious and unhappy if change is dictated by a woman, or someone younger. In this case, the middle manager perceives it as a personal insult to

his dignity and disrespect to his organizational and social status to be given instructions and orders by someone younger or by a woman due to the cultural heritage suggesting that the younger should always respect the older, and that a woman should never be superior to a man as previously discussed in chapter three.

As a conclusion, middle managers are likely to display their disagreement with dictating change, which will create a “Take it or Leave it” situation. In such a case, middle managers will have to decide between three options:-

a. Resist Change: More resistance for personal and psychological reasons, making it a hard challenge for change leaders to handle, which will negatively influence the change success as middle managers are fighting change instead of supporting it by communicating it to their subordinates.

b. Walk-Away: If the middle managers decide to withdraw from the organization, the change process will be threatened, as some key players are quitting the game and change leaders will be forced to provide coaching and emotional support for low-level employees.

c. Take the change: Being forced to accept change will result in negative attitudes towards the organization like job resentment, low morale, occupational stress, lack of commitment, job dissatisfaction, anxiety, depression and lack of

organizational trust; as opposed to attitudes like job commitment, trust, collaborative work and job satisfaction.

4.8.3 Invite to Change or Dictate to Change

Egypt has been known to be an autocratic-led country for thousands of years. History had shown that Egypt's greatest achievements were made with the efforts of its autocratic leaders who managed to prove that centralized power, bureaucracy, and dictatorship were effective ways to invest the rich resources of a big country like Egypt. Thanks to the pharaohs and the old Kingdom kings, Egyptian labour workers built one of the world's seven wonders - the pyramids -. Thanks to Muhammad Ali (1805-1849), the king of the Ottoman Empire and "father of modern Egypt", Egypt had started its real modernization and expansion in agriculture, industry, education, foreign trade and foreign affairs.

Government organizations are mini-models of the central government; where the concept and processes are the same, yet, the way they are enforced differs from one entity to another. Armenakis et al.'s readiness-adoption-institutionalization model (1999) starts with building positive employee attitudes, beliefs and intentions before the change takes place so that employees act in a way which is consistent with the change initiative during the adoption stage. Yet, the Egyptian bureaucratic mentality of some organizational meetings may adopt the old pharaoh-slave style of 'change enforcement';

where change is *adopted, enforced*, then after it has been successfully *institutionalized*, employees start on developing positive attitudes and beliefs towards, and later on *readiness* is developed for future changes. Some change leaders prefer the dictatorship style of the pharaohs and Muhammad Ali, where organizational change is dictated and employees are given no choice but to do all what the management asks them to do. Employees usually start realizing the value of the change and become thankful for those who enforced it.

4.8.4 Coercion/Enforcement in the Egyptian Bureaucracy

Egypt's historical achievements suggest that successful results are likely to happen when change is 'dictated', which contradicts with Colvin and Kilman (1990) and Nutt (1986) who noted that changes that are dictated, without providing organizational members with a chance to discuss the change, and with the ability to exercise coercive power are typically the least successful. A real example to prove Colvin and Kilman's (1990) note wrong is the move of the Egyptian Ministry of Transport in 2002.

In 1998, the Egyptian Public Organization for Route Safety took the initiative of starting a campaign to promote 'vehicle seat-belts fastening' as an important safety measure for the passengers' personal safety. The campaign was launched under the custodianship of Egypt's first lady where conferences, flyers, TV ads and documentaries were held to raise public awareness about

how essential seat-belt fastening was, and how not fastening seat-belts while driving can lead to drastic accidents, and thus drastic national economic loss and environmental damage. Yet, the response of Egyptians was almost non-existent until the year 2002, where the Ministry of Transport made car seat-belt fastening mandatory by law. Only then, all Egyptians started fastening their vehicle seat-belts, motivated by the fact of avoiding paying a money fine, not the fact of how important this was for their own safety. Now that this law has been effective for 3 years and road accidents are really less, Egyptians started to believe in the need for such a change, and they are now grateful to the government that it enforced them to do something for their own good. However, dictating change should not be the only path for organizational change. Readiness-adoption-institutionalization can achieve tremendous success if the time span between readiness and adoption is long; when change leaders start on building positive employees' attitudes and beliefs before a need for change appears. This should make employees ready and open for new ideas for change, and should lessen the time span between adoption and institutionalization.

4.9 Conclusion

Despite the structural, cultural and behavioural differences between the private sector and the civil service sector, not much previous research had been done on how to manage change in the civil service. Employees in any organization

will tend to have similar reactions towards change regardless of the type of this organization. The Egyptian civil service sector with its distinguished nature of massive size and complex bureaucratic heritage would require a customized plan to implement change and manage it effectively in order to successfully accomplish the change reforms.

It was concluded that employees' attitudes towards change have a great influence on the change success as those may result in some positive behavioural patterns like supporting change or negative ones like absenteeism, turnover or employee withdrawal and detachment.

It was also concluded that 'planned' and 'emergent' changes have their pros and cons, yet it is hard to determine which type of change is best as several factors need to be studied and considered first. In the Egyptian civil service case for example, it may be beneficial to apply both types of changes on different scales, since they are both expected to yield positive outcomes; nevertheless, those positive outcomes will still be rewarding enough to outweigh the expected negative outcomes.

The next chapter focuses on developing commitment to change through employees' commitment to their job/organization.

Chapter 5 Developing Commitment to Change

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter surveyed the literature on organizational change and discussed the research evidence for how to choose the best ways to introduce change, implement change, and select the best ways to overcome resistance. This chapter develops these discussions to focus on how to develop employee commitment towards change; and presents a theoretical model on how to develop civil servants' commitment towards change through 'employee commitment and participation' and through inducing some new values systems and work ethics like the "Islamic Work Ethic" and commitment to "Codes of Ethics".

The chapter is divided into two parts- part one discusses commitment in the workplace in general; whereas part two focuses on organizational commitment in the Egyptian civil service sector, and develops a theoretical model on how to develop their commitment towards change and administrative reforms.

Part One – Organizational Commitment in the Workplace

5.2 Organizational Commitment Defined

Despite the conceptual and methodological uncertainties and the controversial nature of organizational commitment, this topic has gained wide interest from researchers in both public and private sectors. Organizational commitment refers to a set of interrelated feelings, attitudes, values, behaviours and practices which an employee experiences within his/her organization. Porter et al. (1976) defined organizational commitment as the relative strength of an individual's identification and involvement in a particular organization. Mowday et al. (1979) defined organizational commitment as the relative strength of the identification of the individual and his involvement with his particular organization.

According to this definition, organizational commitment has three basic components: a strong belief in, and acceptance of the organizational goals and values (identification); a willingness to exert maximum effort in the interest of the organization (involvement); and a strong desire to maintain membership of the organization (loyalty). Mowday et al. (1982) conceived commitment as an attitude that reflects the nature and quality of linkage between an employee and an organization. It is a state in which an individual identifies with a particular organization and its goals and wishes to maintain membership in order to facilitate these goals.

Employees find it easier to experience 'organizational commitment' rather than explain it. It is like saying 'I cannot describe it, but I know what it takes me to be a committed employee'. A variety of studies presented organizational commitment as predictors of absenteeism, performance, and turnover (Mathieu and Zajac, 1990). The majority of these studies define organizational commitment as commitment targeted specifically toward the organization as an administrative entity, in line with Porter et al.'s (1970) concept of organizational commitment.

5.3 Types of Organizational Commitment

Meyer and Allen (1991) have classified employee commitment into three types. *Affective commitment* refers to identification with, involvement in, and emotional attachment to the organization, in the sense that employees with strong affective commitment remain with the organization because they want to do so. *Normative commitment* refers to commitment based on a sense of obligation to the organization. Therefore, those with strong normative commitment remain with the organization because they feel they ought to do so. *Continuance commitment* refers to commitment based on employees' recognition of the costs associated with leaving the organization. In other words, employees are committed to their organization because the opportunity cost of leaving may be too high.

All three above-mentioned commitment types are more or less existent in almost all types of organizations. Yet, in the government sector, organizational commitment is practiced differently, with a strict chain of command, high centralization, and no flexibility taking place. Government employees are more committed to organizational policies and rules. *Policy commitment* is the employee's commitment to the organization's initiatives, courses of actions, and rules based on the perceived congruence between organizational values and personal values as they are expressed through organizational policies.

5.4 Factors Affecting Organizational Commitment

Employee commitment is not a singular construct; rather commitment comprises a number of components (Meyer et al., 1998; Varona, 1996). Employee commitment is influenced by a number of interrelated factors that directly and/or indirectly affect the degree of the employee's commitment/attachment to the organization. Liou and Nyhan (1994) argue that organizational effectiveness is largely determined by employee commitment. They suggest that there are two approaches to employee commitment –attitudinal (attitude) and behavioural (behaviour exhibited by employees). According to Liou and Nyhan (1994), positive changes to the organizational culture, increased teamwork and a change in employee's expectation about the job can enhance job commitment. Another study by Al-Qattan (1987) revealed that there was a positive relationship between

organizational commitment on one hand, and age, length of service, education and job performance on the other.

5.4.1 Individual/Organizational Values

Various definitions of work values have been suggested. According to Pennings (1970), work value systems can be defined as constellations of attitudes and opinions with which an individual evaluates his/her job and work environment. Herzberg et al. (1956) considered work values as representing motivational aspects, i.e. motivators and hygiene factors. Other authors have considered work values as representing the Protestant Work Ethic (Furnham, 1984), or Islamic Work Ethic. According to Levy and Guttman's (1976) definition of values, an item belongs to the universe of work values if its domain asks for an assessment of the importance of a goal or behaviour in the work context and the range is ordered from very important to very unimportant (Elizur, 1984).

5.4.2 Religious Work Ethics

Work ethic and its linkages with organizational commitment, job satisfaction as well as individual and organizational variables have received considerable attention in the literature (e.g. Putti et al., 1989; Oliver, 1990; Aldag and Brief, 1975; Blood 1969; Kidron, 1978; Abboushi, 1990; Furnham and Rajamanickam, 1992; Jonwa, 1997; Yavas et al., 1990; Beutell and Brenner, 1986; Elizur et al., 1991; Wayne, 1989). This attention may be due to the fact that work ethics are believed to reflect an individual's attitudes towards various aspects of work,

including preference for activity and involvement, attitudes towards monetary and non-monetary rewards, and the desire for upward career mobility (Cherrington, 1980). It also induces employees to be highly involved in their jobs (Randall and Cote, 1991; Fodor, 1990).

5.4.2.1 Protestant Work Ethic (PWE)

Most of the research on the work ethic has been carried on in the west, with the focus on the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) concept which was advanced by Weber (1958) whose theory related success in business to religious belief. He proposed that work and financial success were means to achieve not only personal goals, but religious goals as well (Kidron, 1978).

5.4.2.2 Islamic Work Ethic (IWE)

As opposed to the PWE in the west, there is the Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) and Arab and Islamic countries, where it derived all its origins for the Holy Book of Islam 'Quran' and the sayings and practices of Prophet Muhammad, who preached that hard work caused sins to be absolved and that 'no one eats better food than that which he eats out of his work'. Another saying is 'Hard Work is a spiritual practice'; and that 'among the top things you will be asked for by God is how hard and dedicated you worked in your job'. IWE views dedication to work as a virtue and sufficient effort should go into the one's work, which is seen as obligatory for a capable individual. Moreover, IWE

emphasizes cooperation in work, consultation among colleagues, accuracy and reliability in performing jobs and self-supervision.

Nasr (1984) argued that the Islamic Work Ethic deserves a serious inquiry because it is the ideal which Muslims seek to realize. As Islam is one of the most influential factors which have shaped current Arab value systems, it is more likely that Muslims who practice tend to be more committed to their organizations and presumably more satisfied with their jobs.

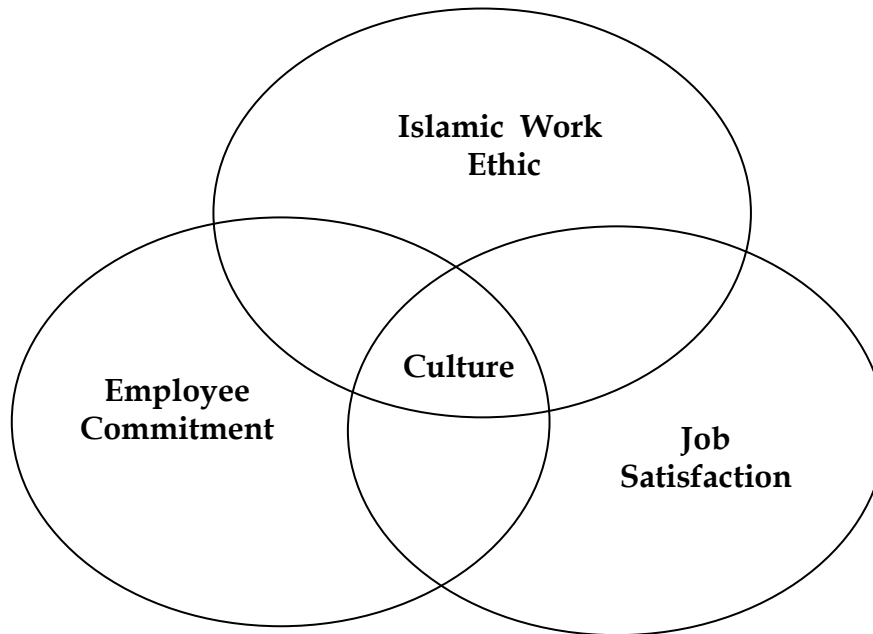
Interestingly, both PWE and IWE are applicable in Egypt as Christianity is the second religion in Egypt after Islam; which makes commitment and dedication to work an obligation for everyone regardless of religious beliefs. However, IWE tends to emphasize more on intentions rather than results. As per Prophet Muhammad's saying:

“Your actions are recorded according to your intention, so if you intended to undertake a kind action, but never had the chance to, you’ll still get rewarded for your kind intentions; and if you undertake a kind action with a bad intention, you will not be rewarded to the action as your intentions were not kind”.

Therefore, as indicated in Fig. 5.2, it can be hypothesized that (a) Islamic Work Ethic is positively and directly related to employee commitment; (b) Islamic Work Ethic is positively and indirectly related to job satisfaction; and (c)

Islamic Work Ethic simply moderates the relationship between employee commitment and job satisfaction.

(Figure 5.1) Islamic Work Ethic



Source: Youssef (2001)

It is also argued by Darwish (1999) that those employees who are of certain national cultural groups (mainly means Arab countries) and are highly supportive of the Islamic Work Ethic are more likely to be more committed to their organizations and also more satisfied with their jobs because they feel they have both moral and religion obligation to be committed and dedicated to their work. Thus, it is hypothesized that national cultures moderate the relationship between the Islamic Work Ethic and both organizational commitment and job satisfaction.

Part Two –Commitment in the Egyptian Civil Service Sector

5.5 Lack of Commitment in the Egyptian Civil Service

The social culture of Egypt is Islam. Egypt has been an Islamic country for 13 centuries and this has exerted a powerful influence on the life and society of Egypt. Islam is a bond in the lives of Egyptians' life and a factor unifying Egyptian people. Muslims are little troubled by doubts or questioning, they have certainty in faith (Hopwood, 1993). According to Hofstede (1980), Arab countries -including Egypt- scored high on power distance (8/10). This may be explained by the nature of the culture in Egypt.

Generally in the Middle East the family is at the centre of the society. In Egypt, family members are very close and the father or grandfather is always the head of the family and has complete authority over the family and the final word in any decision (Shahin and Wright, 2004). The Egyptian family model is more or less like the typical bureaucratic model, where the sole decision maker is located on top of the pyramid, where he has all authority and control over all levels of the pyramid.

Bearing in mind facts like the (1) Egyptians believe in not questioning events, (2) having faith in the power of the God, (3) and maintaining the habit of having the most senior family member as the head of the whole family, it can be hypothesized that Egyptians, in general, and Muslim Egyptians, in specific

are (Shahin and Wright, 2004) (i) more likely to be committed to their organization and/or job, as they are more likely to accept events as they are, without questioning matters; (ii) more likely to feel comfortable working in a highly centralized environment, with all the power centralized in one upper hand; and (iii) more likely to individually and collectively experience 'Resistance to Change' in their work practices, since Egypt scored high on 'uncertainty avoidance'. In this case, employees will automatically fight against any organizational change based on their beliefs that the work flow is currently running smooth, and that any change is likely to threaten the overall performance effectiveness.

The following points may be considered when investigating organizational commitment in the Egyptian civil service sector:-

5.5.1 Promotion and Job Security

As discussed in previous chapters, promotion in the Egyptian civil service is based on 'seniority' rather than 'merit' basis; civil servants are promoted after a certain number of years of service regardless of their job performance. This promotes laziness and low organizational commitment since civil servants are reassured that they are well-established at work and thus do not need to exert extra effort at work.

5.5.2 Gender Issues

As outlined in chapter three, the majority of civil servants in the Egyptian civil service are women who were recruited because of the 'Routine' type of work (Valsan, 1997). Female civil servants regard working in government as an excellent opportunity for convenient employment for reasons like the flexibility of working hours, job easiness, minimum skills required, job security, no 'intellectually demanding' jobs; and to guarantee the chance of being able to induce their kids to work in government when they graduate (Ibid.).

5.5.3 Financial Rewards

The low salaries of public employment became a form of disguised unemployment allowance that drove government and/or public sector employees almost under the poverty line, knowing that an average salary ranged between LE200 and LE 350 (USD35 and USD70) per month. Modest salaries were justified by the state's provision of public employment for university graduates and subsidizing of basic goods. Limited salary raises could never catch up with the increasing costs of living, especially after the structural adjustment and privatization waves of the 1990s that lifted subsidies from basic consumer goods (Sayed, 2004). Poor remuneration scales obliged many civil servants to seek other informal jobs in order to make ends meet, thus undermining the levels of motivation and productivity in their public sector positions. The 1983 study conducted by Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies (Palmer, 1988) illustrated that around 54% of civil

servants' choice of public sector employment was motivated by low working hours (17%), permanence (25%) and low obligations (12.9%). Others pointed out motivations such as; minimal responsibility, easy work, steady income, and low competition (Palmer et al., 1989). This indicates that poor working conditions, low pay scales and a non-competitive working environment are more likely to reduce the employee's feeling of self-motivation and job commitment. In most of the cases, Egyptian civil servants justify their low productivity and lack of commitment saying: They pay me peanuts, why should I bother to work hard? In this context, employees are more likely to develop a fourth type of commitment, which may be called 'moral obligation' or 'self-commitment'; where they are committed and dedicated in their jobs because they feel committed to their own religious values; rather than their organization, or job, or the fear of losing the job.

The results of research conducted by Darwish (1999) showed that employees in the public organizations investigated were moderately satisfied with their jobs and committed to their organizations, but highly committed to the Islamic Work Ethic. Results further showed that there is a significant and positive correlation between organizational commitment and both job satisfaction and the Islamic Work Ethic. Those who strongly support the Islamic Work Ethic were more committed to their organization and more satisfied with their jobs, which goes in line with the findings on previous studies (e.g. Fletcher and Williams, 1996; Bhuian et al., 1996; Wong et al., 1995; Liou, 1995; DeConinck

and Bechmann, 1994; Igarria and Guimaraes, 1993). This result indicates that those who are more satisfied with their jobs are more committed to their organizations.

5.5.4 Physical Working Environment

Another important aspect of organizational structure, is the physical environment and office facilities conditioning the operation of civil servants and the flow of citizens in public offices. Touring in many government offices in Cairo, particularly those delivering public services, one can observe how employees are squeezed into dim, poorly ventilated and run-down offices. In most cases office equipment is outdated, has no regular maintenance and staff have limited access to information technology, except for senior officers, who hardly use it. This is not to mention the condition of some state offices in provinces and remote areas in upper Egypt where 16% of office buildings are considered hazardous, 18% do not have telephone connections, and 6% do not have access to water, sanitation or electrical energy (Farouk, 2002). The limited resources of government are a major obstacle facing the state's attempts to improve physical working conditions and acquire, diffuse, maintain and upgrade the use of information technology in state institutions. Inconvenient and uncomfortable physical working conditions give enough room for employees to feel detached, discouraged from working, depressed, and more likelihood for absenteeism.

Summarising from the above points, it can be argued that 'employee-management' trust is positively related to acceptance of change; thus, employees trusting their management are more likely to accept change and commit themselves to it, provided that they believe in the management's new vision of change. The case of the Egyptian civil service may be different as the current administrative reforms are all managed and synchronized by a fresh blood of change agents who were referred to in chapter three as "contract-based temporary civil servants" who came to work in the civil service sector only to manage the administrative reform projects and put them into application. This raises another argument on whether Egyptian civil servants are able to accept, support, and raise high levels of commitment towards change moves that are initiated and managed by new management figures whom they have not known before.

5.6 Perceived Commitment Profiles in the Egyptian Civil Service

We have read in chapter two that Egyptian civil servants' commitment levels are questionable since they have a general major tendency to possess negative attitudes towards their organization, their jobs, and even themselves. In a large bureaucracy with a promotion system based on seniority rather than competence, low salaries, and supplementary payments controlled by senior management, it is assumed that employees are encouraged to be committed only to their supervisors who represent for them security and job satisfaction.

Research evidence in chapters two and three proved that some Egyptian civil servants within some organizations do not experience any sort of organizational commitment due to reasons like job satisfaction, or individual value system, or job security.

In accordance with the Islamic Work Ethic, it can be argued that Egyptian employees, although unhappy with their job, or having negative attitudes towards the organizational change, would still be expected to experience high organizational commitment levels because this is how 'Good and honest Muslims' should act regardless of how they feel towards their work and/or organization. An important research question to address in this regard is how close is 'the real situation' from the 'ideal situation'? If the Holy Quran has guided Muslims to work hard, be honest, and do their work in the best possible way, then it is essential to examine whether Egyptian civil servants really experience organizational commitment from a value and faith point of view, and to explore how far they make a distinction between their religious beliefs on one hand, and their actual organizational behaviour supported by them being not so happy at their jobs, and having their individual 'school of thoughts' that rationalize having some negative attitudes towards their job/organization.

An example of a common shared value in the Egyptian civil service says that 'the more you work, the more mistakes you do' and 'tie the mule where his

owner wants him' (Sayed, 2004). This rationalization of lack of commitment and poor job performance provides insight into the civil servants' value system where they consider 'not working hard' as a way of risk aversion and likelihood to be '*Safe rather than Sorry*'. Nevertheless, when a civil servant perceives his/her supervisor as uncommitted, s/he will have a high tendency to be just as uncommitted as the boss, relying on the saying "tie the mule where his owner wants him" where the metaphor here represents the mule as the 'jobs/tasks to be done' and the owner is the 'boss'.

Part Three - Developing Commitment to Change

5.7 Developing Commitment to Change

Bennis (2000, p. 117) asserts that if there is one generalization we can make about leadership and change it is this: No change can occur without willing and committed followers. This concept seems to be shared by many change experts (e.g. Connor, 1992; Kotter, 1996). Change theorists have also acknowledged the importance of commitment by featuring it prominently in models of the implementation process. It is surprising; therefore, that very little empirical research has been conducted to date to examine the nature and implications of employee commitment to organizational change (Meyer et al., 2007). Indeed, it is only recently that measures of commitment to change have been developed and used to examine its relation to change-relevant behaviour and performance (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002; Neubert & Cady, 2001). While

they confirm that commitment and behavioural support are related, these preliminary studies suggest that the relations might be more complex than is commonly acknowledged. Consequently, there is a need for a systematic empirical evaluation of the role played by commitment in explaining employee support for change, which, according to Bennis and others, is crucial for effective implementation (Meyer et al., 2007)

Before attempting to ask the question of 'how to develop employees' commitment to change', the research should first determine the type of relationship between employees' commitment to their organization and/or job - organizational commitment - and employees commitment to organizational change -commitment to change-.

5.7.1 Organizational Commitment as a Determinant of 'Attitudes towards Change'

Iverson (1996) found that organizational commitment is the second most important determinant, after union membership, of attitudes toward organizational change. Employees with high organizational commitment are more congruent with the goals and values of the organization, willing to expend more effort on behalf of the organization, and thus more likely to accept organizational change, provided that such a change would not alter the basic value and goals of the organization and it is perceived as beneficial to the organization. Lau and Woodman (1995) discovered that organizational

commitment had significant, direct effects on the impact and control dimension of a change schema. Similarly, Cordery et al. (1993) discovered that organizational commitment has a modest contribution toward predicting attitudes toward functional flexibility. There is also a considerable literature on the high-performance workplace which emphasizes the importance of high commitment as an ingredient of successful change programmes (Boxall, 1996; McMahan et al., 1998; Wood and Albanese, 1995).

5.7.2 Organizational Commitment - Commitment to Change Continuum

Past research suggests that government employees tend to have lower job commitment; where their job commitment is largely based on identification with and involvement in the organization (Liou and Nyhan, 1994). Organizational commitment does not automatically guarantee employees' commitment to change as well, especially in a government context where there is a big gap between management and employees, especially if middle managers cannot perform the task of being a liaison point between employees and top management effectively.

Herscovitch and Meyer (2002) recently developed a model of commitment to organizational change initiatives that could serve to guide such a systematic investigation. They proposed that commitment could take different forms and have different implications for the nature and levels of employees' behavioural support for a change (Meyer et al., 2007). They defined commitment to a

change as 'a mindset that binds an individual to a course of action deemed necessary for the successful implementation of a change initiative', and argued that this mindset can reflect (a) a desire to provide support for the change based on a belief in its inherent benefits (affective commitment to the change), (b) a recognition that there are costs associated with failure to provide support for the change (continuance commitment to the change), and (c) a sense of obligation to provide support for the change (normative commitment to the change). Moreover, they offered a set of hypotheses concerning the relations between the components of commitment, individually and in combination, and two forms of change-relevant behaviour: compliance and discretionary support.

Meyer et al. (2007) found that commitment to change was a better predictor of behavioural support for the change than was commitment to the organization; they have also found that affective and normative commitment positively related to behavioural support to the change whereas continuance commitment negatively related to support for change.

5.8 Developing a Commitment Plan

5.8.1 Switzer (2008) Model

Developing a commitment plan is another way to get change into the implementation phase while developing employee commitment to it. When

people are confronted with change, they usually react in one of four ways: i) make change happen; ii) help it happen; iii) let change happen or iv) resist change from happening (Switzer, 2008). A commitment plan involves assessing whose commitment is important for obtaining the critical mass necessary to get change off the ground. In order to get a change initiative off the ground, the right critical mass is needed. Switzer (2008) commitment plan involves five steps:-

Step 1- Identify whose commitment is needed

Who are the key people whose commitment would help bolster the chances of success? One example is a peer leader who others will watch to see whether that person supports the change. If the leader is supportive, then others who value that individual's opinion are more likely to be supportive as well.

Step 2- Determine the level of commitment needed

Among those whose commitment is needed, there may be varying levels of commitment. From other people, it may be needed that they let change happen and not fuel resistance.

Step 3- Estimate the critical mass

Critical mass is the number of people or specific people necessary to get the change off the ground. The nature and scope of the change is a key factor in making this determination. A change that is relatively simple and

uncontroversial will have a lower critical mass than one that is complex and far-reaching.

Step 4- Assess how to get the commitment of the critical mass

It is important to assess how to get the commitment of the critical mass and develop a plan accordingly. This requires an individual assessment. After a determination is made about whether a gap in commitment level exists, what can be done to increase commitment? Switzer (2008) suggests to send employees to see similar changes in other organizations, invite stakeholders to talk to employees about how change would benefit them, invite employees in other areas of the organization to share how the change was working for them, and ask employees what it would take to get their support for change.

Step 5- Status check to monitor the level of commitment

Status refers to creating a monitoring system to identify progress toward gaining commitment. One way to do this is to ask for volunteers to sign up to participate on a trial basis. Who signs up and how many sign up can be a good gauge for determining commitment. If management is not getting the commitment necessary to leverage the change successfully, it may need to delay implementation and determine other ways of gaining the necessary commitment.

5.8.2 Chen and Chen Model (2008)

Another study by Chen & Chen (2008) that tested the impact of work redesign and psychological empowerment on organizational commitment in a changing environment concluded that the appropriate work redesign and increased psychological empowerment can enhance employees' organizational commitment when their organizations are undergoing change. Capitalizing on those findings, it may be argued that the effective and careful management of civil servants' feelings, fears and expectations can enhance their levels of organizational commitment during the process of change, and this may indirectly enhance the levels of their commitment towards change while it is happening.

5.9 Models' Applicability to the Egyptian Civil Service

In light of the above suggested models for developing commitment to change, it is important to note that all of these models were designed for private organizations and there was no specific model designed for developing civil servants' commitment in government organizations per se. However, they are likely to be applicable to the Egyptian civil service case provided that the top management addresses managing change into the civil service sector from the viewpoint of the private sector because, despite the fact that a bureaucratic organization is different from a private-sector organization in many ways, there are still some management techniques that may be applicable to both types of

organizations especially when this involves human resource management and employee behaviour.

5.10 Expected Outcomes of Employee Commitment to Change

There are few empirical studies in which researchers attempt to link change and organizational outcomes. According to Meyer and Allen (1991), normative commitment is positively associated with organizational outcomes but to a much lower extent than affective commitment. Meyer et al. (2002) found regarding the consequences of commitment that affective commitment has the strongest positive correlation with desirable work behaviours, followed by normative commitment; continuance commitment is unrelated or negatively related to these behaviours.

Parish et al. (2008) found that the fit with organizational vision was positively related to affective, normative, and continuance commitment to change; employee-manager relationship quality was positively related to affective and normative commitment to change but negatively related to continuance commitment to change; and job motivation was significantly related to affective commitment to change.

5.11 Conclusion

The chapter's main idea is to discuss developing employees' commitment to change via exploring and understanding the types and levels of organizational commitment the employees experience with their jobs/organization.

The chapter structure was divided into three main parts. The first part introduced the types and characteristics of organizational commitment, and discussed how various factors like the employees demographic variables, individual/organizational value systems, and inter-organizational communications can affect the level of employees' commitment to their organization.

The second part then discussed commitment profiles in the Egyptian civil service sector; going through religious work ethics like the "Protestant Work Ethic" and the "Islamic Work Ethic". Since Egypt is an Islamic country, the research attempted to show the effect of the Islamic Work Ethic on the Egyptian civil servants' commitment towards their job(s)/organization(s); which should as well affect their commitment towards change initiatives in the Egyptian civil service.

The third part discussed the concept of how to develop civil servants' commitment towards change through multiple paths such as effective inter-

organizational communication, employee involvement and participation, inspirational/transformational leadership, and creating a vision for change.

In conclusion, the literature concluded that developing employees' commitment to change is a multi-disciplinary process that involves more than one facet i.e. it needs to develop a common vision about change, transformational leadership and get employees more involved in the change process.

The next chapter introduces the research methodology used in this research to gather data on the extent of, and obstacles to the Egyptian civil servants' commitment to the change initiatives currently taking place in the Egyptian civil service sector, taking into account the particular characteristics of the Egyptian civil service sector and the Egyptian bureaucracy as previously discussed in chapter two and three of the literature.

Chapter 6 Research Methodology

6.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to outline how the research aims presented in the introductory chapter were realized through the fieldwork, data analysis and subsequent presentation of research findings.

6.2 Research Aims

As has been explained in the previous chapters, the area of research is change management in modern bureaucracies. The main research problem is to uncover the reasons behind the poor reputation the Egyptian civil service had gained, in order that the efficacy of the current change management process can be evaluated and continuing obstacles to change identified. As we have seen, although bureaucracy is a constant concept applied in developed, developing and under-developed countries with fairly similar rules, purposes and methods, bureaucracy is perceived differently in different countries. In the case of Egypt, bureaucracy has very negative associations because of the way it is implemented and because of the attitudes and behaviours of the civil servants that created a poor public image in the eyes of the public (this will be discussed in detail in the next chapter).

Evidence for a preliminary hypothesis were provided by the television public survey conducted in April 2006 asking the question: *“From your own point of*

view, what is the problem of the Egyptian civil service?" that was previously discussed in chapter three. As a conclusion, the two main problems of the Egyptian civil service, according to what the public think, are the bureaucracy itself, and the bureaucratic behaviour of the civil servant, these, therefore, are both thoroughly studied and analyzed here. Thus, the three major axes of the research focus are the civil servant behaviour and attitudes, bureaucracy, and the change management programme (as the hoped for necessary solution to the first two problems).

The main study questions were developed based on the literature surveyed, the past research initiatives and findings of the pilot study conducted in May 2006.

Triangulating all of the above, the study questions were focused as follows:-

- (1) What is the meaning of 'bureaucracy' as perceived by Egyptian bureaucrats?
- (2) How do civil servants perceive the Egyptian civil service sector both as an 'employer' and as a 'service provider'?
- (3) What are the perceived main current problems of the Egyptian civil service sector?
- (4) What are the perceived reasons behind the current problems of the Egyptian Civil Service?
- (5) How can the Egyptian civil service improve its performance?

- (6) What is the best way to manage change in the Egyptian civil service, namely in terms of introduction and implementation?
- (7) How can we develop civil servants' commitment towards that change?

Chapters One and Two discussed the historical backgrounds, characteristics and problems of the Egyptian Bureaucracy and the Egyptian Civil service where each chapter was aiming to answer four main questions:

- What is the historical background?
- What are the characteristics?
- What are the problems?
- What are the suggested solutions for these problems, if any?

For the sake of clarity and differentiation, operational definitions have been assigned to the concepts 'bureaucracy' and 'civil service' as follows:

Egyptian Bureaucracy is a management style as defined and assigned characteristics by Max Weber (1946), Mouzelis (1967) and Albrow (1970). In addition, we have seen that the historical backgrounds and the distinguishing characteristics of the Egyptian bureaucracy have made it different from other bureaucracies in the world. In a theoretical context, the term '*bureaucrat*' refers to a tenured employee working in the government sector who has become a 'civil servant'. However, the term '*ancient bureaucrat*' is operationally defined in this chapter as a civil servant who is still adapting the old bureaucratic culture and prefers it to the new change culture.

The Egyptian civil service is operationally defined as the government's administrative body that is owned by the government and operated by government officials called 'civil servants', adopting bureaucracy as a management style and applying its characteristics to all civil service organizations. Despite the differentiation of tasks between and among different government sectors, the civil service culture and problems are similar in all Egyptian civil service organizations but the ratios vary from one organization to another; for example, bribery as a problem is more intense in the Cairo Traffic department than other departments, while excessive red tape is more intense in the Cairo authority of civil affairs than other organizations.

To test the main perceptions about bureaucracy, a pilot study of 20 participants was undertaken in May 2006 (and will be described in more detail below). The pilot study indicated that bureaucracy was directly associated with negative meanings like corruption, carelessness, red tape and complications, which led to a continuous deterioration in the performance of the civil service despite the many government-led efforts of implementing administrative reforms to help improve the performance of the Egyptian civil service sector as a whole.

Based on the literature and previous research findings, it can be therefore expected that the main problems of the Egyptian bureaucracy can be divided into civil service-related problems and civil servant-related problems. Civil service-related problems refer to problems of the administrative body like

public employment laws, governance policies, the Egyptian cultural heritage, and the lack of Reward and Punishment. Civil servant-related problems refer to the personal traits of the civil servants working in a bureaucratic organization like the negative attitudes of employees, low self-esteem, lack of organizational commitment and individual psychological pressures and imbalance.

Based on the previous literature on change management, it may be assumed that the most effective way(s) of managing change in the Egyptian civil service are either to:

(a) Gradually introducing change by raising awareness, involving employees and encouraging employee participation in the planning & implementation processes; then providing a grace period during the implementation stage before dictating implementation in the form of laws and orders.

Or

(b) Dictating change through an autocratic leadership style, and enforcing coercion by reward and punishment during the implementation stage as Egypt's rich historical heritage proved the autocratic leadership style to be effective.

In terms of commitment towards change, it may be assumed that civil servants are expected to develop commitment towards change and support it when either:

(a) they are assured that they will receive direct personal rewards in return of supporting change (tangible and intangible)

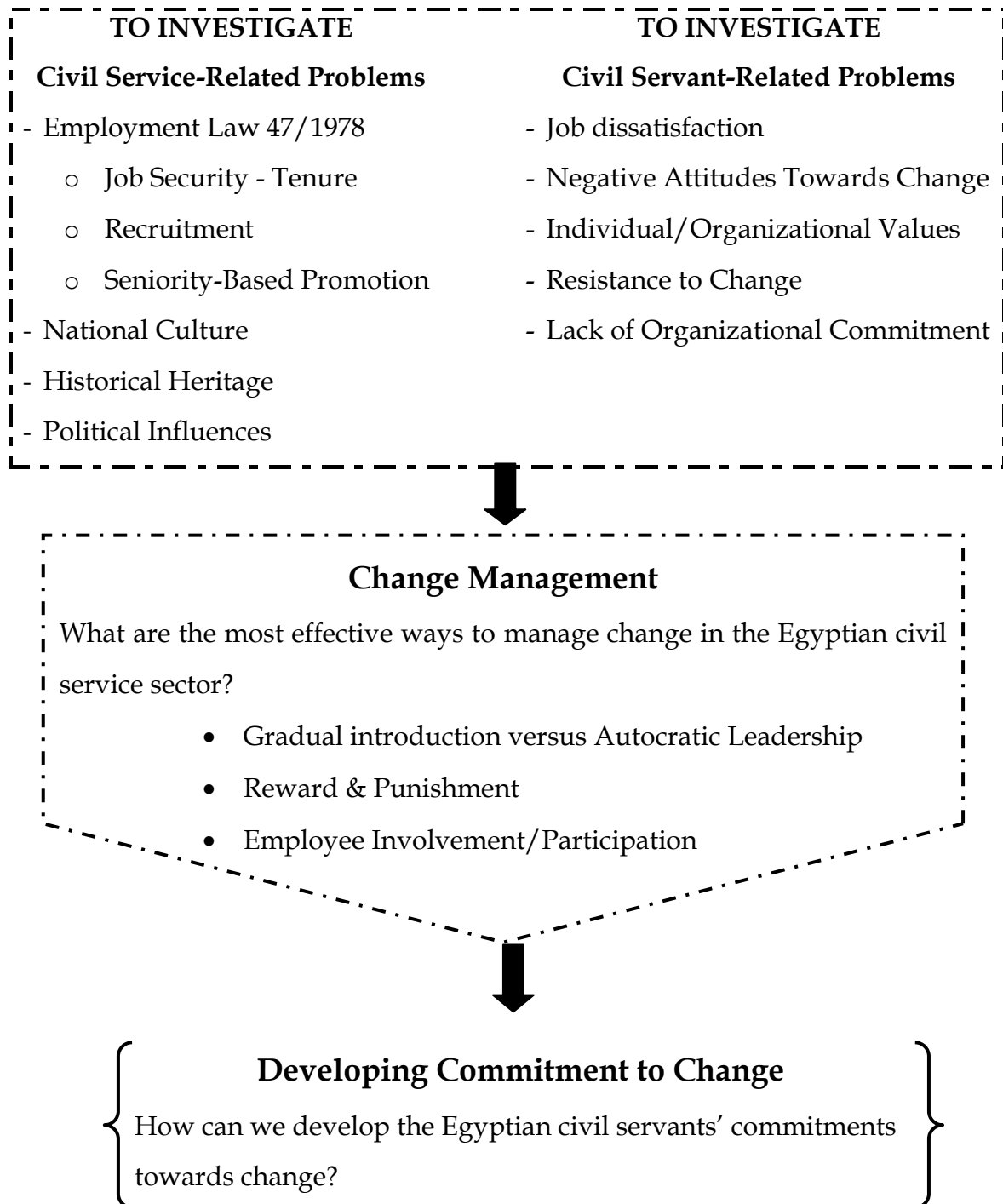
Or

(b) they are actively involved in the planning and implementation of change which develops a sense of ownership and affective commitment towards this change; because they feel that the success of change was made by them, which certainly develops a sense of achievement

The above mentioned assumptions and research expectations are all associated with each other. For example, the cultural characteristics of the bureaucracy problems are based on the assumption that both the historical heritage of bureaucracy and the national culture showed that autocratic leadership was an effective way to introduce and implement change successfully, whereas the cultural change is a suggested tool of improving the civil service performance and reward and punishment enforcement is a suggested tool to emphasize the employees commitment towards change.

The research theoretical model is shown in the following figure, where change elements are gathered in categories.

Fig. (6.1) Research Theoretical Model



6.3 Research Design

6.3.1 Research Nature

Since the research study was to observe, analyze, and describe a variable that already existed rather than manipulate it, a non-experimental research design was necessary as the research variables were to be studied in their natural environment. In this case, the bureaucratic behaviour and the attitudes of the civil servants were the 'dependant variables' that are affected by any changes in the organizational change 'independent variable'.

6.3.2 Methodology

In considering the relative merits of quantitative and qualitative methods, the recurring themes have been summarized by Easterby-Smith as such:

"Quantitative methods can provide wide coverage of the situation and are usually fast and economical. But on the debit side, they tend to be inflexible and artificial; not very effective in understanding the significance that people attach to actions; not very helpful in generating theories; and because they focus on what is or what has been recently, they make it hard to decide what changes and actions should take place in the future (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; p. 32)".

Correspondingly of qualitative methods, they observe that:

“They look at change processes over time to understand people’s meanings, adjust to new issues and ideas as they emerge in their natural setting rather than manipulating certain events, and contribute to the evolution of new theories. But on the debit side, it is much harder to control the pace, progress and end-points of qualitative methods, data collection is time-consuming and costly, and the data analysis & interpretation is more difficult (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; p. 32”).

Having contrasted both research approaches, the qualitative research approach was deemed the most appropriate for this research since the study purpose was to study the perceptions and opinions about bureaucracy, civil service problems, and change initiatives and try to develop a theoretical hypothesis on how to enhance civil servants’ commitment towards this change. For this matter, it was better to listen to respondents’ opinions and insights to develop the theory rather than to assume a certain theory and test it using quantitative research instruments.

6.3.3 Qualitative Research Strategies

As Creswell (2003, p. 14) has described, strategies associated with qualitative research are drawn from the following:-

6.3.3.1 *Ethnographies*, in which the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational data. This research process is flexible and typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999 as cited in Creswell, 2003, p. 14).

6.3.3.2 *Grounded theory*, in which the researcher attempts to derive a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants in a study. This process involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998 as cited in Creswell, 2003; p. 14). Two primary characteristics of this design are the constant comparison of data with emerging categories and theoretical sampling of different groups to maximize the similarities and differences of information (Creswell, 2003, p. 14).

6.3.3.3 *Case studies*, in which the researcher explores in depth a programme, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Stake, 1995 as cited in Creswell, 2003; p. 15).

6.3.3.4 *Phenomenological research*, in which the researcher identifies the 'essence' of human experiences concerning a phenomenon, as described by participants in a study. Understanding the 'lived experiences' marks phenomenology as

philosophy as well as a method, and the procedures involve studying a smaller number of subjects through extensive and prolonged engagement to developed patterns and relationships of meaning (Moustakas, 1994 as cited in Creswell, 2003; p. 15). In this process, the researcher brackets his/her own experiences in order to understand those of the participants in the study (Nieswiadomy, 1993 as cited in Creswell, 2003; p. 15).

6.3.3.5 Narrative research, a form of inquiry in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals and tasks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives. This information is then retold or restored by the research into a narrative chronology. In the end, the narrative combines views from the participant's life with those of the researcher's life in a collaborative narrative (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

6.3.4 Case-Study Rationale

Having introduced all five strategies, the case-study method seemed to be the most appropriate because case studies comprise a single unit analysis based upon depth that is both holistic and exhaustive (Ball, 1996, pp. 75-76), which retains the meaningful characteristics of realistic events. Thus a case-study is an empirical enquiry that, firstly, investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1994, p. 13).

The research subject chosen for study is an Egyptian civil service department which is acting as the civil service change agent and is actively in charge of introducing organizational changes to all other administrative bodies in order to improve the overall performance of the Egyptian civil service. The case-study approach was selected because of its ability to take a holistic and multifaceted approach to change (Pettigrew, 1990), and the subject organization was studied in depth in terms of events, activities, culture, work processes, change initiatives, and barriers against these initiatives.

6.3.5 Research Instruments

Research instruments used in this study were in-depth semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and document analysis.

Lofland summarized the objective of using non-standardized interview format as being 'to elicit rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis. Its object is to find out what kinds of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined kinds of things that the researcher already believes can happen'. (Lofland, 1971:76 in Gilbert, 2001:125). In-depth semi-structured interviews were used because they are more interactive, give more space to participants to express feelings and exchange ideas, secure higher data validity and reliability because the questions were explained to participants as they were asked, and a perception checking took place mutually between participant and interviewer to make sure that they

both received the correct understanding of questions and/or answers. Nevertheless, the semi-structured questions provided more insights about some marginal issues that were useful milestones during the data analysis such as women versus men attitudes towards work, and different levels of commitment associated with participant's age.

Research data was collected to develop a theoretical proposal rather than test hypotheses which already existed; and research variables like attitudes towards change, organizational culture, barriers to change, and organizational commitment were better expressed in words and speech rather than numbers. Participants felt more at ease talking and opening-up to express their feelings and thoughts. Nevertheless, the validation of research findings mainly relied on the utilization of the researcher's tacit knowledge (intuitive and felt knowledge) because the nuances of the multiple realities can be appreciated most in this way (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 as cited in Creswell, 2003, p. 199) i.e., the credibility and believability of the data relies on the researchers' own intuition and personal observation, which is available only in the qualitative research approach. As participants talked, more room was given for the researcher to read between the lines by judging the tone of speech, the credibility of the participant in mentioning facts, and the degree of knowledge of a participant about the subject at hand.

Other instruments like group interviews and focus groups, although effective, were not deemed as viable in this research context. Egyptian civil service organizations have special characteristics and cultural issues that make civil servants feel relatively uncomfortable talking bluntly and honestly in the presence of other colleagues. Among the cultural characteristics of the Egyptian civil service are the 'I and Them' attitudes making civil servants think of themselves separately from their organization, lack of organizational commitment, lack of belongingness, and individualism - civil servants have a general tendency to act as individuals rather than teams.

Civil servants would still feel more comfortable talking to the interviewer in confidence even if the focus groups were departmental or unit-based. Another cultural concern is the general tendency to refer problems to the outside environment i.e. Egyptian civil servants have a tendency to engage themselves in talking about other colleagues and outside factors rather than self-disclosing and talking about themselves and how they personally feel.

Non-participant observation was the second method applied. During the data collection stage, participants were aware of the researcher's study purpose and were helpful in providing needed data. Non-participant observation was applied by attending some departmental meetings and public events like seminars, forums, and workshops. Personal notes were taken from attending meetings, general departmental business plan discussions, and forums.

Additional data was acquired from other non-study participants like civil servants of different organizations who attended the annual Change Leaders Forum and provided some ideas and opinions during the general form workshops. Having spent a long time at the case-study organization provided a chance for casual observation i.e. observing participants while they were performing their daily job duties in a casual context like having an informal chat with participants over a cup of coffee, watching how they handle enquiries when they occur during the interview like a telephone call or a colleague calling-in while the interviewing is in process. Notes have been taken shortly after the events occur about the participant's name, position and a short description of the event. Events were later associated with the participants answers during interviews. For example, some participants who considered punctuality and time efficiency as attributes of organizational commitments were actually not punctual and would sometimes absent from work without a leave permit.

Organizational documents and records were examined over a period of time to follow-up on the progress of change in the main change programmes studied in this research. The research literature relied on some supplementary data obtained from public records like press releases and newspaper clippings to validate some research hypothesis; those records are still in use in order to keep track of the change programmes in force especially that all these programmes are long-term programmes.

6.3.6 Instrument Triangulation

Creswell (2003) confirmed that the use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows the researcher to investigate a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues. Thus, any finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be much more convincing if it is based on multiple data sources.

Because qualitative research is subjective, there is a risk of being subject to the researcher's and/or participant's bias since each of them displays facts and ideas according to their own perceptions. Therefore combining multiple sources of evidence can lessen the degree of subjectivity by testing the validity of the research findings of each instrument that has been used and combining those with the findings of another instrument used. This process is called 'methodological triangulation' where evidence acquired from different data sources is examined and findings are used to build a coherent justification for themes.

The prime data source was the interview as participants answered thirty basic questions, and sometimes providing additional information by going with the flow of the conversation. Interview data was integrated with non-participant observation and document analysis. Documents analysis included newspaper clippings and TV programmes. The 'Al-Ahram newspaper' was regularly referred to during data collection as it represents the official state-owned daily

newspaper and the strongest in terms of readership and topics. Other independent newspapers and/or magazines were also used as those were known as 'opponent media' papers, i.e. they are private-owned ones and thus are not subject to political pressures and influences, and thus expected to reflect the views and opinions of the public without interference from political power.

Non-participant observation provided more insight about participants' real behaviour and attitudes like behaviour with co-workers, level of organizational commitment, and setting priorities at work. Casual observation also took place during interviews as the tone of speech of the participant, lag time between question and answer, and the way s/he responds to interruptions during the interview provided useful information that helped in developing a personal profile for each participant in terms of learning style, introversion/extroversion, and character dominance (real/social/ideal character dominance).

Document data and interview data were interchangeably integrated where findings from each source were matched against each other, for example, the project plans and quarterly progress reports for certain change programmes were matched with the statements provided by the personnel working in these programmes. Nonetheless, press releases and business plans gave additional information about the exact status of change programmes and the barriers to change. Document analysis also took place as part of the non-participant

observation approach because the documents and publications of events and meetings attended during observation were also discussed during the meetings and action points were identified.

6.4 The Case Study

6.4.1 Introduction

The government of Egypt had in the past adopted several administrative reform initiatives to improve the performance of the civil service but none of them had placed enough emphasis on the human factor of the problem (i.e. the civil servant) and the important influence it has over the public image of bureaucracy in the eye of the masses.

Among the most recent initiatives taken now by the Government of Egypt (GOE) are those which MSAD started in 2004, which aim to achieve a paradigm shift about how the civil service is perceived in the eyes of the masses, and how to solve the sustained problem of the 'bureaucratic behaviour in the civil service'.

The MSAD movement for administrative reforms is comprised of two main programmes: the "e-Government Programme" and "Enhancing the Performance of the Administrative Agencies Programme". Since both programmes require radical change to the civil service structure and human resources, extensive effort and emphasis was devoted to improving the

performance of the civil servants in the form of providing on the job training and applying new human resource management tools that were not adopted in the past.

6.4.2 Research Subject

The Egyptian civil service is a massive sector and represents an overall size of 8,500,000. The research case study is the Egyptian Ministry of State for Administrative Development (MSAD) because it is the organization taking the lead in introducing change to the civil service and acting as the change agent of the Egyptian civil service. The MSAD started the civil service change plan by introducing the new administrative reforms to six government organizations as a pilot study, these organizations were the ministry of social security, ministry of tourism, ministry of education, ministry of health, ministry of electricity and energy and the MSAD.

6.4.3 Sampling Method

A typical case-study purposive sampling was the most appropriate sampling method since sample units were picked according to a predefined set of characteristics rather than to represent the research population. For this reason, qualitative research samples are usually small in size, and require deeper investigation and analysis than quantitative samples.

The sample of interviews was chosen according to a number of criteria, and included only those civil servants who are in a position to provide reliable

answers for most of the research questions. For the sample to be valid and reliable, the selection of participants included those who have worked in the civil service long enough to understand the bureaucracy laws, policies and procedures; it was also important to only include those participants who were actually involved in at least one of the administrative reform projects/programmes so that they can provide some useful insights into the change management subject, in terms of how change was carried out, what are the main obstacles towards change and what are the main objectives of each change project/programme.

Sample participants included in the study were chosen according to the following criteria:-

- full-time employees who have been working for MSAD for at least one year and holding a university degree regardless of the major of study
- part-time project consultants who are appointed as top-level managers
- Working in at least one change programme of MSAD, and being actively involved in the change process stage(s) of planning/implementation/follow-up and control.
- having office-based jobs that involve thinking processes and intellectual contribution

The sample therefore excluded the following:

- Part-time employees appointed at clerical jobs such as office clerk/clerkess, typists and data entry specialists working on the wage system rather than a monthly salary because they were less likely to build a strong linkage with the organizational policies and procedures since their jobs did not require intellectual input.
- Supporting staff like janitors, porters, drivers, and cleaners because their jobs did not involve nor require a high level of interaction with employees nor an intellectual contribution.
- The office of the minister: consisting of the minister himself, his first assistant and his two secretaries because the minister's speeches, press releases, and television interviews were deemed reliable enough and provided objective answers to most of the interview questions whereas the first assistant is primarily in charge of the minister's primary ministerial duties and work affairs; and the two secretaries duties were secretarial support and duties for the office of the minister only which makes the office of the minister staff less involved in the change programmes of MSAD which are the core interest of this research study.
- The senior bureaucrats or 'Ancient Bureaucrats': Senior bureaucrats (also referred to in this study as Ancient Bureaucrats) were excluded from the study for a group of reasons. (1) Ancient bureaucrats were not involved in the MSAD-driven administrative reform programmes because they were thought of as human obstacles rather than resources and thus were not expected to provide a valuable contribution to the study; (2) there was an

accessibility limitation to senior bureaucrats since they did not wish to participate in the study and one ancient bureaucrat (M/64) who joined MSAD in 1974 actually forbade his subordinate from participating in the study.

6.4.4 Sample Size

The total number of employees working at MSAD is 341; however, the sample included only those employees working as change agents in the MSAD change programmes/projects. A total of thirty three in-depth interviews were conducted, with an average length of sixty minutes per interview. The small sample size was justified by the large amount of data obtained from respondents as the respondents as change agents have had access to information on how change was managed in the six pilot study organizations, and hence was able to provide answers about change management in other organizations and about civil servants' attitudes and opinions towards that change.

6.4.5 Actors

The participants of this study were the civil servants of the MSAD who have been working at the Egyptian civil service for at least twelve months and were working in one of the change programmes regardless of their hierarchical level or job title, and have been studied performing their jobs in their natural daily organizational setup.

6.4.6 Processes

Work cycles, management styles, chains of command, civil servants attitudes towards themselves, colleagues, organization and most importantly towards the change move itself have been studied to triangulate with the other research instruments used. Emphasis was given to studying the inter-organizational communication channels used both formally and informally, and verbally and non-verbally as communication in the civil service is an important element in reflecting the organizational culture and the national Egyptian culture.

6.5 Data Collection Preparation

An introduction of the researcher and the research study had been made prior to the pilot study in February 2006 where an official 'Letter of Introduction' signed by the researcher and stamped by the researcher's university department and was delivered to the Minister. The minister, who was personally enthusiastic about the research study, asked his personal secretary to introduce the researcher to the whole organization and provide all assistance and support needed to conduct the research after having given his consent to perform a case-study research about MSAD.

6.5.1 Pilot Study

In May 2006, a pilot study visit of two weeks took place because some research concepts and hypotheses needed validation before the actual research took place. A private office with a PC, printer and telephone line was made

available for the researcher, and a meeting room was dedicated to run the interviews.

Prior to the interviews, informal talks with key officials of some programmes took place to familiarize the researcher with the nature of work at MSAD, key personnel of each programme, team members of each programme, and to informally draw the researcher's attention to some cultural and behavioural considerations to take into consideration before contacting employees and conducting interviews like for example the sensitivity of the organizational hierarchy in the civil service, i.e. getting clearance from supervisors before interviewing the subordinate staff because the senior staff members are the gatekeepers who need respective handling and tact in order to get their cooperation in the case study.

Organizational records like the organizational chart, mission statement, and administrative reforms programmes proposals were also made available to provide a comprehensive understanding about the initiatives involved in each change programme.

The pilot study interviews took place on May 7th through May 18th, 2006 where random samples were picked from each programme according to accessibility, availability and convenience. Each interview lasted between forty and sixty minutes, in which the researcher started by explaining the purpose of the

interview, the nature of the interview (being an informal chat) and a confirmation of data protection and anonymity of participants. Interview questions were semi-structured and a total of thirteen interviews were conducted. All participants were cooperative and open, and interview data were reliable except for one interview with a senior civil servant working as the senior under-secretary for ministerial affairs who insisted on conducting the interview in his own office while two lady colleagues were present, and most of the answers did not fit with the questions being asked. Nevertheless, the participant expressed his objection about voice-recording the interview and explicitly asked for the interview schedule so that he can hand in the answers on a sheet of a paper, and later on, the researcher discovered that this participant actually forbade his subordinate from participating in the research study.

6.5.2 Ethical Considerations

Privacy rights of participants were taken into consideration during the study. The research objectives were verbally and officially articulated to the participant(s) prior to the study where necessary information such as the research purpose, data needed, how the data are collected and how they were to be used have all been communicated to each participant at the beginning of the interview. Participants were also assured that the researcher committed herself to treat the data collected with complete discretion and confidentiality where anything the participant said during the interview would in no way be

used against him/her and would be disclosed only to the researcher for analysis purposes, and that participants should be referred to in the study anonymously.

6.5.3 Data Collection

Data were collected in September - October 2006 where interview appointments were made by telephone and participants were made aware that interviews would be voice-recorded and would last between forty and sixty minutes. Interviews were all conducted in the Arabic language in a separate sound-proof meeting room with only the researcher and participant in the room and were voice-recorded with a digital recording device; voice files were checked for quality and voice clarity and backup files were also made for recorded interviews.

The shortest interview was forty minutes long and the longest was ninety minutes, however, the average interview length was sixty minutes. During the interview, the interview schedule was used to follow the sequence of questions and researcher's notes were taken during the interview in a notebook. A gap time of 10 minutes was allocated between interviews to allow time to review the interview voice clip which had been recorded and to maximize confidentiality so that participants did not see who else was to be interviewed or were seen by other participants, in case this made them less comfortable.

Non-participant observation took place during working hours in the normal running of the work flow to ensure believability and avoid the risk of participants' superficial behaviour if they knew they were being observed. Departmental meetings and workshops were attended and researcher's notes taken. Official documents like the business plan, progress report, and employee performance evaluation forms were also reviewed to mark the progress of the change programme, however programme directors felt reluctant to provide the researcher with copies of those documents. Although documents and archival records did not reveal enough information about the nature of change and/or the civil servants' organizational behaviour, when triangulated with interview data and observational notes, the documents were useful in giving sound insights during data analysis.

Newspaper clippings were collected over the period of two years to track the progress of the major change programmes and identify the main public opinion and responses about those changes. Electronic newspaper archives were also reviewed on a weekly basis to ensure access to the most updated reviews and articles about change programmes. The most commonly used electronic archive was that of 'Al-Ahram' daily newspaper since this is the number one national daily newspaper in Egypt.

6.5.4 Data Processing

Transcription of the voice-recorded interviews took place in parallel with the data collection in order to review the interview schedule, track any imperfections which may have happened during interviews, and be able to avoid them in future interviews. Transcripts also included the researcher's own notes and observations during the interview to serve as helping hints later on during the data analysis stage. Interview digital files were translated from Arabic to English and transcribed into textual transcripts in one step; transcripts were saved in Word document format; and each transcript file had a file label containing information about the interviewee's name, job title, direct supervisor, age/gender, and date and time of the interview.

Observational notes taken during interviews and other events being attended like meetings and workshops were typed on a Microsoft word file with comments and footnotes for further analysis.

6.5.5 Data Analysis

Merriam (1998) and Marshall and Rossman (1999) contend that data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research. The data analysis was an ongoing process that took place in parallel during the data collection process rather than sequentially. During transcription, notes were taken between brackets and hints were highlighted to thoroughly explain in the

analysis chapter. Correlations were also made between the data collected and the hypotheses introduced in the literature review.

6.6 Validating the Accuracy of Findings

Although validating the accuracy of the research findings is an ongoing process, the difficulty in validating qualitative findings lies in the fact of maintaining credibility and objectivity in reporting the research. Since data findings were talk, speeches and words rather than numbers, the degree of subjectivity and response bias was higher and the fact of keeping the analysis and findings credible and valid was somehow challenging. The researcher's bias is no less important than the participant's bias because, while the researcher is able to sense the subjectivity and bias in the participant's answers, no one can trace the researcher's bias unless s/he includes it in his/her research.

Possible ways to ensure validity, reliability and credibility of the study findings, as recommended by Creswell (2003, p. 196), include clarifying the bias that the researcher brought to the study and explaining it in the study limitations section. Another way is to assign an external auditor to review the entire project from a neutral point of view. This external auditor should provide an assessment of the whole research process to detect areas where credibility, reliability, or validity is lacking in any of the research instruments. Triangulation of data, as previously discussed in the 'research instruments'

section, is very useful in emphasizing internal validity where multiple data collection methods work together in synergy and complement each other to ensure that the research is progressing in the appropriate direction as planned in the research plan. Methodology triangulation not only serves to ensure validity, but also to strengthen reliability. Finally, long-term repeated observations ensure that what has been said in the interview is the actual scenario taking place in its normal settings. Moreover, reliability will be strengthened by providing a detailed description of the research topic, research questions, methodology, data collection methods, analysis and final report findings.

During interviews, several validation tools were used such as asking the same question twice but with a different phrasing, asking the question at one stage and then asking the opposite question at another stage (asking about problems and remedies for example), repeating what the participant said to confirm the answers, doing perception checking by saying: "do you mean that ...?", examining documents and reports to make sure that the participant provided correct answers about reporting facts like employee progress, change progress, implementation deficiencies, and main barriers to change, and asking many participants about the same event(s)/incident(s) to test the consistency and reliability of the answers provided during interviews.

6.7 Reporting the Findings

Lofland [(1974), cited in Creswell (2003)], suggests that although data collection and analysis strategies are similar across qualitative methods, the research findings can be reported in a diversity of ways (official reports, numerical statistics, graphs and charts). Research findings in this study were recorded in a narrative text form, where findings were thoroughly described and minor details mentioned for academic purposes. In addition, an appendix report form with concrete information and bullet points will also be prepared and submitted to the Minister in accordance with his request. This report will look more like an improvement plan or 'Change Manual' to be used by the Ministry for professional purposes, and thus will rely more on stating definite facts and research findings and conclusions rather than describing findings.

6.8 Limitations of Research

The author believes that the methodology adopted allows the research aims to be met but acknowledges certain limitations of the approach.

The small sample size (n=33), although it provided some useful insights and important findings, may not be thought of as representative enough because it included only change agents. It may have been useful to include some other participants like ancient bureaucrats, however it was evident from the pilot study that those would have been unwilling to participate in the study (see below).

Finding enough materials on previous research done in the same field of study was another difficulty, as there were limited sources and several were not up to date, this made the research theoretical model somehow limited. The researcher believes that the purpose of data analysis was successfully achieved through the thorough consideration of all different perspectives in respect to the literature surveyed and data collected.

Accessibility was also a main challenge. Some participants were not accessible because they were not available most of time for reasons like having meetings, travelling abroad, of being too busy to free one-hour for an interview. On the other hand, senior bureaucrats referred to as '*Ancient Bureaucrats*' consisted another difficulty as they explicitly refused to participate in the study, and the only ancient bureaucrat who exceptionally agreed to participate did not provide useful responses as he was too defensive during the interview, and he limited the researcher's ability to run the interview with the highest standards of confidentiality and accuracy, as previously mentioned.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach adopted in this research and provided a logical justification for the rationale behind its adoption. Different research methods were explored, and it was concluded that qualitative research methods were the most appropriate to use since some of the constructs measured are the 'civil servants' attitudes and feelings'. Qualitative research techniques were also explored and the research chose to use the case-study technique. Despite the researcher's belief that there is no 'one best way' to conduct field research, it was believed that a triangulation of research methods would yield the best outcomes.

The chapter also explained data collection, analysis and reporting findings methods; and explained the research limitations.

Chapter 7 Perceptions of Problems

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two empirical chapters that discuss data findings and the main research implications. This chapter focuses on presenting some essential data about the general opinions and perceptions about bureaucracy, the Egyptian civil service, and identifying the main problems of the Egyptian civil service.

The structure of this chapter is divided into three parts. Part One provides a brief restatement of the research aims. Parts Two and Three represent the data findings, in which Part Two discusses the responses about general perceptions and opinions about bureaucracy and the Egyptian civil service and Part Three discusses the main civil service problems, as stated by the research respondents.

Part One – Research Themes

7.2 Research Themes

The study aimed at answering the main questions of identifying the main problems of the Egyptian civil service sector, defining the main obstacles

against the administrative reforms plan undertaken by the MSAD and identifying proposals on how to develop the civil servants' commitment towards those reform initiatives. Methods used in this research were (1) one-to-one interviews, (2) document review, and (3) personal observation.

The research findings can be categorized in seven main research themes that start by defining the meaning of the word 'bureaucracy' as perceived by the Egyptian civil servants, and end by identifying the key proposed suggestions to raise civil servants and public commitment towards the MSAD-initiated reform plans and support of change in order to achieve the essential and most vital goal of actually improving the performance of the Egyptian civil service.

7.2.1 Study Focus

The study focus was to examine the main problems of the Egyptian civil service, as suggested by the literature and the research findings, research the civil servants' experiences, expectations, opinions and attitudes towards change and administrative reform initiatives taking place at the civil service as whole; and study their perceived opinions about the optimum way(s) to manage change and develop civil servants' commitment towards that change.

The first two sections of the interview schedule included questions that were used to (1) break the ice at the beginning of the interview and help participants open-up and warm-up to the interviewer and start talking; (2) provide a

general background about the participants in terms of age, sex, education, and job title; and (3) to develop some perspectives on the participants' general attitudes towards the civil service as a sector as an employer and as a service provider; and accordingly determine the degree of attachment they may have to their organization.

7.2.2 MSAD Profile

MSAD is located in the capital Cairo, with a total number of 341 civil servants, ranging between part-time, full-time and contract-based employees. MSAD was first established in 1973 and had been governed by five different ministers, however, when the current minister took over in 2004 he had taken the lead to implement radical changes to the Egyptian Civil Service in order to improve its overall performance and first and foremost take corrective action to positively change the image of bureaucracy in the eyes of the public.

7.2.2.1 MSAD Mission

Established in 1976, MSAD is a ministry of state established to directly serve the government by adopting policies and procedures that support the government's administrative body and smooth the working conditions of the civil service as a whole. The MSAD mission statement also includes indirectly serving the public by introducing new services and deliverables in order to improve the performance of the service-delivery organizations and facilitate paper work and business processes for customers.

7.2.2.2 MSAD Objectives

MSAD objectives include (www.ad.gov.eg, 2008) (1) the creation of a new top administration leadership who is fully aware of the new concepts of public service and capable of managing the administrative body in an effective and highly competent manner, (2) Modernizing and emphasizing the principles of modern public administration through the preparation and training of civil servants to create a new generation of competent administrative leadership, (3) improving the skills and abilities of civil servants, (4) improving the overall working environment, the quality of public service and the quality of customer satisfaction within the civil service units, and (5) restructuring and reorganizing civil service organizational hierarchies to promote effective decision-making, decentralization and delegation.

7.2.2.3. MSAD Programmes

The main purpose of the national administrative reform plan of MSAD (www.ad.gov.eg, 2008) is to improve the overall performance of the Egyptian administrative body through the establishment of an integrated network of programmes that work together towards achieving this national purpose. The MSAD reform plan consists of six main administrative reform programmes, where each programme consists of a number of smaller specialized projects that work on achieving a certain objective within the overall national goal, these programmes are:-

- a) Core Infrastructure Programme that aims to improve the core infrastructure of the government's information network to prepare it for using and applying different applications such as internet, e-commerce, etc.
- b) Organizational Development (OD) Programme which aims to initiate modern plans, policies, strategies and administrative hierarchies that suit today's labour market requirements.
- c) Human Resource Development (HRD) Programme which aims to modify the wages and salaries systems of the civil service, improve the working environment for civil servants, and human resource development via employee training.
- d) Public Service Programme that aims to provide services for the public and investors in a civilized and highly competitive manner, and to make public services easily accessible to everyone remotely.
- e) Change Leaders Programme that aims to create awareness in civil service organizations about change initiatives and create organizational and individual readiness for change.
- f) National Databases Programmes that aims to build national databases (economic, social and demographic) that can be easily connected through one central civil service information network.

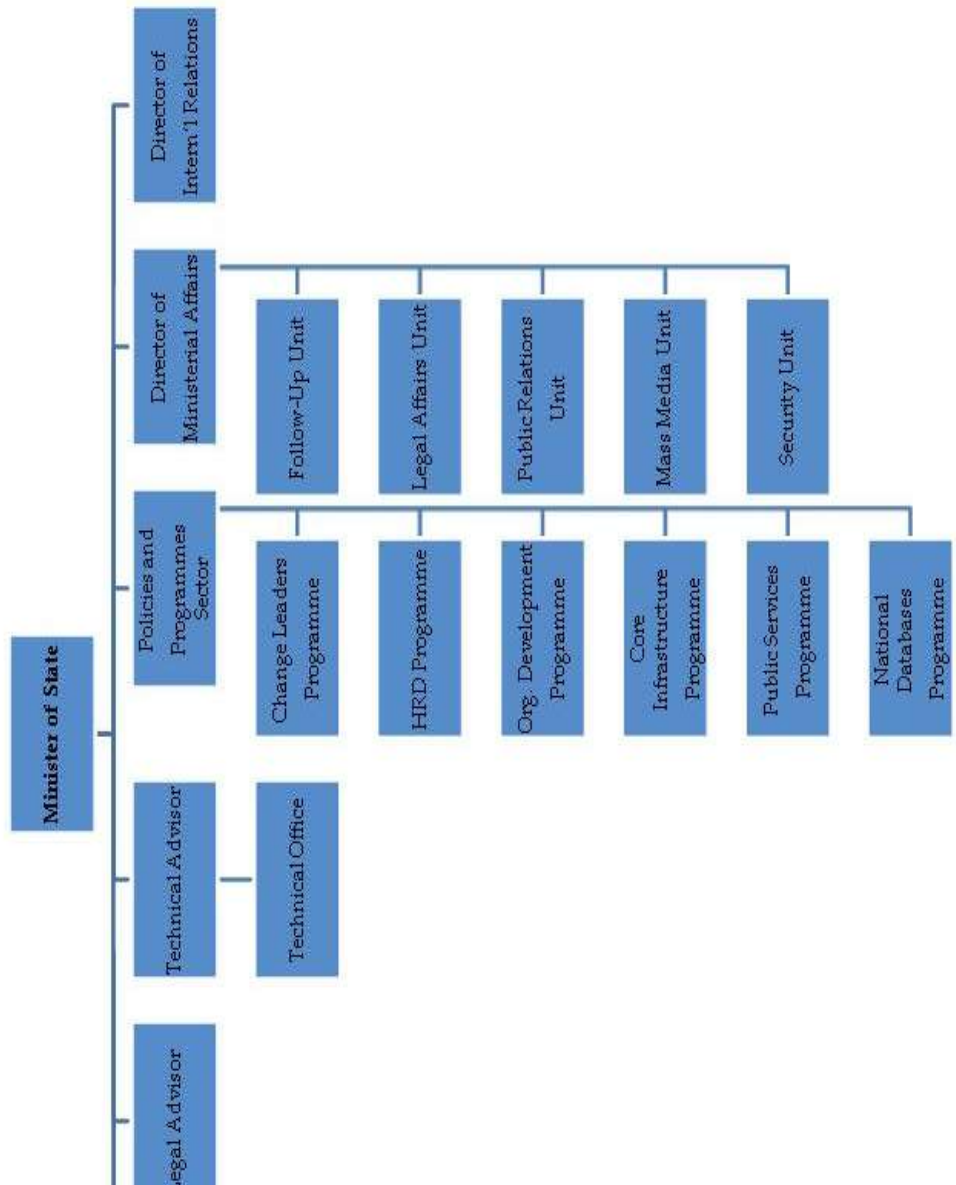


Fig. (7.1) MSAD Organizational Chart

7.3 Sample Statistics

The sample of respondents was divided according to gender and age group (see table 7.1), hierarchical levels where the top management level consisted of advisors and programme directors, the middle management level consisted of programme managers and departmental/unit managers and the executive level consisted of programme coordinator, programme/project officers and administrative support levels such as secretary and administrative assistant (see figure 7.1). The sample was also divided according to the respondents' educational background into PhD holders, Masters degree holders and bachelor degree holders (see figure 7.2).

Table (7.1) Sample Statistics by Gender/Age Group

Gender		Age Group				
Age Group	22-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+	Total
Male	0	4	5	4	2	15
Female	8	8	2	0	0	18

Fig. (7.2) Sample Statistics by Gender/Hierarchical Level

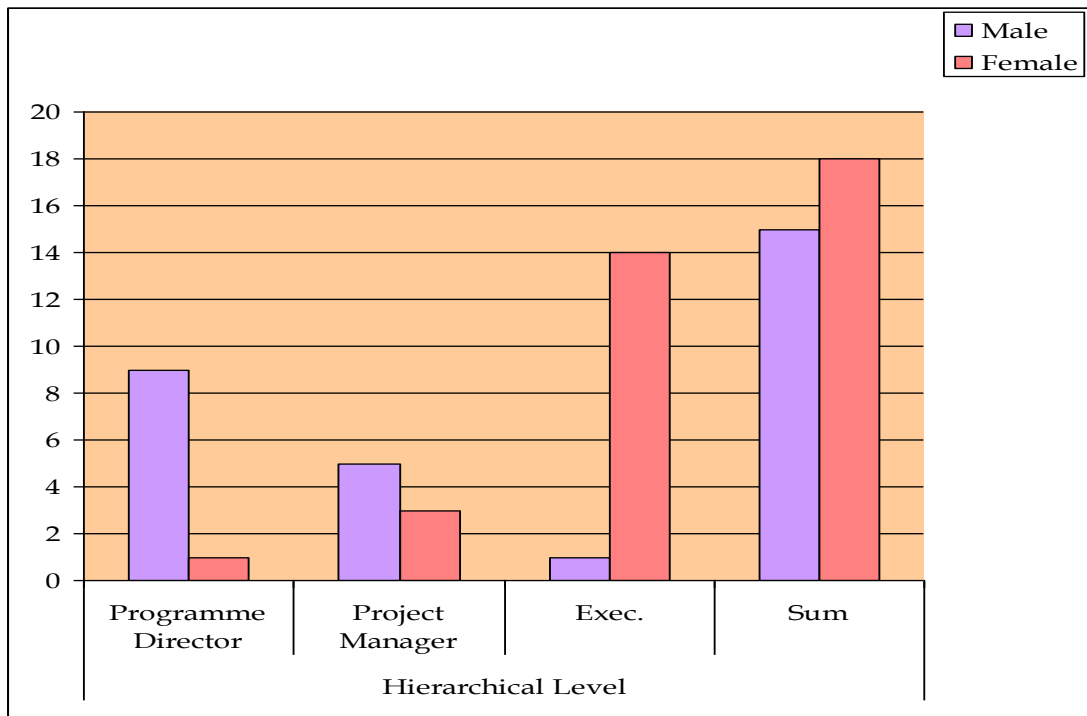
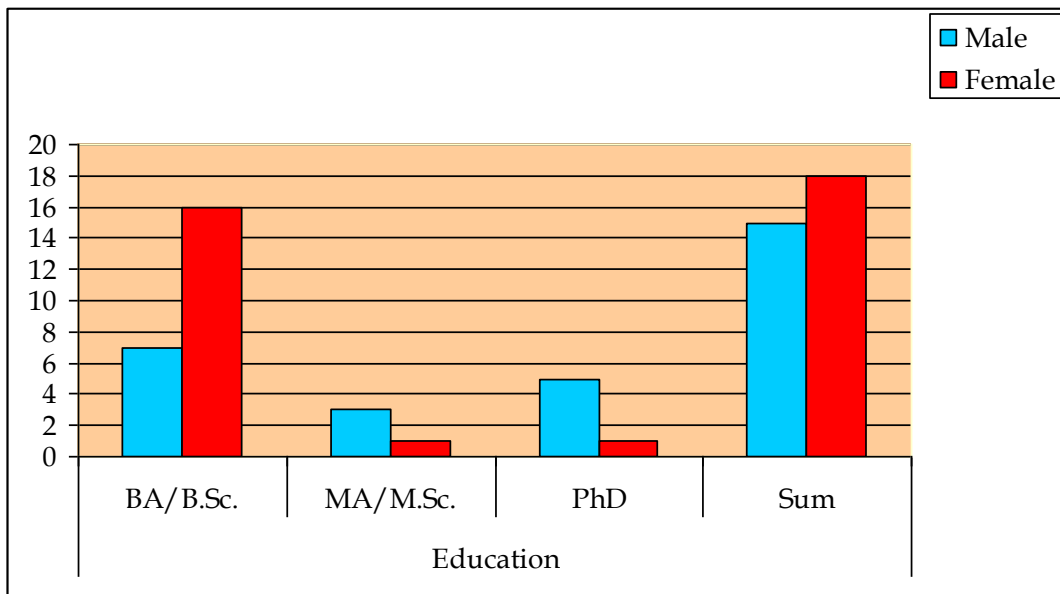


Fig. (7.3) Sample Statistics by Gender/Educational Background



Part Two –Opinions about the Civil Service Sector

7.4 Perceived Meaning of Bureaucracy

Before identifying the problems of the Egyptian civil service it was important to ensure that research participants were able to make the differentiation between bureaucracy as a management style as defined by Weber, and the Egyptian civil service (also known by most Egyptians as the Egyptian Bureaucracy) as a government administrative sector. As outlined in the previous chapter, some participants have been using the terms 'bureaucracy', 'the government' and the 'civil service' interchangeably to refer to the civil service sector although all three words do not share the same meaning. The word 'government' or the 'Government Of Egypt GOE' has always been used in literature and published work to refer to the three legislative, executive and judiciary parties i.e. the body of state consisting of the President of State and the Cabinet of Ministers; but was not used to refer to the Egyptian civil service sector.

7.4.1 Opinions about Bureaucracy

Participants were not expected to be able to properly define bureaucracy as per Max Weber, but they were at least expected to know that bureaucracy is the management style ruling the work policies and cycle within any civil service setup. Only one third of respondents were able to correctly define bureaucracy as a management style or a set of defined rules that govern the work inside the

civil service; one respondent (F/28, Administrative Assistant, Core Infrastructure Programme) said that she does not know what the term bureaucracy actually meant and was wondering if 'bureaucracy' was the opposite of 'democracy'. Two respondents provided an incorrect definition and both responses were the same. Paradoxically, respondents happen to have a bachelor degree in management, which means that they have both studied 'public administration' in their third year and still were unable to correctly define 'bureaucracy'; and they both work on the 'change leaders' and 'HRM' change programmes respectively.

“Bureaucracy is the total opposite of Democracy. It is a bad political view since democracy is known to be something good, and bureaucracy is its opposite, so it must be something bad”

(M/38) Technical and Financial Officer, Change Leaders Programme
(F/28) Follow-Up Coordinator, HRD Programme

Sixteen respondents stated that the word bureaucracy refers to negative associations like complicated procedures, lengthy work cycles, red tape, and poor customer service; yet they clarified that they knew that the word bureaucracy actually meant a system of operation inside the government sector that intends to maintain good working principles like specialization of labour and division of tasks as inherited from British and French bureaucratic models, which are deemed efficient management tools. However, respondents would still define the term 'bureaucracy' according to their own perception of it

because the malpractice of bureaucratic principles in Egypt made the word lose its real meaning and core advantages to reflect some negative implications.

According to the literature surveyed in chapter two, the word "bureaucratiya" used in Arabic immediately conveys a pejorative connotation of the subject. The bureaucracy would imply among other things that it is sluggish, rigid, non-innovative, riddled with favouritism and lacking concern for the public (Palmer et al., p.34). Such expressions of dissatisfaction would go with the negative perceptions suggested by the protocol of this study (Raadschelders and Perry, 1994) like wasteful, ineffective, non-responsive, unfair, not accountable, cautious, unhelpful, lazy, corrupt, underpaid, overstaffed, unreliable and unfair depending upon the situation. Therefore, Egyptians are likely to define bureaucracy according to their own experience and generalize the malpractice of 'the Egyptian bureaucracy' on the real meaning of the term with little understanding of the difference between a principle (bureaucracy) and its application (Egyptian bureaucracy).

7.4.2 Opinions about the Egyptian Civil Service

During the pilot study in May 2006, study respondents were asked in the interview to say their opinions about the civil service sector, and it was noticed that responses were focused on the respondents' individual experiences as members of the public who evaluate the civil service as a service provider. To overcome this uncertainty, the question was modified in the actual interview

schedule to include civil servants' opinions about the civil service as (a) an employer and a workplace: respondents' opinions as civil servants, on one hand, and as (b) a service provider: respondents' opinions as members of the public.

7.4.3 Why Join the Civil Service?

Assaad (1995) stated that female employment in the Egyptian civil service grew at a rate of 8.7% per year during 1976-86. 76% of the female employment growth was in the government sector and women constituted half the growth of government employment in the period (ibid p.9). At the same time, vocational secondary school graduates of whom two thirds are women find it difficult to find jobs or are offered discriminatory salaries by the private sector (ibid p.10). According to the Central Organization for Statistics in 1996, the number of women in government employment including public sector increased from 951,000 in 1990 to 1,290,000 in 1995 whereas men's number at the same time increased from 2,287,000 to 2,811,000 (ibid., p. 10).

In order to ensure that respondents will disclose their true feelings and attitudes towards the civil service as an employer, the second question in the interview schedule was to ask them: "Why have you decided to join the civil service?" Responses varied between advantages like fringe benefits, flexible working hours, the prestigious social status the public job reflects, and job security. Yet, the shared belief among all respondents was that, no matter how

disadvantaged the work in the civil service may appear, the associated benefits civil servants get still outweigh disadvantages.

Out of 18 female respondents, four stated that they joined the civil service sector because of the convenient employment conditions in terms of less demanding jobs, more flexible hours and less stressful working conditions.

This trend had been reflected in Egyptian movies where any civil service organization is shown in a scenario where there is a large room shared by not less than five civil servants sitting at their desks with dozens of papers and books lying on the desks, and the majority of them are veiled women (Muslim women wearing the Islamic head scarf to cover their hair); which can be supported by individual personal experiences as well as other experiences of friends and relatives walking into a public service office like National ID office, passport issuance/renewal office, and offices are occupied mostly by women chit chatting while having breakfast. It was also observed during this study that it was rare to find a civil servant who praised his/her organization and/or recommended civil service work. Conversely, those who have some negative thoughts about the civil service work - if given the choice to leave the civil service - decide to stay in their organization on the grounds that the many trivial disadvantages are compensated by the vital few benefits at least from an individual point of view; which is according to Vilfredo Pareto's 80/20 rule, the

20% benefits associated with the civil service work are compensating for the 80% problems/disadvantages.

On the other hand, five of 18 females respondents (15% of total sample) stated that they joined the civil service because of their individual belief that they are capable of contributing into the administrative reform plans and actually helping to make a positive difference into the performance of the Egyptian civil service, which develops a new theme that some female civil servants may join the civil service because they wanted to play an effective role and actually serve their nation through effectively carrying out their jobs. Four of those five respondents are project managers (F/36, Technical Office Director, F/43, Director of International Relations, F/32, Office Automation Project Manager, Back Office Programme) and the fifth respondent is a programme coordinator who used to work in the private sector as a sector manager (F/46, Programme Coordinator, Change Leaders Programme). Based on this finding, it can be suggested that it supports the literature reviewed in chapter five that suggested that age, level of seniority, and educational background are all strong determinants of organizational commitment; furthermore, the research finding may also suggest that female civil servants are more likely to experience higher level of organizational commitment based on their gender nature of needing to develop a sense of ownership and affiliation towards a certain goal as opposed to the previous pattern that suggested that women civil servants find the civil service employment very convenient because it requires minimum intellectual

effort and job devotion. A third pattern lying in the middle between the previous two themes represents those civil servants who have joined the civil service because they received an appealing job offer and have decided to accept it, regardless of the sector making the offer; and those respondents stated clearly that they would consider leaving the civil service if they get better job offers.

Table (7.2) - Reasons for Joining the Egyptian Civil Service

	Theme	Top	Middle	Executive	Sum
1	Attractive Job Offer	5	5	3	13
2	Good Working Environment	1	4	2	7
3	Convenient Employment	2	0	5	7
4	Belief in Vision/Objectives	0	3	3	6
5	Risk-free Employment	2	1	1	4
6	Job Status	3	0	0	3
7	Public Recruitment Placement	0	0	2	2

It can be assumed from the above table that if the percentage of civil servants (change agents) who feel committed towards the mission and values of the change initiatives is that low, then it may be argued that the level of organizational commitment among ancient bureaucrats is much lower.

7.4.4 Civil Service as an Employer

The literature surveyed in chapters two and three provided evidence that suggested that civil servants and members of the public both share negative

opinions about the civil service sector as an employer and as a service provider respectively.

7.4.4.1 Negative Sides of Civil Service Employment

All respondents shared the same opinion that the civil service is a corrupt, inefficient, obsolete, unorganized, and improvement-resistant sector. This perception is gained through the individual experiences of civil servants inside MSAD as employees combined with their experience as team players and change agents of the MSAD-driven national administrative reform plan. Respondents' opinions about the civil service being corrupt and change-resistant did not only refer to their own organization but also to the obstacles and challenges they have been meeting as part of their job as change agents introducing reform projects to other civil service organizations. Corruption in this context was deemed to refer to bribery, favouritism, and nepotism –*Wasta*.

Besides the negative opinions about the civil service as an employer, two respondents (F/37/Director, Technical Office) and (M/62/Project Manager, Government Restructuring Project) stated that they surprisingly learnt that the Egyptian civil service is a wealthy sector with huge monetary resources and assets, which contradicts the popular perception about the Egyptian civil service being a poor sector with limited assets and financial abilities, as associated with the low wage rates, far below-average salary schemes and below standards working space.

7.4.4.2 Positive Sides of Civil Service Employment

Supporting the general view of certain members of the public that the civil service sector would be an attractive employer, if not the most attractive one, because of its risk-free and secure nature that provides a steady income with no chances of business drops, 12% of respondents stated that they joined the civil service because it provides job safety and steadiness, despite the negative side previously mentioned. This point provides a logical explanation into why the majority of civil servants who accept job offers in the private sector or travel abroad apply for a 'leave without pay' from the civil service rather than resign so that they maintain their place in the civil service as a safety net, to keep the option open of coming back to their civil job at any time they wish. Civil service employment also has the privilege of securing an income for life to all civil servants after retirement as part of 'Social Security and Pension Fund' plan that deducts a percentage of the monthly salary in order to reimburse it back as a monthly pension after retirement. Therefore, in light of all of the above, it is safe to conclude that the Egyptian civil service is still considered an attractive employer for potential and current workforce that offers advantages and benefits that far outweigh any disadvantages or shortcomings.

7.4.5 Civil Service as a Service Provider

As members of the public, respondents tended to communicate their own opinions and thoughts stemming from their individual experiences with the civil service as a service provider, which was also supported by the researcher's

non-participant observation and shared stories of family, friends and personal acquaintances.

All respondents stated negative opinions about the civil service as a service-provider, accusing it of deliberately 'torturing' the public requesting the service rather than serving it, and complicating matters to customers instead of meeting their needs, which resulted in developing feelings of hatred and lack of trust in the civil service. The expression 'hatred' although cruel in meaning was not deemed to refer to hating the civil service but it rather meant to refer to the extensive dissatisfaction with the poor level of service provided to the public and to express the amount of anger and dissatisfaction of the public towards the civil service work cycle as well as the civil servants applying it, making the public suffer an unpleasant experience of seeking a public service. Feelings of 'lack of trust' developed as a natural result from an accumulation of negative characteristics like corruption, favouritism, bribery, and nepotism (*Wasta*) combined with the GOE having quite a known reputation for making a lot of public statements and promises of administrative reform and change that were never met and/or spending huge public investments on projects that either fail or are never implemented.

"We always hear about administrative reform projects that fail to achieve their targets, national investment projects that prove to be corrupt and public scandals like fraud and bribery".

(F/32) Project Manager, Office Automation Project, Back Office

Interview on 18/9/06

Two respondents stated that members of the public would still go for government-funded projects like council housing, government social funds, government-funded loans, and investing savings in government-owned banks because they know that government-owned projects are trustworthy, secure, and are less vulnerable to political and economic fluctuations than the private sector.

Part Three –Problems of the Civil Service Sector

7.5 Problems of the Egyptian Civil Service Sector

Responses to questions in this section resulted in a long list of problems/deficiencies. When analyzing this section, it was important to categorize the responses into ‘problems’ and ‘causes of a problem’ to determine what makes the cause and what makes the effect. To serve this purpose, respondents were asked to identify the civil service problems (as per their perceptions), and then to identify the main causes/reasons behind the problems which they had just listed.

Participants’ responses on the civil service main problems included the following (see table 7.3 below):-

Table (7.3) Perceived opinions about the Egyptian Civil Service Problems

#	Theme	Managerial Level			Total
		Top	Middle	Exec.	
1	Civil Servants carelessness and negative attitudes - Culture	8	6	12	26
2	Red Tape, etc., routine, repetitive jobs, ambiguity of processes	7	7	8	22
3	No system of governance	9	5	7	21
4	Corruption	8	5	5	18
5	Poor labour quality	6	5	5	16
6	Administrative Inefficiency	5	5	6	16
7	Obsolete, outdated Rules	5	4	5	14
8	Lack of religious consciousness	5	3	5	13
9	Inflated Size of CS	6	4	2	12
10	Lack of Integrity/Credibility	4	4	4	12
11	Favouritism	6	3	2	11
12	Lack of Transparency/ Accountability	5	2	3	10
13	Role/Goal Ambiguity	4	1	4	9
14	Absence of Reward and Punishment	4	3	2	9
15	Lack of motivation, lack of initiative	3	2	3	8
16	Lack of Sustainability/continuity	2	3	2	7
17	Passivity/No Long Term Planning	4	1	1	6
18	Unfavourable Employee conditions	0	3	3	6
19	Lack of Customer Service	4	0	1	5
20	Low Pay, unhealthy working environment	0	2	3	5
21	Communication/Dissemination of Info	2	0	2	4
22	Absence of Law Enforcement	0	0	3	3
23	Over-Centralization		1		1

7.5.1 Civil Service Culture: Civil Servants

When asked to identify how the civil service culture constitutes a problem, 78% of respondents (26/33) shared a variety of cultural aspects which they think they contribute to the overall problem; examples include the *I and Them* attitude of civil servants, individualism, lack of team spirit, organizational gossip, uncooperativeness, tendency to hide the know-how from others, low employee commitment, and organizational carelessness. Some of the above aspects have been also noticed informally by the researcher during interviews and non-participant observation, such as the lack of time management, unfriendliness of some civil servants and low organizational commitment expressed in high absenteeism, low productivity and work time wasted on gossip and chatting; (especially when one senior programme director was on annual leave for two weeks during the data collection period and some of the employees either did not go to work, or reported to work late and left early, or spent most of the day chit-chatting and/or playing computer games).

“Civil servants are experts at experiencing sadism and torturing the public they are supposed to serve. They deliberately complicate matters for them because they do not want to help them.”

(M/36) Project Manager, Back Office Programme

Interview 28/9/06

7.5.2 Excessive Red Tape

Two thirds of respondents (22/33) stated red tape, and routine repetitive work processes as another major problem in the Egyptian civil service. Respondents

also stated that those lengthy work procedures results in customer confusion and process ambiguity.

“Bureaucracy has become the end rather than the mean: the civil servant is obliged to complicate and slow work procedures because it is a legal requirement. Should a civil servant try to ease up the steps and procedures for a customer by eliminating unnecessary steps or paper work, he gets penalized because ‘skipping a procedure’ is considered an illegal act”.

(F/34) Senior Systems Analyst, Technical Office

Interview 18/09/06

7.5.3 Lack of System of Governance

Almost two thirds of respondents stated the absence of a rigid system of governance as another main problem. Out of a total of 33 respondents, one third stated the lack of system of governance as both a main problem, and a main reason behind the current civil service problems.

7.5.4 Corruption

Over half of respondents (18/33) stated corruption as an important problem. When asked to explain what they actually meant by corruption, respondents listed bribery, fraudulent acts and breaches of laws and policies. Some respondents stated that civil servants tend to rationalize the accepting of a bribe (or asking for a bribe to be more specific) in order to finish a task for a customer by the fact that they are underpaid by the civil service and have got

to search for additional sources of income; hence briberies represent to them an additional income source to compensate for the low wage rates.

Only one respondent had a different opinion about why bribery is extensive in the civil service saying that, after having worked in the civil service for over 20 years, he was surprised to find out that bribery was not limited to junior low-paid civil servants who accept bribes due to their financial neediness, but he has witnessed situations where top-level civil servants had explicitly asked for bribes in return of a service. He also added that the amount of a bribe is usually proportional to the value of the service in return, i.e. it costs L.E. 20 to bribe a clerk to speed-up paper work for issuance of National Insurance number whereas it costs L.E. 300,000 to authorize and approve paper-work for an investment project that is worth of L.E. 3,000,000 for instance.

“I used to think in the past that only junior employees take bribes but as I went deeper in the administrative body I figured that top officials accept bribes too, and that the amount of the bribe depends on the value of the service to be rendered, and on the status and hierarchical position of the government official requesting it”.

(M/64) Director, Change Leaders Programme,
Interview on 30/10/06

It is also important to mention that it seems unfair to solely blame civil servants for the extensive appearance of bribery, as members of the public may unintentionally encourage bribery and corrupt behaviour by actually offering

to bribe the public clerk/messenger/employee in return of speeding-up the paper-work cycle, and render the service in a timely manner; members of the public who do so usually think of the bribe as a big 'tip' that won't harm anyone, yet will end-up in a win-win for service-seeker and service-provider.

7.5.5 Administrative Inefficiency

Almost half of respondents (16/33) stated the 'malfunction of the administrative body' as another massive problem. In this context, the term 'malfunction' refers to the waste of time, civil servants lacking time management, carelessness and laziness, poor intra/inter-organizational communications channels, role and job ambiguity, and the lengthy, unnecessary and complicated task procedures; which supports the opinions of Sayed (2004) when she characterized the Egyptian bureaucracy by laziness, careless and passive employees, excessive red tape, and too complicated, lengthy and unnecessary work processes.

7.5.6 Favouritism

One third of respondents complained of the phenomenon of favouritism; having top-level appointees who tend to give more privileges and benefits to certain employees over others according their personal preferences rather than merit and/competence; which usually results in aggravating the issue of poor performance of the administrative body. The issue of favouritism seems to relate to other problems of the civil service. For instance, managers tend to

provide more authority and organizational power to certain employees who may not necessarily be the best fit for them, or appoint some friends/relatives to certain jobs for which they may not qualify; this may result in some irrational decision-making, more inefficiency, and the growing of some negative feelings of other civil servants like discrimination, disappointment and low morale that tend to translate into a sense of organizational detachment, and hence low organizational commitment.

“The ‘*Employee of The Year Award*’ is a certificate of recognition of LE 5,000 worth. Each year, an employee is selected sequentially in order to make all employees pleased and to be fair in giving each employee the same amount of money each year. I once enquired about this and asked my supervisor to provide a logical explanation about it. He told me that he does not have a say in making this decision; otherwise he would have selected me because he thinks I deserve to be granted this award.”

(F/26) Event Organizer, HRD Programme

Interview 19/9/06

7.5.7 Lack of Transparency/Accountability

The above-mentioned problem links to the following problem about the government’s ‘*Lack of Transparency/Accountability*’. Ten respondents criticized the civil service for lacking the transparency of policies and procedures, since the criteria about decisions like eligibility for a new job, a bonus, an annual award, or an incentive are not communicated to civil servants nor explained. Moreover, the actions of top level appointees are not questionable, and hence,

civil servants have no right to enquire about the rationale behind core decisions or organizational policies.

7.5.8 Lack of Project Sustainability/Continuity

The misallocation of monetary resources can also be attributed to the lack of sustainability on some national projects in the civil service, as mentioned by seven respondents who stated that the Egyptian civil service suffers from the lack of project continuity and sustainability. It is generally-accepted in the GOE that a newly appointed top-level appointee like a cabinet minister, director of a general authority and/or chairman of a public organization does not start his duties from the ending point of his predecessor but rather starts his/her new agenda of duties and achievements. An old story about Princess Hatshepsut of the 20th family of Pharaohs stated that as long as she had taken over as the ruler of Ancient Egypt, the first thing she had done was to scrape-off all the strategy guidelines for the Kingdom of Egypt that had been recorded on the walls of the temples by the former ruler. Consequently, Princess Hatshepsut who was a teenager then (18 years old) recorded her own strategy guidelines instead and decided to start a new kingdom era from point zero.

“In UK and France, any new cabinet minister has to start from the ending point of his predecessor and finish all projects. In Egypt, the first thing the new cabinet minister does is to discontinue projects previously undertaken by his former and start from Zero, which results in a huge waste of resources”.

(M/46) Director, Government Services Development Programme

Interview 9/10/06

It is however hard to determine whether this is due to their disapproval of the old agenda, their wish to start something from scratch in order to take full credit of it, or the reluctance to continue following-up on projects/initiatives that have not been completed to avoid the risk(s) of project failure. Whatever the reasons the consequences tend to be the same, since it results in huge amounts of investments being wasted because these projects are discontinued and new investments are to be allocated for brand new projects that are more likely to meet the same fate and risk being discontinued by the following leader who takes charge.

"The culture is also known to make the plans and strategies according to individual preferences rather than objectives, i.e. each new key decision maker has to make his own plans and never works on continuing the plans of the former decision maker."

(M/36) Project Manager, Back Office

Interview 28/09/06

7.6 The Egyptian Civil Service Today

7.6.1 One Bureaucracy - Two Generations

The Egyptian civil service culture that has been described by scholars like Mayfield (2003) and Palmer et al. (1986) was confirmed by this study's respondents and has seemed to become more obvious recently because this culture has been put in contrast with the new culture of change introduced by the change agents who have been appointed in the civil service during the period 2003-2008. Consequently, the civil service was divided into two

contrasting categories that are presumably conflicting with each other: *ancient bureaucrats* and *new bureaucrats*. The *ancient bureaucrats* are those 'tenured civil servants' who have been serving in the civil service for a relatively long period of time (at least five years of service) whereas the *new bureaucrats* are those 'temporary civil servants' who have been appointed in the civil service by a temporary 12-month contract that is to be renewed on annual basis according to the performance of the civil servant.

Tenured civil servants are perceived by change agents to be NOT in favour of change and reforms as they feel satisfied with the current status of the civil service and cannot think of reasons for change, and have been described by change agents during the interviews as '*Ancient Bureaucrats*'. Respondents who used that term referred to the word 'bureaucrat' as a negative term and used the word 'Ancient' to refer to the anti-change, anti-advancement mentality of those civil servants as the majority of them declared their happiness and satisfaction with the present organizational conditions and bureaucratic system; and thought that a successful bureaucratic system should give more authority and autonomy to managers over their subordinates in order to maintain organizational discipline and control.

“We call those people ‘Ancient Bureaucrats’, these are the typical bureaucrats who report to work from 9:00 to 15:00 but God knows how they spend their time because they never accomplish the task when we require them to, they don’t like the computer, and those who decide to enhance their skills and use a computer play music or Internet games.”

(F/46) Coordinator, Change Leaders Programme

Interview 27/9/06

“Those ancient bureaucrats do not wish to change, even if the change is to the better, they look at us as change agents as something odd and we accordingly maintain no relationship with them unless there is an urgent need to discuss work. Otherwise, we prefer to isolate ourselves from them because they make us feel like aliens who came to MSAD to hinder their status and to take credit on their account.”

(F/37) Director, Technical Office

Interview 7/9/06

In contrast, the temporary-civil servants have been described by the tenured civil servants as the ‘*Private Sector Generation*’ or ‘*The Change Generation*’ as this category as mainly represented by private consultants, cabinet advisors, and staff working in projects/programmes who either have previously worked in the private sector or are still working in the private sector on part-time contract. The Ancient Bureaucrats put the temporary civil servants in a different category that they assumed to be conflicting with the general civil service culture due to their different backgrounds in terms of education, experience, expertise, skills, and general behaviour at work. The research findings confirm

the existence of two contrasting categories as the gap between both categories was easily identified. Temporary civil servants tend to apply the private sector culture and code of practice into their current post in the civil service. Principles like punctuality, time management, organizational commitment, English language proficiency, technical skills and team spirit are the main characteristics of these civil servants which makes it less likely for both categories to interact since they seem to have little in common, yet a number of contradicting attributes. A 'Private Sector Generation' civil servant for instance usually uses a laptop -in addition to the PC-, communicates by email, and has got almost no papers/documents on the desk. On the opposite, an 'Ancient Bureaucrat' does not have a laptop, seldom uses the PC (if s/he has got one in the first place), communicates by internal memos, and has got a considerable amount of papers/documents on hand.

7.6.2 Cultural Conflict: Old versus New

Since each category had opposite characteristics, this has resulted in a mutual feeling of dislike between both categories where each category presumed that having opposite characteristics necessarily means standing against each other in conflict. Consequently, negative attitudes were developed and a cultural isolation took place under the roof of the same organization.

During non-participant observation, the gap between both categories was obvious. Tenured bureaucrats had a common tendency to treat the new civil

servants as hidden enemies rather than work associates; especially because they are aware that the new generation of civil servants had more expertise, English language proficiency, came from a high social class, and earned higher salaries. In some meetings, some old bureaucrats used to avoid going into a discussion with a project manager and/or a programme director because of a hidden feeling of insecurity and incompatibility. Old bureaucrats suggestions were often thought of by change agents as barriers/obstacles rather than suggestions for improvement; and old bureaucrats used to sit during meetings with their arms crossed, and listening to the discussion with less comfortable gestures like frowning, objecting to suggestions while not proposing substitute suggestions or ideas. The same attitude was actually felt toward the researcher during the study: having known that researcher lived in UK and was studying the degree in English language, some bureaucrats refused to sit for interviews and/or open discussions with the researcher because of their fear of talking to someone from a different culture. Such participants only opened-up and felt at ease after having met the researcher in person and being reassured that interviews were all to run in Arabic.

The new generation of civil servants, on the other hand, tended to stereotype the tenured civil servants, assuming that all the tenured staff were uncooperative and change-resistant, and thus find it easier to appoint new contract-based staff to join their work team rather than appointing current tenured staff; thus the tenured staff's negative attitudes towards the new staff

increased because the tenured civil servants felt that new junior civil servants are stealing their chances to work and excel, especially that the new contract-based staff enjoyed a wider range of support in terms of facilities, equipment, office space, and wage rate.

“Civil servants working in MSAD live in isolation and denial. Although they personally admire Dr. Darwish, they exert no effort to support him whatsoever. They don’t even care to know about MSAD projects/programmes. It’s not enough that they don’t participate in these projects/programmes, but they deliberately tend to complicate things for us when we ask them for data or a task to do.”

(F/37) Director, Technical Office
Interview 7/9/2006

To exert some power and authority, some tenured bureaucrats may delay the processing of documents and papers, procrastinate important tasks, or keep primary data from project/programme managers.

“If we were working alone, we would finish our jobs instantly, but since we have to work with those ancient bureaucrats who always complicate and procrastinate, tasks always take more time than they should to be accomplished.”

(F/26) Event Coordinator, Media Office
Interview 30/10/06

7.7 Perceived Reasons behind Civil Service Problems

To test the validity of responses to the previous question ‘perceived problems of the civil service’, respondents were also asked to identify the ‘*reasons behind*

those problems they have just mentioned'. The main responses are gathered around the following (Table 7.4):-

Table (7.4) - Perceived opinions on reasons behind the Egyptian Civil Service Problems

#	Theme	Managerial Level			Total
		Top	Middle	Exec.	
1	No System of Governance	7	5	11	23
2	Law 47/1978	7	2	5	14
3	The old obsolete system itself	5	3	5	13
4	Civil Servants/Culture and Negative Attitudes	3	2	5	10
5	Inflated Size of Bureaucracy	5	2	3	10
6	Historical Heritage	6	4	0	10
7	Unreliable Motivation/Reward System	5	3	1	9
8	Top Level Appointees (Top Management)	1	0	5	6
9	Right principle, Wrong application	2	1	3	6
10	Unfavourable working condition	1	1	4	6
11	The Education System	3	2	0	5
12	Job dissatisfaction/Projection	1	2	2	5
13	Seniority-Based Promotion	2	2	1	5
14	Inappropriate Use of Power	3	0	1	4
15	Role Ambiguity	1	1	1	3
16	Corrupt political parties	0	2	0	2

7.7.1 Lack of 'System of Governance'

70% of respondents (23/33) stated that the Egyptian civil service lacks the presence of a system of governance that defines the relationship between the civil servants and the civil service in terms of rights and duties, code of practice, and code of organizational conduct. The research argues that this may be attributed to the Egyptian law of public employment (Law No. 47/1978) because it includes clauses that grant civil servants many privileges with a minimum responsibility or accountability on their part such as the seniority-based promotion and job for life.

7.7.2 Law of Public Employment No. 47/1978

Over 42% (15/33) considered the law of public employment as the mother cause of all the current civil service problems and performance deficiencies. Respondents argued that the clauses included under this law (seniority-based promotion, and job security) are used as a safety valve that protects civil servants against undesired acts like demotion, punishment, and dismissal; which is in fact working in favour of civil servants against the public interest of the civil service sector and the interest of the members of the public it is serving.

The Law 47/1978 has not been changed since it first came into force thirty years ago. The clauses and rules that used to fit into the era when it was applied need to be amended to cope with the global political and socio-economic

changes. In one of his speeches about change and government administrative reforms, Dr. Darwish (the change leader of the civil service) commented on law 47/1978:

“How is it possible to have a contract for life for 38 years between an employee and an employer, where there is no possible way of breaking this contract under any circumstances?!”

Dr. Ahmad Darwish, Minister, MSAD
Public Speech, 18/9/06, Change Leaders Forum

7.7.3 Civil Service Culture: Civil Servants as a Challenge

42% (14/33) stated that the civil service organizational culture itself was a major reason behind the current civil service problems. Respondents mentioned that the civil servants represented a real challenge that led to the current situation of civil service poor performance and administrative inefficiency because of their lack of understanding the concept of ‘customer satisfaction’ and their inability to realize their roles as ‘civil servants’ i.e. employees who should serve the public rather than torture them.

“We are currently working at MSAD on changing the civil service culture, making civil servants know the real meaning of the word ‘civil servant’, which is someone who should serve the public and treat them like ‘customers’.

(M/59) Director, Policies and Programmes Sector, Interview 18/10/06

The above findings seem to confirm the earlier findings of the MSAD-driven public survey conducted in April 2006, as previously mentioned in chapter three.

7.7.4 The Old Obsolete Bureaucratic Rules

40% (13/33) criticized the Egyptian civil service for still using old bureaucratic laws and rules that have not been modified nor amended for many years, and thus, they became obsolete and outdated.

“I was attending a training workshop about ‘Eradicating Corruption’ and learnt that the civil service is still using the same ‘Commercial Law’ that had been developed in 1883. How can we still be using the same old law that is more than one century old?”

(F/34) Senior Systems Analyst, Technical Office

Interview 18/09/06

7.7.5 Inflated Size of the Civil Service Sector

It was declared by Jamal Abdul Nasser in 1961 that the graduates of universities and higher professional institutes were entitled to employment in the government (Valsan, 1997). Recruitment based on examinations was replaced by the graduation criterion (ibid, p. 8). The overwhelming impact of that policy on government agencies which were quickly filled with graduates irrespective of their specializations was that the government felt the need for administrative reform and reorganization.

Almost one third of respondents (10/33) suggested that the inflated size of the civil service contributes to the problems. Valsan (1997) stated that the Nasser Regime also attempted to reward those university graduates by guaranteeing them a job in the civil service as part of his own vision of social equity and

equal opportunities, this made the civil service sector the main and sole recruiter of university graduates and the only ultimate solution for the problem of Unemployment in Egypt.

“The problem of over-supply of civil servants started long time ago when the government was made responsible for recruiting university graduates to work in the civil service irrespective of whether there was a demand in the civil service or not. The GOE is trying to solve the problem of unemployment, in which the private sector is not trying to contribute”.

(M/37) Legal Advisor, MSAD

Interview 07/09/06

The logical interpretation made by respondents is that in order to absorb this over-supply of university graduates the civil service was obliged to create unnecessary jobs and tasks for the new labour force imposed each year; and thus the work cycles have become lengthier and involved more unnecessary and trivial steps only to serve the purpose of creating jobs to assign to the newly appointed graduates. So the logic has been reversed, instead of using bureaucracy as a *means* to achieve the target of serving the public interest, civil servants and the members of the public which they serve have become the means to serve bureaucracy and its procedures, which have become the *ends*.

The above views on the Nasser Regime were confirmed by Abdel-Fattah (2008) who claimed that the ideological and bureaucratic crises in Egypt started as early as the July 1952 revolution, since the government of Egypt made itself

responsible to provide jobs for university graduates. This made 'bureaucracy' become a burden on the country and the society together because the majority of civil service organizations and civil servants transformed into environments that spread administrative corruption, breaches of the law, and general abuse of the national public wealth (ibid.).

7.7.6 Rich Bureaucratic Heritage

Ten respondents argued that the rich bureaucratic heritage that Egypt has inherited since the Pharaohs not only led to the deterioration of the bureaucracy performance in Egypt, but it also had its bad influence on the Egyptian culture as a whole. As explained in Chapter Two, Egypt has been colonized and ruled by foreigners for decades, which had contributed into making Egyptians lose the sense of identity and ownership to their country.

“Egypt has been colonized and occupied by foreign countries for decades and decades. Imagine the civilians were ruled by foreigners, used to be treated like slaves in their own homeland, and forbidden from serving in the army of their country; how would you expect them to develop any sense of ownership?”

(M/54) Director, Core Infrastructure Programme

Interview 19/9/06

7.7.7 Unreliable Motivation/Reward Tools

'Excellent' is the highest appraisal mark in annual performance appraisals, and the mark a civil servant gets in his/her appraisal is proportional to the

monetary bonus s/he gets at the end of each fiscal year. In the Egyptian civil service, almost all civil servants get 'Excellent' in their annual appraisal regardless of their actual performance because the performance appraisal is managed as a means to give employees an extra bonus rather than an effective tool of performance measurement (Bassit, 2006; Barghash, 2006; and Darwish, 2007).

27% of respondents (five top managers, three middle managers, and one executive) criticized the reward system applied in the civil service for using unreliable motivation tools since the annual performance appraisal mark and bonuses/incentives are not linked to actual performance. The above argument is validated by the fact that six of those seven respondents were top/middle managers who talked according to their actual experience as they perform annual performance appraisals to their subordinates and thus provide a valid source of judgement.

"How come 8,500,000 civil servants all get 'excellent' in the annual performance appraisal and yet the overall performance of the organization or the civil service sector as a whole is still very poor and full of problems?. There must be something wrong with the performance evaluation tools".

(M/46) Deputy First to the Minister, MSAD

Interview 18/09/06

Another incident was mentioned by the director of the 'Change Leaders Programme' who used to work as a top manager in another ministry back in the 1990's.

"I recall one of my subordinates whom I once gave 95% on her annual performance appraisal - which is still 'Excellent'. This subordinate reported me to my superior that I am discriminating against her because she used to take between 98-100% every year. Should a supervisor be fair and objective about appraising the performance of subordinates, he will be reported as discriminating against his subordinates and being unfair".

(M/64) Director, Change Leaders Programme

Interview 30/10/06

The above finding confirms that by Nahass (2007) who also argued that the research conducted by the Central Agency for Organization and Administration (CAOA) found that the unreliable performance appraisal tools are on the top list of the Egyptian civil service problems. Therefore, research suggests that "Annual Employee performance appraisal" is an unreliable performance evaluation and employee motivation tool because it is likely to promote for employee laziness and low organizational commitment levels as long as the civil servants' outcome is the same irrespective of the performance. On the other hand, this may negatively influence the levels of commitment and motivation for other hard-working civil servants.

"The civil service and HR policies and laws are unable to differentiate between hard-working civil servants and lazy civil servants as there are no performance appraisal nor performance

measurement tools. The performance appraisal is just a routine repetitive tool that yields the same results every year. All civil servants should get an overall rating of 99% in order to get their annual salary increase and/or promotion; but in practice the performance is never measured nor evaluated by supervisors”.

(M/56) Director, HRD Programme

Interview 14/09/06

7.7.8 Right Principle - Wrong Application

Six respondents stated that they admire the Weberian Bureaucratic Model and think that it is an effective administrative model; however they think that the Egyptian civil service is having numerous performance deficiencies because of the way the bureaucratic model has been applied. Respondents also added that they blamed the top-level administration for the poor performance of bureaucracy because of their belief that it is the top-level administration’s responsibility to achieve organizational goals with the highest quality standards.

“Bureaucracy is not a bad word. I am sure that there must be some flaws in the system that resulted in the poor reputation of the Egyptian bureaucracy. If the system was followed religiously no problems would have arisen. The main problem is that there have been some breaches of the system that lead to all this”.

(F/35) HR Coordinator, HRD Programme

Interview 14/09/06

“Thanks to Great Britain, we have inherited the classical principles and means of bureaucracy, which is a real favour this country had done to Egypt, but we applied it in the wrong way”.

(M/55) Director, Core Infrastructure Programme

Interview 19/06/06

7.7.9 Unfavourable Working Conditions

Seven respondents argued that unfavourable working conditions inside the civil service bureaus like poor ventilation, overcrowded space, untidy offices and noisy working environment can also be reasons behind the poor performance of civil servants in terms of productivity and/or friendliness and professionalism with the customers they serve. It has been observed during the study that civil servants were crowded into a small desk space, with poor ventilation, lack of space, too many files lying on the desks and sometimes on the floor, in a relatively dirty office.

“We cannot expect an employee to be productive and work hard if he is working in an overcrowded office space with inhuman working conditions like bad ventilation and unclean office space.”

(M/64) Director, Change Leaders Programme, MSAD

Interview 30/10/06

Five respondents stated that the unfavourable working conditions include factors like bullying and harassment by the supervisor, and that they would still give the excuse to other civil servants who are maltreated by their

superiors at work and therefore may in return tend to transfer their anger from the mistreatment they experience at work on the customers they serve. This is known in psychology as a self-defence mechanism called 'displacement' when the one projects some aspects of behaviour which s/he does not like and pass it on others in his/her own behaviour.

"Employees are being maltreated and are dissatisfied with their jobs and the only way to project this is to maltreat the citizens asking for a service."

(M/36) Project Manager, Back Office

Interview 28/09/06

7.7.10 The Education System

The Egyptian education system is often criticised by members of the public and employers for its low quality of education and unfavourable environmental conditions especially public schools and public universities. Consequently, the Egyptian ministry of education is often blamed for bringing to the labour market a less-cultivated low-keyed calibre of university graduates who had previously missed their chance to receive an adequate education in middle and senior school and yet have not received any better level of education in university. Five Male respondents suggested that the Egyptian Education System is deemed responsible for the poor performance of the civil service and a common factor behind some other problems like the inefficiency of the system, poor quality of labour and the poor performance of the administrative body. However, following the discussion about the Nasser Regime it can be argued that the decision of subsidizing the higher education to give an equal

opportunity to everyone to get a university degree is a strong reason behind the deterioration of the quality of education in Egypt, since Egyptian national universities are overwhelmed with a huge number of students. Consequently, the quality of education is compromised to tolerate the excessive numbers of new students every year.

7.7.11 Inappropriate Use of Power/Authority

Four respondents (M/54, M/57, M/64 and F/36) argued that the Egyptian bureaucratic model granted an extensive amount of authority to senior bureaucrats, which they may have sometimes used inappropriately by deliberately exercising that power over the others. The respondents also stressed that the inappropriate use of authority takes place on an inter-organizational level when top level appointees use their authority over subordinates and/or junior staff inadequately by forcing subordinates to do some excessive work they are not supposed to do, or threatening them of depriving them from getting a bonus if they do not comply to the boss's requests.

The study responses indicate that the issue of 'how bureaucrats use their power' may be rooted back to the laws of Social Equity and Equal Opportunities that were adopted during the Nasser regime because it was during this era that all social classes were mixed together in an attempt to make everyone equal, since the main three objectives of the 1952 revolution were to (1) abolish capitalism and adopt socialism, (2) abolish British Occupation, and

(3) Abolish *Iqtaa* (*Iqtaa* is an Arabic word meaning nepotism in the form of lords and pashas owning spacious fields and lands between 100 – 400 acres wide). The Nasser regime has been documented into history books and critically analyzed in terms of political and economic aspects whereas some cultural and social complications that have taken place in that era have not been explicitly listed in books. The Nasser regime has been described by most Egyptians who actually lived the era as one of the worst historical eras in Egypt's history because of the socio-cultural complications that resulted as a reaction to Nasser's newly-adopted laws of social equity and equal opportunities. Although relatively hard to support by literature or proven evidence, older generations of Egyptians between the ages of 50 – 75 often state similar stories about the Nasser regime, and criticize him for bringing to the civil service some top-level government appointees from a relatively lower social classes who have experienced their feelings of psychological insecurity and hatred over the higher classes. Documentaries and Egyptian movies covering that era confirm the theory, proposing that Nasser failed to achieve social equity and had developed instead a sense of social imbalance and a turbulence of social classes, particularly as Egypt used to be a monarchy in (1888 – 1952) ruled by a royal family with Turkish origins which Nasser had abolished by the 1952 revolution. It is worth mentioning in this regard that Nasser was an infantry officer in the Egyptian army and the son of a postman, and when Nasser led the Army Officers in the Coup D'Etat and then took over as a president of the republic, he had appointed his own network of colleagues

and peers into some key governmental positions such as cabinet minister or director of a general authority (There was a famous story that he had given orders to strictly forbid the Egyptian Central Radio Station from playing a famous love song back then that was called 'I'm in love with a postman' because it was thought then that Nasser wanted to deny the fact that his father was a postman).

Although the above view is not actually supported by evidence or literature, three male respondents (Ages 55, 56, and 64) stated during interviews that they considering Jamal Abdul Nasser in person and his regime in general as the sole cause for the social turbulence in the Egyptian society, all three shared the same opinion that the Nasser regime had brought into the civil service an incompetent calibre belonging to lower social classes, and they have had a cultural shock when they have become top level appointees with a considerable amount of power, authority and social status. As a result, those appointees have had the chance to enjoy the power and social status over subordinates, junior staff and members of the public in an attempt to compensate for the hidden feeling of insecurity and inferiority, and to practice the excessive authority they have got.

“The civil servants are the least cultivated and least knowledgeable in the Egyptian society, so it is unfair to have high expectations and hopes in their capacities at work. So the government body is paying for a problem which it had created because of the poor and inefficient education system that introduced under-skilled graduates. Nonetheless, these

untalented under-skilled graduates try to compensate that inferiority complex by exerting power and authority over others, and usually they apply that power over customers and members of the public which they are originally supposed to serve rather than torture.”

(M/55) Director, Core Infrastructure Programme

Interview 19/09/06

This argument, although raised by only 10% of respondents, possesses strong validity because those respondents have actually lived through the Nasser era, along with the previous historical era of Monarchy (1882-1952) and the following era of Sadat.

“During the Nasser era in the 1950s’, Nasser was talking about social equity and had initiated some new laws of social equity and equal opportunity for all Egyptians. These laws were misunderstood and misinterpreted by Egyptians because they thought that they are all equal although they are not. After the 1952 revolution, the top-level management at the state cabinet had been assigned to some incompetent, unskilled, and unspecialized military officers. A former artillery officer for example had been appointed as the Minister of education, he might have been successful as an army officer but lacked all the necessary skills for the ministerial position. Some of the cabinet members received a cultural shock after being appointed in such authoritative positions, with more status and wealth. As a result, this was reflected in their bad administration of the government body”.

(M/64) Director, Change Leaders Programme

Interview 30/10/06

7.7.12 Seniority-Based Promotion

This point follows from the previous one. As previously mentioned in chapter three, promotion in the civil service is 'seniority-based' and occurs as a default routine of the bureaucratic public policy. 15% of respondents (5/33) suggested that civil servants feel reluctant to work hard or to prove their abilities because they are fully aware that they would get promoted anyway, and that they have a job for life that they will never lose because of poor performance.

"Employees are aware that they are secured and safe on their jobs, why would a civil servant bother to work?"

(F/32) Project Manager, Back Office

Interview 18/09/06

This supports the suggestions in the literature that the above two points have invited more inappropriate employee behaviour. Some respondents argued that unethical behaviour like bribery became the default in the civil service because employees know that the law 47/1978 stands for them and protects them no matter what they do.

7.7.13 Role Ambiguity

Two respondents (F/36 and F/29) suggested that role ambiguity may be another problem affecting the overall civil service performance whereas two other respondents (M/37 and M/62) stated their opinion that role ambiguity is a 'cause of the problems' rather than a problem on its own. Role ambiguity is defined as the organizational vision, objectives and processes not being defined

to employees, where some employees do not know their job tasks, objectives, or targets. Respondents blamed the Egyptian civil service for not providing civil servants with essential organizational information such as the organizational mission, objectives and main targets. Those two respondents who considered the role ambiguity as a cause thought that civil servants are unable to work and become more committed towards their jobs unless they understand their main job and the importance of the contribution they make on their jobs to achieve the overall organizational objectives. The role ambiguity was thought of by one participant (M/62) as the normal result of the lengthy procedures and the exaggerated steps involved in the bureaucratic work cycles, which in his opinion are a result of the initial problem of the inflated and over-staffed civil service sector.

“Roles and responsibilities were lost between too many tasks and too many employees”.

(M/62) Project Manager, Government Restructuring Project,
Organizational Development Programme
Interview 19/10/06

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the main respondents' perceptions and opinions about the Egyptian civil service sector as an employer as well as a service provider; and discussed the main civil service problems of poor performance as perceived by respondents. The responses resulted in 12 main problems which respondents think are responsible for the inefficiency of the administrative body. In conclusion, the Law No. 47/1978 has been stated as a mother cause of this inefficiency; where it has been either explicitly stated, or some of its many clauses have been listed as a problem.

The next chapter discussed the respondents' suggestions as how to solve the problems they have mentioned in this chapter; how to improve the civil service performance and how to manage change in the best way to achieve this purpose.

Chapter 8 Proposals for Change

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the main problems of the Egyptian civil service sector and explored the perceptions of the civil servants about the civil service as an employer, and as a service provider. Emphasis was also put on identifying the main causes behind the perceived problems of the civil service. This chapter continues to represent research findings to explore civil servants' opinions and attitudes towards MSAD-lead change initiatives and discusses their implications for how to develop civil servants' commitment towards that change. The chapter structure is divided into three main parts: improving civil service performance, managing change, and managing commitment towards change.

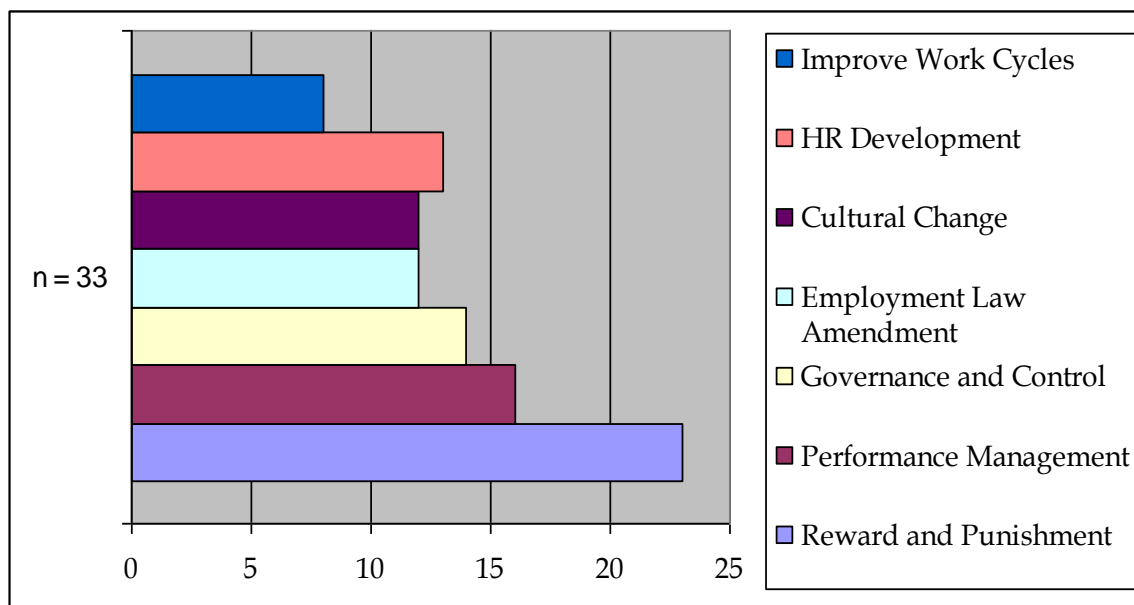
8.2 Improving the Civil Service Performance

When asked about whether change was necessary in order to improve the Egyptian civil service performance, 100% confirmed that radical change was indispensable to improve the Egyptian civil service performance.

Respondents were asked to propose some suggestions to improve the civil service performance and all responses have been gathered into nine main suggestions as summarized in Figure 8.1. It is important to highlight that some

of the suggestions stated by respondents were not necessarily deemed as a proposed solution for a specific problem which they have previously stated in their answers; i.e. if a respondent stated favouritism as a current civil service problem did not necessarily imply that s/he suggested 'to abolish favouritism' among his/her own suggested solution(s) to improve the civil service performance.

Fig. (8.1) - Perceived Opinions about Change Priorities



8.2.1 Amending the Public Employment Law No. 47/1978

Over one third suggested amending the current law of public employment 47/1978 to help the civil service improve its overall performance and cure its current inefficiencies. The specific clauses that respondents meant to include in the change plan have been already included in the agenda for change of law 47/1987. In January 2007, MSAD submitted a draft to the Egyptian Parliament

(people's assembly) for discussion, comments and approval, and the draft suggested change in the following clauses:

Job for life- To make civil service a competitive employer by keeping only competent workforce and firing or terminating the service of unsatisfactory civil servants.

Seniority-based Promotion- to make seniority based on merit or 'competence' rather than seniority.

In March 2007, the draft was ready for submission to the Egyptian council of ministries for final approval, however, at the time of writing the draft is still subject to debates from other governmental authorities such as the National Authority of Administrative Governance.

8.2.2 Reward and Punishment

70% of respondents stated that the civil service performance would improve by setting and enforcing a system of 'Reward and Punishment' i.e. civil servants should get rewarded for their hard work and/or punished for inadequate behaviour as per the organizational laws and policies; and of this 70% another 30% have also stated that the lack of 'reward and punishment' was one of the reason behind the poor performance and inefficiency of the civil service, as they perceived it.

8.2.3 Governance and Control

This point follows from the previous one as over one third of respondents who had previously suggested enforcing an administrative system of 'reward and punishment' have also suggested the adoption and application of a rigid system of governance and control in the Egyptian civil service. Respondents meant by 'system of governance' the importance of creating and enforcing a certain code of organizational conduct in the civil service that makes civil servants responsible for all their acts and managed by certain rules of conduct that should stem from this code of conduct. When relating 'reward and punishment' with 'system of governance', it can be assumed that respondents meant to shape the relationship between civil servant and civil service on the basis of: (1) rewarding those who deserve to be rewarded, (2) punishing those who deserve to be punished, and (3) creating border lines for those who fall somewhere in the middle between two extremes so that they know the proper behaviour in terms of do's and do not's.

8.2.4 Performance Management

This point also seems to follow from the two previous ones mentioned above. 16 respondents stated the importance of creating tools for employee performance evaluation and control. Out of those sixteen, ten respondents also stated the importance of adopting the system of 'Reward and Punishment' and stressed the importance of enforcing it; eight respondents stated the importance the adopting a 'rigid system of governance' and eleven

respondents (one third of the total sample) stated all above-mentioned three concepts as suggested solutions to improve the civil service performance. In light of the above three points, it can be argued that those three concepts are interrelated i.e. Reward and Punishment needs to work within a system of supervisory management and surveillance where civil servants' performance is being measured, evaluated and controlled to establish criteria for reward and punishment; performance evaluation and control tools can serve as these criteria for employee evaluation and monitoring.

8.2.5 Human Resource Development (HRD)

12 out of 33 respondents (40%) stated the importance of paying more attention to Human Resource Development in terms of recruitment, selection, training, and skill development whereas other respondents provided some suggestions that may be grouped under the HR development principle, for example, three respondents stated the importance of careful recruitment and proper selection of the manpower; six respondents suggested the effective filtering and screening of existing manpower to identify those civil servants who are able to support change; five respondents suggested to review the current wage rate as a first step towards influencing the motivational and empowerment state of the civil servants; and five respondents suggested training and skill development for civil servants as a means to improve the quality of civil service manpower, hence, to improve the civil service overall performance.

8.2.6 Improving Working Conditions

24% of respondents suggested improving the physical working conditions for civil servants in terms of office space, ventilation and cleanliness in an effort to provide civil servants with a suitable working environment that motivates them to perform their jobs more effectively and raise their overall morale.

8.2.7 Improving/Simplifying Work Cycles

Eight respondents suggested improving work cycles within the civil service through the redesigning of work procedures and cycles to make them simple, understandable and easy, avoiding unnecessary repetitive steps while holding on to only necessary meaningful ones. Two respondents also gave a suggestion that may fall under the same concept of work cycle simplification; one top manager and one middle manager suggested automating the public services and providing them to users online via the internet, as an endeavour to avoid some corrupt behaviour like 'bribery' and/or favouritism or '*Wasta*'. This suggestion was made based on the concept of eliminating the unpleasant behaviour by eliminating the situation where it occurs; thus if abolishing the action of bribery is difficult, the way to turn around this unpleasant situation is to eliminate the situation likely for bribery to take place. As respondents explained, automating the public services creates no direct contact between the service user and the civil servant and thus makes no room for a civil servant to ask for a bribe or a small tip to render a service.

"Corruption should be abolished by computerizing all services to citizens and launch an online application and online services. This will definitely abolish bribery as there is no direct contact between the citizen and the servant."

(F/38) Project Manager, Content Management Programme

Interview 20/09/06

Based on the above, it can be argued that work process simplification and automation works in favour of members of the public requesting the service as it may guarantee a quick high-quality service with no pressure to bribe or to bear maltreatment from civil servants giving the service. On the other hand, this also works in favour of the civil service change move as it helps reduce and eliminate corrupt behaviour like bribery and favouritism.

8.3 Opinions about the Administrative Reform Initiatives

Respondents were asked to state their opinions about the MSAD-initiated administrative reform plans that started taking place in 2004 in the form of four major programmes (Human Resource Development programme, Change Leaders Programme, e-government programme and Organizational Development Programme). With the exception of only one respondent, all other respondents stated that they think those reform initiatives were positive initiatives with promising potential despite some personal concerns in terms of practicality, follow-up and freedom of authority.

The only respondent who thought that reform initiatives were not positive ones mentioned her opinion that some of the administrative reform projects are considered a waste of public monetary funds due to their improper planning and/or performance measurement and control that result in failure and thus a waste of resources that have been allocated to those projects.

"I think that the MSAD reform projects are neither efficient enough nor practical. In some cases I think there is some sort of 'Public Funds Waste' in the form of allocating budgets for projects that were neither properly planned nor measured. A natural consequence would be failure for these projects; which results in a waste of resources".

(F/37) Director, Technical Office

Interview 7/9/06

93% stated that they think those reform initiatives were moving in the right direction towards achieving the change targets; as opposed to one respondent (M/38) who stated that he thinks those reform initiatives were not moving in the right direction due to the improper sequence of the steps followed in some of the reform projects; and another respondent (F/25) who stated that only time will prove whether the initiatives have been moving in the right direction or otherwise; as it is too early to tell now.

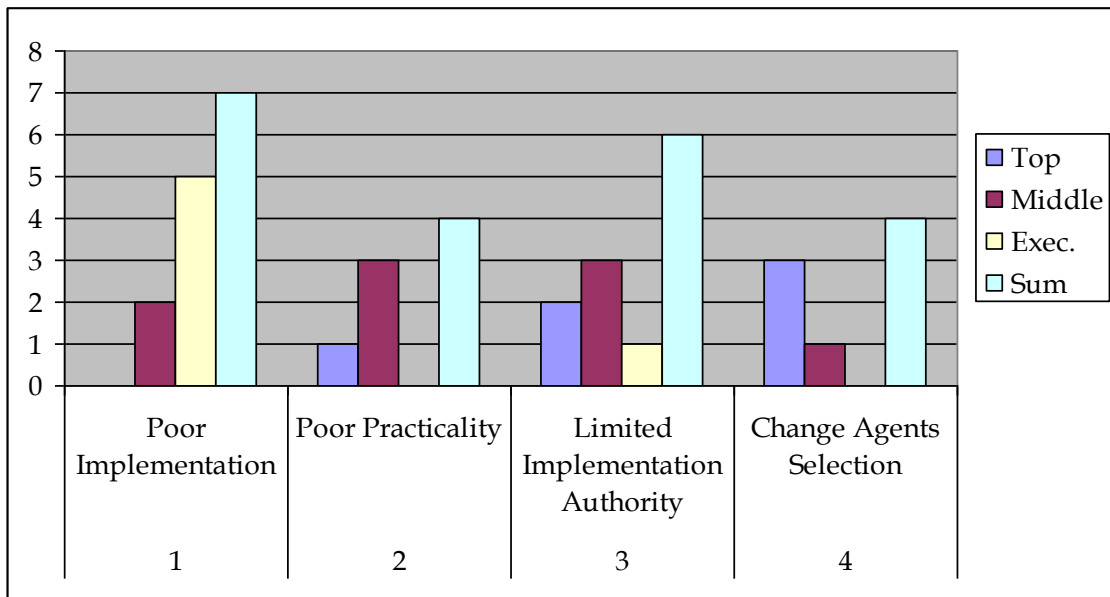
"I do not think that these initiatives are moving in the right direction, because some initiatives started before some necessary pre-requisite steps took place. I think those initiatives should have followed a certain sequence."

(M/38) Project Manager, HRD Programme

Interview 4/10/06

Respondents who actually thought that those reform initiatives were positive ones with high potential still shared some comments on those reforms, namely:-

Fig. (8.2) - Perceived Opinions about Reform Initiatives Shortcomings



8.3.1 Good Planning - Poor or No Implementation

Seven respondents thought that despite their high potential and promising initiatives, administrative reform plans were only plans that look very good on paper, but are seldom realized and achieved in reality.

"We as government change agents are very good at planning and talking, but plans seldom go into the implementation phase."

(F/37) Director, Technical Office
Interview 7/9/06

8.3.2 Good Planning - Poor Practicality

Four respondents (male 36, 37 and female 38) thought that the reform initiatives seem promising, yet too theoretical and practically difficult –if not impossible- to implement because some of the objectives seem to be unrealistic ones or maybe too challenging.

One top manager and one middle manager stated that they thought reform plans were practically difficult to achieve due to the huge size of the civil service which makes it impossible to apply all change initiatives to the whole administrative body given the limited financial resources of the government of Egypt (GOE).

"I think the initiatives are definitely moving in the right direction, but I think they are insufficient because the administrative body is too big and needs some huge reform and development initiatives that are huge enough to include 5,7M civil servants."

(M/55) Project Consultant, Org. Dev. Programme
Interview 19/10/06

"Some of the objectives are not sustainable, measurable, or achievable in some cases."

(F/38) Manager, Content Management Project
Interview 20/9/06

One respondent (M/56, top manager) said that he thinks the initiatives are scattered because the change programmes and projects are lacking synergy and

integration among and between their activities. Four respondents (three males and one female) stated that the national administrative reform plan involves too many reform projects that are running all at the same time which may make it difficult for the civil service to digest all at once.

"We are also working on many projects at the same time, which I think is an overload on the government."

(M/46) Director, Government Services Programmes

Interview 9/10/06

8.3.3 Centralized Change Management

Two respondents stated that the success of those change initiatives may be hindered by the centralized change management. The recruitment and selection of change agents were centralized and conducted by MSAD being the change leader, which may create a chance for error as MSAD does not necessarily have the necessary expertise to manage change.

"The second mistake is the bureaucratic management style, the MSAD was still centralizing all tasks by taking charge of the recruitment, procurement and purchasing. Now that we have learnt the lesson, MSAD is emphasizing the importance of applying IT solutions in new tasks, and it had recently started to open new cooperation channels with the private sector by contracting some tasks to the private sector companies."

(M/37) Legal Advisor, MSAD

Interview 7/9/06

(M/36, middle manager) stated that the current reform initiatives may risk discontinuity because they are currently lead by MSAD represented by Dr.

Ahmed Darwish, and it cannot be guaranteed that his successor(s) would necessarily continue to do what he had started. This argument is supported by the findings discussed in chapter seven stating that the Egyptian civil service lacks the concept of project continuity/sustainability, which is also supported by literature in chapter three about the Egyptian cultural heritage since the Pharaohs that Egyptian rulers and governors prefer to start from point zero rather than resuming the work done by previous rulers.

"The main problem is that these initiatives are dependent on the main change leader which is Dr. Darwish. The Pharaonic heritage of Egyptians is to start from point zero instead of starting where the previous person ended. Once Dr. Darwish leaves, the following minister will destroy all achievements and start from point Zero."

(M/36) Project Manager, Back Office Programme

Interview 28/9/06

8.3.4 Lack of Customer-Orientation

Two respondents (M/56 and F/32) thought that reform initiatives were not as customer-oriented as they should be as some projects have not put the public needs' as the first priority.

"The citizen - who is our customer after all - is still dissatisfied with the level of service he has because our administrative reform initiatives have not put the customer as priority number one".

(M/56) Director, HRD Programme

Interview 14/9/06

One of the programmes that actually started taking action in 2004 was the e-government programme; www.egypt.gov.eg is the official Egyptian portal to electronic public services such as the driving license renewal, online train ticket booking, national ID issuance and/or renewal, and other public utilities like telephone, power and gas enquiries and billing. The e-government programme may be convenient to a large number of users who are familiar with IT and can easily have internet access, however, the research evidence suggests that the return on investment (ROI) from the programme has not yielded high benefits as compared to the huge monetary investments incurred in it due to two reasons: (1) The total number of computer-literate Egyptians who have got handy internet access was 8.62M users in December 2007, which comprises a very small minority of the total population (MCIT annual report, 2008 p. 16). Some computer-literate users may still find it hard to get an internet access which may result in losing the benefit of those internet-provided services. (2) As the electronic public services make part of the newly introduced reform plan, members of the public may still find it hard to use the newly-introduced e-services and thus find it easier to go through the paper cycle they have known for years rather than trying something new.

"For example, the e-government launched an online registration website for all high school graduates to place candidature in universities. However, a very small minority of students used this online registration service because they could not trust the online sources. The majority preferred to go to the central registration desk because they trusted the paper registration better."

(F/32) Project Manager, Back Office Programme, Interview 18/9/06

8.3.5 Limited Authority to Implement

Six respondents stated their opinions that the reform initiatives still lack some authoritative power and autonomy to be able to actually implement the projects/programmes the way they were originally planned in the agenda for change. Out of the six respondents, there were three top managers (programmes directors), two middle managers (project managers) and one female executive (media coordinator); this adds reliability to the comment they made because top and middle managers have been directly involved in negotiations with the top authority of policy-makers (central government) which makes them talk from actual experience rather than just speculations. The media coordinator who is primarily in charge of all press releases for the ministry of administrative development and all its related projects/programmes has stated during the interview that she was unhappy about the inability of MSAD to publish some important progress news as MSAD is still controlled by some upper political powers that control the flow of information MSAD can publish in the newspapers or talk to the press about.

"I am happy about MSAD, yet, I am unhappy about the political influences and the lack of transparency we have. MSAD is not free to publicize some news and events, because it is still controlled by some upper political influences and conditions."

(F/25) Media Coordinator, Public Relations Department

Interview 27/9/06

8.3.6 Change Agents Recruitment/Selection

Four respondents [three male top managers (programme directors) and one female middle manager (project Manager)] stated their opinions that the reform initiatives lacked a proper recruitment and selection of the change agents working on the reform programmes as some change agents did not seem to fit to the position they held. Although all four respondents were discrete when raising this point and managed to talk in general without referring to someone in specific, it was quite surprising to receive those comments about change agents from respondents who are actually change agents. This comment raised a research argument about the anticipated team spirit between change agents, because if there is a shared feeling between four team players that some other team players did not fit, then it is doubtful then to think that the team should be able to yield promising achievements if team players do not share the feeling of harmony and synergy.

However, during non-participant observation organizational gossip was relatively loud about the feelings and attitudes of some junior staff complaining about their direct supervisors who were discouraging them and de-motivating them from initiating new ideas or sharing opinions for enhancement. Change agents and junior staff have been also talking negatively about one change agent (top manager) in particular who used to be the director of the organizational development programme in 2004-2007 and who was criticized by the majority of staff for being negative, uncooperative and de-motivating towards his subordinates; (it is worth mentioning that this person

refused to participate in this research study). One quote raised by one of the subordinates during non-participant observation in May 2006 was:

"How come we work at the HRD programme which is under the organizational development (OD) programme, and the OD programme director has no idea about HRD and does not know how to deal with us as employees! He deceives us and lies to us, how can we trust this person will make achievements in HRD if he cannot handle his staff?"

(F/29) Technical Assistant, Organizational Development
Programme
Pilot Study interview 12/5/06

Another critical argument to arise in this context is the criteria for the selection of change agents. The Egyptian civil service has been accused for years for the poor quality of its workforce but this may be justified by the Nasser Socialism regime making the civil service responsible for placing all university graduates in the civil service regardless of the labour market needs. The reform plans that supposedly work on finding remedies to shortcomings of the present administrative body are still facing negative criticism in respect to the recruitment/selection of change agents who are appointed to temporary contracts rather than tenured employment based on their competence and expertise. This raises a strong question about the civil service ability to perform effective recruitment/selection of workforce.

"I think these initiatives are positive initiatives, however, I think that the human resources who are working on some of these programmes need to be properly selected because some of them are

lacking competences and competencies in some areas. For example, the director of the HRD has never worked in the HR field before. The Organizational Development programme which is a huge programme with a lot of projects, the director is lacking many competences and competencies."

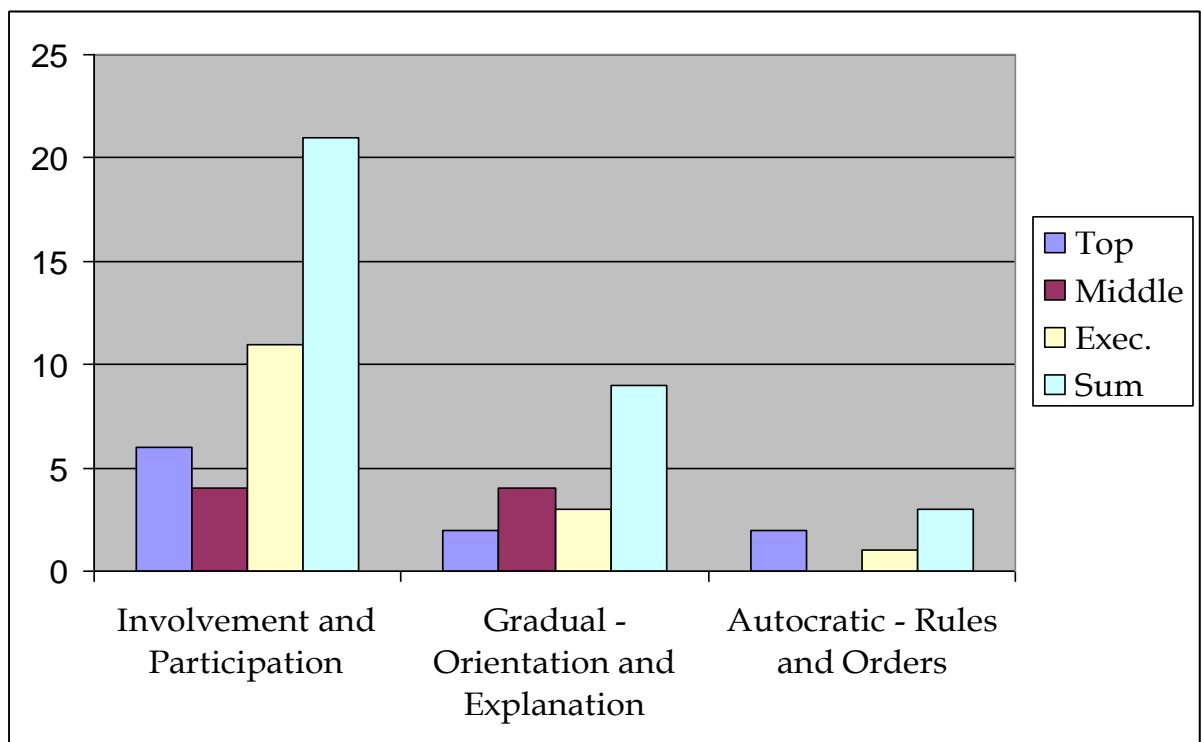
(M/64) Director, Change Leaders Programme

Interview 30/10/06

8.4 Managing Change

The study participants were asked to state their opinions about the best way(s) to manage change in terms of introduction, implementation and control and responses are summarized in Figure 8.3.

Fig. (8.3) - Perceived Opinions on how to Introduce Change



8.4.1 Introducing Change

90% of respondents stated that they believe that the best way to introduce change is to introduce it gradually by talking to civil servants to explain the nature, need and expected returns of change. Responses included the following:

8.4.1.1. Involvement and Participation

Almost two thirds of respondents stated that they think change should be introduced gradually, by orienting civil servants to the type and nature of change, share opinions, and suggested to get civil servants involved by inviting them to participate in both planning and implementation by inviting them to provide input and suggestions, and assign specific tasks to them in the change plan implementation. As suggested in the literature, the rationale behind this suggestion is to make civil servants team players rather than just recipients of change; which supposedly may have a positive influence to minimize the expected resistance to change since civil servants should develop some sense of ownership towards this change because they feel change was made for them and by them. One of the respondents (M/37 Legal Advisor) made a remarkable comment about his perception of the importance of employee participation and involvement in the planning process of change as it promotes responsibility and accountability towards change since employees will feel responsible towards the concepts they have suggested in the planning process.

"This information exchange process between policy makers and policy implementers creates a sort of responsibility and

accountability for the policy implementers, as they sense that they had provided inputs in making the policy and thus are responsible now to implement it. People who should implement change should be involved in the planning process because they are in a better position to provide reliable feedback."

(M/37) Legal Advisor, MSAD

Interview 7/9/06

8.4.1.2 Introduction through Orientation and Explaining

Less than one third suggested the gradual introduction of change through providing proper training sessions and orientation seminars to civil servants to ensure that they understand the purpose, process and expected results of change.

"I think the best way to introduce change it to raise employees' awareness first about the change, its nature and purpose; and then give employees a grace period for implementation. During this grace period, I would give employees relevant training about the new change like IT training, technical training, whatever, to make them ready for implementation."

(F/46) Coordinator, Change Leaders Programme

Interview 27/9/06

Although the literature in chapter four agrees with the importance of employee involvement and participation in the planning process, it is important however to raise a question about '*whom to involve in the planning process*': the civil servants who are supposed to implement change (policy implementers); or the

members of the public who represent the pressurizing need for change and represent the beneficiaries of change; or a balanced mixture of both policy implementers and beneficiaries. It is more feasible to involve policy-implementers in the planning process for change because they may provide useful insights and proper feedback; however, obtaining inputs and sharing opinions with the members of the public is very crucial to the success of change since change is primarily made for the members of the public and thus they should participate by voicing their needs, expectations and concerns about the current status of the services provided by the civil service. Another important question is how to specify the role of policy implementers and beneficiaries in supporting change. We can identify two scenarios:

The “*Suggest and Implement*” Approach: Involving policy implementers in the planning process helps to develop a sense of ownership and thus civil servants are expected to feel responsible towards change and work hard to make it a successful change.

The “*Suggest and Support*” Approach: If beneficiaries of change provide insights about their needs, expectations and share opinions about how they want civil service to improve its performance; then they should be expected to have a role to support change by using the newly-introduced services, abiding with the new rules of service, and helping civil servants to perform their jobs as per the new customer-oriented approach in order to promote for the new

culture of change. This approach may be called the "Suggest and Support approach". However, some customers may still want to follow the old system (i.e. paying a small tip to speed-up the service or call a friend/relative to provide an exceptional service). In such cases, civil service organizations should be rigid in applying the new rules with no exceptions to help enforce the new culture and emphasize the policy-driven system of service.

8.4.1.3 Coercion and Enforcement

Three respondents (1 top manager and 2 executives) stated their opinions that the best way to introduce change in the civil service is to dictate it by coercion and enforcement in the structure of laws and strict rules, since the gradual introduction of change through talking and convincing usually resulted in high resistance.

"I think the best way to introduce change to the Egyptian civil service is to put it in the form of mandatory laws and rules, especially if this change is in the public interests. We have tried to introduce change gradually to civil servants at some ministries and the resistance was so high. The historical experience proved that dictatorship is the best way to introduce change because Egyptian civil servants do not understand the communication through convincing."

(M/45) Director, Back Office Programme

Interview 28/9/06

It has been observed during the non-participant observation of the 'Change Leaders Forum' on September 18, 2006 that a group of civil servants who were

invited from five different ministries to attend the forum held an open discussion with Dr. Darwish, the directors of the change leaders programme and the HRD programme. During the discussion, some civil servants were arguing against some policies and rules for the sake of argument; however, when encouraged to propose some suggestions or solutions to what they perceive as problems they did not propose anything. The same observation has been confirmed by a female interviewee who attended the same forum.

"I attended the 'Change Leaders' conference last week, and I noticed that the audience of civil servants were objecting only for the sake of objection. When Dr. Darwish opened the open discussion with them, he asked them to provide insights and suggest solutions for some problems, but they kept on objecting without giving him some ideas for solutions."

(F/28) Administrative Assistant, Infrastructure Programme

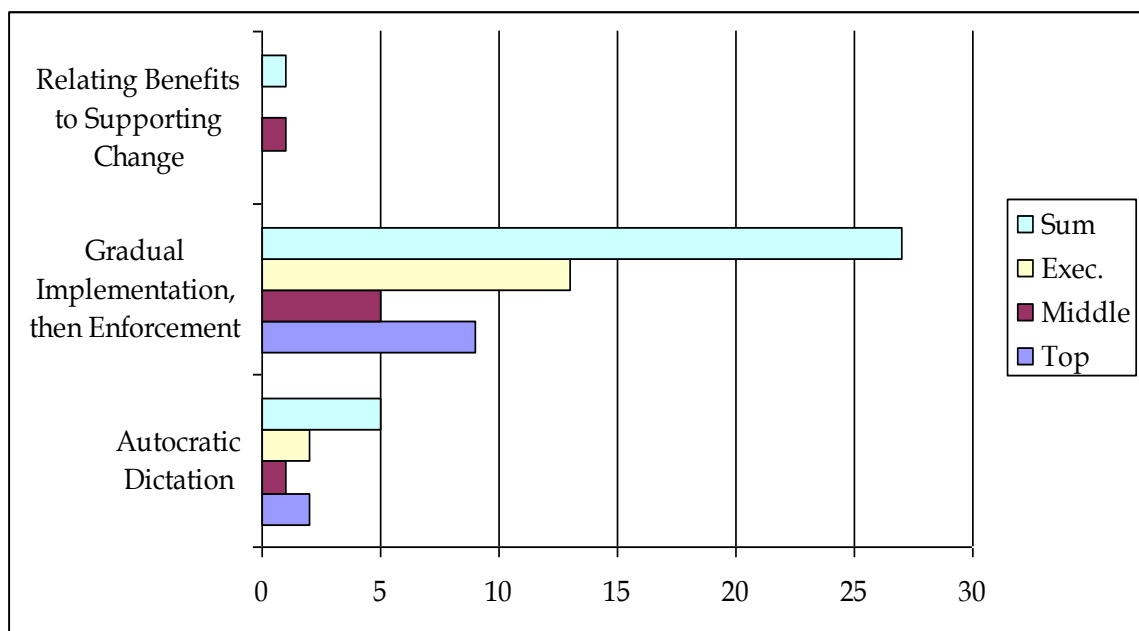
Interview 20/9/06

8.4.2 Implementing Change

When asked about the best way(s) to implement change, over two thirds of respondents (27 of 33) stated that after gradually introducing change and providing proper understanding of its nature, they think that the best way to implement change is gradually, giving civil servants a grace period of transition from the current status into the new change; to have a certain deadline after which change would be enforced with a no-tolerance policy with those who do not comply (see Fig. 8.4). The majority of those respondents also stressed the importance of enforcing the law of 'Reward and Punishment'

during the implementation; i.e. rewarding civil servants who support change and exert efforts to make it succeed while punishing those who resist change or at least deprive them from the rewards if they show no support and/or tend to create barriers against change.

Fig. (8.4) Perceived Opinions on how to Implement Change



Three respondents also stated that in order to successfully implement change it needs to be enforced top-down the organizational hierarchy because of their own perception that subordinates should comply with the new rules with minimum resistance when it is enforced by top administration.

In contrast, five respondents stated that the best way to implement change is to dictate it through an autocratic leadership style based on the argument that

Egyptians in general yield better results when given sets of orders and instructions.

"Dr. Darwish introduced change and was too patient with civil servants. If he gave them clear *orders* and *instructions*, they would have complied immediately without saying a word."

(F/40) Follow-up Coordinator, HRD Programme

Interview 13/9/06

Only one respondent suggested relating the implementation process to some tangible benefits and rewards to motivate civil servants to work hard on implementing change.

8.4.3 Change Management and Control

Respondents were asked to give answers about how they perceive the best way to control change in order to guarantee its success and they have all agreed that -in their opinion- change management and control requires the continuous feedback and through the regular performance measurement and evaluation to monitor the progress of change; two respondents specifically mentioned the importance of applying and using Key Performance Indicators (KPI) as a performance measurement and regular follow-up tool.

8.5 Managing Resistance

This section presents findings on the perceived barriers against the change initiatives, causes and types of barriers and proposes suggestions to overcome those barriers and manage resistance.

8.5.1 Attitudes toward Change Initiatives

Before being asked to talk about barriers and obstacles against change, respondents were asked about their own perceptions about the civil servants' attitudes toward change initiatives; and half of respondents stated that the general civil servants' attitudes towards change were negative attitudes translated into resisting change and inventing obstacles against reform initiatives.

"I remember when we first started doing pilot visits to some ministries and local authorities to introduce our change programmes like office automation, and HRD programmes, tenure top appointees refused to sit for a meeting with us. It took us a lot of time to convince them to sit for a meeting and listen to what we have got to introduce to their organization."

(F/36) Programme Coordinator, Org. Dev. Programme
Interview 14/5/06

Among the respondents was the director of the technical office who is also a change agent and surprisingly, when asked about her opinion about the MSAD-lead reform initiatives, she mentioned that she did not believe in those reforms (as previously quoted above).

"I think they are all clichés, but practically speaking I think that the MSAD reform projects are neither efficient enough nor practical."

(F/37) Director, Technical Office
Interview 7/9/06

This raises the question of whether the individual feelings and beliefs of change agents would be transmitted to the rest of the team - especially subordinates - or if those change agents with some negative feelings toward change initiatives would still be able to perform their jobs as change agents and empower others to achieve a successful change.

An informal conversation took place with the team of the technical office during the non-participant observation and it was noticed that the team consisting of four female employees -all junior temporary employees- were highly empowered and motivated by their supervisor whom they admired for being hard-working and highly effective; which proves that change agents may still be able to inspire their team(s) and empower them to work and make a progress despite their low belief and faith in change and their negative feelings towards it.

Over one third of respondents stated that civil servants' attitudes toward change were divided into two: positive, supporting change, and negative, resisting change, and although not all of those respondents explicitly mentioned that positive attitudes are generated by the new generation of change (contract-based employees) and negatives attitudes are generated by tenured employees (ancient bureaucrats) this was subsequently mentioned during the flow of conversation during the interview. This supports the cultural classification of the civil service described in chapter six: the ancient

bureaucrats were against change, whereas the new blood of change agents and junior staff of contract-based employment supported change and had a more positive attitude towards it.

"Some employees were positive and supportive, but the majority were so negative towards change. Bear in mind that the first thing that comes to the civil servant's mind when he sees change is that the organization will lay him off and get someone new or maybe get the PC do the manual archival work he used to do."

(M/45) Director, Back Office Programme

Interview 28/9/06

Two respondents stated that the civil servants' attitudes towards change were either negative or neutral; and only one female respondent said that some civil servants were resenting change and felt negative about it and then gradually started to accept it after having understood its core and purpose.

8.5.2 Barriers of Resistance

All respondents agreed that barriers of resistance are usually expressed by civil servants who refuse to attend orientation and awareness seminars, and training courses organized by the HRD programme/MSAD because they feel reluctant to acquire new skills, or because they are not feeling the need to change what they have been doing for years.

"Resistance was experienced in a variety of ways. Some senior civil servants refused to attend the training courses because they felt too old to acquire new skills"

(M/45) Director, Back Office Programme

Interview 28/9/06

For example, the legal advisor of MSAD (M/37) once mentioned during a discussion on May 6, 2006 that some ministries and authorities who participated in the pilot study were fighting against the amendment of the public employment law 47/1978 and refused to receive change agents because they did not wish to become part of the change move. This was also confirmed by the programme coordinator of the Organizational Development Programme who also stated during the interview that some civil service authorities were resisting change by not allowing an opportunity for change agents to raise awareness about change programmes.

"I remember a case of resistance to change I faced as part of my work was when MSAD introduced the Intranet to all employees and enforced them all to communicate by email. Junior staff was very happy about Intranet and started applying the new decision of email communication immediately. On the other hand, senior employees and managers refused the idea itself because some of them were computer-illiterate. Although we at the training unit of MSAD have arranged for training seminars and prepared everything, they still refused to attend the training seminars.

Some seniors refused to attend because they thought that they were too old to learn new skills and some others refused to attend because they had junior subordinates who can do this job; so why would they bother to learn a skill while they have subordinates who do?"

(F/28) Follow-up Coordinator, HRD Programme

Interview 13/9/06

"They would not sign on the circular memos to acknowledge receipt and acceptance of a certain new protocol, and they would not apply the new system nor use it. The electronic payroll system for example, the payroll officer attended the training and signed acceptance to use the system, but he actually never used it and kept working manually."

(M/45) Director, Back Office Programme

Interview 28/9/06

8.5.3 Causes of Resistance

When asked to provide the perceived reasons behind resisting change initiatives, 50% stated that civil servants generally fear the unknown, and that they prefer to maintain things as they are because they do not feel the need for change; whereas 30% stated that resistance maybe due to some mistaken belief by civil servants that change and improvement are made against them rather than for their own good, thinking that acquiring new language, computer, and other skills may show their incompetence and thus hinder their image.

"Some civil servants refused to learn computer and IT skills because they thought they would lose their power of know-how and would be replaced by a PC."

(M/45) Director, Back Office Programme

Interview 28/9/06

10% of respondents stated that some civil servants resisted change because they thought that changing things may contradict with their own interest(s) and thus wanted to keep things as they are because improper behaviour in the civil service like favouritism and bribery working in their favour and was appealing to them.

"In an attempt to fight corruption and bribery, MSAD has automated the work and application cycle so that employees do not actually deal with citizens, because when they do they ask citizens for a bribe in order to render the service. Civil servants refused to work and use the PCs because it was against their interest; they rely on these bribes as a main source of income."

(F/40) Manager, Monitoring and Evaluation Unit

Interview 30/10/06

The above point raises the issue of the conflict of interest between the civil servants' personal goals and the organizational goals. In the case of the Egypt, the civil service sector is characterized by the culture of 'individualism' as stated in the literature and confirmed by research findings in chapter six. The civil servants' personal interests and individual goals stem from the tendency of individualism, the civil servants thinking about their individual wishes and

objectives with minimum or no consideration given to whether this complies or contradicts with the overall organizational well-being and objectives.

"Those who were against change were trying to create barriers in different ways. (1) a manager would be reluctant to take the right action to support change because he is afraid that his action will not please his superior(s); (2) a corrupt manager who has a personal agenda against change; (3) or any other barriers that aim to complicate things like stopping the papers at one point with no action in order to stop the cycle."

(F/38) Project Manager, Content Management Programme

Interview 20/9/06

Another 10% stated that civil servants' usually resist change as an automatic reaction, as whenever there is change there must be resistance and refusal.

8.5.4 Managing Resistance

Respondents were asked to suggest possible ways to manage resistance and handle barriers against change effectively; and it has been generally noticed that responses to the question of 'how to manage resistance and overcome barriers against change' were consistent with those about how to manage change in terms of introduction, implementation and control.

Over half of respondents thought that the best way to manage civil servants' resistance is to explain to them that change is made for their own benefit(s) and that the purpose and expected outcomes are meant to benefit civil servants' rather than threaten their organizational position/status.

Three respondents stated that the best way to handle resistance is to enforce it first from top to bottom of the organization: once it is successfully explained to top managers, they will be able to enforce it on lower levels.

"I think the best way to introduce change is to introduce it first to the top and middle management because I think that once the supervisors and managers are convinced, the junior staff and subordinates will automatically conform with the new change."

(F/28) Follow-up Coordinator, HRD Programme

Interview 13/9/06

"Conviction of top management: we need to sweep the stairs from the top to the bottom. We need to start by convincing the top management of the purposes and benefits of these change programmes in order to get their support. Once they are convinced, they can enforce their subordinates and so on."

(M/64) Director, Change Leaders Programme

Interview 30/10/06

Four respondents suggested that the best way to handle resistance is to eliminate those factors of resistance from the move of change; the rationale behind the suggestion is that those civil servants who insist on resisting change should be marginalized and be kept isolated in order not to interrupt the smooth running of change. The female respondent specifically mentioned the case of the Egyptian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (MCIT) when Dr. Ahmed Nazif was the cabinet minister before being appointed as a prime minister; the respondent mentioned that she personally admired the way Dr. Nazif handled resistance as a change agent

when he started by raising the civil servants' awareness about the nature and expected results of change; and then splitting them into what is called in this study supporters and defenders.

"When Dr. Nazif wanted to introduce change in MCIT, he started first by splitting new contractual staff from tenured bureaucrats in two different cubicle partitions that are away from each other. He held a meeting with the bureaucrats to inform them that he is about to introduce a new culture and thus a new change, and gave them the choice of either supporting him in change or being totally abolished and neglected by dismissal. At the beginning, most of them were highly resistant and were really negative and he totally neglected them and focused all his efforts on us as contractual staff."

(F/29) Events Coordinator, Public Relations Department

Interview 30/10/06

Five respondents suggested gradually enforcing change by spoon-feeding and persistence as change is a long-term approach that need some patience from change agents; which makes the total number of respondents who suggested the approach of persuasion and gradual enforcement of change five respondents; as opposed to 83% who proposed to gradually adopt change first, and then resort to dictating change by coercion and enforcement should there still be some resistance.

"Some employees were still resisting but Dr. Nazif was very persistent that he religiously followed the reward and punishment by cutting-off on bonuses and incentives of any employee who breaks the system, he also enforced a certain dress code, and forced all employees to learn IT and to use PC. Finally, employees started gradually to accept the culture change and learnt to abide with the new rules and culture; so after all, it is the persistent and long-term gradual change approach that worked."

(F/29) Events Coordinator, Public Relations Department

Interview 30/10/06

This example of MCIT, and how the change leader has divided civil servants into 'supporters' and 'defenders', may be used as evidence to confirm that the organizational culture inside the civil service is still classified into two: ancient bureaucrats and the new change generation, as previously explained in chapter six.

8.6 Organizational Commitment

The main research question was to evaluate the processes used to raise the civil servants' commitment towards the MSAD-lead change initiatives as a means to reach the main end of improving the performance of the civil service sector and thus make administrative reforms successful through the support of civil servants. From the literature reviewed in chapter three, Iversen (1996) found that an employee's acceptance of organizational change increases with organizational commitment; and Lau and Woodman (1995) and Cordery et al. (1993) have pointed out two specific factors that play a very vital role in

employees' acceptance to change: 'organizational commitment' and job 'satisfaction'. The interview section 'Managing commitment towards change' included a sub-theme on organizational commitment and how to raise organizational commitment in the civil service, and then the final question was 'how to raise civil servants' commitment towards change' as they are related.

When asked about their opinions about the civil servants' organizational commitment, only two participants out of 33 responded that some civil servants are committed to their work as opposed to 28 participants who said that civil servants in general are uncommitted towards their jobs and their organizations.

8.6.1 Indicators of Organizational Commitment

At first, respondents were asked to specify some indicators that a civil servant needs to fulfil in order to be classified as a 'committed employee towards his job/organization' and respondents mentioned a number of qualities that they thought that a committed civil servant should fulfil as shown in Table 8.1 and Figure 8.5.

Table (8.1) Indicators of Organizational Commitment**Perceived Opinions**

No.	Concept	Managerial Level				
		Top	Middle	Exec.	Total	%
1	Work Efficiency	6	6	12	24	73
2	Punctuality	5	7	9	21	63
3	Respecting/Meeting Deadlines	2	3	6	11	33
4	Time Efficiency	4	2	4	10	30
5	Self-Supervision	2	0	3	5	15
6	Hard Working	3	0	0	3	10
7	Target-Oriented	1	1	1	3	10
8	Productivity	1	1	1	3	10
9	Compliance to Laws and Policies	1	1	0	2	6
10	Sense of Responsibility	0	0	2	2	6
11	Proactivity	1	0	0	1	6
12	Creativity	0	1	0	1	3
13	Dress code	0	1	0	1	3
14	Result-Oriented	1	0	0	1	3

In light of the above table, it is obvious that the indicators mentioned the most frequently were punctuality, work efficiency, respecting/meeting deadlines and time efficiency respectively. This shows how the respondents perceive 'time' as a valuable thing that has a strong influence over the degree of job commitment on one hand and confirms that civil servants in general are lacking the sense of the value of time in terms of punctuality, the value of

deadlines, and the importance of time as an important organizational success factor on the other hand.

This is also supported by the responses of two thirds of respondents who previously described the Egyptian civil service culture as a culture of time inefficiency and the civil servants' lack of sense of the importance of time, carelessness, laziness and waste of time, on one hand, and consistent with Metle (2003) who claims that public employees in the developing countries, it is assumed, do not perceive their work as a source of satisfaction and tend to experience various forms of deprivation and withdrawal behaviour, such as laziness, absenteeism, high turnover and general lack of commitment to work.

"The civil service culture is much worse than I would have ever imagined. There is no sense of time, lack of sense of responsibility, carelessness, lack of initiative."

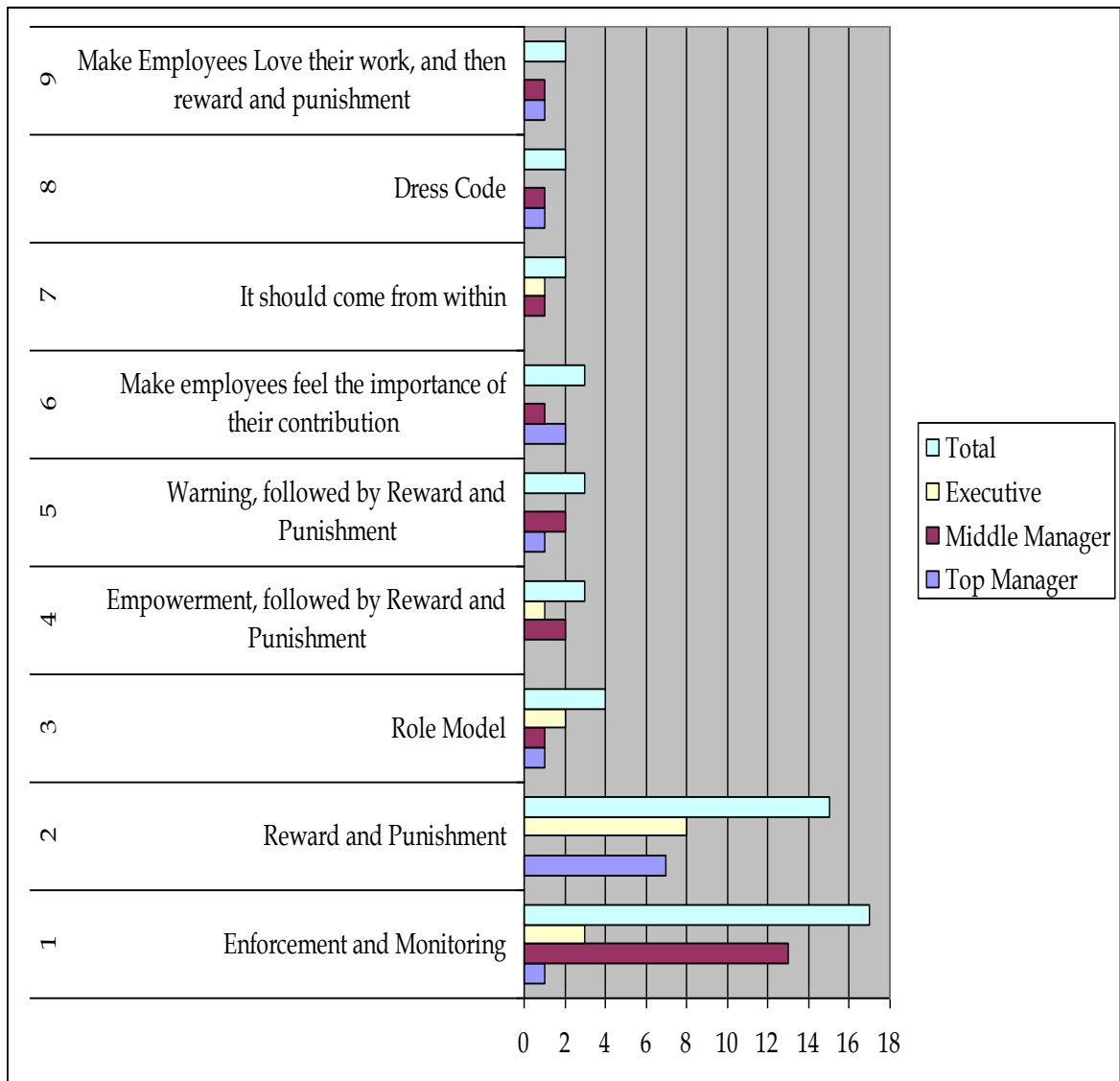
(M/56) Director, HRD Programme

Interview 14/9/06

8.6.2 Enhancing Organizational Commitment

When asked to provide suggestions on how to enhance organizational commitment in the civil service, respondents again provided a number of suggestions summarized in the following figure (8.6).

Fig. (8.5) -Perceived Opinions on Enhancing Organizational Commitment



8.6.2.1 Reward and Punishment

Ten participants suggested that civil servants' organizational commitment should be enforced by following a 'Reward and Punishment' strategy as - according to respondents' perceptions- this strategy has been known to deliver good outcomes.

"I think that employee commitment in the civil service can be enhanced by enforcing 'Reward and Punishment'; hard working employees will get incentives, and uncommitted employees will be punished."

(M/59) Director, Polices and Programmes Sector

Interview 28/9/06

It is important to note here that responses were all gathered around a continuum, where the strict enforcement and reward and punishment strategy lie on one extreme whereas the concept of having organizational commitment stem from within the individual self lies on the other extreme.

The responses have been all accrued along the continuum to start from the view that organizational commitment is something built-in inside each employee and that it should come from within, followed by having a good role model to follow at work, followed by employee empowerment and motivation, followed by verbal and/or non-verbal warning to those employees showing low commitment levels, followed by a reward and punishment policy which should be supported by top-management enforcement and monitoring.

"I think the supervisor has to be a role model in commitment in order to inspire his subordinates. I also think that commitment should be enhanced by rule enforcement and reward and punishment."

(F/25) Media Coordinator, MSAD, Interview 27/9/06

The above finding may reflect an unusual perception by the change agents of how to develop organizational commitment, because they suggested rewards and punishment as opposed to HRD activities like motivation and empowerment. However, given into consideration the Egyptian rich historical heritage, the current national culture of Egypt and the generally-known mindset of Egyptians, it may seem reasonable to suggest developing organizational commitment through adopting a reward and punishment policy. The past example of the 'seat belt' experience in Egypt previously discussed in chapter four may also seem to support this idea.

8.6.2.2 Coercion and Enforcement

The suggestion of 'enforcing organizational commitment by top management control' is in fact consistent with previous findings (as shown in chapter six) as over half of respondents listed the 'absence of a rigid governance system' as one of the main problems of the Egyptian civil service, 16 respondents listed it as a reason behind the problems of poor performance of the Egyptian civil service, and 11 respondents listed the suggestion of creating a rigid system of governance as a contributing means to improve the overall performance of the civil service.

It was also noted that 'Reward and Punishment' and 'Rigid Governance' are used interchangeably, although not explicitly mentioned by respondents, but it has been generally noticed from the responses that some respondents who

used the term 'Reward and Punishment' may have actually meant 'Law and Order' or 'Discipline and Order' especially that the focus of the discussion has been given to 'punishing' those uncommitted employees and/or depriving those who tend to resist change from the benefits which invites an argument that what is really meant was to enforce 'law, discipline and order' rather than just 'reward and punishment'.

8.6.2.3 Inspirational Role Model

Four respondents stated a suggestion to have a decent 'Role Model' that may inspire civil servants and represent a good example for them to follow in order to enhance their commitment towards their job/organization.

"I think that organizational commitment can be enhanced by setting a role model. Each manager/supervisor should be a role model in commitment for his employees. If employees are still not committed, then a gradual system of punishment should be followed."

(M/64) Director, Change Leaders Programme

Interview 30/10/06

8.7 Islamic Work Ethic (IWE)

With the exception of three respondents, all other respondents stated that civil servants were not following the Islamic Work Ethic as a condition for organizational commitment. Respondents commented that civil servants had a general tendency to fully isolate their Islamic beliefs and practices from their

day-to-day behaviour. As a result, civil servants perceived their Islamic faith as a spiritual thing but didn't actually use it as guidance into their daily lives.

“Egyptians generally have schizophrenia. For example, my neighbour is a Muslim like me and when I meet him by the elevator and greet him with the Islamic greeting ‘Al Salamu Alaykum’ he does not reply although greeting Muslims is a duty mentioned in our Holy Quran. Taking the same concept to the work area, the *‘religion is one thing and behaviour is another thing’* principle is very dominant in the Egyptian society in general, not only in the civil service. Egyptian Muslims are unable to link the Islamic ethics to their organizational behaviour at work”.

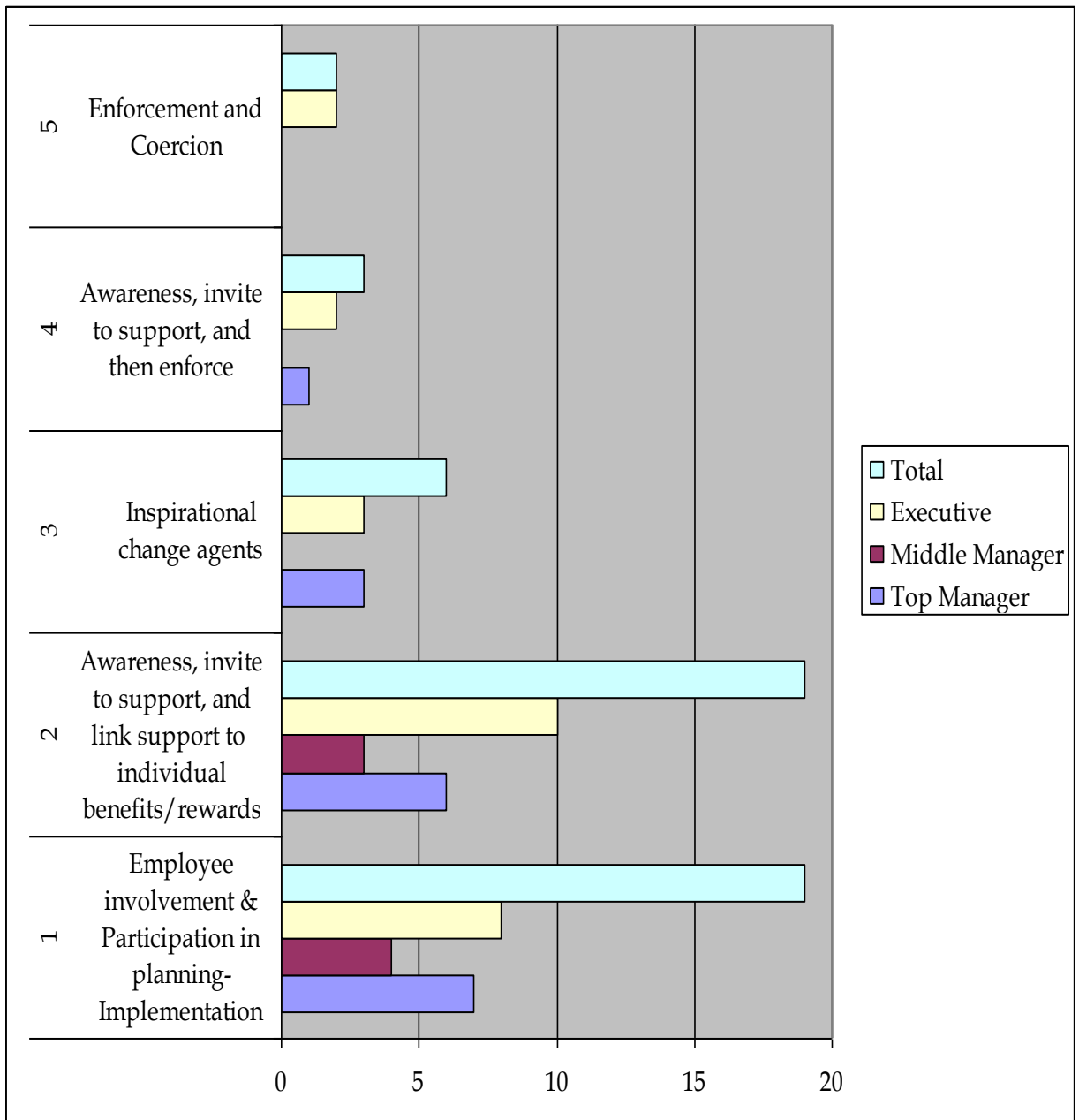
(M/54) Director, Core Infrastructure Programme

Interview 19/09/06

8.8 Commitment towards Change

When asked to give their opinions on how to develop civil servants' commitment towards change all respondents except one agreed that the prerequisite step is to raise civil servants' awareness with change, its nature, rationale and expected outcomes and returns; and then work on developing their commitment and support towards it. Some respondents proposed more than one suggestion to this answer, and responses have been gathered as follows:-

Fig. (8.6) - Perceived Opinions on how to Develop Commitment to Change



8.8.1 Employee Involvement and Participation

50% of respondents voiced their opinions that civil servants' commitment to change is attained when they understand change, and are actually invited to participate in the planning and implementation processes, as this will develop a sense of 'ownership' and 'belongingness' towards change.

"I think people will become committed to change when they are involved in the planning process to initiate ideas and opinions. They also need to be convinced that the benefits of change are originally made for them. When they feel so, they will sincerely want to make change successful in order to enjoy the fruits of change and they will really support it with ideas and efforts."

(M/37) Legal Advisor, MSAD

Interview 7/9/06

"Civil servants will feel more committed to the change when they are involved in the planning process of this change. They will feel they belong to this change and accordingly they will try to make this change successful."

(F/26) Event Organizer, HRD Programme

Interview 19/9/06

8.8.2 Linking Support to Individual Rewards

The other 50% of respondents suggested developing commitment towards change through explaining change to civil servants and convincing them that change is made for them and by them' by associating supporting change with some individual benefits and rewards (tangible and intangible) based on the assumption that civil servants are more likely to support change and work hard only when this is directly linked to some personal individual rewards to them.

"I think we need to relate the benefits from supporting and working for change to some personal rewards and benefits to employees. Civil servants will have a greater tendency to

support change and become cooperative if we relate this to some individual rewards and benefits to them."

(F/29) Technical Assistant, Organizational Development Programme

Interview 12/5/06

8.8.3 Inspirational Change Agents/Leaders

Six respondents said that enhancing civil servants' commitment towards change requires the careful selection of change agents/leaders because change agents/leaders are responsible to inspire civil servants' and empower them to support change and thus feel committed towards it.

"I suggest assigning one change agent to be responsible for a group of civil servants of a certain organization and his/her role is to listen to the civil servants, ask them for their opinions and feedback, and to motivate them and empower them to work hard on supporting change. The change agent should be someone who is likable and able to maintain the same wave length with his target civil servants in order to build rapport and trust with them."

(F/26) Event Organizer, HRD Programme

Interview 19/9/06

8.8.4 Coercion and Enforcement

Only one respondent who had previously stated that the best way to manage change is to dictate it and enforce it had also added that he thinks the best way to develop civil servants' commitment towards change is to give them no choice but to support it, i.e. obliging them to support change.

“When Egyptians see that this system is rigid and determined, they will follow change and support it religiously, so I think dictatorship is the keyword of making change successful and of making employees religiously committed to this change”.

(M/62) Project Manager, Organizational Development
Programme
Interview 19/10/06

Another respondent (F/40, executive) commented that in the case of Egyptian civil service it may be more appropriate to enforce commitment by coercion and autocratic leadership.

"In the Egyptian civil service case, I think that the only way to make employees committed towards change it to dictate it and enforce it by law because the change initiatives currently taking place are against the will and personal interest of the civil servants and this is why they resist it."

(F/40) Manager, Monitoring and Evaluation Unit
Interview 30/10/06

8.8.5 The Trilogy Approach (Participation - Mutual Benefit - Inspiration)

17% of respondents stated the same three-steps response set, namely: (1) to Develop a sense of ownership and belongingness towards change by involving civil servants to participate in the planning and implementation process and share opinions and feedback; (2) establishing a direct link between supporting change and positive rewards and individual benefits; and (3) the careful selection of change agents that can inspire, motivate and empower civil servants to get involved in change by active participation and support. This

implication may suggest that the one-best-way to enhance civil servants' commitment towards change is a trilogy approach consisting of 'involvement and participation', 'give and take or win-win' and 'inspirational leadership'.

"When I talk to my employees, inspire them, encourage them to generate ideas and participate with me in planning for change, this will encourage employees to support change. Employees will also need to feel the benefits of change and see that the success of this change is done by them and for them."

(F/25) Executive Secretary, HRD Programme, Interview 29/9/06

8.9 Conclusion

This chapter was mainly focused on identifying perceived solutions and suggestions to the problems of the Egyptian civil service as explained in chapter six. The first part explored responses on how to improve the performance of the Egyptian civil service, and it has been noticed that the majority of responses proposed to apply a rigid system of corporate governance and adopt a 'reward and punishment' policy.

The second part explored responses on the best way(s) to introduce, implement and control change and the majority of responses included to raise civil servants' awareness about change first, invite employee involvement and participation, giving a grace period for civil servants' to understand and digest change, and then enforce change following 'reward and punishment' strategy.

Finally, the last part of this chapter presented responses on how to enhance civil servants' organizational commitment as a means to improve the civil service performance; and the majority of answers were about employee monitoring and control through enforcement and governance; and responses on how to develop civil servants' commitment towards change included raising awareness about change, share opinions and feedback and promote employee participation.

It has been generally noticed that all responses regarding suggestions for improvement of the civil service performance, change management, and developing commitment towards change mostly agreed with the adoption of two major concepts: (1) Rigid corporate governance and (2) Reward and Punishment. Although not all respondents agreed that one or both of these strategies should be adopted in the first instance, however respondents mostly agreed that those should be applied as a last resort should the soft methods like raising awareness, convincing techniques and employee participation fail to achieve the objective(s) of adjusting civil servants' behaviour and enhance change management.

The next chapter restates the main research findings again, draws out the thesis' contribution to research and knowledge, and derives major research conclusions.

Chapter 9 Conclusions and Implications

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to identify obstacles to change and explore ways of developing the civil servants' commitment towards change in bureaucracies of a developing country such as Egypt. To suggest an answer for this question, the study started by exploring the main characteristics of the Egyptian civil service and the problems it has been facing over the last 50 years. Suggested solutions for those problems were also presented in the study and finally, opinions and perceptions on how to develop the Egyptian civil servants commitment to change in bureaucracies were presented in the study.

9.2 Main Research Findings

The seven main research questions were (1) What is the meaning of bureaucracy as perceived by Egyptian bureaucrats?, (2) How do civil servants perceive the Egyptian civil service sector both as an employer and as a service provider?, (3) What are the perceived main current problems of the Egyptian civil service sector?, (4) What are the perceived reasons behind the current problems of the Egyptian Civil Service?, (5) How can the Egyptian civil service improve its performance?, (6) What is the best way to manage change in the Egyptian civil service, namely in terms of introduction and implementation?, And (7) How can we develop civil servants' commitment towards that change?

9.2.1 Perceptions of Bureaucracy

The study aimed to define the meaning of 'bureaucracy' as perceived by Egyptian bureaucrats. The findings confirmed the conclusions of previous research reviewed in chapter two (Palmer et al., 1988 p. 34) that bureaucracy is popularly perceived as bad administration and the term was used to refer to a

pejorative connotation of the subject. Following from this point, the findings further suggest that government reform is clearly necessary, because the bureaucratic behaviour and performance is inefficient, as previously suggested by Osborne and Gaebler (1992).

9.2.2 Attacking and Defending the Egyptian Civil Service

The research findings clearly demonstrate the distinction made by the participants between the Egyptian civil service as an employer, on one hand, and as a service provider on the other hand. The findings suggested that civil servants would still consider the Egyptian civil service sector such an attractive employer despite the dark side of bureaucracy. Findings confirmed that the associated advantages with bureaucracy like job security, fringe benefits and prestigious status would still outweigh the disadvantages stated by all respondents such as favouritism, corruption, and inefficiency.

As a service provider, the findings suggested that the Egyptian civil service tends to deliberately torture the members of the public requesting the service rather than serving them, which has accordingly resulted in a general feeling of distrust and disrespect towards the Egyptian civil service sector. The above finding supports the early research findings of the Al-Ahram study (Palmer et al., 1988) that recommended education and training, recruitment and job assignment as areas of reform for the Egyptian civil service sector that should result in a better service that is customer-oriented. However, there seems to be little evidence that these recommendations have been put into practice.

9.2.3 Egyptian Civil Service: Problems and Remedies

The research findings demonstrate that the three main problems of the Egyptian civil service are (1) the negative bureaucratic culture, (2) the red tape, routine and repetitive work, and (3) the absence of a firm system of governance and control. This seems to confirm the view of Ayubi (1980) who stated that the culture of the Egyptian bureaucracy is one of the main problems. It also

confirms the findings of the MSAD study, conducted in 2006, which suggested that the members of the public think that the current problems of the Egyptian civil service sector can be attributed to the civil servants who provide the service, or the excessive red tape.

9.2.4 Policy implications

The research findings suggest the need for (1) the creation of a firm system of governance, (2) the application of a reward and punishment system of civil service evaluation, and (3) changing the law 47/1978 as means to improve the Egyptian civil service performance.

It is this insight that provides this thesis' contribution to our understanding of the problems of change in Egyptian government administration as previous research literature has not seen corruption and lack of governance and control as essential problems of the Egyptian civil service. Moreover, the findings suggest the law of public labour No. 47/1978 as a major underlying factor responsible for the current malfunctioning and inefficiency of the Egyptian civil service.

Therefore, while the earlier Al Ahram study (Palmer et al., 1988) had suggested reforms based on the perceived needs of twenty years ago, this research suggests a somewhat different set of policy implications. The findings suggest that the ways to reform the Egyptian civil service include (1) applying a rigid reward and punishment system, (2) adopt effective performance control and evaluation tools, (3) adopting a rigid governance and control system, (4) amending the law 47/1978 and (5) a radical cultural change.

9.2.5 Axes of Change

Based on the above-mentioned findings, it can be suggested that change in the Egyptian civil service sector needs to be considered in light of three main axes:

Cultural Change – Changing the culture of the Egyptian civil service in terms of organizational values, beliefs and codes of practice.

Constitutional Change – change and reform to the current Law No. 47/1978 of public employment as well as the governing policies inside the civil service sector.

Individual Change – Working on changing the individual attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of the civil servants and enhancing the skills and abilities of the manpower.

9.2.6 Change Management

Doyle et al. (2000) suggest that public managers have much less satisfactory experiences of change than their private sector counterparts. This was largely attributed to the nature of public policy which they describe as “based upon ministerial edict (combined with threat), highly controversial in substance, tight and non-negotiable timescale, no planning window, no consideration of the logistical and political implementation issues” (p. 67).

The above view seems to be confirmed by the research evidence that change management in the Egyptian civil service is more difficult than the private sector because of the special nature of the civil service sector and the different organizational culture characterized by the individualism “I and Them” attitude, lack of team spirit, uncooperativeness, and tendency to hide the know-how from work associates, as previously stated in the research findings in chapter seven.

9.2.7 Managing Change towards Success

The literature discussed in Chapter 4 argued that when employees are involved in change they develop an ownership for change that translates into commitment and motivation to make the change work (Dunphy and Griffiths, 2002; Emery and Emery, 1993). Lawrence (1954) also argued that social relationships based on “give-and-take” were essential for any change and that

to ensure “give-and-take” relationships participation is advocated as one method of introducing change.

The research findings support the literature as they suggest that employees need to become involved in the planning and/or implementation processes of change, which should have its positive effects on their motivational states and empower them to work hard to make change initiatives successful (see section 9.2.10 below). However another, apparently contradictory, finding in the study was the view that change should be enforced by coercion through an autocratic leadership style. This finding, although suggested by a small number of respondents, must be seen in the context of the Egyptian rich historical heritage as stated in chapter two and some practical cases such as the experiment of enforcing the seat belt in Egyptian traffic as previously mentioned in chapter four.

9.2.8 Organizational Commitment in the Egyptian Civil Service

In terms of organizational commitment, the research findings suggest that the Egyptian civil service lacks organizational commitment as the levels of civil servants’ commitment towards their job/organizations has tended to be low. This low level of commitment does not support the Griffin and Bateman (1986) model of characteristics of commitment previously discussed in Chapter 5, as this model suggested that employees working in a highly-centralized organizations are sought to be more committed due to the strict chain of command, downward communication, and highlighted code of practice.

9.2.9 Islamic Work Ethic (IWE)

Neither is Nasr’s claim supported that it was more likely that Muslims who practice tend to be more committed to their organizations and presumably more satisfied with their jobs (Nasr, 1984). The findings, in contrast, suggest that the majority of Muslim civil servants were highly uncommitted to their organizations/jobs and highly dissatisfied with their jobs because of their

tendency to differentiate between Islam as faith and practices and Islam as a way of life and code of proper conduct.

9.2.10 Developing Commitment to Change

Herscovitch and Meyer (2002) introduced a three-component model of commitment to organizational change (based on Meyer and Allen, 1991) and demonstrated that employee commitment to change is a better predictor of behavioural support for a change than is organizational commitment. As more than 80% of respondents stated that civil servants are usually uncommitted to their work and/or organization, it is clear that civil servants' lack of organisational commitment is not directly related to their level of commitment towards change. The research findings showed that 57% of respondents thought that civil servants' commitment towards change can be raised and promoted by getting them involved in the planning and implementation processes, as this develops some sense of belongingness and ownership, thus there is a fair chance that low organizationally-committed civil servants can develop high commitment towards change; given they are provided a favourable environment where they are invited to participate and get involved into the move of change. Nevertheless, the quality of employment relationships plays an important role in promoting employee acceptance and involvement (Pfeffer, 1994), and employees act autonomously when they believe that they have the freedom to choose and initiate their actions (DeCharms, 1968; Deci, 1875).

9.3 Research Limitations

The research case-study was the Egyptian Ministry of State for Administrative Development (MSAD), which represented the official 'change agent' civil service organization responsible for leading and managing change in the Egyptian civil service sector as a whole.

Respondents included in the study were MSAD employees who actually worked as change agents in one of the administrative reforms projects/programmes. One of the study limitations was the availability and accessibility of some key change agents such as the director of the 'organizational development' programme and the 'public services' programme, and the reluctance of some other respondents from participating in the study. This resulted in limiting the sample size into 33 respondents only.

Another limitation was the limited amount of information available for the researcher during the study. Statistical information such as the current ratio of male-female civil servants in the civil service and the percentages of tenured bureaucrats versus contracted bureaucrats are held by the Egyptian Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) but were not made accessible for the researcher. Some important documents such the up-to-date progress reports of the MSAD change projects/programmes were, similarly, not accessible because these were classified as top confidential material and therefore it was difficult to follow-up on the progress of the change initiatives in this research study.

A third limitation was the inability of the research to include the tenured civil servants (referred to in this study as ancient bureaucrats) in the sample as those may have provided important insights that could have served the research study. Ancient bureaucrats were inaccessible mainly due to their reluctance to participate in the research study because of their fear of disclosing their opinions and feelings on one hand, and/or because of validity and reliability issues, since some of the sample ancient bureaucrats included in the pilot study failed to provide valid and reliable answers since they could not properly understand most of the questions asked and mostly provided answers that did not match the question(s) asked.

A final limitation was the researcher's inability to include some modern bureaucracy concepts like the 'bureaucratic hybridization' and 'bureaucratic reinvention' in the research questions as those are novel terms that the sample participants may find significant difficulties in understanding and thus disclose some opinions valuable opinions about.

9.4 Suggestions for Future Research

It is suggested that future research should include respondents representing members of the public as users of the service 'to provide their input as users of the service and beneficiaries of the administrative reforms; and including them in the sample is expected to yield some important and critical findings.

An issue which should be included in future research is the contemporary political and legal context of Egypt and the degree of influence of politics over civil service performance. Unfortunately, this type of information cannot be easily found in academic sources like books and journal articles as Egypt has been known for its political and legal deficiencies, and thus it is somehow difficult to find academically appealing sources that thoroughly explore the political and legal environment. The information needed can only be found in opposition private mass media like satellite TV programmes and opposition newspapers.

9.5 Contribution to Understanding

This research has revealed the clear division in the Egyptian civil service sector between the 'ancient bureaucrats' and 'new bureaucrats'. The study has highlighted the difference in thinking style between the two generations, which was used as a useful tool in analyzing the attitudes and behaviours of both types and their implications for the overall organizational bureaucratic performance.

The findings also demonstrated that the current administrative inefficiency and poor performance of the Egyptian civil service can be attributed to the absence of a system of governance, combined with the Egyptian public employment law 47/1978 that grants a job for life and secure employment for civil servants. The findings of this research provide useful information for both change agents and managers. The data generally support the research premise that civil servants' commitment towards change basically can be initiated by inviting civil servants to participate and get involved in both planning and implementation phases of change; and that for the civil service to improve its performance it needs to enforce the principle of Reward and Punishment and firm organizational governance to ensure the optimum employee behavioural control and performance maximization.

Building on previous research which has investigated the problems of the Egyptian civil service sector and the main reasons behind the current bureaucratic behaviour of the Egyptian civil service sector, the contribution of this research has been to provide unique insights into the area of 'change management in bureaucracies' that may be useful for future research. Moreover, the research addresses a relatively new area of 'developing organizational commitment in modern bureaucracies' by virtue of investigating the levels of civil servants' commitment towards their jobs and/or organizations -on one hand- and suggesting different ways of developing their commitment towards administrative reform and change initiatives in the Egyptian civil service sector.

It is clear from this research that the inefficiencies in Egyptian public administration stem from factors such as recruitment and retention policies which have been historically based on political expediency rather than rational efficiency, resulting in labour-hoarding (particularly of graduates), over-manning and practices of 'making work' by the established ancient bureaucrats. In addition, indigenous cultural practices such as *wasta*, have

become institutionalised as ways of by-passing the rigidities in the system deriving from the above factors. Therefore the apparent paradox which emerges from the responses of the change agents interviewed for this study is that the preferred direction of change and reform is not in the direction of the post-bureaucratic, delayed, flexible organisational form discussed in much Western literature, but rather to a return to something closer to the 'pure' form of Weber's' bureaucratic model, in which recruitment, promotion (and dismissal) are on the basis of merit and performance only and where there are clear procedures and instructions emanating from the top of the hierarchy downwards.

The findings therefore suggest that, despite all the negative criticism of bureaucracy, it shows a good potential as a management style that can yield positive outcomes for organizations if followed properly and reinvented to cope with contemporary challenges. Thus, while post-bureaucratic structures may provide a better 'fit' with the changing socio-economic context of the advanced industrial nations (Thompson and Alvesson, 2005), for a society such as Egypt, which is struggling to modernise and develop its economy, it could be argued that the most pressing need is for the sort of rational efficient administration that Weber noted in the context of a rapidly industrialising Germany at the end of the Nineteenth Century.

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Appendix One

The Interview Transcript Front Page

The following interview log is the front page that was stapled to the interview transcripts and used as a quick reference to provide some statistical background information about the interview date and time, interviewee name, job title, change programme s/he works at, age/ gender, and direct supervisor.

Interview Number:				
Date:				
Time:	Start:		Finish:	
Interviewee's Name:				
Gender/Age:				
Job Title:				
Department:				
Employment Date:				
Direct Supervisor:				

Appendix Two

The Interview Schedule: Top and Middle Management Level

Section One - General Questions

1. What is your job title?
2. What are your main job duties?
3. For how long have you been working for MSAD?
4. Before joining MSAD, have you been working in the civil service?
5. Why have you chosen to work in MSAD?
6. Would you like to tell me about your own experience about working at MSAD?
7. If you get a better job offer in the private sector, do you think you would consider it? Why do you think so?
8. Are you currently happy with your job, your organization, your salary?
9. Do you trust your subordinates? Why?

Section Two - Bureaucracy and the Egyptian Civil Service

10. What does the word bureaucracy mean to you?
11. What do you think of the Egyptian bureaucracy?
12. How do you think the Egyptian general public sees the civil service?
13. Why do you think the Egyptian civil service has been having a poor reputation over the years?
14. Do you think the Egyptian civil service has any particular problems?

15. If you think that the Egyptian civil service has got problems, what are these problems?
16. If you think that the Egyptian civil service has problems, what do you think are the reasons behind these problems? Why do you think so?
17. How do you think the Egyptian civil service can solve the problems you have mentioned?
18. How would you describe the cultural setup of the civil service in general?
By culture I mean: values, beliefs, traditions and sets of behaviour.

Section Three - Change Management

19. Do you think change is necessary? Why do you think so?
20. Which one do you prefer? Trying new things or living in peace as we are?
Why do you think so?
21. Do you think that the Egyptian civil service needs a culture change? Why do you think so?
22. Before joining MSAD, have you heard about the government administrative reforms initiatives?
23. If you heard about these initiatives, what do you think of them?
24. What do you think of the MSAD change initiatives in the civil service?
25. Do you think these change initiatives are moving in the right direction?
Why do you think so?
26. Have you experienced changes within MSAD yourself?

27. How would you expect/describe the attitudes of the employees towards this change?
28. From where do you think administrative reforms should start, with the system, or the civil servants, or top management, or ...?
29. Do you think you have a role in supporting these change initiatives? Why?
30. How do you think a civil servant like you can support these change initiatives?
31. What are the best ways to successfully implement change?
32. How would you suggest MSAD should introduce change?
33. How can we guarantee change to be successful?
34. Would you support a change, even though you are not part of this change?
35. Do you think a successful change may result in a cultural change eventually? Why do you think so?

Section Four - Organizational Commitment

36. What does the term 'commitment to the workplace' mean to you?
37. What do you think are the indicators of job commitment in your opinion?
38. Do you think that civil servants in general are committed to their workplace? Why do you think so?
39. Do you think commitment to the workplace should come from the inner self, or be enforced from outside?

40. Do you think there is a relationship between religion and commitment to the workplace?
41. Do you think that Egyptian civil servants make a connection between the Islamic ethical principles and their actual behaviour at the workplace?
42. How can the civil service promote commitment in the workplace?
43. servants' commitment towards that change?
44. How do you think we can develop the Egyptian civil servants' commitment towards change? Why do you think so?

Section Five -Wrap up

45. How do you think the Egyptian civil service can improve its performance?

Appendix Three

The Interview Schedule: Executive Level

Section One - General Questions

- 1.What is your job title?
2. What are your main job duties?
- 3.Who is your direct supervisor?
- 4.For how long have you been working for MSAD?
- 5.Before joining MSAD, have you been working in the civil service?
- 6.Why have you chosen to work in MSAD?
- 7.Would you like to tell me about your own experience about working at MSAD?
- 8.If you get a better job offer in the private sector, do you think you would consider it? Why do you think so?
- 9.Are you currently happy with your job, your organization, your salary?

Section Two - Bureaucracy and the Egyptian Civil Service

10. What does the word bureaucracy mean to you?
11. What do you think of the Egyptian bureaucracy?
12. How do you think the Egyptian general public sees the civil service?
13. Why do you think the Egyptian civil service has been having a poor reputation over the years?
14. Do you think the Egyptian civil service has any particular problems?

15. If you think that the Egyptian civil service has got problems, what are these problems?
16. If you think that the Egyptian civil service has problems, what do you think are the reasons behind these problems? Why do you think so?
17. How do you think the Egyptian civil service can solve the problems you have mentioned?
18. How would you describe the cultural setup of the civil service in general? By culture I mean: values, beliefs, traditions and sets of behaviour.

Section Three - Change Management

19. Do you think change is necessary? Why do you think so?
20. Which one do you prefer? Trying new things or living in peace as we are? Why do you think so?
21. Do you think that the Egyptian civil service needs a culture change? Why do you think so?
22. Before joining MSAD, have you heard about the government administrative reforms initiatives?
23. If you heard about these initiatives, what do you think of them?
24. What do you think of the MSAD change initiatives in the civil service?
25. Do you think these change initiatives are moving in the right direction? Why do you think so?
26. Have you experienced changes within MSAD yourself?

27. How would you expect/describe the attitudes of the employees towards this change?
28. From where do you think administrative reforms should start, with the system, or the civil servants, or top management, or ...?
29. Do you think you have a role in supporting these change initiatives? Why?
30. How do you think a civil servant like you can support these change initiatives?
31. What are the best ways to successfully implement change?
32. How would you suggest MSAD should introduce change?
33. How can we guarantee change to be successful?
34. Would you support a change, even though you are not part of this change?
35. Do you think a successful change may result in a cultural change eventually? Why do you think so?

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40. Do you think there is a relationship between religion and commitment to the workplace?
41. Do you think that Egyptian civil servants make a connection between the Islamic ethical principles and their actual behaviour at the workplace?
42. How can the civil service promote commitment in the workplace?
43. servants' commitment towards that change?
44. How do you think we can develop the Egyptian civil servants' commitment towards change? Why do you think so?

Section Five -Wrap up

45. How do you think the Egyptian civil service can improve its performance?