



The 9th Annual CAPPAA Conference, 2021

Facing the Challenges to Public Administration Research and Teaching

ABSTRACTS

Armchair Discussion: Understanding Public Administration through a Qualitative Lens

Searching for Canadian Political Heroism

Sandford Borins (University of Toronto)

This presentation will ultimately become a chapter in a book on narratives about politics and government in the UK, the US, and Canada. The paper interrogates English-language narrative texts on Canadian government and politics, primarily in moving-image format (film and television series) from 1960 to the present. A wide-ranging search identified 45 texts of cultural significance. They include biopics and documentaries about male political leaders (Mackenzie King, Pierre Trudeau, Rene Levesque, Tommy Douglas, Jack Layton), documentaries about women in politics (Flora MacDonald, Kim Campbell) and First Nations politics (the films of Alanis Obomsawin), and political satire. The dominant producers of these texts by far are public sector institutions – the CBC and NFB.

Some key findings are:

- Canadian texts present balanced portrayals of politicians' achievements and failings, in contrast to American and British tendencies to hagiography or demonization,

- Texts about women in politics have highlighted barriers to success (the double standard),
- Texts about First Nations have focused on oppression by Canadian governments,
- The dominance of British and American texts (*Yes Minister*, *The West Wing*, *Veep*, *House of Cards*) in the relatively small English Canadian market has led to the public sector being the only funding source for Canadian political moving-image narrative,
- Though political sketch-comedy has had some success (*This Hour has Twenty-two Minutes*), sitcoms about Canadian politics have invariably failed,
- Docudramas are currently too expensive to produce given public sector funding constraints, and
- The best hope for this genre in the future is with documentaries, which must receive increased direct support from the public sector and support from foreign-based social media companies being required by the federal government to fund Canadian content.

Teaching Public Policy and Public Management Online: Lessons Learned

Robert Shepherd (Carleton University)

Isabelle Caron (Dalhousie University)

Jean-François Savard (ENAP)

This panel presentation follows on the successful online workshop held by CAPPA on 2 June 2020. Approximately 75 scholars and students gathered from across the country to discuss the many challenges moving their courses from in-class presentation to online delivery. Key learning points from the workshop were summarized and an article prepared for the September 2020 issue of *Canadian Public Administration*. The workshop concluded that online learning has to be less teacher-centric and more geared to the needs of students; less control is better with a focus on andragogical principles; and, be prepared to engage with different learning tools in order to make the learning experience more dynamic for learners.

The purpose of this panel presentation is to build on these conclusions by providing the experience of four Schools teaching online under pandemic conditions. The views of colleagues were gathered through empirical evidence using the following questions as guide:

1. What have been your greatest challenges in moving to the online format?
2. What were the greatest needs of students in the online modality?
3. In what ways did you involve students in the design and delivery of your course(s)?
4. In what ways did your teaching “style” change, if at all, in the online environment?

5. Did your pedagogical approach to teaching change? In what ways?
6. If you had to do this all over again, what would you do differently?

Although simple evaluative questions, the insights from colleagues opened up the conclusions from the June 2020 workshop in important ways. For example, many colleagues would have paid greater attention to the workshop conclusion about sharing control with students. Although this issue is linked to confidence teaching online, some colleagues said that they would take these lessons back to the in-person classroom, thereby enhancing their own teaching style.

The presentation concludes that although the shift to online teaching has presented several challenges, teaching may have actually improved because: 1) greater preparation is needed to teach well in the online space; 2) sessions are better organized and the time better used; and, 3) courses in general are more dynamic and relevant to the needs of learners. The panel will also present ways in which online learning in our field can be further improved in general and for their units.

Successful Public Policy: Selected Cases from Canada

In Canada many public policies, programs, and services perform well. However, such success is consistently underexposed and understudied in the policy literature, which tends to focus on policy mistakes and learning from failures rather than successes. A project led by Paul 't Hart and Oxford University Press, and informed by the work of McConnell (2010, 2020), has been identifying and exploring cases of policy success globally and regionally. There is a Canadian arm of this project: *Successful Public Policy: Lessons from Canada*, edited by Evert Lindquist, Michael Howlett, Grace Skogstad, Geneviève Tellier, and Paul 't Hart (forthcoming), which will offer a mix of examples of successful public policy in Canada across recent decades. This panel will feature four case studies from the Canadian collection and explore various dimensions and gradations of policy success concerning process, program, politics, and endurance.

- Insite in Vancouver: North America's First Supervised Injection Site
Carey Doberstein (University of British Columbia)
 - The Great Lakes: Embracing the Complexity of Policy Success
Carolyn Johns (Ryerson University)
 - The Canadian Federal 1995–1996 Program Review: Appraising a Success Twenty-Five Years Later
Geneviève Tellier (University of Ottawa)
 - Modernizing Canada's Research Universities
Allan Tupper (University of British Columbia)
- Chaired by *Evert Lindquist* (University of Victoria)

Challenges Facing the Public Service

Leadership on the Run: An Analysis of Deputy Ministers' Time Allocation and Management in Canada

Patrice Dutil (Ryerson University)

This presentation examines the time allocation and management of Deputy Ministers in Canada, an important but understudied aspect of public sector leadership. Using results from a 2020 survey, this study observes that DMs work very long hours, consistent with leaders of the private sector. It also reveals that the members of this community tend to allocate their time fairly consistently across various functions. Nevertheless, there are important differences, particularly depending on the size of the department they lead. This study has important implications about the aptitudes of leadership, capacity development and sustainable HR practices that will lead to optimal results in matching executives and work environments.

The PBO's New Role in Costing Party Platforms: A Dangerous Mistake?

Brooke Jeffrey (Concordia University)

In June 2017 several changes to the Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO) mandate were adopted. Many of these changes – promised by the Trudeau Liberals in their 'democratic reform' commitments during the 2015 election – were widely supported. They included measures to provide greater independence and funding for the office and confer officer of parliament status on the parliamentary budget officer. However one proposed change proved highly controversial, drawing strong criticism from opposition parties as well as the incumbent PBO, Jean-Denis Frechette, and his predecessor Kevin Page. A key criticism of the proposal was *the danger that it would politicize the role of the PBO and diminish the already narrowing divide between bureaucratic and political actors.*

According to the government the measure, authorizing the PBO to evaluate the costing of party election platforms, was introduced in response to concerns raised over the accuracy of costing provisions in many party platforms in recent elections. The government also noted that its proposal was based on models already in use Australia and the Netherlands.

After minor modifications the measure was included in the 2017 legislation despite ongoing criticism. In late 2018 newly appointed PBO Yves Giroux announced that his office would begin preparations for that new role, and on June 23, 2019 the PBO ceased all other operations in order to devote itself full-time to the fulfillment of this new mandate.

Based on empirical evidence including interviews, party documents and media coverage, this paper will examine the role played by the PBO's platform costing

exercise in the September 2019 federal election and provide an initial evaluation of its impact.

Taking the Risk: Why Public Servants Ran in the 42nd and 43rd Parliamentary Elections

Andrea Rounce (University of Manitoba)

Assessing public servants' political activities often relies on an examination of competing values: the organizational values of neutrality, non-partisanship, and professionalism versus the individual value of freedom of political expression. The nature and scope of public servants' political activities allowed by the federal government have been challenged and negotiated since the 1991 Supreme Court decision that widened the definition of allowable activities. The 42nd Parliamentary Election saw an unprecedented number of federal public servants applying for, and being granted, leave from their jobs to run for office – a total of thirty-five. It was also an election characterised by public debates about which public servants could and could not express their political beliefs through this type of activity. Many thought that the number of public servants running was an anomaly and would return to historic levels. However, thirty-six public servants were granted permission to run in the 2019 Election – a surprise to many. Drawing on government data and interviews with public servants who chose to run for election, this paper addresses the following questions: Are there common characteristics among public servants running for office? What factors drive public servants to become actively involved in election campaigns? How do these political activities impact the relationship between public servants and elected officials? And finally, do these activities challenge the traditional bargain and contradict demands to de-politicise the public service?

Digital Transformation

Public Administration Education as a Driver of Public Sector Digital Transformation: Introducing “Teaching Public Service in the Digital Age”

Amanda Clarke (Carleton University)

When the COVID-19 pandemic hit, governments faced an immediate demand for digital capacity - to support online services to the public, for sophisticated public health data collection and analysis, and to enable virtual work amongst civil servants. Outside ad hoc, exceptional cases, public service institutions were largely caught off guard by this urgent need for digital capacity, and in particular, have been hamstrung by a workforce that lacks the skills and knowledge required of digital era governments. Those that teach current and future public servants - in particular, instructors within graduate

programs of public policy and administration - have a potentially powerful role to play in equipping the government workforce with appropriate digital era competencies. Yet, to date, these programs are largely bereft of the training that would prepare students to drive much-needed digital reforms in government. Most MPA and MPP programs only marginally address digital era skills in their core curriculum, leaving much of the learning to hands-on job experiences. In response to this dilemma, an international group of academics and public servants initiated “Teaching Public Service in the Digital Age” (TPSDA), with the initial goal of defining the competencies that public servants require in the digital age, and producing an open access set of teaching resources that can be integrated into programs of public policy and administration. This paper presents the eight digital competencies developed by the TPSDA collaboration, situating these within (a) the digital government transformation reform agenda with which public sector leaders are currently seized, and (b) historical approaches to public sector competencies and contemporary public service education curricula. The competencies, which address both skills and knowledge areas, aim to support public affairs schools and government digital academies in their efforts to provide essential digital upskilling of faculty, students, and public servants.

The End of the Policy Analyst? Testing the Capability of Artificial Intelligence to Generate Plausible, Persuasive, and Useful Policy Analysis

***Mehrdad Safaei* (MA Candidate, Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy)**

***Justin Longo* (Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy)**

One of the core functions in public administration and policy making is policy analysis, where public servants provide support for decision making with the aim of contributing to better decisions than would be made in the absence of such analysis. One predominant approach to conducting policy analysis lies in consulting a variety of sources to understand how a problem is conceptualized, synthesizing a large volume of information into a more manageable summary, considering alternative framings and responses, and developing recommendations for dealing with the problem. These recommendations are then communicated in writing to decision makers through synthesis documents such as briefing notes. Current Natural Language Processing (NLP) algorithms have the ability to generate text using a process similar to that which is employed by policy analysts, raising the question of whether part or all of the policy analyst’s function can be supplemented or even replaced by Artificial Intelligence (AI). I explored this question empirically by first creating three categories of briefing notes: AI generated, AI supported (hybrid AI/human), and human created. Two panels of experts made up of retired senior public servants were then asked to judge the briefing notes (without being aware of the method by which they were created) from the perspective of

a senior public sector decision maker (e.g., Deputy Minister) using a heuristic evaluation rubric to grade each note. I report on their evaluations as a basis for assessing whether current NLP technology is capable of generating plausible, persuasive, and useful policy analysis.

The State of the Field: Teaching Public Administration

Canadian Graduate Programs in Public Administration: The State of the Field

Ian Roberge (Glendon College, York University)

Judy Oduro (Research Assistant, Glendon College, York University)

There has been substantive growth in graduate public administration programming across Canada over the course of the last fifteen years. Gow and Sutherland in a 2004 article in *Canadian Public Administration* reviewed the state of the field comparing programs and denoting areas of strengths and opportunities. The objective of this paper is to look at the evolution of the fields of public administration, public policy, and public affairs since that time. How has graduate public administration programming evolved? How do programs prepare the upcoming generation of public servants? How have programs adapted to changes in the practice of public administration, as well as transformations happening across society more broadly? To address these questions, this research compares all graduate public administration and public policy programs in Canada using the information available on their websites. Programs are compared along three axes: curriculum, experiential education opportunities, especially work placements and internships, and distinguishing features. The analysis reveals that there has not only been a growth in the number of graduate programs, but also that there is a diversity of options for students interested in a public service career. At the same time, the capacity of programs to respond to rapid developments such as the data and algorithm revolution is uncertain. The paper concludes by stressing potential avenues to ameliorate program flexibility and resilience in light of societal transformations to ensure graduates continue to be well-prepared to work for the government of today and tomorrow.

Gow, James Iain, Sharon L. Sutherland. 2004. "Comparison of Canadian Master's Programs in Public Administration, Public Management and Public Policy." *Canadian Public Administration*. 47 (3): 379-405.

Teaching Policy Analysis in the Time of COVID

Éric Nelson (University of Ottawa)

This is a reflection on the experience of teaching policy analysis on issues of public health during the COVID-19 pandemic. The observations are grouped under two concerns. The first set of concerns is pedagogical in nature. It explores some of the dynamics of virtual teaching in public policy, as well as some of the challenges of teaching about a constantly evolving concern. The second is more theoretical and examines the place of resilience in policy analysis. Teaching policy analysis on an issue which currently affects virtually everyone, including every student, raises the question of what it means to conduct policy analysis in a climate of unease about the future. By raising some concerns around decision-making, forecasting, systemic shocks, and 'Wildavskian' perspectives on the limits to analysis, the paper aims to address how policy analysis as an activity calls upon the ability to remain resilient and think clearly in fearful times. This resilience may be of use in the future, and in other sectors, to students turned policy analysts. Rather than avoid potentially stressing issues, teaching public policy in a time of pandemic should seize the opportunity to generate resiliency by exploring the stressing issue head-on. All in all, the experience of teaching during a pandemic suggests that in public administration and policy, the societal context in which we teach has an impact on what we teach and how we teach it.

Is Computational Thinking a Feature for Teaching Public Policy?

Jean-François Savard (I'ENAP)

In 2006, Wing proposed the adoption of a new approach in education: computational thinking. In her now classic article (Wing, 2006), she argued that several key concepts in computer systems development should be taught to children in elementary and secondary schools, to develop cross-curricular skills that could then be applied in various fields other than computer development. Eleven years later, the author was asked to comment on the advancement of computational thinking education in North American school systems (Wing, 2017). Her definition of what computational thinking is and its key concepts has not changed, but she noted that rapid technological advances in algorithmic and so-called artificial intelligence systems have allowed the computational thinking approach to become popularized in different levels of education (elementary schools, high schools, colleges and graduate schools) and integrated into a wide range of disciplinary fields such as biology, finance, engineering, medicine, law, the arts, journalism, and even the social sciences.

Based on a review of various works on the use of the computational thinking approach in the social sciences, this paper will first present the approach and the fundamental concepts that characterize it. It will then seek to determine whether it is possible to integrate this approach into the teaching of public policy analysis and, in so doing, to

determine the impact of such an approach on the models usually used. This presentation will ask to what extent these models fit well with computational thinking or, on the contrary, are at odds with it.

Local and Rural Governance

Getting to Work: Navigating Place, Policy, and Public Administration in the Local Labour Market Dynamics in Saugeen Shores, Ontario

S. Ashleigh Weeden (PhD Candidate, University of Guelph)

Ryan Gibson (University of Guelph)

What happens in a rapidly growing community that's been recognized as one of the best places to live as it tries to keep up with labour demands, changing demographics, and challenges to the enabling infrastructure that support a strong labour market and economic development? Before the COVID-19 pandemic, and throughout its first year, local leaders in Saugeen Shores have been grappling with how to proactively support inclusive local labour market dynamics. However, persistent data gaps make crafting effective local government policy and programming challenging. Further, the quantitative nature of the data that is available often hides key relational and place-based dynamics at play in small and rural community contexts. In response to these gaps in research and practice, this paper presents a case study of the labour market dynamics in Saugeen Shores (and local public administrative responses to these dynamics) acquired through a community-engaged research initiative that included 23 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders across key local economic sectors (including local government, the private sector, employers, employees, and people looking for work in the community). Drawing from the political economy of rurality and place-based approaches to policy, we argue that local actors both inside and outside of government face critical challenges to supporting inclusive local labour market dynamics due to the tensions involved in rapid economic development.

This research was completed in partnership with Bruce Power, the Town of Saugeen Shores, and funded through a Mitacs Accelerate Internship at the University of Guelph.

Organization Planning is Not Dead in Local Government: Alive and Kicking

Kimberly Speers (University of Victoria)

Jennifer Hall (University of Victoria)

Sarah Greer (University of Victoria)

The paper presentation will explore the research findings of strategic and pandemic planning in local government in British Columbia and in general, the rest of Canada. The study first of all aims to identify the resource capacity of local government to

develop and implement strategic plans and then discusses the impact of COVID-19 on the strategic planning process.

Our research fills a gap in the knowledge of strategic planning in local governments by answering questions about what local politicians and administrators understand of strategic planning; the elements and stages of local planning processes; who is involved (internally and externally) in the development of strategic plans; the level and type of participation of stakeholders and the public; and the main outputs, benefits, and challenges of any planning elements/processes.

Having these questions in mind, our research tries to develop a comprehensive perspective on the entire strategic planning process at local level, leading to a clearer image regarding what strategic planning (or a strategic plan) means for local governments and rich data (quantitative and qualitative) regarding the actual process of planning (how it is done), covering the three main pillars (purpose, process, results).

By interviewing elected council members and senior administrators in 10 local governments in BC, we aim to contribute to the field of strategic planning by providing knowledge on (1) the main approaches of local governments across seven countries on strategic planning, (2) how contextual factors influence the planning process, (3) increased understanding of strategic planning at local level through a comparative perspective. The Greer study will specifically examine how municipalities in British Columbia planned for the pandemic (before, during, and after) and will contribute her initial findings from an extensive research framework.

COVID-19 and Government: Challenges and Opportunities

Government Accountability during COVID: Agile or Off-Center?

Kathy Brock (Queen's University)

Lori Turnbull (Dalhousie University)

Democratic accountability lies at the heart of robust governance and robust. As the leading literature coming out of the Friedrich-Finer debate indicates, the formal accountability of the executive to the legislative branch and thus to the citizens of a democracy, must be supplemented and balanced by a robust sense of subjective accountability that ensures public servants conduct themselves and execute their public policy responsibilities in accordance with their professional duty. Trust between the two branches of government is essential in achieving the balance between the two forms of accountability that serves the public good. In the past twenty years, studies of the operation of parliamentary systems of government (Savoie, Aucoin, Jarvis) have suggested that the increasing centralization of power in the central agencies of government and, especially around the Prime Minister and a small coterie of trusted

officials, have tipped the balance between the two forms of accountability, resulting in a reduction of the ability of the legislative branch to hold the government accountable for its policy decisions and outcomes.

RQ: How can public authorities best respond to complex policy needs in turbulent times like the pandemic while ensuring key norms of accountability and good governance are respected?

The 2020 pandemic challenged this understanding of the operation of parliamentary government in Canada. On the one hand, it laid bare the reality that the centre of government has become increasingly weak and unable to offer the leadership necessary for policy development and coordination required by the complexity and scale of current policy problems. On the other hand, it unveiled the struggle of the legislative branch to hold the government to account effectively for its policy actions. And yet, through it all, the Canadian government has been admired for its good functioning and ability to pivot to devise policies and programs to address the COVID challenge to the benefit of citizens. Thus, this somewhat paradoxical experience of the Canadian public sector during the pandemic provides insights into the government-parliamentary accountability relationship and possible lessons or best practices for parliamentary and other systems of government going forward out of COVID-19.

Methodology: Documentary analysis, interviews and interactions with senior officials in central agencies and line departments during COVID, and public reports. Both authors will draw on their current work as leads on teams investigating the lessons of COVID for the federal government in a forthcoming report and have also co-authored a working paper on the topic.

The COVID Pandemic: an Opportunity for Innovation in the Canadian Government
Luc Bernier (University of Ottawa)
Jim Mitchell (Carleton University)

Crises create opportunities for innovation according to the theory. But in practice? Since January 2021, we have conducted a total of 15 focus groups with selected groups of federal public servants, and over 20 interviews with Deputies and ADMs across the government to understand how the Public Service responded in the aftermath of the pandemic. We have found that despite all what one can read about the difficulties of innovating in government, the Public Service has been able to deliver a variety of new programs and services required by the crisis, to adjust them as new information/data became available, and to work very long hours to face the crisis. Technologically, there were some obvious challenges such as having to suddenly develop the capacity to meet online with tens of thousands of public servants working from home remotely. This paper explains what we have found listening to public servants at all levels of the federal government and in various departments, both in Ottawa and in the regions, on

various aspects of innovation. One of the important questions debated has been whether employees will go back to the previous normalcy and what changes in practice will remain from a year of pandemic lockdown? How, on what issues and where is it easier to innovate? This research has been done in partnership with the Public Service Renewal Secretariat of the Privy Council Office and has been focused on what has been done throughout the government around the *Beyond 2020* initiative. The analysis is grounded in the literature on public innovation, organizational culture and public entrepreneurship (see Bekkers et al, 2011; Bernier, 2014; Bernier and Deschamps, 2020; Borins, 2014).

The State: Understanding Changing Practice

Reinventing the Crowns: The Evolution of State-Owned Enterprises in Canada, 1988 to 2021

Malcolm Bird (University of Winnipeg)

The goal of the presentation is give a preliminary summary of my upcoming monograph on the current condition of state-owned enterprises (SOEs)/Crown corporations in Canada. It is tentatively titled: *Reinventing the Crowns: The Evolution of State-Owned Enterprises in Canada, 1988 to 2021*. Over the last thirty years in Canada there has been remarkably little academic work on these firms despite their continued presence and, in many cases, expansion in several sectors and the organization makeovers of their internal operations and external interactions. The focus of the presentation will be to outline the book by illustrating the unique path that Canada has taken, relative to other developed nations, in terms of continuing to use SOEs as policy tools. To do this, it will summarize the international context regarding the use of SOEs as policy instruments. Next, it will illuminate how Canada has been tepid in its privatization efforts and that when Crowns have been privatized, it has been to meet specific and pragmatic aims of the government – a widespread, ideologically charge drive is noticeably absent. The heart of the book will showcase contemporary Crown corporations to illustrate both how they have adapted to their circumstances and the ways in which they go about fulfilling their commercial and policy goals simultaneously. I am unsure exactly how this will be organized, but it likely will be structured around specific case study sectors (possibly electricity generation and transmission, retail-oriented Crowns such as auto insurance and alcohol retailing, financial services, and the like). The plan is to demonstrate the complexity and challenges that public ownership brings about to a publicly owned and operated corporate entity. The overall objective of the book is to showcase Canadian Crowns and how they manage a host of divergent and, oftentimes, conflicting demands made on them by citizens, governments, and stakeholders and that they are viable policy tools that Canadian governments continue to look to resolve the myriad of challenges they face.

Les disciplines de l'État : entretiens autour de la multidisciplinarité dans l'examen de l'État et du secteur public

Éric Nelson (University of Ottawa)

La communication présente l'analyse d'entretiens avec des chercheurs et éditeurs au sujet de l'enjeu, au Canada, que représente la variété des « disciplines de l'État » que sont l'administration, la gestion et les politiques publiques. Les entretiens livrent trois grandes catégories de préoccupations auxquelles elles sont communément soumises : 1) l'intra-champ, où sont débattus les mérites relatifs des disciplines, 2) l'extra-champ, où elles sont confrontées aux autres disciplines académiques, en particulier les sciences politiques et 3) le parallèle au champ, où elles sont confrontées à la connaissance appliquée. Les entretiens font état d'une variété de mises en situation, réelle et fictive, où sont performées des distinctions autour des trois disciplines selon une ou plusieurs formes de préoccupation. Ces mises en situation ont en commun de fournir des cadres de références institutionnelles permettant de projeter une légitimité académique. Elles reflètent ensemble trois ordres de préoccupations : l'intégrité conceptuelle des disciplines, l'étanchéité de leur frontière et leur mise à distance à l'égard d'un effet normatif de l'État dans la production intellectuelle. Les institutions associées au discours académique, en particulier les universités et les éditeurs, formeraient le contexte dans lequel se déploient ces prises de position. La communication vise à démontrer que le débat autour de la constitution des disciplines de l'État est révélateur d'une structure discursive rendue vivante et dans laquelle les chercheurs adoptent différentes positions le long de ces trois préoccupations de conception, frontière et normativité. Elle propose une définition concrète de la multidisciplinarité autour de ce processus de prise de position.

(Mis)Aligning Politicians and Admirals: The Problems of Long-Term Procurement and the Canadian Surface Combatant Programme 1994-2021

Andrea Migone (Ryerson University)

Alexander Howlett (King's College London)

Michael Howlett (Simon Fraser University)

This paper analyzes Canada's largest single procurement project: the Canadian Surface Combatant (CSC) project; what began as a \$26.2B project has now expanded, according to the latest PBO estimate, to at least \$77.3B. This project to build a new generation of 15 naval frigates has been fraught with difficulties and has expended several \$billion (\$1.9 in sunk costs according to the PBO) since its inception in 2008 without yet having produced a single vessel. Unlike other major Canadian aircraft, helicopter and submarine contracts over the past four decades, however, participants in the CSC have lauded the procurement process carried out to date and unlike the others, it is difficult to place the blame for a lack of progress on this project on the procurement process itself. The paper takes a broader look at large-scale (naval)

procurement and argues that for successful procurement/implementation to occur in this area what is needed is (a) clear naval doctrine supporting a weapons platform or system and (b) government acceptance of that doctrine. When these two imperatives are aligned, procurement can be expected to flow along relatively smoothly. But if (a) there is no clear doctrine and/or (b) government policy and doctrine are misaligned, then procurement can be expected to be highly problematic. This is especially likely for major systems involving long periods of time in which shifts in the partisan composition, and goals, of government may occur – as in the frigate case.