

**The Evolving Profile of Canadian Deputy Ministers: The Top levels
of Bureaucracy under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (2015-2022)**

Major Research Paper as part of the *Master of Arts Public*

Administration program

PAP 7998 Research Paper/ Mémoire

The University of Ottawa / l'Université d'Ottawa

June 12, 2023

Measar Musa

Student Number: 8171998

Word Count: 17, 061 words

Table of Contents

Executive Summary - Sommaire	3
1. Background and Literature Review	4
1.1 Why is this research important?	7
1.2 The Research Question.....	8
1.3 What are GIC appointments and how are they made?	9
1.4 Literature Review	12
1.5 Shifts in Frameworks	13
1.6 What were the Profiles of Senior Civil Servants in the Past?	15
1.7 From Confederation until 1988	16
1.8 1988 to the Present	20
1.9 The Deputy Minister of Today	22
2. The Explanation and Hypotheses	25
3. Methodology and research design	27
3.1 Why Focus on Appointments Made by One Prime Minister?	30
3.2 Validity and Reliability	31
3.3 Limitations	32
4. Data analysis, Results, and Discussion.....	35
4.1 Summary of General Observations	36
4.2 Gender Parity for the Trudeau Appointees	38
4.3 Education Levels Over Time.....	38
4.4 Region of Education.....	42
4.5 Fields of Education.....	46
4.6 Prior Government Experience.....	48
4.7 What will Deputy Ministers Look Like in the Future?	51
4.8 What the Government is Doing Today	51
4.9 Potential for Further Scholarly Research	52
5. Conclusion	55
References	57

Executive Summary

The role of a Deputy Minister has changed over time, with this being reflected in their demographics and qualifications. Preference has shifted to selecting individuals who are able to implement the policies set by governments, rather than specialists who offer policy solutions. This paper analyses the appointments made by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau between 2015 and 2022 to examine if this trend has continued over time by comparing the profiles of appointees to previous literature. The findings show that there has been a change among Deputy Ministers; there has been an increasing population of women and a substantial shift in the educational profile that favours higher education. The findings also show that some things have not changed. The majority of appointees still come from within the public service, were educated in the same fields and obtained their education in the same region.

Sommaire

Le rôle d'un sous-ministre a évolué au fil du temps, ce qui se reflète dans sa démographie et ses qualifications. La préférence s'est déplacée vers la sélection de personnes capables de mettre en œuvre les politiques définies par les gouvernements, plutôt que vers des spécialistes qui proposent des solutions politiques. Cet article analyse les nominations effectuées par le Premier ministre Justin Trudeau entre 2015 et 2022 afin d'examiner si cette tendance s'est maintenue dans le temps en comparant les profils des personnes nommées à la littérature précédente. Les résultats montrent qu'il y a eu un changement parmi les sous-ministres, qu'il y a eu une augmentation du nombre de femmes, un changement substantiel dans le profil éducatif qui favorise l'enseignement supérieur. Les résultats montrent également que certaines choses n'ont pas changé. La majorité des personnes nommées proviennent toujours de la fonction publique, ont été formées dans les mêmes domaines et ont fait leurs études dans la même région.

1. Background and Literature Review

In popular culture, especially in movies and TV shows that portray the business world, the top person in an organization- typically the Chief Executive officer, the CEO- is shown as a decisive, intelligent and successful individual that uses their skills to make difficult business decisions, lead large and complex organizations and achieve great wealth for himself- and usually it is depicted as a 'him', a male CEO. Even the media has sensationalized the role of a CEO, it shows the CEO as someone who may be inspirational, a leader not only in their organization but sort of a societal leader that embodies the image of success in the popular imagination (Bendickson & Solomon, 2016). More recently, CEOs have even become sources of motivation and inspiration on social media, with users sharing clips of wealthy and successful executives giving motivating speeches with powerful quotes, or talking about their habits and routines, as if encouraging others to emulate them.

However, the portrayal of their public sector counterparts is not so rosy, if it exists at all. The equivalent to the role of a CEO in the public sector can be the deputy minister, as it is the person who is responsible for the department's day-to-day function and is the executive leader of a large organization. The perception of these individuals, however, is largely non-existent in popular culture or the media, especially in the Canadian context.

One must go back to 1987, when the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) introduced a failed attempt at a comedy sitcom called *Not My Department*, the show lasted for one season only and did not impress any critics of the time. Analyzing the show in the context of this research paper, the protagonist of the show "Gerald Angstrum" is played by actor Harry Ditson, who plays the role of a federal deputy minister in the fictional "Department of Regional Incentive Targets". The department's leader is presented as indifferent, meek, and more concerned with trivial issues

than the urgent issues that are presented throughout the different episodes. The show is poor attempt to create a Canadian version of the successful British show *Yes Minister*, which had more success dealing with the same subject in a British context (Bawden, 1987).

The reality of deputy ministers, however, cannot be further from the failed *Not My Department* plot. The work of a deputy minister is much closer to that of a CEO than it is of a “paper-pushing” and indifferent public servant. Virtually all deputy ministers at the federal level in Canada manage multi-million-dollar budgets and are responsible for thousands of staff within their organization. They are responsible for dealing with complex and sensitive policy issues and delivering proposed solutions to politicians. Some deputy ministers such as those responsible for social programs, oversee the delivery of billions of dollars annually to recipients of federally managed social assistance or pension benefits. For example, the administration of the \$58.13 Billion Old Age Security payments under the *Old Age Security Act* will be done by Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC), a large department with over 30,000 public servants (Treasury Board Secretariat, 2023). This department, while it is extraordinarily large as it leads hundreds of programs and makes up over 10% of all federal government public servants, is only lead by 4 Deputy Ministers who oversee the whole department (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2023).

Deputy ministers exist in various democracies and are known by various names, such as permanent secretaries, under secretaries, deputy secretaries or inspectors general. Even in Canada, the equivalent role of a deputy minister may be called a different name, such as the president of an agency (Canadian Food inspection Agency and Canada Border services Agency are two examples) or the Chief of the Defence Staff, who is a public servant that reports to the minister of national defence (Department of National Defence, 2018). The roles that these individuals fill have the

common role of being appointed by the executive branch of the government (i.e., the Prime Minister), but the job is a non-partisan role that is the highest level of seniority in the department or governmental agency. These appointments are merit-based and follow strict rules as will be discussed later on in this research paper.

For clarity, this research paper will use the term “Deputy Minister” to describe all of the senior most civil servants in the Canadian federal public service. While that is the primary focus of the research paper, references may be made to an “associate deputy minister”, which is meant to be the second most senior person in the department. The reason for the inclusion of this rank in the discussion is that some appointments made at the level must also be made by executive (the Prime Minister) as will be described in the following sections. For further precision, the reference to the Canadian public service, the civil service, or the public service are all to be understood to be referencing the federal level of government in Canada, as some provincial governments may use the same terminology.

This paper will aim to look at the highest level of the Canadian Federal bureaucracy and assess its representativeness over time. Representative Bureaucracy in high level positions will be discussed and the methodology on how it is assessed will also be included.

The temporal focus of this research paper will be the appointments made under the tenure of one Prime Minister (Justin Trudeau) from his election in 2015 to the end of the year 2022. This allows us to better dissect and understand the goals of this particular leader and their governing style when it comes to selecting non-political appointees. This will also provide an opportunity for future researchers who wish to build upon this work by viewing common trends or anomalies through an analytical lens and comparing the appointments to the tenures of other leaders, which

may become of value in explaining the reasoning behind the selection of these individuals from a political or ideological point of view.

1.1 Why is this research important?

The importance of this research would be significant to better understand who is selected to become a senior administrator in the Federal Public Service, and how this has changed over time. Expanding this knowledge base could better explain what is typically needed in terms of educational attainment and previous experience to obtain these positions, potentially explaining why certain groups may be excluded from, or under-represented in these positions.

More importantly, diversity and representation play an important role in the morale of the public service, especially when the Canadian federal public service is staffed by and meant to represent the citizens it serves (who are diverse in their own right). Academically, researching is being carried to investigate ‘representative bureaucracy’, with early results suggesting the real value and importance of having a diverse and representative public service is demonstrated through empirical studies. Public trust in government institutions can in fact be increased by the bureaucracy taking steps to promote the inclusion of historically disadvantaged groups. And it is argued that by the inclusion of appointments that boost the diversity of the organization, the organization itself becomes better able to achieve its goals by meeting client needs and establishing trust and cooperation with all citizens (Ricucci & Van Ryzin, 2017).

Further research into representative bureaucracy demonstrates how the lack of representation creates a deficit in the ‘administrative leadership capacity’ of the federal public service, an example of this can be seen through the lens of gender the number of women in leadership roles over time, one can point to the fact that no women were in the senior ranks of the

public service prior to 1975, despite representing roughly 50% of the population that will be impacted by decisions of policy makers and administrators (Mau, 2020, p. 400).

1.2 The Research Question

What is the profile of appointed Bureaucratic elite (Deputy Ministers) in the Canadian Federal Public Service under the regime of Prime Minister Trudeau from 2015-2022?

This research question promises to explore the educational and experiential qualifications of appointees to the most senior positions in the Canadian federal public service during the seven years from 2015 to 2022. Specifically, their previous experience (in terms of time spent, if any) within the public service, as well as prevalence of advanced tertiary education, meaning a university degree beyond the undergraduate level, such as a Master or Doctorate degrees for example.

Other aspects that would be discussed while investigating this research question will include background information on the selection and appointment process, the various legal and regulatory provisions that govern this process, and what this all means for the Canadian public service and whether not these appointments would shape the civil service. Naturally, this type of research would be substantiated backed by the vast series of literature that is available on senior civil servants in Canada, using texts to help explain historical context and situate the research findings through a Canadian Public Administration lens.

First, the relevant literature will be discussed in depth to see what existing research says about the Canadian bureaucracy at the highest level of the federal government. Relevant studies will be utilized to create a theoretical framework around which the study will revolve. The next section will focus on the scientific methodology to be used and why it is the appropriate method

to analyze the data gathered. The data will be analyzed, and trends and findings will be discussed in the results and discussion to try and find answers to the research question. While the historical data and existing frameworks will indicate very clear trends that one would expect to continue, the analysis will demonstrate that the reality is more than a linear progression.

1.3 What are GIC appointments and how are they made?

Orders in Council are executive orders that are formally made by the Governor General on advice of the privy council (the Prime Minister and Cabinet). These orders are “a formal action taken by the Government. It is a legal document which can be used in a court of law” (Privy Council Office, 2021). These include Governor in Council (GIC) appointments, which are a type of Order in Council appointment. These appointments are made to fill positions such as the Heads and members of agencies, boards and commissions, chairs and members of administrative and adjudicative tribunals, Agents and Officers of Parliament, Ombudspersons. Additionally, chairpersons, directors, and chief executive officers of crown corporations are appointed through a GIC appointment process (Privy Council Office, 2021).

GICs include the appointment of Deputy Ministers in the federal government, most of the Deputy Ministers appointed are appointed by virtue of the legislation in sub section 127.1 of the *Public Service Employment Act* or under the act of a relevant agency or department that they will be employed at (Public Service Employment Act, S.C. 2003, c.22 ss. 12, 13).

Because of the above requirements, that notice of the appointment in an official Order in Council must be published in the *Canada Gazette* after the appointment is made. This multi-step and complex process entrenched in regulation such as *Formal Documents Regulations* of the *Public Officers Act*. According to this act, the Official document Registrar takes care of the

publication of these appointments in the Canada Gazette. This means that there is a public and official record in government documents of all the appointments made by the Governor in Council.

While the legal structure of the appointment process is tedious and complex. In practice however, the process is a much simpler and less structured. The decision to appoint a Deputy Minister is made by the Prime Minister based on a recommendation by the Clerk of the Privy Council, the most senior public servant in Canada (Wernick, 2021, p. 74). The Clerk often provides one or two recommendations, which are in turn based on the recommendations of a committee of senior officials (COSO), comprised of eight to twelve deputy ministers with the most experience (Bourgault, 2014, p. 367). Once the appointment recommendations are put forth to the Prime Minister, they are typically not rejected or further scrutinized as the Clerk has the responsibility of managing the Deputy ministers and assuring that they are assigned the appropriate role to match their experience and abilities (Wernick, 2021, p. 167). This means that the appointments are largely non-partisan and non-controversial. It is rare for a non-political appointee to make headlines, and the Prime Minister is rarely criticized for the choice that they make, as it is understood that the decision is based on the experience and abilities of the individual. These appointments are also much less interesting to the media and general public. *Who* Deputy ministers are is not often discussed, there is a general consensus that these are understood to be career public servants who are not political in nature. The details and history of tradition and how it came to be the norm will be further discussed in the following sections.

A noteworthy exception to this rule is the former Clerk of the Privy Council, Michael Wernick, who was publicly accused of ‘crossing the line’ by being promoting the partisan Liberal interests of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, rather than maintaining the required neutrality of a public servant (Boutilier, 2019). This came during a dramatic and much publicized testimony and

questioning in a House of Commons Justice committee meeting during its investigation of the SNC-Lavalin scandal, where the Prime Minister was accused of furthering private interests for the company by seeking to deliver them an alternative to prosecution. Finally, the drama ended with the resignation of Mr. Wernick that was covered in news media, a move that is not usually noted by national newspapers (Platt, 2019). Additionally, the Prime Minister was found to have contravened the *Conflict of Interest Act* in a damning report that also called the tactics and actions of Mr. Wernick ‘troubling’ (Dion, 2019). Surprisingly, academics have also noticed this is blurring of the line between impartiality and being an advocate for the political decisions of government. In a recent academic analysis, the evidence provided by the clerk is objectively analyzed, the study concludes:

“Comparing the Clerk’s testimony against evidence submitted to the committee also revealed some instances of truth-obfuscating tactics— withholding information, emphasizing certain facts over others and making false statements—all with the effect of putting the government in a more favourable light than what the evidence had shown to be the case” (Cooper, 2023).

Another notable exception that occurred during the current Prime Minister's tenure. That being his choice to appoint Brenda Lucki as the first female commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in 2018. This decision was later criticized as the commissioner was later considered to have failed at her duties during two crucial moments for the RCMP, those being the largest mass shooting in Canada’s history in 2020 and the ‘Freedom Convoy’ in Ottawa in 2022 (Humphreys, 2022).

1.4 Literature Review

In order to better understand the importance of the role that Deputy Ministers play and why their backgrounds are relevant, it is important to describe the previous research and literature that exists surrounding this topic. While various research has been conducted on administrators globally, this paper will naturally focus on research conducted on the Canadian federal public service. The historical and current perspectives of how Deputy Ministers are selected and how they interact with the political decision makers will also be discussed.

Representative Bureaucracy is an important, overarching topic that is the basis upon which the below topics will be explored. The definition of representative bureaucracy is at its most basic level is having the bureaucrats that serve the public be similar in make up to the population as a whole. How this is accomplished (and whether it is a goal at all) has important political and social implications for the government, especially in a multilingual and multicultural society like Canada (Turgeon & Gagnon, 2013a, p. 416).

Since this paper looks at the appointment of senior bureaucrats by a left-of-center political party that espouses the ideology of representatives and diversity, comparing the appointments made during their mandate will empirically determine whether their appointments hold up to their goals.

It is also important to note that there are many variables of what constitutes diversity and many factors to consider, gender, language, sexual orientation, ethnicity, educational attainment, immigration status and many more. There are especially pertinent in a society like Canada (Turgeon & Gagnon, 2013b, p. 37). So, it becomes clear that it is not easy to define which are valid

measures to assess and which are not, this research will rely on previous studies that have laid the path in that determination.

1.5 Shifts in Frameworks

To better understand how the public servant at the top levels are selected, one must understand the ‘Public Service Bargains’. These bargains refer to the unwritten agreements between governments and their public servants (the bureaucracy) regarding the expectations, roles, and responsibilities of each party. These bargains define the mutual obligations of the government and the public servants, including the level of job security, compensation, benefits, and work conditions. In Canada, there have been different types of public service bargains over time (Cooper, 2021, p. 37). Cooper (2021) also clearly defines the components of the bargains as the competency and loyalty of the bureaucracy, as well as the rewards offered by governments in exchange for the first two components (p. 37).

Broadly defined, there are three bargains that have been in place since Confederation, the first bargain, named the ‘spoils’ Bargain was in place from 1867 until 1918, when *The Civil Service Act* was enacted to reduce the influence of patronage on the recruitment process. This legislation established merit as the primary consideration for hiring and advancement in the public service, achieved through a competitive evaluation aimed at identifying the most qualified candidates (Miljan & Romualdi, 2022, p. 53). Prior to the implementation of this act, the appointments to posts at the top of the civil service were seen as a reward for politically contributing to the goals of the party and were not based on skills or merit and the loyalty of the individual appointed was solely to the party (Cooper, 2021, p. 38).

With the passage of time and introduction of more complex government programs and the development of the welfare state, the bargain shifted to a ‘Schafferian’ bargain - named after researcher Bernard Schaffer, where the government required the bureaucrats to be policy experts and knowledgeable administrators who would provide frank advice without fear of reprisal or job loss. These new administrators were also expected to be completely politically neutral (Cooper, 2021, p. 44).

The last bargain begins in the 1970s, when the ‘Managerial Bargain’ became commonplace. The shift towards this new form of bargain required the administrators to be less knowledgeable of the specific file or ministry they would lead and be a more general manager of resources. Loyalty became expected to the implementation of the political party’s agenda. The role of the bureaucrat became to implement whatever the government of the day deemed to be the best policy, rather than suggest policy or critique proposed policies (Cooper, 2021, p. 47). This shift toward this managerial bargain has also been more recently identified as ‘New Public Management’- NPM, which reflects the more recent (2004 and onwards) view of the public service and the relationship between political actors and the public service (Bourgault, 2011, p. 272).

Naturally, the relationship changes over time and there is rarely an exact date that can be pointed at to explain the shift from one framework to the other. Evolving bodies of literature are suggesting that if one looks closely, we may be in the midst of a shift from NPM to NPG- New Public Governance. This new framework focuses less on the results and more on how the policies are implemented with collaboration of partners and interdependence on other policy actors such as the non-profit sector (Brock, 2020, p. 260). However, this shift is not clearly yet a positive one, as critics suggest that GIC appointments made under this framework are just a ‘guise’ for political partisan appointments (Brock & Shepherd, 2022, p. 464). This suggests that the independence

between the political executive and Deputy Ministers by not as solid as in previous models, with the public service becoming more politicized in a response to the expanding public interactions that it has, especially with senior civil servants becoming less anonymous (Aucoin, 2012, p. 189). With Changing models and frameworks, one can expect the turnover of senior administrators to be exactly in line with the change in governments. This, however, has been disproven in recent empirical studies. Recent research shows that the appointment of administrators is more correlated with trust in the administrator and their ability to implement the proposed policies and agenda items of the government (Cooper et al., 2022, p. 196). This creates further considerations for what the Deputy Minister's role really is and whether the public servants are becoming "promiscuously partisan" and how that change is damaging to the impartiality of the public service (Cooper, 2023).

These Bargains and frameworks above explain how the public service interacts with governments, as there has been a demonstratable shift from political to non-partisan and merit-based systems, one can surmise that this shift will require a different type of appointee and the appointee will have to be a different type of administrator.

1.6 What were the Profiles of Senior Civil Servants in the Past?

Despite the importance of the role of the Deputy Minister in the implementation of the government's agenda, little has been done to study their professional characteristics until the 1950s, then some attempts were made in the 1960s and 1970s, but those studies never focused on the Deputy Minister, but they rather grouped senior officials as one group (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 1). Some works only look at some, but not all government departments and by comparing two points in time and attempting to establish a pattern (Carroll, 1991, p. 360). While choosing to compare only two points in time is another strategy that can be used to study an aspect of the profile of deputy ministers, it is not quite as complete as the work described above by Bourgault

& Dion, as it focuses on a specific competency, such as policy knowledge of the department over a 20-year period rather than looking at the individual deputy ministers and their profiles.

An exception to the lack of research is a 2014 paper published by the Centre on Public Management and Policy at the University of Ottawa. This paper does not directly discuss Deputy Ministers, instead, it focuses on the main ‘feeder group’, that is the Assistant Deputy Ministers (ADMs), this group is employed by the public service and obtain their positions by merit-based selection processes done by the government department or agency itself. Findings from this research paper will also be used to fill in gaps in understanding when looking at existing literature. This leap can be easily made specifically because over 60% of Deputy Ministers were previously ADMs (Leahy & Goldenberg, 2014 p.14).

1.7 From Confederation until 1988

Bourgault and Dion’s seminal 1993 study has been the most extensive, comprehensive, and conclusive study ever conducted on this topic. It is truly difficult to overstate the effort and level of detail that the authors were able to articulate in their study. It is worthwhile to be discussing their study and findings in this section.

The authors examined every single Deputy Minister appointment from 1867 to 1988, a total of 320 individuals who served as leaders of federal government organizations from confederation until the end of Prime Minister’s Brian Mulroney’s first term in office (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 2). The study used some of the same resources that this author will use, such as press releases from the Prime Minister’s Office, but also sources that are not readily available today, such as almanacs and obsolete publications like *Prominent men in Canada*. In addition to the career information of these individuals, the researchers were able to obtain data on what they

termed the 'profile of origin' of Deputy Ministers. This included data points from birth until the completion of schooling. Things like the father's occupation were also included in the authors' research to assess the social background of the appointees and determine whether their social mobility stems from a privileged standpoint (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 6), as well as their place of birth and where they spent their childhood (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p.8). Attempting to conduct this type of research today would be nearly impossible due to the difficulty in obtaining the data, as well as the ethical and privacy concerns and potential violations related to finding information about the individuals that is not immediately relevant to their roles as public servants.

The piece uses language that reflects the time period in which it was written, language used to describe the Deputy Minister always uses 'his' and 'him'. This is reflective of the investigation the authors conducted into the proportion of women at the top positions of the public service. For over 100 years, only men were employed as Deputy Ministers, until Sylvia Ostry's appointment in 1975 (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 3). The proportion of women as a percentage of Deputy Ministers remained low, and the authors noted that women have not been appointed to an 'economic' department as of 1988, meaning they were only entrusted with 'social' departments that were seen to be of lower importance. This is despite the author's findings that the women appointed were equally qualified in terms of education and experience in the public service (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 4).

One piece of information that is more easily obtained and can be replicated in this paper is the 'region of education', which uses the location in which the Deputy Ministers' education was obtained to determine the regional representativeness among the appointees (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 10). This study found that Ontario was overrepresented in the region of education, while the Canadian West and Maritimes are underrepresented when compared to the number of graduates

from each region. Many reasons are offered for this by the authors, for example, they put forward that most graduates of Master's and Doctorate programs come from Ontario and Quebec, and a higher level of education is constantly becoming necessary to obtain the top positions in the public service, it would stand to reason that these provinces are overrepresented (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 12). Another phenomenon noted by the authors is that Ottawa, having two universities with close proximity to the center of public administration in Canada was becoming the main provider of university degrees to those at the top level, with 15% of Deputy Ministers appointed between 1977 and 1984 having obtained at either the University of Ottawa or at Carleton University (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 15).

Another striking observation made is the level of education of Deputy Ministers over time, in the first 50 years after Confederation (until 1917), 65% of Deputy Ministers had no post-secondary education whatsoever. This proportion decreased significantly in the next 50 years, decreasing to 39% in 1947 and only 9% by 1967. At the end of the researched period in 1988, only 2% of deputy ministers appointed between 1977-1988 had no formal post-secondary education (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 13). The proportion of those with an undergraduate degree, Master's and Doctorate degrees all increased over the same time periods, with the largest shift being the holders Doctorate degrees increasing in proportion from 1% to 31% (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 13). The fields in which these appointees were educated also varied over time, with law, economics and management being the three most common disciplines for Deputy Ministers to have studied at the university level. The analysis provided by the authors suggests that the Deputy Ministers are becoming generalists who should be ready to adapt and work in different fields. An interesting note is that the field of public administration was not really present, with only 6 deputy ministers ever having been educated in the discipline (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 16).

The Career trajectory of Deputy Ministers before and after their appointments are also studied by Bourgault and Dion (1993). Their findings paint a picture of a Deputy Minister who has had an average of 26 years' professional experience before being appointed, with the majority of those years having been spent with the Federal Government. The study does focus in on the number of years spent at the same department and the last position before the appointment, both which seem to have been trending downwards since Confederation. This further supports the proposal of the authors that the Deputy Ministers are becoming more generalists that are expected to serve in any department within the Federal Government, rather than having one specialty. The number of private sector appointees and those from other levels of the broader public service (Provincial, Municipal) remained minimal. The number of years in the same position has declined significantly, from 12.2 years to 7.5 years. Lastly, the authors make the observation that there are less Deputy Ministers retiring or dying in office, and more are staying in the public service at equivalent, or slightly lower positions (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, pp. 19-26).

While this study is an impressive piece of high-quality academic research, it does discuss a few topics that, while valuable, are not directly within the scope of this paper. Topics such as the political activity of Deputy Ministers, social background, and age as well as conducting a comprehensive international comparison on each of these categories. Some of these may be relevant and will be touched upon and discussed, but not to the same extent that has been done by Bourgault and Dion (1993).

Bourgault and Dion's (1993) findings demonstrate that there has been a significant change in the proportion of women, the educational profile, positions after their service at the top level, and career trajectory of Deputy Ministers over a large period of time.

1.8 1988 to the Present

While Bourgault and Dion's 1993 study has been quite an extensive overview that provided an extremely detailed look at the profiles of Deputy Ministers since confederation until 1988, this research topic seems to have gained little interest from academic researchers since then. Few studies have been conducted since to specifically study the Deputy Ministers at the Canadian Federal Government level, but none have been as extensive or addressed as many topics as the 1993 study. There are, however, a few pieces of literature that can be reviewed for some help to put together pieces of the puzzle to develop a better picture of how the Deputy Ministers have changed since 1988.

Some works addressed only specific timeframes and the focus of which has been studying Canadian Deputy Ministers in a broader international comparison context such as Carroll's (1996) paper. In this study, the author examines the background of bureaucratic elites across six different countries over a period of twenty years from 1971-1991, attempting to find patterns and dissect the reasoning for the existence of such patterns. Specifically, the author examines mobility within the specific department or ministry the bureaucrat was appointed to, the age at which they were appointed and the educational background of the officials. The analysis over a 20-year period shows the level of education increasing over time and a higher percentage of senior bureaucrats obtaining more advanced degrees (Carroll, 1996, p. 393). The study concluded that while there are differences between the senior officials from different countries, there are patterns that could broadly define the experience and education profile of an elite bureaucrat (Carroll, 1996, p. 395).

A more recent attempt to scientifically quantify the profile of Deputy Ministers was in 2006, this study looks at the results of a survey conducted by the authors in the summer of 2006. The researchers sent out 941 mail-in surveys to deputy and assistant deputy ministers in the federal

government, as well as their counterparts in the provincial and territorial administrations (Evans et al., 2007, p. 609). The survey focuses on age, gender, education, and career trajectory, amongst other ethnographic information. The study also touches upon the concept of representative bureaucracy, why it is important and what the benefits of it are. The study presents the results of the survey and discusses the possible implications for the different levels of public service organizations. While this may offer some insights into the public service as a whole and comparatively between levels of government, the focus is not solely on the Federal Government, which make it less applicable to this paper. Additionally, the results of the mail-in survey found that those surveyed at the federal government level had the lowest response rate of the study, making the data less trustworthy (Evans et al., 2007, p. 612).

The topic gains interest nearly a decade later, but the focus is once again not exactly on Deputy Ministers, but rather Assistant Deputy Ministers ‘ADMs’, those employed at the highest level of the public service without an appointment by the Prime Minister, meaning they get their positions via a competitive job process that is run internally within the department, or one that is open across the Federal Public Service. As noted by the authors, the findings may become relevant, but are not fully applicable to Deputy Ministers, since many ADMs decide to retire at that already high level (Leahy & Goldenberg, 2014, p. 17). The main takeaway from the study is that the public service is not well structured to provide a career trajectory that will benefit those at the senior executive level, and that much work is needed to bring a new form of professionalization at the top levels to ensure the senior executives at the ADM level have the experience and tools needed to better perform and lead their organizations (Leahy & Goldenberg, 2014, p. 73).

Also in 2014, there is an academic book that is published that explores deputy ministers across jurisdictions in Canada, *Deputy ministers in Canada: comparative and jurisdictional*

perspectives (2014), was compiled by the most leading researchers on the topic in Canada. Only one chapter, however, was dedicated to Deputy Ministers at the federal level, and the focus of this chapter was not necessarily a profiling of Deputy Ministers, but some data points in the chapter do touch upon the change in the education levels over time, time spent at their position, and last position held before becoming a Deputy Minister. Unsurprisingly, this chapter was authored by Bourgault himself, the same co-author of the 1993 seminal study. In this (Bourgault 2014) piece, which looks at data up until 2008, although a more fragmented and less detailed data set was examined, much of the same patterns hold true. The appointment tenure of the Deputy ministers continued to decline in length, averaging only 2.5 years in the same position (Bourgault, 2014, p. 384). The previous sector worked in prior to being appointed to the Deputy Minister post still remains largely dominated the public service (Bourgault, 2014, p. 387). The educational levels of the appointees also remained high, with one notable exception to the trends observed in 1993. In 2008, while the deputy ministers are virtually all university graduates, the number of those with only an undergraduate degree decreased to 21%, while those with a Master's degree increased to a whopping 64%. The most surprising trend is that the proportion of those with Doctorate degrees decreased from 30% in 1988, to 12% in 2008, suggesting that the focus is further on the managerial rather than the policy specialty and competence of the Deputy Minister (Bourgault, 2014, p. 383). The region of education is still dominated by Ontario, with 67% of Deputy Ministers having obtained an education there.

1.9 The Deputy Minister of Today

It is worth briefly considering the various dimensions of specialties and expertise required to be an effective Deputy Minister at the Federal level. This section will briefly highlight the

scholarly literature on the topic to present the necessary qualifications to face the challenges and demands that come with the role of the Deputy Minister, and that role has changed over time.

For a bit of a historical perspective, one must look to 1987, where a study was published that situated the role of the Deputy Minister quite impressively in considering all that the Deputy Minister has to do. The study describes the role of the Deputy Minister as having an additional layer of complexity above the requirements of a neutral public servant, that is by working at the intersection of two environments (the political and the bureaucratic), with each having a very different set of priorities and values (Plumptre, 1987, p. 378). The Deputy Minister is expected to balance the needs of each environment and provide the necessary policy advice to the minister, while managing the complex administrative requirements of heading a large organisation that has many legislated and formal reporting requirements to different government bodies such as the Treasury Board Secretariat. Interestingly, it is noted by the author that some staff in the Prime Minister's Office may make attempts to interfere in the administration of the department without the minister's awareness, pointing out a trend that other researchers have pointed to becoming much more common in more recent years (Plumptre, 1987, p. 379).

In 2003, another work by Bourgault indicated that the role of the Deputy Minister has been rapidly changing due to the increased visibility of the role, attending parliamentary committees to respond on behalf of the department, increased presence in the media and the increased pressure from Parliament and the public (Bourgault, 2003, p. 9), this has been suggested to change the type of work the Deputy Minister must perform and the type of advice they must provide. The study also highlights that the Deputy Minister is no longer expected to be a specialist in one field of policy that they have worked in extensively, but they are rather expected to be managers and generalists that are much more aware of factors external to their department, namely politics, the

media, and the public perception of their department (Bourgault, 2003, p. 14). This studied indicates the continued involvement of the Prime Minister's Office in matters of the department, with some Deputy Ministers interviewed expressing concern over losing some of their autonomy to politically appointed staff, who have different values and expectations on how the department should make its decisions (Bourgault, 2003, p. 116). It is worth mentioning that there exists an official *Guidance for deputy ministers* that was also released in 2003 by the Privy Council Office. This document lays out the responsibilities and accountabilities of a Deputy Minister and how they should be viewing their role as part of fulfilling their legislative and administrative obligations (Privy Council Office, 2003, pp. 5–18).

Many commissions have been formed to study the state of the public service for varying reasons, the most recent was the *Gomery Commission*, which presented its findings in a series of reports in 2006. Some of these reports relied on academic scholars to scrupulously study the aspects of also established a clear assessment of what the reality is for Deputy Ministers at the time. Further to the previous literature, the reports point out that the Deputy Ministers' roles have required further accountability alongside a growing set of obligations and increased pressures from the political environment that they have to deal with on a daily basis (Bourgault, 2006, pp.283-285). The same concerns are also echoed by Peter Aucoin, who further highlighted the increased pressures owing to the Deputy Ministers becoming more visible due to parliamentary appearances and public consultations (Aucoin, 2006, p.304). Moreover, it is highlighted that there is no real way that the appointment of Deputy Ministers can be perceived to be actually politically neutral, as the Prime Minister is the one who makes the appointment, and this system increases the possibility of the politicization of the most senior public service executives. It is put forward that to balance this, a selection committee be set up that is independent of the Prime Minister, with

external members to decide who should be appointed to head a certain department (Aucoin, 2006, p.331). While these recommendations came forth as part of the 2006 commission, they were never implemented.

From the above literature, we can establish that the role of the Deputy Minister in the federal government has significantly changed over time, becoming more ‘politicized’, but not necessarily partisan (Bourgault, 2014, p. 370). This means that deputy ministers have had to adapt to become more aware of the media response to their department’s actions, as well as the media’s response to their Minister’s statements and actions.

Moreover, Deputy Ministers must be aware of Cabinet priorities and how their departments play into the larger goals of the government of the day, with considerations being made for the increasing frequency of interference of political staff from the Prime Minister’s Office. This is in addition to the organizational demands of management of a large government department. One can therefore surmise that the role of the Deputy Minister as a policy advisor has continued to take a smaller and smaller role over time. This has also been reflected in the evidence regarding their education levels and career trajectories, the preference has shifted over time to selecting individuals who are able to manage and respond to the needs of the government in implementing the policy choices made by the government of the day, rather than those who critique it and provide advice on what the policy should be.

2. The Explanation and Hypotheses

The measures that are used to determine ‘diversity’ in terms of race, family status, socioeconomic levels, ethnicity, creed, or sexual orientation are incredibly difficult to determine

due to the limitations of the publicly available data, as well as privacy and ethical concerns in attempting to establish all these measures. These measures also play into diversity but are not often considered as they tend to be outweighed by more culturally relevant (for the time period) indicators such as race and gender. It is important once again to note that this area is not well studied, and few academic studies on the subject exist.

However, a useful alternative is the use of proxies to determine the relative diversity of individuals. This is from the fact that if the data indicates that individuals come from a similar educational background, having been educated in the same region and in the same institutions, then they are more likely to have similar backgrounds. These proxies will serve as the determinants of diversity in this paper as there exists an easily accessible public dataset that can be utilized.

This paper will aim to test the below hypotheses based on the results of the research undertaken and using the methodology that will be outlined in the following sections.

Hypothesis 1 (H1): There is an increasing population of women in the most senior positions than in previous years.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): The most recently (2015-2022) appointed senior civil servants have a more varied educational background than their predecessors, specifically:

H2a: There is a greater proportion of more advanced university degrees.

H2b: There is a greater variety in the region where the education was obtained.

H2c: There is a greater variety in the fields of education.

Hypothesis3 (H3): There is a larger proportion of appointees that come from outside the public service.

3. Methodology and research design

The examination of the changing composition of the public service, in terms of career trajectory, educational attainment and demographical diversity will be the key points of this research paper. To focus on the most senior levels- especially Deputy Ministers in the Canadian federal public service, a rigorous scientific methodology is required for collecting and analysing the data available to explain the appointments made in a comparative, temporal fashion.

The nature of the appointment process of Deputy Ministers and Associate Deputy Ministers in the federal public service that was described above, means that there is a public record in official documents of all the appointments made by the Governor in Council. This is equally true for the period starting in October of 2015, when Prime Minister Justin Trudeau came to power. This official notice sets out the appointee's name and the position that they are being appointed to, along with their remuneration and which statute is being employed by the GIC to appoint them to their role. It is important to note that while some orders-in-council may be secret on the discretion of Cabinet due to national security concerns, the appointment of individuals to head departments of the public service does not fall under such exemptions, so all the records should be publicly available.

Using these documents, the names of all the appointees, the effective date of the appointment, the department or agency that the individual is being appointed to, can be easily obtained. Furthermore, since the appointment is considered to be a decision made by the Prime Minister, the Office of the Prime Minister issues a press release announcing a "Change in the Senior Ranks of the Public Service" every time there is a forthcoming change. This release also

announces the names of the individuals being appointed, the position that they are being appointed to, and since multiple appointments are usually made or announced together, those senior officials retiring or leaving the public service will be thanked for their service to the public. This information is posted on the web and is archived under the Prime Minister's official website "www.pm.gc.ca" and are classified as "News Releases".

Most crucially for this research project, the press releases include biographical notes indicating the appointees' education, previous government experience, and any awards and distinctions, if applicable. This is an excellent resource for data collection and compiling the public information available on these individuals that may not be otherwise available. It is not clear that this information is required to be included with the news release, but it has been included for the vast majority of cases, with few exceptions that seem to be unintended since there is no pattern related to the type of appointment or appointee.

While the above provides a brief overview of the Deputy Ministers' career profile, it is often limited to the most recent positions and does not always mention the details of the educational skill obtained by the appointee. Another source of information about these individuals' career trajectory, educational attainment and demographical diversity that will be used to obtain missing or incomplete data points will be the 'professional' social media platform *LinkedIn*. With the infiltration of social media to every part of our daily lives, more and more professionals have publicly posted their resumes and career accomplishments on platforms such as LinkedIn. This will provide another source of information about these individuals. In some circumstances, when this is not sufficient or available, a web search will be conducted in an attempt to find webpages describing speaking engagements or events the individual has attended, which are usually accompanied by a brief biography of the individual.

From the above, data was collected on each appointee's highest education achieved, their previous roles, and the amount of time they have spent in the public service. Other information such as gender, the province of education in which the highest degree was obtained, tenure in their role, number of previous appointments at the most senior levels will also be collected where available. This will be done in attempt to align the data collected and analyzed the existing literature. Other data points such as whether the individual has gone on to a different role in the private sector will be collected, although it will not be used in this research project to the same degree as the other, more pertinent data points.

The data will then be coded and analyzed to look for trends and differences between the appointments made in the period of 2015-2022 and previous appointments that have been analyzed by existing literature. Statistical data analysis will be done to examine if the nature of the appointments marks a pattern or a trend. The hypotheses will be tested and established theoretical frameworks will be used to attempt to explain why there had or hadn't been a significant change in the Canadian Federal Public Service at the most senior levels over time.

This methodology follows previous scientific analysis of public records for the same purposes, but also using new platforms made possible with new technology and wide-spread use of the internet. For example, in Bourgault and Dion's (1993) analysis, they make reference to the use of almanacs and other paper-based sources that will be used much less frequently in this research, largely for the reason that these sources are no longer easily accessible, and frankly do not contain the same level of detail as was available in previous years. While the majority of the research conducted by the two esteemed researchers relied on paper records, for this project, the majority of documents reviewed will be viewed on the web, this is also reflective of the large

period of time during which no significant data sets have been made available on this research topic.

3.1 Why Focus on Appointments Made by One Prime Minister?

As mentioned previously, Prime Minister Trudeau has focused more on gender equality and diversity than his predecessors, appointing a gender-balanced Cabinet in 2015, and aiming to keep that balance of appointments throughout his tenure. Mr. Trudeau has also attempted to distinguish himself by putting the Feminist agenda front and center of his agenda, even requiring GBA+ (gender-based-analysis) to be done on policies of the government. Although the Trudeau style of highlighting the steps his government has taken to be a Feminist government, academics are not convinced that the changes that have been made, are substantially different than his immediate predecessor Stephen Harper, with some calling Trudeau's brand of policies "Facebook Feminism" (Ashe, 2020). It is worth noting however, that in addition to the first gender-balanced Cabinet, Trudeau has also been leading the way on many 'firsts' for the selection of individuals to some positions, namely the appointments of individuals from under-represented groups. For example, the appointment of the first Indigenous Governor General, the first female RCMP commissioner, the first Indigenous Supreme Court justice and the first Indigenous woman to be named Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada. Prime Minister Trudeau seems to keep this trend when considering highly visible appointees, recently reporting to be considering an appointment of an Indigenous individual to be the next RCMP commissioner (Yun, 2023).

In terms of GIC appointments, the aforementioned changes to the selection processes made by Trudeau were intended to reduce the political influence of the executive. Interestingly, the aim of this change was to act upon retroactive appointments as well, as this policy also stated that:

“[I]ncumbents who were not appointed through the open, transparent, merit-based selection process established in February 2016, and are interested in continuing to serve, must apply through a selection process” (Privy Council Office, 2016).

The current Liberal government considers the results of this change in the selection processes to be a political success. These results were also academically analyzed and established to be an objective success in implementing the policy goals of Mr. Trudeau (Miljan & Romualdi, 2022), with the appointments being made over the last 7 years leading to a make up that is largely reflective of the diversity of the Canadian population. More recently, the government’s self-assessment of this program also lends itself to the story of a successful change, as indicated by the Privy Council Office’s *2023 Results of appointments completed through open, transparent, merit-based processes*:

“As of January 3, 2023, there are over 1,860 people appointed to administrative tribunals, agencies, boards, commissions, international organizations, and Crown corporations. Of these appointees, 51.4% identify as women, 11.6% as visible minorities, 7.0% as Indigenous peoples, and 4.2% as persons with a disability” (Privy Council Office, 2023).

3.2 Validity and Reliability

Validity is defined as “congruence and “goodness of fit” between an operational definition and the concept it attempts to measure” (Singleton & Straits, 2018, p. 131). More concretely, it is the measurement the researcher is performing the correct one to be performed to measure the variable that is the intended target of the study. In this research paper, the intention is to study the varying educational levels and diversity of Deputy Ministers over time. The author is proposing that the methodology put forward to study these variables represent a valid measurement.

Reliability is defined as whether “repeated applications of the operational definition under similar conditions yield consistent results” (Singleton & Straits, 2018, p. 131). Put differently, is the measurement tool a consistent factor that is not subject to slight variations that could skew the results of the research. In this study, the author proposes that the methodology presented uses a research tool that is consistent in that the data being studied is fairly objective. For example, educational attainment and career trajectory are indicators that are evidently classified in an ordinal fashion, with a master’s degree being a more advanced educational qualification than a Bachelor’s degree, and a managerial role in the public service being a more advanced role both in terms of responsibility and pay scale, meaning it is an objective tool to assess career progress.

3.3 Limitations

This methodology follows the research methods described by Singleton and Straits (2018); it also suffers some of the inevitable shortcomings that come with any research project of any size. Using data from a source like LinkedIn can be risky, as the data is self-reported, meaning the individuals fill out their own profiles and record their own educational and career achievements, leaving room for errors, both intentional (to appear more successful or educated) or accidental, such as typographical errors in recording the year the person graduated or obtained a post. The use of data also underlines the importance of the data analysis process, as rigour and a great degree of caution must be employed to determine if trends actually exist rather than making the error of confirmation bias and assuming that the public service has dramatically changed in the past, so it must continue to do so. Using the above-mentioned methodology relies on similar studies previously conducted by leading investigators in this field, such as the influential work done by Bourgault & Dion (1993). Relying on the methodology used by previous peer-reviewed studies is

the approach recommended by experts in the social sciences field as this ensures that the choice of methods used to conduct data collection and analysis are solid (Singleton & Straits, 2018, p. 397).

An additional obstacle is that some individuals do not participate on the LinkedIn platform, meaning that the only likely source of data is the new releases issued by the Prime Minister's Office as described above. It is worth noting however that the biographical notes issued by the Prime Minister's Office are sometimes incomplete, and list only the appointees' executive experience, rather than a complete listing of their career trajectory and education.

Other methods of completing this type of research do exist, such as interviews with the appointees themselves or requesting to access the government's records about these appointments. But such methods would be too costly and time consuming for this author, as there 76 Associate Deputy Ministers and Deputy ministers as of March 2021 (Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet, 2022). Additional obstacles such as privacy policies and legislations surrounding the Deputy Minister's roles would also come into play, hindering the opportunity for a frank discussion.

Even if it were possible to conduct interviews, they would not be the best option in this study due to several reasons. Firstly, Deputy Ministers may not be willing to participate in the study, either because their schedules are too busy or because they do not want to disclose personal information. Secondly, even if some Deputy Ministers agree to participate, they may not provide accurate information about their career progression and due to social desirability bias. Social desirability bias occurs when participants provide answers that they think the researcher wants to hear rather than their true beliefs or experiences (Singleton & Straits, 2018, p. 332). In the case of Deputy Ministers, they may provide information that portrays them in a positive light or conforms to societal norms and expectations. For example, they may overstate their qualifications or

understate their challenges and obstacles. Therefore, the validity of the data collected from interviews with Deputy Ministers would be less reliable than biographical data that is publicly available.

Additionally, the study may face limitations due to the small sample size. Depending on the number of Deputy Ministers who do decide to use LinkedIn and have active and accurate profiles, combined with the information on the Prime Minister's website, the sample size may be too small to make generalizations about the entire population of Deputy Ministers in Canada if a large enough sample does not use LinkedIn. This could limit the external validity of the study's findings. However, as will be discussed below, approximately one third of the appointees examined in the scope of this research do not use LinkedIn.

During the final phase of the data collection that was conducted in April of 2023, an unexpected turn of events also took place that led to a disruption and temporary stoppage of data collection. On Tuesday, April 11, 2023, the main website that was being used for data collection, was attacked by Russian hackers who were able to successfully shut down public access to the Prime Minister's official website. The Prime Minister recognized that this was a possible attempt at retaliation by Russian state agents, as it was timed with the visit of Ukrainian Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal to Canada (Tunney, 2023). This incident, while was only publicly recognized for the one-day incident, resulted in intermittent disruptions to the author of this paper over a period of 3 days, with the website frequently being out of service. Data collection was completed after the few days with no further disruptions. This highlighted to the author the need for archival systems to be maintained in case of major impacts or long-term disruptions. This concern and suggestions for archiving this kind of data were made to the Prime Minister's Office by the author.

4. Data analysis, Results, and Discussion

As is the case with other studies (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 1), those appointed as ‘special advisors’ or positions that are equivalent to the Deputy Minister level, but without actually heading a Federal Government Department or Agency, will not be considered as part of this study. Examples of such position titles are ‘Special Advisor to the Clerk of the Privy Council on the Syrian Refugee Initiative’, ‘Foreign and Defence Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister’ or ‘Senior Advisor to the Privy Council Office’. These changes are often done to allow the individuals a progression in career prospects (for example, by a promotion to reflect an increased responsibility) or to allow the Clerk of the Privy Council to place them in a temporary position without losing pay or years of service while they are re-allocated to another portfolio. By following a similar criterion of methodology to previous studies, this ensures a more concrete scientific comparison, and a recognized scientific methodology is being applied (Singleton & Straits, 2018, p. 397). This study also does not examine Agents of parliament or positions that have a legislative requirement to be approved by resolution of the House of Commons and Senate. Appointments made on an interim basis or those that simply add additional titles, or a change of titles will also not be considered.

This data was analyzed by using Microsoft Excel, a commonly used spreadsheet application used for calculations, graphs, and data analysis. The data collected was manipulated using existing functions of the software. No advanced equations or formulas were used.

To determine the gender of the appointees, the primary method for virtually all of the appointees was the use of the press release of the Prime Minister’s website and observing the pronoun used to describe the person, for example ‘he’ or ‘her’. In the few cases where this method of gender identification by language use was not possible because of the use of gender-neutral language, the picture of the individual was used to ascertain the gender they present themselves

as. Pictures were either obtained from LinkedIn, or in some cases from the departmental website where the Deputy Minister works. The author unreservedly apologizes if any errors were made in mislabelling the appointees' preferred gender identity.

The data analysis will consist of two sections, first, the appointments to the Deputy Minister level that were made by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, to demonstrate if there are any trends or noteworthy findings in terms of gender parity. Next, the whole set of appointees at the Deputy Minister level, including those who were originally promoted to the Deputy Minister level by Prime Minister Stephen Harper but moved to a different portfolio (re-appointed) will also be considered in a wider range of analysis looking at the profile of all those who have been appointed (or re-appointed) to a Deputy Minister position since Justin Trudeau took office. The educational and career profiles of the appointees will then be compared to historical data collected by the researchers mentioned above to determine the change over time.

Of note, no Deputy Ministers who were appointed during the tenure of Prime Minister Paul Martin or earlier Prime Ministers were part of the appointees examined.

4.1 Summary of General Observations

The below **Table 1** provides some of the general findings about the data collected. While 197 appointments were made at the Deputy Minister level by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, these positions were filled with only 128 individuals. Of note, the vast majority of those individuals (two-thirds) were appointed into the Deputy Minister level by Justin Trudeau, reflecting the length of time that he has been in office (nearly eight years at the end of 2022).

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of individuals (% of N)</i>
<i>Appointments to the Deputy Minister level</i>	197	N/A
<i>Unique individuals appointed (N)</i>	128	100%
<i>Individuals who had a LinkedIn account</i>	96	66%
<i>Retired individuals (as of January 1, 2023)</i>	35	27%
<i>Individuals appointed by Trudeau</i>	86	67%
<i>Individuals appointed by Harper</i>	42	33%
<i>Men</i>	65	51%
<i>Women</i>	63	49%

Table 1- General observations

It is important to note that those 128 individuals that were appointed over the time period (2015-2022) considered will be the main point of focus for this paper, as they are the ones appointed exclusively by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and can be considered as ‘new’ appointments, a breakdown of the appointments by year is provided in **Figure 1** below.

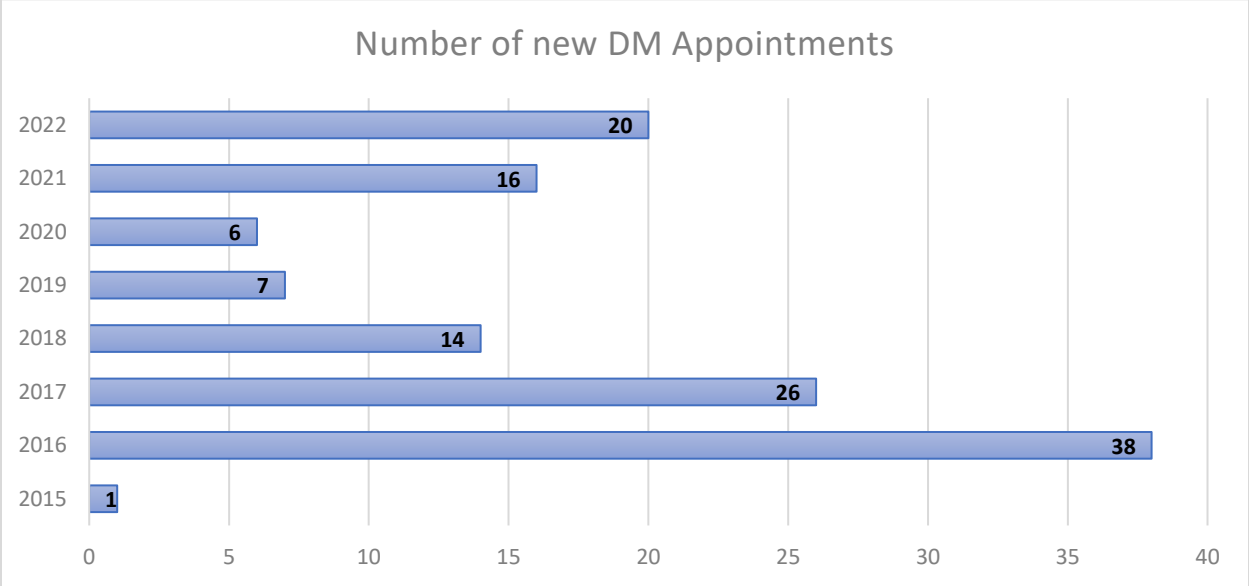


Figure 1- DM appointments by year

4.2 Gender Parity for the Trudeau Appointees

Of the 86 individuals appointed to the Deputy Minister level by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, 51% were women, it is hard to discern a real disparity in the gender of the appointees. It is evident from the appointment choices, that a real effort had been made to ensure gender parity in the appointments, similar to the appointments of the cabinet ministers to ensure a gender-balanced cabinet. This effort and resulting appointments are consistent with the ideology and previously discussed feminist agenda of the Prime Minister. While this demonstrates that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has in fact committed to his agenda, it appears that this trend precedes his tenure, as Canada has had the highest proportion of women in the most senior levels of civil service since 2012 (Hunt, 2022). While this follows global trends in societal change and greater inclusion of women in the workforce over time, Canada has well positioned itself to continue leading and setting a positive example for other nations' public services to follow. This proportion is certainly an increase from the time of the first comprehensive research done in 1993, where only 12% of the appointees were women (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 3). **Since the proportion of women increased from 12% in 1988 to 51% by the year 2022, H1 is confirmed.**

H1 There is an increasing population of women in the most senior positions than in previous years.

4.3 Education Levels Over Time

The educational attainment levels of Deputy Ministers are of interest, as they can be used as an objective tool that indicates what formal qualifications and credentials are present most frequently amongst the highest levels of the public service. This not only provides further insight into the educational profile of Deputy Ministers over time.

The research conducted on the Deputy Ministers appointed or re-appointed by Justin Trudeau provided an interesting breakdown seen in **Table 2**, there are no individuals without a Bachelor’s (undergraduate) degree. All Deputy Ministers had this as one of their educational qualifications, even one individual who had a community college degree, had also obtained a Bachelor’s degree in addition to their qualifications. The majority of Deputy Ministers (58%) had a Master’s (graduate) degree as their highest educational credential.

<i>Highest Educational Credential</i>	<i>% of Deputy Ministers</i>
Bachelor’s	34%
Master’s	58%
Doctorate (PhD)	8%

Table 2- Highest education obtained, DMs from 2015-2022

Combining the findings provided with historical data from academic literature provides a clear picture that the trend has been a long time in the making. **Table 3** incorporates in previously published academic analysis to look at the educational profile of Deputy Ministers since confederation (albeit with a large gap that was discussed in section 2), this combination provides a description of what has changed over the last thirty-five years -since 1988 (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 13). This paints a clearer picture of how the educational levels of this group has consistently changed and leaned towards more advanced education being the dominant characteristic of those appointed over time, with the number of those not attending a university decreased until it reached a percentage of zero (0). Interestingly, the prominence of an undergraduate degree being the highest degree has remained unchanged since 1967, after having decreased from an all time high during the post-war era (1974-1967).

These shifts reflect the previously discussed changes in the expectations of how a Deputy Minister’s role is no longer that of a specialist who is an absolute expert on the specific policy, as seen in a decrease in the number of doctorate holders over the last thirty-five years since 1988. The proportion of those with a PhD declined to a mere 8 percent, representing the smallest group of appointees. The rise of Master’s degree holders has reached an absolute high, with nearly sixty percent of the Deputy Ministers having a Master’s degree as their highest form of education. This is a marked increase over time, as seen in **Figure 2**, demonstrating that this has continued to be a qualification that is potentially helpful on the job.

<i>Highest Educational Credential</i>	<i>% of Deputy Ministers</i>					
	<i>Period of appointment</i>					
	1867-1917	1917-1947	1947-1967	1967-1977	1977-1988	2015-2022
<i>None</i>	65	39	9	7	2	0
<i>Bachelor’s</i>	27	44	53	35	34	34
<i>Master’s</i>	7	8	22	47	34	58
<i>Doctorate (PhD)</i>	1	9	16	12	31	8

Table 3- Education levels since 1867

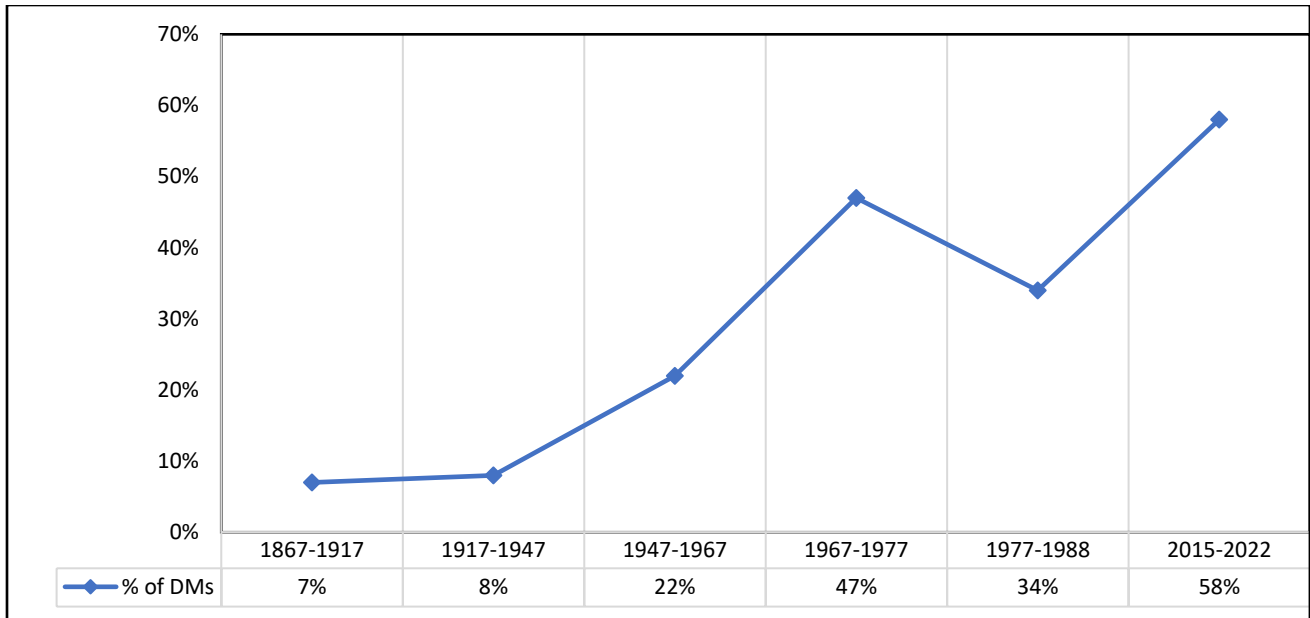


Figure 2- DMs with a Master’s degree as their highest form of education. 1867-2022

This trend, while it could very well be indicative of the changing demands of the job of a Deputy Minister, it is also important to situate the topic of educational attainment in a wider context that includes a more global picture. It is important to consider the concept of “Degree Devaluation” or synonymously called “Credential Inflation”. The concept reflects the evolving landscape of the increasing tertiary education attainment across global populations, especially in rich countries (Chevaillier & Duru-Bellat, 2020, p. 284). The main effect of this concept is that as more and more individuals obtain a university education, the value of that education decreases and becomes less attractive to employers, leading to people obtaining a more advanced degree to distinguish themselves in a competitive labour market (Chevaillier & Duru-Bellat, 2020, p. 286). **While this is a larger societal change, the above referenced data demonstrates that there has been a substantial shift in the educational profile of Deputy Ministers towards those with higher educational attainment H2a is confirmed by the data.**

H2a: There is a greater proportion of more advanced university degrees.

4.4 Region of Education

Where one completes their education is a significant indicator of many characteristics that they are likely to obtain due to the influence of their environment on them during the time spent in a particular region. For example, an individual completing their studies in Canada would likely be exposed to the cultural activities associated with snowfalls and cold weather. Similarly, the outlooks on their professional trajectory could very well be influenced by the region where they completed their education. **Table 4** below looks at the regions where Deputy Ministers obtained their highest educational qualification, the highest educational qualification was looked at as it would likely reflect the last place where the appointees obtained any sort of formal education prior to entering the workforce. From the data collected, it was not evident that Deputy Ministers are likely to return to educational institutions once they are in the executive ranks of the government.

From **Table 4** below, we notice that an overwhelming majority of appointees have completed their education from either Ontario (46%), Quebec (21%), or to a lesser degree, outside of Canada (12%). This is quite an interesting observation, but it displays a trend first observed in 1993, Ontario and Quebec dominated the educational landscape, with Quebec a close second (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 10). Comparing this to previous literature as not as simple as previous comparisons, as the authors used a different categorical criterion rather than listing out the province name. However, the comparison was completed and the results over time are presented in **Table 5**.

<i>Region of Education</i>	<i>% of DMs (2015-2022)</i>
Ontario	46 %
Quebec	21 %
Outside of Canada	12 %
Nova Scotia	7 %
Alberta	5 %
British Columbia	3 %
Manitoba	2 %
New Brunswick	2 %
Prince Edward Island	1 %
Saskatchewan	1 %

Table 4- Region of Education

The proposed explanation provided by Bourgault and Dion (1993) may still stand, it is simply the case that the two largest provinces in terms of population (Ontario and Quebec) have the highest number of educational institutions, and produce the largest number of university graduates, which makes it more likely for Deputy Ministers to have come from those institutions. Moreover, the findings above underline another important point of discussion, which is the fact that an appointee is more likely to have completed their education outside of Canada than in a province other than Ontario or Quebec. This is slightly concerning, as the region of education could have an influence on how one sees the world and makes decisions, and while considering global perspectives is important in decision-making, one must be cautious of over-reliance on concepts and frameworks that may not apply to Canadian realities. This trend has continued to decline overtime, making the 12 percent proportion actually an all-time low as shown in **Table 5**.

<i>Region of Education</i>	<i>% of Deputy Ministers</i>					
	<i>Period of appointment</i>					
	1867-1917	1917-1947	1947-1967	1967-1977	1977-1988	2015-2022
<i>Ontario</i>	35	43	27	38	40	46
<i>Quebec</i>	28	12	19	22	17	21
<i>Western Canada</i>	3	17	23	15	11	11
<i>Maritimes</i>	18	7	7	2	3	10
<i>Outside of Canada</i>	18	22	25	23	29	12

Table 5- Region of Education over time

While the portion of those Deputy Ministers obtaining their education outside of Canada declined, the representation of all provinces remained about equal, with Ontario dominating and Quebec closely behind. When the Maritime provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island) are grouped together, their representation over time has actually increased compared to the Western provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia). Representation from the North is limited, mainly due to the fact that the first university- Yukon University- in the territories was officially designated as such only in May of 2020 (CBC News, 2020).

One cannot mention the federal public service without mentioning Ottawa’s two universities, even in 1993, the proportion of graduates from either Carleton University or the University of Ottawa was of interest to researchers, who found that the nation’s capital had just become the city producing the most senior bureaucrats, with 12% of all Deputy Ministers having graduated there, a doubling of the percentage from ten years earlier (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 15). This trend is further outlined in **Table 6**, where the percentage of Deputy Ministers who attended one of the two universities has more than doubled over the previous decades. The table also highlights the percentage of Deputy Ministers who completed their education in Ottawa, as

apportionment of all of those that graduated from Ontario. A total of 56 percent of all those that graduated from Ontario institutions obtained their educational qualifications at either Carleton University or the University of Ottawa. This could be simply due to the proximity of the two institutions to the apparatus of the federal government, being in the same city as the center of federal bureaucracy, it is easier for those interested to find opportunities within the federal government than those in other parts of the province where there is a lesser physical presence of federal departments and agencies. While no specific research exists on the hiring tendencies or patterns used by executives within the federal government, as the process is largely merit-based and transparent, one must wonder if the experience of the executives who were educated at one of the two capital universities would make them more likely to recruit or prefer (unconsciously or consciously) candidates from those universities for promotions and career advancement opportunities.

This near centralization of the career paths could have negative repercussions, as the experience and expertise of those individuals-while is certain to be unique and not easily duplicated- could still be influenced by the same ideology or 'groupthink' if a large enough number of appointees attend the same institutions. This is not to suggest that the universities have an ulterior motive or some hidden agenda, but it is simply the fact that attending the same institutions, will likely lead to a similar understanding of certain concepts and it will instill in the individuals a certain way of tackling the same issues and may limit new or innovative perspectives from being presented. **Since the proportion of those obtaining their degrees in Ontario has further increased, specifically becoming concentrated in Ottawa H2b is not confirmed.**

H2b: There is a greater variety in the region where the education was obtained.

<i>Region of Education</i>	<i>% of all Deputy Ministers</i>		
	1967-1977	1977-1988	2015-2022
Ontario	38	40	46
Ottawa	6	12	25
<i>% of Ontario graduates that graduated from Ottawa</i>			
	/	/	56

Table 6- Prevalence of Ontario (and Ottawa) graduates amongst DMs

4.5 Fields of Education

Perhaps as equally interesting as the level of education, the field in which the appointees were educated also brings some useful insights into the profile of Deputy Ministers. Using data once again from previous research, we can begin to understand the changes over time in the fields of education (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 16). This change overtime is presented in **Table 7**. While **Table 8** presents the researched appointees' field of education based on the educational level obtained, which also presents a curious picture that is worth further consideration. Doctorate holders were excluded from this analysis since their population (10) was too small to discern any patterns or trends.

<i>Field of Highest Education</i>	<i>% of all Deputy Ministers</i>		
	1967-1977	1977-1988	2015-2022
<i>Law</i>	14	19	14
<i>Economics</i>	6	12	15
<i>Management</i>	21	28	13
<i>Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences</i>	42	42	50

Table 7- Selected Fields of Education over time

Interestingly, from previous research, only six Deputy Ministers since confederation had a degree in public administration (Bourgault & Dion, 1993, p. 16). This is a stark difference from what is the case today, where just the appointees studied had 15 degrees in public administration, with 14 of them at the Master’s level. The trends display a steady move away from the science of management and toward social sciences- especially public administration and political science. This shift, however, is not necessarily taking away from Economics and Law, 2 established fields that have remained at approximately the same levels over time, displaying a potential constant need for those with specialized skills in economics and law to direct departments such as the Department of Finance and the Department of Justice.

Since the fields of education are remaining relatively the same, with further concentration in Public Administration, H2c is not confirmed.

H2c: There is a greater variety in the fields of education.

<i>Field of Education</i>	<i>% of all Deputy Ministers (2015-2022)</i>	
	<i>Level of Education</i>	
	<i>Bachelor’s</i>	<i>Master’s</i>
<i>Commerce and Business Administration</i>	4	8
<i>Arts and Humanities</i>	6	7
<i>Economics</i>	3	13
<i>Law</i>	9	5
<i>Political Science</i>	7	9
<i>Public Administration</i>	1	12
<i>Social Science</i>	3	4
<i>Other</i>	5	4

Table 8- Fields of Education of the most recent DM appointees

4.6 Prior Government Experience

As previously explored, the Deputy Minister appointees largely come from within the public service, but what does that mean from a quantitative point of view? **Figure 3** helps us better visualize where the appointees come from. Once again, these are the Trudeau appointments (2015-2022).

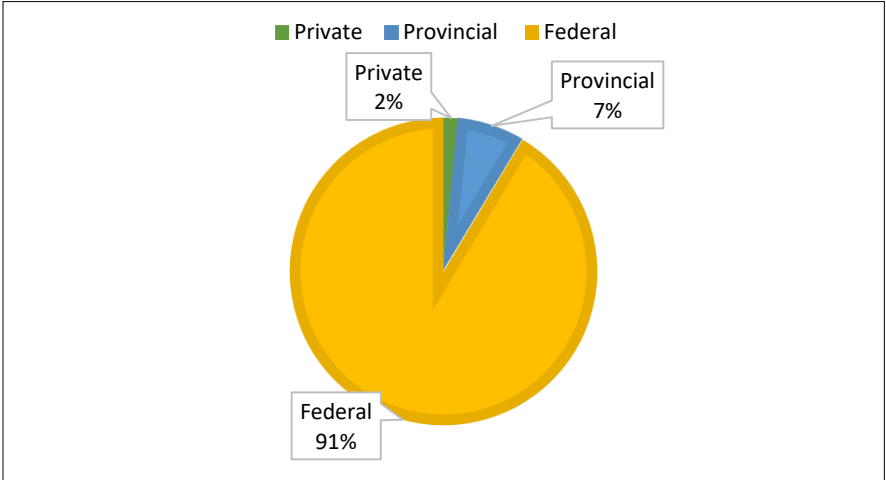


Figure 3- Previous experience of Deputy Ministers

It is immediately clear that the Federal Government is still the main place where the ranks of Deputy Ministers are recruited from. The overwhelming majority (91%) of all appointees have been previously with the Federal government, meaning they have experience working within government, which clearly is a near-prerequisite for the appointee. The second category, which is much smaller, consists of those who have worked with the public service of one of the provincial governments (no appointees were selected from the territorial governments). These are good candidates for better addressing regional issues or departments overseeing a file with large regional implications. For example, the appointment of a Government of Nova Scotia career public servant (Catherine Blewett) in 2016 to the role Deputy Minister of Fisheries and Oceans is a rather logical move, as that individual would be well suited to understand the particular issues that would affect that region of the country.

Recruitment from the private sector is rather minimal and is a rare exception, this is largely because dealing with the bureaucracy requires very specific skills and a level of expertise in dealing with legislation and regulations that is not usually found in the private sector, or if found, it is usually within an organization whose explicit goal is the production of profits, which is quite a different culture than that of government, which usually place the well-being of citizens and the efficient delivery of programs. **Given that the vast majority of appointees to the Deputy Minister ranks still come from within the Federal Public Service, H3 is not confirmed.**

H3: There is a larger proportion of appointees that come from outside the public service.

When looking at the prior government experience, it is important to also look at the type of experience they have, namely at which department they come from before joining the Deputy Minister ranks. To analyse this, the appointees that are new to the Deputy Minister Ranks (all appointed by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau from 2015-2022) were identified, then only those with previous government experience were selected, the total number of those individuals was 75. The departments (26 in total) from which they were appointed were sorted by the number of appointees to analyze any trends, **Figure 4** visualizes the results of this analysis.

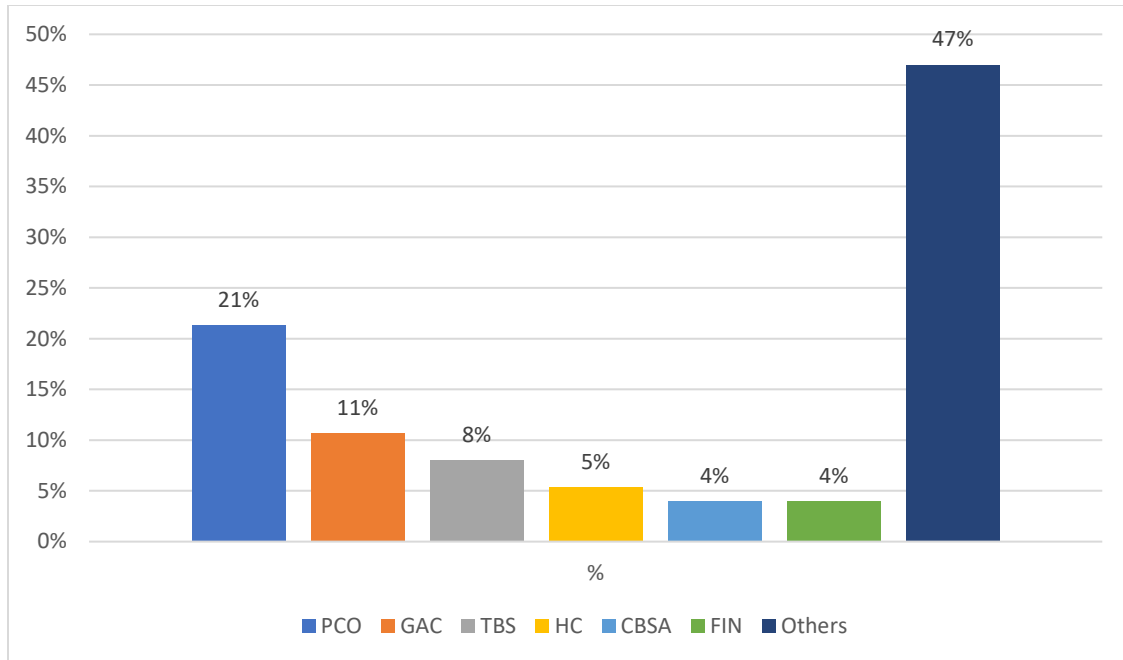


Figure 4- Where in Government do Deputy Ministers come from?

Interestingly, only six (6) of the twenty-six (26) departments make up more than half (53%) of the appointments; the Privy Council Office (21%), Global Affairs Canada (11%), Treasury Board Secretariat (8%), Health Canada (5%), the Department of Finance and the Canada Border Services Agency (4% each). The remaining twenty (20) departments make up the remainder of the appointments. So why is this the case? One explanation could potentially be simply the visibility of potential talent. As described earlier, the Clerk of the Privy Council, alongside other senior officials are the ones generally responsible for selecting the next appointees to the ranks of Deputy Ministers. Being a senior government executive at that organization greatly increases the likelihood of interacting with the Clerk and senior officials, making one’s name more known and more familiar when it comes time to replace retirees or make new appointments.

Another similar explanation is the visibility and complexity of the files on which a particular executive works, the departments mentioned above all deal with files that are generally

politically sensitive and rather challenging and would require a high degree of competence to be able to manage and demonstrate to the ‘center’- the Privy Council Office (PCO)- that one is able to manage these challenges. This allows, once again, for name recognition and familiarity of the Clerk and other senior officials with those individuals, while no public statistics exist, nor does any research, however, one can surmise that it is likely that officials from The above mentioned agencies would be required to communicate with and provide briefings to PCO more than a ‘low-profile’ department such as Canadian Heritage, which typically has fewer complex or urgent issues. Further research could perhaps compare the probability of promotion from Health Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic when compared to non-pandemic times, to see if it is more likely to be promoted because of the exposure to senior officials at PCO that would not be typical of a department such as Health Canada.

4.7 What will Deputy Ministers Look Like in the Future?

While it is clear that the Canadian government has made strides over the past Given the above, it is important to consider increasing the true representative diversity of the federal public service. More regional representation, more educational diversity could all lead to a better understanding of Canada and thus better service to Canadians as a whole.

4.8 What the Government is Doing Today

The Government of Canada wants the public service to be more diverse, after the social upheaval during the Black Lives Matter movement, the head of the Federal Public Service issued a *Call to Action on Anti-Racism, Equity, and Inclusion in the Federal Public Service* in an effort to recognize the historical injustices that have been faced by minority groups and aim to work on a way forward to include those groups (Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet,

2021). An example of actions suggested by the Clerk is to “[a]ppoint Indigenous employees and Black and other racialized employees to and within the Executive Group” (Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet, 2021, p.2). This type of action is necessary to create a more equitable workplace that includes all peoples. This creates additional considerations not discussed here (namely race and ethnicity) that will come into play when selecting the next cohort of Deputy Ministers.

Additionally, one important step the government is taking is actually beginning to analyze the current and historic environment of career progression within the public service with meaningful and scientific statistical research that discusses the issues of visible minorities, an example is the finding that Indigenous public servants continue to have lower relative promotion rates than employees who are not Indigenous, as mentioned in the *2022 Employment Equity Promotion Rate Study* (Public Service Commission of Canada, 2022). These efforts will further influence the decisions of the Clerk of the Privy Council and senior officials when making recommendations for the Prime Minister on the promotion of public servants into the Deputy Minister ranks.

4.9 Potential for Further Scholarly Research

The exploration of the different appointments made by the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau could also provide a base for further research in how the appointees meet the representation and diversity goals of the Trudeau government, which has placed a strong emphasis on appointments that take into consideration the of wider GIC selection processes (Privy Council Office, 2016). There is already some recent research being done on GIC appointments more widely, focusing in on Deputy Ministers creates another avenue for specialized research that has not been replicated since the early 1990s. This type of research analyzing appointments made by one Prime Minister

can then be used for comparison with the tenure of other leaders, similar to the new research being conducted by various researchers such as Brock & Shepherd (2022). This is especially the case when it comes to Prime Minister Trudeau, as he had announced a new appointment policy for GIC appointments in 2016 that is focused on Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI), this made a noticeable shift in appointments (Miljan & Romualdi, 2022, p.70).

There exists two further points of research that may be of interest to scholars who want to look at the profile of Deputy Ministers and their careers after leaving the public service that this author proposes would be of great additional value to the academic community. First is research into those previous Deputy Ministers who choose to go into a consulting job immediately after their employment with the public service. Those individuals are highly knowledgeable experts who understand exactly how the bureaucracy works and how policy decisions are made and implemented. This experience may prove invaluable to consulting companies that would be using their expertise to attract clients that are interested in influencing public policy, this may not be immediately pertinent to most, but it does raise ethical questions around the potential improper use of privileged government information, or the leveraging of existing professional networks to gain undue influence. Two cases came up during this research, both were onboarded to consulting firms within less than 3 months of their departure from the public service. One is John Ossowski, who was the president of the Canada Border Services Agency until 2022, and the other is Michael Wernick, who as previously discussed, was a controversial figure that headed the public service until his disgraceful departure in 2016.

Another interesting observation that appeared during the research is the number of top civil servants who do go on to be appointed to the Senate of Canada after their career in the civil service, while the sample size observed by the author is quite small (3), it could certainly be an

overrepresentation for the small number of individuals who reach the top echelons of the civil service in the first place.

A potential explanation that is worth exploring is the fact that Deputy Ministers may be often called upon to brief Cabinet or make presentations at cabinet committee meetings, which would most likely include the Prime Ministers. This would make these persons familiar with the same person who makes the appointments to the senate. This is true in both the new model of independent advisory board that Trudeau implemented (for Senators Boehm and Shugart) and the old model (Senator Harder) used by Prime Minister Harper.

Yet another noteworthy question is what is the value of targeted leadership programs? Programs such as the University of Ottawa's "Certificate Program in Public Sector Leadership and Governance", a leadership program that takes place over an approximated 45 days in a two-year period and comes with a hefty price tag of \$36,000 (Centre on Public Management and Policy, n.d.). This, and similar programs, are targeted towards senior-level executives in the public service (but are not at the Deputy Minister level) who wish to further advance their leadership skills by offering modules and study tours that are focused on teaching the executives how to manage people and situations. This is a relatively nascent offering, with the above-mentioned program only having started in 2007, it is not fully clear what the impacts of such programs are, and there has been no academic research into their effectiveness in the public sector. However, from the data collected by this author, only eight (8) individuals had a similar type of leadership certificate, this translates to only 6% of the total number of appointees, a relatively minor proportion that does not display any significant interest in such programs as of the time of writing.

Findings from this research paper could also be used to fill in gaps in understanding when looking at existing literature, where no significant research has been conducted recently. This can

also be used with the existing research to create a better picture of the profile of Deputy Ministers. Lastly, this research could serve as a basis to conduct further research and advance other theoretical frameworks that are under observation such as New Political Governance (NPG), which is still a relatively new theory exploring a shift where senior public administrators are becoming increasingly politicized and having to respond to political pressure from more than just the minister (Aucoin, 2012, p. 196).

5. Conclusion

It is understood that the role of the Deputy Minister in the Canadian Federal Government has changed over time, alongside this change, there has also been a shift in the profile of those appointed to lead the civil service. This paper has observed the shift in demographic characteristics over time such as gender, educational attainment, the region of education and fields of education. It was discovered that while some indicators such as educational attainment and gender representation have changed over time, other factors such as prior government experience and the region where the appointees are educated remained relatively unchanged over the years.

This shift in the composition of Deputy Ministers has important implications for public administration as it relates to both representative bureaucracy and the quality of decision-making and advice being given to the government by these senior administrators. This paper has demonstrated that some shifts are a reflection of the larger changes in society (such as the inclusion of more women), these changes can be positive as it increases the representatives of the civil service at the highest levels to match that of the population. Other results from this paper show that there is perhaps a need for a greater variety of voices from outside the traditional fields of education (such as public administration, economics) and a greater number of individuals who

were educated outside of Ontario and Quebec. These considerations, while not prescriptions to cure the public service from its challenges, would serve to increase the voices at the table and increase the variety of perspectives that shape the highest level of civil servants.

The results also displayed that the appointments by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau largely align with the political ideology that he has committed to follow, as the appointments to the Deputy Minister ranks observed during his tenure have achieved gender parity, much like the cabinet selection he has made to date. However, it wasn't clear that this trend was set by Trudeau himself, as the research suggests that the Deputy Minister ranks were already at relative gender parity prior to his government taking power.

The Deputy Minister's role is likely to continue changing and evolving as the public service changes and the demands from both citizens and governments change, which would likely necessitate more changes in the requirements and qualifications that Deputy Ministers have or are expected to have. Further research should be carried out to determine how these changes in the future will impact the public service administration.

Note: The author is currently employed with the Government of Canada. The views expressed herein are those of the author in his personal capacity as a student. They do not reflect the position of the Government of Canada.

References

- Ashe, J. (2020). Gender Sensitivity under Trudeau: Facebook Feminism or Real Change? In F. MacDonald & A. Z. Dobrowolsky (Eds.), *Turbulent times, transformational possibilities? Gender and politics today and tomorrow* (pp. 68–99). University of Toronto Press.
- Aucoin, P. (2006). “The Staffing and Evaluation of Canadian Deputy Ministers in Comparative Westminster Perspective: A Proposal for Reform.” In *Restoring Accountability: Research Studies, volume 1-Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers / John H. Gomery, Commissioner; Commission of Inquiry into the Sponsorship Program and Advertising Activities*, Ottawa, Ontario: Privy Council 2006.
- Aucoin, P. (2012). New political governance in Westminster systems: Impartial public administration and management performance at risk: new political governance in Westminster systems. *Governance*, 25(2), 177–199. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2012.01569.x>
- Bawden, J. (1987, October 2). Just whose department of unfunny affairs is this?. *The Toronto Star*.
- Bendickson, J., & Solomon, S. (1970). Generating press, bold ideas, and stubbornness: The impact of celebrity CEO's. *Journal of Business Strategies*, 33(1), 73–99. <https://doi.org/10.54155/jbs.33.1.73-99>
- Bourgault, J. (2003). *The contemporary role and challenges of deputy ministers in the federal government of Canada*. Canadian Centre for Management Development.
- Bourgault, J. (2006). “The Deputy Minister’s Role in The Government of Canada: His Responsibility and His Accountability.” In *Restoring Accountability: Research Studies, volume 1-Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers / John H. Gomery, Commissioner; Commission of Inquiry into the Sponsorship Program and Advertising Activities*, Ottawa, Ontario: Privy Council 2006.

- Bourgault, J. (2011). Canada's senior public service and the typology of bargains: From the hierarchy of senior civil servants to a community of "controlled" entrepreneurs. *Public Policy and Administration*, 26(2), 253–275. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076710391517>
- Bourgault, J. (2014). 13. Federal deputy ministers: Serial servers looking for influence. In J. Bourgault & C. Dunn (Eds.), *Deputy Ministers in Canada* (pp. 364–400). University of Toronto Press. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442665170-017>
- Bourgault, J., & Dion, S. (1993). *The changing profile of federal deputy ministers 1867 to 1988*. Canadian Centre for Management Development.
- Boutilier, Alex. (2019, March 6). 'You very much crossed the line,' opposition MPs tell top bureaucrat. Thestar.Com; The Toronto Star. <https://www.thestar.com/politics/federal/2019/03/06/i-do-not-ever-give-advice-that-is-partisan-top-civil-servant-insists.html>
- Brock, K. L. (2020). Government and non-profit collaboration in times of deliverology, policy innovation laboratories and hubs, and new public governance. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 31(2), 257–270. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-019-00145-0>
- Brock, K., & Shepherd, R. P. (2022). The Trudeau government and GIC appointments in Canada. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 35(4), 463–479. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPSM-07-2021-0182>
- Carroll, B. W. (1991). The structure of the Canadian bureaucratic elite: Some evidence of change. *Canadian Public Administration/Administration Publique Du Canada*, 34(2), 359–372. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-7121.1991.tb01467.x>

- Carroll, B. W. (1996). Bureaucratic élites: Some patterns in career paths over time. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 62(3), 383–399.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/002085239606200307>
- CBC News. (2020, May 19). *It's official—Yukon college is now Yukon university* | cbc news. CBC.
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-university-official-launch-1.5575655>
- Centre on Public Management and Policy. (n.d.). *How to apply- Certificate Program in Public Sector Leadership and Governance*. Faculty of Social Sciences; University of Ottawa. Retrieved April 22, 2023, from <https://www.uottawa.ca/faculty-social-sciences/centre-public-management-policy/certificate-programs/public-sector/how-to-apply>
- Chevallier, T., & Duru-Bellat, M. (2020). Diploma devaluation, the ins and outs. In P. N. Teixeira & J. C. Shin (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education Systems and Institutions* (pp. 284–288). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-8905-9_334
- Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet. (2021). *Call to Action on Anti-Racism, Equity, and Inclusion in the Federal Public Service*. The Government of Canada.
<https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/pco-bcp/images/pco2/misc/Action-eng.pdf>
- Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet. (2022). *29th Annual Report to the Prime Minister on the Public Service of Canada* (ISSN: 1494-5673). Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/pco-bcp/documents/clk/29-eng.pdf>
- Cooper, C. A. (2021). *At the pleasure of the crown: The politics of bureaucratic appointments*. UBC Press.
- Cooper, C. A. (2023). Promiscuously partisan public servants? Publicly defending and promoting the government's reputation to the detriment of bureaucratic impartiality and truthfulness. *International Journal of Public Leadership*. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPL-10-2022-0054>

- Cooper, C. A., Marier, P., & Halawi, A. (2022). The politics of senior bureaucratic turnover in the Westminster tradition: Trust and the choice between internal and external appointments. *Public Policy and Administration*, 37(2), 179–202. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076720929738>
- Department of National Defence. (2018). *Organizational structure of the department of national defence and the Canadian armed forces* [Organizational descriptions]. Government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/organizational-structure.html>
- Dion, M. (2019). *Trudeau II Report*. Conflict of Interest and Ethics Commissioner. <https://ciec-ciee.parl.gc.ca/en/investigations-enquetes/Pages/TrudeauIIReport-RapportTrudeauII.aspx>
- Employment and Social Development Canada. (2023). *ESDC Corporate information*. Government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/corporate.html>
- Evans, B., Lum, J., & Shields, J. (2007). Profiling of the public-service élite: A demographic and career trajectory survey of deputy and assistant deputy ministers in Canada. *Canadian Public Administration/Administration Publique Du Canada*, 50(4), 609–634. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-7121.2007.tb02209.x>
- Humphreys, A. (2022, December 12). “A wounded leader”: Inside RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki’s terrible year. National Post. <https://nationalpost.com/news/politics/rcmp-commissioner-brenda-lucki>
- Hunt, M. (2022, November 30). *Women Leaders Index: How the Canadian public service achieved gender parity in its highest ranks*. Global Government Forum. <https://www.globalgovernmentforum.com/women-leaders-index-how-the-canadian-public-service-achieved-gender-parity-in-its-highest-ranks/>
- Jackman, S. (2009). *Bayesian analysis for the social sciences* (1st ed.). Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470686621>

- Leahy, J., & Goldenberg, M. (2014). *Assistant Deputy Ministers in the Canadian Public Service*. Centre on Public Management and Policy- the University of Ottawa.
https://www.uottawa.ca/faculty-social-sciences/sites/g/files/bhrs kd371/files/2023-02/report_adm_study_2014_e.pdf
- Mau, T. A. (2020). “Representative bureaucracy as a leadership issue: The Canadian case.” *International Journal of Public Leadership*, 16(4), 393–410. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPL-06-2020-0060>
- Miljan, L., & Romualdi, T. (2022). Comparing Trudeau and Harper Canadian federal appointments to agencies, boards, and commissions. *Canadian Public Administration*, 65(1), 52–72.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/capa.12452>
- Platt, B. (2019, March 18). *Privy council clerk Michael Wernick resigns after controversy over SNC-Lavalin testimony*. The National Post. <https://nationalpost.com/news/politics/privy-council-clerk-michael-wernick-resigns-after-controversy-over-snc-lavalin-testimony>
- Plumptre, T. (1987). New perspectives on the role of the deputy minister. *Canadian Public Administration/Administration Publique Du Canada*, 30(3), 376–398.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-7121.1987.tb00090.x>
- Privy Council Office. (2003). *Guidance for deputy ministers* (ISBN 0-662-34364-6). The Government of Canada. URL: Electronic Publication for Catalogue Number CP22-69/2003E-IN
<http://publications.gc.ca/Collection/CP22-69-2003E.pdf>
- Privy Council Office. (2016). *Governor in Council appointments* [Navigation page]. The government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/privy-council/programs/appointments/governor-council-appointments/general-information/appointments.html>

- Privy Council Office. (2021, December). *Process guide for governor in council submissions (Other than Regulations)*. Government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/privy-council/services/orders-in-council/process-guide-governor-council-submissions.html>
- Privy Council Office. (2023, February 13). *Diversity of governor in council appointees*. The Government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/privy-council/programs/appointments/governor-council-appointments/results.html>
- Public Service Commission of Canada. (2022). *Employment equity promotion rate study*. The Government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-service-commission/services/publications/employment-equity-promotion-rate-study.html>
- Public Service Employment Act*, Chapter 22, Statutes of Canada (2003).
- Riccucci, N. M., & Van Ryzin, G. G. (2017). Representative bureaucracy: A lever to enhance social equity, coproduction, and democracy: theory to practice. *Public Administration Review*, 77(1), 21–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12649>
- Singleton, R., & Straits, B. C. (2018). Chapter 12: Research Using Available Data. In *Approaches to social research* (Sixth edition, pp. 389–422). Oxford University Press.
- Treasury Board Secretariat. (2023). *GC infobase*. Government of Canada. <https://www.tbs-sct.canada.ca/ems-sgd/edb-bdd/index-eng.html#infographic/gov/gov/financial>
- Tunney, C. (2023, April 12). *Trudeau shrugs off reports pro-Russian hackers brought down PMO website* / *CBC News*. CBC. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/cse-cyber-attack-ukranian-visit-1.6806709>
- Turgeon, L., & Gagnon, A. G. (2013a). The politics of representative bureaucracy in multilingual states: A comparison of Belgium, Canada and Switzerland. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 23(4), 407–425. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2013.765866>

Turgeon, L., & Gagnon, A.-G. (2013). Representative bureaucracy in Canada. In B. G. Peters, P. Von Maravić, & E. Schröter (Eds.), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

<https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857935991.00008>

Wernick, M. (2021). *Governing Canada: A guide to the tradecraft of politics*. On Point Press.

Yun, T. (2023, March 3). *Indigenous RCMP commissioner an “excellent idea,” but independent selection process underway: Trudeau*. CTV News. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/indigenous-rcmp-commissioner-an-excellent-idea-but-independent-selection-process-underway-trudeau-1.6298351>