

Cultural Barriers to Public Sector Innovation: Swiss Specificities

*Les freins culturels à l'innovation dans l'administration publique :
Spécificités helvétiques*

Owen BOUKAMEL

PHD student at the Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration, University of Lausanne, Switzerland.
owen.boukamel@unil.ch

Yves EMERY

Professor at the Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration, University of Lausanne, Switzerland.
yves.emery@unil.ch

ABSTRACT

Innovation processes in public sector organizations (PSO) are often hindered by various barriers, including cultural barriers. This study explores the very nature of the cultural barriers to innovation in Swiss PSO, and potential Swiss particularities. An inductive analysis of fifteen semi-structured interviews has been conducted with public managers in the cantons of Vaud and Geneva. The results show that various cultural barriers previously identified in the international literature, such as risk aversion,

path dependency and employees' lack of autonomy, are active in the Swiss context. Two additional barriers appear in the Swiss context: the propensity for consensus, which moderates innovations to make them acceptable, and the anonymization of projects, which prevents innovations to be driven by a leader.

Key-words

Innovation, Public sector, Cultural barriers, Switzerland, Risk aversion

RÉSUMÉ

Les processus d'innovation au sein des organisations publiques sont souvent soumis à plusieurs freins, et notamment des freins culturels. Cette étude explore la nature des freins culturels à l'innovation publique en Suisse. Elle se base sur l'analyse inductive d'entretiens semi-directifs menés auprès de quinze cadres de la fonction publique et chefs de projets, dans les cantons de Vaud et Genève. Les résultats montrent que plusieurs freins culturels préalablement décrits par la littérature internationale, tels que l'aversion

au risque, la dépendance au sentier et la tendance à donner peu d'autonomie aux collaborateurs, se retrouvent aussi en Suisse. Cependant deux freins inédits ressortent de notre étude : la recherche du consensus, qui modère l'innovation pour la rendre acceptable, et la non personnalisation des projets d'innovation, qui les empêche d'être portés par un leader.

Mots-clés

Innovation, Administration publique, Freins culturels, Suisse, Aversion au risque

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, the idea of innovation has progressively been introduced into the political and public management agenda (Borins, 2006; Damanpour and Schneider, 2009) and has become an important research subject (Boukamel and Emery, 2017; De Vries, Bekkers and Tummers, 2016; Osborne and Brown, 2011a). Innovation would be a mean by which, political and administrative leaders seek to adapt to economic, social and technological changes in society. Existing literature states that innovation can potentially enhance public service quality, produce public value (Rivera León, Simmonds, and Roman, 2012), foster intelligent and efficient action (“*work smarter, not harder*” (Albury, 2005)) and help employers remain attractive in the eyes of public servants whose psychological contract has sometimes been upset (Emery, 2006; Emery and Martin, 2010; Lemire and Martel, 2007). This drive for innovation is also stimulated by budgetary constraints generally borne by new forms of public management such as New Public Management (NPM) (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011) which sometimes force organizations to reallocate their existing resources, if not search for new ones.

Collective imagination as well as most of the scientific literature holds innovation to be a quasi-monopoly of the private sector; as if the unique role of administration was to create favorable conditions for private companies to innovate. Yet the public sector is sometimes as innovative as, or even more than, the private sector (Raipa and Giedrayte 2014; Townsend 2013). Despite this fact, innovation has yet to become widespread in administration (OECD, 2015; Stewart-Weeks and Kastle, 2015).

Several obstacles hinder the development of public organizations’ capacity to innovate (Raipa and Giedrayte, 2014; Taylor, 2018). Structural as well as cultural elements act as barriers to innovation processes and can not only disrupt them but occasionally lead them to be aborted.

Even with the rising literature on this subject, no study has yet been conducted on the cultural barriers to innovation in Swiss public administration. Yet this country and its managerial culture possess certain interesting specificities labeled as the

“*Swiss Way of Management*” (Bergmann, 1994; Chevrier, 2009; Szabo *et al.*, 2002). For example, distinctive national cultural traits such as pragmatism, prudence, and consensus-seeking are likely to negatively affect innovation capacity. In the public sector more specifically, politico-administrative culture is not attuned *a priori* to innovation because of factors such as collegiality and the principle of concordance (Emery and Giauque, 2012; Hablützel, 2013).

Therefore, what are the barriers to innovation in Swiss public administration? Are these analogous to those present in international literature? Do cultural particularities lead public actors to understand innovation in another way? And finally, what role can be attributed to the *plurality* of Swiss public cultures (Emery and Giauque, 2012) in the analysis of innovation barriers? These will be the central research questions guiding our article.

Following a literature review on public innovation and its cultural barriers (part 2), we will detail our method (3), present (4) and discuss (5) the results of our analysis. Finally, we will propose new research paths on cultural barriers to public innovation at a more general level (6).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is funnel-shaped, organized from the most general level to the more specific. In the introduction, we briefly address the public innovation concept and its issues (part 2.1). We then focus on the antecedents of innovation processes. That is, the factors that are positively or negatively responsible for starting and maintaining such processes (2.2). The third part of this review concerns the cultural barriers to public innovation which are particular antecedents (2.3). Lastly, we will present a review of the elements of Swiss administrative culture which have, *a-priori*, a link with the innovation capacity of public organizations (2.4).

2.1. Public innovation: an enigmatic and widely unexplored concept

Even if the economic or even technological conception of innovation seem to prevail in the literature, numerous other understandings of the term exist. And for good reason: not only is the concept desirable (Berkun, 2010; Bouglé, 1922; Gaglio, 2011; Godin, 2014, 2015) and its field of study young (Fagerberg and Verspagen, 2009) but the disciplines that are interested in it are numerous (Damanpour and Schneider, 2006). The OECD defines innovation as: “*The implementation of a product (good or service), a new process or its significant improvement, a new method of marketing or a new organizational method in company practices, the organization of the workplace or external relations.*” (OECD / Eurostat, 2005, p.54). Other attempts to define innovation have been put forward. For some authors, a project is only innovative when it is successful (Barnu 2010). For others, innovation is subjective (Godin, 2015; Rogers, 2003; Zaltman, Duncan and Holbeck, 1973) and rests on the perceptions of its *adopters*. This vast array of definitions is only the backdrop of a large empirical literature on innovation in the private sector (Perks and Roberts, 2013).

In regard to public sector innovation, the situation is quite different: several authors regret the lack of an integrated vision on this object of study (DeVries, Bekkers & Tummers, 2016; Gieske, van

Buuren and Bekkers, 2016). Indeed, knowledge on innovation in public organizations has built itself on literature stemming from the private sector (Salge and Vera, 2012) and has difficulty emancipating itself as a specific and autonomous research theme (Kattel, Cepilovs, Kalvet, Lember and Tonurist, 2016) in relation to the improvement of public services (Damanpour and Schneider, 2009). For these reasons, there has not been until this day, a solid definition of *public innovation* (Daglio, Gerson, and Kitchen, 2015; De Vries *et al.*, 2016).

Frequently used definitions are thus very heterogeneous, from the broadest (public innovation as a continuous improvement of policies and public services) to the most radical (innovation as a break with the past) (Behn, 2010; Osborne and Brown, 2011a). Whereas the novel character of an innovation is at the heart of the second approach, it still has difficulty in offering a clear definition of it.

Some definitions consider change to be an innovation if it is *new for the organization which adopts it*, which is close to the general concept of innovation (Bhatti, Olsen and Pedersen, 2010; Borins, 2000; Rogers, 1995; J. L. Walker, 1969). Other authors challenge the very objectivity of novelty and propose to rely on how novelty is *perceived* by the concerned users (Damanpour, 1991; Rogers, 2003; Salge and Vera, 2012).

A multitude of definitions thus exist, from the broadest to the most restrictive, from the universal to the specifically public, without a commonly agreed upon conceptualization.

Additionally, any research conducted on public innovation cannot neglect the specificities tied to this domain. For public organizations have borders that are much more porous to their environment than private companies. Moreover, they are not, *a priori* at least, in competition with each other: public innovation is thus an open innovation (Chesbrough, 2003) and “The content, the proceedings and the results of the process of innovation [are] the result of complex interactions between antecedents, resources and intra-organizational actors and antecedents, resources and external actors.” (De Vries *et al.*, 2016, p.147).

2.2. Public innovation antecedents

Innovation is a complex and multidimensional construction (Boukamel, 2017; Damanpour and Aravind, 2011) whose processes are influenced by numerous environmental factors, the characteristics of an organization as well as the individuals and groups which compose it (Damanpour and Aravind, 2011; Damanpour and Schneider, 2009). These antecedents can hinder or catalyze innovation processes and can thus form constraints or opportunities for an organization willing to innovate.

Several sets of antecedents that are not directly linked to innovation characteristics are present in the literature (Bekkers, Tummers & Vooberg, 2013; De Vries *et al.*, 2016; Vigoda-Gadot and Meiri, 2008; Vigoda-Gadot, Shoham, Schwabsky and Ruvio, 2005).

The first of these sets is composed of the environment, the extra-organizational context and the institutional field. This last factor is of particular importance since public innovations supersede organizational frontiers (Touati, Denis, Grenier and Smits, 2016). The mechanism by which organizations in the same field tend to converge in terms of cultures, structures and products and adopt the same types of innovations is named institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, 1991). Isomorphism can be mimetic, coercive or normative depending on whether it stems from an imitation of standard practices and values in the other organizations in the field, if it is imposed through coercion by a third-party or if emanates from informal rules under construction in the network. De Vries *et al.* (2016) find that most research on environmental antecedents are linked to this theory. Of the 181 selected papers in their literature review, 29 % evoke environmental pressures (political and mediatic demands, etc.), 27% participation in inter-organizational networks, 16% regulation, 10% mimicry of similar organizations, 6% competition with other organizations and lastly 12% mobilize other types of antecedents.

The second type of antecedent is related to the organizational level. In 22% of the cases, research selected by De Vries *et al.* (2016) highlighted resource availability

(budget, time, tools), 21% the type of leadership, 18% the relation to risk/learning climate, 16% the incentive system, 8% the presence of conflicts, 8% the organizational structure and 7% the other organizational antecedents.

Finally, individual characteristics are also identified in the literature. Among the different studies, 20% underline the importance of employee autonomy, 19% the position in the organization, 11% creativity (which regroups risk-taking and problem-solving capacities). Whereas only 4% concentrate on acceptance of innovation and 4% on norms and shared values¹.

2.3. The importance of cultural barriers

Antecedents are called barriers or levers when they have influence on innovation by respectively hindering or enabling its processes. The literary review distinguishes two types of “universal” barriers and levers (i.e. non-specific to a given cultural area): the barriers and levers related to the structure of public organizations and their administrative ecosystem (e.g. actor networks (Lewis and Ricard, 2014), regulations or hierarchical rigidity) and those that are linked to their culture (Büschgens, Bausch and Balkin, 2013). This is the case for example in relation to risk-taking or open-mindedness towards novelty and uncertainty (Flemig, Osborne and Kinder, 2016; Osborne and Brown, 2011b).

Links between culture and innovation processes have been at the center of abundant research these past decades, in particular within managerial literature which mostly focuses on the private sector (Schedler and Proeller, 2007). In this literature, culture is considered to be a decisive variable in relation to an organization’s capacity to innovate (Büschgens *et al.*, 2013). In the next sub-section, the conceptual contours of culture are drawn and we then identify the main cultural barriers present in the literature and in particular the public service literature.

Culture is often defined as the set of values, norms, behaviors, rules and symbols shared by a specific social group (Jann, 2000 cité par Schedler & Proeller, 2007). Given that members of an organization belong to several

¹ It is difficult to consider shared norms and values, in other words culture, at an individual level since it is an organizational variable.

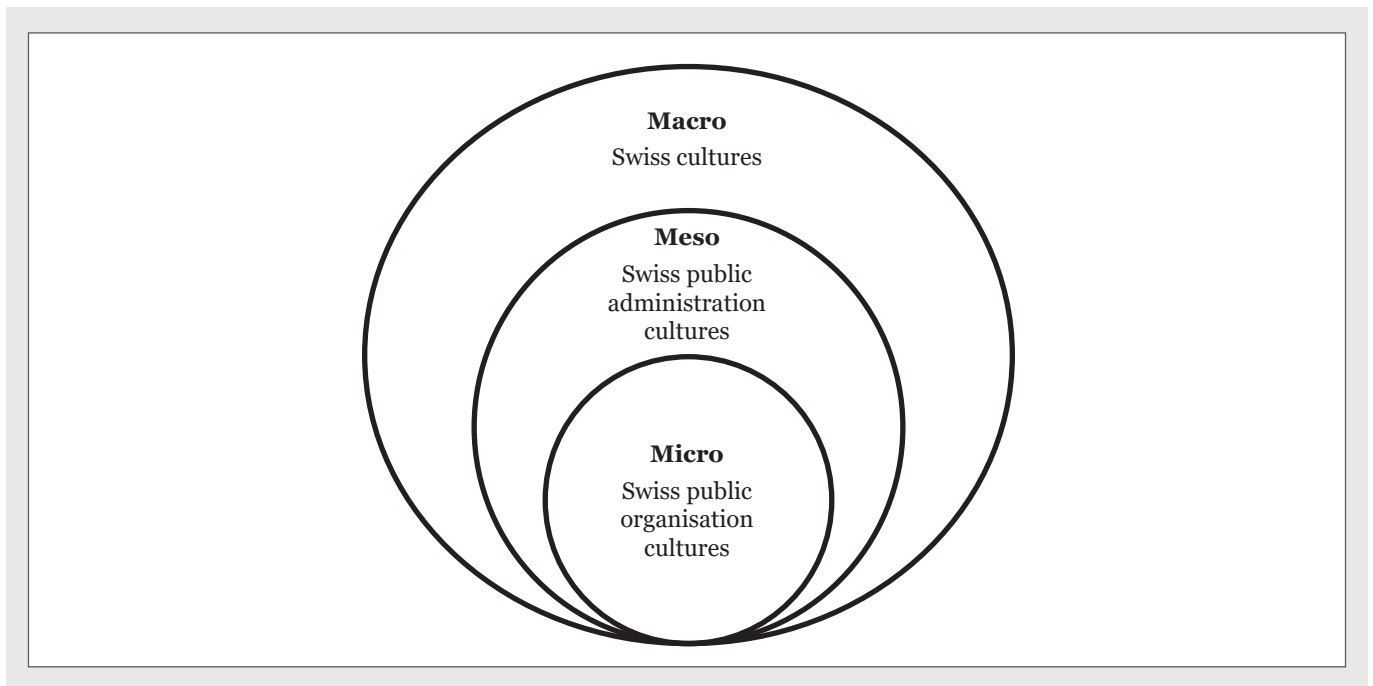


Figure 1 – Representation of the imbrication of cultures
Source: Based on Bouckaert (2007)

groups and sub-groups, the organization is subjected to the influence of multiple cultures (and sub-cultures) of variable intensities and originating from several levels (Schein, 2004). Bouckaert (2007) distinguishes four levels of culture in public organizations. These are illustrated in Figure 1:

1. The Macro culture (which is composed of the civilizational, national, temporal, locational and structural contexts according to Bouckaert (2007)).
2. The Meso culture (which includes the profession or corporation and the administration as an institution).
3. The Micro (i.e. the culture of an organization or “organizational culture”).
4. The Nano culture (which refers to the sub-cultures present at the office, hallway or team levels).

As we are investigating the cultural barriers to innovation in Swiss public administration, this study focuses on the macro – (Switzerland/ French-speaking Switzerland) and meso – (public administration) cultural levels (see Figure 1). The micro- and nano – levels are not developed.

In their meta-review, Büschgens *et al.* (2013) seek to map out the “values” (i.e. cultural traits) which are linked to innovation processes. They point out how extremely heterogeneous the literature is on this subject. Whereas some authors speak of the “culture of innovation” from a global perspective, others focus on specific cultural traits (e.g. the tendency to favor participative decision-making) (Büschgens *et al.*, 2013).

Among all these cultural traits, some constrain the processes of innovation. This is what we call cultural barriers.

A corpus of more than twenty empirical and theoretical articles and “key” publications (cf. Table 1) that were written during the last fifteen years and selected in international literature on culture in public organizations enabled us to list the “universal” cultural barriers to innovation in public administration. This Table (1) distinguishes the generic or private sector-based literature on one hand, and the literature specifically focused on public organizations on the other hand. This list of barriers has been synthesized into big sets which can be summarized as follows:

- Risk aversion. The aversion to risk is much more developed in the international literature. Generally, it is based upon negative perceptions

and a fear of risk. It can affect all levels, be located within or outside a public organization and even concern its users which can oppose any risk-taking by their administration.

- Low commitment to learning. This barrier hinders innovation when actors are not attuned to experimentation and a “will” to learn.
- Low openness to new ideas and rigidity in relation to problem-solving. Actors possessing this cultural trait almost exclusively draw their ideas from a list of pre-existing solutions during decision-making. This behavior is reminiscent of the path dependency concept.
- Cultural traits that foster horizontal rigidity (between functions and institutions at the same level). This trait is characterized by
 - a low will to cooperate between different entities or functions at the same level, low fluidity of information, low team spirit, a silo-shaped organization and institutional partitioning.
 - Cultural traits which foster vertical rigidity (between the different hierarchical levels). Literature describes this cultural trait as a legalistic, bureaucratic or controlling tradition exercising a great distance of power. It is often accompanied by low employee autonomy and transmission of ideas and information are slowed down between hierarchical levels.
 - Low valuation of success and negative sanctions of failure. As we will see, this barrier is linked to risk-aversion. It is mostly present in

SETS OF CULTURAL BARRIERS	PRIVATE SECTOR LITERATURE	PUBLIC SECTOR LITERATURE
1. Risk	Caldwell & O'Reilly, 2003; Cooper, Edgett & Kleinschmidt, 2004; McDonald, 2002	Albury, 2005; Brown & Osborne, 2013; Flemig <i>et al.</i> , 2016; Glor, 2003; Koch & Hauknes, 2005; Moussa, McMurray & Muenjohn, 2018; Osborne & Brown, 2011; Raipa & Giedrayte, 2014; Taylor, 2018; Townsend, 2013; Wynen, Verhoest, Ongaro, van Thiel & COBRA-network., 2014
2. Learning	Calantone, Cavusgil & Zhao, 2002; Giniunienea & Jurksieneb, 2015; McLaughlin, Osborne & Ferlie, 2002	Choi & Chandler, 2015; Cinar & Eren, 2015; Hansson, Norn & Vad, 2014; Kinder, 2012; Salge & Vera, 2012; R. M. Walker, 2014; Wynen <i>et al.</i> , 2014
3. Openness and flexibility	Hogan & Coote, 2013	Wynen <i>et al.</i> , 2014
4. Horizontal rigidity	Brettel & Clevon, 2011; Caldwell & O'Reilly, 2003	Damanpour & Schneider, 2009; Lewis & Ricard, 2014; Moussa <i>et al.</i> , 2018; Taylor, 2018
5. Vertical rigidity	Peretz, Levi & Fried, 2015	Bekkers <i>et al.</i> , 2013; Demircioglu & Audretsch, 2017; Koch & Hauknes, 2005; Moussa <i>et al.</i> , 2018; Raipa & Giedrayte, 2014; Rivera León <i>et al.</i> , 2012; Taylor, 2018; Townsend, 2013
6. Successes and failures	Gumusluoglu & Ilsev, 2009	Albury, 2005; Demircioglu & Audretsch, 2017; Koch & Hauknes, 2005; Moussa <i>et al.</i> , 2018; Townsend, 2013
7. Short-term and performance orientation		Bekkers <i>et al.</i> , 2013; Rosenblatt, 2011

Table 1 – Review of the cultural barriers to innovation in the international literature (universal barriers)

formal or informal sanctions of actors (users, regulators, politicians or administrative executives) who fail. The individual cost of failure is not compensated for by the potential profits (formal or informal) of success. This can prevent actors from associating themselves to processes of innovation.

- An orientation towards *performance* and a short-term vision. Managerial practices that are orientated towards *performance* obey “a culture of figures” and a short-term vision. Innovation is thus unlikely since it requires time and organizational slack.

This literature review puts two important elements into light. First of all, cultural traits that hinder public innovation are difficult to dissociate one from another and may refer to related behaviors. This is the case, for example, with risk-aversion and the propensity to negatively sanction failures. Secondly, it is interesting to point out that the literature on cultural barriers to innovation is to a very large extent related to the anglosphere or is at least English-speaking. However, culture is by definition, idiosyncratic and context-specific. This supports the relevance of our research whose originality lies in the mapping of cultural traits in a specific place, French-speaking Switzerland. It also puts into question the transposable nature of cultural barriers to public innovation.

2.4. Swiss managerial and administrative cultures and innovation

2.4.1. Swiss managerial culture

Swiss managerial culture is composed of interesting singularities grouped under the “*Swiss Way of Management*” label (Bergmann, 1994; Chevrier, 2009; Szabo *et al.*, 2002)². Regarding these cultural traits and in light of the ideas present in the previous section, these particularities are likely to influence

the capacity of public organizations to innovate. In the public sector more specifically, politico-administrative culture amongst others, does not seem to be orientated towards innovation *a priori* (Emery and Giaouque, 2012; Hablützel, 2013). What are then the Swiss and public cultural characteristics that are likely to influence innovation capacities? Whereas Table 1 groups together “universal” or “international” cultural barriers, Table 2 summarizes Swiss singularities present in the main works or articles that have dealt with Swiss managerial culture and that could influence innovation. In essence, many of the cultural traits that can influence organizations’ ability to innovate (see section 2.3) emerge from these studies:

- A relatively strong *power distance* (this idea is present in most works apart from those of Hofstede (1984)).
- Strong caution and aversion to uncertainty.
- Relatively strong individualism (at the exception of Szabo *et al.* (2002)).
- Strong “masculinity” in the sense of Hofstede (1984), that is to say, a propensity to value competition, ambition and domination to the detriment of values traditionally associated with the “feminine” such as interpersonal relationships and quality of life.
- A sense of consensus and compromise.

Other elements such as moderation, perfectionism, pragmatism or a performance-orientated attitude are also present in some studies.

These studies however contain some limitations. Not only do they face the difficulty of “measuring” culture but also the plurality of cultures present in Switzerland (Emery and Giaouque, 2012). Moreover, they concentrate on the management of private companies and not on the meso-cultural specificities of public administration.

² This literature is essentially, even exclusively based on work originating from German-speaking Switzerland. One must however highlight the fact that Switzerland is a multicultural country, composed of the German part region (2/3 of the country) and Latin (French and Italian) region which counts for about 1/3 of the country. Numerous analysis, especially in public administration, demonstrate that culture can be very different between these different regions (e.g. Emery/Giaouque, 2012). To speak of a “Swiss managerial culture” is to simplify and diminish the diversity of Swiss cultures.

REFERENCE	METHOD	CULTURAL ELEMENTS		
Hostfede (1984)	Quantitative	Weak: Power distance (mostly in German-speaking Switzerland)	Moderate: Aversion to uncertainty	Strong: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Individualism ▪ Masculinity (mostly in German-speaking Switzerland)
Bergmann (1994)	Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Pragmatism, common sense and defiance towards intellectuals ▪ Egalitarianism and defiance towards stars and strong personalities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sobriety, seriousness and moderation ▪ Perfectionism ▪ Compromise and consensus ▪ Caution and a search for stability ▪ Individualism, autonomy and independence 		
Wunderer et Weibler (1997)	Quantitative	Moderate: Individualism	Strong: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Power distance ▪ Aversion to uncertainty ▪ Masculinity 	
Szabo et al. (2002)	Quantitative	Moderate: Collective spirit	Strong: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Turned towards the future ▪ Performance-orientated <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Power distance ▪ Aversion to uncertainty (very strong) 	
Chevrier (2009)	Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consensus, dialogue and aversion to conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Autonomy ▪ Subsidiarity (decisions are taken at the lowest possible level) 		

Table 2 – Synthesis of swiss cultural elements present in the literature with a potential link with innovation

2.4.2. Administrative culture

However, Swiss politico-administrative culture has distinctive features. In his work on the mutation of roles in Swiss public administration, Hablützel (2013) shows that “the Swiss political system can be distinguished from other countries with its affirmed federalism, direct democracy, concordance, collegiality and militia system³”. These institutional and legal characteristics are linked to cultures present in Switzerland (Emery and Giauque, 2012) and play an important role in the way the administration perceives its environment and itself (Hablützel, 2013). Whereas the link between these cultural and institutional characteristics and administrations’ innovation capacities is conceivable, a study on such a relation has yet to be published.

3. METHOD AND DATA

For this study, we have based our methodology on Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1997, 1998, 2004). This qualitative and inductive approach is adapted to the analysis of phenomena for which knowledge has yet to be developed. Founded on an inductive approach, Grounded Theory prescribes to “forget” theory during observation and data collection phases as to avoid skewing the interpretation of the results towards pre-existing theories. It is only after this brute process that results can be discussed in the light of the existing literature.

A series of semi-structured exploratory interviews (fifteen) with executives from the Swiss-French civil service, as well as project managers, were conducted. The goal was to shed light on the cultural

³ Name given to the non-careerist character of numerous political functions, including legislative ones.

barriers to innovation they have encountered in their respective experiences.

We did not wish to lead the interviewees directly into cultural aspects but rather sought to extract these aspects from their discourse. This is why we did not explicitly introduce this notion in our interviews or initial contacts. We simply presented our approach as an “exploration of the mechanisms of public innovation”. Another precaution was to deconstruct the particularly desirable concept of innovation with the interviewees (Berkun, 2010) before starting the discussion. As to achieve this, the interview guide began by exploring how the interviewees defined public innovation (“For you, what is public innovation?”). We then focused on their personal experiences (“Have you participated in innovation projects?”) and the pitfalls they encountered (for example: “What difficulties have you faced?”), in order

to progressively reach the barriers to innovation at a more general level (e.g. “In general, what are the barriers to innovation?”). For each of the barriers mentioned by our interviewees, we asked if, according to them, this barrier was particularly present in Switzerland generally and then, in the public sector. In this way, we focused on the macro- and meso-type barriers (aim of our research), leaving aside the micro- and nano- barriers which are related to the organization and the interviewee’s team.

To avoid the bias of an omitted variable, we maximized the diversity of the respondents’ profiles. Our interviewees are therefore senior and intermediate managers, or project managers of public organizations of varying size (from 4 to 30,000 employees), based in the cantons of Geneva and Vaud, with different missions in different sectors (see Table 3). The interviews lasted for about an hour (from

#	Gender	Age	Position	Sector	Size of the organization (nb. of employees)	Canton
1	Man	40-49	Senior executive	Central admin.	30 000	Vaud
2	Man	50-59	Senior executive	Advice & control	17 000	Geneva
3	Man	50-59	Senior executive	Energy	1 700	Geneva
4	Woman	40-49	Senior executive	Teaching & research	200	Vaud
5	Man	40-49	Middle manager	Land use planning	30 000	Vaud
6	Man	40-49	Senior executive	Health & social affairs	700	Vaud
7	Man	30-39	Project manager	Health & social affairs	100	Vaud
8	Man	50-59	Middle manager	Land use planning	30	Geneva
9	Woman	30-39	Middle manager	Central admin.	17 000	Geneva
10	Man	50-59	Senior executive	Political rights	17 000	Geneva
11	Man	60-69	Project manager	Political rights	17 000	Geneva
12	Man	60-69	Senior executive	Pub. admin. assoc.	15	Geneva
13	Woman	40-49	Middle manager	Communal admin.	5 000	Vaud
14	Woman	40-49	Senior executive	Professional training	4	Vaud
15	Woman	30-39	Project manager	Public medias	2 000	Vaud

Tableau 3 – Profils et organisations d’appartenance des répondants

45 minutes to 1h15) and were conducted using an inductive approach and only ended when the arguments encountered were saturated (Strauss and Corbin, 1997, 1998). The interviews were then transcribed and coded using the Nvivo® software.

The coding was done in three stages. In the first phase, free nodes were created as to organize the interview extracts thematically (arguments relating to barriers to innovation, genesis of an innovation, public specificities, Swiss specificities, etc...). In a second phase, the content of these free nodes was categorized into coherent sub-nodes. For example, the “barrier to innovation” node, which is of particular interest to us, was coded into six sub-nodes: cultural, structural and political aspects as well as a lack of resources, over-personification of given projects and technical complexity. Thirdly, we proceeded to an even finer coding, categorizing the content of what appeared in the “cultural barriers” sub-node. The content of this last sub-node maps out the cultural obstacles to public innovation in French-speaking Switzerland and is the central result of this research (part 4).

4. RESULTS

Many barriers to innovation emerge explicitly from the interviews. Some of the barriers were clearly identified as such by the respondents, while others, more implicitly emerged in the discourses. Of the twenty-eight barriers to innovation that were identified (contained in the free node “barriers to public innovation”), fourteen directly concern cultural aspects, six are political, six are structural and two are related to a lack of resources. Culture therefore seems essential.

Our main results are presented in this chapter according to the following logic: firstly, we will present the different sets of cultural barriers identified in the interviews (section 4.1) according to the third coding described in the method section. Then, we will present the respondents’ perception of the barriers to public innovation in Switzerland (section 4.2) and then in the Swiss public sector (section 4.3).

4.1. Overview of the different barriers

This part is composed of all the different cultural barriers to public innovation that have been observed in the interviews and gathered in five large sets (sub-nodes).

4.1.1. Risk-aversion and individual cost of failure

The most common cultural obstacle is risk-aversion. Changes brought about by an innovation go hand in hand with uncertainty about the future. Not only is innovation a risk for the organization but also for the individual. Our results tend to show that risk-taking is individualized: “because it is risky for oneself. Therefore, we do not do it.”. It is not so much that risk can potentially harm the organization but rather that innovators are individually punished in case of failure: “today you try something, if you fail, you are punished”. This “punishment” often results in the marginalization of the individual. At the same time, success is rarely rewarded: “Risk is never rewarded but it will always be punished if it proves to be counterproductive risk-taking. We punish but we never reward.” In summary, the organization punishes but does not reward individuals who take risks. Therefore, the (perceived and anticipated) cost of failure is too high and innovation is blocked, often from the start.

4.1.2. Perceptions of the legitimacy of change: “because we have always done it this way”

The second set of barriers to innovation is related to the sense of illegitimacy of an innovation by members of an organization. This illegitimacy can be explained for three reasons: the (non-)perception of the need to innovate, the (non-)perception of the novel content of an innovation and the (non-)perception of the usefulness of this novelty. In regard to the first reason, the (non-)perception of the need to innovate, everyone does not perceive the need for an organization to innovate in the same way. Some respondents explain that: “[...] we need to innovate if we feel that we are having difficulties in advancing projects that are in development. But I think that today we do not meet too many [difficulties].” The second element, the (non-)perception of novelty,

relates to “the misunderstanding of what is” the content of an innovation. The third, the (non-)perception of usefulness, highlights the perception that actors have of the progress that innovation brings compared to status quo: “we have always done it like that because, well, we are not in an [organization] subject to significant rates of change.” The idea that innovation is illegitimate or useless can lead to strategies of resistance in the organization even though other reasons can be explicitly put at the forefront. An interviewee explains that «We will spend hours explaining to you why from a budgetary point of view it does not work. While, deeply, we just do not want to.»

4.1.3. Hierarchy and limited autonomy

A third set of cultural barriers, constraints that hierarchy and management exert on the autonomy and initiative of employees, has porous boundaries with structural barriers. Employees “are often blocked by those who anyway whenever there is one who has an idea that might be a little bit interesting [is put aside]”. This has a negative effect on “leeway” and “creativity” which are required conditions for the emergence of innovative ideas: “a management that is less-orientated towards development, more focused on rules, on procedures, will be less favorable, I think, to innovation because we will put the person a little more in a standard scheme that will not stimulate his creativity”.

4.1.4. Consensus-seeking and conflict avoidance

The tendency to seek consensus, described as “a more consensual culture, more consensus-seeking, stability”, can hinder innovation processes. It seems that this tendency to seek consensus, stated by all types of actors, acts as a moderator emptying the innovation of any controversy throughout its process and therefore its potential novelty: “there is a self-censorship, because we want the project to pass, we want the project to advance. So finally, we will moderate. Innovation is thus little by little “constrained but in a voluntary and pragmatic way.”. The search for consensus acts as a barrier: it

does not act on the impetus but on the momentum of innovations.

4.1.5. Discretion and anonymity

Several respondents shared the idea that an innovation should be carried by a providential person, a “great fool”. The role of this person is twofold: to challenge established practices (“but why could we not do it that way?”) and to push for change: “at one point I think there is a person who must unleash innovation”. But it seems that personification and “daring” are frowned upon and sanctioned: «if there is a head that sticks out, we cut it». Another respondent goes on to say: «to avoid criticism, you must not go out of the wood, you must not do brilliant things.” It therefore seems that the culture of discretion and non-personification of projects, anonymity, are obstacles to innovation.

4.2. Swiss particularities according to the respondents

Among the barriers noted in the previous section, only one was identified by respondents as being particularly present in “Swiss culture”, that is risk-aversion. The fact that risk is sanctioned is often presented as a cultural phenomenon of greater importance in Switzerland than in other cultures, in particular compared to the Anglosphere. One respondent explains that “in Switzerland it is well understood that respectable people are serious people, serious people think three times before starting something and then they can only succeed after having thought about it three times. So, people who fail are people who are not serious, who do not think and who have taken ill-considered risks.”. Apart from this aspect, Switzerland does not present any other particular barrier according to our respondents. Public administration, on the contrary, shows more specificities.

4.3. Swiss public service particularities according to the respondents

Respondents emphasized that in the public sector four types of barriers are of importance. These are identified in Section 4.1: risk-aversion,

misperception of change, consensus-building and discretion. Risk-aversion is identified as being particularly strong in the national culture as well as the administrative culture: “In the public sector, risk-taking is always punished. If you are daring: you are dangerous”. The misperception or illegitimacy of change is also a strong barrier in Swiss administrative culture. According to one respondent, “an administration is made to function and not to do ... [silence, implied: any old thing]”. The search for consensus is the third barrier associated with Swiss administrative culture, although this characteristic is more closely related to politicians: “in the canton there is self-censorship to make the project politically acceptable”. Finally, the desire for discretion and the non-personification of projects is a rather public characteristic according to our respondents.

In conclusion, we observed fourteen cultural barriers in our interviews that we gathered in five large sets. The perceptions of the respondents enabled us to weight these barriers according to their importance in Swiss and administrative cultures. The following section discusses these observations in the light of the relevant literature.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Continuation and gaps in the literature on barriers

Several elements raised by the literature on cultural barriers to innovation (summarized in Table 1) are to be found in our analysis (part 4). Table 4 summarizes the three types of possible situations graphically: the cultural barriers that are to be found both in the literature and in our observations, the barriers raised in the literature and unobserved in our study, and the new barriers, nonexistent in the literature but yet well-observed in our results.

Similarities with the literature are clear, particularly in regard to risk-aversion (Brown and Osborne 2013, Flemig *et al.*, 2016; Osborne and Brown 2011b; Townsend 2013; Wynen *et al.*, 2014). Our analysis also shows that this barrier is strongly associated with the *fear of risk* and *sanction of failure*. For example: “they failed, and it is not forgiven” or “Because we do not have the time, because we do not have the means, because it is risk-taking for oneself. Therefore, we do not do it.”. As we have seen, it seems that fear of risk is partly explained by fear of negative (formal or informal) sanctions for individual failure. This is consistent with the findings of Klein, Mahoney, McGahan, and Pitelis (2010) and later on by Osborne and Brown (2011b) who develop the idea that risk-taking is more complicated in the public sector. Whereas successes generate benefits for the entire community, failures primarily damage the individual interests of the *entrepreneur*.

Other similarities between the literature and our results appear in relation to the “since we have always done it this way” phenomenon which is similar to the concept of path dependency (Sydow, Schreyögg, and Koch, 2009). Path dependency confines all actions and interactions of the organization to a limited repertoire, and it is, or will progressively be, unfavorable to learning and being open to new ideas and thus a barrier to innovation as shown by Wynen *et al.* (2014).

Lastly, our analysis confirms the literature on cultural traits which cause vertical rigidity and

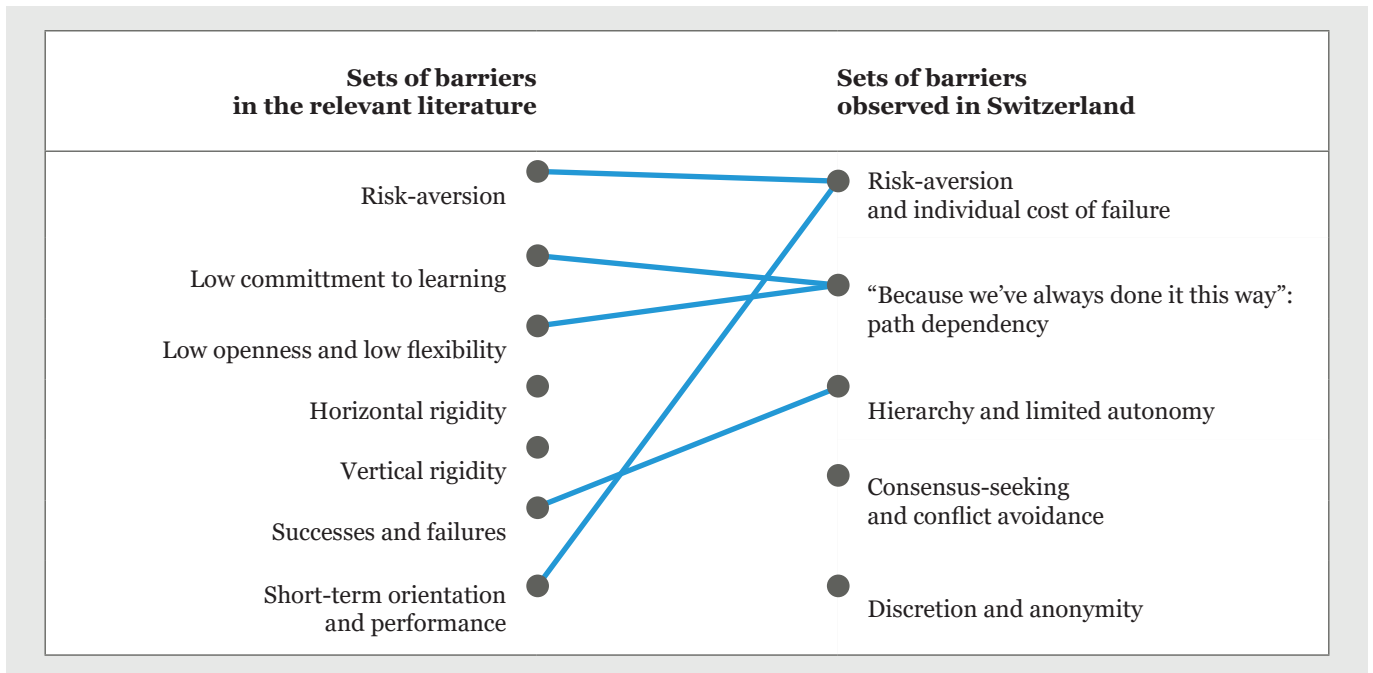


Table 4 – Similarities and differences of barriers revealed by our research with the relevant literature

low employee autonomy because of hierarchical weight (Rivera León *et al.*, 2012).

Table 4 also shows that some of the barriers mentioned in the literature are absent from our observations. This is particularly the case for cultural traits that are responsible for horizontal rigidity (low cooperation spirit, low information flow, low team spirit, operational silo), performance orientation and short-term vision. The absence of any argument on horizontal rigidity is interesting because it follows the analysis of Bergmann (1994), Chevrier (2009) and to a certain extent Szabo *et al.* (2002) who attribute to Switzerland a propensity for cooperation and autonomy of employees. On the other hand, the absence of a barrier related to the culture of performance does not make it possible to confirm the observations of Szabo *et al.* (2002) on this point.

The third element highlighted in Table 4 is the appearance of two new cultural barriers to innovation: the search for consensus and the desire for discretion and anonymity. The first hinders innovation processes whereas the second constrains the impulse. It seems that these two barriers, described in section 4.1, have never been raised by the literature on innovation, which is

an interesting contribution of this research. The reason for this gap can probably be explained by the cultural level to which these barriers belong. On the other hand, a similar concept to consensus-building and conflict avoidance has already received attention, particularly in political science research, under the name of “*blame-avoidance*” (Weaver, 1986). Because voters may tend to overestimate the political failures of their leaders and underestimate their successes, politicians are likely to deploy blame-avoidance strategies as to not expose themselves to criticism. This phenomenon has been described as a factor of political inertia (Caune, 2010; Hood, 2007) and thus of potential inertia within public organizations.

5.2. Discussion on the cultural level of these barriers

Another interesting aspect is on what cultural levels the respondents tend to identify barriers (Bouckaert, 2007). This allows us to weight the relative importance of these barriers in Swiss (macro-) and Swiss (meso-) administrative or managerial cultures. Table 5 summarizes the cultural levels identified by respondents for each cultural barrier.

SETS OF BARRIERS	IMPORTANT BARRIERS IN SWISS CULTURE (MACRO)	IMPORTANT BARRIERS IN ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE (MESO)
Risk-aversion		
Path dependency		
Limited autonomy		
Consensus-searching		
Discretion		

Table 5 – Respondents’ views on the cultural level of the different barriers

In section 4.2. we have seen that risk-aversion is the only barrier that is particularly strong at both macro- and meso- cultural levels. Therefore, this barrier is of significant importance compared to others. Path dependency, consensus-searching, discretion, which our respondents were all confronted to within their respective projects, are more attributable to the administrative culture than to Swiss culture. We also note that limited autonomy was never attributed either to Swiss culture or to the administrative culture when it was cited as a barrier. We can hypothesize that this barrier is mainly a micro feature, that is, a trait of organizational culture.

5.3. “True innovations”

An interesting point that is not directly at the heart of our analysis emerges from our interviews: the recurrence of the opposition between “true” innovations and the others. Indeed, a *true innovation* covers diametrically different realities. For some respondents, it is the originality or even the break from the past that is central to an innovation “one must completely rethink the activity, it is a real change”, whilst denigrating the changes brought by imitation: “You will be in a logic of recreating what already exists, we are not in the logic of innovation.”. For others, innovation refers above all to the innovation of products and services (“we develop services, we innovate”). Conversely, it is sometimes innovations in relation to processes that are called *real innovations*: “There you are

in a true innovative project [...], you are actually revolutionizing the processes [...]”.

In summary, the concept of innovation remains fuzzy among practitioners. There are at least two reasons for this: there is no universal definition of public innovation (Daglio, Gerson, and Kitchen, 2015) and what is perceived as new varies from one individual to another (Lowe and Alpert, 2015, Rogers, 2003, Shams, Alpert, and Brown, 2015).

6. CONCLUSION, LIMITS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The chosen method makes it impossible to generalize our results to all innovation processes and to all contexts. However, it is clear that during the interviews - and despite very open questions - our respondents often insisted on the cultural dimension of innovation processes. The main added-value of this research thus lies in its ability to emphasize the importance of culture, and more generally of *soft-* elements, in innovation processes.

What can public managers do about the barriers that were identified? Two categories of barriers appear in the analysis:

- The barriers that are *a priori* operable, such as risk-aversion or autonomy granted in work performance. Although HR management

systems in the public sector often do not “reward” contribution to innovation (Bellanger and Roy, 2013), many other forms of recognition exist such as symbolic or deeper retributions which can be developed. Here, public managers’ creativity (as not to mention the capacity for innovation) is at stake.

- The barriers that are more difficult to operate: path dependency, consensus-searching and discretion are rooted in “deeper” cultures, which are part of the landscape of Swiss organizations and more particularly of public organizations.

The main limitations of the present research, which is of heuristic nature, are as follows. First of all, the empirical material is limited (fifteen interviews). In addition, we interviewed more men than women, which puts into question the diversity of the sample. It must however be emphasized that women are underrepresented in managerial positions in Swiss public administration⁴, making it difficult to balance the sample, which would be, in the end, not very representative. Another limit lies in the social desirability of innovation, which is a positively connoted theme and to which the respondents can potentially be sensitive. Their speech could artificially be “pro-innovation”. Because of these limits, the present results cannot in any case be generalized, at the Swiss level, and a fortiori at the international level.

Future research could extend this study by conducting more interviews with respondents in different roles and functions and in other cantons; whereby each canton reflects one or more specific macro-culture. Exploring the nature and effect of the two new barriers that were discovered is also a path for further research. Moreover, the concepts of risk-aversion and blame-avoidance (Weaver, 1986) and their importance as a barrier to public innovation deserves further study. In addition, conducting an international comparative study would let us discover if there is a real “*Swiss way of public innovation*”. Clearly,

many theoretical and empirical contributions have yet to be produced to reduce the vagueness surrounding the definition of public innovation. Finally, future research should not be limited to stakeholder perceptions but should also observe the micro-practices and routines where public organizations also foster innovation.

⁴ Even if the situation is more equal than in the private sector, women occupy only 13% of managing positions in cantonal administrations in 2016 according to a study of The Swiss Conference of State Chancellors [URL: <http://www.guidoschilling.ch/upload/2/4254/sr%20public%20sector%202016%20-%20Medienmitteilung.pdf>].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALBURY, D. (2005). "Fostering Innovation in Public Services". *Public Money & Management*, 25, 1, p.51-56.
- BARNU, F. (2010). *La vraie nature de l'innovation: Pourquoi elle remet en cause les fondements de l'entreprise*. Lavoisier.
- BEHN, R. (2010). "The Dilemmas of Innovation in American Government". In ALTSHULER, A.; BEHN, R. (éd.), *Innovation in American Government: Challenges, Opportunities, and Dilemmas*, Brookings Institution Press, p.3-37.
- BEKKERS, V.J.J.M.; TUMMERS, L.; VOOBERG, W. (2013). "From public innovation to social innovation in the public sector: A literature review of relevant drivers and barriers.", EGPA Conference, Rotterdam.
- BELLANGER, F.; ROY, C. (2013). "Évolution du cadre légal et réglementaire de la fonction publique suisse". In LADNER, A.; EMERY, Y.; CHAPPELET, J.-L.; KNOEPFEL, P.; MADER, L.; SOGUEL, N.; VARONE, F. (éd.), *Manuel d'administration publique suisse*, PPUR, Lausanne, p.461-480.
- BERGMANN, A. (1994). *Swiss Way of Management*. ESKA: Paris.
- BERKUN, S. (2010). *The Myths of Innovation*. Sebastopol, O'Reilly Media: CA.
- BHATTI, Y.; OLSEN, A.L.; PEDERSEN, L.H. (2010). "Administrative Professionals and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Citizen Service Centres". *Public Administration*, 89, 2, p.577-594.
- BORINS, S. (2000). "Loose Cannons and Rule Breakers, or Enterprising Leaders? Some Evidence About Innovative Public Managers". *Public Administration Review*, 60, 6, p.498-507.
- BORINS, S. (2006), *The challenge of Innovating in Government*. 2nd edition. IBM: Washington D.C.
- BOUCKAERT, G. (2007). "Cultural Characteristics From Public Management Reforms Worldwide". In SCHEDLER, K.; PROELLER, I. (éd.), *Cultural Aspects of Public Management Reform*, Elsevier, UK, p.29-64.
- BOUGLÉ, C. (1922). *Leçons de sociologie sur l'évolution des valeurs*. Paris.
- BOUKAMEL, O. (2017). "Le rôle des réseaux d'acteurs dans l'innovation publique complexe: le cas du vote électronique dans le canton de Genève". *Politiques et Management Public*, 34, 3-4, p.267-286.
- BOUKAMEL, O.; EMERY, Y. (2017). "Evolution of organizational ambidexterity in the public sector and current challenges of innovation capabilities". *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 22, 2.
- BRETTEL, M.; CLEVEN, N.J. (2011). "Innovation culture, Collaboration with External Partners and NPD Performance". *Creativity and Innovation Management*, 20, p.253-272.
- BROWN, L.; OSBORNE, S.P. (2013). "Risk and innovation. Towards a framework for risk governance in public services". *Public Management Review*, 15, 2, p.186-208.
- BÜSCHGENS, T.; BAUSCH, A.; BALKIN, D.B. (2013). "Organizational Culture and Innovation: A Meta-Analytic Review". *Journal of Product Innovation Management*, 30, 4, p.763-781.
- CALANTONE, R.J.; CAVUSGIL, S.T.; ZHAO, Y. (2002). "Learning orientation, firm innovation capability, and firm performance". *Industrial Marketing Management*, 31, p.515-524.
- CALDWELL, D.F.; O'REILLY, C.A. (2003). "The determinants of team based innovations in organizations: The role of social influence". *Small Group Research*, 34, p.497-517.
- CAUNE, H. (2010). "Blame avoidance (Évitement du blâme)". *Dictionnaire des politiques publiques*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, p.123.
- CHESBROUGH, H.W. (2003). *Open Innovation: The New Imperative for Creating and Profiting from Technology*. Harvard Business Press: Boston, MA.
- CHEVRIER, S. (2009). "Is National Culture Still Relevant to Management in a Global Context? The Case of Switzerland". *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 9, 2, p.169-184.
- CHOI, T.; CHANDLER, S.M. (2015). "Exploration, Exploitation, and Public Sector Innovation: An Organizational Learning Perspective for the Public Sector". *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance*, 39, 2, p.139-151.
- CINAR, F.; EREN, E. (2015). "Organizational Learning Capacity Impact on Sustainable Innovation: The Case Of Public Hospitals". In ZEHIR, C.; OZDEMIR, E.E. (éd.), *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Leadership, Technology and Innovation Management*, Elsevier, Amsterdam, p.251-260.
- COOPER, R.G.; EDGETT, S.J.; KLEINSCHMIDT, E.J. (2004). "Benchmarking best NPD practices". *Research*

- Technology Management*, 47, 1, p.31-43.
- DAGLIO, M.; GERSON, D.; KITCHEN, H. (2015). "Building Organisational Capacity for Public Sector Innovation." *OECD Conference: Innovating the public sector: from Ideas to Impact*, Paris.
- DAMANPOUR, F. (1991). "Organizational Innovation: A Meta-Analysis of Effects of Determinants and Moderators". *Academy of Management Journal*, 34, 3, p.555-590.
- DAMANPOUR, F.; ARAVIND, D. (2011). "Managerial Innovation: Conceptions, Processes and Antecedents". *Management and Organization Review*, 8, 2, p.423-454.
- DAMANPOUR, F.; SCHNEIDER, M. (2006). "Phases of the Adoption of Innovation in Organizations: Effects of Environment, Organization and Top Managers". *British Journal of Management*, 17, 3, p.215-236.
- DAMANPOUR, F.; SCHNEIDER, M. (2009). "Characteristics of Innovation and Innovation Adoption in Public Organizations: Assessing the Role of Managers". *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 19, 3, p.495-522.
- DEMIRCIOGLU, M.A.; AUDRETSCH, D.B. (2017). "Conditions for innovation in public sector organizations". *Research Policy*, 46, 9, p.1681-1691.
- DE VRIES, H.; BEKKERS, V.J.J.M.; TUMMERS, L. (2016). "Innovation in the public sector: A systematic review and future research agenda". *Public Administration*, 94, 1, p.146-166.
- DIMAGGIO, P.J.; POWELL, W.W. (1983). "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields". *American Sociological Review*, 48, 2, p.147-160.
- DIMAGGIO, P.J.; POWELL, W.W. (1991). *The new Institutionalism in organizational analysis*. University of Chicago Press: IL.
- EMERY, Y. (2006). "L'émergence et les défis de l'après-fonctionnariat". In CHAPPELET, J.-L. (éd.), *Contributions à l'action publique*, Haupt, Berne, p.53-76.
- EMERY, Y.; GIAUQUE, D. (2012). *Motivations et valeurs des agents publics à l'épreuve des réformes*. PUL: Laval.
- EMERY, Y.; MARTIN, N. (2010). *Le service public au XXI^e siècle. Identités et motivations au sein de l'après-fonctionnariat*. L'Harmattan & Schulthess Éditions: Paris.
- FAGERBERG, J.; VERSPAGEN, B. (2009). "Innovation studies-The emerging structure of a new scientific field". *Research Policy*, 38, 2, p.218-233.
- FLEMIG, S.; OSBORNE, S.; KINDER, T. (2016). "Risky business – reconceptualizing risk and innovation in public services". *Public Money & Management*, 36, 6, p.425-432.
- GAGLIO, G. (2011). *Sociologie de l'Innovation*. PUF: Paris.
- GIESKE, H.; VAN BUUREN, A.; BEKKERS, V. (2016). "Conceptualizing public innovative capacity: A framework for assessment". *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 21, 1, p.1-25.
- GINIUNIENEA, J.; JURKSIENEB, L. (2015). "Dynamic Capabilities, Innovation and Organizational Learning: Interrelations and Impact on Firm Performance". *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 213, p.985-991.
- GLASER, B.G.; STRAUSS, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Aldine: Chicago.
- GLOR, E. G. (2003). "Innovation traps: risks and challenges in thinking about innovation". *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 8, 3.
- GODIN, B. (2014). "Innovation: un slogan, rien qu'un slogan!", Forum du Développement Territorial 2^e édition, Lyon.
- GODIN, B. (2015). "Innovation: A Conceptual History of an Anonymous Concept". *Project on the Intellectual History of Innovation*. Working Paper n° 21.
- GUMUSLUOGLU, L.; ILSEV, A. (2009). "Transformational leadership and organizational innovation: The roles of internal and external support for innovation". *Journal of Product Innovation Management*, 26, p.264-277.
- HABLÜTZEL, P. (2013). "Bureaucrates, managers ou concepteurs de systèmes? L'administration suisse et la direction de l'administration en pleine évolution". In LADNER, A.; EMERY, Y.; CHAPPELET, J.-L.; KNOEPFEL, P.; MADER, L.; SOGUEL, N.; VARONE, F. (éd.), *Manuel d'administration publique suisse*, PPUR, Lausanne, p.83-97.
- HANSSON, F.; NORN, M.T.; VAD, B.V. (2014). "Modernize the public sector through innovation? A challenge for the role of applied social science and evaluation". *Evaluation*, 20, 2, p.244-260.
- HOGAN, S.J.; COOTE, L.V. (2013). "Organizational culture, innovation, and performance: A test of Schein's model". *Journal of Business Research*, 67, p.1609-1621.
- HOOD, C. (2007). "What happens when transparency meets blame-avoidance?". *Public Management Review*, 9, 2, p.191-210.
- HOSTFEDE, G. (1984). *Culture's Consequences: international differences in work-related Values*. Abridged edition.

Sage Publications: CA.

JANN, W. (2000). "Verwaltungskulturen im Vergleich". *Die Verwaltung*, 33, 3, p.325-349.

KATTEL, R.; CEPILOVS, A.; KALVET, T.; LEMBER, V.; TONURIST, P. (2016), *Public Sector Innovation Indicators: Towards a New Evaluative Frameworks*, [URL: <http://www.lipse.org>].

KINDER, T. (2012). "Learning, Innovating and Performance in Post-New Public Management of Locally Delivered Public Services". *Public Management Review*, 14, 3, p.403-428.

KLEIN, P.; MAHONEY, J.; MCGAHAN, A.; PITELIS, C. (2010). "Toward a theory of public entrepreneurship". *European Management Review*, 7, p.1-15.

KOCH, P.; HAUKNES, J. (2005). *On innovation in the public sector*. Retrieved from [URL: <http://www.brage.bibsys.no>].

LEMIRE, L.; MARTEL, G. (2007). *L'approche systémique de la gestion des ressources humaines: le contrat psychologique des relations d'emploi dans les administrations du XXI^e siècle*. Presses de l'Université du Québec, Québec.

LEWIS, J.M.; RICARD, L.M. (2014). "Innovation capacity in the public sector: Structures, networks and leadership". LIPSE project, Erasmus University: Rotterdam.

LOWE, B.; ALPERT, F. (2015). "Forecasting consumer perception of innovativeness". *Technovation*, 45, p.1-14.

MCDONALD, R. E. (2002). *Knowledge entrepreneurship: Linking organizational learning and innovation*. Thèse de Doctorat, Management, Université du Connecticut.

MCLAUGHLIN, K.; OSBORNE, S. P.; FERLIE, E. (2002). *New Public Management. Current trends and future Prospects*. Routledge: London.

MOUSSA, M.; MCMURRAY, A.; MUENJOHN, N. (2018). "A Conceptual Framework of the Factors Influencing Innovation in Public Sector Organizations". *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 52, 3, p.231-240.

OCDE (2015). *Construire une capacité organisationnelle pour l'innovation dans le secteur public*. Conférence de l'innovation dans le secteur public: de l'idée à l'impact, Centre de conférences de l'OCDE, Paris.

OECD/EUROSTAT (2005). *Manuel d'Oslo: Principes directeurs pour le recueil et l'interprétation des données sur l'innovation*, 3^e édition. OECD Publishing: Paris.

OSBORNE, S.P.; BROWN, L. (2011a). *Handbook of Innovation in Public Services*. Edward Edgar Publishing:

Northampton.

OSBORNE, S.P.; BROWN, L. (2011b). "Innovation in public services: engaging with risk". *Public Money & Management*, 31, 1, p.4-6.

PERETZ, H.; LEVI, A.; FRIED, Y. (2015). "Organizational diversity programs across cultures: effects on absenteeism, turnover, performance and innovation". *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 26, 6, p.875-903.

PERKS, H.; ROBERTS, D. (2013). "A Review of Longitudinal Research in the Product Innovation Field, with Discussion of Utility and Conduct of Sequence Analysis". *Journal of Product Innovation Management*, 30, 6, p.1099-1111.

POLLITT, C.; BOUCKAERT, G. (2011). *Public Management Reform: a comparative analysis*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

RAIPA, A.; GIEDRAYTE, V. (2014). "Innovation Process Barriers in Public Sector: A Comparative Analysis of Lithuania and the European Union". *International Journal of Business and Management*, 9(10), p.10-20.

RIVERA LEÓN, L.; SIMMONDS, P.; ROMAN, L. (2012), *Trends and Challenges in Public Sector Innovation in Europe*. [URL: <http://www.technopolis-group.com/>].

ROGERS, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of Innovation*, 5th edition: New York Free Press.

ROSENBLATT, M. (2011). "The use of innovation awards in the public sector: Individual and organizational perspectives". *Innovation*, 13, 2, p.207-219.

SALGE, T.O.; VERA, A. (2012). "Benefiting from Public Sector Innovation: The Moderating Role of Customer and Learning Orientation". *Public Administration Review*, 72, 4, p.550-560.

SCHEDLER, K.; PROELLER, I. (2007). "Public Management as a Cultural Phenomenon. Revitalizing Societal Culture in International Public Management Research". *International public management review*, 8, 1, p.186-194.

SCHEIN, E.H. (2004). *Organizational Culture and Leadership* (3rd ed.). San-Francisco, Jossey-Bass: CA.

SHAMS, R.; ALPERT, F.; BROWN, M. (2015). "Consumer perceived brand innovativeness: Conceptualization and operationalization". *European Journal of Marketing*, 49, 9/10, p.1589-1615.

STEWART-WEEKS, M.; KASTELLE, T. (2015). "Innovation in the Public Sector". *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 74, p.63-72.

- STRAUSS, A.; CORBIN, J. (1997). *Grounded theory in practice*, Sage publications.
- STRAUSS, A.; CORBIN, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing Grounded Theory*, Sage publications.
- STRAUSS, A.; CORBIN, J. (2004). *Les fondements de la recherche qualitative: techniques et procédures de développement de la théorie enracinée*, Academic Press Fribourg: Fribourg.
- SYDOW, J.; SCHREYÖGG, G.; KOCH, J. (2009). "Organizational path dependence: Opening the black box". *Academy of Management Review*, 34, 4, p.698-709.
- SZABO, E.; BRODBECK, F.-C.; DEN HARTOG, D.-N.-D.; REBER, G.; WEIBLER, J.; WUNDERER, R. (2002). "The germanic Europe cluster: where employees have a voice". *Journal of World Business*, 37, p.55-68.
- TAYLOR, S. (2018). "Innovation in the public sector: dimensions, processes, barriers and developing a fostering framework". *International Journal of Research Science & Management*, 5, 1, p.28-37.
- TOUATI, N.; DENIS, J.-L.; GRENIER, C.; SMITS, P. (2016). "Implementing Spaces to Favor the Emergence of Ecologies of Complex Innovation in the Public Sector: An Empirical Analysis". *Administration & Society*.
- TOWNSEND, W. (2013). "Innovation and the perception of risk in the public sector". *The International Journal of Organizational Innovation*, 5, 3, p.21-34.
- VIGODA-GADOT, E.; MEIRI, S. (2008). "New Public Management Values and Person-Organization Fit: A socio-psychological Approach and Empirical Examination among Public Sector Personnel". *Public Administration*, 86, 1, p.111-131.
- VIGODA-GADOT, E.; SHOHAM, A.; SCHWABSKY, N.; RUVIO, A. (2005). "Public Sector Innovation for the Managerial and the Post-Managerial Era: Promises and Realities in a Globalizing Public Administration". *International Public Management Journal*, 8, 1, p.57-81.
- WALKER, J.L. (1969). "The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States". *American Political Science Review*, 63, 03, p.880-899.
- WALKER, R.M. (2014). "Internal And External Antecedents Of Process Innovation: A Review And Extension". *Public Management Review*, 16, 1, p.21-44.
- WEAVER, R.K. (1986). "The politics of blame avoidance". *Journal of public policy*, 6, 4, p.371-398.
- WUNDERER, R.; WEIBLER, J. (1997). "Zur Führungskultur der Schweiz". *Die Unternehmung*, 4, p.243-272.
- WYNEN, J.; VERHOEST, K.; ONGARO, E.; VAN THIEL, S.; COBRA-NETWORK. (2014). "Innovation-Oriented Culture in the Public Sector: Do managerial autonomy and result control lead to innovation?". *Public Management Review*, 16, 1, p.46-66.
- ZALTMAN, G.; DUNCAN, R.; HOLBECK, J. (1973). *Innovations and Organizations*. New York: Wiley and Sons

