

A Diagnosis of Leadership Effectiveness in the Irish Public Sector

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Abstract:

As Ireland has followed other countries in modernizing its public sector according to the principles of “New Public Management” (without introducing market mechanisms on the same scale as its Anglo-Saxon counterparts), the capacity of its public managers to supply the leadership required to drive this programme forward has been identified as a crucial factor affecting its sustainability. A broadly representative sample of Irish public managers has been surveyed using the Leadership Effectiveness Analysis diagnostic instrument to identify those behaviours that need to be developed since they are infrequently used or can moderate the liabilities associated with frequently used behaviours. The findings of this study are interpreted within the context of a broader literature that debates the distinctiveness, significance and malleability of organizational leadership, in general, and the possibility of achieving a balance between different and, at times, conflicting public leadership behaviours, in particular.

Key words: Modernization, leadership effectiveness, feedback instruments, competency frameworks.

INTRODUCTION

The need to develop effective leadership in public organizations has emerged as a crucial factor influencing the capacity of governments to sustain progress in the public sector modernization processes that have been advanced according to the principles of the “new

public management” in many countries over the last decade or so. This becomes apparent when one considers the common themes and ideas that have characterized virtually all these reform movements. According to Schick (2000) these common themes include comprehensive rather than piecemeal reform, reform that is not confined to specific administrative processes, devolution based reform, incentive rather than rule-driven reform and reform focused on operations and service delivery.

Quite clearly strong “top-down” policy leadership is required from political and administrative elites to ensure that reform advances in a coherent, comprehensive way that is not confined to specific administrative processes or functions and levels of government. In articulating key aspects of the role that that the “centre”¹ can play in supplying effective top-down leadership Boyle (2005) emphasizes the provision of a vision of change and planning from a “whole-of-government” perspective; the prioritization of themes and topics to be addressed; “deciding when to take a directive stance in driving change forward and when to grant local discretion and flexibility” (p.9); acting as a “clearing house” for sharing knowledge and disseminating information about best practices; and diagnosing problems and removing obstacles to implementation faced by line departments and offices.

The devolution of authority, the development of performance management systems and the focus on operations and service delivery that characterize recent public sector reform movements all suggest that top-down policy leadership needs to be complemented by effective “middle-out” organizational leadership. Moreover, this leadership needs to be developed at all levels of public organizations so that it can be collectively supplied and provision can be made for the succession of a new cohort of leaders who align

themselves more closely with the cultural changes associated with a greater results and customer-orientation and commitment to the delivery of quality services.

This need was highlighted in a report produced by the OECD Public Management Service (OECD, 2001). This “PUMA report” attributed the resurgence of official interest in public sector leadership to environmental changes such as “globalization, decentralization, and more intensive use of IT” (p.13) and suggested that concerns with this issue are likely to be more important “in a diversified society than in a homogeneous society, because leaders are required to transmit new values, mediate differences, and create coalitions in support of reform in a decentralized and ‘webbed’ government than in a hierarchical and rule-based government (and) where reform is greater and more widespread” (pp.18-19). The report went on to present case studies of recent public sector leadership development programs in the UK, the US, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Mexico.

It would seem to be important that such programs should be able to draw from a body of theoretical and empirical literature that specifically addresses leadership in a public organizational context. However, in his book “Leadership of Public Bureaucracies”, Larry Terry (1995) lamented the relative neglect of administrative or “bureaucratic leadership” in the public-sector literature. In a more recent assessment of academic publications on this topic, Van Wart (2003) reached a number of conclusions.

Firstly, despite having to deal with the difficulties associated with “contextual complexity”, “proper definition” and “the effect of observation and the observed”, the mainstream literature on leadership has been “prolific”² and, during the last decade, has

“made a substantial improvement” in developing “more sophisticated, multi-faceted approaches for comprehensive models” (p.215).

Secondly, research on public-sector leadership has “experienced neither the volume nor the integration of the mainstream” (p.215). Following the seminal work of Stone (1945) and Selznick (1957) to address the distinctive context of administrative leadership, the topic was “lightly covered” in the 1960s and 1970s, a period when the mainstream focus was on small-group and lower-level rather than executive leadership. However, since the early 1980s the development of transformational models that emphasized the role of organizational leaders in producing adaptive change has generated a burgeoning literature that explores the relevance of these models to public organizations trying to adapt to far-reaching reforms (see, for example, Kaufman, 1981; Doig and Hargrove, 1987; Fairholm, 1991; Bryson and Crosby, 1992; Kiel 1994; Terry, 1995, 1998; Behn, 1998; Borins, 2000; Hood and Lodge, 2004). With respect, though, to the four main debates that he identifies as shaping the mainstream research agenda – “What should leaders focus on: technical performance, development of people, or organizational alignment?”; “To what degree does leadership make a difference?”; “Are leaders born or made?”; and “What is the best style to use?” – Van Wart (2003) argues that “only the first (focus) is discussed as robustly in the public-sector literature as it is in the mainstream” (p.223). This both reflects the traditional concern of the public administration literature with the appropriate use of discretion by administrative leaders and the more recent debate about entrepreneurial uses of this discretion by “change agents” seeking to transform public organizations to facilitate the more effective implementation of public sector reforms.

Thirdly, Van Wart drew attention to a need to subject the transformational models applied in the public sector context to more empirical testing to take into account “the variety of situations and factors inherent in the vast world of public-sector leadership”. He pointed out that “with well-articulated models, this is not as difficult as it might seem. Such models should undergird leadership survey feedback programs, which in turn provide excellent (and large) databases” (p. 225).

This paper will follow this lead by reporting and interpreting the findings of a study that applied such a diagnostic instrument to assess the leadership practices of 308 senior/middle level managers in the Irish public sector. This provides a snapshot of leadership practices among a broadly representative sample of public managers that should indicate whether, as a group, they have the capacity to effectively meet the challenges posed by the “centre”. This study should be viewed against the background of the ongoing process of public sector modernization in Ireland. The key themes and major achievements of the “Strategic Management Initiative” (SMI) pursued over the last decade in this country will first be examined within an international context provided by the experiences of countries that have undertaken similar public sector reforms. Having identified the development of organizational leadership as a key factor determining the sustainability of progress in advancing this initiative, the remainder of the paper will go on to document the application of the Leadership Effectiveness AnalysisTM (LEA) instrument to assess critical areas that may need attention in developing leadership to meet the challenges of public sector modernization in Ireland.

THE “STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT INITIATIVE” IN IRELAND

The most recent wave of public sector modernization in Ireland can trace its origins to the launch by its government of a “strategic management initiative” (SMI) on February 22 1994. This initiative should be viewed in its historical context against the background of a number of preceding reviews of the structure and operation of the Irish public service. On the foundation of the Irish state this closely mirrored the Westminster-style apparatus of government with which most Irish civil servants were already familiar. The first major review of this system was undertaken by the Brennan Commission (1932) (see Murray, 2001, p.3). This recommended no major changes but did express the view that the state should assume a more active role in economic and social development. The next significant review was undertaken by a “Public Service Organization Review Group” in 1969. Its recommendations were contained in what came to be known as the “Devlin Report” and helped shape the Ministers and Secretaries (Amendment) Act 1973 that made provision for separating the policy and executive functions of departments and the formation of a new Minister and Department of the Public Service. Some reforms were undertaken in the early to mid-1980s – most notably the establishment of the office of Ombudsman and a Top Level Appointments Committee that was charged with making recommendations on the basis of merit rather than seniority – but the urgent need to address macroeconomic fiscal problems largely displaced public service reform from the policy agenda and led to the disbandment of the Department of the Public Service and the resumption of its functions by the Department of Finance in 1987. Murray (2001, p.4) observes in this regard that “it is notable that the very kind of fiscal crisis which triggered

modern civil service reform in so many other administrations internationally brought about the demise of the first main chapter in Irish reform.”

There was subsequently no major reform initiatives until the launch of the SMI in 1994. Although this initiative was based on and continues to receive broad cross-party support that has enabled it to be sustained through successive changes of political leadership, the main impetus for change appears to have come from administrators at the most senior levels of the Irish public service. The advancement of the SMI thus became the responsibility of a “Co-ordinating Group” of Departmental Secretaries. As Murray (2001, p.8) notes:

It was a ‘mandarins’ initiative. The lessons of earlier attempts at reform were well learned. There was no imposition from the outside. The first Co-ordinating group of secretaries represented a powerful body of opinion leadership within the civil service. Among its number were several who had already been working at departmental level on reform of a strategic public management nature. It was top-down but with a secure footing across the top management and leadership cadre of the administration. Its scope was wide – the civil service, followed by extension to the public service.

The first major milestone in the advancement of this initiative was the publication in 1996 of a report entitled “Delivering Better Government” (DBG) in which the Co-ordinating Group formulated a vision for the achievement of “an excellent service for the Government and the public” and recommended a set of mechanisms for facilitating and mandating change. The achievement of this vision was seen as being based around six key organizational themes. These included a greater openness and accountability, a mission of quality customer service, and the efficient and fair operation of simplified

regulations. Within government departments, these developments were to be underpinned by organizational improvements in human resource management, financial management and enhanced information systems management. An “Implementation Group” comprising representatives of the most senior levels in the public and private sector was set up to oversee the implementation process and report regularly to the government on the progress being made in this regard. The main source of leadership of the change process was, however, seen as arising from the Secretaries and Heads of Office who, in line with the “partnership” approach that has come to characterize Irish policy-making, were expected to engage in regular consultation and dialogue with one another and with their staff and union representatives.

The central themes and principles of the DBG report were rapidly enacted in the far-reaching legislative changes contained in the Public Service Management Act and the Freedom of Information Act of 1997. Meanwhile departments and offices commenced the routine production of strategy statements, business plans and customer service action plans. In 1999 the “next phase” of the SMI was launched with the publication of “Delivering Quality Public Service” report by the Department of the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) while in 2000 a Performance Management and Development System (PMDS) was implemented. A similar process of change was being pursued at local government level where the principles of “Better Local Government: A Programme for Change” (1996) were enacted in the Local Government Bill of 2000 and led to a major restructuring. Similarly, in the health sector, the passing of new accountability legislation in the Health (Amendment) (No. 3) Act, 1996 set in motion a process of radical reform with significant advances being effected in the formulation of annual service plans, the

development of a common set of performance indicators, the introduction of performance related rewards for senior managers and the implementation (on a pilot basis) of personal development planning (Joyce, 2003).

Murray (2001) has attempted to place these Irish public sector reforms in an international context using a typology formulated by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2000) that delineates four policy approaches. Firstly, a “conservative” policy of maintaining the status quo by improving structure and practice appears to have been followed by countries with a *Rechtsstaat* tradition (e.g. Germany and France). Generally they seem to have been interested in reform but resistant to the doctrines of the “New Public Management”. Secondly, a “modernizing” approach that retains a commitment to a substantial role for the state in civil society while demanding fundamental change in the way the public sector is managed seems to have been followed by countries with “a general disposition toward consensual, often meso-corporatist styles of governance” (e.g. Finland, Netherlands, Sweden). This can be distinguished, thirdly, from the “marketizing” agenda pursued by “Anglo-Saxon” countries (e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, UK) who have generally sought to introduce competition and market mechanisms as widely as possible to all former activities of the public sector. A fourth “minimalist” approach can also be distinguished. This appears to have only been intermittently followed by the marketizing group at times when they have sought to limit the public sector to its core functions after everything else has been privatized and outsourced.

According to Murray (2001) the SMI followed in Ireland reflects a “modernizing” approach that “might be categorized on the ‘more active’ end of that continuum” (p.8).

More specifically he notes that:

While avoiding the more radical restructuring (so far) of the UK, New Zealand, Australia cluster, and the conservative pace of Germany, Irish reform clearly shares many common strategies and outcomes with the ‘modernisers’ group. A general swing towards specialization in structure is evident in the range of new agencies and offices that have been created. The introduction of a more eclectic array of co-ordinating mechanisms in which networks and markets begin to partially supplant traditional hierarchies is also to be observed. The decentralization of authority and accountability is a central theme of SMI, now enshrined in legislation and the attack on scale is reflected in the beginnings of a process of ‘agentising’ of traditional activities and functions. In personnel management, while a unitary service has not been breached, the international pattern of reform in search of greater flexibility, responsiveness, results orientation, and appropriately skilled civil servants is echoed in the Irish experience. Performance management is, and has been, another central platform of the SMI shared with the international reform movement” (p.7).

This same writer does, however, observe some gap emerging between the aspirations expressed in DBG and endorsed in subsequent legislation and the actual changes implemented. Thus while devolution is the lynchpin of the SMI, there has been considerable local variation in its implementation such that “where change is not energetically championed, little devolution takes place” (p.9). Similarly budget reform has been “slow to take” and the implementation of new accounting systems and a new financial information system is “still in process”. Furthermore, while DBG urged departments to challenge their “business definition’ as part of a strategic process of considering whether tasks could be more effectively undertaken by the private or

nonprofit sectors, the public sector has tended to remain a monopoly provider and there has been little consideration of outsourcing or even the separation of service delivery from policy.

A similar picture emerged from the comprehensive evaluation of the SMI that the PA Consulting Group (2002) was commissioned to undertake by the Department of the Taoiseach. While their report found that the Irish public service “today is better managed and more effective than it was a decade ago” and that the “conceptualization and design of the SMI remains largely valid”, it highlighted “follow-through on implementation” as “the key outstanding issue” (p.8). In particular it emphasized the need for more support for change management agents within Departments (p.10), fundamental Human Resource Management changes to remove the “rigidities” that surround “grades, pay and incentives” (p.15), the extension of management information network system across departments and offices and a resolution of the “unresolved question” of the nature and extent of financial autonomy to be allowed to individual departments. The central conclusion of the PA Consulting Group was that much of the progress achieved under SMI has been “around its outward facing themes (Openness, Transparency and Accountability, Quality Customer Service, and Regulatory Reform), rather than the more technical corporate support services” (p.3). They recommended that greater attention should be given to accelerating progress in human resource, financial and information systems management since these “internal facing components of SMI” are “critical enablers of change” that have “disproportionately positive effects on the overall change programme”. They also suggested that “the terminology of SMI/DBG has become

somewhat tired and has attracted some negative connotations” so that it needs to be “re-energised and re-positioned” under a broad “Modernising Government” rubric.

According to Murray (2001), the apparent slowdown in pace of change after 1998 may have been “due to the top-down phase of implementation having run its course and the more bottom-up follow-through being constrained by capability, leadership, structural deficits and structural failures” (p.8). In particular he suggests that “dealing with the leadership issue may be one of the most important of current challenges to the system”. This view is echoed by Aylward (2000) who identifies effective leadership as an essential prerequisite for the sustainability of the SMI change program and the PA Consulting Group who assert that the “nature and quality of leadership shown by the senior management teams is absolutely critical” (2002, p. 10). But just how effective is Irish public sector leadership at the senior-middle management level? And what aspects of leadership would seem to merit particular attention if its effectiveness is to be developed? The remainder of this paper will report the findings of a study we conducted to address these questions.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF LEADERSHIP IMPLICIT IN THE LEA INSTRUMENT

The tool we used to measure leadership behaviour and effectiveness in a cohort of senior-middle managers in the Irish public sector was Leadership Effectiveness Analysis™ (LEA). This is a diagnostic instrument developed and refined by Management

Research Group® (MRG), an international firm that specializes in individual and organizational development.

While there are a range of instruments that can be used, we were seeking one that comes with a full 360-degree feedback, a large norm base that could be applied at every level of a range organizations and had been used across a range of different countries and ethnic groups. Moreover, it was important that the instrument be verified not just by internal reliability testing but in terms of external standards of psychometric testing.

LEA was one of the twenty-four management assessment instruments reviewed by Leslie and Feenor (1998). These researchers collected data on forty-five instruments but, after reviewing the data, decided to limit their comparison to those that “reflected both accepted standards of instrument development (that is standards set by the American Educational Research association, the American Psychological Association, and the National Council of Measurement on education as reflected in Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing [APA, 1985]). Like most of the other instruments LEA asks respondents to assess frequency of behaviors and reports the outcome of these assessments in terms of frequency and median scores. This type of feedback has an advantage over measures of comparative performance in that it is concrete and easy to use with small changes being visible and reinforceable by others. To the degree that such behaviors can be related to competencies, feedback-induced changes can be seen as producing personal development.

LEA does, however, stand out from the other instruments in its use of a modified ipsative response scale that indicates the rank order of the respondent’s preferences for three alternatives , as well as the strength of the preference for each alternative³. Over the

course of the questionnaire, each item is compared to all the other items on the instrument. According to Mahoney and Mahoney (1996), this method reduces the inter-correlations among scales.

In terms of its reliability, Leslie and Feenor (1998) found that along with thirteen other instruments, LEA had a solid theoretical and empirical grounding and had been subjected by its vendors to a range of reliability tests including those for short-term stability (test-retest), agreement within rater groups (inter-rater reliability) and whether the instrument measures what it intended to measure (construct validity). Factor analysis was also used to examine the fit of the model in use and to make refinements.

They seem, then, to validate the vendor's claim that "the LEA's underlying model of leadership is based on knowledge gained from years of experience in the field and observations of thousands of individuals in organizations" (MRG, 1998, p.1). These observations do, however, appear to have been filtered through a theoretical lens based on a set of implicit assumptions that can be discerned in the positions they have taken with regard to some of the central issues that, according to Bass (1990), have been a continuing concern in the considerable body of literature on organizational leadership.

In particular three issues appear to have been repeatedly raised in this literature. These concern, the distinctiveness, significance and malleability of leadership. With regard to the first concern, the issue seems to be: "Is leadership simply an aspect of "management" or is it essentially distinct from this type of co-ordinative activity?" While there seem to be as many definitions as there are theories of leadership (Bryman, 1986), two aspects of leadership seem to be repeatedly emphasized by those theorists who see it as essentially distinctive from "management".

The first is reflected in the oft-quoted slogan that “management is about doing things right while leadership is about doing the right thing” (Nanus and Dobbs, 1999). This focuses on the judgment-making aspect of leadership. Provided that a particular actor such as the chief executive has sufficient authority, this person can exercise leadership in these terms by making judgments that affect the direction of an organization’s development.

The second main way in which leadership has been distinguished from management is by those writers who conceive leadership as a distinctive type of social influence relationship. To lead is to influence, to guide, to engage a following and build their commitment to realize a particular vision. According to Tichy and Devanna (1986, p.5), leadership involves pulling an organization into the future "by creating a positive view of what the organization can become and simultaneously providing emotional support for individuals during the transition process."

Both these distinctive aspects of leadership are emphasized in the LEA model. As Table 1 indicates, this model distinguishes twenty-two specific dimensions of leadership behavior that are measured against what are seen as six “essential functions of the leadership role” (MRG, 1998, p.1).

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

A scrutiny of the behaviors associated with these functions would seem to indicate that judgment-making is central to the functions of “creating a vision” and “implementing the vision” while building an influence relationship with followers comes to the fore in those behaviors associated with “developing followers”, “following through”, “achieving results” and “team playing”.

The MRG have gathered evidence that, within a particular organizational culture, the frequency distribution of behaviors observed for those leaders rated by their bosses, peers and direct reports as most effective will be correlated with various measures of organizational performance (see MRG, 1998, p.5). They thus take a clear position on the second major concern in the broader literature with the significance of leadership. Unlike the small group of “attributional theorists” who argue that followers attribute effects due to historical, economic and social factors to leaders, as in romantic fiction (Pfeffer, 1977; Meindl and Ehrlich, 1987), the research findings of the MRG fall into line with the “countless surveys” that, according to Bass (1990, p.22), can be cited to support the contention that leaders make a difference to their subordinates' satisfaction and performance...(and)...in whether their organizations succeed or fail". Although most of these studies have focused on business organizations, a number have advanced evidence for the quality of leadership being the "x-factor" accounting for variations in indicators of the performance of schools (Sylvia and Hutchison, 1985), churches (Smith, Carson and Alexander, 1984) and military units (Gal and Manning, 1984).

There appears to be broad acceptance within the organizational leadership literature that there is no “one best way” to lead others so that the supply of effective leadership crucially involves the selection of a style or pattern of leadership behaviors that best matches the demands of a particular situation. The issue of the malleability of individual leaders does, however, divide the contributors to this literature. On the one hand, theorists such as Fiedler (1967) tend to conceive individual leaders as having more or less fixed personality traits (“task-“ or “relationship-oriented”) so that the supply of leadership consists of selecting to positions of authority leaders with traits that ensure they provide

the most effective leadership style in particular situations. On the other hand, the malleability of individual leaders is emphasized by other situational theorists such as Hersey and Blanchard (1967), Vroom and Yetton (1973) and House (1971) who conceive individual leaders as having a capacity to adapt their leadership style to the demands of the situation.

The latter view is an important implicit assumption underlying the construction of the LEA instrument. This instrument seeks to measure observable behaviors that are amenable to development rather than personality traits that are notoriously difficult to change. Moreover, four “filters” are applied in assessing which behaviors need to be developed to enhance leadership effectiveness. These are (i) the “organizational filter” that assesses individual leaders against the desired leadership culture profile of their organizations; (ii) the “role filter” that focuses on the behaviors individuals need to be successful in their leadership roles; (iii) the “situational filter” that takes account of the different contexts faced by individual in similar roles; and (iv) the “individual filter” that can be applied in cases where individual style should be encouraged and demonstrated.

To sum up, then, it would seem that implicit in the LEA approach is the understanding that leadership can be measured in terms of behaviors that are distinctive, significant (in terms of their impact on organizational performance) and amenable to development. The methods we used to measure these behaviors in our sample group of Irish public managers and the results of this study must now be considered.

THE STUDY AND ITS FINDINGS

Over the period 2001-2 standard LEA questionnaires were completed by 308 senior/middle managers across all four branches of the Irish public service. These managers are widely representative of the leadership cadre in the Irish public sector and were typically drawn from the level just below the level of CEO and equivalent to the level of a divisional type manager. This group would include managers from aspects of the administrative; professional and technical grades of the Irish Public Service such as general managers, engineers, architects, Directors of Nursing, medics and allied health professionals.

As a group they would generally have strategic responsibilities for the direction of their services and would lead the development of the annual business or service plans for their area. These plans should demonstrate an ability to innovate in relation to both the types of services and their delivery and especially in relation to the deployment of resources. These managers would typically have people-management responsibilities requiring them to motivate, to communicate their vision and to provide performance feedback and set performance standards. Moreover they would usually have a range of stakeholder relationships requiring them to influence and negotiate in a consensus-type approach on behalf of their organizations.

To give a flavour of the job titles and roles of this sample, the local government group were drawn from Directors of Service(level just below County Manager), Senior Executive Officers, Senior Executive Engineers, Administrative Officers and Senior Engineers. The types of roles in the civil service context include Assistant Secretary Generals, Principal Officers and Assistant Principal Officers.

Table 2 shows the respective numbers of this group in the health sector, local government, state agencies and the civil service.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

The questionnaires themselves consisted of 84 questions presented in the semi-ipsative format that the MRG developed to limit the response set distortions and problems of conscious manipulation and also provide measures of magnitude that allow interpersonal comparisons⁴. It was thus possible to sum up items to produce a raw score for each of the 22 dimensions of leadership behavior. These raw scales were transformed into normed scores so that they could be made comparable with a large sample of similar individuals. The normative base for our study was drawn from MRG's database and comprised a group of 2943 public sector managers from both Ireland and the UK.

Table 3 presents the frequency distributions and median scores to provide an indication of the behaviors that are most frequently used by our respondents to perform the various functions of their leadership role.

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

In reviewing these scores, particular attention should be given to both "low" and "high" scores. Low scores on an LEA set imply that the behaviours associated with this set are used infrequently. This may indicate that strategies should be developed to strengthen

and increase these behaviours although such a response is only recommended after appropriate interpretation of the scores in the light of the individual's role and the prevailing organizational culture. Interestingly, a high score may also be seen as a liability after it has been contextualized in this way. If certain behaviours are over-used they may need to be balanced through the development of complementary LEA sets to offset and moderate the unintended and negative consequences of their frequent usage.

Creating a Vision.

According to LEA, five sets of behaviours can be used to perform the function of "creating a vision" for the organization. The first is the "traditional" set that can be measured according to the degree leaders study problems in the light of past practices to "ensure predictability, reinforce the status quo and minimize risk" (MRG, 1998, p.9). This contrasts most starkly with the second "innovative" set that measures the extent to which leaders look at issues from a fresh perspective, adapt to environmental changes, are willing to take risks and consider new and untested approaches. A third "technical set" characterizes leaders according to the extent to which they acquire and maintain in-depth knowledge in their field of expertise and apply it to evaluate issues and draw conclusions. Fourthly, the "self" set that evaluates the degree to which leaders emphasize the importance of making decisions independently, display strong self-confidence and make decisions based on their own input and counsel. Finally, a fifth "strategic" set measures the degree to which leaders take "a long-range, broad approach to problem solving and decision making through objective analysis, thinking ahead and planning" (p.16).

A scrutiny of Table 3 indicates that managers in all four branches of government scored relatively highly in the traditional behaviour set and registered low-mid range scores in the innovative set. This suggests that a “custodial” rather than an “entrepreneurial” leadership style is more prevalent within the Irish public sector. It should be pointed out that even where custodial leaders seek to conform to the norms of “administrative conservatorship” advanced by Terry (1995), this does not mean that they are resistant to new ideas. According to Terry, conservators should seek to preserve “institutional integrity” rather than the status quo so that, at times, they may need to initiate either “frame bending” or “frame breaking” changes to protect “from injury, destruction or decay those processes, values, and unifying principles that determine an institution’s distinctive competence” (p.22).

Local government managers did, however, stand out from the mid-range scores achieved by the other groups in the “technical” and “strategic” sets. Their relatively low score in the “technical” set may reflect the fact that this cohort tended to take a more managerial approach to their role, leaving behind their earlier specialist focus. This tendency may also be reflected in their relatively high scores for “strategic” behaviours.

Table 3 also indicates that the state agency managers stood out from the low-mid range scores their counterparts achieved in the self set. This would seem to indicate that when greater autonomy is given to managers in newly established agencies, they will have to fall back more on their own resources than their counterparts in more traditional, long established organizations.

Developing Followers

Writers on charismatic and inspirational leadership in business organizations (e.g. Tichy and Devanna, 1986) see the distinctiveness of leadership as lying in leaders attempting to influence followers to strive toward the realization of the organizational vision through processes of “internalization” that amplify shared values and beliefs and “identification” that reinforce and strengthen the sense of personal identification and loyalty that followers place in them⁵. According to the LEA framework four sets of behaviours are involved in “developing followers”: (i) the “persuasive” set that involves “building commitment by convincing others and winning them over to your point of view ” (MRG, 1998, p.20); (ii) the “outgoing” set that measures the leader’s approachability and capacity to associate effectively with many types of people in varied situations; (iii) the “excitement set” that evaluates the degree to which operate with passion, intensity and emotional expression to keep followers enthusiastic and engaged; and (iv) the “restraint” set that characterizes leaders according to the extent to which they strive to control their emotional expression to remain steady and consistent and exert a calming influence in pressurized situations.

Table 3 clearly shows that while the respondents achieved mid-range scores in the “outgoing” set, they rated low-mid range in terms of the frequency with which they were observed to use “persuasion” and “excitement”, while at the same time, registering high-mid range scores in the “restraint” set. This indicates that Irish public managers continue to conform to the image, observed in a group of western democracies more than two decades ago by Aberbach, Putnam and Rockman (1981, p.9). These researchers found that politicians tend to “seek publicity, raise innovative issues, and are energizing to the policy system” whereas bureaucrats “prefer the backroom, manage incremental

adjustments, and provide policy equilibrium.” While politicians may use persuasion and excitement this would be seen as inappropriate for civil servants in terms of a professional ethos that implicitly encourages them to, at times, "pour cold water" on the stream of policy proposals generated by passionate politicians, pointing out the values and interests that may be adversely affected by their committed pursuit (Rose, 1987; Wallis and Dollery, 1999). This ethos endorses the professional obligation of “public servants” to offer disinterested, "free and frank" advice based on a dispassionate assessment of the "public interest" that draws on the collective wisdom and experience of their practice. From this perspective, the process of establishing the public interest should involve a balanced assessment of the values, obligations and interests affected by the situation (Martin, 1991). Passion can cloud or distort the judgment required in this process while top-down persuasive efforts to develop a culture of passion within a public organization may be a source of stress to “street level bureaucrats” (Lipsky, 1973) who view them as “one more pressure to cope with” (Wallis, 2001).

Particularly high levels of restraint would seem to be required in those public sector activities engaged in what Wilson (1989) termed “coping” activities. This writer suggested that coping is most likely to arise where both outcomes and outputs are unobservable so that managers have to cope with multiple pressures and conflicting demands in a context that can, on occasion, become politicized. This may explain why managers in the civil service and local government rated even more highly in the restraint set than their counterparts in the health sector and state agencies where both outputs and outcomes may be more observable.

An emphasis on restraint, may, however, engender a skepticism that can function as a source of tacit resistance to the organizational changes envisaged in modernization programmes such as the SMI. Murray (2001) voices the suspicion that “despite the continued drive for extension and deepening of SMI, a certain ennui, a certain cynicism about SMI and its impact, may be detected” (p.10). He acknowledges that this may be no more than the normal doubt in the possibility of civil service change “which shifts ground from doubt in the possibility of launching such an initiative, to doubt in the possibility of getting Departments to do anything different, to doubt in the possibility of any change sticking, to doubt in the ability to sustain anything for more than a few years” (p.11). However, if the top-down commitment to cultural change is to eventually penetrate to all levels of these organizations and not “dissipate in the middle ground like an administrative Okavango” then a greater resort to persuasion and excitement by the type of middle managers we surveyed would seem to be called for.

Implementing the Vision and Following Through

The functions of “implementing the vision” and “following through” can be conveniently considered together. Implementing the vision can be done through four behaviour sets. The first comprises a “structuring” set of behaviors evident in leaders who adopt a systematic and organized approach, developing and utilizing guidelines and procedures. Secondly, a “tactical” set is observable in leaders who emphasize the production of immediate results by focusing on short-range, hands-on solutions obtained by working side-by-side with their people. A third “communication” set can be measured according to the degree to which leaders express their expectations clearly and maintain a precise

and constant flow of information. Finally, a fourth “delegation” set can be evaluated according to the extent that leaders enlist others “to help meet objectives by giving them important activities and sufficient autonomy to exercise their own judgment” (MRG, 1998). “Following through” on the implementation of the vision may be achieved through (i) “control” behaviors observable according to the degree to which leaders set deadlines and are persistent in monitoring the progress of activities to ensure they are completed according to schedule; and (ii) “feedback” behaviors that are most evident in leaders who let others know frankly what they think of them, and how well they have performed and measured up to the expectations placed in them.

From Table 3 it can be seen that with the exception of “structuring”, the respondents registered adequate mid-range scores with respect to all these behaviours. They achieved high-mid range scores for “structuring” with the civil service group registering a particularly high score in this regard. This suggests that the strong process-orientation with its emphasis on procedures and rules that characterizes traditional bureaucratic activity continues to have a strong hold on Irish public servants despite the attempts through SMI to change this culture.

Achieving Results

LEA sees “achieving results” as an important function of effective leadership. It can be performed through behaviors observable in leaders who set “challenging goals, stay focused on results and build an achieving climate in which everyone is encouraged to make his or her maximum contribution” (MRG, 1998, p.45). These behaviours include: (i) the “management” set that is most evident in those leaders who seek to exert influence

by assuming positions of authority, taking charge and leading and directing the efforts of others; (ii) the “dominant” set that can be measured according to the degree to which leaders push vigorously to achieve results through an approach that is forceful, assertive and competitive; and (iii) the “production” set that is most observable in leaders who want to measure performance in terms of results and set high standards in this regard, pushing themselves and others to continuously raise their performance.

From Table 3 it can be seen that these behaviors are relatively undeveloped in the group of Irish public sector managers we surveyed, with low-mid range scores being recorded for all three sets for all four branches of the public sector. The very low score civil servants registered with regard to the “production” set, when viewed together with the high score they achieved in “structuring”, suggests that the procedural nature of their work makes it less likely that they will frequently use results-oriented performance management. Furthermore the low scores they achieved with respect to their “management focus” suggests that, in general, they exhibit little appetite to take charge and push for performance improvements

Team Playing.

Team playing is an important function of leadership particularly when it is considered that in most organizations leadership tends to be collectively supplied. The "great person theories of history" that were popularized in the nineteenth century by Carlyle (1841) and James (1880) are thus not given much credence by modern writers on leadership who emphasize the collective dimension of this phenomenon. As Bryson and Crosby (1992) have pointed out:

in a world where shared power is more effective than individual power, the tasks of leadership must be widely shared. No one person can embody all the needed qualities or perform all the tasks. People will pass into and out of leadership roles; a person may be a leader on one issue and a follower on others. This year's leader on a particular issue may even be next year's follower on the same issue (p.32).

According to LEA four behaviour sets can be identified that reflect this team playing function. The first is the “co-operation” set that measures the extent to which leaders accommodate the needs and interests of others by being willing to defer performance on their own projects to assist colleague with theirs. Secondly, the “consensual” set is most observable in leaders who solicit the values and opinions of others as part of the input into their decision-making processes. Third, the “authority” set reflected in the degree to which leaders respect the ideas and opinions of people in authority and use them as resources for information, direction and decisions. Fourthly, the “empathy” set can be evaluated according to the active concern leaders demonstrate for others and their needs by forming close supportive relationships with them.

Table 3 indicates that, in general, there seems to be a strong team playing culture among Irish public servants with high-mid range scores being registered in all four branches with respect to “co-operation” and mid-range scores being reflected in all the other sets with the civil service managers scoring particularly highly in the “authority” set to reflect the relatively more hierarchical nature of the organizational culture they work within. To some degree, this emphasis on team-playing may reflect the “trickle-down” effect of the deliberate adoption by the Centre of a corporatist approach to policy-making

that seeks to advance the vision of “social partnership”. In comparing this approach with the continental corporatism observed in other members of the European Union, House and McGrath (2004) have argued that “it is more inclusive, covering a large array of social interests; it is more strategic, with a well-articulated integrated approach to social and economic development that is self-corrective and articulated in a new national agreement every three years; and that it is more firmly institutionalized in both government and non-government agencies in Ireland” (pp. 29-30). A central tenet of the LEA approach is, however, that there are liabilities associated with every leadership strength. A strong team-playing culture may thus be associated with a low management focus as team-players may be reluctant to take charge and drive through changes designed to raise performance. The ways in which behaviour sets characterized by low LEA scores can be developed in a way that also mitigates the liabilities associated with high-scoring behaviours will be considered by way of conclusion to this paper.

INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

A striking feature of the LEA scores presented in Table 3 is that there are few differences between the four populations surveyed. This suggests that an over-riding public service culture and ethos shapes the behaviour of managers in all four branches of the Irish public sector.

The main purpose of LEA studies of this type is, however, to identify those behaviour sets that should be the focus of leadership development programmes. In our

study the behaviour sets that stood out as being in need of further development were “innovative”, “persuasive”, “excitement” and all three behaviour sets associated with “achieving results”. This was not only because of the low average scores the respondents registered in respect of these sets, but also because their development may moderate and offset the “liabilities” associated with those behaviour sets that they scored highly in. Thus in terms of the “action plans” generated by the LEA framework (MRG, 1998, pp. 66-69) the development of innovative behaviours would moderate the excessive rigidity and limited adaptability associated with high traditional scores and the tendencies to be too procedure-bound, discouraging to new ideas and to create too much conformity that can be liabilities of respondents with high structuring and authority scores respectively. Similarly the enhancement of behaviours in the persuasive and excitement sets might arguably enable managers with high restraint scores to signal with greater urgency the need to implement the organizational and cultural changes advocated by the SMI. At the same time the development of the behaviours in the “achieving results” cluster could ameliorate liabilities associated with “team-playing” behaviours such as being too willing to compromise (“high co-operation”), taking too long to get things done and having difficulty in taking a stand (“high consensual”) and being too compliant or deferential and reluctant to make independent decisions (“high authority”).

Questions must, however, be raised about whether it is possible to achieve a balance between different and, at times, conflicting behaviour sets. A concern of this nature was expressed by Hood (1991) in his seminal article on the New Public Management (NPM) in which he suggested that its emphasis on the values of economy and efficiency could be pursued to the point where it jeopardized the ethical values of

honesty and fairness and the organizational values of robustness and resilience. Jacobs (1993) echoed this concern by drawing a distinction between the traditional custodial values of public organizations and the commercial values of their counterparts in the business sector and arguing that the infusion of one sector's values into another's institutions could lead to ethical lapses. This argument was developed by Terry (1998) who contended that the type of public entrepreneurs with a "penchant for rule-breaking and for manipulating public authority" that he saw as being promoted by advocates of NPM such as Osborne and Gaebler (1992) could be a "threat to democratic governance" (p.198). Similarly, De Leon and Denhardt (2000) have claimed that this breed of public entrepreneurs' "single-mindedness, tenacity, and willingness to bend the rules" make them difficult to control so that they can "become loose cannons" (p.92).

The counter-argument that the injection of entrepreneurial values at the top may actually help public organizations fulfill their mandates without sacrificing their "institutional integrity" has been advanced by researchers such as Behn (1998), Cohen and Eimicke (1999) and Borins (2000). Thus Behn (1998) proposes that, in view of the frequent failure of legislation to provide clear direction to public servants as well as other systemic failures, it is incumbent upon public managers to exercise "leadership that takes astute initiatives designed to help the agency not only to achieve its purposes today but also to create new capacity to achieve its objectives tomorrow" (p.220). Cohen and Eimicke (1999) go even further to suggest that in certain situations entrepreneurial effectiveness could be enhanced through a greater emphasis on ethical values. They analyzed some cases of failed public sector entrepreneurship and found that problems

could have been avoided through the observance of simple ethical principles such as “ensure thorough analysis” and “act with compassion and empathy”.

Two images of public sector entrepreneurs thus appear to have emerged in this literature – one of a “loose cannon” or “rule-breaker; the other of an “enterprising leader”. Their emergence suggests that its contributors are not only concerned with the possible tensions between efficiency and ethics but also and perhaps more importantly with the tension between entrepreneurship and the need for accountability for public resources.

Borins (2000) suggested that “one problem with this debate is that it has been conducted in the abstract or on the basis of a small number of examples given by either side of the laudatory or blameworthy behavior about which they generalize” (p.499). In an empirical study of the best applications to the Ford Foundation- Kennedy School of Government Innovations in American Government Awards Program over the period 1990-1998, he found that “innovators demonstrated integrity in innovation in numerous ways: by proactively solving problems before they become crises; by taking opposition seriously and attempting to deal with it forthrightly through persuasion and accommodation, rather than through power politics; by developing a clear vision of an innovation and staying focused on that vision; and by objectively evaluating an innovation to see if it is working” (p.506). The evidence Borins accumulated that public innovators could achieve results such as improved service and lower cost without compromising their integrity led him to conclude that “on balance”, their initiatives “will enhance public sector effectiveness and efficiency, with little degradation in other important values such as probity, fairness, and justice” (p.506).

This finding will provide some assurance to the Implementing Group of the SMI in Ireland who introduced a competency framework across the public service as part of the Performance Management Development System (PMDS) that was launched in 2001. This was modeled on similar frameworks adopted in the UK, the US, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the Netherlands in that it targeted the development of a specific set of competencies for development through on-the-job learning, coaching, formal training interventions and self-managed learning including “e-learning”. Competencies were defined as “the necessary behaviours and attributes as well as knowledge and skills required to do our jobs well in a way in which we realise our potential and provide the highest quality service to our customers” (CMOD, 2001, p.2). In a way that paralleled the LEA approach examined in this paper, this framework emphasized behaviours as being particularly amenable to development. The seventeen “behavioural competencies” identified by this framework are set out in Table 4 and cross-listed with comparable behaviour sets in the LEA scheme.

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE

This framework would seem to send a signal that those entrepreneurial behaviors in respect of which our sample group achieved low scores in the LEA are now treated as part of a set of competencies that they are expected to develop without diminishing capacities in those areas where they achieved higher scores.

This message has been reinforced by recent guidelines laid down for the selection of personnel to senior positions in the civil service. For example, a Department of Finance (DOF, 2003) “Report of the Steering Group on the Review of the Interdepartmental Principal Officer Selection System” recommended that, among other promotion criteria, candidates should demonstrate a capacity to “create a work environment that encourages creative thinking and to maintain focus, intensity and persistence” and to “champion measurement on delivery of results” and “take personal responsibility to initiate activities and drive objectives through to a conclusion” (p.48).

Questions still arise about whether the incentives provided by such promotion criteria are strong enough to motivate managers to develop innovative and results-oriented behaviours that we have identified as being infrequently used. This issue was recognized in the DOF report which reported that “43% of respondents indicated that they had not considered applying for promotion or had considered it and decided against applying” (p.3). The main reasons given for this included: impending retirement; perceived gender bias; the costs of relocation; and the perception that the level of reward did not match the additional pressures associated with a higher level of responsibility (p.28).

Moreover, not only are the positive incentives to develop entrepreneurial behaviours provided by promotion incentives relatively weak, but managers who fail to respond to top-down exhortations to change their behavior are still likely to keep their jobs. This is because, in contrast with the New Zealand case where public management reform was accompanied by a significant shakeout at all levels of public organizations,

the Irish government has committed itself to advancing the SMI without involuntary job losses.

This suggests that there is a greater appreciation in Ireland that the problem of leadership development is one of “adaptive change” (Heifetz, 1994) that cannot be “solved” through a top-down restructuring and redesign of incentive systems but is rather dependent on a cultural shift that engages actual and potential leaders at all levels of public organizations. The role that the type of diagnosis provided by instruments such as LEA can play in this process will be considered by way of conclusion to this paper.

CONCLUSION

LEA is one of a number of reputable and reliable instruments that have been used to provide feedback to individuals on their leadership competencies in a range of organizational contexts. Atwater and Waterman (1998, p.423) have hailed the use of such instruments as “perhaps the most notable management innovation of the 1990s” while London and Smither (1995) reported that by the middle of this decade, they were used by nearly all of the Fortune 500 companies. Their use in the leadership development programs provided to public sector managers has also expanded, particularly in countries where they can complement competence frameworks that seek to define competence profiles for future leaders (OECD, 2001, p.23). However, as Day (2001, p.587) has pointed out such instruments are “strong on assessment but typically weak on challenge

and support”. They need to be used as part of a “state of the art” leadership development training package where they can be combined with tools such as executive coaching, mentoring, networking, job assignments and action-learning to effect a comprehensive strategy that links assessment, challenge and support (Van Velsor, McCauley and Moxley, 1998). While the development of such packages now provides trainers in both the private and public sector with more confidence that they can have a significant impact on defined leadership competencies of their clients (Conger and Benjamin, 1999, pp.20-1), they are costly and their cost-effectiveness can be enhanced where they target specific competencies that have been identified as in need of development through the diagnosis effected through LEA-type instruments.

Moreover, as Van Wart (2003) has observed, the data collected through feedback programs can provide valuable information for policy-makers seeking to effect cultural transformation in public organizations. We would argue that the LEA data we collected has identified a prevailing leadership culture across the various sectors of the Irish public service that is, in some areas, out of line with that sought through competency frameworks. In particular there would seem to be a need to develop competencies in “innovative”, “persuasion”, “excitement” and “achieving results” behaviour sets. It would seem then that there is a case to target both formal and informal training interventions in these areas to augment and support the competency frameworks that have been recently formulated to link formal evaluation and succession systems in the Irish public sector.

Table 1: The Leadership Effectiveness Analysis™ Model

Leadership Function 1: Creating a Vision
<p>Traditional: Studying problems in the light of past practices.</p> <p>Innovative: Being willing to take risks and to consider new and untested approaches.</p> <p>Technical: Acquiring and maintaining in-depth knowledge in the field of expertise.</p> <p>Self: Emphasizing the importance of making decisions independently.</p> <p>Strategic: Taking a long-range, broad approach to problem solving</p>
Leadership Function 2: Developing Followers
<p>Persuasive: Building commitment by convincing others.</p> <p>Outgoing: Acting in an extroverted, friendly and informal manner.</p> <p>Excitement: Operating with energy, intensity, and emotional expression.</p> <p>Restraint: Working to control emotions and maintain an understated personal demeanour</p>
Leadership Function 3: Implementing the Vision
<p>Structuring: Adopting systematic and organized approaches.</p> <p>Tactical: Focusing on short-range, hands-on, practical strategies.</p> <p>Communication: Clarifying what is expected and maintaining the flow of information.</p> <p>Delegation: Enlisting the talents of others and allowing them to exercise their judgment.</p>
Leadership Function 4: Following Through
<p>Control: Monitoring progress to ensure tasks are completed on schedule.</p> <p>Feedback: Letting others know how they have performed and met expectations.</p>
Leadership Function 5: Achieving Results
<p>Management Focus: Seeking to exert influence by being in positions of authority.</p> <p>Dominant: Pushing vigorously to achieve results by being assertive and competitive.</p> <p>Production: Adopting a strong orientation toward achievement and setting standards.</p>
Leadership Function 6: Team Playing
<p>Co-operation: Accommodating the needs and interests of others.</p> <p>Consensual: Valuing the ideas and opinions of others.</p> <p>Authority: Showing organizational loyalty and respecting superiors.</p> <p>Empathy: Demonstrating an active concern for people and their needs.</p>

Table 2: Research Sample of Irish Public Managers: 2001-2

Health	99
Local Government	97
State Agencies	93
Civil Service	19
Total	308

Table 3: Leadership Effectiveness Score For Irish Public Managers Surveyed 2001-2

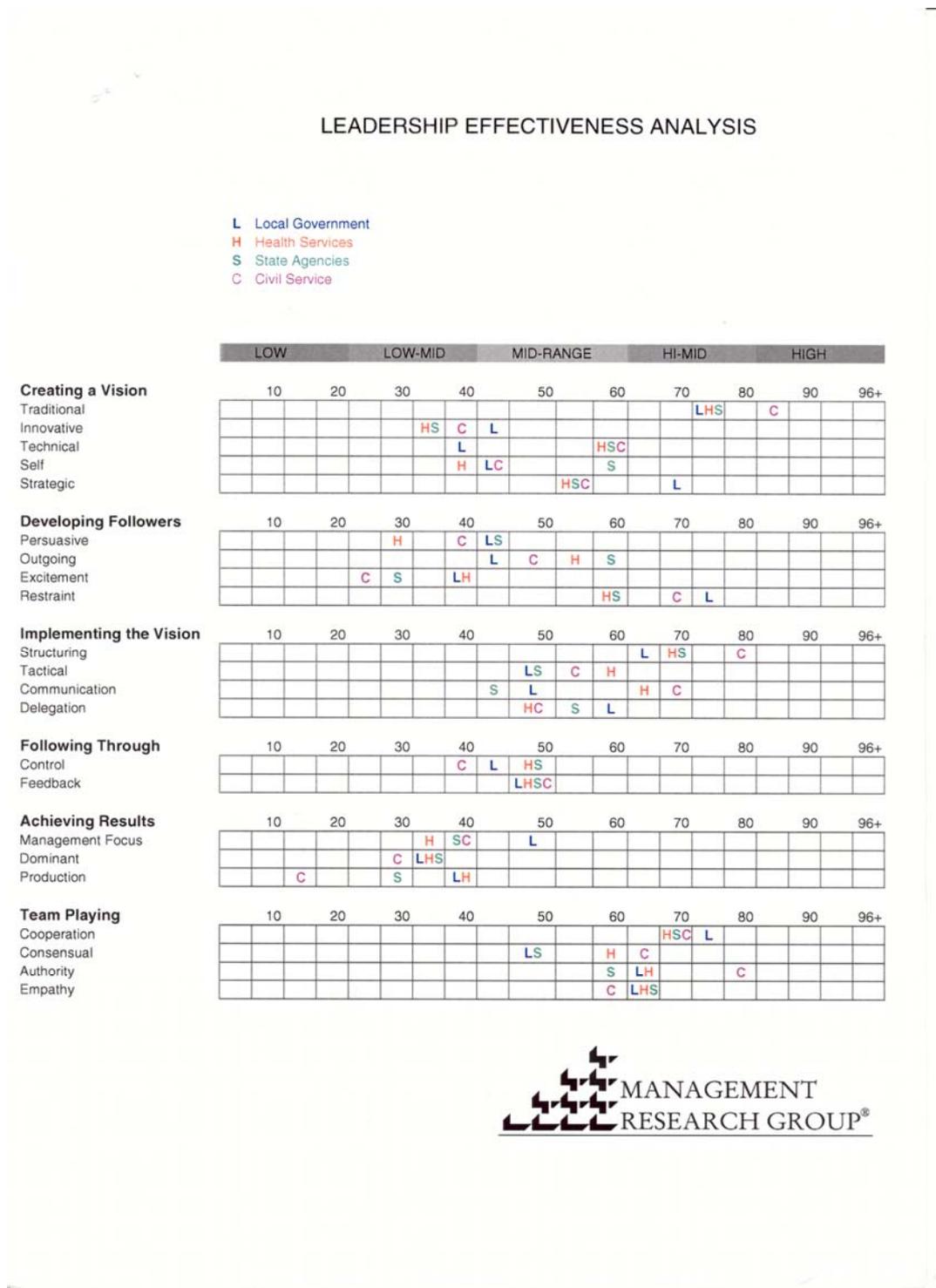


Table 4: Leadership Effectiveness Behaviours versus Competencies

Competencies Identified by CMOD	Corresponding LEA Behaviours
1. Self-confidence	Self
2. Achievement, drive and commitment	Management focus
3. Initiative	Tactical/innovative
4. Team-working	Co-operation
5. Communications	Communication
6. Networking/influencing	Persuasive/co-operation
7. Customer service	Production
8. Managing and developing People	Delegation/feedback/empathy
9. Leadership	All 22 (especially innovative)
10. Interpersonal understanding	Empathy
11. Analytical thinking	Technical
12. Conceptual thinking	Strategic
13. Decision Making/Judgment	Self/Dominant
14. Specialized expertise	Technical
15. Managing budgets and resources	Production
16. Information seeking and management	Communication/feedback
17. Concern for clarity and work quality	Communication/feedback

NOTES

¹ The locus of policy leadership in the centre may, of course, vary from country to country and from time to time. In some cases, public sector reform is promoted by reformist political leaders who persuade, cajole and force administrative leaders to rethink structures, public policies, and programs. In other cases whatever the rhetoric of political leaders, once elected they may evince little direct interest in reform (that is, it will not be a high political or policy priority) and defer to the judgment and energies of administrative leaders. There are limits, though: the more significant the reforms envisaged by administrative leaders, the more likely they will have policy and political implications, and therefore require the support of political leaders if they are to succeed.

² For example, in 1990 the major handbook for the literature (Bass, 1990), cited more than 7500 empirical and quasi-empirical references on leadership.

³ With this method, each item consists of a stem and three possible solutions. The respondent chooses the alternative that best describes him or her and rates it a "5" or "4". The respondent then chooses the next best alternative and rates it a "3" or "2". The third alternative is left blank and scored as describing the respondent the least.

⁴ Response sets are patterned ways people respond to questionnaires, including acquiescence (saying "yes" to everything), nay-saying (saying "no" to everything, and using a limited range of response (giving ratings that are all high, all moderate, or all low). In addition individuals may respond based on social desirability (choosing the "right" answer or the one that makes the respondent look better), and other conscious efforts to choose answers that will manipulate the results in a certain way.

⁵ It is difficult to empirically separate these two types of social influence but some writers (Downton, 1973; Howell, 1988) have argued that "inspirational" can be distinguished from "charismatic" leadership in that it gives primary emphasis to influence through internalisation rather than identification.

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