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*Public Management Reforms across the Globe :
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**Compromising between Elites and Street-Level Bureaucrats: What Kind
of Culture Should We Develop?**

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Compromising between Elites and Street-Level Bureaucrats: What Kind of Culture Should We Develop?[1]

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This article examines the issue of cultural conformity across four administrative hierarchies in defining the ideal culture within administrative reform context. By doing this, we expect to clarify how essential the issue of cultural conformity in explaining administrative reform success or failure. Multiple approaches were employed to compare the views of multi-rank administrators from six Indonesian public services as the basis for further analysis and discussion. The result indicates contradictory cultural emphasis between the central government and street-level bureaucrats at agency level. Accommodating the grass root aspiration serves as a promising alternative to promote higher public service performance.

Keywords

Cultural Conformity, Administrative Culture, Administrative Reform, Public Service, Behavioral Public Administration

Introduction

Most government attempts to improve public service performance have failed to achieve the predetermined outcomes. To be specific, they could not manage to get through the implementation stage at all (Polidano, 2001). He argues that to improve the success rate the scholars should explore more on the approach (how to create a better strategic and tactical

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decisions) rather than with the reform content (what kind of initiative to be imposed). This article attempts to improve our understanding on how to develop a better approach.

Harrow and Wilcocks (1990) express their concern that managerial approach inspired by the new public management may face a conflict with the cultural configuration and values of public sector organization. Therefore, it is very important for public managers to improve their understanding on the existing administrative culture as the basis for developing better administrative reform strategy (Kanter et al., 1992). As a starting point, Grindle (1997), based on her comparative study in six developing countries, suggests the concept of administrative culture as a useful hypothesis to explain the reason why several public organizations, particularly in developing countries, perform well than the others. We are interested to examine how strategic it is to ensure the conformity among multi-rank administrators across different hierarchical levels in operationalizing specific type of culture to be developed within an administrative reform that imposes a radical cultural transformation. Considering that the new ideal culture described by the central government generally remains as a conceptual term, therefore an operationalization of the concept is needed to translate it into a practical level. As the reform attempt involves various actors from different hierarchies ranging from central to local level, therefore a cultural conformity is arguably crucial to ensure a smooth transformation. Do the lower entities across hierarchical levels maintain an identical cultural emphasis as imposed by the central government authority? How the issue of cultural conformity implicates the reform progress? To our knowledge, none of the existing literatures in public management have ever allocated considerable attention to properly examine these issues. We argue that inadequate attention to the issue of cultural conformity potentially undermines government's effort to improve the performance of public service apparatus.

For the study purpose, we conduct multi-level analysis to portray the cultural emphases made by four administrative levels, as the basis to clarify the extent of cultural conformity

among the investigated hierarchies. Employing the service quality as a predictor for reform progress, we compare lower- and upper-performing agencies as a reflecting point to observe possible existing pattern that may differentiate the two performance-based groups. Indonesian case study has been selected to be further scrutinized, especially considering the history of continuous reform stagnation in public sector. Addressing the situation, starting from 2010 Indonesian government has introduced an ambitious fifteen-year reform plan envisions to obtain the world class government status by 2025. Indonesian government believes that a radical cultural transformation is required for creating professional public administrators.

This article is structured as follows. The first part of this article provides a theoretical explanation to define conformity and its application in administrative reform setting. We then highlight the urgency of cultural conformity to ensure administrative reform progress. Prior to the analytical section, we provide a section to explain the methodology that we employ as the basis to examine the investigated four administrative hierarchies. Finally, implication towards government's attempt to improve public service performance are drawn accordingly.

Conformity in Administrative Reform Setting

Government apparatus around the world typically maintains a hierarchical value in its daily working situation (Cameron & Quinn, 2011). They need to ensure that all their activities are in line with the existing regulation and consistent with any guideline imposed by the authority. In other words, there is a social pressure to always stay behind the line. An administrative reform situation commonly requires them to change the current habit with a new one. The decision either to follow the reform guideline or to maintain status quo deals with the conformity issue.

Myers (2005) defines conformity as "*a change in behavior or belief to accord with others*". Furthermore, Nail and colleagues (2000) describe several related concepts that

represent the varieties of conformity, among others: Compliance; Obedience; and Acceptance. Compliance occurs when we conform to a certain request without considering whether we like it or not. Meanwhile, obedience is our compliance to a given command. Acceptance usually involves a genuine belief that what we are doing in accord with social pressure is acceptable. Considering the complexity of government's organizational structure that involves diverse individuals in large groups, it might be interesting to improve our knowledge on this issue: Under which condition do individuals conform or resist? Social psychological scholars have been dealing with this issue for quite some time. Therefore, relevant psychological theories or concepts could offer invaluable insights as the basis to examine various public management phenomena.

A classical experiment conducted by Milgram (1965, 1974) suggests four determinant factors that underlie individual decision to obey or disobey an authority: Emotional distance; authority's closeness and legitimacy; institutional authority; and the liberating effect of group influence. Emotional distance involves consideration on the issue of personalizing others. People would act compassionately toward others whom they know personally. Meanwhile the second factor deals with physical presence and legitimacy status of the authority. Based on Milgram's experiment, the full obedience dropped by twenty-one per cent if the directions were given by phone. Furthermore, in everyday life, authorities supported by institutions enjoys higher social power. Finally, actions conducted by other group members potentially stimulate individual action. For instance, a student who is not dare enough to spoke up about an unfair treatment, may reconsider her position once she witnesses one or two other students meet the teacher and spoke up. Besides internal consideration, some situations such as group size (big or small), cohesion (inner or outside), social status (high- or low-status) could also trigger higher or lower conformity (Myers, 2005).

Do We Need a Cultural Conformity?

A reform formula consists of special ingredients developed to tackle the underperforming issue. As a prescription to bring optimal effect, all public administrators must try their best to conform with the central government's direction. The same condition applies for an administrative reform that integrates cultural transformation plan. It is important to ensure that all public administrators from various levels have similar vision on the type of culture to be developed. In other words, in such situation, we argue that a cultural conformity remains as a key element to ensure a successful reform. In our study context, cultural conformity across several administrative hierarchies represents a harmony between government elites and street level administrators in defining the ideal culture to be developed at the agency level. Considering the predominant existence of hierarchical culture in public administration around the world, we may expect that administrators at the lower level should to some extent follow the direction of their superordinate. The central government, in this case, as the highest authority under investigation should become the reference point for the governors, head of agencies, and first line administrators in conducting cultural transformation in public service sector. Inconsistency across four investigated administrative levels may arguably undermine Indonesian government's efforts to achieve the predetermine administrative reform goals. However, we argue that considering the huge organizational size it is not an easy task to ensure that each administrative level shares a similar cultural intention in mind.

Unfortunately, the literature exploring the concept of cultural conformity in public administration remains under developed. Cameron & Quinn (2011) underscore the 'congruence' issue as a key indicator for highly effective organization on their Competing Values Framework. However, it only covers intra-organization context, not inter-organization or among several organizational levels. Practically, we contend that a better understanding of

the role of cultural conformity in public sector would contribute to improve the effectiveness of the existing current reform strategy.

Data & Methods

Primary data were collected from six Indonesian public service agencies providing three different types of public services (i.e. e-procurement/EPRO, one-stop/ONESTOP, and public health services/HOSPI) at two provincial jurisdictions: West Java (coded as 1) and West Sumatra (coded as 2) Province. The selection was made based on the variation in the distance from the Indonesian capital (Jakarta) and public service performance rank. Geographical proximity from the capital remains essential when conducting research on good governance issue in Indonesia especially considering the primary roles of the central government in Jakarta amid the enactment of decentralization policy (Mardiasmo, et al., 2008). In addition, the performance criteria are also taken into consideration to accommodate potential performance-based dynamics. Indonesian case provides an interesting opportunity to improve our understanding on the role of cultural conformity behind administrative reform progress, especially considering the administrative reform attempt imposing a radical cultural transformation has been taking place in the country since 2010.

Consistent with government's public service performance survey, our initial public survey using SERVQUAL Instrument (see Parasuraman, et al., 1994) to assess how well the citizens feel that their expectations have been fulfilled by the respective agencies on a consistent basis also reveal that the cumulative service quality score of West Sumatra Province is significantly lower than West Java Province at one percent significance level. At agency level, the statistical analysis shows that the scores of the three investigated agencies (ONESTOP2, ONESTOP1, and EPRO2) are located above the 50th percentile and hence classified as the "upper performing group", meanwhile the rest of them (HOSPI2, EPRO1, HOSPI1) belongs to

the "lower performing group". The variation shown by these two groups will be used as the reflecting point to observe the role of cultural conformity behind administrative reform progress.

This study combines three different methods to examine the conformity across four different administrative hierarchies to define 'what kind of culture to be developed' at the agency level: (1) The Competing Values Framework (CVF) developed by Cameron & Quinn (2011) to explore administrative culture as perceived by street-level bureaucrats; (2) Semiotic approach to investigate the portrayal of administrative culture as perceived by the key public sector leaders; and (3) Analysis of relevant documents and written regulations as a comparison to the CVF's finding to examine the perceptual interpretation gap that may exist between the government elites and the administrators at the first line level.

Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (OCAI) developed based on CVF framework has been chosen from other existing tools to assess the view of street-level bureaucrats due to its practicality and solid psychometric properties (Yu, 2009). It consists of twenty-four items and has been extensively used around the world. The last feature enables us to compare between the cultural profile of the respective agencies resulted from this study and the global cultural trend in various fields, including in public administration setting from the past studies. The CVF was intially developed from the results of an earlier work on organizational effectiveness carried out by Campbell and colleagues (1974). They suggest thirty-nine indicators to represent all possible measures for organizational effectiveness. Later on, with an objective to create a simple instrument that fits organizational context, Quinn & Rohrbaugh (1983) examined Campbell's thirty-nine indicators and analyze possible clusters. The statistical analysis reveals that the list can be classified under two major dimensions and four big quadrants as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Competing Values Framework
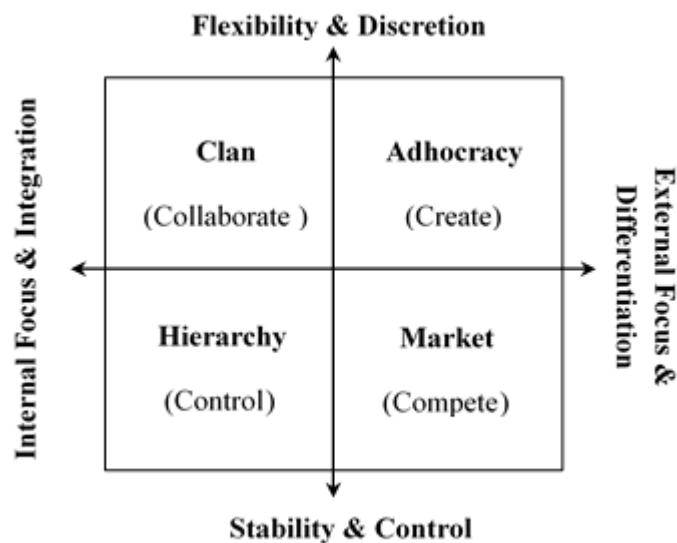
Source: Cameron & Quinn, 2011, p. 39

The first dimension comprises of a continuum that segregate organizational effectiveness criteria between two polars: "Flexibility, Discretion, and Dynamism", and "Stability, Order, and Control" (See Cameron & Quinn 2011, p. 38). As each organization may have different emphasis in describing an effective organization, therefore some of them may underscore more on changing and adaptable characteristics while others may prefer to maintain their stable, predictable, and mechanistic attributes. The second dimension segregates effectiveness criteria that prioritizes the values of "Internal Orientation, Integration, and Unity" from "External Orientation, Differentiation, and Rivalry". If combined together, the two dimensions create four distinct quadrants: Clan, Adhocracy, Hierarchy, and Market. Each of these quadrants represents how the people within the organization define what is good and right for them and therefore serves as the basis for organizational judgments. An organization may have a combination of one or two predominant cultures. However, Cameron & Quinn (2011) underline that each quadrant contradicts another quadrant on the diagonal. The values represented by the Clan culture (upper-left), for instance, are totally different from the Market culture (lower-right). The same rule also applies between Adhocracy and Market culture.

To allow multi-level comparison, despite the variation in data collection approaches, the CVF's four-quadrant classification is also employed as the foundation to analyze the principal views of the other three higher hierarchies. Verbatim data collected during semi-structured interviews were analyzed to portray how the public sector leaders, specifically the head of agencies and the governors, operationalize the ideal culture and values that are required to be grown at the agency level to support public service improvement attempts. The interview guideline consists of ten questions developed from the earlier work of Claver and colleagues (1999) to explore higher level officials point of view on the ongoing reform conducted at their working environment. Finally, to understand on which cultural type the central government put their emphasis in defining the most suitable ideal culture to facilitate towards the world class government vision, we analyze three main documents issued by the central government that serve as the primary guidelines for conducting administrative reform nationwide. As suggested by Saldana (2008), while analyzing through each document, the coding process starts by highlighting any relevant quotes that seem to represent central government's cultural emphasis and followed by jotting down any preliminary words or phrases for codes on the notes. At the latter stage, some revisions can be made to create a final code for each quote. The three-column strategy recommended by Liamputtong & Ezzy (2005, p. 270-3), i.e. structuring the quotes under the first column, as well as preliminary codes and final codes each under the second and third column, provides a valuable technical insight to make the coding process easier. At the final stage, the results from all four levels were compared to observe the dynamics between the two performance based groups. Figure 2 below summarizes the analysis conducted to investigate the potential interpretation gap.

Figure 2 Examining Cultural Conformity Across Four Hierarchies

|	Level	Method	
I	Central Government	Document Analysis	
II	Governor	Semi-structured interviews	At the final stage, all results are compared based on the CVF's Four Cultural-Type Classifications
III	Head of Public Agencies	Semi-structured interviews	
IV	First Line Administrators	OCAI Questionnaire	

Defining the Ideal Culture: Between Elites and Grassroots

Different emphasis in operationalizing the concept of ideal administrative culture into a more practical basis at different government hierarchical levels is arguably one of the inhibiting factors for Indonesian administrative reform. On this section, we provide the analysis results of all four hierarchical levels to clarify the extent of cultural conformity between one another.

Figure 3 summarizes the culture perceived by the street-level bureaucrats, including the current existing culture (red line) and the ideal culture (green line). As depicted in the figure, the street-level bureaucrats working at all six agencies express an identical intention to maintain higher Clan orientation in the future, which is described by Cameron & Quinn (2011) as: *"A very friendly place to work where people share a lot of themselves. The leaders are considered to be mentors. Success is defined in terms of sensitivity to customers and concern for people. Teamwork, participation, and conformity are essential".* In comparison with the profiles of most public administrations around the world that mainly hold a predominant Hierarchy

culture, the intention shown by the administrators working in the six investigated agencies is basically unique.

Figure 3. Administrative Culture of the Six Investigate Agencies
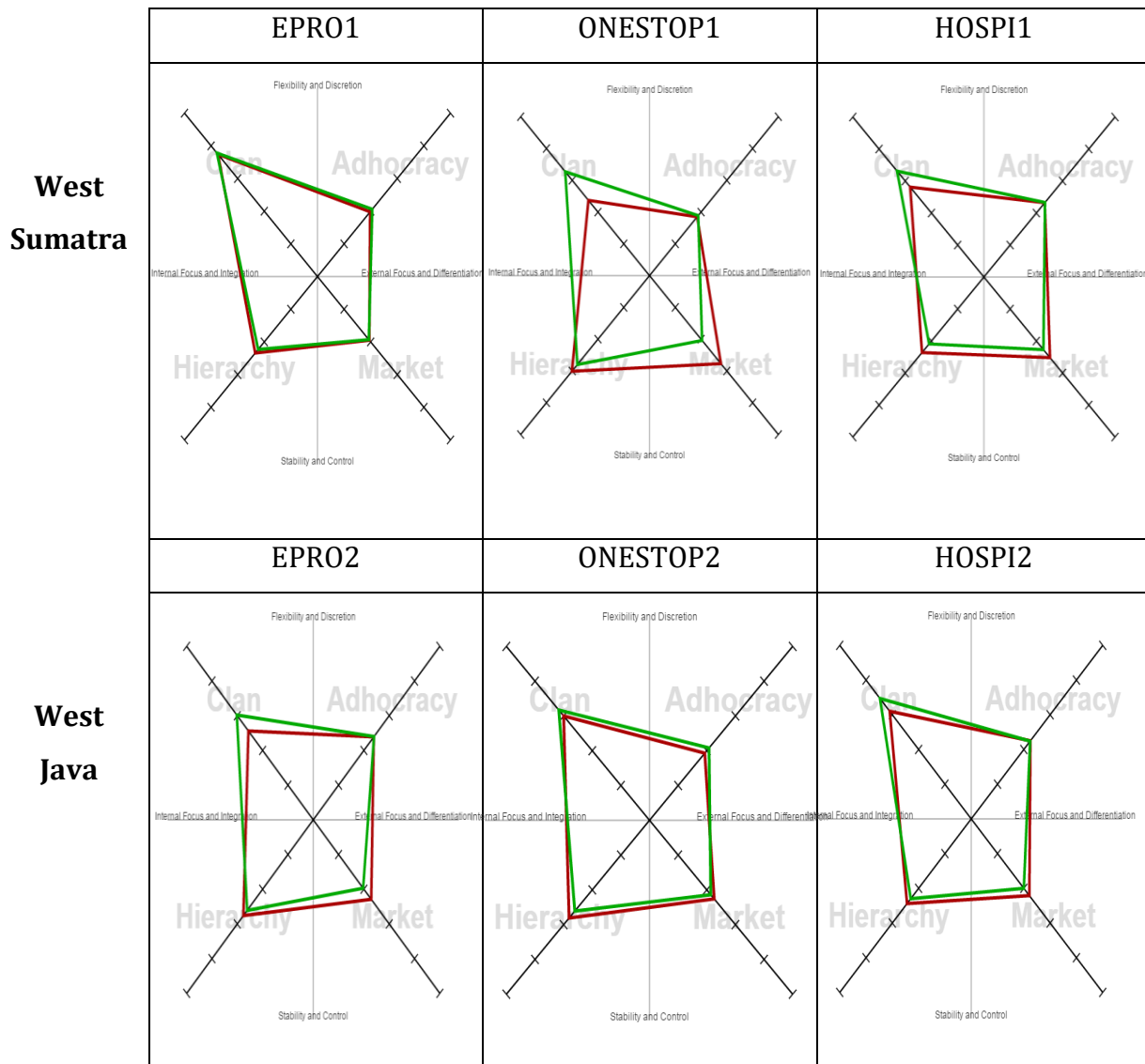
Despite the room is given to the top leaders at provincial and agency levels to formulate a specific type of culture to be imposed within their jurisdictions, in fact the regulation provides a clear emphasis on the types of values to be grown as well as the change management strategy to be employed, regardless the local diversity issues. The document analysis shows Indonesian government willingness to impose a new type of culture that underscores a combination of market-based and traditional hierarchical culture. Central

government's attempt to promote a new culture set that embraces an outcome-based attitude and productive working behaviour in public service setting represents the market-oriented culture. Meanwhile, the following three characteristics indicate the central government's emphasis towards hierarchical culture type: First, the top leaders are the most dominant key players to determine the existing administrative culture; Second, the government apparatus is required to ensure that all aspects of her/his daily activities must always be in line with the existing regulations; Finally, the principles of measurable, efficient, and obedience that are listed among the ten main principles of Indonesian administrative reform adequately represent the intention towards hierarchical cultural configuration. Figure 4 shows the keywords found during the analysis:

Figure 4 Ideal Culture As Perceived by the Central Government
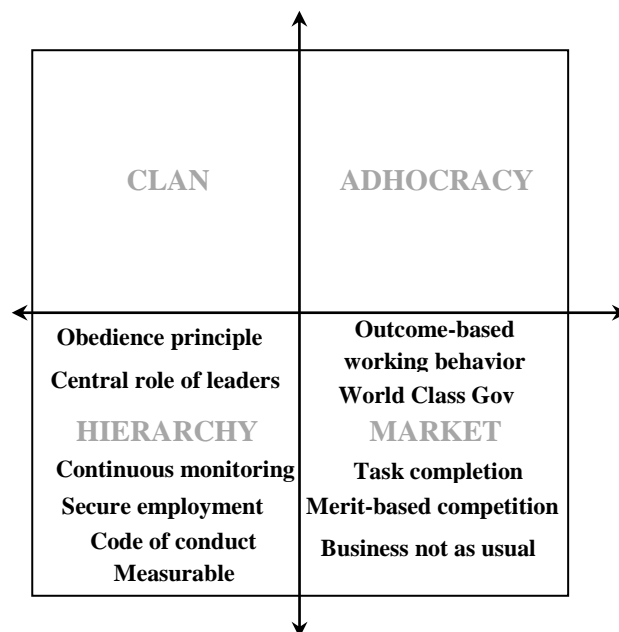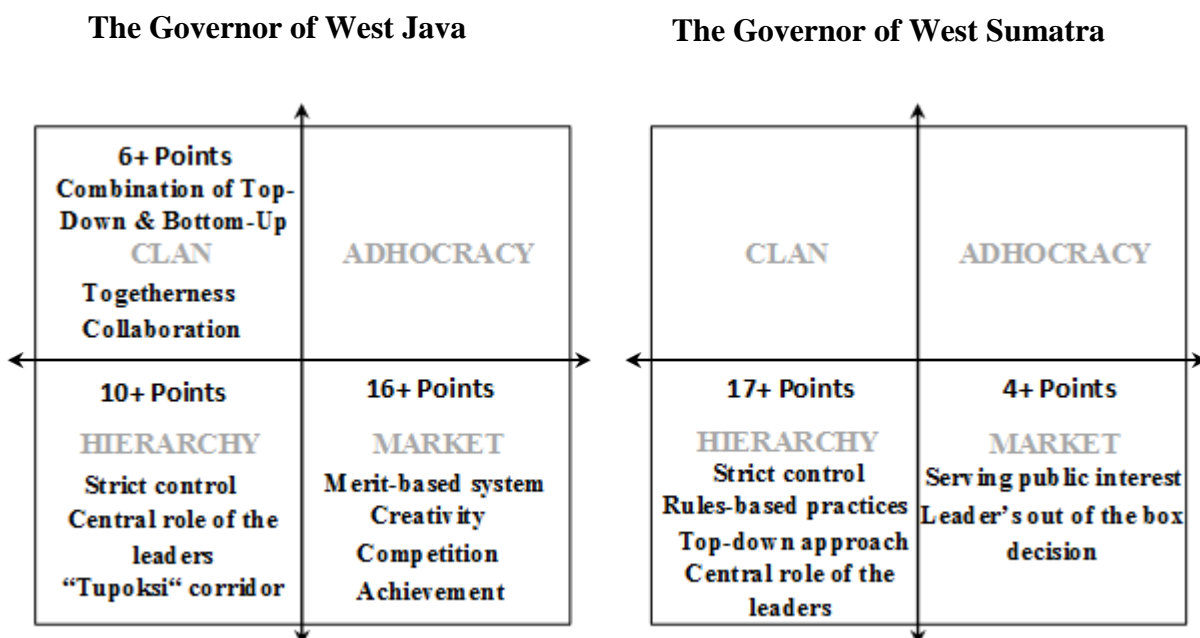

We conduct further analysis to assess the cultural orientation of the two governors in directing the administrative reform at the provincial level. The 'plus' sign (+) was used to classify individual statements that specifically support one out of four culture types. The overall amount of plus signs that are assigned under each culture type column represents the

governor's predominant orientation. The data shows that despite the two governors' attempt to secure the mandate given by the central government to maintain a combination of Market & Hierarchy cultures, each governor has different level of emphasis in practice. The West Sumatra Governor emphasizes a greater application of hierarchical orientation (17+ points) than market-driven strategies (4+ points). Meanwhile, the Governor of West Java underscores substantially higher application of Market Culture (16+ points) and then followed by Hierarchy Culture (10+ points). Moreover, the West Java Governor also includes the Clan Culture approach as an additional composition of his ideal culture configuration, which differentiates him from the previous. During the interview, the West Java Governor consistently underscores both togetherness and collaboration as essential values that are believed to represent the local philosophy of West Java region. He said that, "*The most important thing is: Let us perform together, we stand together, and we move forward together… It is impossible to work alone*". Figure 5 illustrates the comparison between the two governors:

Figure 5 Ideal Culture as Perceived by the Two Governors

The Governor of West Java

The Governor of West Sumatra

6+ Points Combination of Top-Down & Bottom-Up CLAN Togetherness Collaboration	ADHOCRACY	CLAN	ADHOCRACY
10+ Points HIERARCHY Strict control Central role of the leaders "Tupoksi" corridor	16+ Points MARKET Merit-based system Creativity Competition Achievement	17+ Points HIERARCHY Strict control Rules-based practices Top-down approach Central role of the leaders	4+ Points MARKET Serving public interest Leader's out of the box decision

Both governors stress similar strategy implying the superior position of formal leaders whose directions shall be considered as part of the rules to be followed by the subordinates.

The West Sumatra Governor stated that "*Within a change plan context… If the leader wants to change, the employees will undoubtedly have to change. In the case of reluctance, sanction will be imposed, because refusing to change means a failure to fulfil the expected performance*". In addition, imposing strict and continuous control is the most common approach considered by the two governors as an effective strategy to ensure consistent individual performances. However, compared to one another, each governor has different views on two main issues: Concerning the size of space to be given to facilitate administrator's creativity; and the existence of competition value within public sector. The West Java Governor argues that creativity is a necessary factor to ensure progress. Furthermore, he also encourages his staffs to maintain the distance from their own comfort zone. On the other side, the West Sumatra Governor only allows a limited room for individual creativity under the leader's supervision. He considers a top-down management strategy as the most suitable strategy to be implemented in the region. Finally, both governors have different views on the existence of competition in public sector. The West Java Governor describes competitive value as a necessary aspect for higher achievement. In contrast, the West Sumatra Governor argues that the provincial government could serve the society in the absence of competitors.

The last analysis is carried out to examine the ideal culture viewed by the respective six head of agencies. As shown in Table 1, the analysis shows that the statements made by each individual head of agencies are scattered among the Clan, Market, and Hierarchy cultures. It is argued that the main reason is because at this administrative level, it remains crucial for the head of agencies to play their roles as a bridge between the strategic direction given by higher level officials, while at the same time trying their best to stay realistic with the existing condition. Following this logic, the maintenance of Market and Hierarchy culture combination at this level shall be considered as a manifestation of the earlier function. Meanwhile, the recognition of Clan element should be considered as their natural attempt to reconcile with the

grass-root aspiration. However, it is important to note that, based on the analysis, the degree of accommodation remains varied from one individual to another.

Table 1 Ideal Culture as Perceived by the Head of Agencies

SQ Rank	Agency	Clan	Adho-cracy	Market	Hierarchy
1st	ONESTOP2	**8+ points** • Networking & cooperation • Parental value • Collaboration • Involvement	-	**4+ points** • Citizen expectation • Competitive • Dynamic move	**4+ points** • Strict control • Discipline • Regulation • Standard Operating Procedure
2nd	ONESTOP1	**2+ points** • Collaborative culture	-	**2+ points** • Performance appraisal system • Customer satisfaction	**1+ points** • Given organizational structure
3rd	EPRO2	**10+ points** • Staffs are called ‚friends' • Open for ideas • Democratic • Togetherness • Involvement	-	**8+ points** • Standard Operating Procedure • ISO standards • Replacing underperforming staff	**4+ points** • Governor's mandate • Systematic task & functions • Obeying the rules
4th	HOSPI2	**4+ points** • Greeting habit • Comfortable feeling • Treating patients as family • Collaboration	-	**13+ points** • Higher revenue • Entrepreneur • Merit-based incentive • Competition • Creativity • The first public choice	**+3 points** • Main tasks & functions • Controlling • Predetermined rules
5th	EPRO1	**6+ points** • Informal chat • Involvement; • „All persons are equal; • Democratic	-	**10+ points** • Standardized service • Performance target • Merit-based incentive • Flexible working pattern • Innovative	**+2 points** • Following provincial strategic map • A predefined system
6th	HOSPI1	**3+ points** • Staffs are called ‚friends' • Heart to heart approach	-	**10+ points** • Target oriented • Competitive • Seize the market • Quality management • Performance indicators	**3+ points** • Strict control • Four types of monitoring books

It is interesting to observe that once the dominance level of the Market and Clan cultures is sorted, a pattern is recognized: All the leaders from the upper-performing group prioritize the application of the Clan Culture in their institutions; meanwhile the leaders from the bottom three put the Market Culture implementation as their highest priorities. To sum up, as summarized in Table 2 the findings across four level hierarchical administrations reveal some dynamics across the four investigated administrative hierarchies in operationalizing the concept of ideal culture to a practical level. We argue that the obedience shown by the street level administrators is mainly caused by the liberating effect of group influence. In other words, individuals might observe that most of their colleagues also maintain the Clan oriented culture in practice. Therefore, it is not considered unusual to stay with the Clan culture. In addition, their lack of knowledge on the exact type of culture expected by the central government may also contribute to the situation. This argument is consistent with the findings from previous study which reveals that the lower the managerial level, the lower administrators' knowledge of good governance (see Mardiasmo, et al., 2008).

Table 2. Ideal Culture Perceived by Four Hierarchies

Central Government	
Combination of Market and Hierarchy Culture	
Governors	
West Java Province	**West Sumatra Province**
Combination of Market and Hierarchy (higher hierarchical orientation); Accommodate Clan Approach	Combination of Market and Hierarchy (higher market orientation); Did Not Accommodate Clan Approach
Head of Agencies	
Upper-Performing Group	**Lower Performing Group**
Prioritize Clan Culture	Prioritize Market Culture
Street-level bureaucrats	
Clan Culture (All Six Agencies)	

Implications toward the Reform Progress

The findings in the previous section shows the dynamics across four governmental levels in operationalizing the concept of ideal culture into the practical level. The central government's idea to introduce a new culture that emphasizes the combination of Market & Hierarchy cultures is proven to be contradictory to the grass roots aspiration that are eager to develop a more Clan oriented culture. This situation seems to complicate the government's effort to produce a tangible improvement at the agency level. Considering the situation, there are two available options to solve the situation: Either to force the street-level bureaucrats to follow the combined "Market & Hierarchy" culture as imposed by the central government, or to reformulate the existing change management strategy by accommodating the Clan-based approach and compromise.

The collected evidence shows that the second option is more promising. Considering the performance variable as a good predictor of a successful reform, we employ the variation in public service performance as a point of reflection to support this argument. The analysis results reveal that the investigated institutions led by public sector leaders who accommodate Clan oriented culture is performing better than others which are directed by leaders who do not accommodate the first line level aspiration. Comparing the two governors, only the West Java Governor who believes that the implementation of Clan is also essential. Based on the statistical analysis, the accumulated scores of all three agencies representing the West Java Province shows that it performs significantly higher than the West Sumatra Province at one percent significance level. A consistent finding also shown at the agency level. The comparative analysis show that the heads of the three higher performing agencies prioritize the Clan culture.

From the policy perspective, based on the findings, it remains crucial for Indonesian government to reconsider its current reform strategy to be more adapted to the grass root

aspiration. Furthermore, considering a consistent evidence found across all six investigated agencies to embrace the implementation of Clan culture at agency level, it is worth for the government to start reflecting on how to develop productive values and behaviors in public sector based on the unique Clan culture derived from Indonesian local philosophy of togetherness.

Conclusion

In this article, we attempt to clarify the role of cultural conformity issue behind administrative reform progress. For this purpose, we compare the views of four administrative hierarchies in operationalizing the ideal culture concept. Our findings suggest that inadequate consideration of the cultural conformity across administrative levels potentially undermines government's attempt to produce tangible public service improvement. To our knowledge, this study is the first of its kind which investigates the strategic role of cultural conformity in public sector setting.

A thorough document analysis reveals that the Indonesian government would like to transform the current existing culture into a new culture that embraces a combination of Market and Hierarchy oriented culture. Even though the two provincial governors attempt to play their role as the representative of the central government at the regional level, both has different cultural emphasis in practice. Only the West Java Governor who believes integration of the Clan culture remains crucial. Moreover, in contrast to the leaders from the three lower-performing agencies, it is found that the leaders of the three upper performing agencies prioritize the application of the Clan Culture in their institutions.

Based on the collected evidences, a greater concern to accommodate the grass root aspiration apparently serves as a promising alternative to encourage tangible improvement at agency level. In our case, institutions that are directed by the leaders who prioritize the application of Clan oriented culture at their working environment, and therefore maintain a

conformity with the intention from grass root, are proven to show better performance than others which are guided by the leaders who emphasize another culture type.

In Indonesian context, it is interesting to further explore whether a unique preference to consistently maintain Clan culture shown by Indonesian street public administrators that were taking part in this study (not the Hierarchy culture as the predominant traditional culture maintained by their colleagues around the world) is also found in other provinces and even other Asian countries. This finding may indicate the necessity to develop an Asian way of managing administrative reform, instead of simply adopting the Western strategy. Furthermore, further investigation is also required to improve our understanding on how to bring the combination of Clan - Market culture type into practice, as an alternative of the already predominant Hierarchy culture in public administration setting.

Finally, further studies with larger respondents and agencies are required to improve the generalizability of this study. Future studies should include semi-structured interview with the representative of street-level bureaucrats to get a better understanding on the reasons behind their obedience and disobedience towards the higher authority.

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