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<p>Public sector reforms have affected many parts of government, including the way that offices are organized, how they are staffed, and how they are led. The operations of government may still take place in offices, which, apart from improvements in technology and fashions in furniture design, are basically similar to those of a hundred years ago. What are quite different, though, are the rules, procedures and terms and conditions relating to the people who work for the government.</p> <p>Despite some continuity with the traditional model of administration, there has been marked change in staffing and the systems of personnel and human resource management (HRM).</p> <p>In the era of the traditional model, as noted earlier, a government job promised tenure for life, normally following recruitment only at the base grade; promotion through the grades was through steady incremental advancement; the monitoring of individual performance was undemanding, and in</p>	<p>Cải cách khu vực công đã ảnh hưởng đến nhiều bộ phận của chính phủ, bao gồm cả cách thức tổ chức phòng ban, cách thức bố trí, tuyển dụng nhân viên, và cách thức lãnh đạo họ. Các hoạt động của chính phủ có thể vẫn diễn ra trong các cơ quan, trong đó, ngoại trừ những cải tiến về công nghệ và kiểu cách thiết kế nội thất, về cơ bản nó tương tự như một trăm năm trước. Tuy nhiên, các quy tắc, thủ tục, các điều kiện và điều khoản liên quan đến những người làm việc cho chính phủ đã khác đi nhiều.</p> <p>Mặc dù một số nơi vẫn tiếp tục duy trì mô hình quản trị truyền thống, đã có những thay đổi đáng kể trong cách tổ chức nhân sự và các hệ thống quản trị nhân sự và quản trị nguồn nhân lực (HRM).</p> <p>Như chúng tôi đã từng đề cập trước đây, trong thời kỳ thịnh hành của mô hình truyền thống, các công việc chính phủ hứa hẹn sự gắn bó lâu dài, thường là từ việc tuyển chọn chỉ ở cấp cơ sở; thăng tiến qua các cấp thông qua việc tăng dần cấp bậc một cách đều đặn; không đòi hỏi phải giám sát hoạt</p>

many places it was difficult to dismiss poorly performing staff. Individual staff members made an implicit trade-off between, on the one hand, job security and generous retirement benefits, and, on the other, slow progress and relatively low pay.

Over time, elaborate procedures and systems were built up, ostensibly to ensure fairness, as well as a belief that public sector jobs were, in some way, special.

As argued earlier, the most important factor in the transition from public administration to public management is that a public manager is personally responsible for the delivery of results. There are three key aspects that have emerged in terms of staffing as a result of this change.

The first is that the old terms 'personnel administration' and even personnel management have been largely replaced by 'human resource Management'. Personnel administration is more oriented towards 'process and procedure, whereas HRM takes a more strategic approach to finding and managing the right people for organizational purposes (see Legge, 2005). Even if there might have been a public sector version of HRM at the start of the reforms, a trend developed towards regarding HRM as a generic practice.

Second, far more attention is paid to the monitoring of staff performance, through various systems of performance appraisal, to ensure that everyone in an office contributes to the achievement of results.

Third, public sector organizations, as with the private sector even earlier, now actively seek out and

động cá nhân và ở nhiều nơi rất khó để sa thải các nhân viên làm việc kém hiệu quả. Từng cán bộ thực hiện một thỏa hiệp ngầm giữa một bên là bảo đảm việc làm và phúc lợi hưu trí hào phóng, và một bên là việc chi trả khá chậm và thấp.

Theo thời gian, các quy trình và hệ thống phức tạp được hình thành, bề ngoài là để đảm bảo sự công bằng, cũng như củng cố niềm tin rằng việc làm ở khu vực công ở một phương diện nào đó là đặc biệt.

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develop leaders. This is very different from the traditional model of administration based on the theory of bureaucracy, where such personal attributes were not considered to be part of the model. An administrator is not a leader, other than incidentally.

The very consideration of ideas of leadership in public management is a further sign of how far the management of government has moved from the traditional model.

Managerial reforms have altered staffing arrangements and conditions of service ~ in general, away from public servants having special terms and conditions and towards those that apply in the private sector. Changes affecting personnel have been controversial, particularly in the early stages of managerial reform. Those who were familiar with the old model found the changes to personnel systems - performance appraisal, short-term contracts, merit pay and so on - threatening to their long-established terms and conditions of work.

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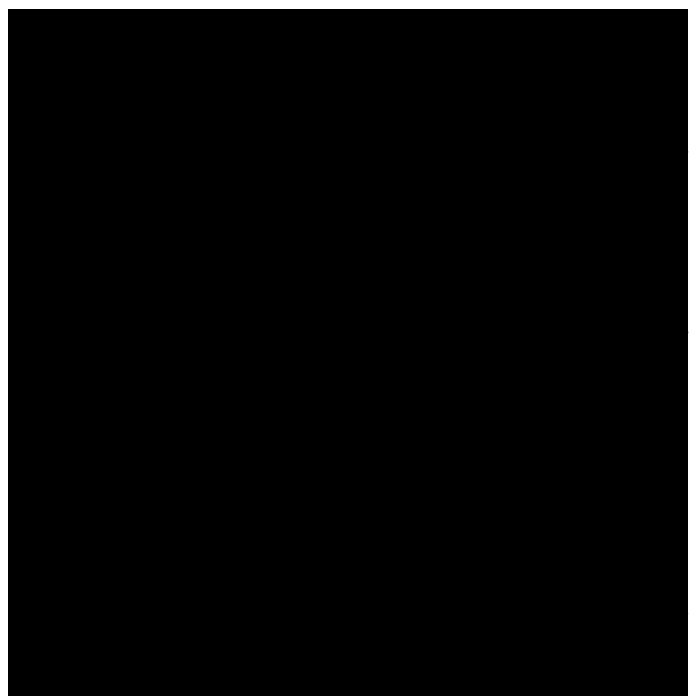
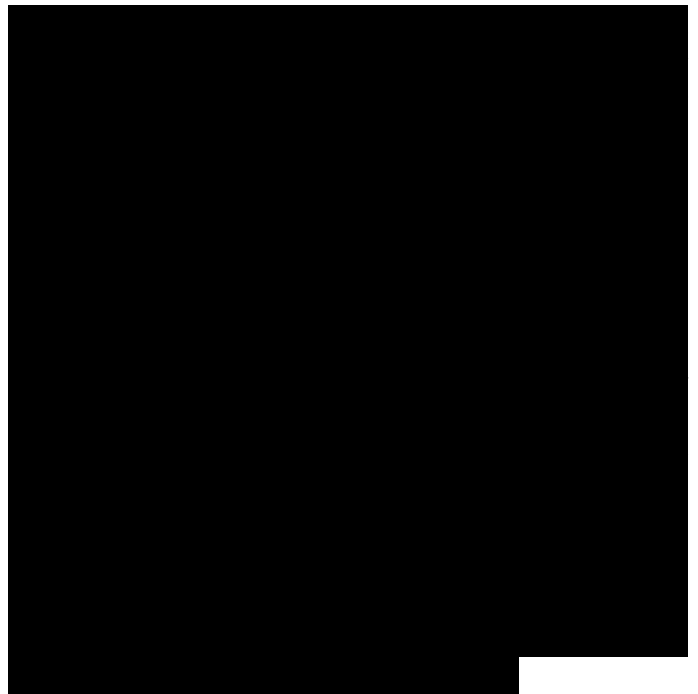
Retirement benefits were reduced in many jurisdictions, with defined benefit schemes closed to new employees and retirement ages extended. However, and perhaps surprisingly, over the more than twenty years of public sector reform since the 1980s, what were once controversial personnel changes were gradually accepted, perhaps as a new generation of public servants came into government with different expectations. Newer public servants may have been less willing to accept the ideas of slow, incremental progress and low pay, but nor did they show as much loyalty; working in government became more of a job not much different from one in the private sector and much less a career or a vocation.



Human resource management, performance appraisal and leadership together mean that, even if the work of public servants takes place in offices, the way that those offices are staffed is quite different from what it once was. Performance appraisal and leadership, while linked, point to quite different things. On the one hand, public servants are more closely monitored and have lost some of their unusual terms and conditions of employment, while on the other hand, leadership is actively sought and a leader has real scope to make a difference and to deliver results. Many public managers finding themselves in that situation do rise to the challenge, even though they will have to take ultimate responsibility if results are not achieved. The staffing function of managers is quite different from personnel administration in the old model, albeit challenging in its own way.

Staffing in the traditional model

The Weberian model of bureaucracy regarded officials as forming a distinctive elite within society. Even though the idea that public servants were an elite declined somewhat over the twentieth century, there was certainly a distinctive way of dealing with the staff who worked inside an administrative system. Administrators followed instructions and followed the manuals. There could be no place for leadership in a strictly bureaucratic model when any semblance of personality in administration - and what Weber termed 'patrimonialism' - is to be removed from what is to be an impersonal system. There was instead a detailed set of standard personnel requirements that followed the bureaucratic theories of Max Weber almost to the letter. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3), the individual public servant was to have a particular set of working conditions - for example, appointment for

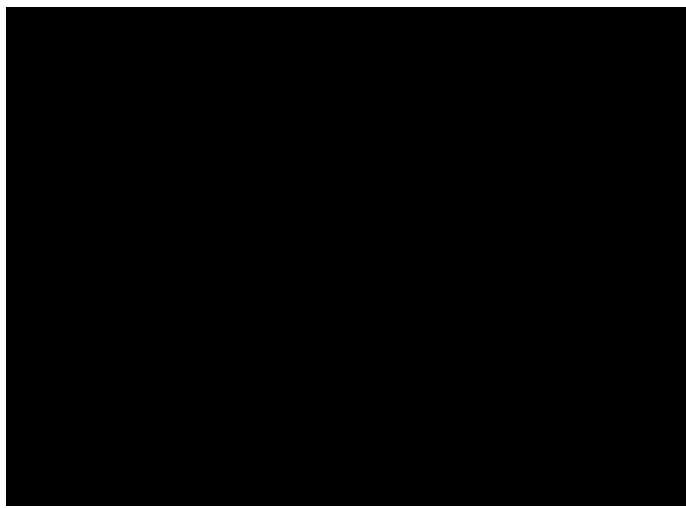
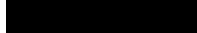


life, appointment by a superior authority and not elected, a positional appointment and promotion, old age security provided by a pension - and 'a career within the hierarchical order of the public service' (Gerth and Mills, 1970, pp. 199-203). The notion of a career service, common in many countries, followed these precepts almost exactly.

As an example, a typical description of a career service personnel model is that of the Commonwealth Government in Australia as described by the Coombs Commission in the mid-1970s as (RCAGA, 1976, p. 169) (see Box 11.1).

The normal practice until the 1970s in some countries, and even later in others, was for aspiring administrators to enter the public service direct from school after sitting an examination administered by a separate non-partisan government agency, be appointed to a position at the bottom of the hierarchy, gain regular promotions, often based on seniority, or seniority combined with 'efficiency', and, in principle, aspire to become a department head.

Recruitment was carried out by merit, and appointment was to the service as a whole rather than to one department or agency. Lateral -appointment to higher levels than the base grade was discouraged. Before 1976 in Australia there was a ceiling imposed such that no more than 10 per cent of new recruits could be university graduates. Careers were largely restricted to men as, until 1966 in that same country, women were forced to resign when they married. Though no longer mandated, at the time of writing this is still common practice in Japan. The final point, and in accordance with strict Weberian principles, the reward for long and loyal

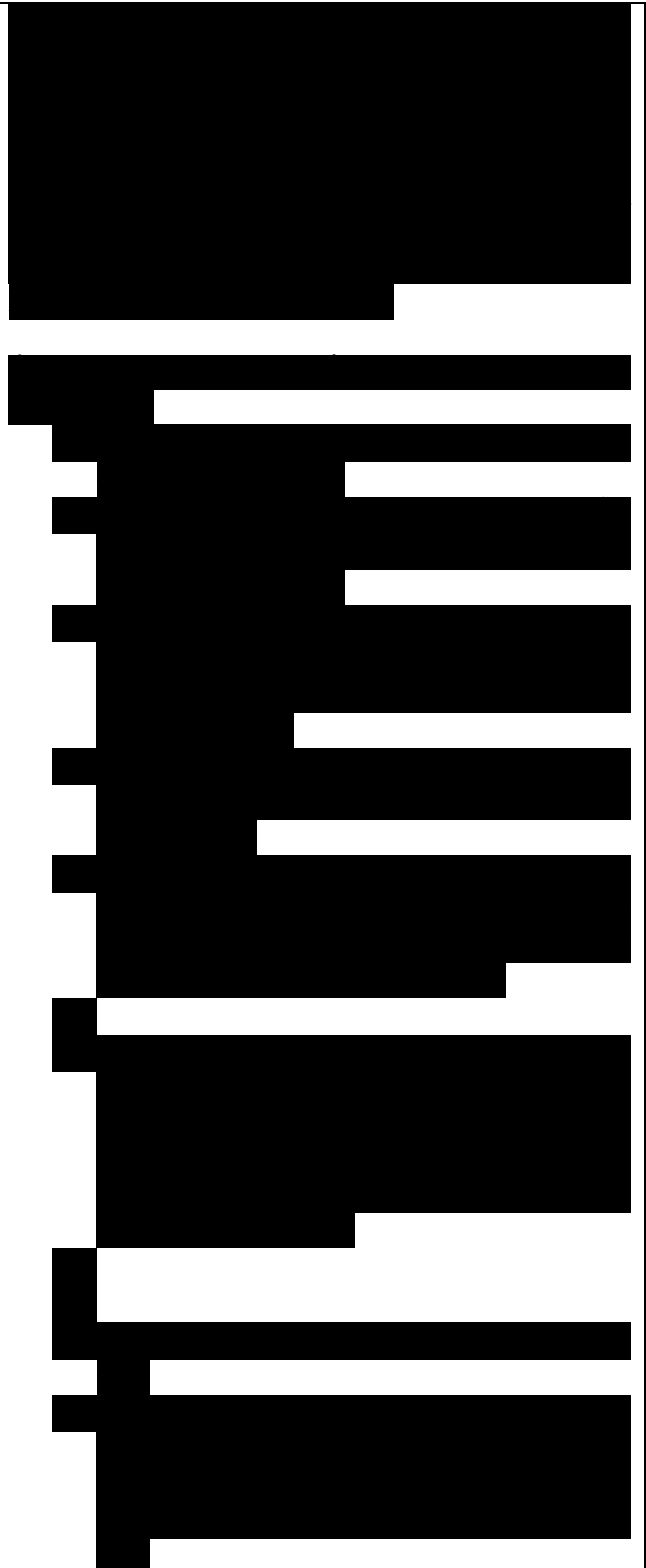


service would be a distinctive retirement and pension system.

In return for permanency of employment, usually for a lifetime, public servants accepted that they would be neutral, non-partisan and anonymous. For those on the inside, the traditional career service system was comfortable, not too hard and provided a steady career for those of a mind to follow the rules.

BOX 11.1 A typical description of a career service personnel model:

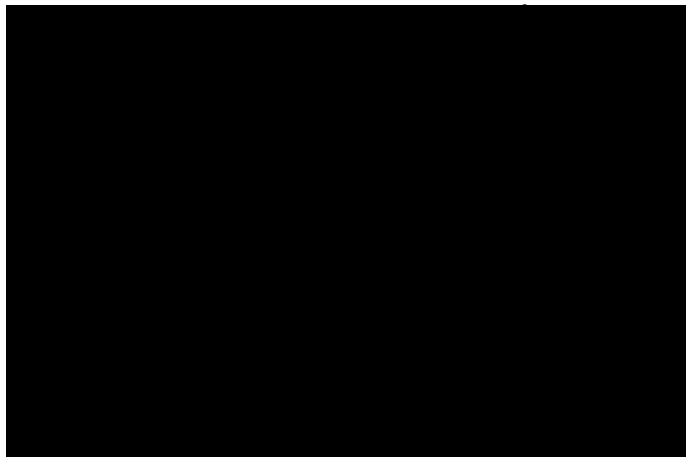
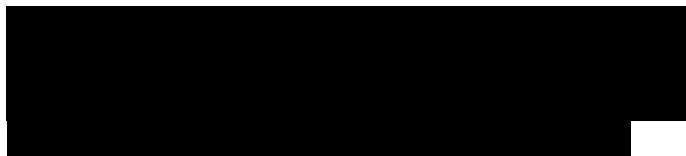
- recruitment by merit (however defined) to a
-
- unified service (intended to mitigate the evils which result from fragmentary service) subject to
- independent, non-political control of recruitment and of the conditions of employment; and where the rights of career public servants are protected by
- regulations which discourage the recruitment of 'strangers' to positions above the base grade, and by
- legislated protection against arbitrary dismissal (termination being only for cause and by due process). This unified service is characterized by
- a hierarchical structure of positions defined by a regular system of position classification of salaries (with incremental advancement within the salary ranges of particular positions), with the career public servant rising through this hierarchy of positions according to
- a system of promotion by merit subject to
- a system of appeals against promotions (designed to ensure that justice is seen to be done), the final reward for long and loyal service being a distinctive retirement and pension system.



There are some advantages to this as a system of personnel administration. It provides a measure of stability for those within the system. It was designed to be non-partisan, while the principles of neutrality and anonymity fitted an administrative or technical view of public service. Appointment at the base grade and steady progression through the hierarchy, even promotion by seniority, should inculcate loyalty to the department and public service, and could reduce office politics. If promotion is by length of service, perhaps staff can work together instead of jockeying for recognition.

In Japan, for example, what is termed the 'slow promotion' system routinely rewards all members of an incoming group of college graduates equally for at least ten years after entry.

However, as a system of human resource management, there are more problems than benefits in the traditional model. A system characterized by rigid hierarchy is unable to cope with rapid change and could {and did) become self-absorbed and claustrophobic. Personnel management should aim to select, appoint and develop the best available workers for the required tasks. Even though this matching cannot be done perfectly in any system, it would be hard to find an example where these three points were performed in a worse way than the traditional model of administration.



Taking recruits only at the base grade initially aimed at training them for a lifetime of service in an unusual occupation. What it meant in practice was that a cohort group would advance in parallel fashion until the ends of their careers, so that the persistent and unambitious public servants would become departmental heads, and the talented or impatient would leave.

Unsatisfactory personnel selection devices such as seniority give the appearance of fairness, when all they really do is to reward the time-servers and punish the able. A system of promotion by seniority is an acknowledgement either that performance cannot be measured or that everyone has equal performance in administrative tasks. Both are damning of the personnel system that produced it — a system that almost guaranteed mediocrity.

The absence of performance measurement can also lead to other personnel problems. A clique of like-minded managers might develop, who then only hire or promote those of their own kind. These might be all males - which was frequently the case in the past - or chosen from a particular religious denomination or social set. Other social groups either found it hard to gain a foothold or to achieve advancement if they did. As with the practice of seniority, a workforce using such practices is unlikely to be a model of efficiency, but with the traditional model of administration such inefficiency could be hidden for many years, all because it was assumed that performance could not be measured.



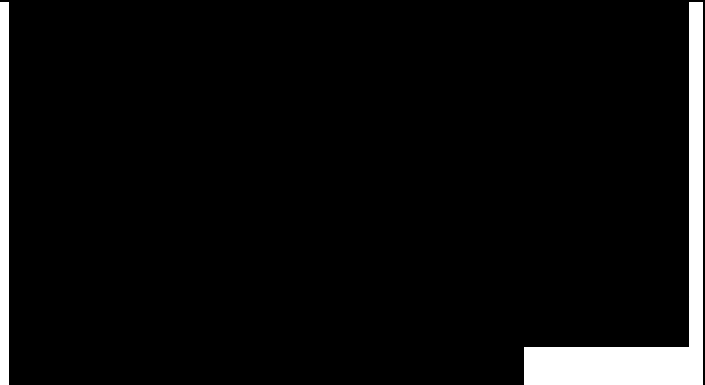
A particular personnel problem in Britain was the emphasis placed on general ability rather than on specific skills that were deemed to be relevant to government. Even after the reform process was well under way, authority remained with generalist administrators (Zifcak, 1994, p. 166). If the United Kingdom was so anomalous in this regard, it is little wonder that the Thatcher Government began to question the management capabilities of its public service.

In the United States, the civil service system also had major problems in developing a management culture, as argued by Ingraham (1995, pp. 12-13):

Virtually everything about the civil service system and its concomitant rules and regulations works against the development of a strong managerial culture and strong managers. The wrong incentives are in place and they are in the wrong places. The civil service system was not intended to be a flexible management system; true to its intent it is not.

Personnel systems in the traditional administrative era were obsessed with fairness rather than the ability to achieve a result. It was indeed designed not to be flexible, and that was what was achieved. As Ingraham also argues (1995, p. 11):

The emphasis on rules and procedures has created an organizational environment in which applying rules and following procedures has been valued more highly than using discretion and flexibility effectively to mobilize resources to achieve organizational objectives. This distinction can be summarized by considering the differences between administration and management. The former describes the neutral civil servant applying the right rule at the right time, but not questioning the rule and certainly not exercising discretion in whether it should be applied. Management, on the other hand,

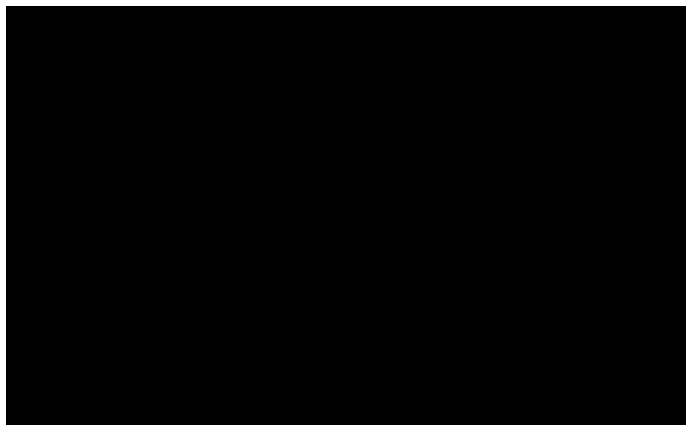
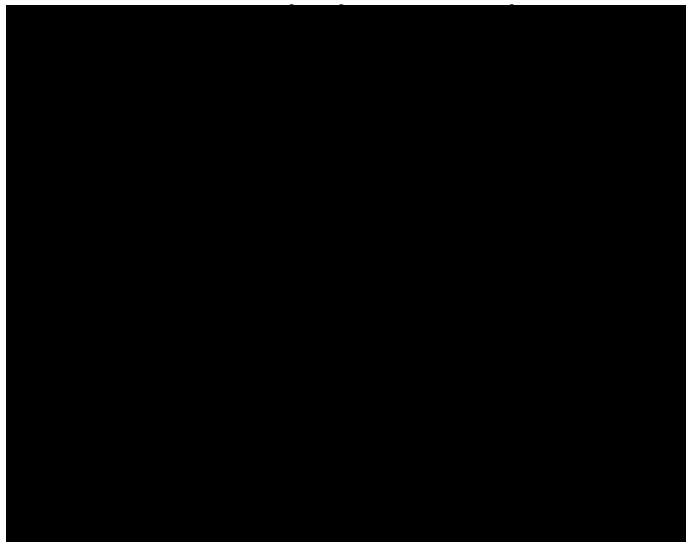


connotes considerable authority, discretion in its use, and accountability for outcomes and product rather than to rules and regulations. Civil service systems generally create administrators, not managers.

It began to be perceived that the personnel system itself did not attract the right people to government service or promote the most able. While it may have bred capable administrators, what was needed was capable managers. The rigidity of the administrative structure makes it difficult to hire the right people as the selection procedures are cumbersome and usually beyond the control of the manager. It is similarly difficult to provide appropriate reward structures or to remove people who are not performing. In addition, the rules inhibit managers' ability to motivate subordinates (Bozeman and Straussman, 1990).

A career service model of personnel, widely used during the period of the traditional model of public administration, had its strengths but also its weaknesses. It was not surprising that doing something about the structures and procedures dealing with the people inside government was an early focus of managerial reform. In the outside world times had changed but inside the civil service there was little difference.

One of the aspects of public management reform has been explicitly to seek out and encourage leadership, whereas this was discouraged in the traditional model of administration. Public management requires there to be an individual, a 'named person', who has specific responsibility for the achievement of results. In the strictly bureaucratic model, the only acceptable kind of leadership is that exercised by politicians; the public servants are merely followers, no matter what their level. Once the system changes, the personal qualities of public managers - their



leadership skills - necessarily become important in the way that results are achieved. This is in complete contrast to Weberian bureaucracy, which aimed to be quite impersonal. There cannot be much of a role for leadership in a strictly bureaucratic system; indeed, there is not much of a role for any individual, other than to follow the rules impersonally and impartially. But once public managers are made responsible for results, the machine model of bureaucracy - include total impersonality - breaks down; if not immediately, then over time.

One obvious problem with the bureaucratic model is that organizations are made up of people, and people inevitably interact with each other. Impersonality is quite unrealistic. Of course, some traditional public administrators were leaders, and possibly highly effective ones but leadership was not required by design and, if it did exist, was only an informal factor attached to a formalistic system that set out to remove any vestige of personal management. Traditional administration is really about the exercise of authority rather than leadership.

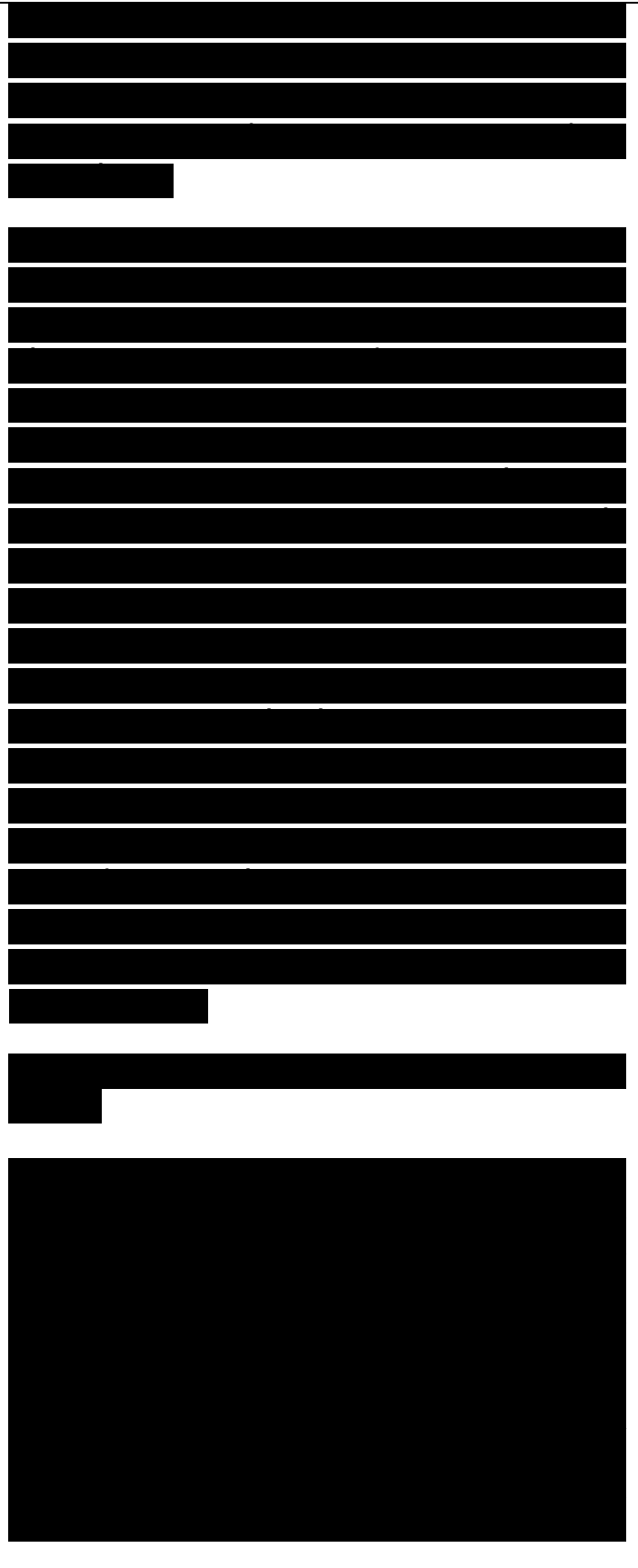
The emergence of concepts of leadership in the public sector should be seen as a reassertion of individual and personal attributes in management and, as a corollary, a reduction in the emphasis on management by formal rules. A manager must not only deliver, but also persuade subordinates to agree with the general parameters of the vision and to be inspired to achieve in turn, all for the overall benefit of the organization. The staff involved need to achieve and the manager needs to lead them. The delay in considering ideas of leadership was perhaps related to the previously held view that leadership does not have much of a role to play in a formal bureaucratic system (Javidan and Waldman, 2003).

The emergence of leadership brings more realism into what actually happens in the workplace, once the decision is taken that managers are required to organize their people to deliver results.

There is no single agreed view about what leadership involves, particularly in a public sector context. Sometimes it refers 'to the possession of personal properties such as courage, stamina, or charisma' and at other times, it means a property of a position which dispenses power, authority, and responsibility' (OECD, 2001, p. 11). There are two somewhat contrasting ideas about leadership in this view. The first refers to some personal qualities a leader may possess that enable him or her to stand above others; and the second idea is that leadership is attached to a position. The two views lead to quite different conceptions of what might be involved in leadership in the public sector context. Here they will be used as the two overarching views of leadership in the public sector; the first we can call the 'personal' view of leadership, and the second, the 'positional' view.

Leadership as a personal attribute

Leadership can involve personal attributes; some individuals are regarded as 'leaders' and others are 'followers', with both qualities being almost innate. What Bennis terms 'basic ingredients of leadership' include a guiding vision; passion; integrity; trust; curiosity and daring (1989, pp. 40-1). All these characteristics have a connection to personality, individual thought or behaviour. They are 'personal' qualities, as opposed to attributes that come with position in a hierarchy. It follows that leadership in this sense, almost by definition, is not an attribute that is inherent to many people, just to those lucky



few possessing innate qualities that make them leaders in contrast to the mass of followers.

The view of the leader as a person possessing extraordinary authority through personal charisma is associated most closely with the work of Max Weber. As noted earlier (see Chapter 3) Weber argued that charismatic authority was one of the three types of authority, along with traditional and rational/legal authority. Charismatic authority involves the personal qualities of an individual who is then able to lead others by the exercise of these attributes. As Weber described it (Gerth and Mills, 1970, p. 79):

There is the authority of the extraordinary and personal 'gift of grace' (charisma), the absolutely personal devotion and personal confidence in revelation, heroism, or other qualities of individual leadership. This is 'charismatic' domination, as exercised by the prophet or - in the field of politics - by the elected war lord, the plebiscitarian ruler, the great demagogue, or the political party leader.

The charismatic leader leads and the followers merely follow anywhere the leader takes them, whatever the destination might be. As Weber notes, 'Charisma knows only inner determination and inner restraint. The holder of charisma seizes the task that is adequate for him and demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission. His success determines whether he finds them' (Gerth and Mills, 1970, p. 246). If success is not found, the authority of the charismatic leader presumably falls away.

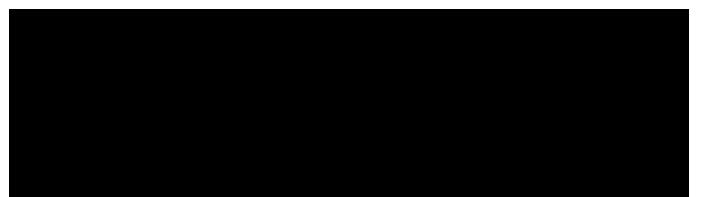
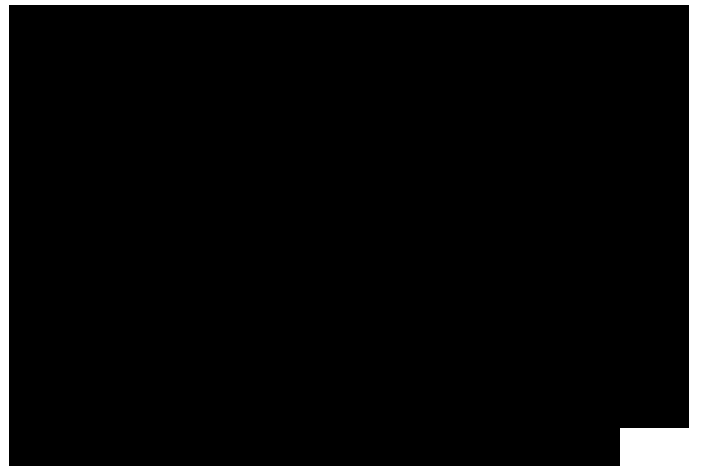
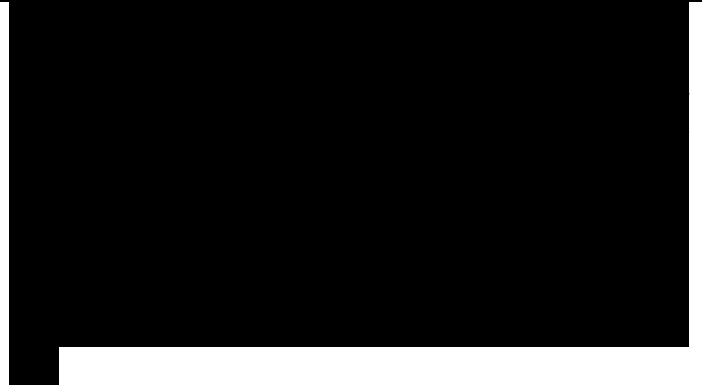
Weber recognized that charismatic authority can exist, and leadership can be based on charisma. But it is seen by him as being obsolete, as belonging to an earlier, pre-modern age. Even more than the

traditional authority of a tribal chief, charismatic authority is essentially non-rational and cannot last. As Weber argues, 'It is the fate of Charisma, whenever it comes into the permanent institutions of a community, to give way to powers of tradition or of rational socialization' (Gerth and Mills, 1970, p. 253). In other words, rational/legal authority - bureaucracy - inevitably takes over.

Weber regarded charismatic and traditional authority as being obsolete, patrimonial and inefficient compared to bureaucracy based on rational-legal authority. The bureaucratic system was set up precisely to avoid charismatic authority, and to replace any kind of personal authority with impersonal rules. To Weber, charismatic authority is temporary and less effective than the rationality to be found in bureaucracy (Gerth and Mills, 1970,P.246):

In contrast to any kind of bureaucratic organization of offices, the charismatic structure knows nothing of a form or of an ordered procedure of appointment or dismissal. It knows no regulated 'career', 'advancement', 'salary', or regulated and expert training of the holder of charisma or of his aids. It knows no agency of control or appeal, no local bailiwicks or exclusive functional jurisdictions; nor does it embrace permanent institutions like our bureaucratic 'departments,' which are independent of persons and of purely personal charisma.

In the wider political system, for much of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, charismatic leadership has been associated with disorder rather than order. And this kind of charisma has usually been seen as something to be avoided by



organizations, particularly those in the public sector.

The idea of charisma has made something of a comeback more recently, starting in the private sector. Charisma can be observed in management 'as an attribution made by followers who observe certain behaviors on the part of the leaders within organizational contexts' and this is 'not an attribution made about an individual because of his or her rank in the organization, but rather it is an attribution made because of the behavior he or she exhibits' (Conger and Kanungo, 1987, p. 639). Within government, leadership of this kind may be harder to measure, but clearly, it does exist.

In trying to achieve a result, a manager should be able to use whatever means are available, including leadership based on personal characteristics, personal interaction and personal political behaviour. With hindsight, it was unrealistic for the strict bureaucratic model to be so rigid about lack of personal involvement. Organizations are not inhabited by unthinking robotic beings, and how they relate to each other has an inevitable effect on the achievement of results.

Leadership as a positional attribute

The second view of leadership is that it is based on position within an organization. Achievement through leadership can be found inside organizations without the obvious exercise of personal qualities. A leader may be someone who is in a leadership 'position' rather than a person who is innately suited, through force of personality, to be in the position of leader. In other words, he or she is a



leader, not by the innate possession of charisma, but simply because leadership of others is required by the nature of the job currently being undertaken.

This kind of leadership is not to be disparaged; indeed, a leader in this sense may well be just as effective as the glowing, charismatic leader.

Heifetz and Laurie (1997) argue that the prevailing notion that 'leadership consists of having a vision and aligning people with that vision is bankrupt because it continues to treat adaptive situations as if they were technical: the authority figure is supposed to divine where the company is going, and people are supposed to follow', adding that leadership 'has to take place every day', that it 'cannot be the responsibility of a few, a rare event, or a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity' (p. 134).

A leader needs to work well with others, particularly in the modern-day public sector. A leader now may attain high levels of emotional intelligence and may also have skills and passions that can influence subordinates, but not necessarily be a leader possessing innately charismatic qualities. A leader may also have technical skills that are able to be learnt; notably in framing a vision or a strategy for the organization to follow, and persuading subordinates to accept the vision and contribute to its realization.

Moreover, changes in management practice have democratized the workplace and point to a flaw in the charismatic view of leadership. The view of the leader-as-dictator, the leader whom everyone else fears, is out of date. It is less acceptable now for authoritarianism to prevail, and such a leader would often be unacceptable to the rest of the staff. The idea of the leader who has all the wisdom for a group and to whom everyone defers does seem somewhat obsolete, as an OECD paper states (2001, p. 43):

Under the old autocratic model, leaders could expect to solve the problem, announce the decision; and get compliance, based on their authority. But public sector leaders today must gain commitment, not just compliance, and therefore a collaborative style is needed. Leaders now succeed only if they can influence others, and quite often those whose support they need do not report to them.

Leadership should be able to occur without formal authority; indeed, that kind of leadership is much more in tune with an organizational culture that is participative.

There remains the question as to whether leadership in the public sector is largely personal or positional. An OECD report argues that the leadership profile includes: 'focusing on delivery of results, challenging assumptions, being open to learning from the outside, understanding the environment and its impact, thinking and acting strategically, building new patterns and ways of working and developing and communicating a personal vision of change' (OECD, 2005, p. 178). Some of these points are personal, and others may be more positional. The final point - communicating a personal vision of change - is clearly personal, whereas some of the other points could be regarded as being either positional or a combination of the two. A manager must achieve results, but could conceivably do so without any kind of charismatic authority, more as a result of being placed in charge, and that leadership is involved as part of being in charge.

Ingraham (2005) sets out ways that an excellent leader 'drives and supports performance in important ways', including the leader as communicator the leader as the driver of performance, and as a shaper and reinforcer of performance. She adds that strong leadership in public organizations is going to be absolutely fundamental to keeping the future course

as steady as possible' and leaders with 'vision, resolve, and frankly, pretty tough skins, will be key ingredients to performance success' (p. 395). These points could refer to either leadership as a personal attribute or leadership as a positional attribute, but the underlying view does seem to lean towards personal attributes such as vision and resolve.

Someone in a leadership position may be able to gain the commitment of others based on their authority level, but they are also more likely to be effective if they bring some aspects of personality to that process.

Leadership and management

There may be some debate over the relative importance of leadership and management, as to whether leadership is a different and higher-level function than management. In the private sector literature, Kotter (1990) argues that leadership and management are two distinctive and complementary systems, each having its own functions and its own characteristic activities, but both are necessary for the management of complex organizations. Management is 'about coping with complexity' whereas leadership is 'about coping with change' (p. 104). Management involves planning and budgeting, setting a direction, organizing and staffing, aligning people and by controlling and problem solving, but leadership is about vision, motivation and inspiration - 'keeping people moving in the right direction, despite major obstacles to change, by appealing to basic but often untapped human needs, values, and emotions' (p. 104). For Kotter, management is about systems and processes, but leadership is about vision and coping with change.

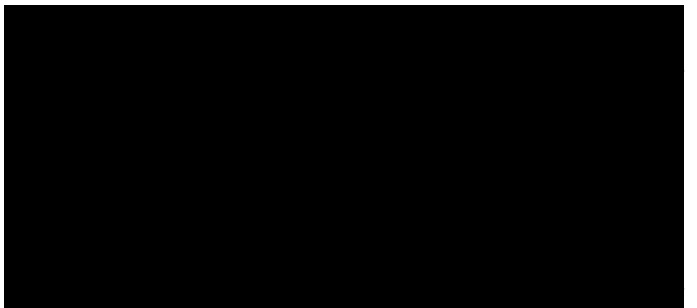
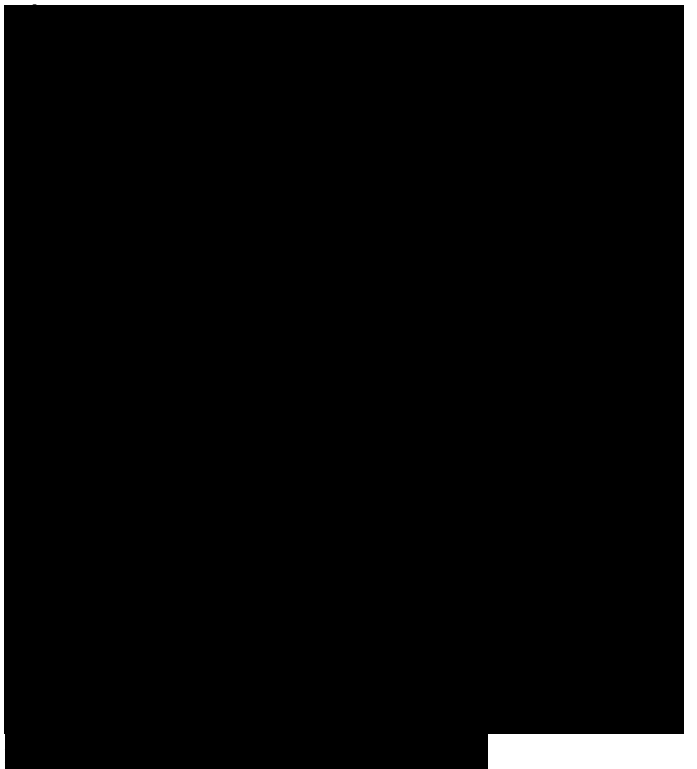
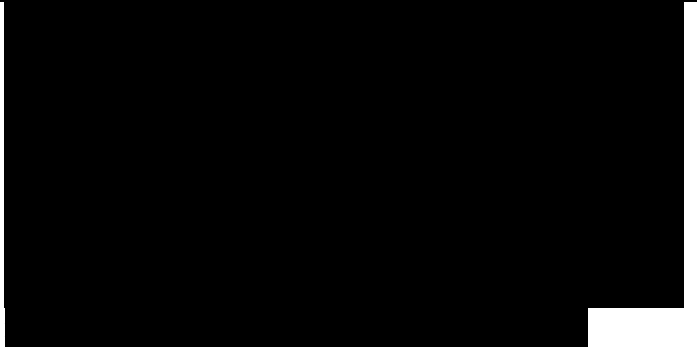
In the public sector context, Fairholm (2004) agrees with Kotter in seeing management as being about organizational structures, making transactions and 'ensuring control and prediction', whereas leadership

is about change and transformation, 'setting and aligning organizational vision with group action, and ensuring individuals a voice so that they can grow into productive, proactive, and self-led followers (p. 588). However, the clear separation between management and leadership argued by Kotter and Fairholm may be less relevant in a public context. There are two aspects to this.

The first is that the tasks that Kotter (1990) ascribes to management fit, in the historiography of the public sector, the concept of public administration far more than public management. Kotter's planning and budgeting, setting a direction, organizing and staffing, and the like are similar to 'POSDCORB' - planning, organizing, staffing, directing co-ordinating, reporting and budgeting (Gulick and Urwick, 1937) as administrative functions in government. The private sector has no equivalent of a political leader in the person of the minister. In the public sector, there has always been a tension between the administrative and political parts of government. With public sector reform administrative functions have become management functions, but while management functions may include the administrative and procedural ones listed by Kotter (1990), they also include strategy and other high-level functions reserved for leaders in the private sector.

The second point, and it has been mentioned before, is that leadership in the public sector takes place within parameters, within mandates, in a way that is not usual in the private sector. As Behn (1998b, ,p, 220) argues:

I am advocating active, intelligent, enterprising leadership. I am advocating leadership that takes astute initiatives designed to help the agency not only achieve its purposes today but also to create new capacity to achieve its objectives tomorrow. I am advocating a style of leadership that builds both an agency's and its government's reputation for accomplishment and thus competence. Such

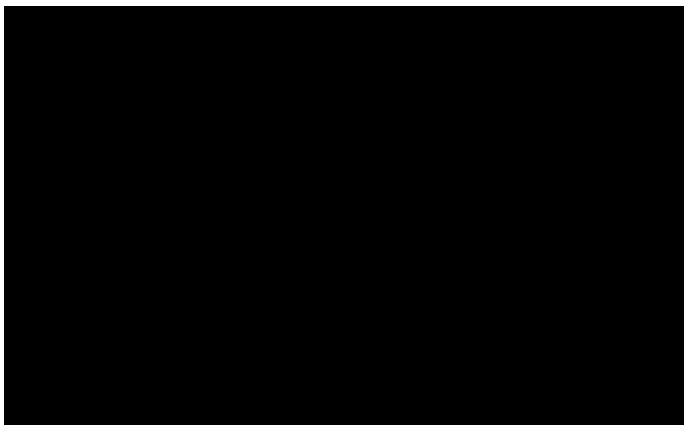
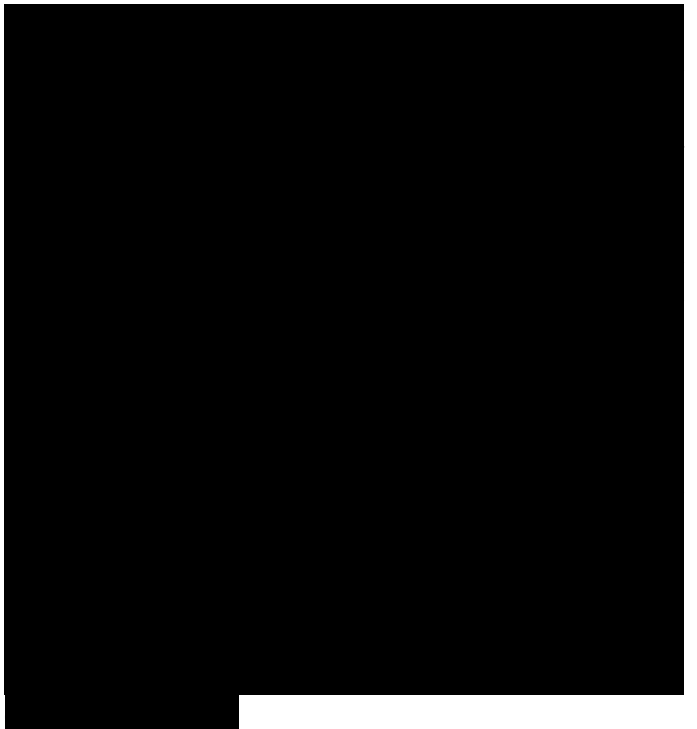


leadership requires public managers to exercise initiative within the framework provided by their legal mandate.

The legal mandate is quite different from that of the private sector. Leadership occurs in government but it is a constrained kind of leadership as the mandate restricts freedom of action compared to the private sector. Leadership is then not so far away from management in the public sector context. Leadership is similarly flexible, perhaps even more so in the sense that a leader is expected to crash through obstacles, to be innovative, and to take the organization in a new direction.

It could be argued that leadership is a higher-order function than management, and that, in terms of the development of public management, a linear progression can be seen from administration to management and then to leadership. An alternative but equally valid view is that leadership is a part of the function and functionality of management, so that a manager also needs to be a leader. In the governmental context at least, a manager increasingly does need to be a leader. If a manager is to achieve results, s/he needs to exercise leadership. Moreover, the higher a manager rises in an organization, the more that leadership takes over from tasks better described as administration and day-to-day management. At the highest levels, political behaviour, in the broadest sense, and interpersonal relationships become more important in the achievement of results than do technical administrative or management skills.

If there is a big dividing line between the three concepts, it is between administration and management, or between traditional Public administration and public management. Traditional public administration tried, at least in the ideal Weberian case, to take any personal dimension away from what a public servant does in practice. The reasoning was laudable, in that an impersonal administration based solely on rules and laws will make the same decision every time. But public administrators are people; they are men and women



with personalities and with personal relationships of a kind with one another, and with the politicians and the public that they serve.

A public manager has as one of his or her required attributes the ability to work with others in order to achieve results. Accepting the personal responsibility for doing so could be considered as leadership in action' through both personality and position. It may or may not be charismatic leadership, but leadership it is, and its absence makes it that much harder for the organization to achieve its goals.

Management of human resources

Managerial reforms have included significant changes in personnel systems in order to achieve better results. It has become easier to hire the right people, quickly and often with variations to the standard conditions of employment. Often contracts are used that can be of short duration. At the highest levels, it is more common for ministers to appoint their own senior staff, in what may be an extension to other countries of the American system of political appointees to the public service. The reward and incentive structure has changed, with performance pay being common. It is also easier to remove those who are not performing. The public services now cannot afford to have people who are not contributing, but the corollary is that good performers can be identified and rewarded. This means that unsatisfactory personnel devices such as seniority are disappearing, as is the dominance by particular social groups. Some countries have rigorous programmes of affirmative action and, while these have been driven by societal demands, they also have an efficiency aspect given that in the past talented people were excluded.

Ideas for changing personnel systems have been around for some time; indeed, the kinds of reforms eventually carried out had long been on the agenda. The Fulton Report in Britain in the 1960s (Fulton, 1968) recommended that the system be opened up, that outsiders be employed at all levels, and that the

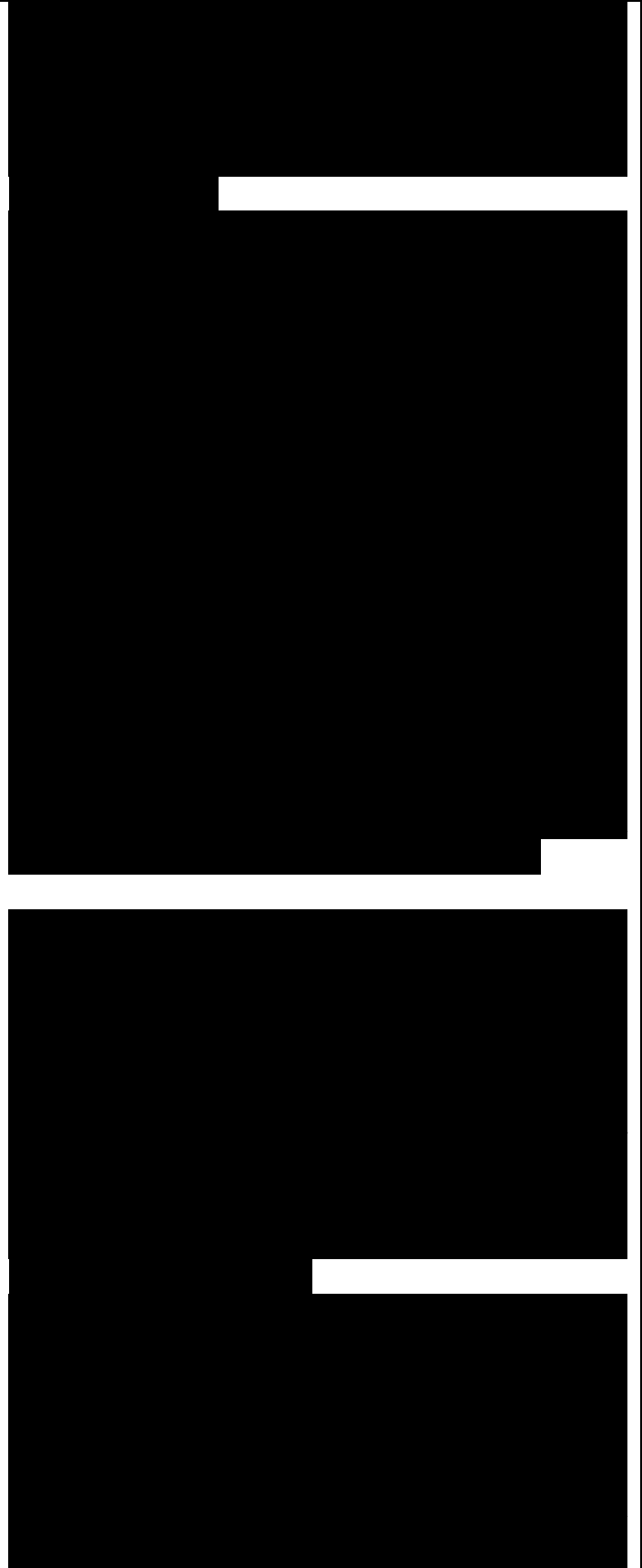
rigid hierarchical structure in which barriers were placed at several points be removed. Under the previous system, professional staff could not rise beyond a certain point, but this too was to change.

The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 in the United States was similarly based on the view that management needed to be improved, and that managers would take greater responsibility for their organizations and their staff. The Act established merit pay and a new Senior Executive Service (SES). This was to be an elite of senior managers who would be appointed to the SES rather than to any specific position, with the aim of allowing a ready transfer between positions. It also introduced performance appraisal and performance pay, both of which have also been implemented in other countries. These represented an attempt to introduce the incentives common in the private sector into the public sector, to provide some tangible reward to the able. The Act also introduced new demotion and dismissal procedures, again with the idea of improving quality.

In general, there has been a move towards breaking down the rigid hierarchical structures and providing flexibility. Rather than secure lifetime employment, more employees at all levels face regular restructuring of their agencies, more movement, more redundancies and less certainty of tenure. Term appointments are likely at lower levels, permanent part-time work and flexible hours are more popular, and the special retirement benefits once enjoyed by public servants have steadily been reduced.

More use is made of contracts for short-term employment rather than lifetime employment, and for contracting-out functions and positions once performed inside the system.

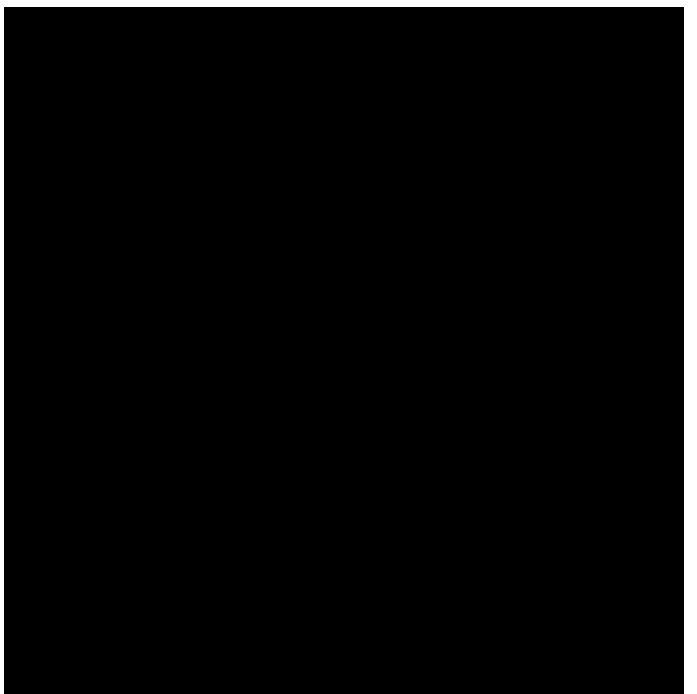
Employees may no longer have public service conditions of employment. Public servants who assumed they had a steady job for life did find the



adjustment difficult. Staff are increasingly recruited at all levels; indeed, base-grade appointment is becoming quite rare in some places. It is more common to recruit graduates rather than those having only a high school level of education. Even department heads may be recruited from outside the organization, including from outside the public sector.

Public sector employment has declined, at least in relative terms, though precise calculation is difficult because of definitions. From 1995 to 2005, the proportion of the labour force employed in the public sector (government and public corporations) declined in 9 of the 11 OECD countries for which data was available, with the Netherlands and Spain being the two exceptions (OECD, 2009, p. 66). Public sector employment in the UK fell from 6.5 million to 4 million between 1979 and 1999, though definitional changes make a strict comparison difficult to make (Greenwood et al., 2002, p. 17).

Changes to human resource management practice were once controversial and resisted by both employees and unions. But as a time when flexibility, a mobile workforce and management by results are common in the private sector, it is difficult for public servants to insist on the personnel practices of a past age. Caiden (1982, p.183) refers to “the bulk of public employment where conditions are similar to those obtaining in the private sector” and this is in fact the case. Except, arguably, at the highest levels, most public servants carry out work that is quite similar to that done by office workers in business. Personnel practices peculiar to the public sector were introduced because government work was considered to be quite different; tenure was considered necessary to ensure frank and fearless advice. But the increase in size and function of government has meant that most public servants are



engaged in service delivery analogous to that of the private sector, not policy advice, and the case for different standards of employment is less tenable.

It follows that personnel arrangements more like those in the private sector will become commonplace. According to Osborne and Gaebler (1992), public sector experiments have shown the success of 'broad classifications and pay bands; market salaries; performance-based pay- and promotion and lay-offs by performance rather than seniority', and that other important elements of a personnel system could include 'hiring systems that allow managers to hire the most qualified people ... aggressive recruitment of the best people; and streamlining of the appeals process for employees who are fired' (p. 129).

Public services now have better-educated people than they once did. Better methods of management and analysis as well as better recruitment and promotion procedures may make public sector managers more competent, especially when combined with improved use of new technology. The human resources available at the time of writing are certainly better than they were, when it was assumed that public administration required no special competence. Greater flexibility in promotion and improved performance measurement should allow the competent to rise faster. With the demise of the career service model, staff are less likely to spend their entire careers in one agency, or even in public service, but to move between public and private sectors.

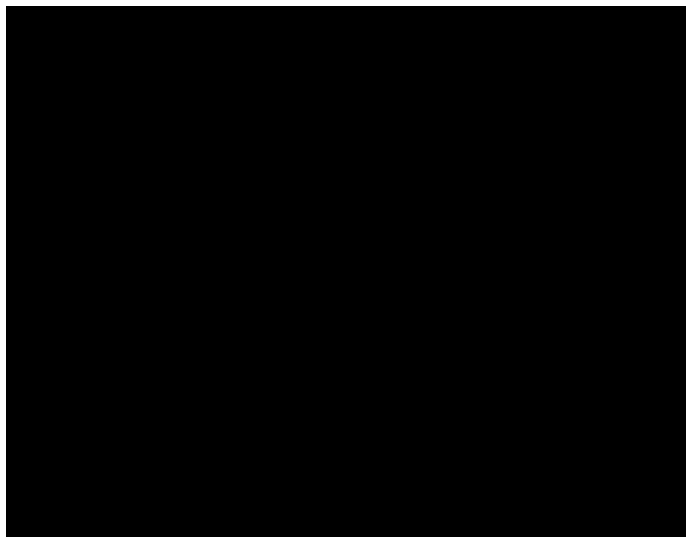
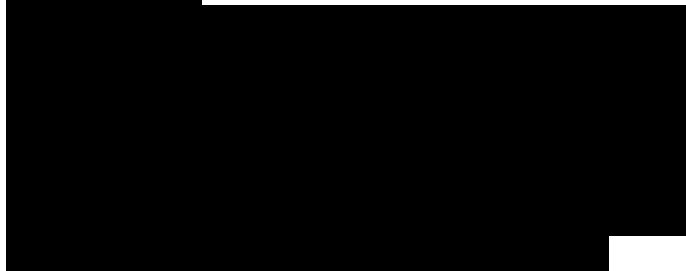
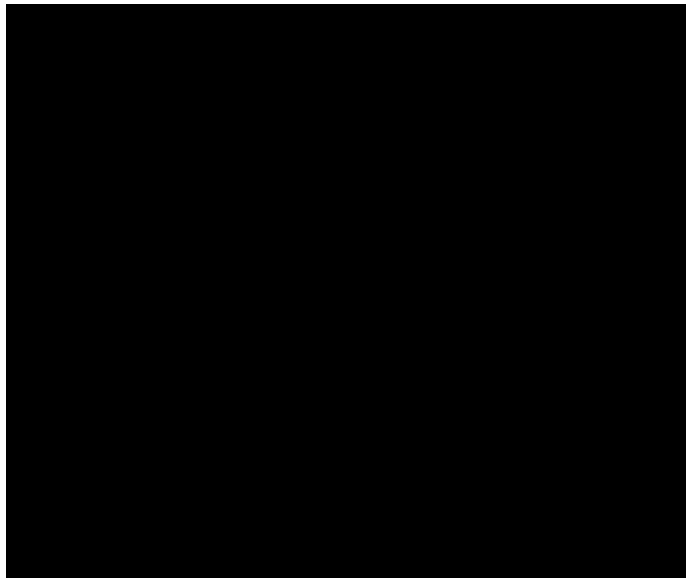
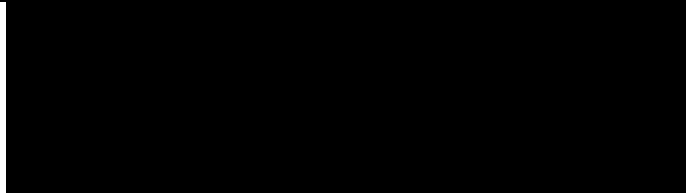
For the ambitious and able, public service work is more interesting than it'once was.-Previously, capable people would often leave their jobs in

frustration at the rigidity of the personnel system, and were often unwilling to wait their turn for promotion. Barzelay (1992) comments that public managers can have much more varied roles than previously (p. 132):

The post-bureaucratic paradigm values argumentation and deliberation about how the roles of public managers should be framed. Informed public managers today understand and appreciate such varied role concepts as exercising leadership, creating an uplifting mission and organizational culture, strategic planning, managing without direct authority, pathfinding, problem-solving, identifying customers, groping along, reflecting-in-action, coaching, structuring incentives, championing products, instilling a commitment to quality, creating a climate for innovation, building teams, redesigning work, investing in people, negotiating mandates, and managing by walking around.

It could be argued that many of these tasks are merely derived from the private sector; that they are fads and are not relevant for government. What is more accurate is that the tasks specified by Barzelay are those of a manager rather than an administrator, with the role of the former being more varied and more interesting.

A public service does two main things. The first is to provide assistance and advice to the political leadership. The second is to deliver services, to implement the legislation that the present government or previous governments have passed. The two can be linked, in that insights found while delivering services can lead to information or anomalies that can be fed back to the political leadership for further attention and subsequent legislation. But conceptually the two are different. The traditional public administration provided for little distinction between them, so that the conditions of employment perhaps needed for the first - to provide frank and fearless advice, for example-

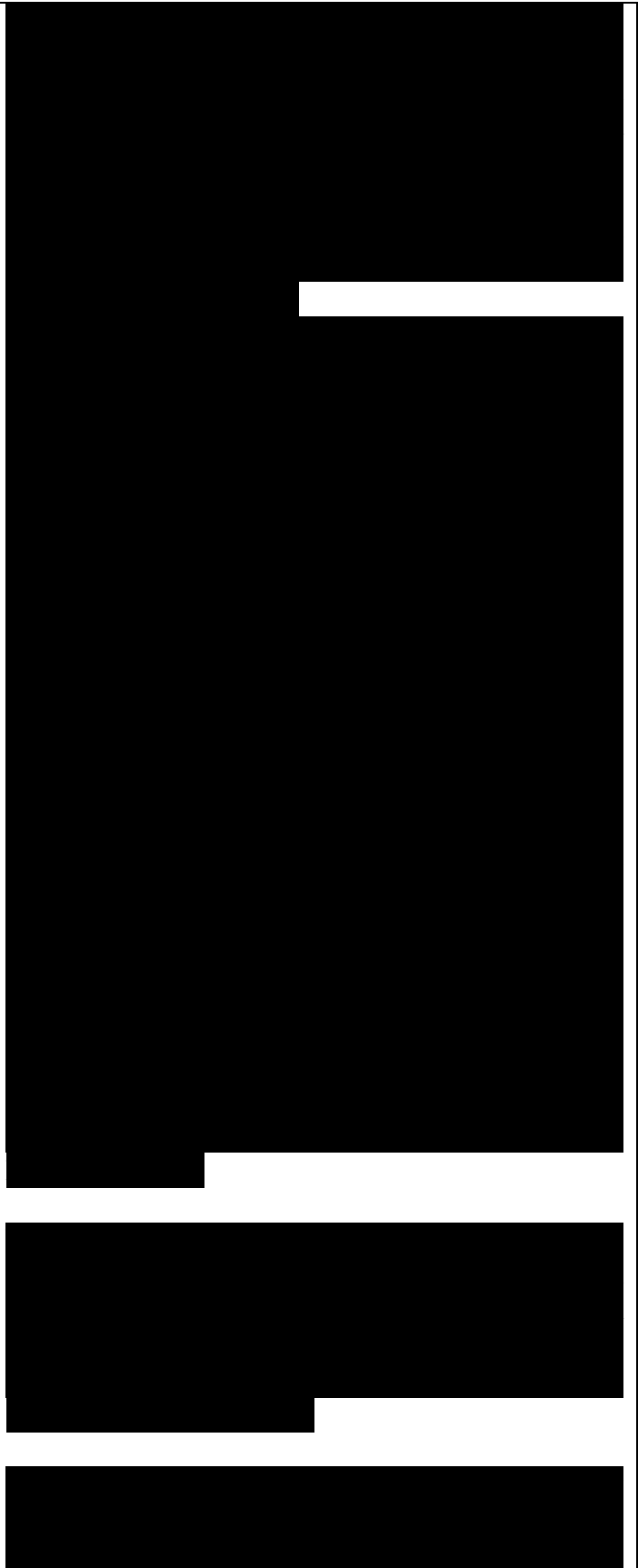


required permanent employment and neutrality, aspects that were not really needed for the second service delivery role. They became conditions of employment, often negotiated by unions holding real power to make demands. And because some public servants needed to be permanent in order to remain neutral, it became commonplace in the old model that all public servants needed to be permanent, when this was never necessary.

What managerial reform has done, among other things, is to unpack the various kinds of public service work. The service delivery function is a production function, a management task, and little different from the private sector. There is a logistical task involved in sending out millions of social security payments but one no different in character from a major logistical task in, say, retail marketing. The recognition that service delivery was different from policy advice led to experiments in agencification (Pollitt et al., 2004), in contracts, in using call centres or the like, and even providing government services through the private sector. It also led to the realization that not all public servants need to be permanent, nor is it required for all to have unusual and more generous conditions of service than other comparable jobs in the private sector. Moreover, those parts of the public sector close to the political action - policy positions, heads of agencies and so on - found it difficult to justify permanency when the political leadership did not want it.

Additionally, it was realized that the HRM function needed to be managed actively. Farnham (1999) states there are five key features of contemporary human resource management and employment relations emerging in the public services (p. 127):

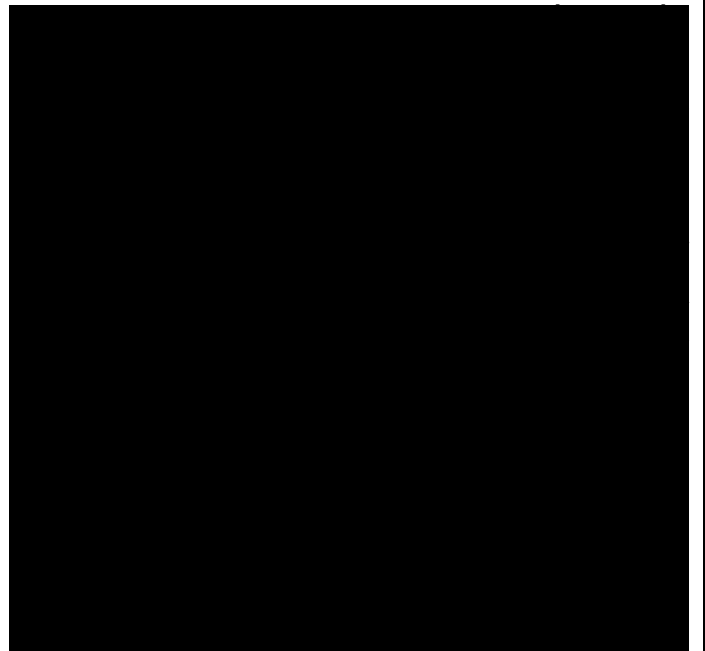
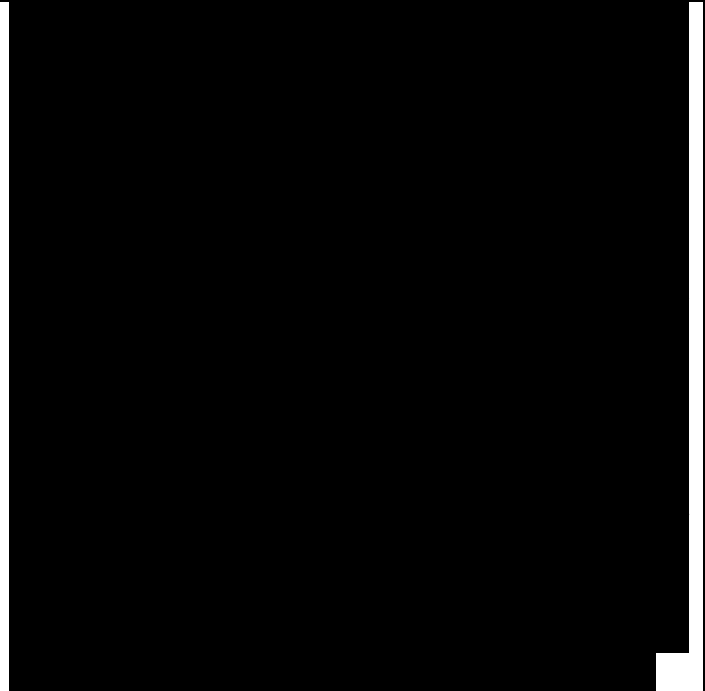
First, the personnel function is attempting to become more strategic than administrative in its tasks, but within resource constraints structured by the state.



Second, management styles are tending to shift towards more rationalist, performance-driven ones, away from paternalist, pluralist ones. Third, employment practices are becoming more flexible and less standardized than in the past. Fourth, employment relations are becoming 'dualist', with most non-managerial staff continuing to have their pay and conditions determined through collective bargaining, whilst public managers are increasingly working under personal contracts of employment. Fifth, the state is moving away from being a "classical model employer. In its place, it appears to be depending increasingly on HRM ideas and practices taken from leading-edge private organizations, whilst adapting them to the particular contingencies of the public services.

The organization's overall strategy, and even its very survival, are linked to the competence of key staff. What is often termed strategic human resource management in government seeks to integrate strategy with staffing and links in other areas such as industrial relations recruitment, training, incentives and performance evaluation.

It would be feasible for an agency to contain only a small number of core officials and have its functions largely contracted out (Davis 1997). This could be considered to be a return to the elite model proposed by Northcote-Trevelyan or Weber (see Chapter 3), but more likely is further rapid change and even more short-term positions in the public service taken up by managers who are equally comfortable in the public or the private sector. Perhaps there will be a floating population of policy advisers: sometimes in the bureaucracy; sometimes advising politicians; and sometimes working as consultants for one of the big accounting or consulting firms. Permanency and a career may be seen as archaic and not characteristic of many public service staff, who will transfer more readily into and out of the sector rather than being lifetime employees.



The task for public managers is more complex and challenging than it once was. A managerial public service may be more interesting for public servants than was the traditional model. As Caiden argues (1996, pp. 30-1):

Few would want to return to the passive bureaucracy of the past, its conservatism, adherence to the strict letter of the law, reluctance to depart from precedent, undue weight given to respectability (read good connections), reliability (reputation for avoiding innovation), seniority (length of routine service), and group conformity. Such traits might have suited the tempo of past times but they need to be transformed to meet today's needs and to prepare for tomorrow's surprises.

In the best public services this transformation is indeed happening, and there is certainly no real possibility of returning to the rigidity of the past. But it is also the case that the transition period has been difficult for many public servants. The public sector is a difficult place to work at the best of times. Poor morale may be endemic, or at any rate hard to combat. The public service in future is likely to be much smaller, at least in relative terms, though it will probably have to offer higher salaries to compete for the scarce, competent staff it will need. Such a service might be much better, but trying to improve the perception of outsiders and to recover some respect from the community at large will be much more difficult.

Some problems with the HRM changes

Changes to the personnel system have affected everyone in government agencies. Some have argued that a public service career is not what it was. The notion of career service is disappearing, as is lifetime tenure or the inability to be dismissed. Promotion



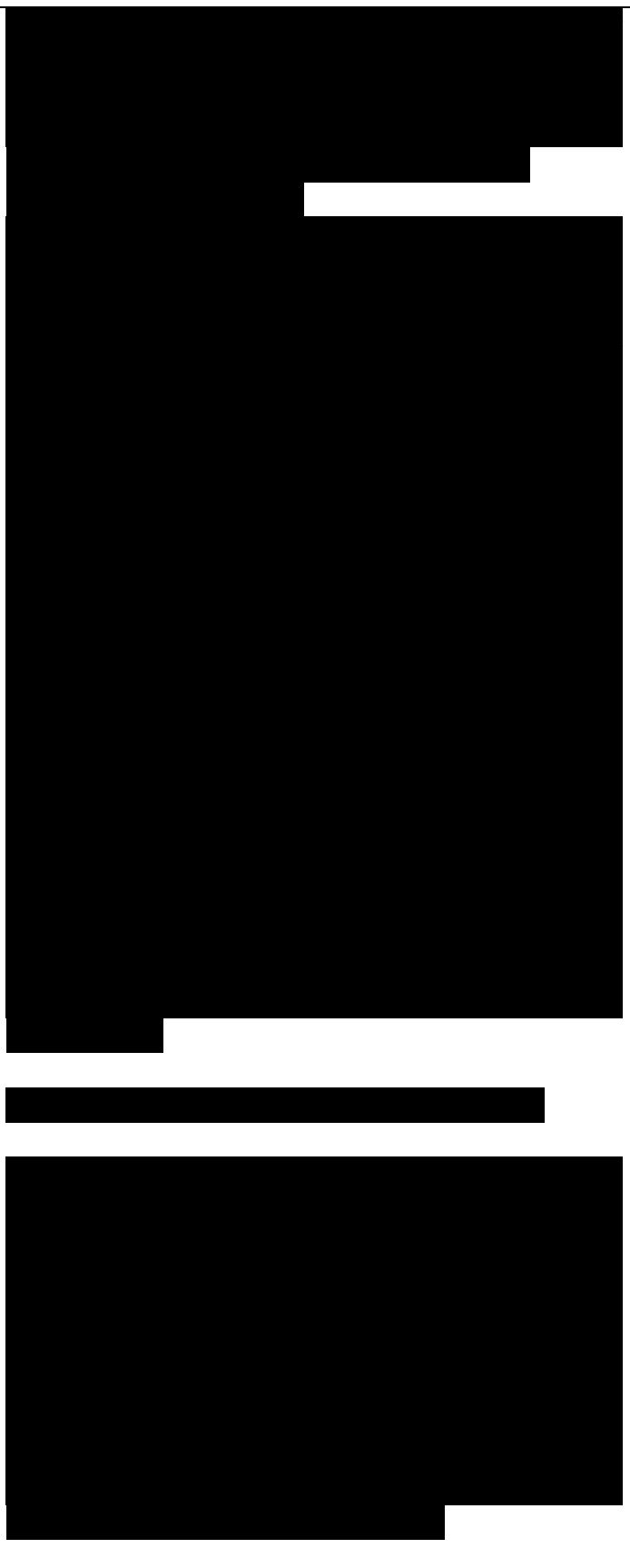
prospects are less certain, and there has been a bewildering series of reforms affecting morale. There are several points made by critics as to the changes in personnel systems.

Reducing conditions of service

Arguments have been put forward that there is a contradiction in the personnel sense between motivating public employees and reducing their conditions of service (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000, pp. 162-3). There is some point to this. At the same time as it is claimed that public sector reform will liberate managers and allow them to take responsibility, tenure is being removed, as are many of the special conditions of service once given to administrators. This means that working for the public sector is 'now less different from working for the private sector, and one should think about the implications of those changes' (Peters, 1996, p. 18). In earlier times, there was an implicit contract where public employees tended to be paid less than in the private sector but could trade this for greater permanency in their employment. Where employment conditions are made more like those in the private sector, the commitment of public employees to public service may well decline. The overall direction of change is 'that of . reducing the distinctiveness of the rules governing many public service jobs' (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004, p. 80).

Performance management systems

One of the key reforms involving staff has been the introduction of more formalized systems of performance appraisal for individuals. It is incorrect to say that performance appraisal did not exist previously; it is more accurate to say that in earlier times performance appraisal was *ad hoc* rather than systematic. If a public manager is to be responsible for the achievement of results, it follows that what each staff member contributes towards the overall achievement needs to be assessed



Performance appraisal systems of any kind may not be greatly appreciated by the staff whose performance is to be assessed. Even if the private sector has established ways of measuring individual performance and the public sector has set out to emulate these, it is more difficult to measure the performance of personnel in the public sector. The public sector has also, historically, been somewhat obsessed with the idea of 'fairness' and in setting out procedures and processes that are impartial and transparent. On the other hand, it could be argued that 'fairness' in reward structures is a peculiarly public service view of the world that the private sector hardly has 'fair' reward structures and that some unfairness may be the price to be paid for greater flexibility.

The review of personal performance can become an instrument of control. Horton (1999) observes that 'civil servants are now more obviously managed, with the personal review acting as an instrument of control, although it is more often presented as an instrument of consultation and individual empowerment' (p. 153). Pollitt and Bouckaert (2000) argue that managers have more freedom but are simultaneously under greater scrutiny (p. 138):

Beneath the surface, the process of letting - or making - public managers manage has not been so simple. There have been countervailing currents and considerable centralization, partly through the establishment of evermore sophisticated performance indicator and target regimes, underpinned by rapidly advancing information technologies ... Executive politicians have transferred their focus for control from inputs to outputs, via processes. This may account for the somewhat ambiguous responses from public service managers themselves - they have experienced greater freedom to deploy their inputs (e.g., switching money from staff to equipment, or vice versa) but at the same time they, have felt themselves under closer scrutiny than ever before as far as their results are concerned.

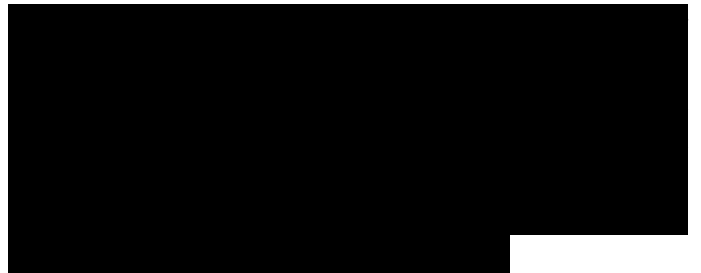
Public managers have greater scope to do things and to achieve results; but with this has come increased attention as to whether results have actually been achieved. By itself this may not be a big problem, but it is very difficult for public managers if they are expected to achieve results while following the same detailed procedures as in the bureaucratic model. Management freedom to act does need to be meaningful, but no one can escape verification after the fact that results have been achieved.

Some kind of performance appraisal is used in all sectors and is accepted by employees as part of what they have to do. It is no longer tenable for public servants to argue that their sector is so special that it should not have formal appraisal.

Performance pay

Another problem has been the idea of providing incentives by means of extra pay. Even if performance pay is a good idea in the abstract, it has been hard to implement in a fair and reasonable way. It could be used to reward favourites and may cause resentment in those who consider themselves worthy of extra reward but get none, performance pay has generally not worked well, especially when it has been set up within a rigid system of hierarchical levels. Staff may become resentful over not getting performance pay of even very small amounts - as little as 5 per cent of salary, say - as they see the achievement of an award for performance as a signal of their worth. The denying of it or the perception of unfairness in allocation can lead to disengagement.

Problems of morale



The series of unrelenting attacks on government and bureaucracy, followed by a series of bewildering changes including those of performance measurement and personnel changes, has caused problems of morale, notably in the early reform era. Public administration in its Golden Age was a valuable and valued profession, and one with substantial prestige. By the early 1980s, this was no longer the case in many countries, and individual bureaucrats had to cope with antipathy from the citizenry. Some of the morale problems of public servants may be part of a larger problem. Attacks on the bureaucracy, even on government as a whole, might be part of some general disaffection with the idea of politics and government. The lack of regard for the bureaucracy probably did lead to a lack of sympathy from the public about public sector change and made managerial reform easier than it could have been, but probably exacerbated the problem of public service morale.

Demoralized workers are obviously less effective, so improving overall performance means attention must be paid to problems of morale. Pollitt (2001) argues that lower-level staff 'show less enthusiasm for enacted reforms than do the "mandarins" at the top' (pp. 476-7). This should not be a surprise. The old administration was quite comfortable and easy, and a great place to work for those valuing stability. The managerial workplace is more difficult; it is more rewarding for those who are capable, but less comfortable for those looking for an easy life. In this respect it is much more like the private sector. As an OECD paper states (1998a, p. 48):

Some public servants also profess to be concerned about the disruption that change inevitably brings, and the number and speed of changes.

The fact is, however, that the amount of structural adjustment in the public sector is typically no greater than is being experienced elsewhere in the economy,

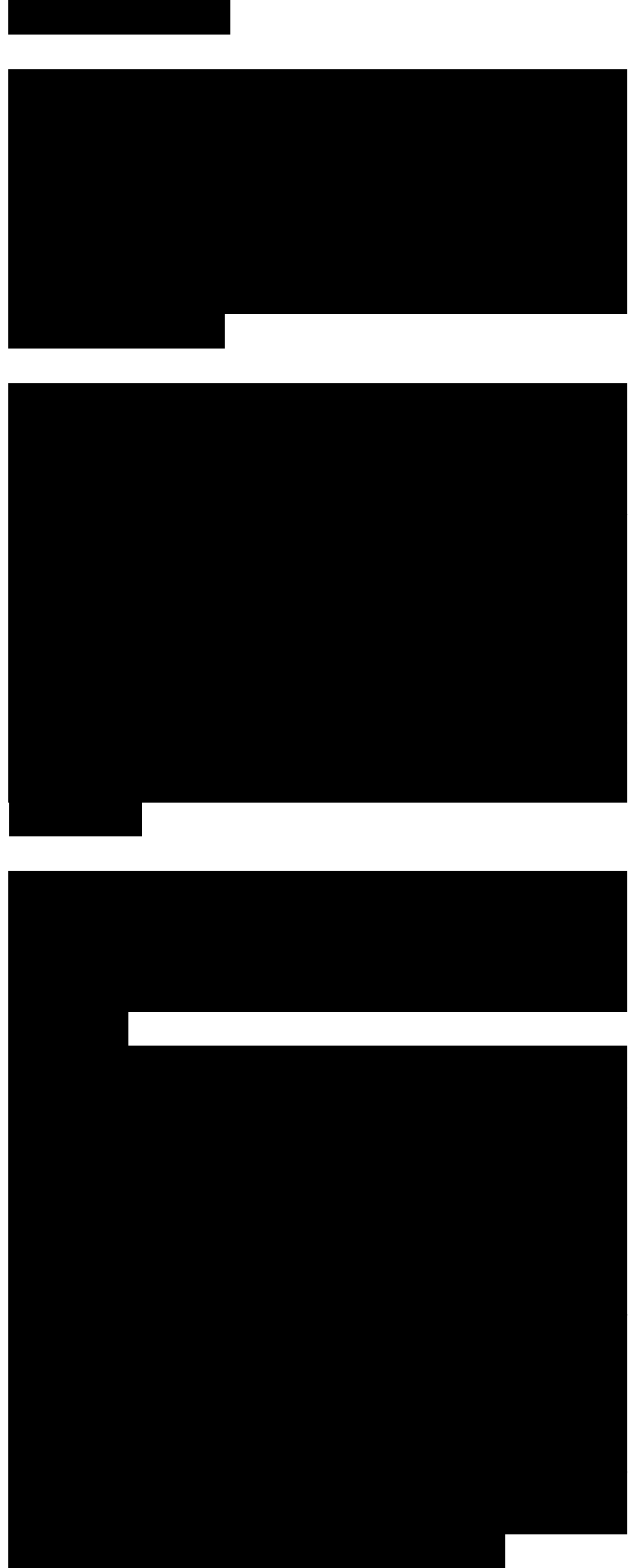
and the pace of change has speeded up everywhere.

There might have been a gradual improvement of morale inside the system as the expectations of workers changed to resemble those of private sector employees. If public servants do not expect to be employed for life, they should have fewer morale problems than those earlier employees who thought they would enjoy lifetime tenure.

As the reforms proceeded, expectations of staff did seem to change. This has positive effects in that flexibility in staffing has been the result. Flexibility, however, works both ways. Without an expectation, or even desire, for long-term employment, good staff would stay for a short time and then leave for another job in the private sector or in a different part of government. Perhaps the result of all the changes will be improved quality in the public sector, and this development will satisfy both citizens and public employees.

It will be necessary, however, to treat staff as the valuable resources they are. Old-style authoritarianism is most often counterproductive in dealing with good staff, as they will simply leave.

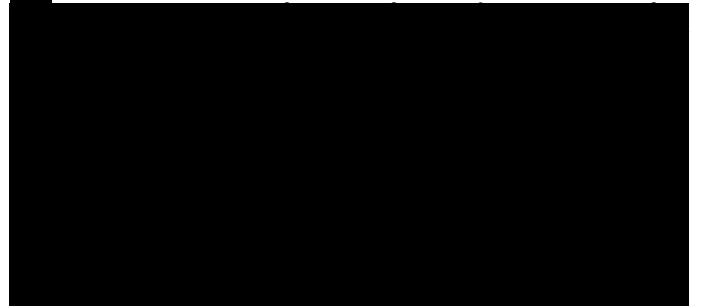
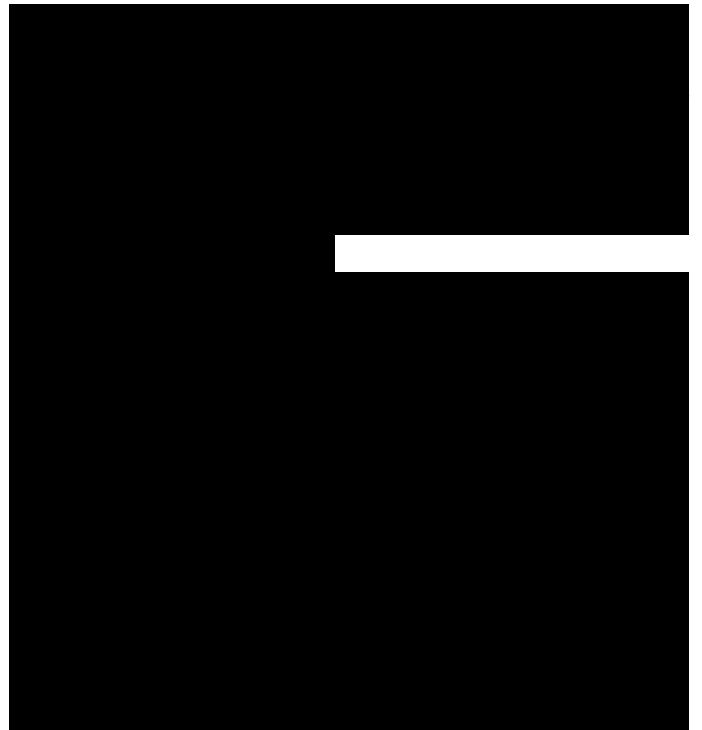
In the abstract, how human resource management is carried out, and who can be hired to do the work at the next level down, should be to the responsibility of the manager to decide. In practice, personnel systems remain highly bureaucratic and with detailed rules that, while they allow more scope for managers than in the administrative model, are a long way from giving the manager a free hand. At the same time, though, public sector organizations have focused much more attention on leadership, on who should become a leader, their scope of action once they have achieved a leadership position, even the idea of embedding leadership throughout an organization and at all levels.



Personnel management has moved some distance away from the methods of the traditional model, where, in the name of equity, personnel procedures almost guaranteed mediocrity. In general, the competence of public servants is high, probably higher than it was previously. Staff are hired with better qualifications and there are now very few hired at the base grade. The jobs themselves are often more interesting and rewarding than they once were. There seem to be sufficient people willing to accept flexibility and who do not value career-length tenure as much as they did previously. There is more monitoring in the sense of performance appraisal systems, but good staff accept the need to show achievement.

Even if there were problems in setting up new systems, the direction of human resource management in government is quite clear. Since the 1980s there has been an inexorable movement towards the terms and conditions of employment in the private sector rather than seeing public employment as being axiomatically different. If certain changes encounter difficulties, they will be superseded by further changes in the same direction, rather than going back. Second, comparisons should not look at how well the reforms work in the abstract, but rather how well they compare with what went before. In this regard, all the changes mentioned here are far better than those that existed under the traditional model of administration. In that model, there were systems of personnel management but these were of rather dubious quality.

The most fundamental capability of any organization is that held by its people. It could be argued that a public manager must do more than carry out the requirements laid down in the legal mandate, as no matter how carefully legislation is drafted there is always room for individual judgement and leadership of others. The administrative model was clearly inadequate in this regard, as any possibility of

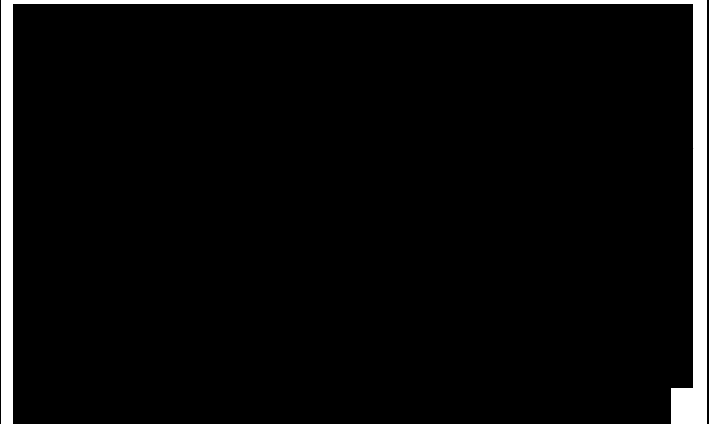
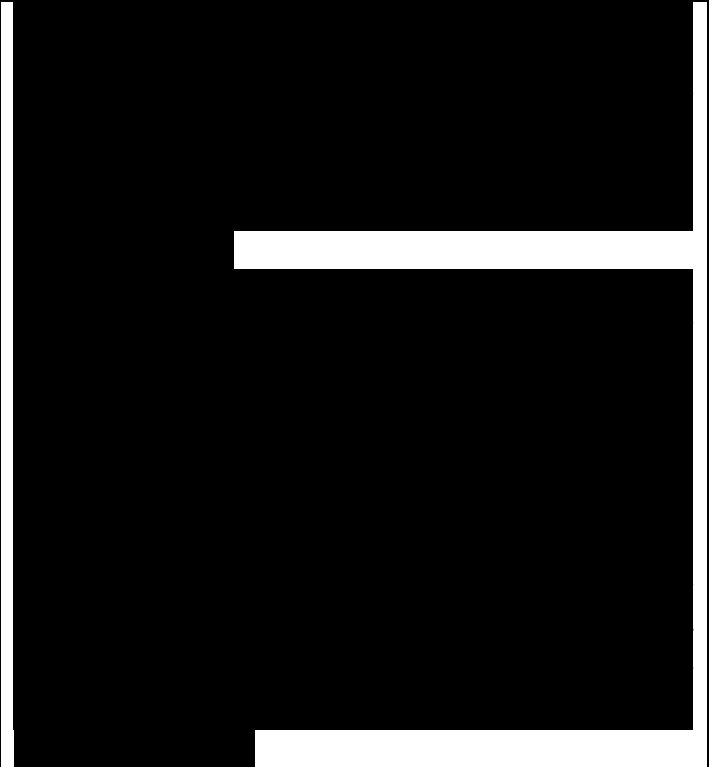


individual discretion or scope was removed as completely as possible. Taking personality out of the management of government was always completely unrealistic as it is, and always was, people with personalities who did the work and interacted with one another.

It is increasingly clear that highly successful managers in the public sector operate in ways that are sometimes outside the formal management structures and procedures. Only by including some aspects of charismatic authority, including ideas of leadership, can this be understood. A leader may well have charismatic qualities that allow him or her to progress to high positions, but equally someone who is placed in a high position may have to develop leadership skills by virtue of being in a job where leadership is required.

The administration of government was always in the hands of people, but the systems that were commonplace in the traditional model were set up almost to perpetuate a system where those who were mediocre rose to the top and talented employees would leave. This is no longer the case. With the breaking down of the hierarchy often seen as being advantageous for an organization, leadership can be demonstrated merely by being able to get people working together without a hierarchy, and without authority needing to be exercised.

It is a fundamental role of any leader, and any manager, to find, train, nurture and promote the next generation of managers and leaders. While no personnel management system can do all these things perfectly, it is not hard to make the case that the traditional model of administration did none of them well. Public management does at least allow the possibility of improvement in this most important function.



Vai trò cơ bản của bất kỳ nhà lãnh đạo, nhà **quản lý** là tìm kiếm, đào tạo, nuôi dưỡng và phát triển các thế hệ lãnh đạo và **quản lý** kế tiếp. Trong khi không có hệ thống **quản lý** nhân sự nào có thể làm được tất cả những việc này hoàn hảo, không khó để chứng minh được hệ thống **quản trị** truyền thống không làm được bất cứ điều gì trong số này. Ít nhất, **quản lý** công cho phép cải thiện chức năng quan trọng bậc nhất này.